

Multicultural **AMERICA**

A Multimedia Encyclopedia

Carlos E. Cortés • Editor



Multicultural
A M E R I C A

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A Multimedia Encyclopedia

Volume 1

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Introduction

America's multiethnic future has arrived. The 2010 census provided compelling evidence, documenting the dramatic racial and ethnic changes in the United States from 2000 to 2010.

During that decade, the African American population expanded by more than 12 percent, Asian Americans grew by more than 43 percent, and Hispanics experienced a 43 percent increase. Hispanics alone provided more than half of the country's growth during those 10 years. In contrast, the number of non-Hispanic whites grew by less than 2 percent, declining to less than two-thirds of our population. Clearly, the composition of our nation's multiethnic mosaic is undergoing a profound transformation.

Moreover, most projections suggest even greater demographic changes in the decades to come. Somewhere around the middle of the 21st century, non-Hispanic whites will cease to be a majority of the American population. When that moment arrives, the United States will have been transformed into a demographically pluralistic nation. That is, it will become a nation in which no single racial or ethnic group holds a population majority. In numerical terms, then, all Americans will be part of the minority.

These demographic realities raise a number of fundamental questions. As the United States becomes more multiethnic, in what ways will it also become more multicultural? In what respects

might ethnicity continue to be a significant part of the American story, with ethnic diversity and the flourishing of ethnic cultures deeply influencing the very essence of what it means to be "American?" Or in what respects might ethnicity decline as a major factor in American life, with ethnic cultures becoming mere historical curiosities?

This encyclopedia cannot offer definitive answers to these fundamental questions. However, we hope that it illuminates the possibilities of the future by examining the role of ethnicity in our nation's past and present.

In Search of Metaphors

During the last half century, in particular, many writers have tried to create a coherent narrative that tightly integrates ethnicity into the American story. Some of these efforts have involved capsulizing this process into a metaphor.

For decades one popular metaphor, the "melting pot," reigned supreme. According to this metaphor, people from diverse backgrounds came to America and melted into the proverbial pot. But there were variants of the melting pot story.

One of those variants held that these cultures essentially disappeared as they entered the pot, leaving behind few traces. In that version of the American story, the use of ethnic languages dwindled. Some ethnic surnames remained, although often shortened or Americanized. A few folkways

survived along with ethnic foods, traces of ethnic music, and smatterings of ethnic expressions. The search for ethnic heritage became a journey into the often-romanticized discovery of days of yore or the construction of family trees. According to this story line, ethnic culture largely became ethnic nostalgia as the melting process proceeded inexorably and virtually eliminated cultural distinctiveness.

Another variant of the melting pot story held that, while these cultures were disappearing, they added significant tastes and flavors to the pot's contents. Ethnic surnames populated telephone books. Ethnic restaurants flourished, primarily in traditional ethnic neighborhoods, while ethnic foods became omnipresent in supermarkets. Ethnic festivals spiced up community calendars. Ethnic words and expressions gained entry into the American English lexicon.

But whatever the variants of the melting pot story, they converged on one central theme. By and large, the story of American ethnicity was essentially the story of acculturation. Primarily a historical curiosity to be recognized and maybe nostalgically celebrated, ethnicity was to become a casualty in the unrelenting process of melting.

However, even as the melting pot was being extolled, at least by many Americans, the metaphor's flaws were being glossed over. In fact, in order for there to be a celebration of the melting pot, those flaws *had* to be glossed over because they revealed the limits and distortions inherent in that metaphor. In opposition, two alternative story lines emerged, narratives that proved to be highly inconvenient for melting pot enthusiasts.

The first alternative story line emphasized the fact that, while the melting pot was being celebrated, some ethnic groups were legally and structurally being denied entrance into the pot. This was particularly true for groups like African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos—groups whose predominant skin colors or other physical features set them apart from the white American norm. For the most part, ethnic groups perceived as racially different could not melt even if they wanted to.

Exclusionary practices were of many types. Laws and court decisions created and maintained segregation. People of some ethnic ancestries were barred from attaining American citizenship.

Three-fourths of the states had laws prohibiting specified types of interracial marriage. Some organizations and institutions closed their doors to those of certain ethnic heritages or religious affiliations. In other words, for some ethnic groups and for tens of millions of Americans, melting was never an option.

There was also a second story line that contrasted with the dominant melting pot narrative. Some groups refused to melt. Even as ethnic individuals acculturated to mainstream American life, the groups themselves maintained strong ethnic bonds and identities. Ethnic communities remained vibrant. Ethnic organizations became a source of group cohesion and pride. Even across generations, some ethnic languages not only failed to disappear but rather became the basis of rich new strands of American literature, music, and other creative forms.

As the 20th century progressed, the shortcomings of the melting pot metaphor became increasingly apparent. In the process, there arose the concept of multiculturalism. It ultimately became a principal competing framework for examining and telling the American story.

The 1960s brought the apex of the civil rights movement, with people of color demanding to be admitted to the full and equal rights of American citizenship. Simultaneously, that era brought a flourishing of ethnic pride movements. These developments vividly revealed that ethnic groups, particularly those that had been marginalized in American life, had developed resilient cultures and resolute historical memories, which they were not about to surrender.

At first scholarly and public attention was focused on the cultures and experiences of what were known as minorities and, later, people of color, such as Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders. Soon European ethnic groups, mainly from eastern and southern Europe, joined the multiethnic chorus, proclaiming cultural survival, sometimes resistance, even in the context of relentless acculturation pressures.

Simultaneously, the melting pot was being challenged as a misleading symbol. Myriad terms began vying for metaphorical supremacy, terms such as *salad bowl*, *stew*, *mosaic*, *crazy quilt*, and *kaleidoscope*. Books on U.S. history

became increasingly attentive to the experiences of ethnic groups, not just ethnic individuals, as being vital to our nation's core narrative and self-understanding.

Multiculturation

As the 20th century entered its final quarter, two things became increasingly clear. First, in some respects the acculturation process, as capsulized by the melting pot metaphor, was still occurring. At the same time, however, both the melting pot metaphor and the traditional acculturation framework were proving to be woefully inadequate for capturing the totality of the ethnic experience in the United States.

Because of these two realities, I began using a different term to capture the dynamics of ethnic diversity within the American trajectory. That term was *multiculturation*, a conflating of the words *multiple* and *acculturation*. Far more than acculturation, the idea of *multiculturation* suggests the complexity of a multiculturally changing America, including the ways that America and Americans of all backgrounds have adapted, for better and for worse, to the growing presence of ethnic diversity. *Multiculturation* includes five major constellations of stories: individual, group, intragroup, intergroup, and societal.

Individual acculturation. There are hundreds of millions of individual acculturation stories. While each individual acculturation story is unique in some respects, these stories merge to create two basic narrative prototypes.

First, some people have allowed their ethnic cultures to lapse as they immersed themselves into the American mainstream. Moreover, children were raised with little attention to their ethnic roots and little emphasis on maintaining their heritage languages.

In contrast, other Americans have remained dedicated to their ethnic cultures and languages. They have done so even while acculturating to America, participating in mainstream American life, and demonstrating their national loyalty through such acts as spilling their blood on foreign battlefields.

Group acculturation. But acculturation is more than the collection of individual stories. It is also

the story of the ways that ethnic groups as a whole have adapted to America.

Each ethnic group has its own unique story. Some American ethnic groups have virtually disappeared, leaving only traces of their heritage, such as surnames, food practices, and limited fluency in ancestral languages. In contrast, other groups have vigorously maintained their ethnic cultures, including their languages, even as they adapted to, participated in, and contributed to American society.

Intragroup acculturation. No American ethnic group is a citadel of internal homogeneity. No matter how clear and stereotypically simple an ethnic group may seem when viewed from the outside, each ethnic group has its own internal complexity. Within each group lie important intragroup distinctions, often based on such factors as religion, language, class, caste, racial categorization, geographical origin, historical roots, mutual perceptions, and sometimes long-standing old-country animosities.

Such intragroup dynamics continue to play out in American society. Intragroup bridges have been built, while intragroup conflicts, sometimes imported conflicts, have erupted. Intragroup intermarriages have occurred, sometimes marriages unimaginable in their heritage countries. Intragroup acculturation has produced new cultural blendings, sometimes leading to the emergence of fostered-in-America ethnic cultures.

Intergroup acculturation. In a multiethnic United States, ethnic groups have had to acculturate not only to America at large but also to other ethnic groups. Sometimes this interaction has occurred as a result of ethnic groups living in adjoining, often competing, neighborhoods. At other times residentially integrated multiethnic communities have emerged.

Each new ethnic or multiethnic configuration has brought new intergroup dynamics as these groups mutually acculturate to each other. This process has not always been benign. Such factors as language barriers, cultural misunderstanding, racial animosities, economic competition, and dedication to defending turf have given rise to conflict. At other times, however, intergroup acculturation has led to mutual appreciation, cooperation, alliances, community building, and

intermarriage, resulting in ethnically mixed offspring who have carried the intergroup acculturation process down through the generations.

Societal acculturation. Then there is the acculturation of America itself. Ethnic diversity has brought profound changes to America writ large. Put another way, the United States has acculturated to ethnic diversity, for better and for worse.

Societal acculturation can be seen in laws and court decisions, which have ranged from opening doors of inclusion for the marginalized to reinforcing barriers of exclusion. It can be seen in advertisements, store signs, religious institutions, and government documents using various languages. It can be seen in companies that hire people with multiple language skills and cultural knowledge because of the special contributions they can make to the proverbial bottom line. It can be seen in changes in the nation's diet, as ethnic foods become mainstream and ethnic restaurants take root even in communities not usually thought of as multicultural. It can be seen in changes in American English, as ethnic words and expressions penetrate the language and become part of everyday conversation.

Yet, while the multiculturalization process has been inexorable, it should not be idealized. As with traditional acculturation, there has been an underside to multiculturalization. Mutual adaptation has sometimes involved segregation, the denial of rights, and the restriction of opportunities. Interethnic conflict and intraethnic tensions have erupted. Prejudice, discrimination, inequality, and power differentials have not disappeared.

The multiculturalization story, then, is a complex and dynamic one. It is a goal of this encyclopedia to shed light on this dynamic complexity.

Understanding America

This brings us back to questions that undergird this encyclopedia. As our multiethnic composition changes, how does this affect the nature of American multiculturalism? More broadly, how might these developments influence the nature of the United States itself?

This encyclopedia offers a variety of perspectives on these issues. It does so not by presenting a new, integrated American narrative but rather by providing myriad windows on American ethnicity—more than 900 articles totaling more than

1.3 million words. Moreover, in the online edition there are more than 350 photos and 100 video clips that illustrate and illuminate American multiculturalism.

This encyclopedia reveals that, throughout history, Americans of all ethnic backgrounds have become part of the American polity, participated in American society, and adopted the core elements of American culture. At the same time, tens of millions have blended the process of Americanization with the maintenance, in some cases the reinforcement, of their ethnic cultures. Moreover, the United States itself has changed in response to this multiethnic presence. One result, particularly in the last half century, has been the emergence of a robust, vital, sometimes controversial, still evolving American-style multiculturalism.

This encyclopedia is dedicated to providing greater clarity about the history, nature, and myriad dimensions of American multiculturalism. These articles contribute to a deeper understanding of the United States by addressing the following:

- Historical and contemporary dimensions of the constantly evolving American multicultural reality
- The myriad groups that comprise the American multiethnic mosaic
- The intersection of ethnicity and race with gender, sex, age, religion, class, sexual orientation, disability, and other facets of our society
- The complex interactions between ethnic groups and American institutions
- The dynamics of intergroup and intragroup relations
- The language, terms, and labels that are used in talking about diversity
- The varied, sometimes conflicting, perspectives and lenses used by analysts when addressing American multiethnicity

Choices

In the process of conceptualizing this encyclopedia and bringing it to fruition, many difficult decisions had to be made. Some arose from the enormous challenge of how to set limits on the encyclopedia's virtually limitless topic. The encyclopedia does not try to cover the entire diversity waterfront. Rather, it focuses on ethnicity and ethnic

groups, including those religious groups—such as Jews, Muslims, and Amish—whose American trajectories incorporate an experience that has been both ethnic and religious.

Even the title of the encyclopedia required making choices. As we use the word in this encyclopedia, “multicultural” refers to ethnicity and ethnic cultures, including those groups classified by the U.S. census as “racial.” We recognize that multicultural is often used more broadly to include other dimensions of American life, such as the cultures of women and men, religion-centered cultures, gay culture, various disability-related cultures, generational cultures, class-related cultures, and regional cultures. The list goes on and on. Rather than attempt to cover them all, we instead focus on ethnicity.

The encyclopedia does not ignore those other important sociocultural categories. Rather, we address them in terms of their intersections with ethnicity, not as isolated, self-contained topics. In this way we hope that the encyclopedia fosters a better understanding of intersectional complexities, not the simplicity—often the stereotypical simplicity—of merely gazing down cultural silos.

Themes

Even after deciding to focus on ethnicity rather than diversity writ large, we still faced the challenge of selecting more than 900 articles from the virtually endless list of possibilities arising from the richness of American multiethnicity. This meant choosing what to include and, conversely, what to exclude. We began by establishing a set of analytical categories.

Obviously, we would have articles on individual ethnic groups, about 200 of them. Even then we faced the challenge of titling these categories. In some cases, group names were obvious. In other cases, that was not so, especially when it came to groups with multiple labels, particularly when label preferences have changed over time or when group members themselves disagree about the preferred term. Should we say Latinos or Hispanics? How about Native Americans or American Indians? Ultimately, we had to make choices, which will inevitably displease those adamant about the “correctness” or superiority of their preferred terms.

Moreover, we wanted the encyclopedia to be much more than a catalog of individual ethnic

groups. We wanted it to be a book about multicultural America, including its historical development, contemporary nature, and future directions. To do so, we selected a number of major themes that then served as the basis for choosing our articles:

- Historical events and forces that have influenced the trajectory of American multiculturalism
- Governmental treatment of ethnicity, including major laws, treaties, and court decisions that have shaped American multiculturalism and intergroup relations
- Wars and other conflicts that have altered boundaries, disrupted cultures, and resulted in treaties that have modified or reinforced the nature of our nation’s multiethnic mosaic
- The tortuous story of immigration, including changing policies and practices concerning citizenship and naturalization
- The sometimes embattled relationship between education, particularly public education, and the various groups that make up multicultural America
- Selected elements of ethnic cultures—including languages, religions, organizations, and institutions—that have been particularly reflective of American multiculturalism and that, in some cases, have influenced mainstream American culture
- Intragroup diversity and intergroup relations, including intermarriage and the resulting challenges of multiethnic identity
- Intersections of ethnicity with selected social categories, such as age, generation, sex, gender, religion, class, sexual orientation, disability, and other aspects of American life
- Analytical frameworks and concepts developed by scholars in an effort to provide greater understanding of American multiculturalism
- Artifacts of popular culture—for example, books, motion pictures, theatrical works, and television shows—that have influenced public perceptions of ethnic groups, sometimes illuminating ethnic experiences, other times contributing to deleterious negative group stereotyping

Structure

To help readers gain a better grasp of the changing nature of American multiculturalism, the encyclopedia is structured in a somewhat nontraditional manner. It begins with a series of articles examining the 2010 census and the historical development of racial and ethnic census categorizations. This section provides a statistics-based overview of contemporary multiethnic America, suggests frameworks for interpreting the current and past censuses, and examines some of the decisions and controversies associated with designing and implementing the census.

Then the greater part of the encyclopedia delves into the intricacies of multicultural America. This includes articles both on individual ethnic groups and on broader themes that illuminate the complex story of American multiculturalism. In the online edition, these articles are further enriched by 100 video clips and color photos.

A decision was also made not to include articles on ethnic individuals—articles on ethnic groups alone number more than 200. Given the encyclopedia's limit on the number of entries, it would have been impossible to winnow down the list of the tens of thousands of ethnic individuals who would have deserved an article. Moreover, entries on specific people would have virtually eliminated almost all other articles, leaving this mainly an encyclopedia of ethnic groups and individuals, not an encyclopedia of multicultural America writ large.

We decided that the best way to deal with important ethnic individuals was to include them within the context of other articles. Therefore, the encyclopedia provides a list of people mentioned in those articles, with references to those entries in which the individuals appear.

Finally, the encyclopedia contains other important features. These include a Reader's Guide, a multicultural Chronology, a Glossary, a Resource Guide, and an Appendix of 2010 U.S. census statistics. In short, our encyclopedia provides an ideal avenue for entering the world of American multiculturalism and gaining a greater understanding of its past, present, and possible future.

The American Future

In some respects, *Multicultural America: A Multimedia Encyclopedia* is a snapshot of a moment in time. But in other respects it is also a motion

picture of a nation in process. On the one hand, it is a snapshot of the early-21st-century multicultural United States. That snapshot reveals our nation at the end of a chaotic decade that included the tragedy of 9/11, the growing visibility of the multilingual media, a superheated debate on immigration, and the election of our first president of African American ancestry. It is a snapshot made particularly vivid by the release of the 2010 census, with its revelations about the country's changing ethnic composition.

At the same time, the encyclopedia captures the United States in process. It explores our nation's multiethnic historical roots and their connection to the American present. Moreover, it reconsiders critical questions raised by the past and present about the American future:

- What continuities and changes can we expect in U.S.-style multiculturalism?
- In what respects will ethnic cultures continue to coexist with the common culture?
- In what ways will ethnic groups continue to enrich the nature of the United States while at the same time being modified by the power of the common culture?
- How can America adapt more constructively to the growing presence of multiethnicity?
- How can the nation more effectively address the remaining obstacles to full inclusion and the root causes of group-connected inequality?
- In what ways can healthy interethnic and intraethnic relationships be fostered, including new types of interethnic fusions?
- How can we forge a more powerful civic *Unum* while drawing on the richness of ethnic *Pluribus*?

These are some of the questions that confront America as we advance into the 21st century. We hope this encyclopedia will provide greater clarity in addressing these questions and will contribute to a better understanding of the unique, continuously evolving American multicultural experiment.

Carlos E. Cortés
Editor

Chronology

ca. 15,000–20,000 years ago: People from Siberia begin crossing into the Americas on a land bridge in the Bering Strait; the reasons for this migration, which ended about 10,000 years ago when the land bridge was submerged under the ocean, remain unknown.

ca. 15,000 years ago: Native Americans were apparently living in the area of the La Brea tar pits in California, based on evidence of cuts found on animal bones preserved in the asphalt.

ca. 10,000 years ago: Clovis spear points, identified by their distinctive shape, are used in widely dispersed parts of the United States, including Maryland, Colorado, and Arizona; as this technology is believed to have been transmitted from person to person, some scholars take it as evidence that knappers (stone point makers) worked in common sites and learned techniques from each other.

ca. 4000 B.C.E.: Native Americans establish a distinctive culture in the Great Lakes region of North America.

ca. 600–700 C.E.: A large urban area is formed by people of the Woodland Culture near present-day Cahokia, Illinois; these settlements are characterized by complex organization and ambitious mound construction, and at its peak (around

1050–1250 C.E.) the population is estimated to have been around 10,000 to 30,000.

1492: Christopher Columbus embarks on his first journey to the New World; accompanying him is Luis de Torres, a Jewish interpreter.

1494: Christopher Columbus establishes the first European permanent settlement in the Western Hemisphere on the island of Hispaniola.

ca. 1500: An estimated 10 million Native American people are living in what will become the United States.

1508: Juan Ponce de León arrives in Puerto Rico; the following year, he is appointed governor of the island.

1511: Diego Velázquez de Cuellar is appointed governor of Cuba, and the *encomienda* system, giving the Spanish settlers land and Indian slaves, is established on the island.

1513: Juan Ponce de León arrives in Florida and explores the region.

1520s: Spanish explorers sail along the Gulf of Mexico and the southern Atlantic coast of what is now the United States.

1539: Hernando de Soto sails from Cuba to Florida and explores the southeast.

ca. 1550: An estimated 300,000 Native American people from over 100 tribes are living in California.

1565: Spanish explorers found St. Augustine, Florida, the earliest European settlement in North America.

1573: Members of the Franciscan order establish missions in Florida.

1585: Joachim Gans, a Jewish surveyor, accompanies Sir Walter Raleigh on an expedition to survey the Carolina coast.

1598: Livestock breeding is introduced in north New Spain (later the U.S. southwest) by Juan de Oñate, who establishes the city of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

1607: A group of merchants receive a charter from James I of England to found a settlement; they found Jamestown, Virginia.

1609: The first immigrants from the Netherlands arrive in the United States.

1619: Twenty African indentured servants arrive at Jamestown.

1620: The *Mayflower* arrives at America and the first European colony in New England is founded.

1624: Dutch immigrants found New Netherland, the first Dutch permanent settlement in the New World.

1624: Peter Minuit purchases the island of Manhattan from its Native American inhabitants.

1654: Jewish refugees from Brazil arrive in New Amsterdam; the Dutch West India Company allows them to stay.

1690: San Francisco de los Tejas, the first permanent Spanish settlement in Texas, is established.

1697: In South Carolina, four Jews become citizens.

1700: Spain begins settling Arizona.

1705: Virginia defines a “mulatto” as a person who is the child, grandchild, or great-grandchild of a black person.

1716: Spain begins settling Texas.

1738: Fort Mose, the first free black community in the United States, is established in Florida.

1752: An immigrant ship from the Netherlands arrives in Pennsylvania with only 21 of its original 340 passengers still alive; the remainder were dead from starvation.

1758: Founding of the first known African American church, the Bluestone Church, on a plantation in Virginia.

1767: Spain builds its first mission in California.

1770: The escaped slave Crispus Attucks is killed by the British during the Boston Massacre.

1775: Free black soldiers are allowed to enlist in the Continental army.

1787: The U.S. Constitution states that black slaves will be counted as three-fifths of a person for taxation and representation purposes.

1787: The African Free School is founded in New York City.

1790: U.S. Congress passes its first law regulating land sales with Native Americans.

1790: The first U.S. census is conducted, as required by the Constitution; persons are classified as white, other free person, or enslaved.

1790: The 1790 Naturalization Act establishes uniform criteria for becoming a naturalized American citizen: the individual must be a free white person, have lived in the United States for two years, apply for court approval, and take an

oath of allegiance if accepted; any of the person's children under age 21 are allowed to become citizens automatically.

1791: Thousands of exiles from France and Haiti arrive in the United States, fleeing the French Revolution and the Haitian slave uprising.

1793: The Fugitive Slave Act allows slave owners to reclaim their slaves, even if they are in non-slave states.

1793: Invention of the cotton gin makes cotton production on a large scale possible, thus greatly increasing the need for slave labor in fields in the south.

1794: The first AME (African Methodist Episcopal) church is founded in Philadelphia by Richard Allen.

1795: The United States and Spain sign the Treaty of San Lorenzo, allowing the United States to navigate the Mississippi River.

1798: The Alien Act gives the president the power to expel aliens considered to be dangerous.

1798: The Naturalization Act requires a person to live in the United States for 14 years before becoming a citizen; the previous requirement was five years.

1800: Free blacks are barred from entering South Carolina.

1803: The Louisiana Purchase brings large areas of formerly Spanish territory under U.S. control.

1804: William Wright begins transporting escaped slaves through Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the first known activity on the Underground Railroad that helped slaves escape to freedom.

1806: In Virginia, freed slaves are required to leave the state within a year of gaining their freedom.

1808: The importation of slaves is outlawed by U.S. Congress.

1818: The Delaware Treaty is adopted; it stipulates that the Delaware Indians will give up their lands in Indiana and receive other lands west of the Mississippi River.

1819: The 1819 Steerage Act establishes standards to be met by ships bringing passengers to the United States.

1820: The decennial U.S. census begins collecting data on non-naturalized foreigners.

1820: The Missouri Compromise regulates slavery in the western regions of the Louisiana Territory: slavery is permitted south of the 36°30' parallel and in Missouri, and prohibited north of the 36°30' parallel.

1821: Sequoyah creates a writing system for the Cherokee language: the Cherokee syllabary.

1821: The United States purchases Florida from Spain.

1821–30: Over 143,000 immigrants arrive in America, including over 50,000 from Ireland and over 25,000 from England, Scotland, and Wales.

1822: David Moncock, a Native American, graduates from West Point.

1824: Liberia is established in Africa by freed U.S. slaves.

1824: Dartmouth College, a private school in New Hampshire, begins admitting black students.

1827: The *Freedman's Journal* is founded, the first African American newspaper, in New York City.

1829: The Mexican government abolishes slavery.

1830: A Mexican army led by Antonio López de Santa Anna defeats an army of Anglo Texans at the Alamo; however, six weeks later Anglo Texas troops are triumphant and declare an independent Republic of Texas. Many Mexican residents choose to leave for Mexico.

1830: U.S. Congress passes the Indian Removal Act, allowing all Native Americans to be forcibly removed from the United States east of the Mississippi River.

1831: The *Liberator*, an abolitionist newspaper founded by William Lloyd Garrison, begins publication in Boston.

1831–40: Over 599,000 immigrants arrive in America, the greatest numbers from Ireland (207,654), Germany (152,454), and England, Scotland, and Wales (75,810).

1832: The U.S. Supreme Court rules, in *Worcester v. Georgia*, that the federal government may regulate Indian affairs.

1835: The U.S. Postal Service is forbidden by President Andrew Jackson from delivering abolitionist literature in southern states.

1839: Ohio passes a law authorizing German-English instruction for children, making it the first state with a bilingual education law.

1839: Slaves being brought to America on the Spanish vessel *La Amistad* take over the ship and eventually win their freedom in a trial concluded in 1840.

1841–50: Over 1.7 million immigrants arrive in America, including 780,719 from Ireland and 434,626 from Germany.

1843: B'nai B'rith, a Jewish service organization, is founded in New York City.

1845: Michigan creates the position of immigration agent, an individual sent to recruit new arrivals from New York; it is the first state to do so, but many follow suit, particularly after the Civil War.

1845: Texas becomes a state.

1847: New York State establishes a State Board of Commissioners of Immigration, which is allowed to inspect incoming ships and quarantine those with infectious diseases.

1847: Louisiana adopts a law authorizing bilingual education in French and English, the second state after Ohio to officially authorize bilingual education.

1847: The potato famine in Ireland fuels the immigration of large numbers of Irish people to the United States.

1848: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo establishes terms following the defeat of Mexico in the Mexican-American War; it allows the United States to annex extensive Mexican territory and grants U.S. citizenship to approximately 75,000 Mexicans living in this territory.

1848: Gold is discovered in California, triggering a wave of Chinese immigration.

1848: The first Chinese immigrants arrive in San Francisco.

1849: The American Israelites, the first national organization of Jewish congregations, is formed.

1850: The decennial U.S. census includes categories of white, black, and mulatto for free persons, and black and mulatto for slaves.

1850: The New Mexico Territory authorizes bilingual education in English and Spanish.

1850: California imposes a tax on foreign miners, and enforces it primarily on Chinese miners.

1851–60: Almost 2.6 million immigrants arrive in America, including 951,657 from Germany, 914,119 from Ireland, and 423,929 from England, Scotland, and Wales.

1852: Harriett Beecher Stowe publishes *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; it becomes a best seller and helps consolidate antislavery sentiments.

1852: 195 Chinese contract laborers arrive in Hawai'i.

1853: The United States purchases a large part of what is now New Mexico and Arizona from Mexico as part of the Gadsden Treaty.

1854: In California, the court decision in *People v. Hall* establishes that Chinese cannot testify against white Americans in court; the law remains on the books until 1872.

1854: In Hawai'i, Chinese residents establish a funeral society.

1857: In *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that slaves remained the property of their owners even when residing in a nonslave state, and that African Americans are not American citizens.

1859: Following the creation of cigar factories in Florida, Louisiana, and New York City, many Cubans emigrate to the United States to work in them.

1859: San Francisco creates a separate school for Chinese children and they are not allowed to attend any other public school. In 1885 it is renamed the Oriental School, and Korean and Japanese students are also assigned to this school.

1861–70: Over 2.3 million immigrants arrive in America, including 827,468 from Germany; 607,076 from England, Scotland, and Wales; 435,697 from Ireland; and 126,392 from Scandinavia.

1863: President Abraham Lincoln signs the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring slaves in Confederate states to be free.

1863: The first African American regular army regiment, the 54th Massachusetts, attacks Fort Wagner (Charleston, South Carolina); the regiment and the attack on Fort Wagner are later dramatized in the Oscar-winning feature film *Glory*.

1864: The Fugitive Slave Act is repealed.

1864: During the Civil War, the U.S. Congress rules that black soldiers must receive the same pay as white soldiers.

1865: The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution is ratified, outlawing slavery and the

Freedman's Bureau to assist newly freed slaves is created.

1865: Chinese laborers are recruited to work on constructing the transcontinental railroad.

1866: One year after the conclusion of the Civil War, the state of Virginia defines a "colored person" as someone having at least one-fourth Negro ancestry.

1866: In Tennessee, the Ku Klux Klan, a white supremacist organization, is founded.

1867: Maimonides College, the first rabbinical school in the United States, is founded in Philadelphia.

1867: The average ship passage from Europe to the United States lasts 14 days.

1868: The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution is ratified, making black Americans citizens.

1870: The decennial U.S. census includes a category for Native Americans (American Indians) and Chinese.

1871–80: Over 2.8 million immigrants arrive in America, including 718,182 from Germany; 548,043 from England, Scotland, and Wales; 436,871 from Ireland; and 242,934 from Scandinavia.

1872: Yung Wing, a Chinese-born Yale graduate and naturalized U.S. citizen, organizes the Chinese Education Mission to bring Chinese students to study in the United States.

1873: Slavery is abolished in Puerto Rico.

1875: U.S. Congress passes legislation prohibiting prostitutes and convicts from entering the country; this is the first federal restriction placed on immigration, as prior to this time the matter had been left up to the states.

1877: Japanese residents in San Francisco form the Gospel Society.

1880: The U.S. government bans the Ghost Dance, a Native American belief system.

1880: Henry Flipper becomes the first African American to graduate from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

1881: The Tuskegee Institute is founded by Booker T. Washington to educate free blacks.

1881: In Tennessee, the first of many “Jim Crow” laws is passed, segregating state railroads.

1881–90: Almost 5.3 million immigrants arrive in the United States, including over 1.4 million from Germany; 807,357 from England, Scotland, and Wales; 655,494 from Scandinavia; and 655,540 from Ireland. This decade also sees the first large number of immigrants from Italy (307,309), Austria-Hungary (362,719), and Russia and the Baltic States (213,282).

1882: Chinese immigration is severely restricted by the Chinese Exclusion Act; Chinese laborers are prohibited from entering the country for the next 10 years, those who transported Chinese laborers to the United States are subject to fines or imprisonment, and Chinese laborers who had been in the country in 1880 or earlier are required to register and given certificates identifying them.

1882: Chinese Americans in San Francisco found the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in San Francisco; a branch is founded in 1883 in New York City.

1882: In the peak year for immigration in the 19th century, 788,992 immigrants arrive in the United States, including 250,630 from Germany.

1882: Forty-eight steamship companies are competing on the Atlantic route from Europe to the United States; many establish prepaid ticket offices in the United States so people already in the United States can purchase tickets for relatives and friends in Europe to emigrate.

1882: In August, the Immigration Act prohibits the immigration of persons deemed unlikely to be

able to support themselves, including those with mental deficiencies.

1885: The Alien Labor Contract Law prohibits importation of foreign contract workers.

1886: The Jewish Theological Seminary is founded in New York City.

1888: Twenty-thousand Chinese reentry certificates are nullified by the Scott Act.

1890: The decennial U.S. census includes categories for white, black, mulatto, quadroon, and octoroon, as well as Japanese, Chinese, and Indian.

1890: The Wounded Knee Massacre takes place on the Lakota Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

1890: Mississippi passes a poll tax, requiring payment of a fee in order to be eligible to vote; this effectively removes most African Americans from the voting public.

1891–1900: Almost 3.7 million immigrants arrive in the United States, including 651,783 from Italy, 574,069 from Austria-Hungary, 505,281 from Russia and the Baltic States, and 505,152 from Germany.

1892: The federal immigration center on Ellis Island in New York Harbor begins processing immigrants; it will remain in operation until 1954.

1892: The Geary Act extends the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 for an additional 10 years.

1892: José Julián Martí y Pérez forms the Cuban Revolutionary Party (El Partido Revolucionario Cubano) in New York City; in 1895 he returns to Cuba to resist Spanish occupation.

1893: In Chicago, the National Council of Jewish Women is founded.

1893: In San Francisco, Japanese residents form the Japanese Shoemaker’s League, the first Japanese trade association in the United States.

1894: In *In re Saito*, a U.S. circuit court in Massachusetts declares that Japanese are not white and may not become naturalized citizens.

1896: The U.S. Supreme Court in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision establishes the principle that “separate but equal” accommodations do not violate the Constitution.

1897: The average ship’s passage from Europe to the United States takes only five days.

1897: Spain awards home rule to Puerto Rico and Cuba.

1897: In Hawai‘i, the Executive Council bans the importation of Korean contract laborers.

1897: The Yiddish-language newspaper *Jewish Daily Forward* is founded in New York City.

1898: In San Francisco, Japanese residents create the Young Men’s Buddhist Association.

1898: As part of the Treaty of Paris, concluding the Spanish-American War, Spain transfers Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba to the United States.

1898: Louisiana passes a grandfather clause limiting the right to vote to people whose fathers and grandfathers could vote in 1867, thus eliminating all African Americans from the pool of voters.

1899: Hawai‘i becomes a territory of the United States.

1899–1901: Following the Spanish-American War, the United States establishes a military government in Peru.

1900: Quarantine is imposed on San Francisco’s Chinatown after a bubonic plague scare.

1901: The Cuban constitution includes the Platt Amendment allowing the United States to intervene in Cuban affairs, and to maintain a naval base in Cuba; the amendment is repealed in 1934, although the naval base remains.

1901: U.S. citizenship is granted to members of the Five Civilized Tribes (the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Indians).

1901–10: Almost 8.8 million immigrants arrive in the United States, including over 2 million from Italy, 2.1 million from Austria-Hungary, and almost 1.6 million from Russia and the Baltic States.

1902: Cuba declares itself to be independent of the United States.

1903: Persons who may be excluded from immigrating to the United States include unaccompanied children and persons with tuberculosis.

1903: Oscar Straus becomes the first Jew to hold a cabinet position, as the secretary of labor and commerce for President Theodore Roosevelt.

1903: In Hawai‘i, the first Korean workers arrive.

1905: Koreans in San Francisco establish the Mutual Cooperation Federation.

1906: In California, Japanese nurserymen form the California Flower Growers Association.

1907: With the informal “Gentleman’s Agreement,” the Japanese agree to limit immigration to the United States, and the U.S. government agrees not to prohibit such immigration outright.

1907: President Theodore Roosevelt signs Executive Order 589, prohibiting Japanese with passports from Canada, Mexico, or Hawai‘i to immigrate to the United States.

1909: W. E. B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells, Mary White Ovington, Henry Moskowitz, and William English Walling found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

1909: In Hawai‘i, some 7,000 Japanese agricultural workers go on strike.

1910: The Angel Island Immigration Station opens in San Francisco.

1911–20: Over 5.7 million immigrants arrive in the United States, including over 1.2 million from Italy, 921,957 from Russia and the Baltic States, and 901,656 from Austria-Hungary.

1912: Hadassah, the Women’s Zionist Association of America, is founded by Henrietta Szold.

1913: The Anti-Defamation League is founded following the trial of Leo Frank, a Jewish factory supervisor convicted of murdering a 13-year-old-girl; Frank was lynched in 1915.

1913: In California, aliens ineligible for citizenship are prohibited from purchasing land or leasing it for more than three years; Arizona passes a similar law in 1917, as do Washington and Louisiana in 1921.

1916: Louis Brandeis is appointed to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court, making him the first Jewish member of the court.

1917: Federal law bans immigration by illiterates over the age of 16 and almost all Asian immigrants.

1917: In Hawai‘i, Syngman Rhee, who would later become the president of South Korea, founds the Korean Christian Church.

1917: Residents of Puerto Rico become U.S. citizens under the Jones Act.

1918: In California, Asian Indians form the Hindustani Welfare Reform Association.

1918: Asian veterans of World War I are given the right to become naturalized citizens.

1919: In Hawai‘i, the Federation of Japanese Labor is formed.

1921: U.S. Congress creates a system of national quotas, based on the percentage of foreign-born persons from each country who were residing in the United States in 1910.

1921–30: Over 4.1 million immigrants arrive in the United States, including 455,313 from Italy;

412,202 from Germany; and 330,168 from England, Scotland, and Wales.

1922: In *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court determines that Japanese are not white and thus not eligible for naturalization.

1924: The Johnson-Reed Act sets a national immigration quota for each country at 2 percent of the foreign-born persons from that country recorded in the 1890 U.S. census.

1924: The Virginia Racial Purity Act establishes the famous “one drop” rule: any person with any African ancestry at all is considered black.

1924: Immigration from Asia is banned by the Oriental Exclusion Act.

1924: In Hawai‘i, 1,600 Filipino agricultural workers go on strike for eight months.

1925: The Filipino Federation of America is founded by Hilario Moncado.

1925: A. Philip Randolph founds the first predominantly black labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

1926: Gertrude Bonnin founds the National Council of American Indians.

1929: The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the oldest Hispanic civil rights organization in the United States, is founded in Texas.

1930: The decennial U.S. census includes racial categories of white, Negro, Mexican, American Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hindu, and Korean, with other races to be written out in full.

1931: The Scottsboro Boys, nine black young men, are convicted of raping two white women; the convictions are reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1932, on the grounds that the defendants did not receive adequate counsel.

1935: In *United States v. Creek Nation*, the U.S. Supreme Court orders that the U.S. government

must compensate the Creek Nation for lands seized over 100 years prior.

1940: The Filipino Federated Agricultural Laborers Association is chartered by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), a federation of labor unions.

1941: Japan attacks the United States at Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i.

1942: The Bracero program allows Mexican nationals to work as laborers in the United States on a temporary basis. In the first year, 4,203 workers participate in the program; in the program's peak year of 1959, 437,643 workers participate; by 1964, the last year of the program, the program dwindles to 177,736 workers.

1942: In February, Executive Order 9066 allows the internment of about 110,000 persons of Japanese descent, without regard to their citizenship status; the order is not officially rescinded until 1976.

1942: The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is founded in Chicago.

1943: Federal troops are used to end protests in Detroit, Michigan, by African Americans excluded from civil defense jobs.

1943: In southern California, Mexican Americans are attacked during the "Zoot Suit" riots.

1943: The ban on Chinese immigration is repealed.

1944: The United Negro College Fund is created.

1944: Large numbers of laborers migrate from Puerto Rico to the United States.

1945: The War Brides Act facilitates immigration by foreign spouses and children of American servicemen; a 1947 amendment allows Chinese American veterans to bring their brides to the United States.

1946: The Indian Claims Commission Act provides a means for Native American tribes to sue the U.S. government for lands taken from them.

1946: Jesús Toribio Piñero Jiménez is the first Puerto Rican native to be named governor of Puerto Rico.

1946: All Filipinos living in the United States are offered citizenship.

1947: In California, *Mendez v. Westminster* prohibits segregation of Mexican American students in schools.

1947: Jackie Robinson becomes the first black player in Major League Baseball.

1948: Brandeis University is founded in Waltham, Massachusetts; it is the first Jewish-sponsored, nonsectarian institution of higher education.

1948: President Harry S. Truman ends segregation in the armed forces with Executive Order 9981.

1948: The Displaced Persons Act allows the immigration to the United States of over 200,000 displaced persons, in addition to those allowed in under the national quotas; in 1950 the number of displaced persons allowed to immigrate increases.

1950: The African American diplomat Ralph Bunche is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

1950: Puerto Rico becomes a Commonwealth.

1950: Poet Gwendolyn Brooks becomes the first African American to win a Pulitzer Prize.

1952: The McCarran-Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act makes several key changes to U.S. immigration law, including establishing preferences for those with relatives already in the United States and eliminating race as a barrier to entry.

1953: The Refugee Relief Act, initially called the Emergency Migration Act, was passed by U.S. Congress. It allows more refugees to immigrate, independent of the national quotas.

1954: In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the "separate but equal" standard is unconstitutional.

1954: Medgar Evers files suit against the University of Mississippi after he is denied admission to the law school because of his race.

1954–58: An estimated 3.8 million Mexican descent are deported during Operation Wetback, an effort to crack down on undocumented workers.

1955: The Montgomery Bus Boycott begins when Rosa Parks is arrested for refusing to give up her seat on the bus; the end result is a 1956 ruling that segregation on public transportation is unconstitutional.

1955: The first Spanish-language television channel in the United States is established in San Antonio, Texas.

1957: The United States becomes the country with the largest Jewish population in the world.

1957: Martin Luther King, Jr., founds the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

1959: Hawai‘i becomes a state.

1959: Cuban migration to the United States increases after the Cuban Revolution.

1960: Racial segregation in Greensboro, North Carolina, is protested by lunch counter sit-ins.

1960: John F. Kennedy becomes the first Catholic elected president of the United States.

1961: The United States cuts diplomatic ties with Cuba.

1961: The Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, led by Cuban exiles trained in the United States, is a spectacular failure.

1962: Jackie Robinson becomes the first black baseball player elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame.

1962: Daniel K. Inouye is elected to the U.S. Senate from Hawai‘i, and Spark Matsunaga is elected to the U.S. Senate from Hawai‘i.

1962: The Migration and Refugee Assistance Act allows the immigration of more refugees.

1962: César Chávez and Dolores Huerta found the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

1963: Martin Luther King, Jr., makes his “I Have a Dream” speech in Washington, D.C., as part of the civil rights march on Washington.

1963: Civil rights leader Medgar Evers is assassinated by Byron De La Beckwith; after two trials ending in hung juries, De La Beckwith remains free until 1994, when a new trial results in his conviction of first-degree murder.

1964: Poll taxes are outlawed by the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the Constitution.

1964: Voter registration campaigns in Mississippi are dubbed the Freedom Summer.

1964: The Civil Rights Act outlaws many forms of discrimination against racial and ethnic groups; Title VII of the act establishes the Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) to monitor implementation.

1964: Martin Luther King, Jr., is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

1965: The Immigration Act makes several key changes to the rules governing immigration, including abolition of the national origins system, establishing a limit of 20,000 immigrants from any country; and admitting qualified immigrants in order of application. It also affirms the preference for those with relatives in the United States and with needed occupational skills.

1965: The Organization of American States (OAS) lifts its economic and diplomatic sanctions on Cuba.

1965: In Los Angeles, the Watts race riots result in over 1,000 injuries and over 3,000 arrests. The rioting lasts six days.

1966–73: About 10 percent of the population of Cuba emigrates to the United States.

1967: In *Loving v. Virginia*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidates all state laws banning marriage between people of different races.

1968: The Black Panther Party is founded in Oakland, California.

1968: The Bilingual Education Act encourages school systems to include native-language instruction for children whose first language is not English.

1968: At San Francisco State University, students strike to demand programs in ethnic studies.

1969: At the University of California, Berkeley, students strike to demand programs in ethnic studies.

1970: Spanish becomes the most frequently spoken language other than English in the United States, replacing Italian.

1970: A protest in Los Angeles draws attention to the fact that Hispanics form a disproportionate number of the American casualties in the Vietnam War.

1971: The Congressional Black Caucus is organized.

1971: In Crystal City, Texas, the La Raza Unida Party is triumphant by winning a total of 15 city council and school board seats.

1974: In *Lau v. Nichols*, the U.S. Supreme Court mandates bilingual instruction for children with limited English language skills.

1975: Over 130,000 refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Lao Republic arrive in the United States.

1975: The Voting Rights Act Amendments permanently ban literacy tests as a condition of voting, and require that bilingual ballots be provided in certain areas.

1978: The U.S. Congress creates a uniform preference system for immigrants, and a worldwide annual ceiling of 290,000.

1978: The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, determines that the practice of setting aside places at the Medical School of the University of California, Davis, for members of under-represented minority groups is unconstitutional.

1978: Large numbers of Vietnamese refugees, dubbed “boat people” because of their means of fleeing their country, arrive in the United States.

1979: The United States resumes diplomatic relations with China.

1980: The Mariel boatlift departs from Mariel Harbor in Cuba, bringing about 125,000 Cuban emigrants to the United States.

1980: On the decennial census, 11 percent of U.S. residents over the age of 5 report speaking a language other than English at home.

1980: The decennial U.S. census includes a question about Hispanic origin as well as a question about race.

1980: The Refugee Act increases the annual immigration ceiling to 320,000, increases the number of refugees admitted to 50,000 annually, and broadens the definition of “refugee.”

1986: The Immigration Reform and Control Act grants amnesty to persons who entered the United States illegally before 1982, and prohibits employers from knowingly hiring illegal immigrants.

1988: The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act permits gambling on reservations.

1988: The American Homecoming Act allows the children of American fathers and Vietnamese mothers to immigrate to the United States.

1988: Laura F. Cavazos becomes the first Hispanic to be appointed secretary of education.

1989: The United States agrees to pay \$20,000 in reparations to each of the surviving Japanese placed in internment camps in the United States during World War II.

1989: Mexico accounts for 37.1 percent of immigration to the United States, followed by El Salvador with 5.3 percent.

1990: The Immigration Act creates the category of “diversity visas” and increases the total number of nonrefugee immigrants to 675,000 annually.

1990: On the decennial census, 13.8 percent of U.S. residents over the age of 5 report speaking a language other than English at home.

1991: A Bureau of Indian Affairs inventory finds that 80 percent of federally recognized tribes base membership on blood relationships, with a range of half to 1/64th.

1991: An amateur videographer captures Los Angeles police officers beating a black suspect, Rodney King; the tape is widely publicized, and when the police officers are acquitted in 1992, race riots break out in Los Angeles. A group particularly damaged by the riots are Koreans who own many shops in the neighborhood where the riots occur.

1991: Black Entertainment Television (BET) becomes the first black-owned company traded on the New York Stock Exchange.

1992: The Chinese Student Protection Act allows Chinese students, in the United States between June 1989 and April 1990 following the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, to become immigrants.

1992: A referendum in Puerto Rico indicates a preference for independence.

1992: The United Nations condemns the U.S. embargo on Cuba; in 1998, Pope John Paul II will also criticize the U.S. embargo.

1993: Toni Morrison becomes the first black American to win the Nobel Prize for Literature.

1994: In California, Proposition 187 bars illegal immigrants from receiving many government benefits.

1994: The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) comes into effect, eliminating tariffs among Canada, Mexico, and the United States over the next 15 years.

1994: Former football star O. J. Simpson is charged with murdering his wife and another man; the trial in 1995 highlights differing perceptions of black and white Americans and makes the term *jury nullification* commonly known.

1995: The Million Man March on Washington, D.C., is organized by Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam, to draw attention to issues faced by the African American community.

1996: The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act creates several barriers to illegal immigration, including stricter procedures applicable to those who seek asylum, greater responsibilities placed on sponsors of immigrants, and revised regulations so it becomes easier to deport illegal immigrants. The act also increases manpower within the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and authorizes creation of border fences to discourage illegal immigration.

1996: Access to public assistance programs is limited for legal immigrants in the first five years in the United States by the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act.

1996: In California, Proposition 209 bans affirmative action in education, state hiring, and public contracts; in 1997, the proposition is ruled constitutional by a California court.

1997: At 21, Tiger Woods becomes the youngest Masters champion and the first major championship winner of African or Asian heritage.

1997: The Latin Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences is founded, headquartered in Miami; the academy grants the first Latin Grammy Awards in 2000.

1998: In Jasper, Texas, a black man, James Byrd, Jr., is murdered by being dragged to his death by a truck.

1998: In California, Proposition 227 limits bilingual education.

1998: DNA evidence is released suggesting that Thomas Jefferson fathered a child with one of his slaves, Sally Hemings.

1999: In a highly publicized case, the 6-year-old Cuban Elián González, rescued off the coast of Florida during an attempt to immigrate (his mother dies during the attempt), becomes the center of an international controversy as relatives want to keep him in the United States while his father wants him returned to Cuba. Eventually, Elián returns to Cuba with his father.

2000: U.S. Congress passes a law to facilitate the naturalization of Lao nationals who had served with the United States during the Vietnam War.

2000: On the decennial census, 17.9 percent of U.S. residents over the age of 5 report speaking a language other than English at home.

2000: Venus Williams becomes the first black woman since Althea Gibson to win the singles title at Wimbledon, one of the four Grand Slam tournaments of tennis.

2002: Jennifer Rodriguez becomes the first Cuban American to compete in the Winter Olympics, winning two bronze medals in speed skating. In the same Olympics, Derek Parra wins a gold and silver medal in speed skating, becoming the first Mexican American to medal in the Winter Olympics.

2002: Halle Berry wins the Academy Award for Best Actress for her performance in *Monster's Ball*; she is the first black woman to win Best Actress.

2003: Voter ID laws are passed in Alabama, Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota; the laws are meant to prevent voter fraud, including voting by noncitizens, but are also believed to limit voting among the poor and disenfranchised, who may not have the required type of identification.

2003: Hispanics become the largest minority group in the United States.

2005: The American Community Survey estimates that 1.9 percent of Americans are of two or more races; the state with the highest percentage is Hawai'i, at 21 percent, while the state with the lowest percentage is Mississippi at 0.9 percent.

2007: The American Community Survey estimates that almost 38.1 million foreign-born persons are living in the United States, including 10.2 million from Asia, 5 million from Europe, 21.3 million from the Americas, and 1.4 million from Africa.

2008: The U.S. Department of Justice begins an investigation of Joe Arpaio, sheriff of Maricopa County, Arizona, on the charge of racial profiling.

2010: Arizona passes S.B. 1070, requiring law enforcement officials to determine the immigration status of anyone stopped for any reason (e.g., a traffic stop); it also requires aliens to carry their registration documents at all times.

2010: The American Community Survey estimates that almost 40 million foreign-born people are living in the United States, including 11.3 million from Asia, 1.6 million from Africa, 22 million from the Americas, and 4.8 million from Europe.

2011: Maryland and Connecticut join 10 other states that allow undocumented immigrants to pay tuition for college or university at the in-state rate.

2011: Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, and Utah pass laws similar to Arizona's S.B. 1070, requiring law enforcement officials to determine the immigration status of anyone stopped for another reason (e.g., a traffic stop); the Alabama law also requires schools to verify the immigration status of their students.

2011: Members of minority racial and ethnic groups make up a majority of U.S. births in the period ending July 2011, and one in nine U.S. counties have a majority of residents from minority racial and ethnic groups.

2012: In January, Jeremy Lin becomes the first Chinese American to be a starter on an National Basketball Association (NBA) team.

2012: In January, anthropology professor Theodore Schnur and colleagues publish a study in the *American Journal of Human Genetics* providing evidence of genetic similarities between native Americans and residents of Russia's Altaic region.

2012: In March, a Wisconsin law requiring photo identification (ID) to vote is found unconstitutional.

2012: In March, the U.S. Department of Justice denies pre-clearance of a 2011 Texas voter ID law; in August, a federal district court also denies pre-clearance of the law.

2012: In June, President Barack Obama issues a policy that grants two years of immunity from deportation to immigrants who were brought illegally to the United States as children; requirements include that they arrived in the United States before age 16, and are attending school, have graduated from high school, or have been honorably discharged from military service.

2012: In June, the U.S. Supreme Court rejects much of an Arizona immigration law, but allows one controversial measure to stand: the right of state law enforcement officials to question the immigration status of anyone stopped for any other reason.

2012: In June, a study by the Pew Research Center finds that Asians are now the fastest-growing category of immigrants, surpassing Hispanics.

2012: In August, the Republican Party adopts a platform that would deny federal financing to universities allowing undocumented immigrants to pay tuition at the in-state rate.

2012: In August, a federal district court in Florida rules that Florida residents who are citizens may not be charged tuition at the out-of-state rates due to the immigration status of their parents; a similar ruling in New Jersey determines that a student cannot be denied financial aid for higher education based on his or her parents' immigration status.

2013: In February, leaders of high-tech companies such as Mozilla and AOL organize a "virtual march for immigration reform" to push for reforms that make it easier for highly skilled immigrants to come to the United States.

2013: In February, the president of Emory University (Atlanta), James W. Wagner, sparks protests after he praises a compromise in the U.S. Constitution that allowed slaves to be counted as three-fifths of a free person.

2013: In March, a report from the Pew Hispanic Center finds that the digital divide between Latino Americans and white Americans is narrowing but that a more substantial divide exists between U.S.-born and foreign-born Latinos.

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Part I: U.S. Census Essays

African American Categorization

Categorization of black community members refers to the specific terminology utilized to refer to or to talk with or about African American individuals throughout U.S. census history (e.g., slaves, Negroes, or blacks). The U.S. Census Bureau explains that one is considered black and/or African American if their ethnic origins can be traced to Africa. Typically, African American denotes someone who was born and raised in the United States and has black skin. The term *black*, however, comprises people from all areas of the black diaspora, including those individuals with ancestors who endured forced migration into the transatlantic slave trade. The categorization of the black and/or African American community has impacted both the historical development of multicultural America and the contemporary American multicultural mosaic.

Language used to refer to cultural groups today illustrates how historical and present categorizations have shaped and continue to mold perceptions of the black and/or African American community, for cultural members and nonmembers alike. As the current U.S. multicultural landscape grows into more tolerant and comfortable terrain for all cultural groups, it is vital to understand the ways in which racial categorization terms both enhance and hinder this effort. Examining past and current racial categorizations and their implications is central to analyzing the current multicultural landscape as it was impacted by the historical development.

U.S. Census Categorizations: 1790 to 1899

The sorts of questions asked by census-takers have evolved dramatically over the last 220 years.

In 1790, the U.S. census referred to blacks or African Americans as slaves or free persons. However, according to Dr. Brenda Allen, no category for race was listed on the first census. Specifically, as the head of household reported the number of individuals present, they specified whether someone was white and free, another free person, or reported the number of “slaves.” Names, other than the head of household, were not reported.

For the 1800 census, instead of reporting the number of free white males, the census requested that age be specified. For example, the name of the head of household was listed. Thereafter, the number of free white males and females was requested by age: under 10, between 10 and 16, between 16 and 26, between 26 and 45, and over 45. For the black or African American community members, the census asked for the number of each free person of color and the number of “slaves” of all ages.

The 1810 census repeated the 1800 census questions and only personally named the head of household on the form. No other changes were made.

The 1820 census also names only the head of household. However, it posed several additional questions and requested the following information: number of free white males between 16 and 18 years old; number of free persons, with the exception of Indians; number of persons not naturalized; number of persons involved in agriculture, commercial, or manufacture occupations; and number of colored persons.

The 1830 census was more specific. Age was reported in five-year brackets up to age 20. Thereafter, age was reported in 10-year increments. Members of the black or African American

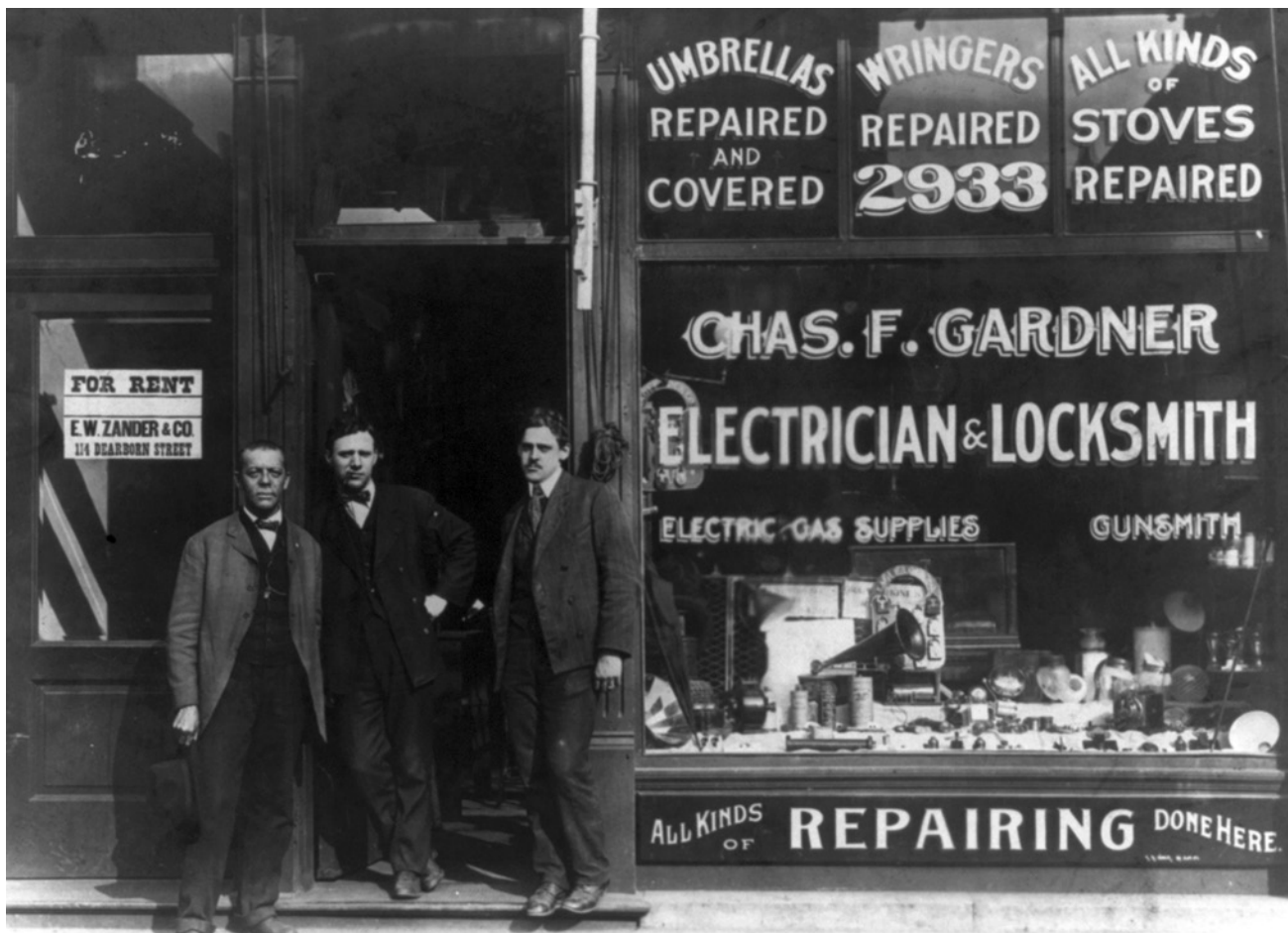
community were categorized as slaves and the census differentiated between the number of male and female slaves and free black males and females. This census report also inquired about the number of deaf and dumb slaves, deaf and dumb free blacks, and blind slaves and free blacks. For black community members, age ranges were reported as age 10 or younger, between 10 and 24, between 24 and 36, between 36 and 55, between 55 and 100, and over 100.

The 1840 census added a question regarding the number of idiotic or insane slaves and idiotic or insane free blacks.

The 1850 census asked for the name of every free person or family member who lived in the household or occupied the residence. Under this section, the census inquired as to the color of the

free persons: white, black, or mulatto. The 1850 census also reported the number of slave inhabitants, including the name of the slave owner and the number of slaves. The census also asked slaves' ages, biological sex, skin color, whether they were free or fugitives, the number manumitted, and the number of deaf, blind, mute, insane, and dumb slaves. The 1850 census was the last one in which members of the black or African American community were listed as "slaves" on a U.S. census questionnaire.

The 1860 census asked the head of household to disclose the number of "slave houses" in a household. Between 1860 and 1870, many congressional changes occurred that impacted the 1870 census questions. In 1865, slavery was abolished with the Thirteenth Amendment, and



Three men in the doorway of a Chicago store owned by Charles F. Gardner, electrician and locksmith. At the time this photograph was taken, thought to be around 1899, it was the only "Negro" store of its kind in the United States. In 1900, the census began recording the names of black individuals even if they did not own their houses or live with white people, which was a significant development.

in 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment considered former enslaved people to be citizens. In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment permitted black men the right to vote.

From the 1870 census onward, all persons were classified as free inhabitants. However, the census asked for descriptions. In 1870, the categories for African Americans were listed as colors. Occupational information was also requested. People were listed as belonging to one of the following colors: white, black, mulatto (one black and one white parent), Chinese, or Indian. This census marked a change for members of the black community by allowing free black male heads of households to list their name, if they had their own house. Before 1870, blacks were counted merely as number of slaves.

The 1880 census adopted the same questions as before but also inquired about the head of household's relationship to persons residing in his household. Specifically, whether they were his wife, son, daughter, servant, boarder, or other, and also asked general questions about education and health, such as whether one had attended school within the census year, if that person could read or write, and whether one was maimed, crippled, bedridden, or otherwise disabled.

Most of the 1890 census results were lost in a fire. However, the questionnaire survived and revealed more questions about racial categories, for individuals with African origin or black skin: black, mulatto, quadroon (one-quarter black), and/or octoroon (up to one-eighth black). The questionnaire also asked whether a person had served in the Civil War and which side they had fought for.

The 1900s to the Present

U.S. census questions in 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940 did not include predetermined categories for racial categorization or color. Instead, persons were able to specify color or race themselves. The 1900 census also began recording the name of each person in the household.

The census in these years marked a number of changes for members of the black community. Starting in 1900, the names of all persons were recorded. This is significant, because even if black individuals did not own their houses, or lived with white people, their names were recorded from

1900 onward. Additionally, the 1900 U.S. census began asking for the birthplace of each inhabitant, as well as father and mother. For the black community, this information provided significant knowledge regarding their ancestors' forced passage through the transatlantic slave trade.

No racial categories were listed from 1900 to 1940. However, these categories returned with the 1950 questionnaire. Here, black people were specifically categorized as "Negro." The return of this categorization may be related to the "one drop rule," which formally designated anyone with African heritage as black if they reported "one drop" black heritage. The 1960 census continued to categorize blacks as Negro, though, as the years progressed, the census asked more demographic questions.

The 1970 and 1980 censuses inquired whether individuals were Negro or black and included a space for other race. The 1970 and 1980 census also asked about ethnic information, desiring to know one's origin or descent. However, the 1980 questions were specifically worded to gain ancestral information, while the 1990 census categorized African Americans as black or Negro and did not ask about ancestry.

The 2000 census categorized individuals with black skin as black, African American, or Negro. This questionnaire also permitted persons to check multiple boxes simultaneously. An open-ended box was included for individuals to list ancestry or ethnic origin. The 2010 census also categorized individuals with black skin as black, African American, or Negro, provided 15 racial categories, and permitted people to avow another racial category.

Future Communicative Implications on U.S. Cultural Mosaic

The mission of the census to provide a complete and detailed picture of the U.S. population makes some form of racial and ethnic categorization inevitable. Categorization is not an inherently bad thing. Scholars Ron Jackson and Rex Crawley explain categorizations denote the visible recognition of difference. Categories are useful to the extent that they provide information about that which was categorized. However, categories are not always positive or accurate. This problem is communicated through the utilization of specific

census categories like slave or Negro. The Census Bureau decided to drop Negro as a listed option for 2020. The racial categories are themselves infused with meaning. In this regard, categorizations are embedded with overarching generalizations about individuals or groups of people, which may be prejudiced.

Census designers continue to face a choice of which racial and ethnic groups to include on the form. Consequently, the census continues to push some racial identities to the foreground while moving others to the background. This communicates worth and value as much as the label used to symbolize a cultural group. This fact continues to be problematic. The choice of categories available, the ability to select multiple categories, the language used to describe categories, and the meaning embedded within chosen language all carry profound implications for the black community.

Since 1790, the number of racial categories offered on the form and the flexibility of those categories has increased. However, despite this apparent progress, it is unlikely that the census could ever offer a complete and exhaustive list of racial categories. A white person of South African descent, for instance, would have to decide whether to check the box for black, African American, and/or Negro. Immigration and interracial marriages suggest that the complexity of Americans' racial identities will continue to increase, casting further doubt on the ability of any list of racial categories to fully capture a citizen's identity.

What seems to be problematic is the inability the census has to provide a picture of the U.S. population without creating names, labels, and categorizations for cultures of people. As Mark Hopson explains, giving individuals the ability to define their own racial identity gives them a voice. This is important in the black experience. As our society becomes more diverse, it becomes imperative for individuals to avow their own racial and ethnic identities.

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See Also: African Americans; Constitutional Amendments; Ethnic Studies; Slavery.

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Age Distribution

The American population continues to grow older, with the median age exceeding 40 in many states and the number of older men, in particular, increasing. Age data has been well tracked over American history: it is one of the few pieces of information, along with sex, that was asked in the original 1790 census and has been asked on every census since. In the 2010 census, age data was derived from two questions: the age of the person, and the date of birth, with instructions to list babies as 0 years old if they were less than 1 year old. These instructions were added as of the 2010 census in order to reduce reporting problems for babies, whose respondents often listed their ages in terms of days, weeks, or months. Age information is used to implement and evaluate programs like the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, the Civil Rights Act, the Women's Educational Equity Act, the Older Americans Act, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, and the Job Training Partnership Act, as well as by the policy-making and service development bodies of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Department of Education, Department of Health and Human Services, Department of the Interior, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

American age groups are sometimes discussed in terms of specific generations or cohorts: it makes more sense to talk about trends common to the Baby Boomers, for instance, who were born during a population growth spike following the end of World War II, than it does to talk about the trends common to a specific age group, given the expectation that behaviors and trends will "follow" the Boomers as they age out of one group and into the next. The Depression

generation, for instance, experienced the peak of European immigration, two world wars, and the Great Depression, and grew up in a time when Americanization and acculturation were stressed; they have often retained certain attitudes and behaviors shaped by these experiences. All generational boundaries being fuzzy, they overlap with "the Greatest Generation," a term popularized by television journalist Tom Brokaw, who wrote about the generation that fought World War II and subsequently established mainstream mid-century American culture. Many of them were also active in the civil rights movement.

Some call the next generation the Silent Generation, those born at one of the lowest birth-rate periods in American history, from the Great Depression through World War II. They grew up during the peak of jazz music, the early days of rock and roll, the paranoia of anticommunist McCarthyism, the beginnings of the Cold War, and the beginnings of the drug culture, and tend toward social conservatism. The Baby Boomer generation followed, with the generational boundaries defined variously by different sociologists and historians, but accounting for the sizable increase in birthrate following World War II, both as a result of soldiers returning home and because of the return of American prosperity. Baby Boomers, one of the largest generations in American history, were active in the civil rights movement and the subsequent social-political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, mainstreamed the environmental movement, and popularized social cause involvement, spiritualism and alternative lifestyles, tolerance and individualism, feminism, and social improvements through government

programs, such as Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty program. Many minority Baby Boomers were responsible for the early growth of ethnic and racial identity groups like the Black Panthers, the American Indian Movement, and the Chicano movement. The Asian American movement developed slightly later.

There is no consensus label for the next generation, which grew up in the disillusioned 1970s, amid the aftermath of the Watergate scandal, the height of antiwar sentiment with regard to the Vietnam War, rampant gasoline shortages and repeated energy crises, and witnessed many social activist Baby Boomers leave behind activism in favor of the "Me Decade," encounter groups, and yuppie-ism. This generation is generally considered predisposed toward cynicism and is also credited with the rise of born-again Christianity and a fervently conservative approach to the War on Drugs.

Generation X is well known, though there is great dispute about its generational boundaries. Beginning with Americans born in the mid-1960s, its boundary is either the late 1970s or the mid-1980s: first popularized in reference to Americans then in their early 20s in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it continued to be used in reference to "20-something" Americans for the rest of the decade. Generation X has alternately been called a generation of slackers and a generation of innovative entrepreneurs. It is the first generation in which single-parent households were common among all socioeconomic classes and the first generation to grow up with *Sesame Street* and other modern elements of childhood. The Millennials are the first generation to grow up with Internet access and will be similarly marked by the contraction of the job market following the global financial crisis coinciding with their arrival in the workforce.



Clifton Jackson, a resident of Noorvik, Alaska, a remote Inupiaq Eskimo village above the Arctic Circle, was the first person in the United States to be counted as the 2010 census began. He was a veteran of World War II, making him a member of the "Greatest Generation," and was 89 years old in January 2010. Age is one of the few categories to have appeared on every census since 1790.

The population in 2010 was 308.7 million, a 9.7 percent increase over 2000, similar to the 9.8 percent increase experienced from 1980 to 1990 but slower than the 13 percent growth experienced from 1990 to 2000. Of the respondents, 157 million (50.8 percent) were female, and 151.8 million (49.2 percent) were male. The male population grew slightly faster (9.9 percent growth) than the female population (9.5 percent).

Older age groups increased more quickly. The greatest growth was experienced by the 45–64 age group, which increased 31.5 percent due to the ongoing aging of the Baby Boomer generation (born 1946 to 1964). A full age group breakdown follows:

- Under 18: 74,181,467; 24 percent of the population, 2.6 percent growth
- Under 5: 20,201,362; 6.5 percent of the population, 5.3 percent growth
- 5 to 17: 53,980,105; 17.5 percent of the population, 1.6 percent growth
- 18 to 44 years old: 112,806,642; 36.5 percent of the population, 0.6 percent growth
- 18 to 24 years old: 30,672,088; 9.9 percent of the population, 13 percent growth.
- 25 to 44 years old: 82,134,554; 26.6 percent of the population, 3.4 percent decrease.
- 45 to 64 years old: 81,489,445. 26.4 percent of the population, 31.5 percent growth.
- 65 years and older: 40,267,984; 13 percent of the population, 15.1 percent growth

The median age of the country in the 2010 census is 37.2 years old, a historic high. The northeast was the oldest region (39.2), followed by the midwest (37.7), south (37), and west (35.6). The oldest states were Maine (42.7), Vermont (41.5), West Virginia (41.3), New Hampshire (41.1), and Florida (40.7).

The median age varied considerably by ethnicity. Non-Hispanic whites had a median age of 42 (40 men, 43 women). Foreign-born Hispanics had a median age of 38 (37 men, 39 women). Non-Hispanic Asians had a median age of 35 (34 men, 36 women). Non-Hispanic blacks had a median age of 32 (30 men, 34 women). Non-Hispanic persons reporting more than one race or a race other than white, black, or Asian had a median age of 23 (22 men, 24 women). Native-born Hispanics had a median age of 18 (17 men, 18 women).

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See Also: Age and Ethnic Diversity; Class and Ethnic Diversity; Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay).

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Alaska Native Categorization

Alaska Natives include the various indigenous people of Alaska, a bit over 100,000 people including the Inupiaq, Yupik, Aleut, Eyak, Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian peoples, and several Northern Athabaskan cultures: the Ahtna, Deg Hit'an, Dena'ina, Gwich'in, Han, Holikachuk, Kolchan, Koyukon, Lower Tanana, Tanacross, and Upper Tanana peoples. Alaska Natives include Eskimos—the Inupiaq and Yupik—but are not limited to or synonymous with them.

Alaska Natives arrived in Alaska thousands of years ago, when Paleolithic Siberians crossed the Bering Land Bridge from Asia to the Americas. Russia claimed Alaska in the 18th century as part of its brief foray into colonizing the New World. Russians were the first Europeans to land on the northwestern American coast. The Russian colonial period was marked by slavery of the Aleuts, a wide fur trade, and the decimation of many populations exposed to Old World diseases to which they possessed no immunity. When the fur trade declined due to unsustainable hunting practices, Russia sought a sale and transferred its claim to Alaska to the United States for \$7.2 million in 1867.

Alaska Natives and U.S. Law

Because there have been no treaties between Alaska Natives and the federal government, the federal-Native relationship has been defined by statutory actions. When the United States first took over Alaska from Russia, the federal government did not initially deal with Alaska Natives at all. The 1867 Treaty of Cession, which transferred the lands to the United States, distinguished between “uncivilized tribes” and other “inhabitants of

the ceded territory.” These other “inhabitants,” by implication whites, were given citizenship in the United States and guaranteed “the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.” The uncivilized tribes, on the other hand, were “subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may, from time to time, adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country.”

Those who were categorized as uncivilized tribes under American rule were for the most part those who had been classified as such by the Russian government. Federal Indian law was applied inconsistently at first, but only because of the general inattention of the government to Alaska. It was clear by the 1884 Organic Act (an early move toward statehood, which created Alaska as a judicial district with federally appointed authorities) that the federal government saw no legal distinction between the natives of Alaska and the natives of the rest of the country, and the issue of whether or not a Native was “civilized” proved relevant only in cases to do with school attendance.

The first federal actions that implied a difference between Alaska Natives and Native Americans were actually to the detriment of Alaska Natives. While federal treaties with Native Americans had accepted the premise that Native American tribes had claims of aboriginal title to large amounts of property—the acceptance of that premise being the very reason why federal recognition of tribal identity is legally important—the land laws enforced in Alaska admitted no such premise, and granted to “Indians or other persons” only that land “actually in their use or occupation,” meaning that while a tribe in the southwest might be admitted to own millions

of acres by ancestral right, Alaska Natives were acknowledged to own only the land they were actually putting to current use. This was an enormous difference, especially considering the size of Alaska, and implied a legally relevant difference between Alaska Natives and Native Americans.

Further, the judicial district of Alaska did not apply the body of federal law making up Indian trade laws until 1948; until that time, Alaska was considered separate from “Indian country,” and by extension, Alaska Natives distinct from American Indians. The Department of the Interior explicitly held, at least in the 19th century, that Alaska Natives did not have the same relationship with the federal government that Native Americans did.

Until 1905 no legal distinction was made between Native and non-Native residents for the purposes of federal educational services provided under the Organic Act. It was the Bureau of Education (now the Department of Education) that was responsible for providing education for Alaska Natives—as for all Alaskans—not the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There was also no Indian agency in Alaska.

In the 1886 case *In re Sah Quah* (1886), the Alaska federal district court ruled that Alaska Natives had almost no authority over themselves. The issue at hand was the practice of slavery by the Tlingits. The Tlingits argued that they were a sovereign entity and self-governing. The court ruled that they were dependent on the federal government and subject to the Thirteenth Amendment. Though the Department of the Interior later chose to interpret the decision narrowly enough that the prohibition of slavery was the only important part, the actual language of the decision makes it clear that the court did not consider the Tlingits to have any self-governing authority at all.

Later amendments recognized the discrepancy in land rights between Alaska Natives and Native Americans and authorized the Secretary of the Interior to designate Indian reservations in Alaska—and because Alaska Natives rarely organized as tribes as did Native Americans, they were allowed to organize under federal charters if they had “a common bond of occupation, or association, or residence within a well-defined neighborhood, community, or rural district”—allowing workers guilds and neighborhoods to apply for

the same rights as kinship-based tribes. By 1941, thanks to a drive by the Interior Department to encourage such organization, 38 groups had so organized. Interior established Alaskan reservations, including some of the region’s best fishing waters, now reserved for Native use exclusively, though when it attempted to prosecute illegal fishing by non-Natives, the Supreme Court struck them down and characterized the creation of the reservation as a “temporary” withdrawal, implying that Natives had no rights to permanent reserves, nor aboriginal title to the land.

In 1931, authority over Native relations in Alaska was finally transferred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which attempted to preserve Native fishing rights and the local reindeer industry. Native sovereignty, in matters where the federal government has not specifically ruled, was finally acknowledged, although as discussed, the courts seem to have felt that the sovereignty enjoyed by Native Americans was inapplicable to Alaska Natives.

Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

In 1971, one of the most significant pieces of Native American legislation was passed: the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which conveyed 45 million acres of land to Alaska Native regional corporations and a payment of \$963 million, in return for all aboriginal land claims in Alaska being extinguished. This was expected to resolve the problem of aboriginal land claims and to encourage economic development in Alaska. The matter of land ownership could no longer be left as vague as it had been in the previous 90 years: oil had been discovered on the Arctic coast in 1968, and the pipeline that was going to be built to carry it passed through lands that were under dispute. What might have taken decades or generations to resolve was settled in three years thanks to the importance of oil to the American economy. Settlement benefits were distributed to anyone with at least one-quarter Native ancestry.

One of the groups working to get the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act passed was the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), which was founded in 1866 to advocate for Alaska Natives rights. Following the passage of the settlement act, the AFN was instrumental in providing assistance

to implement the act, see that those entitled to a portion of the settlement received it, and set up the regional corporations the act created. The AFN has continued as an advocacy and lobbying group since, helping develop the Alaska National Lands Conservation Act of 1980 and lobbying for changes to Alaska state laws in the interest of resource development and better health and education.

Classification

As with other racial groups, Alaska Natives have been variously classified in the U.S. census and other bodies of government data in different eras. In the early decades after Alaska was acquired, Alaska Natives were likely to be counted only if they lived in a white settlement—which was frequently the case with Native Americans as well, since nontaxed Indians (including Natives in this case) were not counted as part of the population for purposes of apportionment of Congressional representation. This changed in 1940, in part because of Supreme Court decisions that changed the taxation and citizenship status of Native Americans. For the most part, “American Indian or Alaska Native” has been one category, which beginning in 1960 was counted according to respondents’ self-identification.

While “Native Hawai‘ian or Pacific Islander” was recently separated into its own category, natives of South and Central America were folded into the “American Indian or Alaska Native” category, making accurate demographic information difficult and essentially requiring the assumption that those “American Indian or Alaska Native” respondents in Alaska are Alaska Natives, and those not in Alaska are other Native Americans—though given the number of Alaska Natives who have emigrated from Alaska to other parts of the Pacific Northwest, even this formulation is flawed. It is believed that about one-fifth of the Alaska Native population lives outside Alaska.

When the 1990 census allowed written responses to the race question, census data on Alaska Natives was expanded to include individual Alaska Native villages, though since this information was optional and not all opted to provide it, the result was incomplete. Census respondents who identify as “American Indian or Alaska Native” are asked to provide their tribe, and this question depends

on self-identification, without considering whether the tribe is federally or state recognized. Information on language use at home also provides some information on Alaska Native demographics.

Though race has been included in the census since 1790, the 1860 census was the first to separately enumerate Native Americans. Alaska Natives were first counted in the 1880 census and were usually categorized as American Indians. Beginning in 1940, they were listed as a separate group. In 1980 and 1990, Eskimos and Aleuts were considered separately.

The 2000 and 2010 censuses, following the 1997 requirement that federal agencies use a minimum of five race categories (white, black, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawai‘ian or Other Pacific Islander), generally stuck to those categories, providing the write-in



Native Alaskan women from an unidentified tribe selling handicrafts in Juneau around 1895. There are now at least 220 federally recognized Alaska Native regional and village corporations and 140,000 people with Alaska Native heritage.

line for additional information. 2000 also marked the first time that respondents could self-identify with more than one race (which continued in the 2010 census).

The problem with considering Alaska Natives and American Indians together, while it is helpful to Alaska Natives from a legislation standpoint, is the confusing data produced, such as the 2010 census report that Oklahoma is home to “the greatest numbers of American Indians and Alaska Natives,” when the number of Alaska Natives in that state is minuscule. Similarly, the report that the majority of “American Indians and Alaska Natives” live outside Native areas is misleading with respect to Alaska Natives, and is even conceived from a Native American–centric viewpoint, because of the surrender of sovereign land claims by Alaska Natives. Because Alaska Natives are outnumbered by Native Americans, population trends are cloaked by this aggregation. When reports are issued on population growth, on the

number of people reporting mixed-race heritage, on education and health, the data really reflects Native American trends, slightly heightened or dampened by Alaska Native trends.

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See Also: Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971); Aleuts; Eskimos; Native Americans.

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American Indian Categorization

The number of American Indians inhabiting the territory now comprising the lower 48 states at the time Columbus arrived in the Americas is subject to widely varying estimates. The arriving Europeans brought not only their desire for land, but they also brought their diseases. The population of the first American Indians were decimated by these diseases to which their bodies had little resistance. What the population was after disease, genocide, and starvation took their toll is also open to speculation, and the actual population through the years has also been less than certain.

Due to many factors the U.S. Census Bureau has failed to produce an adequate basis for knowledge of the population of American Indians. The problems with defining race and determining which race a person may claim has created difficulties for an objective view of the true numbers of American Indians.

The American Indian population of the United States holds a place in U.S. history, culture, and law like no other group of people. The status of these descendants of the first inhabitants of the country is complex and requires a separate agency of the U.S. government and a multitude of federal regulation and laws. Being recognized as a member of a federally recognized tribe can have both cultural and economic benefits.

Beginning of the Census

The framers of the U.S. Constitution provided for a decennial census for the purposes of taxation and congressional representation. The first census was to be taken within three years after the adoption of the Constitution in 1787. American Indians were the only people whose race was

mentioned in the wording of the census. Whites and blacks were mentioned by inference. Whites were to be counted in full and slaves were to be counted at three-fifths of their actual number. The special status of black enslaved people was a compromise so that the southern states would have a higher population for congressional representation purposes. "Indians not taxed" was used to describe the only people who were to be excluded from the census.

The phrase was not defined but was clearly understood to refer to American Indians that lived in a tribal setting. Some had already left their tribal habitat and begun living in settings similar to whites, often in or near white settlements. Some who were not excluded were married to non-Indians. These people were not to be excluded from taxation and, therefore, would have been subject to counting in the census. Indian tribes were, for many purposes, considered sovereign nations. Having this status led to the treaties entered into between the United States and the various tribes. As members of these sovereign tribes, the numbers of American Indians were not considered to be significant for the purposes for which the census would be used.

For the most part from 1790 to 1840, only names of heads of households were given. The ages of other family members were then listed. For these same years, there are no reported results for the number of "taxed Indians." No instructions were given for counting or identifying Indians. There were no forms provided to the marshals who gathered the census information until 1830. It was almost as if Indians did not exist, according to the census. The first census in 1790 simply

required the name of the head of the household, number of free white males 16 and older; the same group, younger than 16; free white females and other free persons; and those who were enslaved. What few taxed Indians who were counted were recorded under the “other persons” category.

With the census of 1850 there was a new administrator. Congress had established a Census Board to oversee the conduct of the census. The superintendent of the census was given much leeway in conducting the count, and he reached out to the scientific community in designing a more effective census tool. The 1850 census was the first to list all family members in a household and to give some data for each individual, including a color category. Persons were listed as white, black, or mulatto. Indians were very infrequently designated. Some children of a black and an Indian parent were likely listed as mulatto. Enumerators were instructed to count Indians but given no direction as to where to include their numbers.

An Indian appropriation act in 1846 legislated the taking of a special census of Indians. Reports from this census included a summary of Indian populations gathered from the special census and various other sources, which were generally not based on the usual methods of census information gathering. The report, considered part of the 1850 census, was issued in 1853 and contained wording from the head of the Indian affairs agency that admitted that some of the figures given were only estimates. The questionable numbers were listed for the years 1789, 1825, and 1853.

In the 1860 effort there was no census schedule for Indians; however, federal marshals, who were the census enumerators, were instructed that if they determined that particular Indians lived apart from tribal authority and were taking advantage of the rights of citizens, these individuals were to be counted as a part of the total U.S. population. Such individuals were to be designated as Indians on the census forms.

The collection of the data was not consistent from state to state. California’s numbers included Indians and “half-breeds.” The total number of taxed Indians in this census was reported in a section titled “Civilized Indians by Age and Sex.” The number of taxed Indians reported for 1860 was just over 44,000. For most purposes, the

American Indians enumerated in this census were counted in the general population. This would be the last census in which this population was so slighted.

Throughout this period of history people were categorized by the census takers, sometimes with clearer direction than at other times. The perceptive abilities of the information gatherers, along with their biases and reporting skills were determinative in the accuracy of any resulting racial categorization. A gradual inclusion of racial subdivisions through the decades shows some of the concerns.

1870 to 1950

Beginning in 1870, the census agency gradually began to gather more information about the American Indian population. Despite the effort, racial categorizing throughout this period was subjective, based on the judgment of the enumerator. The 1870 census was the first census for which “Indian” was listed as one of the possible entries for “color.” Although this designation had been given before by enumerators, this was an official recognition of the need to count American Indians in a regular decennial census. The only ones who would be counted in the general population were “taxed Indians,” defined as those living near white communities. Those living on reservations and in remote locations were considered “Indians not taxed” and excluded from population numbers.

A separate schedule was also used for Indians. The final report listed those “sustaining tribal relations” as having a population of 357,981. Those “not sustaining tribal relations” were counted as members of the general population.

In 1880 specially trained and hired census takers replaced U.S. marshals. Legislative action had enabled the hiring 31,000 census takers for the 1880 census. The 1870 census employed 6,500 for this purpose. Use of the term *Indians not taxed* was eliminated. In fact, legislation in 1880 prohibited the counting of “Indians not taxed” in the regular decennial census. But the census agency was authorized to hire special census workers to count these omitted populations in special efforts. Legislation passed in 1889 directed the U.S. Census Bureau to count all the American Indians in the United States and to

distinguish those who were considered taxed and those who were not. This marked the beginning of each census ostensibly including all American Indians in each decennial count. This also was the first census to ask for the tribal status of American Indians.

American Indians residing on reservations were not as carefully reported in the 1880 census as they had been in the previous decennial. Detailed data was cumulated and given for the white population. The same cumulation was given for “civilized Indians,” Japanese, and Chinese, and blacks all under the “colored” category. The lack of more information on the Indian population in the 1880 census received criticism. Included were questions about style of dress, and whether the person made his or her living off the land or through those pursuits more in keeping with the white population.

The commissioner of Indian affairs, beginning in 1885, was required to submit a yearly census of the American Indians under the agency’s jurisdiction. Much of this data are from the population on reservations. This information was submitted to the Census Bureau. There were also special censuses of the Indian population carried out by the Census Bureau in subsequent years.

The 1890 census included an attempt to enumerate all Indians. The results were published in the general schedule and in a supplemental schedule. The definition of an Indian for this census required being full-blooded, acknowledged by a tribe or an Indian agency, or considered by their peers to be Indian. This definition expanded the class from previous censuses. No distinction was made between taxed and nontaxed in this census. The report even acknowledged there were those who claimed to be Indians, with little



A U.S. census taker, seated at right, recording the responses of this family of Winnebago Indians living in a tent in Wisconsin in 1910. Both the 1900 and 1910 censuses sought to find respondents’ percentage of “Indian blood,” and the 1910 census counted a person with any percentage of Indian blood as an Indian. The 1870 census was the first census in which “Indian” was an option for “color.”

justification, simply for the economic benefit to be accrued from the status. Even though racial status was reported on census forms by the census takers, it was determined that “Indians for revenue” presented a challenge for the census enumerators.

The racial categories for the censuses of 1900 through 1920 continued to include “Indian” as one of the responses. A separate schedule was provided for Indians in which more detailed information was elicited. In 1900 and 1910 the percentage of “Indian blood” was sought. This showed the increasing emphasis on blood quantum, or percentage in determining race. The 1910 census noted that if a person had any percentage Indian blood, he or she would be counted as an Indian.

All American Indians were given citizenship in 1924. In 1930 people of mixed white and Indian races were to be counted as Indians, unless the mixture of Indian blood was minimal or unless the community considered the person to be white. Some thought Indians were vanishing as a separate race and that each census might be the final opportunity for an accurate count. The numbers reported for this population reached their lowest point during this period. The estimated population of American Indians at the time Columbus discovered America ranges in the two to seven million range. By 1900, fewer than 250,000 were reported to be living in the United States.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 encouraged American Indian tribes to organize themselves so that tribal membership rolls would be based on clearly established rules. This legislation sought to redress earlier efforts to dissolve Indian tribes. In 1940 the census began listing Eskimos and Aleuts separately in Alaska, whereas previously they had been counted as Indians. Also in 1940, the U.S. attorney general issued an opinion in which he determined that all Indians in the United States were “taxed Indians,” even though the census had ceased making the distinction.

In 1950, for the first time, “American Indian” was the racial designation used. In that same year, a determination was made to specially recognize a number of mixed race communities made up of people with Indian, black, and white backgrounds. These communities had locally recognized names and were to be counted as nonwhite and would

be listed in the “other race” category. This categorization led to a reduction in the American Indian population in areas where those communities existed. The population of American Indians, including Alaska Natives, was 357,499.

1960 through 2010

The latest period of census-taking is marked by the impact of the civil rights movement. The major shift began in the 1960 census, with a move to have most census forms filled out by respondents, instead of census enumerators. This meant that respondents would choose for themselves how to answer the question of race. This period of time is also marked by a great increase in the population of American Indians being reported.

This self-enumeration continued in succeeding censuses, and it is widely thought that this change in census procedures had a significant impact on population determinants for American Indians. Prior to self-enumeration, the classification of American Indians for census purposes was based on many factors. Often blood quantum was used to determine the percentage of American Indian blood a person had. The determination was often made based on the judgment of an enumerator. This could either be accurate or based on whim, color, living conditions, or even the spouse.

Sometimes American Indians would not want to disclose their status due to the possibility of discrimination or other perceived negative impact. Some who were American Indian had been classified as black or white. The move to self-enumeration put the onus on the individual to classify himself or herself.

Beginning with the advent of self-enumeration, the American Indian population began to show a rapid increase. It is widely believed that the increase in population numbers has been much greater than the natural population increase would allow. Population grows only by the excess of births over deaths, and by the excess over those migrating in over those emigrating out. Few American Indians migrate or emigrate, and the excess of births over deaths is not enough to account for the increasing census numbers over the last decades.

In 1950 there were just over 350,000 American Indians according to the census. These numbers include Alaska Natives as well, although they are

also counted separately. This number had grown to 508,000 in 1960 and to 792,000 by 1970. By 1980, the number had risen to 1,366,000. In 1990, the census reported almost two million. Clearly, the growth in population represented more than a biological growth in numbers. Many more American Indians were completing the census, and some were classifying themselves as American Indian who had not done so before. There are less negative connotations associated with being American Indian than in the past, and more positives. Some financial benefits are associated with the classification, but tribal laws determine who is classified as a tribal member. No such limits prohibit self-enumeration for census purposes.

For many, there is now pride in having American Indian blood. The later decades have seen a rise in movements of American Indian groups in proclaiming their heritage and their rights. The 1980 census, like those before it, allowed the selection of only one race. However, in 1980 and 1990, individuals could list multiple ancestries separate from their racial category.

In 1997 the White House Office of Management and Budget determined that the Census Bureau should allow multiple racial identities. This policy was instituted in the 2000 census. The policy was the result of growing numbers of multiracial people in the United States. Being able to claim only one race seemed confusing for those in the multiracial category. Groups representing multiple minorities opposed a single multiracial category, fearing the dilution of their numbers in the census figures. According to the rules for counting people who claimed more than one race, people who listed white and a minority race would be counted as the minority race since those were more likely to face discrimination, and their numbers seemed more important to report. This would mean that individuals who claimed to be white and American Indian would be counted for many purposes as an American Indian. This practice would tend to increase numbers reported for American Indians.

In 2000, approximately 2.5 million people categorized themselves as only American Indian or Alaska Native. However, over 1.6 million identified themselves as American Indian and one or more additional races. These numbers and the

changes in categorization in the census show the difficulties in comparing population figures from different censuses.

Over 500 tribes are recognized by the federal government. American Indians are asked to list their tribe's name on the census form. A person is free to list any tribe, even though they might not be officially enrolled as a member of that tribe.

The 2010 census showed an American Indian and Native Alaska population of 2.9 million for those who listed a single race. Again, as in the 2000 census, individuals could identify themselves by more than one race. Another 2.3 million listed American Indian or Alaska Native with one or more other races. The figures show a population growth of American Indians and Native Alaskans that is approximately the growth rate of the United States as a whole. Again the growth rates from 2000 to 2010 are far beyond what can be accounted for by biological growth. For the 2010 census, intensive outreach was done in the American Indian community, which could account for some of the large increase in population, since more individuals were probably reached than in prior years.

Conclusion

American Indians have been treated differently through the years in terms of counting them for the U.S. census. They were initially, for the most part, purposely not counted. Then they were counted sporadically, before they were counted regularly. They were counted as Indians based on their blood, their color, and where they lived. Others made the decision about how to categorize them and then they were allowed to categorize themselves. Finally, they were allowed to count themselves in more than one category. The Constitution first intentionally excluded most American Indians. Today, it has reached the point where millions of dollars are expended and maximum effort maintained so that every American Indian will be counted. Through all attempts at proper categorization for census purposes, inexactness and subjectivity have played a major role.

Ideas of race are always changing, but it seems to remain a social construct that means different things at different times in U.S. history. There have been times when American Indians were looked down on. More recently, there has been a

fascination with the romantic notion of the role of the Indian in the country's history. People hear stories about an American Indian ancestor and are willing to wear proudly the badge of American Indian. The question of who is an American Indian has many different answers. The census is not a perfect instrument. It is influenced by the times, by culture, and by people's ideas about themselves and others. Looking across the decades at the census numbers for American Indians, one has to use care and understand that the numbers do not mean the same thing for each census report.

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See Also: African American Categorization (Essay); Alaska Native Categorization (Essay); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Asian American Categorization (Essay); Category Controversies (Essay); Census Data and Multicultural Research (Essay); Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Indian Citizenship Act (1924); Indian Reorganization Act (1934).

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Asian American Categorization

The United States has a decennial census, which means that every 10 years data is collected about its population. Historically, this information has been used to apportion representative seats within the U.S. House of Representatives, as mandated by the U.S. Constitution. Indeed, article I, section 2 of the U.S. Constitution says the following about apportionment:

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct.

In 1790 Thomas Jefferson, then secretary of state, oversaw the first U.S. census. Examination of that first census makes it painfully evident that it was a product of its time. Over the ensuing two and a half centuries, the process has not remained static. The questions asked, as well as the ways in which census workers collect data and enumerate citizens for the decennial census, have continued to evolve. For example, the first eight U.S. censuses included categories for individuals who were slaves or free colored. Meanwhile, American Indians and Chinese only began to be enumerated in the 1860 census, and that was limited: Chinese

were counted only in the state of California. It was not until 1870 that the Chinese began to be counted in the U.S. census. The 1890 census was the first time that the Japanese were included in the census. And, it was not until the 1950 census that Filipinos began to be counted.

Since the 1980 census, six detailed Asian response categories have been in use: (1) Asian Indian, (2) Chinese, (3) Filipino, (4) Japanese, (5) Korean, and (6) Vietnamese. In the 1990 census, an “Other” designation was added that complemented an Asian/Pacific Islander (API) category. In other words, census respondents could specify their API category.

Another fact that becomes clear when examining the history of the U.S. censuses is the difficult truth that the census has always had to deal with the public’s changing perceptions, attitudes, and social constructions of race, ethnicity, immigration, and citizenship. Until the 1950 census, respondents’ racial classifications were determined foremost by the observational judgment of the census enumerator and not by how they themselves would self-identify. This changed in 1960, when for the first time census data was collected by a combination of self-classification, interview, and observation by census enumerators. Some notable immigration scholars like Charles Hirschman have contended that most citizens would have classified themselves the same way as the census enumerators since race is very much a socially constructed phenomenon.

Contemporary Numbers

Understandably, the exact numbers of Asians in America at any given point in history are quite

difficult to ascertain since the U.S. census has changed continually since its origination in 1790. New questions continue to be added to the census, while old ones are changed or dropped, making them difficult to compare and contrast over time (longitudinally). Meanwhile, estimating the current Asian American population presents its own problems, since collection of detailed population data by Asian ethnic subgroup has been slow and has only recently become available. The 2000 census, for instance, marked the first time that it allowed for multiple classifications of race. Moreover, two reasonable questions can be asked: How does the census know if it is accurately capturing the population of Asians in the United States? And, how can pre- and post-1940 census data be accurately analyzed, since it was not until the 1940 census that statistical sampling—meaning



The 2010 census found that the Asian American population had grown in every region of the United States since 2000. As of April 2010, there were an estimated 17.3 million Asian Americans, making up 5.6 percent of the total U.S. population.

some citizens were asked more questions than others—began to be employed in census data collection? For all these reasons, accurate reporting on Asian Americans based on census data proves a challenging exercise.

Consequently, estimates of the number of Asians in America can be said to be approximate—especially since there are many Asians in the United States who do not wish to be counted or whose identities remain unknown. A significant number of Asians in America—no one has exact figures—are undocumented immigrants. Timothy Fong has written about how Hispanics (Latinos/as) tend to be the focus of media coverage on undocumented immigrants, while their Asian counterparts are spotlighted for being model minorities. This uneven reporting leads to the marginalization of Asian Americans and their further invisibility. According to Professor Fong, Asian Americans are racialized as model minorities but not as undocumented immigrants. This might be partly explained by the fact that some consider Asian Americans to be “honorary whites.” However, the general public’s naïveté about undocumented Asians in America is a cause for concern, especially since it has been estimated that of all the undocumented students who would qualify for the DREAM Act, one in ten would be Asian.

Another difficulty in estimating the number of Asians in the United States arises from the issue of whether or not Asian Americans and Asian Pacific Americans should be considered part of the same enumerated census group. Many scholars consider Pacific Islanders to constitute a different ethno-cultural and/or racial group than Asian Americans because of historical differences. This issue of whether or not Pacific Islanders should be categorized under the banner of Asian American remains salient, especially because many educational and governmental agencies continue to lump Asians and Pacific Islanders together, assuming they share some sort of affinity, despite social scientific research that demonstrates otherwise. According to Vicente Diaz, the practice of lumping Pacific Islanders with Asians remains a contested issue.

2010 Census and Asian Americans

Approximately 74 percent of the households returned their 2010 census forms by mail. To

count the remaining households, census workers walked throughout neighborhoods. The combined final tally indicated that the general population grew 27.3 million people, from 281.4 million in 2000 to 308.7 million in 2010. The official national population projection based on the 2010 census was released on December 21, 2010. According to its totals, Asian Americans constituted the fastest-growing racial group based on the estimate that there were 17.3 million Asians in America as of April 1, 2010. This number represents both respondents who indicated that they belonged to one Asian group and those respondents who indicated that they were Asian in combination with one or more other races. This figure indicates that 5.6 percent of all people in the United States identified as Asian (either alone or in combination with one or more other races). This is quite significant when one considers that the Asian population in the United States increased more than four times than the total U.S. population. The largest subgroups, according to the 2010 census, were the Chinese (4 million), Filipino (3.4 million), Asian Indian (3.2 million), Vietnamese (1.7 million), Korean (1.7 million), and Japanese (1.3 million).

Asian American Demographics

Notoriously, Asian Americans are often thought to constitute a homogenous group of overachievers. Stereotypes abound of Asians being hard-working, musically talented, and mathematically brilliant people who intend to assimilate into the dominant society as quickly as they can. The homogenization of Asian Americans has been a major obstacle for this diverse and heterogeneous population. It is important to understand that the Asian American population in the United States does not resemble a normally distributed population; it is bimodal in shape. This means that Asians are not equally distributed across outcomes. For instance, the poverty rate of Asian Americans is variegated. Indeed, although Chinese and Korean Americans appear to be prosperous, research points to the plight some experience. Jaime Lew has done considerable research in this area.

The geographic distribution of the Asian American population continues to be heavily concentrated in the western United States. The 2010 census indicates that 46 percent of Asian Americans

live in the west, 22 percent in the south, 20 percent in the northeast, and 12 percent in the mid-west. The Asian American population grew in every region between 2000 and 2010, with Asian Americans experiencing the fastest growth in the south. Nearly three-fourths of all Asian Americans live in the following 10 states, according to the 2010 census: (1) California, 5.6 million; (2) New York, 1.6 million; (3) Texas, 1.1 million; (4) New Jersey, 0.8 million; (5) Hawai'i, 0.8 million; (6) Illinois, 0.7 million; (7) Washington, 0.6 million; (8) Florida, 0.6 million; (9) Virginia, 0.5 million; and (10) Pennsylvania, 0.4 million.

Age, Gender, and Occupation

Roger Daniels provides an accounting of the Chinese American population by sex, citizenship, and sex ratio from 1860 to 1940 in his book *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850*. However, there is a dearth of this type of research using 2010 census data. *Asian America* also provides tables with census data on Chinese Americans' age and sex distribution in 1920. For more current data on Asian Americans' age, gender, and occupation, the 2010 census indicates that the median age of the single-race Asian population was 35.4 years. Twenty-two percent of the single-race Asian population were under the age of 18 in 2010, while 9.4 percent were 65 or older. Twenty-nine percent of the single-race Native Hawai'ian and other Pacific Islander population were under the age of 18 in 2010, while 5.8 percent were 65 or older.

Future Trajectory for Asian American Enumeration

The census plays a critical role in the political apportionment process. Apportionment is important for the sake of distributing representation properly and fairly within cities and states. If representative seats are incorrectly apportioned, or apportioned unfairly, issues of political power become contentious. The issues at stake become readily apparent when one considers the trend for states to become color-blind, as can be seen in the states of Arizona, Nebraska, Michigan, Washington, and California. For instance, in 2010, Arizona abolished affirmative action as a result of Proposition 107. In 2008, voters in Nebraska passed Initiative 424, a constitutional ban that abolished

government affirmative action. In 2006, Michigan became color-blind, the result of Proposal 2. In 1998, Washington passed Initiative 200, which barred the state from using preferential treatment. California passed Proposition 209 in 1996, abolishing affirmative action. These states have become color-blind, but why have they done so?

California and Texas have both experienced the largest numeric growth of Asians. Therefore, it stands to reason that the ways in which Asians are enumerated in censuses becomes especially significant in those states, not only for Asians but also for the entire population. Do Asian Americans support color-neutral social and educational policies? Asian Americans' attitudes toward affirmative action should be examined further. Asian Americans, given their increased growth, will demand that politicians hear their requests since they represent an important constituent group and pivotal voting bloc. As an increasing number of young Asian Americans reach voting age and begin to cast ballots in state and national elections, it becomes increasingly important that their thoughts and opinions be heard and considered. As the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund rightly observes, redistricting is an opportunity to increase the political influence and representation of Asian Americans. But if done incorrectly, redistricting can also divide and gerrymander Asian American neighborhoods, resulting in diminished political representation and voting strength.

The history of censuses bears out the reality that the census is a product of its time. The census surely will continue to change and evolve, as it has in times past. However, the trajectory of Asians in the United States remains influenced by the model minority stereotype, as well as the older yellow peril stereotype, a holdover from the era of the Chinese Exclusion Act and Japanese internment.

Model Minority Stereotype

The questions that census respondents answer are an important consideration in understanding the data collected. But equally important to consider are the ways in which census data is analyzed. For instance, the Pew Research Center recently analyzed 2010 U.S. census data in a report titled *The Rise of Asian Americans*. It makes inaccurate claims that continue to feed the

model minority stereotype of Asians in America. The model minority stereotype constructs Asian Americans as extremely successful minorities who have achieved the American Dream through their hard work and perseverance. The report's title immediately elicits feelings that Asian Americans are doing something well. The report, which was based largely on 2010 census data, leads its readers to believe that Asian Americans continue to be what Robert Teranishi and others have called "super minorities." But Asian Americans are not super minorities. Asian Americans are very much like other racial, ethnic, and cultural minorities: they experience difficulties and discrimination, and they become disgruntled when structural and institutional barriers limit or prevent them from achieving their goals.

It should also be noted that there exists a history of violence, discrimination, and negative attitudes toward Asians in America. U.S. census data analysts might find that Asian Americans are doing extremely well, but the ways in which Asian Americans are enumerated, and the questions that they are asked, are significant given the fact that social psychologists have found that Asians have been deemed less American than whites or blacks. The Committee of 100, a group of influential Asian American leaders, conducted a survey that revealed that many Americans who would vote for an African American presidential candidate would not vote for an Asian American candidate. President Barack Obama may be a bellwether, and perhaps it will be many years before America has an Asian American in the White House.

Given that there are many biracial and multi-racial Asian Americans, it is imperative that their responses to census questions are parsed out. As time passes, many of them might not identify as being Asian, which would skew census statistics, causing a misleading reduction in the numbers of Asian Americans in the United States. According to Dixie Koo, Anthony Peguero, and Zahra Shekarkhar, this is feasible considering that Asian Americans may wish to distance themselves from being Asian because attitudes toward Asians are poor. Asian Americans' actual and potential voting power make them an important demographic of society. Understanding that America has felt ambivalently toward Asians, we can anticipate current stereotypes to continue and new ones

to form. This is also why census data collection included questions about respondents' experiences of harassment and racism. Gathering the data in a way that better facilitates cross-tabulation would also assure that nuanced differences could be better analyzed. The census has come a long way since 1790, but there is still much room for growth.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation Asian Americans; Class and Ethnic Diversity; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay); Pacific Islander Americans; Yellow Peril.

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Category Controversies

The U.S. Census Bureau collects data on voting and registration. Formed in 1903, it is the government agency that oversees the U.S. Census and serves as the top source of information about residents of the United States. The most immediate result of the census, presently, is allocating or reallocating the number of representatives in the U.S. House. The history of the census is an interesting and controversial history of race and ethnicity in the United States.

Terminology

Defined by the federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the U.S. Census Bureau, “race” and “ethnicity” in the U.S. Census are self-identification data items. This means that residents choose the race or races with which they most closely identify and indicate whether they are of Hispanic or Latino origin. (Hispanic and Latino are presently the only categories for ethnicity).

For census purposes, the OMB defines the concept of race as not “scientific or anthropological” and takes into account “social and cultural characteristics as well as ancestry,” using “appropriate scientific methodologies” that are not “primarily biological or genetic in reference.”

The race categories include both racial and national-origin groups. Race and ethnicity are considered separate and distinct identities; the question of whether a respondent is of Hispanic or Latino origin is a separate question. Thus, in addition to their race or races, all respondents are categorized by membership in one of two ethnicities—Hispanic or Latino and not Hispanic or Latino.

Promoting and Enforcing Civil Rights

Civil rights law and enforcement remain the motivation behind the development of the data standards. Among the changes related to civil rights law (which have been in effect since the 2000 census), is the instruction to “mark one or more races.” The OMB added that option after noting evidence of increasing numbers of interracial children and wanting to capture the diversity in a measurable way. It also received requests from people who wanted to be able to acknowledge their own or their children’s full ancestry rather than identify with only one group.

Before this decision, the census and other methods of government data collection asked people to report only one race. On its reasoning, the U.S. Census Bureau reports that “data on ethnic groups are important for putting into effect a number of federal statutes (i.e., enforcing bilingual election rules under the Voting Rights Act; monitoring and enforcing equal employment opportunities under the Civil Rights Act). Data on ethnic groups are also needed by local governments to run programs and meet legislative requirements (i.e., identifying segments of the population who may not be receiving medical services under the Public Health Act; evaluating whether financial institutions are meeting the credit needs of minority populations under the Community Reinvestment Act).”

2010 Controversies

Some groups continue to object to the counting of undocumented persons who are in the United States. Republican senators David Vitter and Bob Bennett tried unsuccessfully to add questions on

immigration status to the newest census form. Organizations such as the Prison Policy Initiative argue that the census counts of incarcerated men and women as “residents of prisons,” rather than of their preincarceration addresses, skewed political clout and resulted in misleading demographic and population data.

The 2010 census contains 10 questions about age, gender, ethnicity, home ownership, and household relationships. Six of the 10 questions are intended to be answered by each individual in the household. Current federal law has provisions for fining those who refuse to complete the census form.

The Hispanic/Latino Question

The federal government has mandated that “in data collection and presentation, federal agencies are required to use a minimum of two ethnicities: ‘Hispanic or Latino’ and ‘Not Hispanic or Latino.’” The Census Bureau defines Hispanic or Latino as “a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race.”

Use of the word *ethnicity* for Hispanics only is considerably more restricted than its conventional meaning, which covers other distinctions, some of which are covered by the race and ancestry questions. The distinct questions accommodate the possibility of Hispanic and Latino Americans also declaring various racial identities. In the 2000 census, 12.5 percent of the U.S. population reported Hispanic or Latino ethnicity and 87.5 percent reported not-Hispanic or Latino ethnicity.

Our most recent census, the 2010 census, included changes designed to more clearly distinguish Hispanic ethnicity as not being a race. That included adding the sentence: “For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.” Additionally, the Hispanic terms were modified from “Hispanic or Latino” to “Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin.” Although used in the census and in the American Community Survey, “Some other race” is not an official race, and the U.S. Census Bureau considered eliminating it before the 2000 census.

As the 2010 census form did not contain the question titled “Ancestry” found in prior censuses, there were campaigns to get non-Hispanic West Indian Americans, Turkish Americans, Arab

Americans, and Iranian Americans to indicate their ethnic or national background through the race question, specifically through the some-other-race category. The Interagency Committee has suggested that the concept of marking multiple boxes be extended to the Hispanic origin question, thereby freeing individuals from having to choose between their parents’ ethnic heritages. In other words, a respondent could choose both Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino.

The Use of *Negro*

The term *Negro* is used in the 2010 questionnaire (“Question 9. What is Person’s race? . . . Black, African Am., or Negro”) as a choice to describe one’s race. U.S. Census Bureau spokesman Jack Martin explained that “many older African Americans identified themselves that way, and many still do. Those who identify themselves as Negroes need to be included.” The word was also used in the 2000 census, with over 56,000 people identifying themselves as Negro.

Census Challenges

Detroit Mayor Dave Bing held a press conference on March 22, 2011, to announce that the city would challenge the city’s census results. The challenge, led by the city’s planning department, cited as an example an inconsistency showing a downtown census tract that lost only 60 housing units but 1,400 people, implying that a downtown jail or dormitory was missed in canvassing.

New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg held a conference on March 27, 2011, to announce that the city would also challenge his city’s census results, specifically the apparent undercounting in the boroughs of Queens and Brooklyn. Bloomberg said that the numbers for Queens and Brooklyn, the two most populous boroughs, are implausible. According to the census, they grew by only 0.1 percent and 1.6 percent, respectively, while the other boroughs grew by between 3 percent and 5 percent. He also stated that the census showed improbably high numbers of vacant housing in vital neighborhoods such as Jackson Heights, Queens, New York.

The District of Columbia announced in August 2011 that it would also challenge its census results. The Mayor’s Office claimed that the detailed information provided for 549

census blocks is “nonsensical,” listing examples of census data that show housing units located in the middle of a street that do not exist. However, officials do not believe the city’s total population will drastically change as a result of the challenge.

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See Also: African Americans; Census Data and Multicultural Research (Essay); Civil Rights Acts; Ethnicity; Hispanic Americans; History of the Census (Essay); Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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Census Data and Multicultural Research

The U.S. Census Bureau produces a wealth of valuable data on the demographics of the United States through its decennial federal census and intra-census statistical surveys like the American Community Survey. It has conducted 22 federal censuses since the first one in 1790, though comparing data across censuses often requires special care because of changes in data collection methods, terminology, and other factors. One controversial issue is the matter of who is counted in the decennial census, which serves as the official count of the population. Census data is used to provide official population figures that determine federal funding, special programs funding, and apportionment of electoral votes and congressional districts. Under current practices, the count is based on “usual residence”—a concept established in the first census, referring to the place that a given person sleeps most of the time—and counts all persons whose usual residence is a U.S. residential structure, including citizens, noncitizen legal residents and long-term visitors, and undocumented immigrants. Americans not resident in the United States are counted only if they are federal employees living overseas as part of their job or dependents of such (including the military).

Both the exclusion of other Americans living overseas, who still vote, and the inclusion of undocumented immigrants, who do not, are subject to particular criticism. Complaints have also been lodged about counting prisoners as prison residents, rather than as residents of their normal domiciles, and of imputing data (a method in statistics of substituting estimated values for missing data) when the occupation status of a housing unit is unknown, which may introduce a statistical bias.

Many of the complaints in all these areas have racial dimensions—the prison population is disproportionately nonwhite, as is the undocumented immigrant population—and there has always been a racial character to the census. When the census was first taken, whites and blacks were counted separately, and white men and white women were tabulated separately, because equal rights and significance did not accrue to every kind of person under the law at the time. Today, race and sex are tabulated for exactly the opposite reason: to assure equal rights and representation for all. Federal policy is dependent on an accurate picture of the American population, and funding and policy for numerous federal programs are impacted by the ethnic, racial, and gender breakdown of the American population.

The concept of race and ethnicity has changed drastically over the history of the census, which is necessary to keep in mind when using historical census data or comparing data from multiple censuses. The first census reported only whites, slaves, and “other free people,” which usually meant free blacks but could have included numerous other possibilities, albeit not present in the country in great numbers. More racial categories were added over time, in response to political concerns. Various gradations of multiraciality were added, beginning with mulatto, with quadroon and octoroon added later, all of which were at one point replaced with the “one-drop rule” that stipulated that anyone with any black heritage was black, regardless of percentage. The changing demographics of the United States from immigration and assimilation caused the addition of categories for American Indians, Alaska Natives,

Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders. Racial categories were also expanded over time: originally, all Asians were categorized as “Chinese” but other nationalities were added later.

Contemporary Census Taking

After this lengthy expansion, the racial categories then contracted. The census today uses the five minimum categories required by the federal Office of Management and Budget: white, black, Asian, American Indian or Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Respondents are allowed to select more than one race. In the 2000 census, respondents were allowed to answer “some other race” with space for elaboration; in 2010, they were not given that space in which to elaborate. This has drawn the ire of many Americans and groups representing them, including Hispanics, Arab Americans, Turkish Americans, Iranian or Persian Americans, and West Indian Americans, some of whom do not self-identify as any of the provided race categories. Though “Hispanic” has never been treated as a race category by the federal government, it has been viewed as one by a significant number of Hispanic respondents.

This shift in race categorization makes cross-census comparisons challenging. The other change is the shift from enumerator definition to self-definition in the matter of tabulating a respondent’s racial and ethnic identity. The reason for rules like the “one-drop rule” was that determining the race of the respondent was the task of the enumerator administering the census questionnaire. Enumerators from the local community were usually used; in one era, respondents with American Indian heritage, for instance, were allowed to be tabulated as white if they were generally accepted as part of the local white community, so long as the heritage was only a trace. Applying this guideline required the enumerator to be familiar with that local white community or, in some cases, to make inquiries.

Today, the idea of a federally appointed census taker making inquiries throughout town to determine the race of an American citizen for the purposes of a database is not accepted. This history of invasiveness may play a role in many people’s resistance to the census today. Undocumented immigrants, who are officially a part of the count, have a long history of underparticipation, but many American citizens either refuse to answer

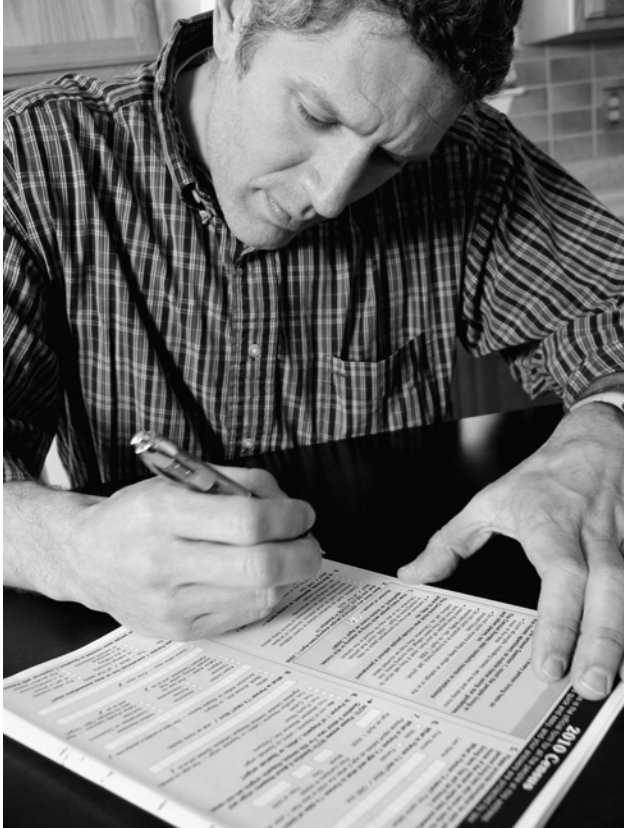
some questions (in the 1940s, there was controversy over a question about income; in the 1960s, it was over the number of children born to adult women) or distrust the whole endeavor, despite the fact that the explicit purpose of the census is to ensure that everyone is properly represented in government. Resistance to answering the census is a factor to consider in weighing the accuracy of information, with some population segments more than with others.

Another is the matter of self-definition. Today, respondents gauge the accuracy of their answers. Race and ethnicity are explicitly defined as nonbiological phenomena, social classifications. Because of this, there are large numbers of people in the population whose racial classification has been presented differently in different census years. A man could easily have been listed as black in an early census, Hispanic in a later census, and multiracial (white and black) in the most recent census, in which Hispanic is no longer a race option.

American Community Survey

The decennial census is not the only survey conducted by the Census Bureau, nor the only useful one. The American Community Survey (ACS) is now sent to 250,000 respondents a month (which with follow-up in-person calls on some of those who do not respond amounts to about 2 million finished interviews per year) and has replaced the long form section of the decennial census. The ACS was first tested in 1996 and has been producing data since 2000, but it was only fully implemented in 2005. So there is as yet not a large body of historical ACS data to compare, though much of its data can be compared to that yielded by earlier censuses. Because the ACS is carried out continuously, it provides a constant stream of demographic information, from which it is easier to make projections than from the decennial censuses. The ACS is an experiment, a way of addressing the declining response rate to the decennial census. Some of those who object to the census also object to the ACS, pointing out that the Constitution calls for an enumeration of the population but does not require the level of detail that either survey provides.

The primary purpose of the decennial census is to provide an accurate count of the American people for the purpose of congressional



The 2010 census form was one of the shortest forms ever used. The Census Bureau fully implemented the American Community Survey in 2005 to replace the long-form section of the decennial census and now sends it to 250,000 people per year.

apportionment and legislative redistricting. The ACS is intended to measure social and economic characteristics of the American people and is not used as an official count of the population. The ACS today, and the long form decennial census going back to the early 20th century, provides information on age, sex, Hispanic origin, race, family relationships, income, food stamp benefits, employment status, industry and occupation, place of work and distance of commute, vehicles, health insurance coverage, marital history, fertility, grandparents as caregivers, ancestry (ethnicity), place of birth, citizenship, language spoken at home, educational attainment, veteran status, disability, and housing-specific questions such as the year the housing structure was built, the number of units, its rooms, bedrooms, kitchen and bathroom facilities, house heating fuel, telephone service, value, and rent (if applicable).

ACS data are released the year following their collection (decennial census data often takes much longer). ACS data is used by federal agencies like the Department of Veterans Affairs to evaluate the need for educational employment or health care programs for veterans, and by the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) to determine its resource needs. Nongovernmental organizations like the Annie E. Casey Foundation use the ACS to monitor the well-being of American children, including metrics of child poverty, school enrollment and educational issues, and the children of unemployed or underemployed parents. State-level information about American residents born outside the United States is maintained by the Migration Policy Institute using ACS data.

Journalists rely on ACS data for stories about trends. State and local governments use the ACS to plan and prioritize the building and restoration of roads, bridges, and other infrastructure, and to project the need for new or expanded hospitals, schools, senior centers, and police and fire stations, in order to be able to provide basic services to the local community. From 2006, the ACS has included in its samples groups of the population living in group quarters such as college dormitories, nursing homes, and prisons. For this reason, ACS data from 2006 to the present is not comparable to earlier ACS data, particularly when dealing with impacted population groups like teenagers and the elderly. From 2008 on, three-year estimates have been made available for all geographic areas of at least 20,000 people; and from 2010 on, five-year estimate have been made available for all geographic areas. Most geographic areas receive only five-year estimates.

The major ACS data products provided by the Census Bureau are data profiles, which provide broad social, economic, housing, and demographic information; narrative profiles, which summarize the same information contained in the data profiles; selected population profiles, which focus on specific race, ethnic, or ancestry groups; ranking tables, which provide rankings for a given state (or Washington, D.C., or Puerto Rico) across 86 variables; subject tables, which go into more detail than the data profiles; detailed tables, which provide the most detailed data, cross-tabulated with ACS variables; geographic comparison

variables, which compare nonstate geographic areas across variables; thematic maps, which display ACS data online interactively; custom tables, which use specific rows of data from ACS detailed tables, selected by the user; summary files, which are comma-delimited text files that provide access to the detailed tables; and public use microdata sample files, which are used with SAS and SPSS software to provide access to ACS microdata. SAS software is a system developed by the Statistical Analysis System Institute for information retrieval, data management, data mining, forecasting, statistical analysis, and data warehousing. SPSS is a similar system of products developed and maintained by IBM, in use since 1968.

There are several main areas of caution in using ACS or decennial census data. Before blindly comparing bodies of data from different censuses or surveys, compare and understand their methodology, and determine how that may have affected the comparability of the numbers. Bear in mind that the ACS characterizes the population and is not designed to provide an accurate count of the population, either in toto or in geographical or demographic subgroups. Small differences between two estimates are as likely to indicate a difference in sampling methods, margin of error, or other sources of error as they are an actual statistically relevant difference. Annual fluctuations of data do not necessarily indicate long-term trends. ACS surveys since 2006 include populations not included from 2000 to 2005, which has a particular impact on data to do with young adults, the elderly, or any population groups represented by the imprisoned. Three- and five-year estimates are not estimates of a specific year in the series.

The ACS's period estimates, which are issued as one-year, three-year, and five-year estimates, describe the average characteristics of an area over the given period of time (always January to December). They are not calculated as averages: the one-year estimate is not an average of 12 monthly values, nor is a five-year estimate an average of five years or representative of any single one of those years. Single-year estimates are the most current, but multiyear estimates are less impacted by recent major changes (which may be good or bad, depending on the use for which the data is needed) and are available for a larger number of geographic areas. Sample estimates should also be examined with

their provided confidence interval in mind. A confidence interval is derived from the sample estimate and its standard error, and represents the degree of uncertainty about the estimate. Standard error is a measure of deviation of a sample estimate from the average of all possible samples.

Current Population Survey

The Census Bureau is also responsible for the Current Population Survey (CPS), which is provided to the Bureau of Labor Statistics every month and is used for various ends, including computing the unemployment rate and the monthly Employment Situation Summary. The bureau has been conducting the CPS since 1942, two years after its inception. The CPS is a statistical survey rather than a true count. Like the well-known example of the Nielsen television ratings system or the methods used in opinion polling, it focuses on a representative sample size (60,000 households) in order to generate an estimation of the whole.

The CPS focuses mainly on employment and differentiates between types of unemployment, including those who have been unemployed for a long period, those who have lost their jobs, those who are unemployed and over 25, those seeking full-time jobs, and those seeking part-time jobs. Employment figures are provided for the population by age, sex, race, Hispanic origin, marital status, family relationship, and Vietnam-era veteran status. The CPS reports are useful for examining employment trends, though they also provide a demographic glimpse of the population at a given time.

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See Also: Category Controversies (Essay); History of the Census (Essay).

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Demographics and Ethnic Diversity

Demographics are data pertaining to the characteristics of a population group, and, when used in such constructions as “the demographics of frequent Internet users,” refers to the set of statistics describing that population, including the age, gender, ethnicity, disability status, employment, and education level of that population. Demographic data can be as simple as age, sex, and ethnicity, or as narrow as creditworthiness, political affiliation, or car ownership. Demographics are used in all forms of public opinion polling, including polling of political and social trends, marketing and TV ratings (television advertisement costs are based more on the demographic watching the series during which the advertisement airs than on the raw rating), and focus group studies.

Various entities conduct surveys and polls that provide demographic data in which the ethnic diversity of the surveyed group may be examined. Of these, the U.S. census is the best known and the largest in terms of sample size, although even at its most in-depth, it is a shallower survey than many others. The census is conducted every 10 years, with results usually released within a few years. The goal of the census is 100 percent participation of the U.S. population and U.S. residents (including noncitizens), and the data are necessary in order to allocate electoral votes and congressional seats as well as to determine the funding of government programs that serve specific segments of the population.

Ethnicity and Race

Ethnicity is one of the only demographic traits that has been tracked in every census. However,

the way ethnic information has been collected and categorized has varied considerably, making comparisons between censuses difficult. The earliest censuses tracked free whites, slaves, and “all other free persons.” More specific ethnic and racial information was not necessary for the purpose of allocating electoral votes and congressional apportionment. In 1820, non-naturalized foreigners were also noted. Mixed-race individuals were tracked in 1850, and in 1860 Native Americans who had joined white society were tabulated. Detailed information on the African American community was not tracked until 1870, after the end of slavery, which was also the first census to begin tracking nationality. As immigration increased, new ethnic or race options were added to the census according to recent trends. The race options in 1890, for instance, were “white, black, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, Chinese, Japanese, and Indian.” Today, only two of those would be included unaltered, and mixed-race individuals are no longer subcategorized so arcanelly.

For much of census history, census takers determined the race of each respondent. Today, race and ethnicity are self-reported. Differences in attitudes toward race impact the complication of comparing data from separate censuses for this reason. Definitions of race have also changed. Native Hawai‘ian and Other Pacific Islander has only been tracked as a separate race group since 1990, having been grouped with Asians in the past. Though it was once possible to check “Other,” with a write-in space for elaboration, in the race category this option has recently been removed, thereby drawing complaints from Hispanics who identified their race as Hispanic

or Latino (despite the official census policy that “Hispanic” is an ethnic, not racial, category) and from Arab, Persian, and Indian Americans who identify with none of the offered options.

Effectiveness of U.S. Census Bureau Surveying

For a time, the census used both a short form census, which all respondents completed, and a long form census, which was given to a small number (often about one-eighth of respondents) for more in-depth information. This changed with the most recent census in 2010, in which all respondents answered only 10 questions. The long form census has been replaced by the American Community Survey (ACS), now the second-largest survey conducted by the Census Bureau, consisting of a long-form survey sent to 250,000 households a month. This results in 30 million ACS responses per 10 years, comparable to the number of households who had previously been sent long-form censuses but on an ongoing rather than decennial basis.

The modern census has frequently been accused of (or admitted to inadvertently) undercounting certain populations, especially the poor, ethnic minorities, and illegal immigrants, in large part because of a reluctance on the part of those populations to participate. Efforts to correct this undercount in the form of outreach often meet with criticism from some conservatives, especially when it comes to counting undocumented immigrants (though participation in the census confers no rights or privileges). Further, prisoner advocacy groups like the Prison Policy Institute have argued against the practice of counting prisoners as residents of their prison, rather than of the addresses where they lived before incarceration, since this skews the demographic results of the ethnic groups with the largest incarceration rates.

The Census Bureau also produces the American Housing Survey, Consumer Expenditure Survey, Economic Census, National Hospital Discharge Survey, National Crime Victimization Survey, National Nursing Home Survey, Residential Finance Survey, and other surveys that include demographic information. For the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it produces the Current Population Survey, a monthly survey of about 60,000 households from which employment data for the country are extrapolated.

Data From Other Entities

Beyond the data provided by the census, there are other bodies of data provided by both public- and private-sector entities. The U.S. Census Bureau is one of the principal agencies of the Federal Statistical System—the group of agencies that provide data about the country—but not the only one.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in the Department of Labor, is the federal government’s principal fact-finding agency in the field of labor statistics. The National Center for Education Statistics provides education statistics with a focus on public school districts and comparisons with education in other countries. The National Agricultural Statistics Service provides reports on national demographic studies of the agricultural sector. The National Center for Health Statistics, housed in the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, provides health and nutrition information about the American people.

The Energy Information Administration provides data on energy resources and usage. The Bureau of Economic Analysis (in the Department of Commerce) and the Economic Research Service (in the Department of Agriculture) provide economic data and demographics. The Bureau of Justice Statistics collects data about crime trends and demographics. The Bureau of Transportation Statistics produces data on transportation systems and usage, critical to planning the nation’s transportation infrastructure. The Internal Revenue Service’s Statistics of Income Division provides demographic data on Americans’ income. The National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics provides scientific data. And the Office of Research, Evaluation, and Statistics serves the needs of the Social Security Administration.

The BLS’s data is released in coordination with the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), an office within the executive office, which both provides data and guides policy related to the president’s preparation of the federal budget. The OMB has defined 1,098 statistical areas of the country for the purposes of its work, ranging from Micropolitan Statistical Areas, which are based around an urban area with a population from 10,000 to 49,999, to Primary Statistical Areas, which consist of a metropolitan area that is not part of another larger metropolitan area.

Pew Research Center

The Pew Research Center is a Washington, D.C., think tank (the third-largest in the city), formed in 1990 as the polling operation for Times Mirror, the company that owns the *Los Angeles Times*. It has since expanded and draws its funding now from the Pew Charitable Trusts, a nonprofit nongovernmental organization founded in 1948 to inform the public and improve public policy. The end goal of the demographic data generated by the Pew Research Center is to better inform policy makers.

Surveys and in-depth public opinion reports are grouped into seven ongoing topic-focused projects: the original project, the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, conducting public opinion survey research on attitudes toward politics; the Pew Research Project for Excellence in Journalism, which surveys news coverage and trends in the media; Pew Research Internet and American Life Project, which researches issues related to the Internet and other technologies; the Pew Research Forum on Religion and Public Life, surveying religious practices and demographics; the Pew Research Hispanic Center, focusing on the Hispanic American population; the Pew Research Global Attitudes Project, chaired by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, examining public opinion at the international level; and Pew Research Social and Demographic Trends, which focuses on American daily life, family trends, wealth and income demographics, and other areas.

Pew reports have the luxury of being more specific in their focus than the data the census provides, though of course the sample size is not as comprehensive. The Pew Internet and American Life Project, for instance, has produced in-depth demographic studies of Internet usage, social media and networking, adult use of video games, the demographics and habits of Twitter

users, teenage communication habits and skills, cyber bullying, and “sexting.” Such reports can help shape policy or personal choices related to new technologies; studies of texting habits and Internet usage on smart phones impacted laws and public service announcements against texting while driving, for instance, while cyber bullying studies in the aftermath of several well-publicized young suicides have led to that threat being treated with a new seriousness.

Other think tanks occasionally produce in-depth polling reports as well, even if this is not their main focus, especially in order to show support for initiatives they advocate, or to generate data from which to extrapolate conclusions relevant to their area of interest. Notable think tanks in the Washington, D.C., area include the Center for American Progress, the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Brookings Institution, which is both one of the oldest (established in 1916) and most influential.

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See Also: Category Controversies (Essay); Census Data and Multicultural Research (Essay); History of the Census (Essay); Socioeconomic Patterns (Essay).

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Ethnic/Racial Group Data

Racial and ethnic categories are defined by the Federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the U.S. Census Bureau. In the United States today, race and ethnicity are separate identities, and the only ethnic categories are “Hispanic/Latino” or “not Hispanic/Latino.” This practice of separating ethnicity and race, either in general or specifically in reference to Hispanic-ness, has been the subject of criticism by certain groups and members of the public. In the words of the instructions provided by the Census Bureau, today the racial categories in use “reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country and not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically.” Rather than evaluating claims of racial or ethnic identity, answers depend on self-definition, a change that began in 1970. The Office of Management and Budget dictates a minimum of five race categories used by federal agencies: white, black, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. On recent census questionnaires, respondents have been allowed to select more than one race.

Considering race and ethnicity as completely separate identities is unusually American and has come under criticism by certain groups and members of the public. The OMB’s five minimum race categories, while dictated as a minimum set, has had the effect of removing Hispanic or Latino as a write-in race option, to which some had become accustomed. This has specifically been targeted for criticism, as has the lack of an option for Arabs, Persians, and other ethnicities who may not be comfortable identifying as white but do not fall into any of the other provided categories.

Early History of Ethnic/Racial Categories

Race and ethnic data have been collected by the census since the first official census in 1790, when the number of free white males, free white females, slaves, and “other free persons” were among the sets of data determined. The term *colored*, referring explicitly to race rather than implicitly through the question of slave status, entered the census vocabulary 30 years later with the 1820 census, which also asked about former slaves, a number of states having abolished slavery by that time. Due to growing nativist sentiments and the beginning of the wave of European immigration, the 1830 census added a question about non-naturalized foreigners, though it did not get specific about their ethnicity, focusing on the sheer number of immigrants rather than specifics about their origins.

Over the course of the rest of the 19th century, racial questions became much more specific, as the “colored” category was broken down into black or mulatto, and American Indians and “Chinese” (which included all Asians) were added as possibilities. Non-Chinese Asian ethnicities were added as races with the 1890 census, which added quadroon and octoroon as colored variants. “Hindus” (south Asian Indians), Koreans, and Filipinos were added as races in 1920.

1930s to 1950s

In 1930 a radical change was made in the way race was classified. “Mulatto” was eliminated, and in point of fact, in many ways the concept of multiracial heritage was eliminated, with classifications erring on the side of nonwhite: anyone with American Indian ancestry was considered

Indian even if their ancestry was predominantly white, unless he was accepted as part of white society; anyone with white or Indian and black ancestry was considered “Negro,” in accordance to the “one drop rule.” Mexican was added as a race, though prior to this time, and again in 1940, Mexicans had been classified as white.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 (marking the entry of the United States into World War II), happened to fall at a time when a decennial census had recently been conducted. The analytical work on the 1940 census had not yet been completed, but the attack provided the Census Bureau with a way to demonstrate its usefulness to government at a time when, coincidentally, it had been beset by internal bureaucratic disputes over just how useful it was and how necessary some of its more specific analysis. The statisticians in the bureau knew the

importance of statistical work during a modern war and knew that demonstrating the usefulness of their own work was a method of protecting their prestige and relevance in the field against the prestige that would accrue to the statisticians working in the temporary war agencies.

So it was that in February 1942, two months after the attack, hand tabulations on the Japanese American population were provided for the internment program that would send many of them to camps. The Census Bureau today maintains that, as ordered by the laws that govern it, it did not provide individual names and addresses. But it provided detailed counts of the Japanese living in very narrowly defined geographic areas, and the Japanese population at the time was a small and highly concentrated ethnic majority, not well distributed throughout the country. (The Census Bureau’s role in the war later reverted to a less



Women testing two types of data card tabulating machines created to speed up processing of statistics from the 1940 census at the U.S. Census Bureau in Washington, D.C., in December 1939. Some contend that detailed counts of people living in Japanese neighborhoods collected from the 1940 census assisted in the roundup of Japanese American citizens for internment after Pearl Harbor.

controversial one, using population data to determine the meeting of draft quotas, as well as recommending the location of military installations.)

Beginning in 1950, race was no longer referred to as “color” (though it briefly reappeared in 1960). Hawai’ian, part-Hawai’ian, Aleut, and Eskimo were added as race choices in 1960, acknowledging the natives of the 49th and 50th states.

1960s to 1970s

From the postwar era through the present, but particularly in the era of the civil rights movement and the activist movements that followed it, the work of the Census Bureau has been key in using statistics to guarantee an apportionment of educational opportunities, jobs, and voting rights to minorities. The lifting of the limits created by the National Origins Act and the Supreme Court’s reversal of the decisions that had claimed constitutionality in malapportioned legislatures made accurate counts of the country’s ethnic minorities more important than ever.

During the preparations for the 1970 census, the federal government—for the first time, many in the Census Bureau felt—acknowledged how much its many agencies had come to rely on accurate census data in the course of its functioning. The impact of an accurate count of particular populations, specifically, the urban poor and ethnic minorities, was explicitly addressed at the Conference on Statistics and the City in 1967, where social scientists and government officials met to discuss the importance of avoiding undercounts of these critical groups. At stake was the proper representation of the public as guaranteed by the Constitution and the Voting Rights Act, as well as correct apportionment of grants from federal programs.

Still, despite the motives, there has always been a tug-of-war at play in the Census Bureau and in the conduct of its census and design of its questionnaire. On the one hand, the more questions that are asked, the more data is produced—a good in and of itself—and the more complete a picture that can be constructed of the American public, the better the public may be served. On the other hand, there are two strong forces opposing the inclusion of a large number of questions on the questionnaire. First, as a pragmatic matter, the longer the questionnaire, the more likely some respondents will ignore it or fail to

fill it out completely; there may also be a literacy obstacle, for both native and non-native speakers. Second, there is a long history of members of the public becoming riled over the specificity or seeming invasiveness of one question or another. In the 1940s, questions about income were hotly objected to. In the 1960s, questions about a household’s bathroom facilities and about the number of children ever born to each adult female respondent similarly roused public fury. Questions about ethnic and racial background tend to be especially sensitive.

1980s

After the 1970 census, the bureau was accused by several ethnic minority activist groups of bias and underrepresentation, an accusation that to its credit, it took quite seriously, if albeit reacting defensively. Several advisory committees were formed, comprised of experts on minority statistics, in preparation for the 1980 census. The Committee on the Black Population for the 1980 Census met with black leaders in 1974. A Hispanic population committee convened the following year, followed by an Asian and Pacific Americans population committee. The Spanish Origin Advisory Committee (SOAC) wound up, in 1977, testifying in Congress when the Census Bureau did not use its recommendation to include a question on Spanish origin on the 100 percent schedule (the questions asked of all respondents), and on field procedures that the SOAC felt were insufficient to guarantee good coverage of Hispanic Americans. The recommendations of these committees, among others on nonethnic specialty topics, increased the cost of the 1980 census by \$406 million—roughly 40 percent of the final cost. The list of possible race options was expanded and a separate Spanish-origin question was added.

Currently, the census questionnaire includes an ancestry question—“What is your ancestry or ethnic origin?”—which replaces earlier questions about parents’ birthplaces. Ancestry relates to but does not dictate ethnicity. The sample questionnaire in the 1980 census replaced questions on parents’ birthplaces, which had been used since the period of European immigration in the 19th century, with a question on ancestry, which permitted the census to track the ethnic heritage of Americans whose ties to foreign countries

stretched back for multiple generations. It also clarified the idea of ethnic heritage, decoupling it from ancestors' nationality. The 1980 version of the question asked simply, "What is your ancestry?" The ethnic origin addition was added in 1990. Various examples are included in the questionnaire. When respondents list multiple ancestries, the Census Bureau records them ranked according to the order in which they are listed.

The inclusion of ancestry and self-definition information allows for a wider range of answers. For instance, in 2010, 103,091 Americans listed their ancestry as Cajun, an ethnicity that would not have been revealed by the parents' birthplace question and that indicates a more specific ethnic identity than ancestral nationality would.

The 1970s had seen a significant growth in the undocumented immigrant population. Such immigrants—indeed all immigrants, but especially the undocumented—had always presented a challenge to census issues, because they made for understandably reluctant respondents, and the general public often reacted with enmity to the idea of illegal aliens being "counted" in the same way as citizens. Still, the practical heart of the matter was that policy formulation and implementation was impacted by the presence of undocumented immigrants, and the more information could be had, the better.

The census was very invested in obtaining as accurate a count as possible. This proved, and has continued to prove, difficult. There was simply no way, politically acceptable to those in government, of persuading a significant majority of undocumented immigrants that it was in their best interest to answer census questions and that the information would not be turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Roman Catholic Church refused to be enlisted to assist, and the government refused the suggestion many offered to grant amnesty to resident undocumented immigrants, in order to render their fears irrelevant. (The suggestion has been made again, with each subsequent decennial census.)

The question of how and whether to include undocumented immigrants in the census is often coupled with whether such immigrants should be counted for reapportionment purposes and for the distribution of federal aid; there is a real sense in which, as with pre-emancipation slaves, it is the

legal personhood of the undocumented immigrant that is at question here. Petitions to force the exclusion of undocumented immigrants for reapportionment purposes have been rejected by the courts on the grounds, among others, that the 1920 Congress considered their exclusion and decided against it.

In 1978, for the first time the Office of Management and Budget defined a set of federal standards for the collection, tabulation, and presentation of race and ethnic data for federal programs to which the Census Bureau among other agencies would be required to adhere. According to these standards, four race categories must be tracked: white, black, American Indian or Alaska Native, and Asian or Pacific Islander. The idea of Hispanicness as an ethnicity rather than a race was also affirmed.

1990s to 2000s

In 1997, the Office of Management and Budget instituted the five minimum race categories now in use by federal agencies, which were first applied by the Census Bureau beginning with the 2000 census: white, black, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Though these five are a minimum—and agencies are free to add to the list—for the most part, agencies have opted not to exceed the minimum, which has made the list the object of criticism.

While federal policy holds that Hispanicness is an ethnicity, not a race, for instance, not all Hispanic Americans agree. Further, there are many members of ethnic groups like Arabs, Turks, Persians and Iranians, and West Indians who do not self-identify as white or any of the other listed options. One of the complainants has been the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, a bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957. It presented its complaints to Congress in a 2006 report, which pointed out the number of respondents in the 2000 census who, in elaborating their identification as "some other race," identified themselves as Hispanic. Many Hispanic respondents, in fact, opted not to answer the race question at all.

The American Anthropological Association (AAA) has complained about the OMB's categories for a slightly different reason, though acknowledging the problems the Commission on Civil Rights brings up. In the AAA's view, the concept of "race," especially as something separate from ethnicity, is

faulty and dates from a prescientific time. The concepts of race and racism are not separate; racial distinctions have for the most part been invented for explicitly racist reasons. Ethnicity, a primarily social category, has fewer of the negative associations of race and is acknowledged as a nonbiological phenomenon, while the concept of race carries biological implications, especially in a country with a history of adhering to ideas like the “one drop of blood” rule. The AAA’s recommendation has been not to expand the list of race options but to eliminate race entirely from census language, expanding the role ethnicity plays instead.

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See Also: Category Controversies (Essay); Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Minority Group/Majority; Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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Family and Marital Patterns

There has rarely been a time in American history when family and marital patterns were not in flux. Since the middle of the 20th century, when it became more common for women to work and for both sexes to delay the start of their careers by spending more years in school, the general trend has been toward fewer first marriages, older newlyweds, and more nonmarried family formations. These trends vary somewhat according to race and ethnic group. According to the 2010 U.S. census and other federal surveys and statistics, the marriage rate is dropping in the United States, while unmarried cohabitation and childbearing and childrearing are on the rise.

National Survey of Family Growth (2012)

On March 22, 2012, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS) released findings in its National Health Statistics Reports, “First Marriages in the U.S.: Data From the 2006–2010 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG).” The study encompassed a nationally representative sample of 12,279 women and 10,403 men ages 15 to 44; the overall response rate was 77 percent (78 percent women and 75 percent men). The racial backgrounds of respondents were as follows: women: 6,156 (white), 2,723 (Hispanic), 2,412 (black), 988 (other), men: 5,275 (white), 2,406 (Hispanic), 1,752 (black), 967 (other). The survey was conducted through face-to-face hour-long interviews of individuals, not couples. The NSFG has been collecting data on factors affecting family formation, growth, and dissolution since 1973. The 2012 report focuses on first marriages.

Some of the NSFG findings are as follows: (1) Sixty-eight percent of unions formed between

1997 and 2001 began as cohabitations rather than as a marriage. (2) The percentage of women currently cohabitating with men in a sexual relationship rose from 3 percent in 1982 to 11 percent from 2006 to 2010. (3) Both men and women are entering first marriages later in life; the average age for men is 28.3 years of age while for women it is 25.8 years. (4) Marriages are not lasting “for a lifetime” or until “death do us part.” From 2006 to 2010 the probability of a first marriage lasting at least 10 years was 68 percent for women versus 70 percent for men. The probability that a marriage will last 20 years decreases to 52 percent for women and 56 percent for men. At 37 percent, black women had the lowest probability of marriage lasting for 20 years, and foreign-born Hispanic men had the highest probability at 70 percent.

Other findings are the following: (5) Both race and educational attainment play a significant role in the length of marriage: 78 percent of women with a B.A. degree were in 20-plus year marriages versus 41 percent with a high school diploma or GED, and 65 percent of men with a B.A. degree were in 20-plus year first marriages versus 47 percent with a high school diploma or GED. (6) The percentage of women who entered a first marriage decreased from 44 percent in 1982 to 36 percent from 2006 to 2010. During that same time period, the overall percentage of women cohabiting rose from 3 percent in 1982 to 11 percent. From 2006 to 2010, the racial breakdown of cohabiting women was 16 percent of foreign-born Hispanic women, 11 percent of white women, and 9.3 percent of black women. (7) The percentage of never-married women also rose from 34 percent

in 1982 to 38 percent in 2006–10 (55 percent of black women, 49 percent of U.S.-born Hispanic women, 46 percent of foreign-born Hispanic women, 39 percent of U.S.-born Asian women, and 34 percent of white women). These figures show a statistically significant difference between racial classifications. (8) Another significant factor predicting marriage versus cohabitation was educational attainment (37 percent of women without a high diploma or GED were married versus 58 percent with a college degree versus 63 percent with a master's degree or higher; 66 percent of men with a master's degree or higher were married versus 49 percent of men with a B.A. versus 41 percent with a high school diploma or GED). There is a reverse correlation for cohabitation: 20 percent of women without a high school diploma or GED were cohabiting versus 6.8 percent of women with a B.A. degree; 9.6 percent of men with a B.A. degree were cohabiting versus 13 percent of men with a high school diploma or GED. In sum, 64 percent of college graduates marry versus 48 percent of those with a high school diploma. (9) Finally, the NSFG reports that the majority of couples have cohabited before they marry (approximately 57 percent of women versus 60 percent of men (cohabited but did not marry); 96 percent of women and 93 percent of men (cohabited and later married). Note that the nationwide percentage of women cohabiting rose from 3 percent in 1982 to 11.2 percent from 2006 to 2010. Unfortunately the data for men was not collected in 1982. However, the nationwide percent of men cohabiting did rise from 9.2 percent in 2002 to 12.2 percent in 2006–10.

In sum, the NSFG shows that, nationwide, more couples are cohabiting, while fewer couples are marrying and fewer marriages are lasting over 20 years.

Child Trends Study (2011)

A 2011 study by Child Trends (analyzing 2009 National Center for Health Statistics data) found several developments: (1) Sixty-six percent of all children in the United States are born to mothers under 30 years of age. (2) The fastest growing group of new mothers is white women in their 20s with “some college education, but no degree”; this pool went from 11 percent in 1999 to 34 percent in 2009. (3) White women 20 to 30 years old with

a high school diploma or GED who had children outside marriage went from 21 percent in 1999 to 51 percent in 2009. (4) By the mid-1990s, 33 percent of children nationwide (across racial classifications) were born outside marriage. (5) By 2009, 41 percent of children nationwide (across racial classifications) were born outside marriage and 53 percent of children born to mothers under age 30 years are born outside marriage (73 percent of black children, 53 percent of Hispanic children, 29 percent of white children). (6) Most unwed child-bearing occurs within cohabiting households that include both parents. (7) Cohabiting households are less stable than married households, only 44 percent of cohabiting couples with children stay together until their child reaches age 10; 50 percent of all cohabiting relationships end within 18 months whereas 70 percent of marriages last 10 years and over 50 percent last 20 years.

U.S. Census (2010)

In 2010, there were 56.5 million total married households in the United States; 6.8 million cohabiting households (opposite sex); and 646,000 same-sex couple households. In addition, there were 5.1 million multigenerational households, 4.4 percent of the total (up from 3.7 percent in 2000). Thirty-three percent of all households included children under 18 years old, while 25 percent included adults 65 years and older. Seven percent of all U.S. married couples were interracial.

2010 U.S. census data indicates the following: (1) The incidence of new marriages was down by 5 percent from 2009 to 2010. In raw numbers, that equates to 4.4 million new marriages in the United States in 2009 versus 4.2 million in 2010 among all age groups. It has been theorized that the downturn in the economy was a relevant factor for the decline. (2) Barely one-half of all U.S. adults are married—a new all-time low. In 1960, 72 percent of U.S. adults were married; by 2010 this figure had dropped to 51 percent. (3) Adults were marrying at an all-time later age, women at 26.5 years old and men at 28.7 years old. Over the past 50 years, the age for first marriage has risen by six years. (4) The percentage of never-married adults had nearly doubled from 15 percent in 1960 to 28 percent in 2010; 61 percent of those who have never married state that they



Among the recent changes in family and marital patterns in the United States has been the increase in same-sex couple households and parenthood. The 2008 census found 565,000 same-sex couples raising 204,000 children.

would still like to marry someday. The decline of first marriage has been most significant among young adults. In 1960, 59 percent of young adults aged 18 to 29 were married; in 2010 that figure was 20 percent. The decrease in new marriages for this age group from 2009 to 2010 was 13 percent. Further, only 9 percent of young adults were married in 2010 versus 45 percent in 1960. However, it is unclear whether today's young adults are abandoning marriage or merely postponing it. As the numbers of those who have never married has risen, the numbers of those who have ever been married has declined. The ever married figure was 85 percent in 1960 but had fallen to 72 percent in 2010.

Additional findings include: (5) Similar to the NSFG findings, the U.S. census data shows a racial divide for marriage in this country (white, 2010: 55 percent married (down 7 percent from

2009), 1960: 74 percent; black, 2010: 31 percent (down 6.5 percent from 2009), 1960: 61 percent; Hispanic, 2010: 48 percent (up 1.1 percent from 2009), 1960: 72 percent). (6) The figures for ever married adults also differ along racial lines. In 1960, the percentages of ever married adults were statistically the same across racial categories. However, by 2010, the percentages were significantly different (55 percent of black adults had ever married; 64 percent of Hispanics; 76 percent of whites). (7) Nationwide, in 2008, 41 percent of births were to unmarried women (70 percent of black babies, 50 percent of Hispanic babies, 30 percent of white babies). In 1990, the nationwide figure was 28 percent. In 1960, the figure was 5 percent.

Regarding marital status, data indicated: (8) In 2008, 6.2 million U.S. households were headed by cohabiting couples who were parenting 4.3 million children (8 percent of Hispanic households, 5 percent of white, 5 percent of black). The total included 565,000 same-sex couples who were parenting 204,000 children. In 2010, the total number of cohabiting couples/households in the United States rose to 7.7 million (6.8 million opposite sex, 646,000 same sex). The total was a 1,500 percent increase since 1960 (and a 41 percent increase from 2000 to 2010). In 1990, 3 percent of all households were headed by unmarried cohabitants. In 2008, this figure had nearly doubled to 5 percent. The 2010 data would signal that the number had indeed doubled since 1990—from 3 to at least 6 percent. The group with the largest percentage of unmarried partner households was American Indians and Alaska Natives; 10.9 percent of those households consisted of unmarried partners. (9) Married couple households with children decreased by 5 percent from 2000 to 2010. During the same time period, unmarried cohabiting couple (opposite sex) households increased by 40 percent, nonfamily households increased by 16.3 percent, and same-sex couple households increased by 80 percent.

The 2009 U.S. census data further indicated that there were 25.8 million married couples with children under 18 years. Six percent of the fathers in these households were unemployed and 4 percent of the mothers (an increase from 3 percent and 2 percent, respectively, in 2007). Additionally, in 2009, of the 1.5 million households with unmarried cohabiting parents, 16 percent of the

fathers and 8 percent of the mothers were unemployed (an increase from 9 percent and 4 percent, respectively, in 2007).

In 2009, the percentages of children living with both of their parents according to their racial classification were as follows: 85 percent Asian, 78 percent white, 69 percent Hispanic, and 38 percent black.

Family trends varied considerably according to race and ethnicity. While two-thirds of American households were family households, for instance, 78 percent of Hispanic households were, compared to 64 percent of non-Hispanic white households. An even sharper distinction is seen between black and Asian households. While 60 percent of Asian households consisted of nuclear families (a husband and wife, with or without children), only 29 percent of black households did. In fact, about as many black households consisted of single mothers (30 percent) as of nuclear families, three times the share of households consisting of single-mother families in white and Asian communities. In every race group except Asians, the majority of households headed by a woman with no spouse present were single-mother households; with that exception, single mothers outnumbered unmarried women living alone or with non-offspring dependents.

Pew Research Center and *Time* Magazine Survey (2010)

In 2010, the Pew Research Center and *Time* magazine conducted a telephone survey of 2,691 adults; 39 percent of those surveyed responded that “marriage is obsolete.” This view differed across racial and educational lines (44 percent of blacks and 36 percent of whites; 27 percent of those with a B.A. degree and 45 percent of high school diploma holders). A similar survey in 1978 found that only 28 percent held that view.

The opinion that marriage is obsolete seems to depend on one’s current status. Thirty-one percent of married people responded that marriage is obsolete, compared to 46 percent of currently unmarried people, 58 percent of those who were never married, and 62 percent of currently cohabitating parents.

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See Also: Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Family and Ethnic Diversity; History of the Census (Essay); Intermarriage Demographic Trends; Socioeconomic Patterns (Essay).

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Gender/Sex

Sex, like age, is one of the few topics that have been the subject of every census since 1790. Data on gender is used to implement and evaluate programs like the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, the Civil Rights Act, the Women's Education Equity Act, and the Job Training Partnership Act and, in conjunction with age and race data, are important to the Older Americans Act, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In the 2010 census, the population of the United States was 308,745,538, a 9.7 percent increase over the 2000 census, making it the third most populous country in the world. Unlike previous modern censuses, no long form was used, having been phased out in favor of the American Community Survey. The short form distributed to all households asked 10 questions, one of which was the sex of each person in the household. The number of men increased by 9.9 percent from 2000 to 2010, compared to the 9.5 percent increase of the previous decade. Women outnumbered men by 5.18 million, compared to 5.3 million in 2000, a male-female ratio of 96.7.

Although women continue to enjoy a longer average life span than men, the gap narrowed in the 2010 census, in which the ratio of men to women increased the most in the 65 and over age group. The recent growth in the male population is the first in the American male population since 1910, when women's life expectancies began to increase due to medical advances, especially those reducing the number of women who died giving birth.

Of the total population, 49.2 percent were male, 50.8 percent female. The median age of men was 35.8 years, while the median age of women was 38.5 years. The sex ratio at birth is about 105 males to 100 females, which has dampened the effect on the overall sex ratio of women's comparatively longer life spans. Historically, for the last 100 years there have generally been more men at younger ages, and more women at older ages as the male population experiences faster attrition.

The sex ratio continues to decline with age, reaching 100:100 around the 30s before women overtake men, and ending with a roughly 1:5 ratio of men to women. But the decline is less severe and more gradual than in 2000. In 2000, the age at which women outnumbered men 2:1 was 85. In 1990, it was 83. In 2010, it was 89, not only an increase over the previous census but a sharper increase than between that census and the one before.

The two groups in which females experienced higher growth than males from 2000 to 2010 were the Native Hawai'ian and Other Pacific Islander category, in which the male population grew by 25 percent while the female population grew by 25.1 percent, and the Asian American group, in which the male population grew by 32 percent while the female population grew by 33 percent.

But the margins by which male population growth exceeded female population growth varied considerably by race. Among respondents reporting a single race, the greatest difference in population growth rates was seen among white Americans, in which the male population grew



Detail of an illustration titled "Taking the Census" from the November 19, 1870, issue of Harper's Weekly depicts a census taker talking to a group of citizens. An individual's sex and age were some of the few topics that have been the subject of every U.S. census since 1790.

by 7.8 percent while the female population grew by 6.4 percent (82 percent of the male population growth rate). Among African Americans, the male population grew by 11.6 percent, the female population by 10.5 percent (90.5 percent of the male population growth rate). Among American Indians and Alaska Natives, the male population grew by 18.6 percent and the female population by 17.9 percent (96 percent of the male population growth rate).

One noticeable trend in this data is that the higher the population growth rate of the race group as a whole, the smaller the factor by which the male population growth rate exceeds the female population growth rate, to the extent that the two fastest-growing groups have faster-growing female populations. This also holds true when Hispanicness is considered: in the Hispanic population, the male population growth rate was 38 percent, while the female population growth rate was 36.3 percent (96 percent of the male population growth rate); in the non-Hispanic population growth rate, the male population growth rate was 5.4 percent while the

female population growth rate was 4.7 percent (87 percent of the male population growth rate).

The male-female ratio varies considerably, and among the five federally recognized race groups, the two with female-dominant growth rates are also the only groups with male-dominant sex ratios. The male-female ratio of the Native American and Other Pacific Islander population is 103.5:100, or 103.5 men for every 100 women. The American Indian and Alaska Native population ratio is 100.7:100. Hispanic Americans, which include all races, also have a male-dominant ratio of 107:100, while the non-Hispanic population has a male-female ratio of 95:100. White Americans had a male-female ratio of 98:100, Asian Americans had a ratio of 93.4:100, and African Americans had the lowest male-female ratio at 91:100.

Transgender Issues and the Census

Transgender is a term that has been adopted to replace or encompass a number of terms regarding individuals whose gender identity does not match their genetic sex. It is not a sexual orientation, and it is equally applicable to individuals regardless which gender they are attracted to.

"Transgender" has grown in popularity because of the number of individuals for whom terms like "transvestite" or "transsexual" are inaccurate, misleading, or otherwise unacceptable. Many transgender individuals have no interest in sex reassignment surgery, for instance—being transgender need not involve a rejection of one's genetic sex, only the possession of a gender identity not traditionally associated with that genetic sex.

The International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy (ICTLEP) in 1992 defined "transgender" as an umbrella term, one that "includes transsexuals, transgenderists, and cross dressers," as well as those in the process of transitioning to a new gender presentation. Older literature often conflated these identities or ignored some of them, referring to transgendered individuals instead as "pre-op" or "nonsurgical" transsexuals. Other gender identity terms that have been embraced and that would fall under the ICTLEP's umbrella include genderqueer, androgyne, and bigender. The term *cisgender* has been coined as an antonym to refer to all those outside

the transgender umbrella, that is, those whose gender identity corresponds with their genetic sex.

Genetic sex refers to the biological sex corresponding to specific chromosomal genotypes: XY for males, XX for females. The term *transgender* is sometimes also used to include intersex individuals, who possess a different chromosomal genotype outside those two. Intersex individuals may be, and traditionally have been, raised as one sex or the other, and as adults they may choose that sex as their gender identity. But they may also identify as neither male nor female, as both, as “intersex” as a unique gender identity unto itself, or as other possibilities.

With many intersex individuals, it is not simply a matter of chromosomes marking them as different from the traditional view of sex as male or female; they may possess physical characteristics that simply do not accord as exclusively male or exclusively female. As with anyone else, this gender identity may also be fluid over time, and surveys have found that the gender identity of an intersex individual is independent of the individual’s sexual orientation. The terms *intersex* and *transgender* are not equivalent, but both refer to a circumstance in which the individual is neglected by a strictly traditional view of sex and gender and which, it is argued, is rendered invisible to the census.

A small number of countries have allowed responses other than “male” or “female” in response to the question of gender in official documentation, rather than forcing people to choose one or the other. As of 2011, for instance, Australian passports list a third option, “X,” typically to indicate intersex.

In the United States, although some cities and states have passed laws protecting transgender people from discrimination or providing means for them to legally change the gender identity displayed on official documentation, the Employment Non-Discrimination Act that would provide these protections federally has stalled and failed repeatedly in Congress since the 1990s. The 21st century has seen an increase in the awareness and

acceptance of transgender identity, beginning at the end of the 20th century, when the Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) became the first national lesbian-gay-bisexual (LGB) organization to become transgender inclusive in 1998, the same year the Transgender Day of Remembrance was founded. In 2004 the first Trans March took place in San Francisco and the first all-transgender performance of *The Vagina Monologues* was staged. The first openly transgender person, Reuben Zellman, was accepted at the Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion in 2003 and he was ordained as a rabbi in 2010. Also in 2010, Victoria Kolakowski became the first openly transgender judge in the United States.

In 2010, the State Department allowed the gender category, otherwise permanent, to be changed on passports with a note from a physician—sex reassignment surgery is no longer required, as it once was. The following year, the Social Security Administration ended the practice of notifying employers when an employee’s stated gender on a W-2 form conflicts with Social Security records, which had outed individuals in the past. Federal courts have affirmed that discrimination due to transgenderedness falls under sex discrimination regulations, as has the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as of 2012, though as mentioned above, this has not yet been made explicit legislatively.

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See Also: Age and Ethnic Diversity; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Intersectionality.

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Hispanic/Latino Categorization

Many Americans are unaware that the labels *Hispanic* and *Latino* are only very recent terms that have been used to classify a segment of the U.S. population. Many more Americans are not aware that the U.S. government does not consider Hispanic or Latino as a race. Instead, the government classifies Hispanics/Latinos as an ethnic group, whose members “can be of any race.” Such a definition may seem confusing or contradictory, which underscores the arbitrary and subjective nature of any attempt to classify people into socially constructed racial categories.

The 2010 census counted 50,477,594 persons of Hispanic or Latino ancestry, who comprised 16.3 percent of the total national population. One of the fastest-growing segments of the U.S. population, the number of Hispanic/Latino persons living in the United States increased 43 percent since 2000. However, the terms *Hispanic* and *Latino* do not refer to a single, unified group who share a common heritage. Rather, Hispanic and Latino are pan-ethnic terms that generally denote persons with either recent or historical ancestry from a Spanish-speaking society in Latin America or from Spain itself.

The largest specific Hispanic/Latino ancestry in the United States are persons of Mexican descent, who accounted for 63 percent of the total Hispanic/Latino population in 2010, followed by Puerto Ricans (who comprised 9.2 percent of all Hispanics/Latinos). Other significant Hispanic/Latino ancestries include Cuban (3.5 percent), Salvadoran (3.3 percent), and Dominican (2.8 percent). The geographic concentrations of various Hispanic/Latino populations tend to be highly localized, with the majority of the Mexican

American population residing in the southwestern states and the majority of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans living in the northeast. Most Cuban Americans have settled in southern Florida, with a sizable Cuban population also residing in northern New Jersey and the New York City area.

As the number of Hispanics/Latinos living in the United States has increased in recent decades as a result of both immigration and natural birthrates, interest in Hispanic/Latino population has grown (from the business community, religious organizations, educational institutions, the media and entertainment industries, and federal, state, and local governmental agencies). However, the various persons who are classified under these terms do not share a uniform phenotype, culture, language, or social history within the United States. One of the most perplexing questions that American society has grappled with for nearly a century pertains to the issue of categorizing its populations of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and other Latin American and/or Spanish-speaking heritages by race for official governmental purposes, such as census taking and antidiscrimination recordkeeping.

Historical Origins: Before OMB Directive 15

The United States annexed the present-day state of Texas in 1845. New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Colorado, and parts of Utah and Wyoming were annexed under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the U.S.-Mexico War in 1848. The populations living in these annexed regions thus became the first Mexican American communities in the United States. The treaty guaranteed Mexicans living in these

territories the right to apply for naturalization to obtain U.S. citizenship—a right that prior to the Fourteenth Amendment had been limited to “free white persons” under the Naturalization Act of 1790. As such, the U.S. government *legally* classified Mexican-origin persons as “white,” although in specific local communities throughout Texas and other states, Mexicans were often *socially* regarded as nonwhite and “racially” inferior. Texas, a Confederate slave-holding state, had been settled in part by plantation owners from other regions of the south and the sociopolitical philosophy of Manifest Destiny in the 1840s helped give rise to the belief among Anglo-Saxons that Mexicans constituted a “mongrelized people” who had been biologically diluted by virtue of their “Indian blood.”

Immigration from Mexico to the United States remained low throughout the remainder of the 19th century, in large part due to the lack of sufficient railroads connecting the two nations until the early years of the 20th century. The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882, and the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907 virtually eliminated all immigration from China and Japan, respectively. Throughout the late 1800s, Chinese and Japanese immigrants comprised key migrant labor forces in the western states, particularly in California. The curtailment of immigration from Asia, stemming largely from racial and cultural fears and further reduced by the passage of restrictive legislation in 1917, 1921, and 1924, prompted the need for a new source of migrant workers to fill the void.

The first major wave of Mexican immigration occurred during the 1910s and 1920s, fueled by a combination of push-pull factors such as political upheaval stemming from the Mexican Revolution (1910–20), labor shortages in the United States during World War I (1917–18), and the growth of the mining, agriculture, and railroad industries in the burgeoning southwest. Nearly 900,000 Mexicans took refuge by legally settling in the United States during the Mexican Revolution alone. Between 1925 and 1929, an additional 238,000 Mexicans legally migrated to the United States, and Mexican track workers comprised 75 percent of the labor force for six of the major railroad companies in the southwest during the 1920s.

The 1930 census classified Mexicans as a separate, distinct racial group for the first and only

time in American history. Census takers were instructed to record all persons who had been born in Mexico, as well as U.S.-born citizens whose parents had been born in Mexico. The Census Bureau subsequently used this census information to attempt to retroactively estimate the population of the “Mexican race” living in the United States in 1910 and 1920. The designation of Mexicans as a separate race is intriguing, given that Mexicans had originally been categorized as “white” by the federal government.

Scholars of Mexican American/Chicano history and critical race theorists contend that this shift in the racial classification of Mexicans indicates a growing sense of nativism, xenophobia, or an even greater tendency to perceive Mexicans as an “Other” by the late 1920s. The establishment of a Mexican racial category on the 1930 census appears even more bizarre when one considers that among certain segments of the middle-class Mexican American populations of Texas and New Mexico during this era, the term *Mexican* was considered offensive and eschewed in favor of other self-identification labels such as *Latin* and *Hispano*, respectively. Mainstream ethnic organizations at the time, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and others typically espoused a strong assimilation/Americanization agenda and advocated that persons of Mexican descent be classified as “white,” as was the case with Irish, Italian, and Jewish Americans. As a result of protests, threats of litigation, and general confusion, the Census Bureau dropped its categorization of Mexican as a “race” after administration of the 1930 count.

In 1898 the United States annexed Puerto Rico at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. The Jones Act of 1917 conferred American citizenship upon all inhabitants of Puerto Rico, thus granting residents of the small Caribbean island free access to migrate to the U.S. mainland. By the 1930s, small but significant Puerto Rican communities had been established in New York City, with an estimated 67,500 Puerto Ricans living in the continental United States in 1930. Unlike Mexicans, however, Puerto Ricans were not identified and counted as a separate race.

From 1940 to 1960, the Census Bureau officially categorized Mexicans and Puerto Ricans racially as “white,” unless such persons were

“visibly Indian or Negro.” However, the 1940 census did seek to count the number of “white” persons whose “mother tongue” was Spanish. The 1940 census counted 1,848,024 “white persons of Spanish mother tongue,” which accounted for approximately 1.5 percent of the total U.S. population at that time. However, demographic scholars in more recent decades have asserted that the 1940 total of native Spanish speakers is most likely a significant undercount, even though at the time, census data was collected in person from workers who went door-to-door and directly asked questions to heads of households.

The 1950 census was the first to include Puerto Rico in its list of responses to its question that asked about nation of birth for immigrants and U.S.-born children of immigrants (despite the fact that Puerto Ricans were U.S. citizens at birth, Puerto Rico was a U.S. territory, and Puerto Ricans were not “immigrants”). That year, the census recorded 245,623 Puerto Ricans living in the continental United States.

The 1950 census is also significant because it utilized a rudimentary attempt to count the overall “Hispanic/Latino” (these labels still had not come into being by 1950, however) population by counting surnames. Using a list of numerous common Spanish and Latin American surnames, the Census Bureau counted the number of such surnames that appeared on the forms collected in Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. This methodology was highly prone to error, given that the only surname that appeared on the census form was that of the head of household; if the head of household had a Spanish surname, it was assumed that the other members of the household were also “Hispanic/Latino.”

Of course, this protocol discounts cases of Anglo–Mexican intermarriage that have long taken place in the borderlands region by which an Anglo wife would customarily take the surname of her Mexican husband. Likewise, a Mexican woman married to an Anglo man would have likely adopted her husband’s non-Hispanic surname, thus distorting the count. Furthermore, limiting this count to five southwestern states overlooked Hispanics/Latinos living in other parts of the country, such as Chicago and Michigan—both of which had sizable Mexican communities dating to the early decades of the 20th century

who were drawn to the region by employment opportunities in both industrial and agricultural work. The federal government did not officially discard the use of Spanish surnames as a means of enumerating the “Hispanic/Latino” population until 1980.

The 1970 Census and OMB Directive 15

By the 1970s, the Hispanic/Latino population in the United States had become quite diverse in terms of ethno-national ancestry, cultural and linguistic background, geographic concentration, and length of family history in the United States. Certain families in the southwest, particularly in Texas and New Mexico, had now resided in the United States for well over a century, dating back to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, while Mexico had become a leading source of legal and undocumented immigration during the post-Depression era. At the same time, millions of Mexican Americans/Chicanos were the U.S.-born children and grandchildren of immigrants who entered the United States between 1910 and 1950.

At the same time, New York City boasted a large Puerto Rican population, and significant Puerto Rican communities had also been established in Philadelphia, Chicago, and throughout New Jersey. Between 1945 and 1970, approximately one-third of Puerto Rico’s population had emigrated to the mainland United States, either as a result of Operation Bootstrap, labor recruitment by U.S. employers, or to reunite with family members already living on the mainland. Fidel Castro’s Communist revolution in 1959 led to a massive influx of hundreds of thousands of Cuban refugees, with the vast majority taking up residence in the Miami–Dade County area.

Given this backdrop, the 1970 census was the first to attempt to count the entire Hispanic/Latino population throughout the entire nation, and it was also the first to classify Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other persons of Latin American and Spanish-speaking ancestries under one category. However, the efforts to count the Hispanic/Latino population in 1970 were convoluted and only appeared on the two versions of the “sample” or “long form” of the census (which is distributed only to a small fraction of all households), as opposed to the “short form” of the census (which is distributed to all

households). Using the label *Spanish* in a manner akin to the way “Hispanic” or “Latino” is used today, one version of the long form asked respondents to select which, if any, of the following six criteria applied to them:

- Spanish origin
- Spanish surname
- Spanish language
- Spanish heritage
- Spanish-language surname
- Spanish birth or parentage

The alternate version of the 1970 long form census asked respondents to indicate, “Is this person’s origin or descent . . .” and the possible responses were the following:

- Mexican
- Puerto Rican
- Cuban
- Central or South American
- Other Spanish
- No, none of these

The differing versions of the long form census produced contrasting results, largely because subsequent scrutiny revealed that several hundreds of thousands of persons living in states such as Kentucky, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi identified as “Central or South American” out of apparent confusion that this question was referring to the central and southern region of the United States instead of Latin America. Nevertheless, analysis of the sets of data from the 1970 census indicates that the “Spanish origin” population at the time was approximately 9 to 10 million persons. Approximately 20 percent of the “Spanish origin” in 1970 was foreign born.

The U.S. government officially created “Hispanic” as an ethnic category under Directive 15, issued in May 1977 by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), that established racial and ethnic categories that were to be used by federal, state, and local agencies to monitor compliance with federal antidiscrimination and equal opportunity legislation. The four racial categories established under OMB Directive 15 included (1) white, (2) black or African American, (3) American Indian or Alaska Native, and (4) Asian or Pacific Islander.

In addition, the directive established “Hispanic” as an ethnic category whose members could be of any of the named four races (in 1997, the Office of Management and Budget modified its Hispanic category slightly to “Hispanic or Latino” in response to the growing popularity of the term as a label of self-identification, particularly in the northeast). Directive 15 officially defined a Hispanic as “a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.”

1980 to 2010: The Emergence of the words *Hispanic* and *Latino*

In accordance with the categories and guidelines implemented under OMB Directive 15, the 1980 census featured the debut of the “Hispanic” label. As in 1970, the 1980 census (and all others since) allowed respondents to freely self-identify their race and ethnicity, as opposed to previous decades in which the census taker would often conjecture the response to this question without asking the head of household and recording his or her data accordingly.

The 1980 census asked respondents to first indicate their race, followed by a question that asked whether or not they were Hispanic. This question specifically read, “Is this person of Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent?” Possible responses included the following:

- No
- Yes, Mexican, Mexican-Amer., Chicano
- Yes, Puerto Rican
- Yes, Cuban
- Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic

Given the confusion that “Central or South American” had caused during the previous census, this description was omitted from the 1980 census. Another major change in 1980 was the inclusion of the Spanish/Hispanic origin question on the short form of the census, which was distributed to 100 percent of households. Nevertheless, this question still generated a degree of misunderstanding, as a few hundred thousand non-Hispanic respondents circled the “Amer.” abbreviation on the “Yes, Mexican, Mexican-Amer., Chicano” line of the census. This led the Census Bureau to further abridge the label to

“Mexican-Am” on the 1990 form. The 1980 census recorded 14.6 million Hispanics in the United States, and projecting a surge in population growth over the next 10 years, the media at this time dubbed the 1980s the “Decade of the Hispanic.”

The Hispanic population diversified considerably throughout the Reagan-Bush years, fueled especially by the entrance of Dominicans, Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and Nicaraguans, among others. Since the late 1970s, civil wars between left-wing and right-wing military forces in various Central American nations created political chaos, environmental destruction, and human rights atrocities that prompted hundreds of thousands of displaced persons to seek refuge in the United States. Dominican migration stemmed primarily from the pursuit of employment and economic opportunities. Whereas the vast majority of Dominicans settled in the Boston–New York–Philadelphia region, Guatemalans and Salvadorans tended to settle in the Los Angeles area. Many Nicaraguans settled in Florida, where their anti-Communist struggle resonated with established Cuban refugees who had previously fled the Castro regime. By 1990, the Hispanic population had increased to 22 million.

Future Changes

Despite both the major and the subtle changes that have been implemented over the past 40 years in an effort to produce a more accurate count of the nation’s rapidly growing Hispanic/Latino population, criticism and dissatisfaction persist with the protocol by which persons are to indicate whether they are of Hispanic/Latino ancestry as well as their race. Critics contend that asking respondents (of any background) to identify their ethnicity, followed by another question that asks them to indicate their race causes confusion—particularly

among persons who are Hispanic/Latino. Indeed, many Americans find designations such as “non-Hispanic white” and “Hispanic black” contradictory and bemusing. Since 1990, Hispanic/Latino respondents have disproportionately identified as “some other race” on census forms.

With these considerations in mind, the Census Bureau is currently considering changing the way it collects data by race for the 2020 census. Specifically, a new proposal calls for a combined “race or ethnic origin” question that contains no mention of either word. The proposed question would read: “Are you . . .” followed by seven possible answers from which respondents would be asked to select:

- White
- Black, African American, or Negro
- Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish Origin
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Native Hawai‘ian or Other Pacific Islander
- Some Other Race or Origin

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See Also: Cuban Americans; Hispanic Americans; Mexican Americans; Puerto Ricans; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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History of the Census

The United States was founded in a period that had a strong faith in enumeration, but enumeration was not unique to the republic. Political arithmetic described a policy of population management that took into account the quantification of the homeland's resources and inhabitants. It is not surprising, then, that the Constitution includes a provision for a decennial population count. From the start, this census showed signs of an interest in race. In its decennial enumerations, the census has reflected the changing attitudes toward race and difference; its earliest history is embedded in the history of slavery. Around the turn of the 20th century, it reflected a discomfort with the color line in its uncertainty of how to count mixed-raced individuals, and in its modern implementation, the census offers an expression of the nation's attitude toward diversity and pluralism.

First Enumerations

Political representation in the House of Representatives was determined proportionally to the population of each state. As a result of the so-called three-fifths compromise, the population of enslaved persons would be counted as 60 percent toward the total for that state. In addition, the same constitutional article specifies that "Indians not taxed" are not counted for political apportionment, meaning that Native Americans who lived on reservations or were not members of the civic bodies of the United States should not be enumerated.

In order to accomplish its constitutional task, it was necessary for the census to count only free persons and the enslaved, and anything else was

technically in excess. James Madison, who was on the committee that defined the scope of the census, wanted to distinguish free blacks from whites, men from women, and boys from men in order to understand the voting population. In fact, Madison also wished to include occupations so that members of Congress could better understand the nation; nonetheless, only the extra categories of race and gender were included in this first census.

The 1790 census, managed by the judicial branch, sent out federal marshals as enumerators who were instructed to count people in five categories: free white men over the age of 16, free white men under the age of 16, free white women, all other free people, and the enslaved. Determining racial classification was the responsibility of the enumerator. This enumeration counted 3.9 million Americans, of whom 3.1 million were white (80 percent), 59,000 (1 percent) blacks ("free colored"), and 0.7 million (18 percent) enslaved individuals.

The second census of 1800 counted free white males and females in five categories: younger than 10 years old, 10 to 16, 16 to 26, 26 to 45, and older than 45. The census also included the categories of other free persons, except for untaxed Native Americans and the number of enslaved people. An effort was made for a more ambitious social survey and Thomas Jefferson, among others, urged Congress to determine important statistics about the population's age, nativity, marital status, and occupation. These changes were not approved on the grounds that the Constitution did not provide the authority for this project but also because it was believed that the American people would resent this intrusion into their private lives.

The third census of 1810 enumerated nearly identical categories as in 1800.

The enumeration of the fourth census in 1820 was similar to prior censuses but added a sixth category to the count of the number of free white males (16–18); in addition, the “colored” and white people not naturalized. Free colored persons and enslaved persons were counted in four categories: less than 14 years old, 14 and 26, 26 and 45, and older than 45. There was also a category for “other.”

Expansion of the Census

As time went on, Congress slowly yielded to the pressure to gather more information from its decennial count. In 1830, the census used a pre-printed schedule for the first time. Free white men and women were counted in more exact categories: under 5 years of age, 5 and 10, 10 and 15, 15 and 20, 20 and 30, 30 and 40, 40 and 50, 50 and 60, 60 and 70, 70 and 80, 80 and 90, 90 and 100, and older than 100. Enslaved and free colored men and women were also counted in finer categories: under 10 years of age, 10 and 24, 24 and 36, 36 and 55, 55 and 100, and older than 100. In recognition of the public’s duty toward the disabled, an additional count was made of the ages of the blind and the deaf and dumb in two categories: white, or slaves and colored; and for three age groups: under 14 years, 14 and 25, and older than 25. For white people, a count was made to identify unnaturalized foreigners.

This attempt to quantify the disabled, however, became a disaster in the census of 1840, which some have labeled the “census of the insane.” The fifth census had very similar schedules as the census of 1830, except that there was an increased attempt to enumerate the deaf, blind, illiterate, feeble-minded, and insane by race and mode of support. Although perhaps coming from a noble motivation, the first returns of this census found free African Americans in the northern states to be beset by epidemic rates of insanity; the rate of insanity was found to be 11 times higher than in the south. Proslavery politicians used this information to contend that slavery was beneficial to the enslaved. In the debate that followed the 1840 enumeration, both sides of the issue argued the means used to obtain the facts and the conclusions that could be drawn from them.

These statistics reinforced the health model of insanity, which suggested that it was a disease brought about from vicious habits and uncontrolled passions. According to South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun, this census proved that slavery was necessary for the health of the enslaved. When freed, he said, the slave proved to be “incapable of self care and sinks into lunacy.” However, Edward Jarvis, a founder of the American Statistical Association, suspected something was wrong with the figures. In towns where the census recorded no blacks, the figures also showed there were many insane blacks. Furthermore, the rate of insanity for whites was about the same in the north and the south. But while the rate of insane blacks in the north was wildly high, in the south, the rate of insanity among blacks was outrageously low.

The simple explanation to this 1840 disparity was that lay enumerators, with only a vague notion of what it meant to be insane, were performing the count. Social and economic definitions also conspired to create the inaccuracy. Insanity is most recognizable at institutions, and slave owners would not remand slaves to institutions if they could work, since the owner would have to pay the institution’s bill. Without taking this into consideration and without a strict definition of insanity and a means to measure its incidence, the model presented did not accurately represent the population. But as Calhoun’s speech demonstrates, once data were calculated and distributed, it was difficult to undo what had been done.

The 1850 census was the first time that the government counted mixed-race individuals. Along with counting numbers of blacks and whites, the seventh census added a third category of “mulatto.” As with the count of the insane of 1840, a specific definition of mixed race was not provided; enumerators were just told to indicate “b” for black and “m” for mulatto. The reason for this count was perhaps an effort to test beliefs about the inferiority of mixed-race individuals, given the growing sentiment of southern doctors like Josiah Clark Nott, who believed that human races were in fact distinct species. In this census, a special schedule for the enslaved listed each person by name, gender, age, and owner; whether they were black or mulatto; deaf, dumb, blind,



A mixed-race former slave sits for a photograph in her house near Greensboro, Alabama, in May 1941. The 1850 census had added a category for “mulatto,” the first time the census had identified mixed-race people.

insane, or idiots; the number of fugitives from the state; and the number manumitted. This census was the first time that the names of all members of a household were recorded; before then, only the head of household’s name was listed in the record.

The enumeration for the 1860 census was in many ways the same as in 1850, but the report was abbreviated because of the Civil War. This eighth report is somewhat infamous because the superintendent of this census noted that the statistics showed that the African American population was declining. Indeed, the population of the south during the history of the census had not been growing as fast as in the north, causing a

decrease in southern seats in the House of Representatives. Given the increasing interest in the Native American population, “Ind” was listed in the “color” column for Native Americans who have “renounced” tribal rule and exercise the rights of citizens. Although this census was the first time that Native Americans were counted, untaxed Native Americans remained uncounted. In this enumeration, 4.3 million (81 percent) were counted as white, 0.1 million (2 percent) were “free colored,” and 0.9 million (17 percent) were enslaved blacks. A count was also made of 41,725 “civilized Indians.”

Postwar Inconsistencies

The three-fifths compromise was no longer relevant after the Civil War; the second clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution specified that members of the House of Representatives would be determined by a count of the “whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed.” Nevertheless, the 1870 census continued to tally the population according to its standards of racial difference. The ninth census is notable because it lists the names of all African Americans, including their surnames and place of birth, making this enumeration an important resource for genealogical research.

In addition, the increasing number of Chinese immigrants (who had starting coming to the United States in 1850) caused the addition of “Chinese” (which included all east Asians) to the category of color. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act would be signed into law, suspending Chinese immigration until 1943. Native Americans had been counted in 1860, but for this census, “Indians” was used for the first time as a category. The term *mulatto* was defined for enumerators; in this census, the instructions said the term meant “any person having a trace of African blood.” The instructions to marshals also admonished the enumerators that “important scientific results depend upon the correct determination of this.”

The 1880 census used a similar methodology, but for this enumeration, a special schedule for Native Americans was developed. Starting in 1880, the census was managed by the executive branch. In 1890, for the first time the census included the term *race*; previous census enumerations had used the word *color* instead. This, the

11th census, took a closer look at the category of “east Asians,” dividing this group into Japanese, Chinese, and others. This census attempted to define mixed-race individuals more carefully. Enumerators were told that “black” should be used to mean individuals with three-fourths or more black blood; “mulatto,” should indicate individuals who had from three-eighths to five-eighths black blood; “quadroon,” should be used to indicate individuals who had one-fourth black blood; and “octroon,” should be used to describe individuals who had any trace of black blood up to one-eighth.

The 1890 census is remarkable for several other reasons. Statistics gained from this census would become the quotas used in the Immigration Act of 1924, limiting the annual number of immigrants from each country to 2 percent of the number counted in 1890. In addition, punch cards were created from the schedules used in the field and tabulated by a machine created by Herman Hollerith. It is also significant because it did not attempt to gather data on westward expansion, inspiring Frederick Jackson Turner’s essay about the closing the American frontier, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” which he delivered to the American Historical Association in 1893. Many of the records of this census were destroyed in a 1921 fire.

The 1900 census was further modified, removing the category of mulatto. Enumerators were instructed to use “w” for white, “b” for black (which was described as “Negro or Negro descent”), “ch” for Chinese; “jp” for Japanese, and “in” for Native American (“Indian”). The 13th census in 1910 reversed some of these changes, including the count of “other” race and the code “mu” for mulatto. Although both the 1900 and 1910 censuses had separate schedules for Native Americans, the 1920 census did not. In 1920, Hindu, Korean, and Filipino were added to the “color or race” question. In the 14th census, it was reported that for the first time, more people were living in cities than in rural areas.

Toward a Multicultural Census

In the 1930 census, a eugenicist bent was used to again eliminate the category of mulattos, formally instilling the philosophy of hypodescent, the so-called one drop rule. In this 15th census, enumerators were told that “white” was to be used

only for pure-blooded individuals. In the situation of “mixed” individuals, they were to be classified according to the “nonwhite racial strain.” In addition, there were very explicit directions for determining race.

These descriptions, however, betray some confusion and inconsistency. A person with mixed white and black ancestry was to be classified as black. A black person who was mixed with Native American was usually classified as black, unless the Native American blood predominated and the person was accepted as a Native American. Mixes of white and Native American were scored as Native American, unless the percentage was small and the person was accepted as white in the community. A mixture of white and another race was to be classified as that other race. “Mexican” was listed as a race in this census only; all persons born in Mexico or having parents born in Mexico who did not seem to be white, black, Native American, Chinese, or Japanese were counted as Mexican.

All mixes with white, however, were reported as the same race as the parent who was not white. This enumeration can be thought of as the nadir in terms of its lack of sensitivity toward race. In this enumeration, 88.7 percent of the total population of 122.8 million were counted as white, 9.7 percent were counted as African American (“Negro”), 1.2 percent were counted as Mexican, 0.3 percent were counted as Native American (“Indian”), Chinese and Japanese were found to be 0.1 percent, while Filipino, Hindu, Korean, Hawai’ian, Malay, Siamese, and Samoan were found to be less than 0.1 percent.

For the 1940 census, Mexicans were returned to the category of white unless they were definitely Native American or some other race. The other choices in this 16th survey included Native American (listed as “Indian”), Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hindu, Korean, and other. For the 17th census in 1950, Hindu and Korean were no longer race choices; individuals who were not black or white had to choose from Native American (“Indian”), Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and other.

Although the 1950 census removed the word *color* from descriptions, the word returned in the 1960 enumeration. In the 1960 census, for the first time “American Indian” instead of “Indian” was used; other choices were Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawai’ian, Part Hawai’ian, Aleut, and

Eskimo. For this enumeration, computers were used in tallying. This census made a greater use of sampling: there was a brief count of every person in a dwelling by enumerators, and more detailed follow-up questions were left in every fourth home.

In the wake of the civil rights movement, there was a growing awareness of the increasing diversity of the United States. The 1970 census did have many similarities in the way it counted race to enumerations earlier in the century; for instance, it categorized individuals into white, Negro, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and other. These categories, however, were designed for self-identification of respondents, and the enumerator instructions listed many possible responses to help individuals determine the proper category. “Chicano,” “LaRaza,” “Mexican American,” and “Moslem” were tallied as white, while “brown (Negro)” could be considered as black for census purposes.

For the 1970 enumeration, forms were mailed to 60 percent of Americans in urban areas in the first effort to discontinue use of dedicated enumerators. Spanish language forms were enclosed in areas with high numbers of Spanish-speaking households. In this census, 87.5 percent of the population identified itself as white, 11.1 percent as black, and 1.4 percent as other. In 1980, census forms were mailed to 95.5 percent of the population because of the 1970 success. This enumeration divided the population into five groups: white (83.1 percent), black (11.7 percent), American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut (0.6 percent), Asian and Pacific Islander (1.5 percent), and other (3 percent).

The 21st census in 1980 had more than a dozen racial/ethnic categories for individuals to choose from: white, black/Negro, American Indian (print tribe), Eskimo, Aleut, Chinese, Filipino, Hawai‘ian, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, Asian Indian, Samoan, Guamanian, and other race. In addition, respondents were asked if they were of Hispanic origin, allowing them to indicate Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Spanish/Hispanic. The enumeration in 1990 showed that the diversity of the United States was increasing. While those counting themselves as white had increased only by 6 percent, Asians and Pacific Islanders had increased by 108 percent; American Indians, Eskimos, and

Aleuts had increased by 38 percent; and blacks had increased by 13 percent.

Twenty-First Century

In 2000, for the first time, individuals could check more than one response for race, indicating their multiracial or multiethnic identity. The instructions clearly stated that a respondent could mark “one or more races,” and there was a choice of five races based on new 1997 definitions from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB): white, black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawai‘ian and Pacific Islander. The OMB standard did not allow for Hispanic or Latino to be selected as a race, but did permit an individual of “Spanish origin” to be designated. In addition, in 2000 there was an opportunity to select “some other race.” Based on these six choices, there were 57 possible combinations.

In 2000, if an individual wrote in something like “black,” “Afro American,” “Nigerian,” or “Haitian,” he or she was counted as black; if someone wrote in “Burmese,” “Hmong,” or “Pakistani,” they were tallied as Asian, and if someone wrote in “Tahitian,” “Mariana Islander,” or “Chuukese,” he or she was counted as “Native Hawai‘ian or Other Pacific Islander.” All that remained in the tally of “some other race” were responses that could not be incorporated into Office of Management and Budget categories, such as “Mexican,” “Cuban,” “Moroccan,” “South African,” or “Belizean.” Of the 281.4 million Americans counted in this census, 15.4 million (5.5 percent) identified themselves as “some other race” and 6.8 million (2.4 percent) selected two or more races. An overwhelming amount (93 percent) reported more than two races, however, chose just two. “White” and “some other race” was the most popular choice (32 percent), “white” and “American Indian and Alaska Native was second (16 percent), “white” and “Asian” was third (13 percent), and “white” and “black or African American” was fourth (11 percent).

Although the census bureau had announced in 2009 that it would attempt a count of same-sex couples, this was not realized. A Census Bureau spokesperson defended the use of the term *Negro*, which was still used on the question about race, indicating that older African Americans

sometimes refer to themselves this way. As was done since 1970, this census asked if each individual were of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin. The race question, as in 2000, allowed individuals to choose more than one box.

In 2010, the census showed that of the increase of 27.3 million people since 2000; more than half was from the Hispanic population. Of the 308.7 million Americans counted in this census, 19.1 million (6.2 percent) reported themselves as “some other race” and 9 million (2.9 percent) selected two or more races. About three-quarters of the mixed-race group was split equally between four combinations: white and black (1.8 million), white and other (1.7 million), white and Asian (1.6 million), and white and American Indian or Alaska Native (1.4 million). Overall, the group of individuals selecting “Asian” as their race grew the fastest, at 43.3 percent over the number in 2000.

Plans under way for the 2020 census include operational changes, such as an option for Internet response, but there are also reports that the question regarding race needs to change. In 2010, the Census Bureau conducted an experiment to test reforms to the way the census asks questions about race and origin. The bureau posited that the use of the word *Negro* and counting Hispanic as an ethnicity while also asking respondents to choose a race has led to lower rates of response to the ethnicity and race questions (3.5 percent to 5.7 percent of respondents do not answer the race question, and 4.1 percent to 5.4 percent do not answer the question regarding Hispanic origin).

To test this theory, the Census Bureau sent a test questionnaire that combined the race and origin questions, among other proposed changes. In this experiment, the bureau found that non-response rates dropped to between 0.6 percent to 1.2 percent. Furthermore, the bureau found

that removing the term *Negro* did not reduce the number of respondents who identified as black. In focus group interviews after the experiment, Hispanics reported that the instructions on the standard 2010 race question prevented their racial self-identification. For 2020, the Census Bureau has also made a commitment to count legally married, same-sex couples.

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See Also: Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Immigration Acts; Mixed-Race Americans; Mulatto; Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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Multiple Race Categorization

In 2000, the U.S. Bureau of the Census allowed for multiple race categorization for the first time. In all prior censuses, while the various races and ethnicities have changed over time, individuals were always required to check only one box. However, in the 1990s, several multiracial organizations advocated for a mixed-race option. The consideration of a multiracial category was not without controversy, however, as many interest groups expressed concern over shifting numbers. Because census data is used to determine compliance with civil rights legislation and the Voting Rights Act, a loss in population counts could have important consequences for some racial and ethnic groups. Multiple race categorization was developed as a compromise and was instituted by the Office of Management and Budget in 1997.

History of Race Mixture and the Census

The Census Bureau has tracked race and ethnicity since the first decennial census was collected in 1790. The way in which race and ethnicity have been counted has shifted over time with changing social and cultural understandings of race and ethnicity. For example, various questions to count American Indians and the Chinese were introduced in the 1800s. The 1890 census added the Japanese to its counts, and the 1900 census included an expanded questionnaire for American Indians. By 1930, the number of Asian groups specified increased, and “Mexican” as a race category was added that year when census takers collected the information. Notably, while the categories have changed considerably, race mixture has only occasionally been recognized in the census through the occasional use of the term

mulatto, beginning in 1850 (as well as the terms *quadroon* and *octoroon* briefly in 1890) and last used in 1920, in favor of a shift to the one drop rule or hypodescent.

Indeed, for most of the 20th century, no multiple race categories were used nor were many efforts made to do so. By the 1960s, increasing diversity through increased intermarriage and immigration alongside the civil rights movement pushed forward a public consciousness not only about race and ethnic identity but also the value of accurate data in analyzing inequality and discrimination. As a result, the 1960s also marked a shift in the value of racial classification data, as it was used to validate compliance with new civil rights legislation.

Efforts to Change the Census

Kimberly DaCosta notes that for the first time, the 1970 census allowed respondents to self-report race. Before that time, census takers were tasked with determining racial and ethnic identity, fostering the idea that racial categories served the purpose of recording individual self-identity. At the same time, because of the civil rights movement, racial identity had come to be understood as indicative of one’s political beliefs and solidarities. In anticipation of the 1980 census, in 1977, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issued Statistical Policy Directive No. 15, Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting, which was intended to provide better indicators of discrimination by standardizing racial categories across all government agencies. In doing so, it mandated the use of only four racial categories in official data: American Indian



For most of the 20th century, no multiple race categories were used in the census. Multiracial families like this one helped lead the 1990s movement for recognition of the multiracial population.

or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islanders, black, and white. Hispanic was added as an ethnicity category, inclusive of all races, as a result of a hastily added subsample that tested the collection of Hispanic data in 1970, alongside the addition of an “other race” option. No additional changes (with the exception of additional national origin categories) were made until 2000.

In the interim period however, the OMB Directive No. 15 was subject to numerous challenges. It was the subject of several controversies, including complaints and lawsuits for undercounting minorities because of the mail-in system of the 1970, 1980, and 1990 censuses. In addition, a variety of groups began pressuring the OMB to disaggregate categories such as white or black, or move from one category to another.

The OMB, for its part, sought to avoid controversies and undermining civil rights enforcement while seeking to respond to criticism. It also had practical concerns about data analysis and the reliability of such counts that would include

new categories. The OMB had, in fact, considered several changes, including a multiracial option as early as the 1980s, when the concept of multiracial was just becoming popularized. Kim Williams notes that the proposal was made in 1988 and subsequently dropped in response to opposition from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Because civil rights organizations had already charged that such undercounts were detrimental and that the inclusion of a multiracial category would add unnecessary complexity, OMB officials were wary of any significant change. In order to manage each group’s concerns carefully and avoid further controversy, in 1993, the OMB launched an extensive review of the racial category item.

In 1993, four proposals were made to amend the race portion of the 2000 census: the addition of a multiracial category, the addition of a Middle Eastern category, the shift of Native Hawaiians from the Asian and Pacific Islander to the Native American category, and the inclusion of Hispanic as a race category.

Multiracial Movement

In the 1970s and 1980s, several organizations were formed around the growing number of multiple-heritage families who wanted a space to organize around their experiences of exclusion and a lack of recognition within institutional contexts. Largely concentrated on the West Coast, most advocates were mothers who sought inclusion for their children. Multiracial activists argued that the current format of the census denied multiracials public recognition, as well as the ability to track discrimination against multiracial individuals. Kim Williams reports that in 1988, many of these local groups banded together to form the Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans (AMEA), whose primary purpose was to legally eliminate discrimination against multiracial individuals and families by adding a multiracial category to the census. Other groups, including Project RACE (Reclassify All Children Equally) and A Place For US, joined AMEA in its effort to change the census.

While multiracial organizations came together to form a movement under the premise that they were a minority group that deserved recognition

by the state, Kimberly DaCosta notes that their opponents treated multiracials as a statistical population, individualized, untouched by discrimination, and therefore not worthy of classification in the U.S. census. The divide touched off what proved to be a highly contentious debate.

Controversies and Debate: 1994 to 1997

As the multiracial movement advocates gained steam, many civil rights organizations expressed growing concern that a change that would lead to a multiracial category was not only unnecessary but would also fundamentally alter the minority population count. The results of such an undercount could potentially reduce their political power and would undermine existing civil rights protections. In particular, employment discrimination and enforcement of the Voting Rights Act relied heavily on race counts. These concerns were not specific to any one racial group, as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) expressed their opposition to the proposal of a mixed-race category.

Kim Williams found that different formats for the counting of multiracials were endorsed by different groups and seemed to provide the best route for compromise. Project RACE wanted a stand-alone box, while AMEA sought enumerated categories within a multiracial designation, a format endorsed by many Democratic legislators, and ultimately, the NAACP. The OMB, for its part, in 1994, moved forward with its decision to conduct open comment hearings, as well as a review and test of different options for collecting data on race and ethnicity. This additional allocation of resources for data collection and analysis from 1995 to 1996 indicated the seriousness of the proposal, sparking additional opposition from various civil rights organizations. By 1995, the issue became subject to public debate and was discussed in several national media outlets. However, by the end of that year, the OMB's tests indicated that the addition of a multiracial category would impact Asians, American Indians, and Pacific Islanders but not affect any group in a statistically significant way.

Kim Williams argues that by 1997, with a switch of the House of Representatives to Republican

control, several conservative Republicans, including Newt Gingrich and Thomas Petri, jumped into the multiracial box controversy, pushing forward the multiracial category effort. Unlike congressional Democrats, however, who expressed concerns over compliance with civil rights legislation, conservative Republicans did so in an effort to undercut the collection of race data, and by extension, race-conscious policy.

Resolution: The 2000 Census

In 1997, the Interagency Committee for the Review of the Racial and Ethnic Standards (Interagency Committee), which oversaw the revisions to OMB Directive 15, recommended that the stand-alone multiracial category be rejected in favor of the option to mark one or more races. The NAACP and other civil rights groups accepted this recommendation, although some groups that were more heavily impacted petitioned the decision. Ultimately, however, these petitions were ignored, and the OMB issued a new directive on October 30, 1997.

The 2000 census created six categories: white, black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawai'ian or other Pacific Islander, and some other race. Notably, individuals were free to check one or more of any racial category. The six categories result in 63 combinations of racial identity. Hispanic was to continue being counted as an ethnic group, in which one could be a member of any race, meaning that 126 identifications were now possible.

This move did not completely close the door on census controversies—none of the other proposals were considered, and therefore some issues such as the categorization of Hispanics remained unresolved. Additionally, some multiracial advocates were dissatisfied with the rejection of a multiracial category. Moreover, new concerns were raised over the tabulation of the new data. The OMB considered tabulation guidelines over the next three years, issuing a new directive that prioritized civil rights legislation by counting those who identified as white and a minority group to be tabulated with that minority group. And finally, changes to the census emboldened further initiatives to eliminate the collection of race data, including the proposal of Proposition 54 in California, which sought to eliminate the collection

of race data by public institutions altogether (it ultimately failed).

The Two or More Races Population

The option to identify as belonging to two or more races was exercised by a small proportion of the U.S. populace. In the 2000 census, 7.3 million people, or 2.6 percent of the population, marked two or more races. The 2010 census marked an increase of 32 percent in the two-or-more-races population to 9 million persons (3 percent of the total population). In 2010, the most common combination was white and black at 1.8 million (20.4 percent of the two-or-more-races population). This was followed by white and some other race, at 1.7 million (19.3 percent), white and Asian at 1.6 million (18 percent), and white and American Indian or Alaska Native at 1.4 million (15.9 percent). These four groups comprised approximately 74 percent of the two-or-more-races population. However, 55.95 percent of the Native Hawai'ian and Pacific Islander and 43.8 percent of the American Indian or Alaska Native groups reported in combination with one or more other races, suggesting long-term implications for those categories.

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See Also: History of the Census (Essay); Inter-marriage Demographic Trends; Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Multiracial Movement; Race Mixture in the United States.

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Native Hawai‘ian Categorization

Native Hawai‘ians represent the largest Pacific Islander group in the United States. However, their racial categorization and census count has been characterized by controversy and disagreement. Hawai‘ians have historically been uncomfortable being framed or counted as “Hawaiian Americans” because of the illegal annexation of Hawai‘i as the 50th state. Instead, this group has fought for its rights and status as the Native and Indigenous people of Hawai‘i.

Native Hawai‘ians and the Census

The year 2000 stands out as a momentous year for Hawai‘ians in that the 2000 U.S. census featured for the first time a stand-alone category for Native Hawai‘ians and other Pacific Islanders. In October 1997, under a revision of the federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Directive No. 15, the U.S. Census Bureau adopted new standards for the classification of race and ethnicity that incorporated a separate and distinct category marked as “Native Hawai‘ian or Other Pacific Islander” (NHOPI). Historically, the inclusion of Native Hawai‘ian as a separate response category did not happen overnight.

In the 1960s, the response category of “Native Hawai‘ians” was included on the census forms only for the state of Hawai‘i. In 1970, census forms included the term *Native Hawai‘ians* except Alaska; in 1980, Guamanians and Samoans were lumped into the same category as Hawai‘ians. Since 1975 through the 1990s, Hawai‘ians as a group (with its own checkbox) were lumped generally into the all-encompassing “Asian American and Pacific Islander.” The change was made in response to concerns raised by representatives

from the state of Hawai‘i, the Office of Hawai‘ian Affairs, and public and private agencies about more accurately classifying Hawai‘ians as separate from all Asian Americans. They argued that Native Hawai‘ians have a unique political relationship with the United States (as an illegally colonized group that is placed in a “trust” with the United States acting as a guardian), which should be reflected in the census classification system and derived from Pacific Islander peoples.

Historical and Political Formation of Hawai‘i

Native Hawai‘ian categorization must be remembered in context of the historical and political formation of Hawai‘i as a sovereign, independent Hawai‘ian nation and ultimately becoming the 50th U.S. state. The Hawai‘ian Kingdom was a complex, organized, and burgeoning nation in the 1700s, well before foreigners arrived in 1778. From the 1800s through the 1900s, as more foreign interests entered the islands, it became clear that Hawai‘i was no longer just for Hawai‘ians. Foreign representatives became friendly with Hawai‘ian rulers and eventually incorporated their own voices (and governmental commissions) into the daily matters, laws, policies, and business/political directions of the Hawai‘ian Kingdom.

Residents from England, Russia, Spain, and the United States took residency on the islands and even occupied valuable parcels of land. Thus, during this time, the Hawai‘ian Kingdom and its rulers faced the colonialist dissolution of the Hawai‘ian nation and culture, as Hawai‘ians became a marginalized minority in their own home. In 1893, Hawai‘i was overthrown by the

U.S. government and placed under a provisional government by the United States. It was not until 1993, 100 years later, that Congress passed a joint resolution (known as the Apology Resolution) “to acknowledge the historic significance of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, to express its deep regret to the Native Hawai‘ian people.” This resolution marked the first time the U.S. government officially recognized that “the indigenous Hawai‘ian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States,” according to the resolution.

This historical and political context that surrounds Hawai‘ians has played a major role in how Hawai‘ians perceive, understand, experience, and practice their identity. For example, because of the historically tumultuous relationship with the United States and Hawai‘i’s eventual incorporation into the American union, the term *Hawai‘ian American* has never gained currency or resonated with Hawai‘ians. For Hawai‘ians, the term *Hawai‘ian American* symbolizes the forced takeover of their home and culture by a colonial oppressor. In addition, many Hawai‘ians feel that the term *Hawai‘ian American* only emerged because Hawai‘ians as a people were forced into submitting to the stronger political and economic force of the United States.

Most Hawai‘ians understand contemporary Hawai‘ian identity in terms of the historical and political backdrop of the past. Hence, there is a strong sense of distrust among Hawai‘ians for the U.S. government and a discomfort in associating “Hawai‘ianness” with “Americanness.” It also demonstrates that Hawai‘ian identity has become increasingly politicized over the years, and such a politicization may ultimately shape how Hawai‘ians make sense of, experience, claim, and report their ethnic identity.

An important chapter of the historical and political context of Hawai‘i has been the Hawai‘ian sovereignty struggle. As early as the 1800s and 1900s and in the face of the impending colonialist overthrow, Hawai‘ians came together and organized a sovereignty movement through which a resistance force was created to fight off colonialist efforts and reinstall a native government and Hawai‘ian way of life. From this historical moment to the present day, an organized Hawai‘ian sovereignty/

nationalist movement collective was formed through which many sovereignty and grassroots movement groups worked toward Hawai‘ian independence reformation as a self-governing, sovereign nation.

Hawai‘ian sovereignty has become both a sensationalized media topic and a point of contention within the Hawai‘ian community. It has left a political divide among Hawai‘ians through which some work for sovereignty while others shun anything or anyone involved with the sovereignty struggle; still others take a midway position, believing in the goals of sovereignty but not wanting to get so involved politically. Thus, such a political divide may factor into how Hawai‘ians report their ethnicity.

Blood Quantum and Reporting Ethnicity

The historical struggle over Hawai‘ian blood quantum also stands as a major influence over how Hawai‘ians understand and report their ethnic identity. Hawai‘ian blood quantum has been and continues to be the primary criterion through which Hawai‘ians are recognized as Native Hawai‘ian and are provided land and resources set aside for Native Hawai‘ians.

The notion of blood quantum was first introduced into the Hawai‘ian community in 1921, when the Hawai‘ian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) was congressionally approved. Such an act delineated the requirements needed for Hawai‘ians to claim entitlement to native homestead land leases set aside by the U.S. government, which imposed a strict definition to be considered a Native Hawai‘ian based on a minimum amount of Hawai‘ian blood. The act read: “The term ‘Native Hawai‘ian’ means any descendent of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawai‘ian Islands previous to 1778.”

As a result, a 50 percent blood quantum amount was specified as the necessary requirement for being considered and recognized as a true Native Hawai‘ian. Such a 50 percent blood quantum became utilized by most federal and state programs set aside for Hawai‘ians and continues in force to this day.

Census 2010 to Present

As a result of the newly fashioned category slated for Hawai‘ians, the U.S. Census Bureau and

federal and state demographers have released several census reports and estimates about the size and demographic attributes of Hawai'ians in the United States. After the U.S. Census 2010, the following factors arose:

- Hawai'ians represent the largest Pacific Islander group in the United States.
- Hawai'ians have been migrating to the mainland since the late 1700s, and such a migration has complicated how mainland Hawai'ians understand, experience, claim, and report their ethnic identity in this different regional context.
- The majority of Hawai'ians belong to more than one ethnic background, and such multiethnicity may influence how they make sense of and report their Hawai'ianness (if at all).
- Knowledge about how Hawai'ians make sense of, understand, claim, and report their Hawai'ian identity can provide needed information to better serve and meet the needs of Hawai'ians in the United States.

More accurate census counts may translate into a more precise allocation of resources and monies to Native Hawai'ians (for example, in federal dollars, program support, accurate drawing of political boundaries, and enforcement of civil rights) that meet their needs for services, federal recognition, and monetary support.

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See Also: Hawai'i, Annexation of; Hawai'ians (Native); History of the Census (Essay); Native Americans; Pacific Islander Americans.

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Occupational Patterns

What has come to be called the Great Recession has impacted many people in the labor force, particularly the young and minorities. Indeed, the recession has determined if some Americans will go to college, when others will leave home, or when and if they will marry or have children. It has also affected decisions about homeownership and distributed wealth in ways that have been particularly negative for minorities.

Even before the recession hit, minorities were in a more precarious financial position than whites, largely because they had fewer viable employment opportunities. But, as the economy and labor market declined, so did the wealth and well-being of American families, hitting minorities especially hard. All of this took place at a time when the growth of minority communities and immigrant populations were especially high. Between 2000 and 2008, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, 83 percent of all population growth was among nonwhites.

Declining Standard of Living

The proportion of Americans living in poverty was 15 percent (46.2 million) in 2011, little changed from 2010, and the highest number in the 53 years since the Census Bureau has collected that statistic. In addition, the Census Bureau reported that median household income in 2011 dropped 1.5 percent to \$50,054—the lowest level since 1995, when adjusted for inflation—while the gap between rich and poor households rose. Meanwhile, the jobless rate remained at 8.1 percent, and homeownership dropped for a fifth straight year to 64.6 percent, the lowest in more than a

decade, hurt by more rigorous financing rules and a shift to renting.

Differences in Occupations

Different ethnic and racial groups are represented in different occupations. For example, among employed men, nearly half (48 percent) of Asians worked in management, professional, and related occupations in 2010, compared with 35 percent of whites, 24 percent of blacks, and 15 percent of Hispanics.

Employed black and Hispanic men were more likely than other men to work in production, transportation, and material moving occupations. Nearly one-half of employed Hispanic men were in two job groups: natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations; and production, transportation, and material moving occupations. Hispanic women showed the highest figures in service occupations.

Disparities in Earnings

The wealth gap between whites and some minorities is at a 25-year high. In 2010, median usual weekly earnings of Asian and white men working full-time in management, professional, and related occupations (the highest-paying major occupation group) were \$1,408 and \$1,273, respectively. Those figures were well above the earnings of Hispanic men (\$1,002) and black men (\$957) in the same occupation group.

In 2011, median weekly earnings of Hispanics who worked full-time were at \$549—significantly lower than those of blacks or African Americans (\$615), whites (\$775), and Asians (\$866). Blacks ages 16 to 24 had median weekly earnings of

\$404, about the same as their Hispanic counterparts (\$410).

Among women in management, professional, and related occupations, median usual weekly earnings of Asian women (\$1,143) were higher than those of white women (\$932), black women (\$812), and Hispanic women (\$789).

The median wealth or net worth of Hispanic households fell by 66 percent from 2005 to 2009. By contrast, the median wealth of whites fell by just 16 percent over the same period. African Americans saw their wealth drop by 53 percent. Asians also saw a big decline, with household wealth dropping 54 percent.

Some experts believe that minorities need to be better educated about finances, noting that only 46 percent of African Americans and 40 percent of Hispanics invest in retirement plans, compared to 56 percent of whites. They argue that there needs to be an education component to help minorities learn how to save, which in turn will make them less vulnerable to economic instability during a recession.

Immigrant Workers

Census figures showed a slowing growth in the foreign-born population, which increased to 40.4 million, or 13 percent of the U.S. population. Last year's immigration increase of 400,000 people was the lowest in a decade, reflecting a minimal gain of Latinos after many Mexicans already in the United States opted to return home. The bulk of new immigrants are now higher-skilled workers from Asian countries, such as China and India, contributing to increases in the foreign-born populations in California, New York, Illinois, and New Jersey.

Hispanic Population Growth

The expansion in the Hispanic or Latino population crossed the 50 million mark for the first time in 2010, making people of Hispanic origin the second-largest group in the country. The total Hispanic population in 2010 was 50,477,594 or 16.3 percent of the total U.S. population, a 43 percent increase from a decade ago. A large portion of the minority growth is attributed to a rise in the Hispanic youth population.

Yet, while their numbers are growing, their wealth is declining. Hispanic families accounted



A Hispanic woman working in a retail store. Many Hispanics continue to work in manual or service industry jobs, and a full 65 percent of Hispanic women work in just two job groups: service occupations and sales, and office occupations.

for the largest single drop in wealth of any ethnic and racial group in the country during the recession, according to a study by the Pew Research Center in 2011. Using data collected by the Census Bureau, the study found that the median wealth of Hispanic households fell by 66 percent from 2005 to 2009. Nearly two-thirds of Hispanics' median net worth in 2005 came from home equity, according to the report, and when the housing market collapsed, so did their assets and capital.

Hispanics today are much better educated than they were 20 years ago. In 1992, 39 percent of Hispanics or Latinos age 25 and over in the labor force had not graduated from high school. By 2011, that share had dropped to 31 percent. About 12 percent of Hispanics or Latinos in the labor force had a bachelor's degree or higher in 1992. By 2011, college graduates accounted for 16 percent of the Hispanic or Latino labor force.

But while their educational attainments have improved, many Hispanics continue to work in

manual or service industry jobs. The education and health services industry employed the largest percentage of Hispanics or Latinos in 2011. Within this industry, 6 percent were employed in educational services and 10 percent in health care and social assistance. Twelve percent of employed Hispanics or Latinos worked in the retail trade industry, and 3 percent worked in wholesale trade. Eleven percent of employed Hispanics or Latinos worked in accommodation and food services (part of the leisure and hospitality industry). Construction and manufacturing industries each employed 11 percent of Hispanic or Latino workers.

Among employed women, 65 percent of Hispanics were in two job groups—service occupations and sales, and office occupations—compared with about 59 percent of blacks, 53 percent of whites, and 47 percent of Asians in the same job groups.

Unemployment rates are historically highest for Hispanics between ages 16 and 19. In 2006, the unemployment rate for Hispanic or Latino teens reached a historic low of 15.9 percent since tracking began in 1973. By 2010, that unemployment rate had doubled to 32.2 percent. Unemployment rates for other age groups have remained below those of teenagers, but Hispanics or Latinos ages 20 to 24 have higher unemployment rates than those in older age groups.

Asian Americans Making Significant Strides

Asians have also been hard hit by the recession, losing their top ranking to whites in median household wealth, dropping from \$168,103 in 2005 to \$78,066 in 2009. As with Hispanics, many Asians during this period were concentrated in states like California that took a beating from the housing downturn. In addition, more recent arrivals of new Asian immigrants, who tend to be poor, also drove down the median wealth. However, Asians have fared better, not only in the types of jobs they find but also in their overall earning potential.

In the 21st century, Asians passed Hispanics as the largest group of new immigrants to the United States. In addition to being the fastest-growing racial group in the country, today's Asian Americans earn the highest incomes and are the best educated. Just a century ago, most Asian Americans were low-skilled, low-wage laborers.

According to a nationwide survey by the Pew Research Center, Asians are more satisfied than the general public with their lives, finances, and the direction of the country, and they place more value than other Americans on marriage, parenthood, hard work, and career success. They are also much more likely than other minority groups to live in racially mixed neighborhoods.

The educational credentials of many of these recent arrivals are also impressive. More than six in 10 (61 percent) adults ages 25 to 64 who have come from Asia in recent years have at least a bachelor's degree. About four in 10 (43 percent) say Asian Americans are more successful than other racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. More recent immigrants, however, tend to be somewhat less optimistic in these assessments than those who arrived before 2000.

Of the jobs held by Asian men and women, nearly 50 percent were in management, professional, and related occupations, compared to African American men (23.5 percent), African American women (33.8 percent), Hispanic men (15.3 percent), and Hispanic women (24.1 percent).

Despite often sizable subgroup differences, Asian Americans are distinctive as a whole, especially when compared with all U.S. adults, whom they exceed not just in the portion of those with a college degree (49 percent versus 28 percent), but also in median annual household income (\$66,000 versus \$49,800) and median household wealth (\$83,500 versus \$68,529).

African Americans Abandoning the North

One hundred years ago blacks began heading to the north to escape the racism of Jim Crow and to find greater employment opportunity. In recent years, this Great Migration has begun to reverse itself. The *New York Times* reported in 2011 that the south's share of black population growth is about 75 percent of the country's total. While some of the migrants are older retirees—consistent with the broader demographic shift of Americans who leave the Rust Belt for the Sun Belt—many are “buppies”—young, college-educated, upwardly mobile black professionals. Typically this migration has been urban-to-urban, with the biggest gains in black population in cities like Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston. But more and more blacks are now moving to the suburbs. Blacks are

being drawn to the south by lower taxes, lighter regulations, faster employment growth, and better public services. The higher cost of living in northern cities, from utilities to health care, has also contributed to the move. This remigration may shift the political balance of power in traditionally conservative states like Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, and Florida.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Educational Achievement; Kerner Commission Report; *Other America, The*; Socioeconomic Patterns (Essay).

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Pacific Islander Categorization

Only since 1997 has there been a distinct Pacific Islander categorization in the U.S. census. The actual category is “Native Hawai‘ian or Other Pacific Islander” (NHPI). The creation of this separate category is another step on a long road toward accurate auditing of our multicultural society.

Census History

The first year of the U.S. census was 1790. At that time, only questions about free whites and enslaved people were posed. The 1810 and 1820 censuses asked more questions about people freed from slavery, such as age. The 1820 census also inquired about nonnaturalized foreigners for the first time. Obviously, the changes in 1810 and 1820 had to do with cultural shifts, such as early waves of immigration into the United States and the escalating tensions surrounding slavery. Between 1830 and 1930 many different racial categories were added and deleted from the census, but none of them explicitly referred to Pacific Islanders.

The 1960 census added “color” back into the race questions, switched “Indian” to “Native American,” and added the Hawai‘ian, part-Hawai‘ian, Aleut, and Eskimo category. It also removed the “write in” option for race. These changes followed the admission of Hawai‘i to the United States. Clearly, at this point, there was a recognition that Asian and Pacific Islander categories were far more diverse than was previously understood. From 1960 to 1990 Pacific Islanders were lumped in with the Hawai‘ian, part-Hawai‘ian, Aleut, and Eskimo category.

Well before the “Native Hawai‘ian or Other Pacific Islander” census category was established

in 2000, there were at least some separate data for each group—original peoples of Hawai‘i, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands have been noted in both official records and things like church and community records. For example, U.S. immigration records show that waves of Tongans immigrated to the United States in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, and that there was a boom in the 1980s. Immigration records also have detailed data on Fijian and French Polynesians for the same decades.

Historically, Asians and Pacific Islanders were grouped together by government agencies despite the fact that the groups self-identified in significantly different ways. This tension between convenience for government agencies and self-appellation and identity formation of ethnic groups is meaningful, and this tension is likely to shape the character of these ethnic groups in the future.

The Addition of Native Hawai‘ian and Other Pacific Islander Category

The 2000 census was the first to use the category “Native Hawai‘ian and Other Pacific Islander” (NHPI). It did so in response to a 1997 White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB) notice on revision of racial categories. The notice explicitly states that the promulgated categories “represent social-political constructs designed for collecting data on the race and ethnicity of broad population groups in this country, and are not anthropologically or scientifically based.” The change followed years of lobbying, research, and scientifically designed studies.

Most of the investigation was conducted by the Interagency Committee’s Research Working

Group (Interagency Committee), cochaired by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The OMB notice based most of its directive on the report prepared by the Interagency Committee but the Pacific Islander category was an exception. The Interagency Committee recommended in its report that Native Hawaiians continue to be classified in the Asian or Pacific Islander category. However, thousands of Hawaiians opposed this move.

In the end, the OMB directed that the Asian or Pacific Islander category be divided into two categories: “Asian” and “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.” The notice described the categories as follows. The “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander” category is defined as a “person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.” The “Asian” category is defined as a “person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.”

The OMB explained its reasoning behind this change, having found the arguments of Native Hawaiians to be compelling. Native Hawaiians asserted that data specific to their social and economic situation were required to take appropriate actions in the realm of education, labor, and housing, particularly because, being a much smaller group numerically, their data was dwarfed by that of larger Asian groups. Because of this numerical pattern, it seemed that without this adjustment Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders would never be appropriately recognized for purposes of government services. Furthermore, the OMB noted that the population groups in question were well defined so there would be no added confusion based on the change.

Public health issues were also behind the change. The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander category focuses on a group of people with specific health challenges not common to other Asians. Again, because of the numerical disparity, these health issues were repeatedly given short shrift by government and private agencies. Importantly, in comparison to other ethnic groups, NHPI Americans have higher rates of smoking, alcohol consumption, and obesity.

They also have very poor access to cancer prevention and control programs. Leading causes of death among NHPI people include cancer, heart disease, unintentional injuries (accidents), stroke, and diabetes. Other health conditions and risk factors that are prominent among these people are hepatitis B, HIV/AIDS, and tuberculosis. The tuberculosis rate for NHPI Americans in 2010 was eight times higher than that for white Americans; the NHPI case rate was 16.6 per 100,000, compared to 2.0 per 100,000 for white Americans.

On a related note, the NHPI populations in America have social health issues that demand attention. For example, the infant mortality rate for Native Hawaiians in 2002 was 9.6 per 1000, higher than the rate for all Asian American/Pacific Islander groups combined (4.8 per 1,000) and for all population (7.0 per 1,000). Recognizing the NHPI category is clearly a step toward giving appropriate attention to the health concerns of NHPI citizens, and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services has unveiled a plan to raise the visibility of NHPI health issues.

Current Issues

The 2010 census reported that of the 308.7 million inhabitants of the United States, 540,000, or 0.2 percent, were Native Hawaiians or Other Pacific Islanders. Another 685,000 reported themselves to be NHPI along with one or more other races. This brings the total to 1.2 million people, about 0.4 percent of the U.S. population. Part of the significance of this is that NHPI as a population group is growing much faster than others. Furthermore, more than half of the NHPI category reported multiple race categorizations, which is much higher than for other groups.

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See Also: Hawaii, Annexation of; Hawaiians (Native); Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); Native Hawaiian Categorization (Essay); Polynesian Americans; Samoan Americans.

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Racial and Ethnic Definitions

The 2010 U.S. census was sent to every housing unit in the nation, with the objective of obtaining the most accurate count possible of the demographics of the country and each state within it. The first census was conducted in 1790, when a total national population of just under 3.9 million was reported. By contrast, the 2010 census revealed a national population of more than 308 million. Each census in the United States since 1790 has counted the American population by race and/or ethnicity, with each census up to 1840 using the categories of “Free White Males” and “Free White Females.”

The official racial and ethnic categories used by the U.S. Census Bureau have changed over the course of the nation’s history, as have the definitions of these categories. For example, the 1930 census listed “Mexican” as a racial category (the only census ever to classify Mexicans as a “racial” group). From 1940 to 1960, Mexicans were officially considered to be “white” for census purposes, unless they were “visibly Indian or Negro.” However, the 1970 census established a new category, “Spanish Origin,” to classify and count persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Spanish-speaking Latin American ancestries. In 1980, the Census Bureau transformed the “Spanish Origin” label into the category “Hispanic.”

Because racial and ethnic categories are socially constructed phenomena and because individuals differ considerably in terms of self-identification, any attempt to classify people by race or ethnicity is inherently problematic. Individuals disagree on which labels are deemed appropriate or inappropriate, just as people do not agree on the specific manner in which the officially established racial

and ethnic categories are defined. Since matters of identity politics are highly emotional, racial/ethnic labels and their definitions (both of which have been established by the federal government) are destined to generate controversy and protest from the persons who are required to identify with such labels and definitions. Such was the case with the 2010 census.

Hispanic Identity: Ethnicity, Not Race

The 2010 census contained one question pertaining to ethnicity, along with an additional question pertaining to race. Continuing with a tradition first established in 1970, Question 8 asked respondents to identify if they were of Hispanic origin. Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they were of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish ancestry by selecting from one of five possible categories:

- No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- Yes, Puerto Rican
- Yes, Cuban
- Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin (respondents who selected this answer were asked to write in their national origin, such as Argentine, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, etc.)

Importantly, the U.S. Census Bureau considered Question 8 to be a question that indicated a respondent’s ethnicity, not race. Whereas popular discourses of difference in the United States often envision Hispanic Americans or Latinos as

a “racial” group, the U.S. government officially classifies this population as an ethnic group. This has been the case since May 1977, when the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issued Directive 15, which established the official racial and ethnic standards to be used for federal statistics and administrative reporting (the OMB modified the labels and definitions slightly in 1997). OMB Directive 15 provided one *ethnic* category (Hispanic) and four *racial* categories (changed to five racial categories in 1997) to be used for recordkeeping and presentation of data on race and ethnicity by federal agencies. For census purposes, respondents are asked to identify whether they are of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity, as well as identifying their race (Question 9).

OMB Directive 15 officially defines “Hispanic” as “A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.” Because Hispanics/Latinos are often thought of as a racial group in popular and media-driven discourses, many people—Latinos and non-Latinos alike—often find the “regardless of race” stipulation confusing, if not contradictory. However, the U.S. government has established that Hispanics/Latinos can be of any race due to the fact that a vast range of phenotypic diversity in terms of skin color, hair texture, and geographic ancestral origins exists among the peoples of Latin America. Some Hispanics/Latinos are fair-complexioned with blonde hair and green or blue eyes, while others are much darker-complexioned and of visible African ancestry. Additionally, some Latinos are of primarily indigenous heritage deriving from the original, pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Americas. Skin color and physical appearance among Hispanics/Latinos thus represents a continuum, spanning the entire range of human phenotypic diversity.

Race

Question 9 of the 2010 census asked respondents to indicate their race. Following a precedent set in the 2000 census, respondents were allowed to select more than one racial category, if needed, to provide an accurate description.

The census listed 15 racial categories from which respondents could select, along with three open-ended options to write in a response:

- White
- Black, African Am., or Negro
- American Indian or Alaska Native (respondents who selected this category were required to write in the name of their “enrolled or principal tribe”)
- Asian Indian
- Chinese
- Filipino
- Japanese
- Korean
- Vietnamese
- Other Asian (respondents who selected this category were required to write in their race, “for example, Hmong, Lao-tian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on”)
- Native Hawai‘ian
- Guamanian or Chamorro
- Samoan
- Other Pacific Islander (respondents who selected this category were required to write in their race, such as Fijian or Tongan)
- Some other race (respondents who selected this category were required to write in their race)

OMB Directive 15 provided the official federal definitions for these five different racial categories. The directive defines as white “a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East.” The category Black or African American is defined as “a person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa,” while the 1997 addendum stipulated that “terms such as ‘Haitian’ or ‘Negro’ can be used in addition to ‘Black or African American.’” The directive defines American Indian or Alaska Native as “a person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America), and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment.” The official definition of Asian reads, “a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.” Finally, the Native Hawai‘ian or Other Pacific Islander

label is defined as “a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawai‘i, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.”

Interestingly, OMB Directive 15 and the 2010 census both classify the various Hispanic/Latino national origins as subdivisions of a larger “ethnic” category, while simultaneously classifying the various Asian and South Pacific nationalities as examples of distinct “racial” categories. These inconsistencies, combined with the “regardless of race” clause in the definition of the Hispanic/Latino label, drive much of the public’s confusion regarding the official classification and designation of Hispanic/Latino. Also worth noting is that only one of the aforementioned definitions, that of “Black or African American,” contains any mention or reference of race whatsoever. Curiously, this definition mentions the “black racial groups of Africa” without specifying who, exactly, constitutes such groups. Thus, the official definition of “Black or African American” constitutes a classic example of a circular definition.

The racial categories and definitions are inconsistent in others ways as well. Under these definitions, only the African continent is subdivided into more than one racial group, with some Africans classified as “White” and others classified as “Black or African American.” Furthermore, only the definition of “American Indian or Alaska Native” contains a qualifier requiring maintenance of tribal or community affiliation. While all of the definitions contain some reference to geographic ancestry, only the definition for “American Indian or Alaska Native” makes reference to cultural attributes as a necessary prerequisite for one’s inclusion in this racial category. Such inconsistencies and discrepancies illustrate the inherent challenges of attempting to pigeonhole the diversity of the American population into a small number of arbitrary, socially defined labels.

Selecting Multiple Races and Creating a “Hispanic Race?”

The 2000 census was the first in American history to permit respondents to indicate more than one racial category if it best reflected their respective ancestry. This protocol remained in place for the 2010 census, although the option of selecting multiple racial ancestries has not been without criticism. Specifically, civil rights organizations

such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (NAPALC) have expressed opposition to this change in the way racial information is gathered out of concern that doing so would serve to distort the population estimates of specific racial groups and, thereby, undermine the political clout of minority groups. Civil rights groups have also expressed concern that distorted population counts could undermine the enforcement of civil rights legislation and affirmative action policies, as one specific racial ancestry is not necessarily an individual’s primary racial identification. Nevertheless, the move toward multiple racial identification has been embraced by many social scientists and advocates for the recognition of biracial and multiracial Americans. As the number of Americans of mixed or multiracial backgrounds is rapidly increasing, this will become an increasingly salient issue on future censuses.

The Census Bureau recently announced that it is considering eliminating the “Hispanic ethnic origin” question in favor of including the category “Hispanic or Latino” within the question on the census form that asks respondents to indicate their race. In other words, “Hispanic or Latino” would become a racial (rather than ethnic) category. Already this consideration has drawn criticism from Latino advocacy groups who prefer retaining “Hispanic or Latino” as an ethnic category, because it allows persons to indicate their respective ethno-national ancestry, such as Puerto Rican, Mexican, or Cuban.

Other Controversies

The 2010 census generated a significant degree of impassioned criticism from the media and the general public for its use of the term *Negro* in conjunction with the “Black or African American” racial category. For many Americans, this term seemed antiquated and offensive, and conjured up images of African American oppression in the Jim Crow south during the 1940s and 1950s, an era in which the label *Negro* was commonly used to refer to black Americans. Bernie Miller, chairman of the U.S. Census Bureau’s African American Advisory Committee, personally opposed the incorporation of “Negro” in the 2010 census but begrudgingly accepted it, stating, “To me, the term



Non-Hispanic whites have declined to 64 percent of the total U.S. population as of 2010. At the same time, the portion of the nation that is Asian and Hispanic/Latino is rapidly increasing, as are the biracial and multiracial segments of American society, although 97 percent of Americans still reported belonging to just one race on the 2010 census.

‘Negro’ carries negative connotations because it is so closely related to the ‘N’ word that I dare not utter. ‘Negro’ does remind me of the Jim Crow era, but my main concern is a complete count of every ‘black, Caribbean, Haitian, Negro, African, and African-American in the upcoming census.’”

Ironically, as the U.S. Census Bureau came under increasing fire for its use of the term, the agency declared that it had included “Negro” on the 2010 forms in an effort to be more inclusive toward respondents. In a news release dated January 8, 2010, the Census Bureau indicated that 56,175 respondents wrote in “Negro” as their race on the 2000 census. That such a high number of respondents had self-identified as “Negro” prompted the bureau to include the term as part of the listed racial categories under Question 9 on the 2010 census. Because the primary goal of the census is to obtain as accurate a count as possible of the population, and because the census

has historically undercounted racial and ethnic minority groups, the inclusion of “Negro” on the 2010 census was deemed an important step toward ensuring more accurate results. Tennessee State Representative Tommie Brown echoed these statements, and when asked to opine on the controversy, he said, “I’m not that sensitive about the term ‘Negro’ that it offends me. I’m more interested in removing anything that would hinder an accurate counting of our black population in the 2010 census. That is what we need to be most concerned about.”

Nevertheless, Census Bureau Director Robert Groves apologized for the inclusion of the term on the 2010 form. During a March 26, 2010, appearance on C-SPAN, Groves fielded comments from an African American caller who expressed her opposition to the Census Bureau’s use of “Negro” and her views that the term was both insulting and racist. Groves apologized and

said, “The intent of every word on the race and ethnicity questions is to be as inclusive as possible so that all of us could see a word here that rings a bell for us. It was not to be offensive, and again, I apologize on that. My speculation is that in 2020 that word will disappear and there are going to be other words that are going to change.”

Popular racial terminology has changed throughout the nation’s history, which the Census Bureau has often attempted to reflect. Over the course of the 20th century, the common label for black Americans has shifted from “colored” in the early decades, to “Negro” by the World War II era, to “black” or “Afro-American” by the 1960s, to “African American” by the 1980s. While younger generations of Americans regard “Negro” as a linguistic relic of the nation’s segregationist past, older generations of African Americans (particularly those born before the 1940s) came of age at a time when “Negro” was the conventional label used in American discourses of race. Identity politics is heavily influenced by variables such as age and generation.

President Barack Obama also generated a minor controversy with the manner in which he filled out his 2010 census form. On April 4, 2010, the White House responded to media speculation by confirming that Obama identified his race simply as “Black, African Am., or Negro.” This disclosure produced a flurry of both criticism and defense from the public, due to Obama’s mixed-race parentage. Some questioned why Obama, the son of a Kenyan immigrant father and a white American mother from Kansas, would identify solely with one of his parent’s identities. Others pointed out that under the social policy of hypodescent, also known as the “one-drop rule,” any person of known black ancestry is automatically regarded as black; therefore, Obama’s status as a black man in the public eye had been an identity already imposed on him by American society at his birth. Still others claimed that the complexities of the president’s racial classification, reflective of the rapidly growing numbers of mixed-race Americans, illustrated the pointlessness of governmental attempts to classify people by race in the 21st century.

Increasingly, scholars and advocates are questioning the accuracy or the rationale of state efforts to categorize the population by race. In

1997, for example, the American Anthropological Association (AAA) unsuccessfully lobbied the federal government to drop its classification of Americans into a few distinct, discrete racial categories because of the difficulties and logistical challenges such efforts entail. Instead, the AAA recommended that the U.S. government substitute racial categories for ethnic-national heritage on future censuses as a means of collecting demographic data on the nation’s inhabitants.

2010 Census Results: Race and Ethnic Data

The overwhelming majority of Americans—97 percent—reported belonging to just one race on the 2010 census. Whites continued to be the nation’s single largest racial group, accounting for 72 percent of the total population (223.6 million). At 13 percent (38.9 million) of the national population, blacks or African Americans comprised the second-largest racial group in the United States. Asians numbered 14.7 million (5 percent), while 19.1 million (6 percent) respondents identified as “Some other race.” Additionally, 2.9 million (0.9 percent) respondents identified as American Indian or Alaska Native. Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders numbered 0.5 million (0.2 percent), concentrated largely in Hawai‘i and California. Asians accounted for the fastest-growing racial group over the previous decade, as the Asian population increased by 43 percent since the 2000 census. The 2010 results also counted 9 million (3 percent) Americans who reported belonging to more than one race. The largest heritage combination of this group was persons of white-black heritage. The total number of Americans who reported belonging to more than one race increased 32 percent since the 2000 census.

The Hispanic/Latino population increased dramatically over the prior decade, accounting for more than half of the total population growth of the United States since 2000. The Hispanic/Latino population also increased 43 percent since 2000. This growth stems from high rates of immigration from Latin America and a relatively higher birthrate among Latinos compared to the national average. With a total population of 50.5 million, Hispanics/Latinos comprised 16 percent of the U.S. population in 2010. Hispanics/Latinos also accounted for the vast majority of respondents

who identified as “Some other race,” even though the majority of Hispanics/Latinos identify their race as white.

The census indicated significant geographic dynamics pertaining to the nation’s shifting racial and ethnic demographics. Four states (California, Hawai’i, New Mexico, and Texas), along with the District of Columbia, are now characterized as “majority-minority,” meaning that non-Hispanic whites account for less than half the population. Generally speaking, the highest portions of nonwhite populations are found in the southern and western states. Nevada has the highest increase in nonwhite/minority population since 2000, with an increase of 78 percent. Just under half (47 percent) of the population of the western states is either nonwhite or Hispanic/Latino. California, New York, and Texas each have more than 500,000 residents who are biracial or multiracial. Information from previous censuses and the 2008 American Community Survey reveal that approximately one-third of marriages in Hawai’i are between persons of different races, the highest rate of any state. Interracial marriages account for more than 15 percent of all marriages in Alaska, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Nevada. On the other hand, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Maine, Mississippi, and West Virginia account for the states with the lowest rates of interracial marriages. Asian Americans and U.S.-born Hispanics/Latinos are the two population groups with the highest rates of marriage outside their respective groups; the intermarriage rate for each group is approximately 40 percent.

The 2010 census reveals that the United States is rapidly becoming a racially and ethnically diverse nation, a trend that is not going to slow down anytime in the foreseeable future. The non-Hispanic white population declined to 64 percent of the total U.S. population in 2010, while the portion of the nation that is Asian and Hispanic/Latino is rapidly increasing, as are the biracial and multiracial segments of American society. The black or African American portion of the U.S. population has remained consistent at 13 percent. Even though non-Hispanic whites remain the single largest segment of American society, they are growing at the slowest rate.

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See Also: Category Controversies (Essay); Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); History of the Census (Essay); Race, Social Construction of.

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Regional Patterns

The 2010 U.S. census found that the overall United States population increased 9.71 percent, from 281.42 million in 2000 to 308.75 million people. The population growth by numbers was not uniform across the country, but rather the rates of growth varied by regions within the nation. The U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB)—the body that oversees federal statistics—divides the nation into four recognized regions: northeast, midwest, south, and west. The rates of population growth can be examined by studying the differing variables that the census has collected about the regions and the people who reside in them.

The United States continues to be a multicultural nation comprised of people with numerous racial and ethnic backgrounds. As with the numerical population growth, the regions in which certain racial and ethnic populations reside are not uniform across the country by numbers or proportion. Additionally, the rates at which the racial and ethnic populations have grown between the 2000 and 2010 censuses have not been the same in each region. This article will explore the regional patterns of the recognized racial and ethnic groups and will serve as a starting point in examining the regional diversity of the United States.

Census Racial and Ethnic Definitions

The OMB has mandated specific definitions for the racial and ethnic categories recognized for the U.S. census and other federal statistics. The six official racial categories are White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawai'ian or Other Pacific

Islander, and Some Other Race. (At the time of writing, the 2010 *Census Brief* containing Some Other Race data had not been released. Therefore, the numbers and percentages reported for this group are approximations calculated from the data found in the other *Census Briefs* reporting racial and ethnic group data.)

The OMB also recognizes a seventh category, Two or More Races, which represents people who select more than one racial category to describe their racial background. With an exception of the Two or More Races data, the data for the other six racial categories is reported in three categories: Alone, In Combination, or Alone or In Combination.

The data used to explore regional patterns in this article is the racial category Alone data, as the In Combination data also is reported in the Two or More Races statistics. Ethnicity is considered to be a separate concept from race, and is qualified by whether or not a person has Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin. As this is a separate category from race, there is an overlap in racial and ethnic data because a person who indicates Hispanic origin also indicates one or more of the racial categories on the separate race question.

In the regional analyses below, the racial data will be outlined, followed by the ethnic data, for the purposes of clarity. However, the major focus will be on the racial data, as the Hispanic data is ultimately subsumed into the racial data because of the separate questions used in the 2010 census.

Northeast Region

The northeast is comprised of nine states: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire,

New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. It is the smallest region of the four and had 55.32 million people counted in 2010. Between 2000 and 2010, the northeast had the slowest regional growth, increasing 3.2 percent by approximately 1.72 million people.

The white (non-Hispanic) majority population in the northeast was 38.01 million people, which was 68.71 percent of the population in the region. Between 2000 and 2010, this population decreased by approximately 1.32 million people, or 3.35 percent.

The remaining minority populations—including white Hispanics—totaled 17.31 million, or 31.29 percent. Examining the racial populations further, the black population made up 11.84 percent of the regional population, or 6.55 million people. It was the largest minority racial category in the northeast. The American Indian or Alaska Native population in 2010 was 212,164, or 0.38 percent of the total number of people in the region. The northeast had the smallest proportion of the American Indian or Alaska Native population of all four regions. However, this population grew the most of all the racial groups in the northeast between 2000 and 2010, increasing by approximately 31 percent. The Asian population made up 5.53 percent of the region with 3.06 million people.

The Native Hawai'ian and Other Pacific Islander population in the northeast was the smallest of the region's racial groups, with a total populace of 20,553, or 0.04 percent. This racial group was the only one to decline in population between 2000 and 2010, decreasing by 1.59 percent. In 2010, the Some Other Race group in the northeast made up 10.93 percent of the region's population with approximately 6.05 million people. The Two or More population category comprised the remaining 2.6 percent of the total population, with 1.42 million people. Around 16 percent of all people reporting in this racial category lived in the northeast, which is slightly less than the overall proportion in 2000 (approximately 18 percent). The Hispanic population in the northeast for 2010 was 12.64 percent of the total (non-Hispanic) population, or 6.99 million people.

Midwest Region

The 12 states that make up the midwest region are Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan,

Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The total population for this second-smallest region in 2010 was 66.93 million people, which grew by 2.53 million people since 2000. This 3.9 percent growth rate was the second-slowest of the four regions, and was somewhat similar to the growth rate in the northeast during the same period.

The midwest region had the highest proportion of white (non-Hispanic) people of the four regions. At 52.1 million people, this group accounted for 77.84 percent of the midwest population. Similarly to the northeast, the white population also declined in number between 2000 and 2010, decreasing by 289,498 people, or 0.55 percent.

The other racial groups and Hispanic groups totaled 14.13 million, or 22.16 percent of the population. Breaking down the minority populations further, the black population made up 10.39 percent of the midwest population, with 6.95 million people. The American Indian or Alaska Native population in 2010 was 458,611, accounting for 0.69 percent of the region. This group's proportion in the region remained stable over the 10-year period between 2000 and 2010. Of the four regions, the Asian racial group had the lowest proportion of its population in the midwest; 1.73 million people were Asian, making up 2.58 percent of the regional population. The Native Hawai'ian and Other Pacific Islander population grew by 31.4 percent (around 7,000 people) from 2000 to 2010, totaling 29,546 people. Despite growing by nearly a third over a decade, this group still comprised a small proportion of the midwest population, at only 0.04 percent.

The Some Other Races racial category made up about 6.3 percent of the regional population with a count of approximately 4.21 million. The number of people reporting as Two or More Races in the midwest was similar to the number in the northeast, 1.45 million; however, the proportion was slightly smaller at 2.2 percent. Around 16 percent of all respondents in the Two or More Races category resided in the midwest in 2010, which is comparable to the 15 percent in 2000. The data for the Hispanic population shows that 4.66 million people lived in the midwest in 2010, which is 6.97 percent of the population. This is the lowest number and proportion of Hispanics of the four regions.

South Region

The south census region is comprised of 16 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. The region also includes the District of Columbia. The south was the largest region by population, with a census count of 114.56 million in 2010. It had the fastest growth of the four regions, increasing just over 14 percent (approximately 14.3 million people) in the period between 2000 and 2010.

The white racial group in the south totaled 68.21 million people, which made up 59.98 percent of the population in the region. Between 2000 and 2010, the white population grew faster in the south than in the other three regions, with a change in population of 2.78 million people (a 4.21 percent growth rate).

The remaining racial and ethnic minority groups made up 40.02 percent of the regional population, with a total of 45.85 million people. The proportion of the black population in the south was the highest proportion of all regions, with a population of 22.01 million people, or 19.21 percent, in 2010. The American Indian or Alaska Native population increased from approximately 29.3 percent of the total population of this group in the United States in 2000 to 31.5 percent in 2010. The total count for this racial group in 2010 was 923,713 people, or 0.81 percent of the south regional population. The Asian population was 3.21 million, which made up 2.81 percent of the regional population. As was the case with the American Indian or Alaska Native population, the proportion of the total Asian population in the United States also increased in the south over the 10-year period between 2000 and 2010, from approximately 18.8 percent to 21.9 percent.

The Native Hawai'ian or Other Pacific Islander population made up 0.07 percent of the region, or 82,900 people. In spite of the small proportion, the Native Hawai'ian or Other Pacific Islander population had a regional growth of 61.9 percent, or 31,683 people in the 10-year period; this was the largest percentage change for this population group among the four regions. The Some Other Race category made up approximately 14.73 percent of the remaining regional population, or 16.87 million people. The Two or More Races

population made up approximately 2.4 percent of the region, which is similar to the northeast and midwest regional proportions. However, in contrast, the population of 2.75 million in the south was nearly double. The Hispanic population in the south was 18.23 million, which equaled 15.91 percent of the regional population.

West Region

The 13 states that make up the west region are Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawai'i, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. The west had the second-largest population after the south region, with a total of 71.95 million in 2010. Combined, the west and the south accounted for 60.41 percent of the U.S. population, and about 84.4 percent of the national population increase from 2000 to 2010. Specifically, the west grew by about 8.7 million, which enabled it to surpass the midwest population in size.

As in the south region, the white population in the west grew 2.97 percent between 2000 and 2010, or by 1.1 million people. The total population in the region in 2010 was 38.01 million, or 52.83 percent. The population sizes for the west and the northeast are about the same; however, because the west had a larger overall population, the white population in the west was the smallest majority population of the four regions.

As the white majority population had the lowest percentage of the four regions, it follows that the racial and ethnic groups of the west region would have the highest collective proportion, which they did at 47.2 percent, or 33.94 million people. The regional black population was the lowest of the four regions, with a total of 3.42 million, or 4.76 percent of the population. This was consistent with the data from 2000, which showed a population increase of 11.2 percent, amounting to a population change of 345,916 people. Overall, the greatest proportion of the entire American Indian or Alaska Native racial group resided in the west (45.6 percent). However, this percentage dropped from 2000, when it was closer to half (48 percent). Similarly, the Asian population was concentrated heavily in the west. In 2010, this population was 6.67 million, or 9.27 percent of the regional numbers. Similarly to the American Indian or Alaska Native

population, the Asian population had its greatest proportion in the country in the west, but had also dropped in proportion between 2000 from nearly half (48.8 percent) to 45.5 percent.

The Native Hawai'ian or Other Pacific Islander population in the United States also had its largest proportion in the west, at 75.37 percent. The total number for this group in 2010 was 407,014 people, or 0.57 percent of the regional population. Although still a relatively small number, it was several times greater than the proportions for the other regions. Additionally, the Some Other Race category also had its highest number of respondents located in the west. Approximately 18.71 million, or 26.01 percent, comprised the regional demographics. The largest Two or More races group in the United States also resided in the west, with a population of 3.39 million or 4.7 percent of the region. The Hispanic population was 20.60 million in the west, making up 28.63 percent of the region. Similar to many of the minority racial groups, the Hispanic population in the west was the largest of the four regions, as well as the highest proportion of population of the four regions.

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See Also: Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay); Residential Patterns (Essay); Socioeconomic Patterns (Essay).

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Residential Patterns

Housing has been a question on the U.S. census since 1890, when fewer than half of the respondents and those who lived with them owned their homes. The housing question, which explains whether a dwelling is owned, rented, or vacant, provides an illustration of the housing market and what factors may influence it. The housing bubble, which subsequently popped during this past decade, caused much of the fluctuation seen in the percentage of homeowners in the United States and in the pricing of homes.

The discussion of race in population distribution is included as well, as respondents were asked to report whether they consider themselves white, black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Native Hawai'ian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, or other Pacific Islander. Respondents could classify themselves as one race alone or up to 57 possible race combinations. Across all races, the southern region experienced the most growth, particularly among respondents who identified with more than one race. The west also experienced heavy growth. The black population, as with previous censuses, is concentrated primarily in the south or in metropolitan areas across the other three regions.

Housing Trends and Patterns

The housing bubble refers to the economic impact of the rapid decline of the housing market. In 2006, the price index of homes began a decline that lasted until the end of 2010. The largest price drop in Case-Shiller home index history was reported on December 30, 2008. The cause for the collapse is convoluted but can be traced to

factors such as deregulation, housing tax policy, a push for homeownership for all, the subprime housing market, and low interest rates.

Any fluctuation—or in this instance, collapse of the nation's housing bubble—can influence a recession and impact home values, mortgages, home builders, real estate, home supply retail outlets, and many financial stakeholders. In 2008, the federal government spent \$900 billion to bail out institutions related to the collapse of the housing bubble. The government provided support to these institutions, specifically Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, throughout 2012.

Across the country in all regions, homeownership declined in 2010. Although the recession and financial crisis had hit in 2008, the impact on the housing market became most apparent two years later. In 2010, 65 percent of Americans reported owning their own homes—the lowest recorded number ever.

Homeownership Among Minorities

Homeownership rates among minorities have remained somewhat stagnant over the past decade. In 2000, 46.3 percent of the black population owned homes, and in 2010, 45.4 percent did. The black population has held the lowest homeownership rate since 2005.

Forty-six percent of the Hispanic population owned homes in 2000, and 47.5 percent owned homes in 2010. A slightly higher percentage was seen among Asians and Pacific Islanders, who in 2000 had 52.8 percent of their population owning homes with an increase to 58.9 percent by 2010.

The white population remains the highest at 71 percent. Although homeownership decreased



The homeownership rate for the white population remains the highest at 71 percent, versus 45.4 percent for the black population, and 47.4 percent for Hispanics. A record low of 65 percent of Americans reported owning their own homes in 2010.

across the board in 2010, the housing crisis hit the black and Hispanic populations more so than the white population. The black community in particular saw homeownership levels drop to pre-1990s levels—the lowest in the past two decades.

The devastating plunge in homeownership rates for Hispanic and black families has had other implications as well, including a reduction in median household income and wealth and an increase in the number of households with negative net worth.

In addition to homes, black families are losing their wealth. As of 2010, the average wealth of a white family was valued at 20 times greater than that of the average black family—the largest gap since the federal government began collecting data 25 years ago. Black residents are nearly twice as likely to have lost their homes, and nearly a quarter of all blacks who bought a home just before the crisis hit were at risk of losing it.

Black homeowners are also more likely to need a subprime loan or pay higher interest rates than white homeowners with a similar income or credit history.

During the housing collapse toward the end of the first decade of the 2000s, black and Hispanic homeowners were twice as likely to be foreclosed. In California alone, black and Latino homeowners made up as much as 50 percent of foreclosures but accounted for only 30 percent of homeowners. Huge racial disparities were found during the housing crisis for high-priced lending, with banks targeting people of color. One bank that received a government bailout was accused of having steered black and minority buyers toward subprime housing loans. It is believed that these practices have impacted today's homeownership rates. Going forward, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau is taking steps to prohibit discriminatory lending practices.

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See Also: Age and Ethnic Diversity; Hispanic/ Latino Categorization (Essay); Hispanic Americans; Regional Patterns (Essay).

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Socioeconomic Patterns

Socioeconomic status (SES) reflects a position within a cultural structure. SES is generally defined by three factors—income, occupation and education. These factors are often interrelated, as higher education provides access to occupations that have more prestige and higher salaries. In contrast, less education precludes entry into certain career options. In this situation, individuals might have access to less prestigious occupations that have smaller salaries. Within the United States, socioeconomic status is typically divided into three categories: upper class (highest income, occupational status, and education (IOE), middle class (moderate IOE), and lower class (lowest IOE). Theoretically, these class divisions might simply seem to be a matter of semantics. However, there are practical and real-world consequences to these categories. Social class (in part) dictates the communities in which families can afford to live, quality of essential services (e.g., health care, education, transportation), leisure/cultural options, and social networks as an entrée into other life opportunities.

The U.S. census is an attempt to count the country's population. More specifically, it is an effort to gather demographic data (e.g., age, race/ethnicity, income, education, family status) about individuals. From this data, the best estimate of the population is generated. Collectively, the census information provides a picture of the United States (including SES divisions) at a particular point in time. The information is used to guide the allocation of resources (e.g., money, supplies, equipment) to local communities and states. This allocation influences the degree to which infrastructure (e.g., roads, power utilities) and services

(e.g., hospitals, schools, occupational training programs) is available to individuals and/or families in each community.

The first census was taken in 1790. The U.S. Constitution dictates that census data must be collected every 10 years. The most recent census was taken in 2010. Over the centuries, the census has provided greater recognition of racial/ethnic diversity within the U.S. population and SES divisions among racial/ethnic groups. Historically, the largest racial/ethnic group represented in the upper class was white/Caucasian families. Other racial/ethnic groups (e.g., American Indian/Alaska Native, black/African American, Hispanic) were more strongly represented in the lower and middle classes. There is no evidence of an individual quality (e.g., personality, genetics) that would account for the social class divisions. Rather, it has been argued that the structure of society makes it more difficult for families of certain racial/ethnic groups to make upward SES movement (lower class to middle class) or rebound from downward movement (upper class to lower class).

A brief profile of some racial/ethnic groups is provided. The racial/ethnic categories were identified by the federal government's Office of Management and Budget and used in census data collection. Although these categories don't represent the full range of ethnic/cultural diversity within the United States, they provide some insights into the differences in economic status.

Income analyses often focus on household income. The household represents the individuals/family members who reside together. Given the considerable variation in factors, such as family membership/size or proportion of employed

family members, it might be too difficult to identify each person's income. Thus, household income is a common economic standard. Although income is not the only indicator of SES, it can be considered a divisional factor. That is, a low-income household would typically be categorized as lower class, even if household members had advanced educational degrees.

American Indian/Alaska Native

Almost five million people identify themselves as American Indian and/or Alaska Native. This represents less than 2 percent of the total U.S. population. The median household income is nearly \$35,000, which is 30 percent lower than the national median across all racial/ethnic groups. More than 25 percent of American Indians/Alaska Natives live below the poverty level (the poverty level is also an economic indicator of lower SES). However, this percentage does not indicate a low rate of employment. The majority of employed individuals work in business, science/arts, service, and sales/office occupations. Thus, employment is no guarantee of wealth or upward social movement.

Compared to the general population, this group has a lower rate of college degree attainment, which could hinder access to some occupational/economic choices. In addition, the American Indian/Alaska Native population is growing more rapidly than other groups. This growth might be an indicator of increased household size, which would suggest that the income must be used to meet the needs of more individuals. This income dispersion would make it more difficult for families to save money and/or invest in activities (e.g., college education) that would expand SES options.

Asian/Asian American

Approximately 6 percent of the population (18 million) identify as Asian/Asian American. The median household income has been estimated to be \$77,000, which is the highest rate recorded for a single racial/ethnic group. Less than 13 percent of Asian Americans live below the poverty level. The economic status is in part tied to educational and occupational attainment. Half of the Asian Americans have earned an undergraduate or graduate degree, significantly higher than the

general population rate. Nearly half are employed in management and professional fields. Such fields have typically been associated with more prestige (as an element of higher SES). Similar to American Indians/Alaska Natives, the Asian American households are growing at a faster rate than the general population, attributed partly to immigration. Although some immigrants might have limited incomes/educations in their countries of origin, this is not uniformly true. Thus, some Asian American individuals/families might have resources that make it easier for them to attain or maintain a higher socioeconomic status.

Black/African American

Approximately 40 million people identify themselves as black/African American. This represents 12 percent of the general U.S. population. This percentage has declined (from 15 percent) in the last census. This change might not indicate a significant loss of African American individuals/families, but rather that other racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Hispanic families) are growing at a faster rate and gaining a greater percentage and overall representation in census data.

The median household income of black/African Americans is nearly \$32,000. Twenty-five percent of black/African American families live below the poverty level. Similar to other racial/ethnic groups, the relatively low percentage of college-degree attainment (18 percent) might be a barrier to SES opportunities. However, a college education might not be the only barrier. It has been reported that black/African Americans with college degrees receive lower mean salaries than their white/Caucasian counterparts. Thus, educational success might not assure economic success (and SES status) if other discrepancies or forms of discrimination are present.

Hispanic/Hispanic American

Fifty-two million people (nearly 17 percent of the population) identify themselves as Hispanic, making the United States the second-largest Hispanic population in the world (after Mexico). The median household income is nearly \$38,000. In comparison to the American Indian/Alaska Native group, Hispanic Americans have similar percentages of poverty (27 percent) and college degree attainment (13 percent). This group also has a

high employment rate. Two-thirds of adolescent/adult Hispanics 15 and older were employed in 2010. Despite the high employment rate, upward SES movement has been limited for this group. It has been noted that Hispanic American households are growing and this growth is partly attributed to the number of children. In 2009, nearly 25 percent of the children in these households were younger than 6 years of age. Thus, there is a large proportion of children who need extensive care from their families and cannot contribute to household income. The Hispanic American population has more than doubled since the 1990 census and is the nation's fastest growing racial/ethnic group. Thus, it is possible that the current generation of children will represent a large proportion of the workforce in the next few decades and that this employment pattern might change their SES patterns.

Native Hawai'ian/Pacific Islander

In comparison to the other racial/ethnic groups, Native Hawai'ian/Pacific Islander is the smallest group. It represents 0.5 percent of the U.S. population (1.4 million people). The median household income is approximately \$59,000, which would typically fit a "middle class" designation. Confluent with this income, more than one-fifth have attained college degrees.

In comparison to other groups, a lower poverty level has been reported for Native Hawai'ian/Pacific Islanders (17 percent). However, it has been argued that the income/poverty issues might be somewhat more complicated. The majority of individuals within this group live in the Hawai'ian region. Given its geographical location (including distance from the U.S. mainland), it has been argued that the infrastructure and service costs are higher for local/state government. In addition, it has been noted that the general cost of living can be higher for families/individuals. Thus, the median income of \$59,000 might be less beneficial in Hawai'i than in other less-expensive locations. In addition, the small population percentage could be a consideration in the allocation of federal resources. Until Native Hawai'ian/Pacific Islanders represent a much larger portion of the U.S. population, they might not make significant gains in federal resource allocation or relief from cost of living issues.

White/Caucasian (Non-Hispanic)

The large majority (198 million people) identify themselves as white/Caucasian, but not of Hispanic origin. This designation distinguishes racial identity (Caucasian) from ethnic/cultural identity (Hispanic). Thus, this group might reflect individuals who are white, but have identities associated with other cultures/regions (e.g., Scandinavia, northern Europe). This group represents approximately 63 percent of the U.S. population. The median income for white/Caucasian households is nearly \$54,000, consistent with a middle class designation. This income rate is also consistent with educational attainment—nearly one-third have a college degree. Yet, 10 percent (nearly 20 million people) live below the poverty level. Although other racial/ethnic groups might have higher percentages of poverty, the largest number of poor people in the United States are white/Caucasian individuals.

SES Disparities and Race/Ethnicity

The U.S. census data provides useful and important information about U.S. demographics. It provides demographic details about factors such as income, education, and employment that are used to define socioeconomic status. However, this data does not (and perhaps cannot) tell the whole story about race/ethnicity and SES. Since the 1980s, there has been an increasing economic divide between upper-, middle-, and lower-class families. A relatively small number of upper-class families have a disproportionate amount of economic gain from the U.S./global economy. Simultaneously, there has been a decline in economic gain (e.g., via wages, occupational opportunities) for middle- and lower-income families. Indeed, there has been much discussion about the decreased percentage of families in the middle class and increased percentage of families in the SES lower class. Some colleagues have even speculated that the middle class will erode completely and that the United States will become a two-class (upper and lower) society.

It is certainly true that the upper class is not entirely limited to a single racial/ethnic group. Across all racial/ethnic groups, there are some families who are quite wealthy and some families who are quite poor. Thus, there has been an argument that the American Dream of upward social

mobility is equally accessible to everyone. However, the premise of equal access is inconsistent with the complex factors that impact different racial/ethnic groups.

For example, black/African American and Hispanic families have both a lower median income and lower asset accumulation than some other groups. Thus, they have fewer financial resources (e.g., assets, savings, property) that they can utilize during economic downturns. In addition, they might have fewer social network members (e.g., family and friends) who have reached the middle/upper class and have resources to share. Given the decline of job availability and salaries for low-prestige occupations during the past few decades, it is harder for families to earn a livable wage. In addition, the increasing costs of college tuition have made educational attainment beyond high school more difficult to achieve. As degree attainment is a pathway to higher prestige and higher-salaried employment, educational barriers can have lifetime consequences for SES status.

Conclusion

Such social and economic conditions highlight that SES disparities are not simply a matter of ethnic/cultural differences. Rather, it is important to acknowledge and ameliorate the structural factors that hinder the social mobility options for families of various racial/ethnic groups. There are some indications that practices, such as racial segregation in residential access, have persisted into the late 20th and early 21st centuries and have had a substantial impact on families' quality of daily life. The true test of American values (e.g., freedom,

equal opportunity) can only occur after structural barriers to SES mobility have been eliminated.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; Caucasians; Hawai'ians (Native); Hispanic Americans.

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White Categorization

White categorization refers to the decision made early on by the U.S. government to determine who would count in census data as either “free” Americans or “slave.” This early classification determined by skin color has influenced race and politics throughout U.S. history. The problem with the choice of a dichotomous classification tells a story laying a foundation for racial tensions both past and present.

Beginning of Duality

As the colonies were forming their first government it was decided in Article I, section 2 of the ratified Constitution that individuals of the United States would be counted or enumerated to levy taxes. Those to be counted were determined to be free people and indentured servants (those bound by contract to servitude for a number of years) and would exclude Indians and three-fifths of all other persons. The Constitution determined that the first census would take place within three years of the initial meeting and continue every 10 years or every decennial.

While the determination appears simple enough, great debates went into what went into this article and how it would be implemented. The three-fifths clause was one term that engendered much debate in the past, as it does today. The basic point of the three-fifths rule was to determine how many enslaved people would count in the census. One belief was to interpret the clause to mean that black people were less important than white people. Slavery was a point of contention between many representatives of the northern and southern states. Those who did not want slavery to continue did not want to count black

slaves, and congressmen who wanted to continue slavery wanted enslaved people to count equally so as to determine state representation in the new government.

The northern states were more heavily populated and would end up with more representation if the black population were not in the count and could work to abolish slavery. The southern states had a much smaller white population and would lose their voice to continue slavery if the black population did not count. Hence, the compromise known as the three-fifths rule. Regardless which belief one chooses, this rule continues to drive debates over racial inequality today because in the end the categories to determine how someone “counted” or did not “count” would initially be based on skin color.

Deceptive Choices

The first U.S. census took place in 1790, one year after George Washington was named president, and consisted of six questions. The questions included the name of each head of household and the number of people in each household. Further descriptions were required to list the number of free white males over and under the age of 16 for the purpose of military conscription. Additionally, free white females were counted and all other free persons were listed by sex and color, as well as enslaved people living on the premises. These initial questions related to name, address, age, sex, and color/race are the only questions that exist on all 23 administrations of census data from 1790 to 2010. Hence, these questions led to the initial category of race with two choices: white or black.

A further important concept regarding how individuals were categorized within the census data is that the decision of race selection was determined by the census marshal, not the individual named in the data collection. Additionally, there were no apparent instructions given to census data collectors until 1820. These issues appear to begin the murky and complicated relationship around the concepts regarding race and color.

While the census listed people in the category of either white or black, the reality of which box to select remains murky. African American studies educator Jill Rowe highlights this disparity in her discussion regarding individuals of color who settled in Ohio. During this time, individuals of color intermarried with settlers of diverse ethnicities. However, census takers labeled children of these diverse unions as black. Therefore, people with European and Native American, or European and African, or any combination thereof were labeled as mulattos, and census takers reported them as black. This designation served to disenfranchise them from those labeled white and subjected them to second-class citizenship or worse.

While it may not have been the intent of the Founding Fathers to make skin color a racial issue, the reality is highlighted in the stories of the black settlements of northeastern Ohio. Ohio became a natural place for many mixed-race and freed slaves to immigrate. One reason was that Ohio was a free territory/state and did not condone slavery. While Ohio did not allow slavery in 1804, the new state did implement “the Black Laws”; these laws were designed to prevent free black and mixed-race citizens from moving to the state and eventually led to an attempt by white residents to force people of color to leave, resulting in a marked reduction of African Americans from the area by 1865.

The story of Joel Goings is one story of an individual who persevered despite threats. Goings, reported variously as being either Native American or free black, married Elizabeth Cole, a white woman, in 1837 and parented nine to 11 children, one of whom was D. C. Goings. D. C. Goings went to medical school and became a prominent village shaman in Remley, Ohio. Upon his death, D. C. Goings was buried in a black cemetery. This single action illustrates the practice of

categorizing free individuals of mixed parenthood as African American, thereby distinguishing them from free whites. The “one drop rule,” initiated in Tennessee in 1910 and codified in the Immigration Act of 1924, would make any individual black if they had any African ancestry. While the checking of a box is no longer a task left to others or based on a simple dichotomy of black and white, the problems of which box to choose and the ramifications of this choice continue.

Race and the Early Census

While some categories in every census since 1790 remain consistent, much has also changed. As the American society changed, with an ever growing diverse population and territory the need to restructure the census became apparent.

From 1790 through 1840, the census data was collected by the U.S. marshals’ judicial districts. The first set of data was sent directly to President George Washington. However, in 1800, the secretary of state began to oversee the census data and U.S. marshals reported census data directly to that department. In 1849, the Interior Department was created and oversaw administration of the census from 1850 to 1900. Along with the need to change how the census was administered, the need for more inclusive data collection also became necessary. Therefore, it was determined in 1810 to add inquiries about agriculture. The 1820 census expanded the population data collected and also inquired about individuals in the occupations of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. This data was handwritten by the census marshal and handbound for presentation to the U.S. secretary of state. In 1830 this method of presentation was discontinued, and a preprinted census was implemented to ensure everyone was collecting similar data.

In 1850, the census expanded significantly. The U.S. marshal was now responsible to ensure their assistants properly completed each census for their citizens. Additional inquiries regarding wages, taxes, schools, crime, and mortality were added. As requirements for data grew, many individuals were concerned about the invasion of their privacy. The census of 1860 added for the first time two new categories in the area of race: American Indian and Asian. In 1880, laws began to be implemented to limit access to information,

and these laws were finally codified in 1954. The census of 1870 most notably dropped the selection of free or slave under the category of black. The 1890 census stood out not in data collection but in the knowledge that American expansion into new territories was over. Subsequent census collections reflected the filling in of population, rather than the colonization of new land. After the acquisition of Hawai'i, the census revised the category of Asian to Asian and Pacific Islander.

Immigration and Race Categorization

Major changes in the census also coincided with the first surge of a large number of immigrants to the United States from central, eastern, and southern Europe from 1869 to 1924. Research suggests that the surge of ethnic workers impacted the white/black color boundary due to the competition over the existing resources. These European minorities had little education and were competing for the same jobs as black workers. Competition for the same jobs, along with immigration laws designed to reinforce the Anglo heritage, inflamed the existing institutionalized antiblack sentiment. This sentiment was attributed to a rise in attacks on blacks by these same immigrant populations.

As the ideology of a white America grew stronger, societal tolerance of difference became more apparent. Notions of expressing one's ethnicity as German American and Irish American after World War I were akin to treason. Therefore these immigrants began to acculturate or assimilate into the white American culture. The final immigration act of 1924 drastically reduced the numbers of incoming immigrants as a way to preserve the homogeneity of the United States. Hence, this act reinforced the already existing ideology of race differences between whites and blacks. Descendants of these immigrants quickly aligned with white ideology to create the illusion of a stronger homogenous white America.

Census data was reflective of some of the changes regarding the country's interest in creating a white America. The census of 1940 added an additional white category: white, Spanish-speaking and white, non-Spanish speaking. This was the first inclusion of people of Hispanic origin.

The 1950 census included significant changes in the race selection categories. For the first



A census taker records a woman's responses during a door-to-door survey in 1920. Mass immigration between the late 19th century and 1924 exacerbated anxieties about race and ethnicity in the American population.

time in census history a person could do a partial self-selection regarding data for the census. This iteration of the census added the category of other, and returned the selection of Asian to a single status. Therefore, the status of Pacific Islander was removed from the census; however, in 1960 Pacific Islander once again was paired with Asian.

Additionally, American Indian now was also paired with Aleut and Eskimo. The census of 1970 fully included those who are of Spanish origin and those who speak Spanish from any race. The census of 1990 changed the term *Spanish* to *Hispanic*, which brings us to recent changes to the census that continue to highlight the role that race plays within the political system.

Politics of Immigration

While the Constitution is seen as what institutionalized racial lines, the categorization of white versus other race or ethnic designations has been part of the political agenda since colonial times. Basically, America has been asking its citizens to “tell me your color, and I will tell you your place.”

While the first mass immigration in the late 1800s and early 1900s appeared to inflame the existing black/white tensions, the next wave of immigrants appeared to open a door for potential political change. In 1965, immigration law was once again changed and abolished the quota system enacted in 1924. This act instead focused on immigrants’ skills and family relationships with current U.S. citizens. This law had been suggested by President John F. Kennedy and was signed into law after his death by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Upon signing the legislation, President Johnson said “the old system violates the basic principles of American democracy, the principle that values and rewards each man on the basis of his merit as a man. It has been un-American in the highest sense, because it has been untrue to the faith that brought thousands to these shores before we were a country.” While it would be many years before racial tensions would begin to shift, the Immigration Act of 1965 appears to be one political move in this direction.

During this time numerous theories regarding race and immigration began to be published. Three essayists—George Sanchez, Jon Gjerde, and Erika Lee—would pose competing theories regarding immigration. The common purpose of these essays was to understand the relevance of immigration throughout history as it compared with the immigration wave of 1965. George Sanchez posed the challenge of recognizing and understanding historical approaches of white immigrants’ experiences with those of nonwhite immigrant. Jon Gjerde asks if the theories of the Chicago school and Turnerian school remained applicable. Gjerde favored a combination of perspectives in order to create a matrix of possible understandings regarding immigrant experiences. Erika Lee’s focus was to discuss the evolution of immigration and naturalization law. Like Gjerde, Lee postulates there does not appear to be a one-size-fits-all answer for the political complexities regarding the understanding

of immigration or the complexities of race and racial categorization.

As the 20th century came to a close, the need to have a multicultural understanding of America, as well as the world, began to develop. As people of color began to give voice to their differences, they also began to call for a common understanding based on cultural difference. No longer would one group be able to speak for all groups. Nowhere is this more true than with the Hispanic or Latino populations. One political theory behind the influx of recent emigration from Latin America to the United States is the move of large corporations from the United States to Latin America. The companies change the economics of the small cities they inhabit and those too poor to adapt are forced to move. Problems exist for these individuals as they move to the United States because their self-image of race is dramatically different.

The United States defines race almost exclusively as a biological category, which is rigid and inflexible. Latin America, on the other hand, has a fluid definition of race based on relationships and situational contexts. This implies that the simple selection of a single box may be problematic for the Latin population, as with other cultures. While this sounds easy, Ellis Cose, a writer for *Newsweek*, tells the story of a friend from Argentina who is confused about whether he is white or Latino, a fact he never questioned until he came to the United States. The story highlights that while some Latin Americans have a fluid view of their race, others may also share the American view related to biology. This leads to the question of what is white and what does that category mean today.

White Categorization Today

While the United States has moved past the initial days when people were labeled black or white, or later when naturalization was an option only to free white persons, the legacy of the color categorization remains. Two recent examples stand out. In 1983, Susan Guillory Phipps, a woman who lived her entire life as a white was told through the appeals court that she must accept the legal designation of black. She was considered black by the state of Louisiana as she had 3/32 parts of black ancestry and state law decreed that anyone

who had 1/32 parts black ancestry was black. In another example, in the 1990s, Susan Graham, a white woman married to a black man, testified at a Senate hearing after census officials stated that her biracial children would have to have the official designation of the mother's race. These two examples highlight the remaining inconsistencies in the designation and categorization of who is and what it means to be white.

The 2000 and 2010 census data also reflect the inherent problems regarding white categorization. In the 2000 census, Americans for the first time were able to select more than one category for race, and it was subsequently decided that all individuals who selected white and minority categories would continue to count as minority. The decision to allow multiple selections of race was pushed by those who consider themselves multiracial.

In the 2010 census, an overwhelming majority of individuals selected only one race and this majority also designated themselves as white. Americans were allowed to select more than one category for race, and those who selected multiple categories were counted as such. The most common multiple categories were white and black. A new designation in the 2010 census concluded that the term *Hispanic* was not a race but instead an ethnic designation. Therefore this population tended to either identify their race category as white or some other race.

The term *white* has had multiple meanings over the last 220 years. Its meaning will continue to shift as the national paradigm regarding the meaning of race also shifts.

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See Also: African American Categorization (Essay); European Americans; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); Whiteness Studies.

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Part II: A-to-Z Articles



A. Philip Randolph Institute

Founded in 1965 by A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, the A. Philip Randolph Institute facilitated the bridging between the civil rights movement and the labor movement. These cofounders concurrently considered fighting for civil rights and workers' rights. By 1965, Randolph had established himself as a prominent leader among African American laborers. Rustin, a longtime partner of Randolph, had also organized and led civil and labor rights activism, including the March on Washington in 1963.

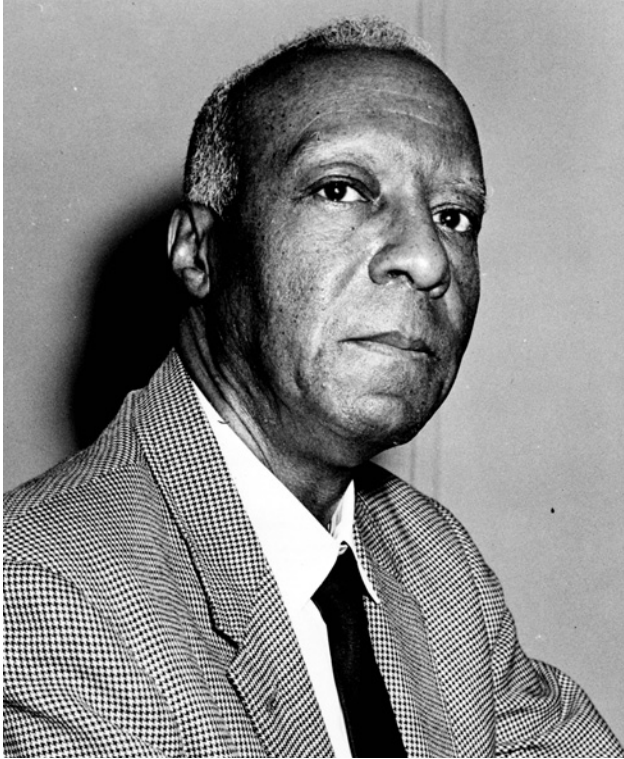
The collaboration between the civil rights movement and the labor movement was based on the idea that African Americans and workers of any color shared similar struggles and goals: attainment of freedom and justice. This alliance had proven to be effective in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, culminating in the passing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This historic case served as validation to advance Randolph's and Rustin's vision for the black-labor alliance.

Currently led by President Clayora Brown, the institute has grown across the United States, totaling over 90 local chapters in almost 30 states. Brown became the president in August 2004. She also serves on the boards for Workers United,

Amalgamated Bank, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Business Response to AIDS/Labor Response to AIDS, and other organizations. She was also appointed to the National Commission on Employment Policy by former President Bill Clinton and to the New York State Workforce Investment Board by former Governor George Pataki.

Under Brown's leadership, the institute has nine focus areas: civil rights, strong antidiscrimination measures, and affirmative action; policies to promote a decent wage, high growth, and full-employment economy; labor law reform and worker health and safety protections; decent minimum living standards for all, including antipov-erty programs, a fair minimum wage, and a comprehensive safety net; universal, affordable health care; family leave and child care; progressive and fair tax policies; international workers' rights, and fair trade education and training programs; and education and training programs. All these programs are implemented at different levels, ranging from local communities to the White House. The institute and its members have helped grassroots efforts particularly through its local chapters, which include youth and college chapters, and at the federal level through lobbying activities.

Many of the activities the institute leads are pertinent to workers, immigrants, and those who continue to struggle to achieve political and social



Asa Philip Randolph was born in 1889 to a minister, Rev. James William Randolph, and a skilled seamstress, Elizabeth Robinson Randolph. He went on to become a leader in the civil rights movement, as well as the American labor movement.

equality. In 2009 and 2010, the institute urged its members to support the legislation that would extend emergency loans to the American auto industry. The institute also continues to be vocal about its support for the health care reform that would enable universal health care. Similarly, it was committed to representing the interest of workers in Wisconsin when the state faced the elimination of public employee rights for collective bargaining. In Miami, Florida, the institute joined local organizations to protest outside the Department of Homeland Security to demand changes in immigration policy for Haitians. African American LGBT Work Place Training is another resource that the institute launched in 2010 in hope of establishing a fair working environment for LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) laborers.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute also recruits and trains youth activists. Through the Youth Leadership Program, it annually invites approximately 100 young people for a weeklong labor

training session. The program aims to train the next generation of labor and civil rights leaders to seek equality in the country.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Voting Rights Acts.

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Abie's Irish Rose

Few works in American popular theater history have been as successful and as vilified as first-time playwright Anne Nichols's 1922 sentimental comedy, *Abie's Irish Rose*. Despite critical carping over its low-brow slapstick, fluffy plot complete with stale jokes and hokey dialects; and manipulation of ethnic stereotypes, the play ran for more than five years (2,327 performances), making it at the time the longest-running play in Broadway history. Beyond that New York run, the play found long-term national success in touring companies and in both film and radio adaptations.

The 1920s were an extraordinary time for American theater. Following World War I, after Broadway had long stagnated, recycling formula burlesque shows and vaudeville sketches, lightweight musical theater, and heavy-handed melodramas, young playwrights tested experimental ideas imported from Europe with bold plays that explored provocative social issues and reimagined the stage space itself; these plays have become that decade's defining achievements.

In contrast, *Abie's Irish Rose* excites little contemporary interest save as a period artifact. A young man (Abraham "Abie" Levy) returns home to his strict Jewish father, Solomon, a successful businessman and widower, to introduce his new bride, Rosemary Murphy, a singer he had met overseas during the war. The two have already been married by a chaplain but, uncertain of the reaction his father will have to his marriage to a Catholic, Abie decides to tell his father that Rosemary is a nice Jewish girl he wants to court, certain the old man will fall under Rosemary's charms. The father does—and he too quickly facilitates a traditional Jewish wedding to be held within the week. Rosemary's father, Patrick, a staunch Catholic with a deep aversion to the Jewish people, arrives from California for the wedding, accompanied by the family priest. Rosemary has told her father that she is marrying a nice Irish boy. But Patrick arrives too late—the ceremony is over. Both fathers discover their children's elaborate hoax and bemoan such chicanery and the betrayal of their religions, all the while exchanging derogatory ethnic barbs. The priest and the rabbi, both chaplains during the war, react far more tolerantly. To mollify Patrick, the couple is married for a third time by the priest.

The play's last act offers a most sentimental resolution—largely disowned by both fathers, Rosemary and Abie have set up a modest apartment and have apparently been blessed with a child. They are preparing to celebrate Christmas, an obvious expression of how the two have found common ground. Perhaps coaxed by the holiday season, both fathers in turn show up to meet their grandchild—Solomon promises, if it is a boy, to leave him his fortune while Patrick makes a similar promise if it is a girl. The fathers—and audiences—are charmed when the couple introduces their twins, a boy and a girl. As the curtain falls, the fathers soften their rhetoric, giving hope that the families can be brought together.

At a time when the Jews and the Irish were the dominant urban ethnic groups and clashed over politics, religion, culture, and jobs, Nichols's play explores the dilemmas facing both immigrant groups who must adjust to the cultural diversity of their adopted homeland by using farce, a genre that lacks the psychological nuance of the era's more respected social realists such as Eugene

O'Neill and Elmer Rice. Certainly, both fathers exaggerate familiar stereotypes: Solomon Levy is educated, wealthy, and considers business acumen a measure of moral worth; he manipulates guilt expertly; he meddles in his grown child's love life; he mistakes strict observance of religious customs for faith; and he has a conservative suspicion of change. Patrick has a fondness for drink; he is street smart and good with his hands; he is a fierce proponent of Irish nationalism; he is prone to maudlin emotions; he mistakes religion for blind obedience to the institutional church; and he is given too quickly to fisticuffs.

Legacy

Nichols's premise in which entrenched ethnic prejudices of an older generation are challenged by a romance involving the family's younger generation (critics quickly pointed out its debt to *Romeo and Juliet*) became something of a formula in both film and television, ranging from groundbreaking sitcoms in the 1970s, most notably CBS's *Bridget Loves Bernie*, to James Cameron's blockbuster *Titanic*. But, like many of Norman Lear's provocative sitcoms in the 1970s, *Abie's Irish Rose* uses the vehicle of stock characters to expose the problems with bigotry itself. It preached an idealistic (if naïve) gospel of tolerance through the vehicle of the priest and the rabbi, a message that gives the lightweight romantic farce its serious intent. Thus, *Abie's Irish Rose*, now largely forgotten, marks an important achievement in American ethnic literature—not only for its courageous promotion of tolerance but, unlike more sophisticated social realist dramas of the era, for bringing that message to a wide audience.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Irish Americans; Jewish Americans; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Abolition

Abolition (or abolitionism) refers to the movement to end the transatlantic slave trade and racial slavery in the United States through the late 17th century to the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment following the American Civil War in December 1865. The first call for an end to slavery in the United States came in 1688 with the “Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery,” a two-page document that said all humans, regardless of their skin color, have rights that should not be violated. Although individual acts of resistance to slavery occurred throughout the United States in the 17th century, the abolitionist movement did not garner much wide-scale attention and support until the 18th and 19th centuries.

Enlightenment and Revolution

The Enlightenment began in the 17th century as a European philosophical movement that declared reason as the guide to wisdom, rejected superstition and ignorance, and held that there was a basic goodness in all humankind. As Enlightenment thought spread throughout the United States, a reconsideration of the role slavery played in the nation’s development soon followed.

The Enlightenment idea of the natural equality of all human beings came into direct conflict with the enslavement of Africans and African Americans. Likewise, the idea of natural human rights was further supported by religious beliefs of many Christian sects, including the Quakers, evangelical Methodists, and Baptists who believed that slavery was morally wrong as God created all living beings to be free.

Demand for an end to British colonial rule came about in the 1760s after a series of measures by the British Parliament such as the Sugar and Stamp Acts were found oppressive by the Americans. The effect of such measures led to calls for American independence using Enlightenment principles of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” as noted in the 1776 Declaration of Independence. This call for freedom influenced many enslaved African Americans to volunteer on the side of the patriots in the hope that their military service would lead to the abolishment of slavery. While full emancipation would come gradually to the north by the 1820s, for slaves in the south, emancipation would not come for another four decades.

The North and South Divide

After the American Revolutionary War, northern states began moving toward ending slavery. This shift was brought on by several factors, including changes to the northern economy from agriculture to industrialization, a growing moral and religious revivalism by way of the Second Great Awakening, and remnants of natural rights thought brought on by the Enlightenment. In 1780, Massachusetts became the first state to end slavery. Other northern states like Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York passed “gradual emancipation” statutes before the turn of the 18th century. Under the provisions of these statutes, no new slaves could be brought into the state, and the children of existing slaves were to be freed after serving an indenture. By 1820, all northern states had passed laws that fully ended slavery.

In sharp contrast to their northern counterparts, many southern politicians publicly reaffirmed their commitment to slavery. In 1783, Thomas Jefferson wrote his *Notes on the State of Virginia* in which he defended the institution on racial grounds. Many southern delegates at the Constitutional Convention further defended slavery as justified by history, economics, and necessity. Some historians claim that while the southern delegations shared Jefferson’s view that slavery was justified on racial grounds, during closed-door sessions of the Constitutional Convention, delegates offered a more practical justification for the institution’s continuance—economics and



A slave auction block at Green Hill Plantation in Campbell County, Virginia. Slaves commonly experienced whippings, rapes, and executions. In 1780 Massachusetts became the first state to end slavery, and by 1820, all northern states had followed suit.

politics. To that end, the southern delegation was not asking their northern counterparts to accept slavery as morally legitimate but to accept that slavery was in the self-interest of the north to keep the union intact.

The south's commitment to slavery was so deeply entrenched that it forced the new U.S. Congress to engage in a series of political debates about the expansion of slavery into the western territories. These political clashes between northern and southern politicians resulted in a series of compromises that allowed limited expansion of slavery, including passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, entry of Louisiana and Missouri as slave states, the Three-Fifths Clause, and Missouri Compromise. In 1808, the United States banned further importation of slaves from Africa; however, the ban was inconsistently enforced through the 1860s. With this ban on slave importation came a new series of fugitive slave laws that were passed beginning in 1793, with new, harsher fugitive slave laws passed intermittently through the 1850s. These laws were designed to return slave "property" to their owners even if the slave was able to successfully escape to the free northern states. As slavery became even more deeply entrenched in the south because of these political developments, a burgeoning abolitionist movement made up initially of white religious groups began to develop.

Early Organizing

In 1775, Quaker abolitionist Anthony Benezet organized the first antislavery society in the world. The organization would become known as the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and in 1787, Benjamin Franklin became its first president. Throughout the north and upper south, similar societies were established through the 1830s. Most of these antislavery societies utilized a common organizing framework known as American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race. Generally, only white people participated in these Quaker-dominated organizations, although some did cooperate with leaders from the free black communities. The members of these early abolitionist organizations focused their attention on securing gradual, compensated emancipation in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Additionally, they worked to keep free blacks from being reenslaved and frequently called for free blacks to be sent out of the country.

Early white abolitionist groups were reluctant to challenge the property rights of white masters, so instead they advocated for both compensation for white slave masters' "property" and a gradual approach to emancipation. Their early advocacy of sending free blacks out of the country began to gain such traction that by 1816 a group of white Americans founded the American Colonization Society (ACS), which aimed to end slavery by sending African Americans back to Africa.

Free Blacks and Abolition

Slavery was gradually abolished in the north following the American Revolution, but for the vast majority of African Americans in the United States, emancipation remained elusive. Political changes to manumission and self-purchase laws following the revolution made it possible for the number of free blacks to grow in numbers and influence in the abolitionist movement. Between 1790 and 1820, the free black population in the upper south rose from approximately 8,000 to 40,000. This growth of the free black population contributed not only to the establishment of black churches and black schools but also led to greater participation of free blacks as leaders in the abolitionist movement.

Among the first free blacks to call for the abolition of slavery was Peter Williams, Jr., a black Revolutionary War veteran who founded the *Freedom's Journal* in 1827, the first African American-run newspaper in the United States. Edited by John B. Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish, the newspaper called for the complete abolition of slavery, debated colonization proposals to send enslaved blacks to Liberia, and circulated David Walker's *An Appeal to Coloured Citizens Around the World*, which called for black unity and armed rebellion to end the institution of slavery. One of the most famous black abolitionists was Frederick Douglass, who founded the *North Star*, a journal that argued that the antislavery movement must be led by black people.

By the 1830s, free blacks were convening regular state meetings to discuss ways to abolish slavery. Free blacks often differed on the approach that abolitionists should take; for example, David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet called for slaves to overthrow their masters, while Russwurm and Paul Cuffe proposed establishment of a modern black country within Africa. The latter group, with the support of the mainly white ACS, established the nation of Liberia in West Africa in 1822.

Radical Abolitionism

From roughly 1783 through the 1830s, many white and some black abolitionists supported colonization as the best way to abolish slavery. However, critics of the ACS forcefully condemned the group's colonization approach as a scheme to appease white southern slave masters' interests. When white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, a former ACS member, publicly apologized and denounced colonization and called for the complete and immediate abolition of slavery, without compensation to slave masters, his denouncement signaled the move from gradual to radical abolitionism.

Garrison eventually founded his own antislavery newspaper called the *Liberator* in 1831; he cofounded the American Anti-Slavery Society with Arthur Tappan in 1833. Garrison used forceful language and once raised controversy when he publicly burned a copy of the U.S. Constitution, stating that the document was a "covenant with hell" when compromises were made to write slavery into the document.

Nonetheless, Garrison advocated nonviolent, passive resistance to slavery. However, by the 1850s, many abolitionists grew weary of waiting for the U.S. government to overturn laws legalizing slavery and decided to take measures into their own hands.

With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, many abolitionists began to support the Underground Railroad as a means of opposing slavery. Using this network of safe houses and secret routes, many black slaves were able to escape enslavement by traveling north to Canada. Black and white abolitionists aided these fugitive slaves with food and shelter. The Underground Railroad was viewed by many white southern politicians as one of the most radical forms of abolition because it sought to completely undermine economic and political viability of the entire slave system. The Underground Railroad was most active in the 1850s; estimates put the number of slaves who escaped via that network at approximately 30,000.

Probably the most controversial abolitionist of all time was John Brown, a white abolitionist who led an unsuccessful revolt against the federal armory at Harpers Ferry in Virginia in 1859. Brown's planned attack shocked and terrified the nation, especially as he was the first white man to use violence to try to put an end to slavery.

Two years after the raid on Harpers Ferry, 11 southern slave states formed the Confederate States of America (CSA) and seceded from the union. This secession resulted in a bloody four-year civil war between the CSA in the south and Union in the north in large part over the question of slavery. On September 22, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, an executive order freeing all enslaved people in any territory still in rebellion on January 1, 1863; the Thirteenth Amendment, which made it illegal to hold any person in bondage or involuntary servitude, was ratified in December 1865.

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See Also: Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; American Anti-Slavery Society; American Colonization Society; American Revolution; Back to Africa Movement; Civil War, U.S.; Constitutional

Amendments; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Slave Narratives; Slave Revolts; Slave Trade; Slavery; Underground Railroad.

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Abolitionist Movement

There had always been sentiment against slavery in colonial America, with the earliest formal statement condemning the practice originating in 1688 among German and Dutch Quakers descended from the original Mennonite settlers. But throughout the colonial era and the beginning years of American independence, those opposing slavery were divided on how this might be achieved and what might happen following emancipation. Some favored state or federal legislation to eliminate slavery, some believed that slave owners ought to be compensated by the government for the loss of their property, while others called on people to donate to funds for the purpose of purchasing the freedom of slaves. Similarly, some people advocated sending the freed slaves to Africa or the Caribbean to establish their own nations, some believed slaves should be freed but could not bring themselves to advocate social and political equality, while others stressed the equality of all peoples regardless of race. All wanted to see slavery ended but could not agree

on tactics or the end result beyond freedom. Over time, the abolitionists emerged as the more radical of the antislavery groups.

While any real decision on the topic of slavery had been avoided at the Constitutional Convention by bargains that created the so-called Three-Fifths Compromise, the issue arose on the national stage once again during the controversy that led to the Missouri Compromise in 1820. At roughly the same time, a religious revival began that culminated in the Second Great Awakening. Among the most effective advocates of this new religious view was the Presbyterian minister Charles Grandison Finney in upstate New York. Finney rejected the Calvinist belief in predestination, instead preaching individual responsibility for redemption and salvation. Where the stricter older view maintained that a person could do nothing to gain salvation since only God could ordain deliverance, Finney preached that mankind had free will and with it, the ability to influence his own destiny. No longer was the individual powerless to affect whether he achieved salvation. One could, in effect, earn a place in heaven. Laced with liberal democratic ideals and antiaristocratic overtones that fit well with the popular ideas of the day, Finney's ardent preaching struck a responsive chord in an era of religious and social revival. This reorientation of Protestantism to "doing good" led directly to a melding of religious activism with social causes, and hence to increasing memberships in a variety of social movements of the day, including temperance, women's rights, and the antislavery crusade.

Renewed popular interest in the antislavery movement also led to an increase in the number of "immediatists" who advocated immediate emancipation as opposed to a gradual approach. But the abolitionists were more than just immediatists. The melding of religious zeal with their pursuit of an immediate, uncompensated emancipation for all slaves resulted in a militantly uncompromising approach. Since slavery was a sin, it ought to be abolished immediately. Since it was a sin for everyone so afflicted, all ought to be freed. And since one should not profit from a sin, owners, as sinners, should receive no compensation in any form from anyone for their loss.

Among the first whose writing could be classified as radical abolitionist was David Walker, a free

African living in Boston, who published *Walker's Appeal* in 1829. In it he criticized the American Colonization Society and other gradualist anti-slavery movements, maintaining that slaves would only be freed through their own efforts to rise up and throw off their shackles. Perhaps most closely associated with the early rise of radical abolitionism was William Lloyd Garrison, a cofounder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, who began publishing the *Liberator*. In his first issue dated January 1, 1831, he explained his purpose:

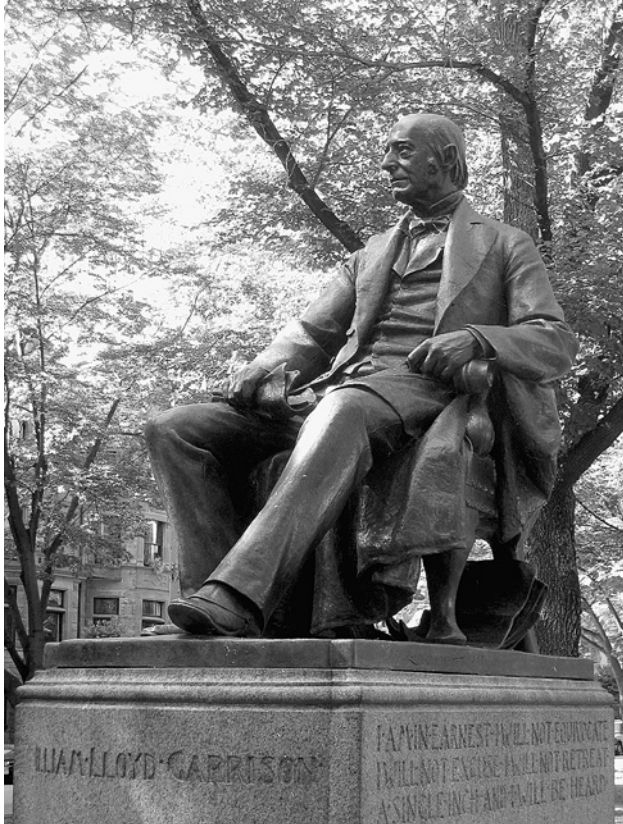
I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or to speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present.

As Garrison's statement suggests, the abolitionists were insistent, direct, and spared no words in their condemnation of slavery, eliciting from southerners a quick and equally unequivocal defensive response. With Walker, Garrison, and other abolitionists calling for everything from immediate emancipation to slave uprisings, the south was on edge. Its worst fears came true in 1831 when Nat Turner led a slave insurrection in Southampton County, Virginia, that killed 57 white men, women, and children before being subdued. In its wake, dozens of Africans were killed, many of them completely innocent. No one knows how many suffered this fate, but with the entire area aroused, it did not take much to bring forth retaliation. Southerners immediately blamed northern agitators for the revolt and enacted additional laws to prevent further outbreaks. Possession of antislavery newspapers and other such materials was prohibited, and antislavery dissent was no longer tolerated. Antislavery people in the south either learned to keep their opinions to themselves or fled north.

The rise of abolitionism was promoted by influential advocates such as Frederick Douglass,

Wendell Phillips, Theodore Weld, Lucy Stone, and Sojourner Truth. Among its more strident advocates were recent immigrants to America, including the Germans Karl Heinzen, Bernhard Domschke, and Carl Schurz, along with the Poles Marie E. Zakrzewska, Jan Tyssowski, and Adam Gurowski. In response, beginning in the 1830s, southerners began a more spirited defense of slavery as not only an economic necessity but also a good system that benefited everyone, including the slaves. As attitudes began to harden, and the fear of violence and even national partition began to appear, some northerners rose to oppose what they viewed as a group of troublemakers intent on provocation. In October 1834 a mob attacked African residents in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In the following year William Lloyd Garrison was attacked by a mob in Boston, Massachusetts, dragged through the streets, and nearly lynched before authorities jailed him for his own protection. Other mobs attacked antislavery meetings and African settlements in Cincinnati, Ohio; Hartford, Connecticut; and Utica, New York. In 1837 the abolitionist newspaper publisher Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed by a proslavery mob in Alton, Illinois; the mob also destroyed his printing presses and burned his warehouse. Tensions rose so much that between 1836 and 1844 the postmaster general refused to allow antislavery material to be delivered in the south by the U.S. mail carriers, and the House of Representatives voted to routinely table any proposals or petitions dealing with the slavery issue. Proponents hoped this would prevent any further rise in tensions.

Despite opposition that was sometimes violent, by 1837 there were over 600 abolitionist societies in New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio alone, and by the following year, the nation counted some 1,300 societies with an enrollment of 109,000. The escaped slave Harriet Tubman led an increasing group of daring individuals who helped slaves escape to freedom through the Underground Railroad, another direct action the south viewed with alarm. In 1839, wealthy New York businessmen Arthur and Lewis Tappan, assisted by James Birney, a New Yorker who was a former Alabama slaveholder, formed the Liberty Party as a political home for abolitionists and other antislavery activists anxious to translate their cause into political action. It nominated Birney for president in 1840



A statue of William Lloyd Garrison on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, Massachusetts. Garrison was the editor of the *Liberator*, an abolitionist newspaper. At its start, the *Liberator* had fewer than 400 subscribers, but it became very influential.

and 1844 but gained few votes outside New York State. In 1848, most of the Liberty Party followers merged with groups of antislavery Whigs and Democrats to form the Free Soil Party, but most of its members left for the new Republican Party when it was formed in 1852.

The furor created in the north by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act provided opportunities for abolitionists to keep their cause before an increasingly receptive northern public, while concurrently raising fear and outrage in the south. By the time of John Brown's raid in 1859, southerners automatically equated abolitionism with a threat to their way of life and associated it with the antislavery Republican Party.

The abolitionists succeeded in radicalizing the American antislavery movement, which in turn

called forth increasingly strident defenses of the "peculiar institution" from southerners. Most historians agree that this contributed significantly to the rising tensions that led to the Civil War and prevented any compromise that would have averted the nation's bloodiest conflict.

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See Also: Abolition; African Americans; American Anti-Slavery Society; American Colonization Society; Civil War, U.S.; Constitutional Amendments; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854); Slave Revolts; Slavery; Underground Railroad.

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Abrahamic Religions

The United States, by law, was designed to be religiously inclusive, including humanist and secularist ideas. When the nation was founded in 1776, the nation was 98 percent Protestant. For much of American history, Christianity has had a formidable influence on American culture. Though a culturally Christian nation, it struggled to be inclusive of all denominations and religions. Today, America still struggles with religious inclusivity as the country continues to become more religiously diverse. An overview of the Abrahamic religions in a multicultural America begins with a brief history of religion in America, a look at America's religious landscape, an overview of each of the Abrahamic religions, how Americans are navigating religious diversity, and future trajectories for the Abrahamic religions in America.

While previously an almost purely Anglo-Protestant nation, Americans responded by reimagining a once de facto Christian nation as one that could embrace Judaism and Catholicism as well as Protestantism. Each of these religions affirmed one God who spoke through prophets and holy books. All three religious groups were deemed compatible with such American virtues as liberty, equality, and democracy.

After 9/11, the reality of our global society was clear and an expanded view of faith became increasingly the norm. For many years, elected officials had lauded the valuable faith-based work being done by America's churches, synagogues, and mosques. The existence of a Judeo-Christian-Islamic, or Abrahamic, America had been recognized, but Islam existed as a tiny, marginalized outsider.

While Islam was increasingly recognized in American politics and culture, Americans did not necessarily embrace Muslims. Many responded with fear and hatred. This is unlike a similar response in the previous century to changes in the religious makeup of American society. Just as Christians struggled to accept Jews until World War II, now Christians and Jews are struggling to accept Muslims.

America's Religious Landscape

In a 2011 Gallup poll that asked the question "Do you believe in God?" 92 percent of respondents said they do, while 7 percent said they do not and 1 percent had no opinion. The U.S. government does not collect religious data in its census, but according to the American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS) 2008 findings, Americans predominantly self-identify as Christian; however, they are slowly becoming less Christian, with 76 percent of U.S. adults identifying as Christians in 2008, down from 86 percent in 1990. Simultaneously, a Gallup poll released in 2007 found that 53 percent of Americans would refuse to vote for an atheist as president, which is up from 48 percent in 1987 and 1999. For instance, there is only one American congressional representative who is openly non-theistic. The survey also indicated that 38 percent of Americans would refuse to elect a Muslim for president. Six percent said they would refuse to vote for a Jew.

Although no one religion is formally allowed to rule over American society, its influence on American traditions and politics is evident. Traditionally, elected representatives place their hand on the Bible when sworn into office. Furthermore, political rhetoric often evokes the hand and heart of God to strengthen, guide, and comfort Americans across faith, ethnic, class, and political lines. Although most Americans recognize the nation's religious pluralism, it was not until 1960 that John F. Kennedy became the first Catholic president. Joe Biden became the first Catholic vice president in 2008. America has not yet seen its first Jewish presidential candidate. Joe Lieberman is the only Jewish vice presidential candidate to run on a major party ticket. In 2006, the first Muslim was elected to Congress and used a Qur'an once owned by Jefferson when reenacting his swearing-in for photos.

Religious affiliation differs across racial and ethnic lines. According to the Pew Forum 2007 U.S. Religious Landscape Survey, black Americans were most likely to be part of a formal religion while Asian Americans were least likely. Table 1 portrays Abrahamic religious affiliations across ethnicities in America.

Judaism

Of the three Abrahamic faiths, Judaism is the oldest and the original of the three monotheistic religions. The one true God of the three religions chose Abraham and his descendants to be his people, known as Hebrews. God promised to bless the Hebrews and all people on earth through the Hebrews. The terms *Jew* and *Judaism* come from the word *Judah*, a name representing one of 12 tribes of the Hebrew people. Today, the term *Jew* is used as a description of a group of people who trace their ancestry back to Abraham or as a description of one who practices Judaism. Thus, American Jews are U.S. citizens of Jewish ethnicity or of the Jewish faith. Jews make up slightly less than 2 percent of the U.S. population.

Jews were present in the United States during the formation of the original 13 colonies, but the population was very small. Most came to the United States from Spain and Portugal. The largest population of Jews settled first in South Carolina and achieved the ability to vote and to be active in political life in 1790. Due to persecution

Table 1 Overview of Abrahamic religious affiliations in America

	White	Black	Asian	Latino
Christian	78 percent (53 percent Protestant, 22 percent Catholic, 2 percent Mormon, 0.5 percent Jehovah's Witness, and 1 percent Orthodox)	85 percent (53 percent Protestant, 5 percent Catholic, 0.5 percent Mormon, 1 percent Jehovah's Witness, and 0.5 percent Orthodox)	45 percent (27 percent Protestant, 17 percent Catholic, 1 percent Mormon, <0.5 percent Jehovah's Witness, and <0.5 percent Orthodox)	84 percent (23 percent Protestant, 58 percent Catholic, 1 percent Mormon, 1 percent Jehovah's Witness, and <0.5 percent Orthodox)
Jewish	2 percent	<0.5 percent	<0.5 percent	<0.5 percent
Muslim	0.5 percent	1 percent	4 percent	<0.5 percent
Other religion	4 percent	2 percent	27 percent	1 percent
Agnostic or Atheist	16 percent	12 percent	23 percent	14 percent

Source: PEW Forum U.S. Religious Landscape Survey, 2007.

and economic difficulties in parts of eastern Europe, Jewish immigration to the United States increased dramatically in the early 1880s. In the early 1900s, over 2 million Jews immigrated to the United States and settled predominantly in the New York metropolitan area, establishing one of the world's largest Jewish populations.

There are four major branches of Judaism in the United States. The largest denomination is Reform, followed by Conservative, Orthodox, and Reconstructionist. Jews are an ethnoreligious group and include those born Jewish and those who have converted to Judaism. A major difference between the groups is their approach to Jewish law. Orthodox Jews believe that the law is divine and unalterable, and thus it should be strictly followed. Reform Jews, for example, believe that the laws are general guidelines rather than a strict set of obligations required of all Jews. Judaism is rich with tradition. Shabbat is a weekly day of rest lasting from sundown on Friday through dusk on Saturday. High Holy Days include Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah. Other important festivals in Judaism include Passover,

Shavuot, Sukkot, Purim, and Hanukkah. Each commemorates an important event in Jewish history or enduring values of the faith. Less than half of the Jewish population say they belong to a synagogue or routinely practice their faith. In comparison to all American ethnic groups, American Jews are most likely to describe themselves as atheist or agnostic. Religious traditions are still observed, but adherence to the religion is on a sharp decline. Even fewer Jews today practice kosher dietary laws or observe the Shabbat on Saturday.

Historically, the Jews worked hard to integrate into the American Christian culture. Jews experienced discrimination throughout U.S. history but nothing like the Jews in Europe. As a minority group, they were the largest non-African American group to participate in the civil rights movement in the 1960s. However, despite being a minority group, Jews have greatly influenced American society in education, science, the arts, literature, business, and politics. Today, as a group, American Jews tend to be better educated and earn more than Americans as a whole.

Christianity

Of the U.S. adherents of the three Abrahamic monotheistic religions—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam—98 percent identify themselves as Christians. Christians in the United States come from a variety of different cultures and adhere to a variety of different dogmas and creeds. The most inclusive definition of Christianity that unites Catholics, Orthodox, Evangelicals, and Protestants is the belief that Jesus Christ is God incarnate and that Jesus Christ died and rose from the dead to take away the sins of those who believe in Him granting his followers access into heaven for eternity.

Spanish Roman Catholics arrived in what is now the United States in 1513. In 1607, 104 settlers of the Church of England established Jamestown in Virginia. Christianity spread at a rapid rate in America as more settlers from Europe from a vast array of denominations settled in the New World as well as through conversions of the native population. The different Christian denominations settled in common areas known as colonies. The 13 original colonies divided along denominational lines. By the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, these Christian denominations had great influence in the formation of the new government. However, the government was not a Christian government nor was the newly formed United States of America officially a Christian nation. In 1797, the Treaty of Tripoli, signed by President John Adams stated, “As the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion . . .”

Despite the diversity of Christians in the United States, they do share common traditions, practices, and language that unite them into a collective yet diverse culture. Since the United States was predominantly Christian during its formation, a Christian culture emerged. This culture included celebrations and feasts marking the birth and resurrection of Jesus. Sunday was set aside as a day of rest and Christians would gather for church. Church consisted of the singing of hymns, prayers, communion, and the proclamation of the scriptures. In early U.S. culture, praying in school or displaying the Bible in public governmental buildings was common and accepted. Christianity played a vital role in shaping the U.S.

landscape. Christians built schools, hospitals, and orphanages, and they established charities. Christians have always held prominent positions in law, medicine, business, and government. In fact, every U.S. president has claimed Christianity as their religion.

Yet for most of U.S. history, Christianity was a private affair, emphasizing personal piety and morality. Christianity has entered into the public arena during times of crisis. Ironically, Christianity has been used to both support and denounce issues such as slavery, women’s suffrage, war, and civil rights. However, a major shift took place in the 1980s when a group of Christians made a conscious decision to take their faith from the private to the political. This group formed the Moral Majority in order to lobby lawmakers to ban abortion, allow prayer in public schools, support Israel, denounce homosexual behavior, and protect themselves against secularism. These politically vocal Christians still play a significant role in shaping the political agendas today through the same goals, with the addition of curbing the influence of Islam in the United States. Currently, the majority of Christians in the United States are part of the Moral Majority, but they are the most resourced and vocal in shaping American public policy.

Islam

Muslims make up less than 1 percent of the U.S. population. The majority of Muslims come from southeast Asia, Arabia, and Africa. Today, of the 2.7 million Muslims living in the United States, 35 percent are natural-born citizens. Due to immigration, the fertility rate, and conversions, the number of Muslims living in the United States is expected to double over the next 20 years.

There are roughly 30 sects in the Islamic religion. The largest Islamic denomination is Sunni and the second largest is Shi’a. A common conviction shared by Muslims is the belief in one God (Allah) and that Muhammad is God’s messenger whom God chose to reveal the Qur’an. Muslims believe that Jesus was a prophet but not God. They believe that Muhammad is the last prophet sent by God and that the Qur’an is the Holy Book with authority over the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. Most Muslims practice mandatory prayer five times a day, almsgiving,

fasting during the month of Ramadan, and a pilgrimage to Mecca once in their lifetime. The major differences between the Sunni and the Shi'a have to do with the legitimate successor to Muhammad and are political in nature. However, in the United States there is less division between the two groups.

The Founding Fathers refer to Islam (Muhammadanism), which influenced the concept of freedom of religion in the new republic. Benjamin Franklin is quoted saying, "Even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Muhammadanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service." Muslims first entered the United States in significant numbers as slaves from Africa in the late 1700s. By the middle of the 1800s, records show that Muslims fought with Union soldiers during the Civil War. Immigration of Muslims from the Ottoman Empire to the United States expanded during World War I. Albanian Muslims built the first mosque in the state of Maine in 1915. Today there are over 2,000 mosques scattered across the country.

Muslims played an infinitesimal role in shaping U.S. culture and politics due to their small numbers. Throughout U.S. history, relations were good with Islamic countries and Muslims living in the United States integrated well into society due to their hospitable nature. The first notable historic act by Muslims in the United States was the formation of the Nation of Islam in 1930. The teachings of the Nation of Islam differed from traditional Islam, advocating black supremacy. The Nation of Islam gained national attention during the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Another significant shift occurred when the United States backed the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. This started a rift between the United States and Islamic countries, which started to create negative perceptions of American Muslims. Despite declining international relations, overall U.S. Muslims were seen as positive and productive citizens. All of that goodwill changed, of course, on September 11, 2001, when self-proclaimed Muslims attacked the United States. After the events of 9/11, non-Muslims in the United States took great interest in Islam. Muslim Americans were put on the defensive by their non-Muslim neighbors due to guilt by association. In response, Muslims Americans

have gone on the offensive to promote their religion as a religion of peace that can and should coexist with fellow Americans, including Christians and Jews.

Navigating Religious Diversity in America: One Nation Under God

Navigating religious diversity in the United States has never been easy. Tolerance among the Christian denominations has proven difficult throughout U.S. history. Tolerance among the three Abrahamic faiths has proven to be even more difficult. According to the 2006 Faith Matters Survey, 72 percent of Americans believe that the United States is divided along religious lines. Although this number is certainly significant, contextualizing this figure with other similar reports on diversity in America portrays a somewhat broader story. According to this study, 93 percent report that America is divided across racial divides; 96 percent report divisions along economic lines. Furthermore, 97 percent believe America is divided across political constituencies.

While divides between doctrines exist, common values such as love, peace, compassion, forgiveness, and mercy stretch across the Abrahamic religions, binding them together and uniting them at their very core. Robert Putnam, in his book *America's Grace*, points out that most Americans, save an intensely religious few, have a more expansive view of God's truth than individual doctrines might dictate or portray. While commonalities exist, real differences among the Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam remain. The three largest monotheistic religions in the world espouse an exclusive doctrine claiming inerrant truth. The more Christians, Jews, and Muslims interact in meaningful dialogue and form friendships, the better the chance that the current conflict narrative fueled by ignorance and mistrust will be transformed into a new conciliatory narrative based on knowledge and trust. Toward this end, interfaith partnerships among the three Abrahamic faiths are happening all across the United States. One example of this is the work of Interfaith Ministries in Houston, Texas, the third most diverse city in the United States, with relatively large Jewish and Muslim populations. Interfaith Ministries (IM) for Greater Houston brings people of diverse faith traditions

together for dialogue, collaboration, and service to build upon and live out their shared beliefs.

The Interfaith Youth Core led by Eboo Patel is another such example of an organization equipping individuals, especially youth, with the leadership skills, relational capital, and interfaith knowledge that build bridges in this nation under God. The formation of personal relationships among individuals of different faiths is the key to a flourishing pluralistic religious nation. The research indicates and faith leaders have demonstrated that collaborations emerge, trust is built, and civility is strengthened when individuals from different faiths learn about one another's faiths, serve their common community, and build personal relationships across doctrinal lines.

Future Trajectories

Based on current population trends, some researchers have begun to predict the future of America's religious landscape. Vegard Skirbekk and Anne Goujon of the World Population Program along with Eric Kaufmann of the University of London used the General Social Survey findings, census immigration statistics, and Pew data to make such predictions. Based on research on projected age patterns, conversion, fertility, and immigration rates, researchers expect that Hispanic Catholics are likely to nearly double to become 18 percent of the population by 2043 and will likely outnumber Protestants during the second half of the century. The percentage of Americans from non-Christian faiths, except for Judaism, is expected to double. As a result of projected immigration statistics and higher fertility rates, Muslims are expected to surpass Jews by 2023.

Liberal Protestants, a group that currently has an older demographic with low fertility rates and that will yield little expected growth from immigration, will likely decrease in number. Additionally, conservative Protestants are expected to see a decline in numbers as the overall population of white Americans continues to fall. The number of secular (agnostic and atheist) Americans is projected to rise in the immediate future but will likely plateau as a result of modest immigration and fertility rates of this population.

While demographic projections are some of the most certain within the social sciences, these projections are not universally accepted among

experts. Some argue that population growth and decline are contingent on multiple factors and cannot be easily predicted. Fertility rates may change, immigration laws may tighten, or patterns may shift. Social and political issues are also elusive. Few predicted the religious schisms that resulted from the gay marriage debate or the scandals that arose within the Catholic Church. Similarly, the recent growth of the nondenominational churches was unexpected. Finally, religious conversion rates and continuity of religious identity within families is not guaranteed.

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See Also: Jewish Americans; Muslim Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; WASPs (White Anglo Saxon Protestants).

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Academy Awards

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences established the Academy Awards in 1929 with 12 “Best” U.S. film categories, which increased to 25 in 2012. From 1929 through 2011, a total of 2,809 Oscars were awarded, including a limited number to individuals of nonwhite backgrounds. The vast majority of awards, across categories, were won by white, U.S.-born nominees.

Filmgoers are a diverse group, yet Oscar voters are relatively homogenous, predominantly Caucasians (94 percent), and male (77 percent) with only 14 percent younger than age 50. In 2011, Academy invitees comprised 30 percent females and 10 percent nonwhites. One of 43 Board of Governors’ members is nonwhite. Blacks represent 2 percent of the 6,000 plus Academy members, and Latinos fewer than 2 percent. In 2012, the Academy identified 14 percent of new invitees as people of color, including African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and Asian Americans across categories.

Diversity at the Academy

Minority nominees’ career directions have followed a different trajectory than whites’, resulting in 72 percent likely to work in television versus 36 percent who succeed in film. Nonwhite winners and nominees make fewer movies annually than whites. They are also less likely than whites to be nominated again.

In such categories as acting, directing, producing, and screenwriting, white artists of diverse ethnic backgrounds have earned Oscars. Some white actors have been nominated or won Oscars for playing people of color. Jeff Chandler (white) was nominated for his performance as Apache Chief Cochise. Luise Rainer (white, German, Jewish) won an award for playing a Chinese farmer, and Linda Hunt (white, American, female) won an award for her performance as an Asian male.

A limited number of Latinos, African Americans, and Asians have won Academy Awards. While the majority of acting Oscars have been awarded to white Americans, many white English-speaking Europeans, Canadians, British, South Africans, and Australians have won, often portraying Americans.

Latinos/Latinas and Hispanic Representation

Latinos/Latinas and Hispanics have been minimally recognized and were often cast in ethnic and non-Latino roles. Anthony Quinn (Mexican American) won two Best Supporting Actor awards, playing Mexican and French nationalities, and was nominated for Best Actor as a Greek. Jose Ferrer (Puerto Rican) won his Best Actor and Best Supporting Actor awards and received another acting nomination for playing Frenchmen. Supporting Actor awards were won by Benicio del Toro (Puerto Rican) as a Mexican, while Javier Bardem (Spanish) played a character of deliberately unknown ethnicity, which has often been identified as Slavic or Russian.

No Latinas have won the Best Actress award, but three women have won for Best Supporting Actress. Rita Moreno (Puerto Rican) won for actually playing a Puerto Rican; Mercedes Ruehl (Cuban/European American), who has made a career of playing ethnically diverse characters, won her Oscar for playing an Italian American; and Penelope Cruz, the first Spanish actress to win an Academy Award, won for her role as a Spanish mentally ill ex-wife.

Latino and Hispanic individuals have been nominated for Best Director Award, but none has won. There have been winners in art direction, cinematography, music, and foreign film categories.

African Americans at the Academy Awards

African Americans comprise the majority of nonwhite Oscar acting winners and nominees. Hattie McDaniel’s Best Supporting Actress win in 1939 for *Gone With the Wind* was the first by a nonwhite performer. Sidney Poitier, Jamie Foxx, Denzel Washington, and Forest Whitaker have won for Best Actor, while only Halle Berry has won for Best Actress. Louis Gossett, Jr., Denzel Washington, Cuba Gooding, Jr., and Morgan Freeman have won for Best Supporting Actor. Hattie McDaniel, Whoopi Goldberg, Jennifer Hudson, Mo’Nique, and Octavia Spencer have won for Best Supporting Actress. Denzel Washington is the only African American actor to have won twice.

John Singleton is the only African American to have received a nomination for directing. T. J. Martin is the first African American director to win an Oscar for best documentary. Several



*Hattie McDaniel starred in *Gone With the Wind* in 1939 as Mammy, a role for which she won the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress. She was the first African American to ever win an Oscar. In the film, the character Mammy was a house slave. McDaniel, front center, also became the chairman of the "Negro Division" of the Hollywood Victory Committee during World War II and is shown here leading a group of entertainers to a performance and dance for the troops.*

African Americans have won in music categories: Original Score (Prince and Herbie Hancock), Best Original Song (Isaac Hayes, Irene Cara, Stevie Wonder, Lionel Richie, and Rappers Juicy J, Frayser Boy, and DJ Paul), and Best Sound Mixing (Russell Williams, a three-time winner; and Willie D. Burton). Williams was the first African American to win multiple awards in any category.

Special Awards have gone to several African Americans. In 1948, James Baskett received a special award for his portrayal of Uncle Remus in Disney's *Song of the South* and was the first African American male to be honored by the Academy. In 2001, Sidney Poitier was the first African

American to win a Lifetime Achievement Award followed by James Earl Jones in 2011. Quincy Jones and Oprah Winfrey have received the Academy's Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award.

Asians as Award Winners

Only two Asian actors, Yul Brynner (Vladivostok, Far Eastern Republic) and Ben Kingsley (British, half Asian Indian) have won Best Actor Awards. Yul Brynner won for playing the King of Siam; Ben Kingsley played Gandhi. Haing S. Ngor (Cambodian) was the only Asian actor to win an Oscar for a supporting performance. He actually lived through events similar to those depicted in the film. No Asian women have won the Best

Actress award. Miyoshi Umeki (Japanese) is the only Asian to win for Best Supporting Actress.

Ang Lee is the only Asian to win the Best Director Award in a nonforeign film category for *Brokeback Mountain* in 2005 and *Life of Pi* in 2012; three other Asians have been nominated. Asians have been better represented as winners in categories reflecting technology, cinematography, animation, music, makeup, and costumes. There were also multiple Asian winners among foreign, short, documentary, and animation films.

Best Picture

The Best Picture category comprises diverse time periods and populations, across a range of subjects. Some winning historical films include *Lawrence of Arabia* (Arabia during World War I), *The Sound of Music* and *Schindler's List* (the Holocaust), *Gandhi* (India), and *The Last Emperor* (China). Other films about social issues include *Gone With the Wind* (U.S. Civil War), *West Side Story* (New York City ethnic gangs), and *Slumdog Millionaire* (India). *The Color Purple* was the first nominated film coproduced by an African American while *Precious* was the first nominated film directed by an African American. *The Blind Side* was coproduced by an African American.

Conclusion

While Academy Award winners have been ethnically diverse, a limited number of Oscars have gone to people of nonwhite backgrounds. Academy voters have been mostly white, older, male Americans, while most highly promoted films have had white themes and have starred white actors. Among many people of color, this has led to a sense of being disenfranchised in regard to the Academy Awards.

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See Also: Blackface; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures; Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Acculturation/ Assimilation

Whenever individuals or groups holding different cultural values come into sustained contact with each other there will inevitably be a degree of adaptation, conscious or unconscious, voluntary or enforced, to the cultural patterns of the other. Such adaptation is known as acculturation, of which assimilation is a subset, and is of increasingly vital importance to multicultural societies.

Acculturation in its broadest sense refers to the changes in beliefs, values, and behaviors that occur during the interaction of two or more disparate ethnocultural groups as a result of the reciprocal learning and incorporation of cultural features from each other. It can therefore be distinguished from enculturation, which is the gradual acquisition of the behaviors, values, and beliefs of an individual's own cultural tradition, and from transculturation, which is the ongoing creation of new cultural patterns initiated by intercultural contact. Nowadays, the most common focus for the study of acculturation phenomena is immigration, chosen or obligatory, on the part of both individuals and larger cultural groups. The degree to which immigrants adapt to the cultural values of the host society, and the expectations on the part of the dominant group regarding the beliefs and behaviors of immigrants, define to a large extent the context for acculturation studies.

The term *acculturation* was first proposed in 1880 by the explorer and ethnologist J. W. Powell, who defined it as psychological changes resulting from cross-cultural imitation. Imitation is the key term here, as Powell was specifically interested in the phenomenon of Native Americans who were adopting European clothing and learning English, aspects of a process he regarded as both desirable and inevitable as cultural groups progressed from savagery through barbarism to civilization—the anthropological paradigm prevailing at the time. The assumption that one cultural group in an encounter is superior and should therefore be emulated gives rise to an assimilative model of intercultural change, in which the dominant culture's patterns are gradually adopted by the other, replacing and eliminating the original. This unidirectional nature of cultural influence was axiomatic throughout the European-dominated world of the 19th century; colonial administrators in British India were so horrified by the thought of “going native,” even in the adoption of indigenous dress, however practical, that formal dress codes were rigidly enforced in the face of all climatic logic.

A more enlightened and enduringly influential formulation was offered in 1936 by anthropologists Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville Herskovits, who redefined acculturation as the set of phenomena that results when groups of individuals with different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. The explicit acknowledgment in this definition that acculturation is, or can be, a two-way process enables it to be considered a more inclusive concept than that of assimilation, mentioned above, which implies the absorption of one culture into another.

Redfield and his colleagues considered assimilation to be a potential phase of acculturation, which was itself just one aspect of the ubiquitous phenomenon of culture change generally. Various modifications to this definition have been proposed, most notably that of the Social Science Research Council in 1954. Their attempted clarification broadened the scope of the concept to include cultural effects brought about by only indirectly cultural or noncultural factors, such as demographics and environmental change.

They also introduced the notion of delay, referring to internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of culturally alien traits or patterns, and suggested that some acculturative change can be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life, a return to certain cultural patterns currently in abeyance. This notion of reactive adaptation seems particularly persuasive when applied to societies or groups faced with the uncertainty of rapid social or economic change. Developments as otherwise disparate as the 1980s U.K. debate over Victorian values, the growth of Radical Islam in the late 20th century, and the U.S. Tea Party movement of 2011 to 2012 all share a desire to return to the perceived simplicities of a cultural Golden Age.

Conceptual Models

Probably the first psychological model of acculturation was formulated by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki in their 1918 paper, “The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.” From their research into the acculturation of Polish immigrants in Chicago, Thomas and Znaniecki identified three modes of acculturation linked to individual personality types. The first of these they termed the Bohemian, in which an immigrant's original culture is abandoned in favor of a full adoption of the host culture, a phenomenon now termed assimilation, as mentioned above and further expanded later. The second strategy, the Philistine, refers to the opposite approach, in which the culture of origin is maintained and that of the host society rejected. In contemporary usage, this strategy is generally known as separation, described below. Preservation of the immigrant's traditional culture while adapting to that of the host society was termed by Thomas and Znaniecki as Creative-Type, but corresponds in current terminology to the notion of integration, also elaborated below.

A weakness of the theoretical model proposed by Thomas and Znaniecki is that it focuses exclusively on the individual's degree of adaptation to the host culture, ignoring the reciprocal nature of the interaction made clear in the definition of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits. Accordingly, acculturation effects are now generally thought to manifest themselves in two interconnected areas: the sociocultural and the



A 19th-century portrait of a Native American from southeastern Idaho wearing European clothing. The term acculturation was first proposed in 1880 in response to the phenomenon of Native Americans adopting European dress and learning English.

individual. Sociocultural effects refer to changes in the wider social group and its institutions, such as education and national policies, and have traditionally been of interest to sociologists and anthropologists. Individual effects focus on the psychological reactions to acculturation on the part of individual members of the groups affected, and have been studied extensively by cross-cultural psychologists, as well as intercultural communications scholars. Although there are differences in terminology and definition, most contemporary scholars of acculturation share a general conceptual framework more or less resembling the multidimensional four-part model proposed by John W. Berry.

Berry's theoretical approach identifies four types, or strategies, of acculturation characterized

on one dimension by the relative degree of attachment to an individual's original culture, and on the other by the relative desire to adopt the patterns of the dominant majority or host culture. A strong preference for maintaining one's own cultural heritage combined with a positive attitude toward participation in the host society results in the "integration" strategy. Successfully realized, integration leads to the formation of a bicultural identity, and is manifested at the social or national level as an explicit ideology of multiculturalism or pluralism. Full integration, however, has proven an elusive goal for many societies; the Dutch scholar Jan Pieter van Oudenhoven has claimed that among modern nations probably only Canada has a clear pluralist policy in this respect. (He goes on to say that, although Australia officially has a multicultural policy as well, this is not fully endorsed by the population.)

Attempts to foster inclusive societies of mutual cultural respect have often been problematic for liberal Western democracies as their populations are not always ready to accept certain aspects of cultural difference that are perceived to run counter to their own cultural or legal traditions. The 2004 ban on wearing the Muslim headscarf in French educational institutions is an example of the incompatibility of a fully integrationist attitude with Berry's second strategy, assimilation.

Individuals who either reject (or are obliged to abandon) their own culture or who have a relatively much greater attachment to the culture of the dominant group are exhibiting the "assimilation" attitude, of which the larger social equivalent is the ideology of the melting pot, if voluntary, or the pressure cooker, if enforced. Although assimilation can be voluntary on the part of immigrating individuals willing to eschew their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness in favor of a wholehearted adoption of the core values of a new society, it is more likely to be a requirement on the part of the dominant culture. Research has indicated that there is a clear preference among the majority of host populations for immigrants to assimilate.

Even within positively assimilationist societies, however, such as the United States or Germany, perceived cultural differences such as skin color or accent can be insurmountable barriers to full assimilation, and attitudes of the host population

can be strongly influenced by external political developments, such as economic factors, wars, or acts of terrorism, leading to generalization, stereotyping, and prejudice.

In the case of individuals whose strong attachment to their own culture leads them largely to reject the traditions and patterns of the dominant culture, the strategy is one of "separation." The existence of ethnic enclaves or ghettos renders this a viable voluntary strategy, given a liberal attitude on the part of the larger group and because immigrants can relocate geographically without having to make a huge cultural readjustment. In the contemporary United States, religious communities, such as the Amish or Hasidic Jews, are examples of voluntary separation. If enforced at the social or national level, however, separation is mandated by a policy of segregation or apartheid, as in formerly segregationist South Africa and the United States before the civil rights legislation of the 1960s.

Furthermore, in practice, even voluntary cultural or ethnic ghettos may be at best tolerated by the host population (the "live and let live" attitude), although such enclaves may be seen to have positive touristic interest. Any perceived negative impact on the larger society, though, such as rising crime rates or falling property values, can serve to reinforce stereotypes, breed resentment, and intensify mutual cultural incomprehension.

Finally, the term *marginalization* is used for individuals who have relatively little interest in, or opportunity for, maintaining their own cultural heritage, yet who either reject the dominant culture or are denied access to it. Berry points out that although the strategy of marginalization can be freely chosen by individuals, it is more likely to be the result of failed assimilation, in which original cultural identity is lost yet discriminatory attitudes of the dominant society preclude full participation. At the sociocultural level, laws and policies that embody such discriminatory attitudes resulting in imposed marginalization are said to have an ideology of exclusion or, in extreme cases, cultural genocide (ethnocide). The former large-scale abduction of many generations of aboriginal children in Australia (the "stolen generations") has been termed attempted cultural genocide, and the People's Republic of China has been accused of carrying out ethnocidal policies in Tibet.

Individual Choice

Berry makes the point that an individual's choice of acculturation strategy is constrained by two important factors: the attitude of the individual's ethnocultural group toward acculturation, and the expectations of the dominant or host society. Both integration and separation, that is, are only possible when the individual's ethnic group shares in his or her wish to maintain a traditional cultural heritage, while assimilation can be an individual strategy pursued independently of the feelings of the cultural collective. Also, as Berry has noted, integration can only be freely chosen and successfully achieved by nondominant groups when the dominant or host society has an open and inclusive orientation toward cultural diversity. A mutual accommodation is therefore required, in which the acculturating group adopts the basic values of the dominant society, while that society adapts its social institutions, such as education and health care, to respond to the particular cultural needs of the nondominant group.

As noted above, however, although most contemporary societies are increasingly culturally plural, integration has been achieved only rarely, incompletely, and sporadically, even in states with an explicit multicultural policy. To explain this, Berry has suggested that, apart from a national commitment to multiculturalism, four psychological preconditions need to exist in the wider society and in the subdominant group. First, there needs to be a widespread acknowledgment of the value of cultural diversity within the society. Second, there must be relatively low levels of prejudice in the forms of ethnocentrism, racism, and discrimination. Further, the nondominant ethnocultural groups must exhibit mutually respectful attitudes among themselves, which may mean abandoning specific intergroup hatreds obtained in their country of origin. And finally, there needs to be a positive sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all individuals and groups.

Criticism and Alternative Models

A criticism of this fourfold model of acculturation is that it is insufficiently complex to account for the observed range of cultural adaptation among immigrant or subdominant individuals and communities. Few individuals can be identified

unambiguously as falling into any one of the four categories proposed by the model, and its very multidimensionality means that there are in fact 16 interaction permutations possible. That is, an immigrant with an integrationist attitude to acculturation in a host culture requiring assimilation is in a different situation to a similar individual in an integrationist society. One attempt to formulate a more comprehensive framework with better predictive utility is the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) proposed by Richard Bourhis and his colleagues.

Regarding such factors as a significantly influential context, the IAM pays detailed attention to the ideologies and policies with regard to immigration on the part of the host society or nation that affect the outcome of acculturation interactions. By correlating these attitudes to those of the acculturating individuals or groups, the model claims to predict relational outcomes that are termed consensual, problematic, or conflictual. In describing both state policies and immigrant attitudes, the IAM retains most of Berry's terminology, although it rejects marginalization (which seems to have little empirical support) as a category in favor of individualism and (as a possible immigrant phenomenon) anomie.

Although not an explicit element of the model, when considering state integrationist policies Bourhis differentiates what are termed pluralist ideologies from civic ideologies. In both cases a multicultural nation will expect immigrants to conform to basic values, such as democracy, freedom, and the legal code, while exercising no regulatory jurisdiction over individual cultural or traditional customs provided that they do not conflict with the broad values of the host society. In the United Kingdom, for example, the maintenance of language and religious beliefs are acceptable manifestations of cultural diversity, while polygamy and "honor killings" are not. A state with a pluralist ideology, however, will attempt to foster cultural diversity in this sense by means of positive legislation and financial support for immigrant cultural institutions. Conversely, a state with a civic ideology, while not suppressing diverse cultural expression or expecting immigrant populations to assimilate, does not promote diversity through financial or political means. Bourhis also proposes the term

ethnist as a subset of the assimilation ideology, in which the state assumes a total mandate over both public and private values, requiring full cultural assimilation as a prerequisite to citizenship or, in extreme cases, restricting full citizenship to members of the host ethnicity.

In the IAM, host society acculturation orientations are thus defined as integration, assimilation, segregation, exclusion, and individualism. Acculturation orientations on the part of the immigrant community are categorized as integration, assimilation, separation, anomie, and individualism. Relative values for these attitudes are obtained by survey methods, and when the two sets of orientations are subsequently plotted onto a 5-by-5 matrix, the model predicts that consensual relations will obtain in only three of the 25 possible permutations: when immigrants with integrationist, assimilationist, and individualist attitudes acculturate in societies that share their orientations. All other relational outcomes are predicted to be either problematic (10 cases) or openly conflictual (12 cases).

After analyzing this set of results, Bourhis has concluded that social policies reflecting an integrationist approach—expressing either pluralism or civic ideologies—are more likely to yield positive and harmonious relational outcomes than policies reflecting the assimilation ideology. Similarly, segregation and exclusion orientations reflected in immigration policy are more likely to result in problematic relations or conflict. As Bourhis concedes, however, even pluralist and civic ideologies cannot guarantee successful integration, since some members of the host population will be bound to hold exclusionist or segregationist attitudes, while some members of the immigrant culture will inevitably experience anomie or hold separatist beliefs. The IAM is clearly a more comprehensive and potentially useful tool for studying acculturation than earlier four-part models, although Bourhis concedes that further empirical research is needed to confirm its validity and reliability.

Measuring Cultural Differences

Although not initially designed as a theoretical acculturation model, the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) devised by intercultural communication scholar Milton J. Bennett nevertheless offers a useful perspective

on individual attitudes to cultural difference. The DMIS comprises six descriptive terms for orientations to cultural diversity, the first three of which are categorized as ethnocentric and the final three as ethnorelative. Bennett considers that development through these six stages constitutes a dynamic measure of intercultural competence in dealing with perceived difference, although he points out that progression through the stages is not necessarily unidirectional or irreversible, and that a demonstrated competence in one aspect of diversity may not apply in all encounters with difference. In other words, a negative intercultural experience may result in regression to an earlier stage of sensitivity, in which an individual may exhibit a robust ethnocentrism with regard to religious difference, say, but simultaneously display entrenched ethnocentric attitudes in matters of race or sexual orientation.

The first stage of the DMIS is denial, representing the lowest level of openness to cultural difference, or extreme ethnocentrism. Individuals or groups exhibiting this orientation are either literally unaware that alternative cultural systems exist, or are so unfamiliar with other cultures that their ways are seen as bizarre, pathological, or subhuman. Few groups in today's world are so isolated as to have had no contact at all with other cultures, so denial is more often manifested as an inability to perceive meaningful cultural difference, such as the variations among a generalized "Asian" culture. Individuals at the next stage, defense, are aware of other cultural realities, but perceive them as inferior or threatening to their own culture, which is seen as the sole repository of truth and goodness. Racism and anti-immigration attitudes are symptomatic of a defense mind-set, as are nationalism and strongly assimilationist policies.

Bennett has also identified a reverse form of defense, in which individuals transfer their cultural allegiance to another group, usually a minority culture, but the stereotypical polarization of the "us and them" worldview is retained. Minimization is the most benign of the ethnocentric stages. It refers to the universalist belief that human beings are all basically the same and that cultural differences are merely superficial. Inevitably, however, one's own culture forms the basis for this assumed universal reality, and a lack of

cultural self-awareness prevents this attitude from developing into an ethnorelative worldview.

Acceptance is the first of the three ethnorelative stages of the DMIS, and involves an understanding that one's own culture is just one among a number of equally valid and equally complex worldviews and value systems. Other cultures may still be judged negatively, but an awareness of the cultural context distinguishes such a judgment from the pejorative perceptions of the defense stage, in which one's own culture represents the only true way of being. The next stage, adaptation, transcends the cognitive and involves an empathic connection to another culture in which that culture's perceptions, feelings, and behaviors can be experienced naturally as part of one's own expanded range of worldviews. Adaptation, unlike assimilation, does not imply the abandonment of one's own culture but rather an augmentation, the ability to experience the world through more than one cultural perspective.

The term *integration* is the final stage of the DMIS. It is not used in the sense employed by both the Berry model and the IAM as described above but instead refers to the ability to shift perception between cultural frames of reference without losing a sense of selfhood, since the self is construed as being this multicultural entity. Bennett uses the term *liminality* to describe individuals at this stage of integration who choose to eschew any one core cultural identity, occupying instead a kind of transitional state between cultures and adopting a perspective appropriate to the situation. Individuals at the integration stage may therefore be particularly skilled at mediating intercultural conflict, as they are able to experience the differing realities of the situation as perceived by the disputants.

Research

Early research on acculturation and its effects was conducted mainly by anthropologists interested in how individuals adapt to dominant cultural patterns. More recently, however, acculturation phenomena tend to have been more extensively studied by cross-cultural psychology scholars. As a consequence of this disciplinary perspective, studies have been based on affective, behavioral, and cognitive theory. The focus of research has been on the acculturating individual or group, while attitudes and institutional policies on

the part of the host society have been relatively neglected. Research topics have therefore concentrated on such areas as the mental health of acculturating individuals and levels of acculturative stress as reflected in alcohol addiction, drug use, and domestic violence. Furthermore, research has tended to examine one acculturating ethnocultural group in one specific society or setting. While these studies have yielded a wealth of invaluable data and insights, there is now a growing consensus that research needs to widen its scope in at least three vital respects.

First, there needs to be a more collaborative, integrated, multidisciplinary approach incorporating perspectives not only from anthropology and sociology but from economics, demography, education, and political science. As the contexts for acculturation have grown increasingly complex, due to a result of factors such as urbanization, globalization, intermarriage, and demographic change, so have research tools needed to become more comprehensive and sophisticated.

In the multicultural United States of the early 21st century, it makes little sense to talk of majority and minority cultures, given the mixed ethnic nature of the supposed Anglo “majority,” and the older proxy variables used by researchers, such as language, generation, and period of residence, may no longer be useful in defining acculturation. Second, although most acculturation takes place in the majority world, most research is still confined to the Western developed nations. International multigroup, multisociety studies are necessary to derive a common terminology and set of reference tools that will be applicable across the widening range of contexts in which acculturation is occurring. Finally, given that acculturation is above all concerned with cultural change, more longitudinal research must be undertaken in order to study acculturation effects over time and isolate core factors from contingent ones.

These research directions represent formidable challenges for scholars in the field of acculturation studies, but given the importance of the subject it is hoped that such challenges will be met with creativity and determination from researchers in a wide range of disciplines.

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See Also: Americanization; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Desegregation/Integration; Identity Development; Interculturalism; Segregation; Tolerance.

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Adams-Onís Treaty (1819)

The Treaty of Paris may have brought independence to the United States in 1783, but the borders of the new nation remained somewhat ambiguous. During the colonial era, border disputes between the English-speaking colonies and their French, Spanish, Dutch, and indigenous

neighbors provoked many conflicts and not a few wars. One long-standing dispute was the location of the border between the United States and the Spanish colonies of east and west Florida. Following independence, overlapping claims continued to cause suspicion and varying degrees of hostility between the two nations. This was exacerbated by slaves escaping into Spanish lands and the general belief among Americans residing along the border areas that the Spanish were protecting escaped slaves and inciting the Indians to raid the U.S. frontier settlements.

In 1803 the Louisiana Purchase brought further ambiguity to the western border between the United States and Spain through lack of a clear definition and faulty maps. Further, on the southern border some Americans, including President Thomas Jefferson, argued that the deal had also included Florida. Over the years the United States made several offers to purchase Florida, and in 1810 and 1812, with Spain preoccupied by the Napoleonic Wars, it annexed portions of west Florida.

In the following years, American military forces occasionally moved temporarily into Spanish territory on the justification that they were in pursuit of Indian raiders. The most notable incursion into Florida occurred during Andrew Jackson's campaign against the Seminole Indians in 1817–18 (First Seminole War), which included attacks on Spanish outposts he accused of aiding the Indians. These actions, and the often belligerent rhetoric from north of the border, convinced many Spanish officials that the United States would eventually annex Florida by force.

While Jackson's troops were in action in Florida, President James Monroe directed his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, to renew American offers to purchase Florida. By this time, Spain, beset by financial problems and fearing that it could not defend Florida against an increasingly likely American invasion, was becoming more amenable to negotiation. Spain first sought British aid, but when that was not forthcoming, it decided that it was better to sell Florida than to run the risk of losing it with no gain. The result was the Adams-Onís Treaty signed on February 22, 1819, by Adams and the Spanish foreign minister, Don Luis de Onís Gonzalez Lopez y Vara. Within the United States, the treaty was considered a great

triumph, although some politicians from the western states, led by Henry Clay, believed that government officials should have held out for the inclusion of Texas as part of the accord.

Terms

Under the terms of the agreement, Spain ceded all of Florida to the United States, but of equal or greater importance was an arrangement of the border between American and Spanish territory in the west. The two nations agreed that the western boundary of Louisiana would be along the lower Sabine River north to the Red River, then west to 100 degrees west longitude, north to the Arkansas River, west along that river, then north to 42 degrees north latitude, and from there west to the Pacific.

With Spain giving up its claims to the Oregon region, the United States gained unobstructed access to the Pacific coast. In return the United States agreed to pay off some \$5 million in claims by U.S. citizens against the Spanish government, give up its claim to territory in Texas west of the Sabine River, give up claims to some other areas along the western border, and extend favorable tariff provisions for Spanish traders using ports in Florida.

Although the treaty's provisions were honored by both sides, some inaccurate surveys initially resulted in conflicting reports on exactly where portions of the northern border of Texas lay.

The United States set up a commission to handle claims against Spain, and over a three-year period, it examined 1,859 claims valued at \$5,454,545.13. To remain within the treaty amount of \$5 million, claims were eventually paid at a discount of 8.33 percent. Tension with Spain decreased, allowing the Spanish government to concentrate its resources on frequently ineffective efforts to oppose the increasing number of independence movements within the Spanish Empire in Central and South America. With the successful Mexican Revolution in 1821, the borders agreed on in the Adams-Onís Treaty became the demarcation lines between the United States and Mexico.

Effects

Gaining direct access and ports on the Pacific Coast led to increased U.S. trade with Asia, but the most

immediate cultural influences on the nation were the incorporation of thousands of new Hispanic citizens with their cultures and traditions into the national fabric, as well as setting the stage for continuing confrontations with indigenous peoples as Americans began to move westward in larger numbers in pursuit of the country's Manifest Destiny.

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See Also: Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); Louisiana Purchase; Manifest Destiny; Seminole; Seminole Wars.

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Adoption, Transnational/ Transracial

Identity and cultural heritage are often crucial to the self-esteem and personality development of many American children. This is particularly important for children from minority racial and ethnic classifications. Children who are of the same racial classification as their adoptive parents but of a different ethnic group can also be affected, such as European American parents transnationally adopting a child from Russia who is racially classified as white or Caucasian, but ethnically Russian.

The practice of placing children with prospective adoptive parents who are not of the same race is called a transracial adoption (TRA) or transracial placement. TRA in the United States is older than the nation itself. In 1492, Christopher Columbus kidnapped and adopted a Native

American boy, who later became his translator and guide.

TRA in America predominantly involves the adoption of black children by white parents. There are extremely few, if any, documented cases of black parents adopting white children. However, the phenomenon of blacks serving as foster parents for white children is slightly more frequent. The one-way nature of TRA is demonstrated not only by the lack of adoptions of white children by black parents but also by other nonwhite parents and even by interracial or biracial couples.

The first documented modern TRA occurred in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1948. TRA gained momentum in the mid-1950s and then declined in the early 1960s. However, with the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s, there was another rise in the number of TRAs. This trend continued until the early 1970s, when vocal opposition began to cause a decline in the practice.

The question of whether white parents should adopt black children has been the subject of momentous debate in social work and child development literature. The discussion was initiated by a position paper drafted by the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW), which vehemently opposed placing black children with white families and referred to this placement as a form of "cultural genocide."

A 1972 groundbreaking and controversial NABSW position paper decrying TRA set the tone for more than two decades. In an attempt to adhere to NABSW preferences, adoption agencies nationwide enacted and enforced same-race placement policies. As a result, the number of TRAs dropped drastically nationwide. By 1987, despite a higher percentage of black children in foster care, the number of TRAs had increased only slightly since the 1970s. In fact, even when including international adoptions, TRAs currently account for only about 8 percent of all adoptions in the United States.

Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994 and Interethnic Adoption Act of 1996

From the 1970s through the early 1990s, race-matching was regularly a determinative factor in placing black children in adoptive homes. During this time period, TRA was considered a last-resort placement alternative. Eventually,

Congress identified race-matching as a cause of foster care drift and the escalating number of children in foster care. Some estimates indicated a 72 percent increase in the number of children in the foster care system between 1986 and the early 1990s. It is arguable whether the precipitous rise in the number of children in foster care was due to race-matching or to the federal and state welfare policies of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

In 1993, Texas became the first state to pass a statute prohibiting the use of race to delay, deny, or otherwise discriminate in child placement decisions. The following year, modeling its legislation after the Texas statute, Congress entered the TRA debate by passing the Multi-Ethnic Placement Act of 1994 (MEPA). Although MEPA did not allow race to be the sole factor in rejecting preadoptive parents, it did allow race to be considered in adoption placements. Thus, rather than achieving the congressionally intended purpose of resolving the TRA debate by limiting the basis for considering race, MEPA fueled the debate further. In addition, there was evidence that, following passage of MEPA, race-matching in adoptions continued.

To close the so-called loophole of race matching, Congress repealed portions of MEPA and passed Section 1808 of the Small Business Job Protection Act of 1996, titled "Removal of Barriers to Interethnic Adoption" (IEAA).

IEAA's purposes were to ensure that the practice of race matching ended and that race was not considered during the adoption process—even for purposes of racial sensitivity screening or when the birth parent requested that the child be placed intraracially. Further, IEAA contained an enforcement provision whereby federally funded state programs and private programs receiving federal funds that violated IEAA would have their funding reduced.

In 1997, in response to the passage of MEPA/IEAA, the NABSW issued a revised policy statement regarding TRA, which—while softening its stance on TRA—continued to stress the importance of sensitivity to identity, heritage, ethnicity, and culture in regard to the placement of children for both foster care and adoption. In mentioning the importance of continued contact with extended family, the NABSW implicitly supported kinship care and adoption.

Arguments For Transracial Adoption

There are several arguments in favor of TRA. Supporters of TRA note that while 27 percent of children in foster care are black, approximately 67 percent of American families waiting to adopt are European American or white.

In passing MEPA/IEAA, Congress determined that racial matching and same-race placements were responsible, at least in part, for the length of time children spent in foster care. Furthermore, children are less likely to find permanent placements as they age.

Adoptions are not all successful; however, the failure rate is unrelated to adoptions across racial lines. There is no evidence that TRAs harm children; in fact, research data indicates that TR adoptees fare well. Over 75 percent of TRAs are considered successful, a number comparable to same-race adoptions. Sixty-eight percent of TRA children do not feel any discomfort with their appearance compared to their adoptive parents or the community in which they were raised.

Further, while identity is admittedly a complex topic, social and cultural attitudes are learned, not inherited. Individuals are not born with a sense of self, but develop self-awareness through social interaction. Studies show that most TR adoptees experience a positive sense of ethnic identity as well as a high comfort level when dealing with white people. Most white parents meet the identity needs of their adopted black children. Finally, race-matching violates state and federal civil rights laws as well as constitutional guarantees against racial discrimination.

Arguments Against Transracial Adoption

Those against TRA argue that the practice occurs unilaterally; far more white adults adopt black children than black adults adopt white children. It is in the best interests of a child to preserve a child's racial, ethnic, and cultural heritage in adoption placement decisions. Racial matching provides an atmosphere that helps instill a sense of personal, social, and racial identity.

TRA has been criticized as actually harming black children. Eleven percent of black children who were transracially adopted prefer to be racially classified as white. Further, the notion that a parent's love is enough to overcome external racism is naïve. The United States is not yet a color-blind

society. Blacks are still disproportionately victims of racism—subject to verbal attacks, physical altercations, employment discrimination, higher arrest rates, and discriminatory sentencing guidelines.

Black adoptive homes can be found for black children, but potential black adoptive parents are often disqualified because of agencies' widespread use of criteria that require middle to upper-middle class incomes and lifestyles.

Finally, MEPA/IEAA disallows the best interests of children to be considered. By eliminating racial considerations in adoption proceedings, these statutes discount the racial attitudes of white prospective adoptive parents. Empirical studies of transracially adopted black children and adults have not conclusively proven that such adoptions are not psychologically harmful to these children.

Transnational/International Adoption

Since 1971, U.S. citizens have adopted almost 500,000 children internationally or transnationally. Historically, the majority of these children were from Asia (about two-thirds) and South America. In fiscal 2012, American parents adopted 8,668 children internationally: China (2,697); Ethiopia (1,568); Russia (748); and Korea (627). During that period, the number of international adoptions dropped by 7 percent from fiscal 2011, following a recent trend. In fiscal 1989, there were 8,102 transnational adoptions (TNAs). By fiscal 2004, the number had nearly tripled to 22,884, the largest single-year total. Worldwide, the United States is the recipient of the majority of children who are placed internationally each year.

Although modern U.S. TNA began after World War II, following the Korean War in the late 1950s, there was a surge in TNA. Eighty-five percent of all TRAs are international adoptions. Between 1953 and 2007, 107,145 Korean children were transnationally adopted into U.S. families. As a result, one-tenth of Korean American U.S. citizens were adopted.

In a 2009 study, 81 percent of Koreans and 70 percent of whites rated their identity as an adopted person as either important or very important. In addition, 78 percent of TNA Koreans considered themselves ethnically white as children. With maturity, access to more diverse communities, and affiliations with other Asians, over 50 percent self-identified as Korean American by adulthood;



U.S. children in foster care were 41 percent white, 27 percent black, 21 percent Hispanic, 5 percent biracial, 2 percent American Indian/Alaska Native, and 1 percent Asian from 2007 to 2011. Only about 8 percent of U.S. adoptions are transracial.

81 percent found their racial/ethnic identity to be important. However, when traveling to their countries of origin, TN adoptees often experience alienation due to their American upbringing and lifestyles. A 2000 study found that black TRA females were more likely to be proud of their ethnicity than Asian TNA females.

Seventy to 80 percent of TN adoptees have few serious behavioral or emotional problems, similar to same-race adoptees. Preadoption deprivation does contribute to postadoption mental health or behavioral issues. However, developmental delays due to deprivation prior to adoption are generally overcome within one year postadoption.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; Caucasians; Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); European Americans; Family and Ethnic Diversity; Family and Marital Patterns (Essay);

Hispanic Americans; Indian Child Welfare Act; Interculturalism.

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Advancement via Individual Determination

Advancement via Individual Determination, commonly known as AVID, is a nationally recognized college readiness system designed to increase learning and performance for marginalized populations. Participating students develop behaviors and skills needed to experience academic success with demanding curriculum, usually taught in an elective class setting with a trained educator.

With instructional strategies and support systems, AVID students have the potential to succeed in a rigorous course of study and meet four-year college entrance requirements. Although secondary schools are the focus, AVID's support structure, curriculum, and training can span from elementary to higher education. The AVID program can effect change and systemic reform at the school and district levels through influencing the

culture, beliefs, and instructional methodologies of K–16 schools.

Mary Catherine Swanson, a veteran teacher in San Diego, California, founded AVID in 1980, when she headed the English Department at Clairemont High School. After a federal desegregation order mandated busing inner-city students to her school, Swanson wanted to develop a program that aligned with her philosophy: When students are held accountable to the highest standards, and provided appropriate academic and social support, they will rise to the challenge. Swanson created an academic elective and called it "Advancement Via Individual Determination." Along with her colleagues, the Clairemont faculty merged academic rigor with support services and "untracked" their college preparation classes.

AVID targets students in the academic middle (Bs and Cs), especially those from groups underrepresented in college attendance, who experience generational poverty and potential "first-generation" students (the first person in the nuclear family to attend a four-year university). AVID coordinators and site teams help choose students who are capable of succeeding at the university level but whose circumstances could impede their attendance. Students are commonly selected through an interview process to identify those with the willingness to work hard and the heartfelt desire to attend college.

Four Strategies

Students are enrolled in the AVID elective, where they work on four strategies that directly target writing, inquiry, collaboration, and reading (WIC-R). In addition, AVID students learn organizational and study skills, work on critical thinking, and practice asking probing questions. The techniques learned in the AVID elective can be applied to all classes, and students are challenged to enroll in their school's most rigorous classes, such as honors and Advanced Placement. In these ways, AVID provides students with both the tools and support necessary to succeed in institutions of higher education.

To complement these skills and strategies, AVID offers a comprehensive network of support services that demystify the college admissions process. Secondary students receive academic help from college tutors, visit multiple college

campuses, and participate in enrichment and motivational activities to make college attainable. Test preparation services for admissions exams (SAT, ACT, and PSAT) are offered, along with family workshops on the college application process, as well as guidance for completing financial aid and FAFSA (Free Application for Federal Student Aid) forms.

Philosophy and Growth

AVID's clear program philosophy—raise expectations of students and, with a support system, they will rise to the challenge—expanded to elementary schools as an embedded resource for sequential academic skills, called the AVID College Readiness System or ACRS. Another branch of the company, AVID for Higher Education (AHE), works with 28 postsecondary institutions to increase students' academic success, including increased rates of retention and completion of higher education. Staff development and professional training is available and considered a crucial element for successful AVID programs at all levels.

Although AVID began with one class of 32 high schoolers, it now impacts over 700,000 students in 4,900 schools. AVID programs based in the United States are divided into four divisions: Eastern (1,041 sites in 157 districts); Central (1,284 sites in 241 districts); Western (671 sites in 154 districts); and California (1,578 sites in 412 districts). In addition to active programs in 45 of the 50 United States, there is also an international presence in Canada and Australia.

While the expansion of the AVID program is impressive, what distinguishes AVID from other educational reform programs is its continuous success rate. Latino/a and African American/black AVID students take Advanced Placement Program (AP) tests at rates that consistently exceed their peers in non-AVID programs. High school graduation rates are far superior when compared to students who do not have access to support services, and impressive statistics connect leadership skills and postsecondary attendance to AVID participation. Moreover, benefits appear to ripple out from AVID classes, services, and professional development to the broader school environment.

AVID is considered by many school administrators and policy makers as an essential strategy for

turning the college dream into a broader reality for an increased number of diverse students. At present, AVID programs only service a percentage of schools nationwide, so a great number of students do not have access to this support system. Some experts caution that the impressive AVID success rates result in part from a comparison with public schools students who are not enrolled in a comparable college-readiness program. As such, policy makers should not only focus on the success rates that AVID has achieved in supplementing the public educational system but also on expanding and systematizing these type of essential support services.

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See Also: Compensatory Education; Educational Achievement; Higher Education.

Further Readings

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Advertising

National advertising began in the 1850s, when railroads began carrying newspapers and national consumer goods across the country. Advertising further expanded in the 1880s, when industries embraced new production techniques that allowed for the creation of large quantities of standardized products. In response to such profound manufacturing changes, national advertising of branded goods emerged. In the prosperous 1920s, consumer spending was fueled by the increased availability of consumer credit on such goods as automobiles and household appliances. Americans were engaging in more leisure-time activities such as moviegoing, and advertising served to promote such products and services. This was coupled with the rise of mass media, including circulation magazines and radio broadcasting. Media's ability to reach mass audiences

led to a one-size-fits-all approach to national advertising media messages, catering to white consumers. Since then, advertising messages have transformed with the ability of new media technologies to reach targeted audiences, shifting demographics within the United States, and protests by various minority groups, particularly during the civil rights era.

Since the 1920s, American advertising has grown as new media technologies spur the delivery of commercial messages in ever-changing ways. One of the most striking developments in advertising methods has been the shift in how advertisers reach audiences. Now, rather than attempting to market items to undifferentiated mass consumers, advertisers attempt to segment and target particular groups for specific products and brands. At present, segmentation has become the norm in advertising.

Market segmentation is the strategy of dividing potential consumers into identifiable segments and then directing media messages through targeted media to reach those audiences. This is a consumer-driven approach in which corporations subdivide the total heterogeneous potential market for a product into smaller segments, each with its own homogeneous characteristics. Segments are broken down in numerous ways by place of residence, socioeconomic status, sex, age, education, ethnicity, and race. Segmentation is important for advertisers because they can design ads geared to market segments and place them in media reaching those segments.

The focus on segmentation has been the result of two trends: new media technologies that allow for highly targeted marketing messages, and the shift in U.S. demographics and the recognition that some groups of consumers have significant buying power.

Media Technologies

With traditional media, the most efficient way to deliver a message was to blanket the largest mass-market audience possible. The 1990s saw significant changes in media technology, leaving behind the era of “mass media.” Targeted media outlets provided by such technologies as cable television, the Internet, and satellite radio have allowed advertisers to reach specific audiences. Instead of the major networks, for example, advertisers

have hundreds of channels for television to broadcast targeted messages. This, along with the steady growth of racial and cultural diversity and the upward mobility of people of color, also forced changes in the communications industry. For example, in 2001, white-owned media conglomerate Viacom bought Black Entertainment Television (BET), and NBC purchased Spanish-language television network Telemundo. Viacom executives admitted publicly their need for a presence in the African American marketplace.

In addition to the introduction of specialized cable channels, magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post* have been joined or replaced by magazines aimed at specific audiences interested in specific topics, such as running, body building, shopping, and hunting. Satellite radio stations also target specific demographics, and the Internet enables advertisers to consider usage tracking and customer profiles. The popularity of blogs and social networking sites allows advertisers to reach audiences that are highly defined. In 2010, Internet advertising revenue surpassed newspaper advertising revenue. That same year, mobile advertising had gained the attention of the advertising industry, with some of the largest media companies making large investments to bring advertisements to mobile phones and tablet screens. Personalized media technologies such as these have allowed for even more tightly targeted ads.

Demographic Shifts

Specialized media outlets available through new media technologies allow advertisers to direct specific content to more targeted audiences. At the same time, there has been an increased awareness about the diversity of American consumers. Advertisers now understand that paying attention to cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity makes business sense.

Before the 1960s and 1970s, there was an implicit assumption within the United States that immigrants would become fully integrated into the host culture. By the 1990s, however, the “melting pot” model of assimilation was questioned as a way of conceptualizing contemporary trends. Whereas it was once assumed that the United States had a single culture into which all citizens should assimilate, it was found that there

were groups who could not or would not assimilate. With this shift in understanding, there has been more interest in targeting the ethnic market as a result of its increasing size, purchasing power, and potential for future profit. Companies have attempted to reach these consumers more effectively by using differentiated marketing strategies including new product lines, focused advertising, and customized promotion programs. Kraft, Pepsi-Co, AT&T, Coca-Cola, Nabisco, and Sears are some of the organizations that have set up multicultural marketing departments to specifically target the “ethnic market.”

Advertisers pay special consideration to demographic segmentation, which categorizes consumers by personal and household characteristics as tabulated by the U.S. Census Bureau. In the United States, with the increase of immigrants from certain sectors of the world, the racial and ethnic landscape has been dramatically changing over the last few decades. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the population of Asians and Latinos is growing at faster rates than any other racial/ethnic group. Advertisers have been required to respond to such fluctuations in the racial/ethnic makeup of the United States.

Of all the demographic variables, age, ethnicity, and sexual orientation are of particular interest to advertisers. Advertisers do not pay special attention to all “niche” markets, however. Instead, they concentrate particularly on those that are large and have buying power. In 2012, the two largest niche markets were Latino and African American consumers. Other markets include Asian Americans, gays and lesbians, and seniors. Advertising messages are now tailored to the interests and consumer behavior of these groups. Such demographic characteristics remind advertisers that consumer markets are diverse; to be effective, advertising messages must speak to the needs of emerging markets.

Stereotyping

Historical and contemporary studies continually demonstrate that advertising’s depiction of American society has been highly skewed in its portrayal of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. When minorities are in marketing messages, stereotyping may occur because these messages are designed to tell a complete story on a single

page or in 20 seconds. The effort to create easily identifiable characteristics in such a short period of time can lead to stereotyping.

A central concept in advertising strategies is the issue of representation. Marketers spend much of their time envisioning and constructing consumers. Consumer researchers place emphasis on evaluating representations of targeted audiences, and the impact these representations have on consumer behavior. Because some characteristics of a group are highlighted over others, one outcome of advertising representations of the “other” is stereotypical versions of reality.

For years, advertisers reflected the place of non-whites in the social fabric of the United States by either ignoring them or, when including them in advertisements for mass audiences, reinforcing the preconceived image that many white Americans apparently had of blacks, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans.

African Americans

In the mid-1960s, black civil rights groups targeted the advertising industry, protesting the lack of integrated advertisements and the stereotyped images that advertisers continued to use. This, coupled with pressure from federal officials, resulted in the quick inclusion of African Americans as models in television advertising during the 1967 and 1968 television season. At this time, black advertising executive D. Parke Gibson’s 1968 book *The \$30 Billion Negro*, coupled with a number of articles on black and Latino consumers in media trade publications, spurred advertisers to see these groups as potential consumers.

In the mid-1960s, black civil rights groups targeted the advertising industry for its use of stereotyped images, and the lack of integrated advertisements. By the end of the 1970s, national advertisers had pulled a good deal of the advertising that negatively stereotyped blacks. At times, however, they simply replaced the negatively stereotyped ads with images of affluent, successful people of color. Such images were also far from the reality of most African Americans.

In the new millennium, the advertising industry has further recognized a growing African American middle class. To capitalize on its buying power, large companies such as Procter & Gamble joined with agencies that specialize in

targeting African Americans. However, attempts to grab a share of this buying power have also been problematic. Fear of controversy, coupled with a lack of sensitivity, has led some advertisers and agencies to stick to established imagery and subtly reinforce the mainstream culture's perceptions of the black community. For example, interest groups have criticized liquor companies for overemphasizing African Americans in malt liquor ads. African American men are still portrayed as good dancers, basketball players, and are overly associated with hip-hop. Black women are often constructed as oversexed and animal-like, or as sassy and overweight.

Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, who has studied African American images in advertising, contends that the legacy of racist imagery remains with us today. For example, she describes how

Aunt Jemima reflects the black mammy stereotype present in popular film and literature. The large, bandanna-wearing, desexualized mammy romanticized the relationships between black slaves and their white owners. Over the years, the legacy continues, though Aunt Jemima has now lost weight and her bandanna, and she now wears pearl earrings. Similarly, boxes of Uncle Ben's rice products still feature a well-groomed and happy black servant. Early advertisements for Cream of Wheat featured Rastus, the black servant whose picture is still on the box.

As African Americans have been increasingly acknowledged as customers, African American consumers have become more savvy viewers of commercial messages. For instance, strategically timed advertising (during Black History Month, for example) and advertising that borrows heavily from black or hip-hop culture is often seen as contrived by African American consumers. African American audiences are also wary about being singled out by advertisers. Instead, African American audiences respond better to advertising that is "universal." That is, they respond well to ads that feature a variety of ethnicities or have appeal across cultures. In a similar vein, advertisers, to be effective, need to understand that not all black audiences are the same. For example, there is a generational divide between the civil rights generation and the hip-hop generation.

Latinos

Like African Americans, Latinos historically have either been ignored by advertisers, or have been represented stereotypically. In the same way that negative images of African Americans were altered by protest, such representations of Latinos were also altered after protests by Latino activists. For example, Frito Bandito, the sneaky Mexican bandito who stole "crunchy" corn chips from unsuspecting homemakers, was withdrawn in the early 1970s after it became the target of Latino protests.

Frito Bandito was not the only negative representation of Latinos. In 1969, an influential article by Tomás Martínez described commercials for Granny Goose potato chips featuring fat gun-toting Mexicans, an advertisement for Arrid deodorant showing a Mexican bandito spraying his underarms as the announcer intoned, "If it

"It's in Town Honey!"

Aunt Jemima's Pancake Flour

Better this year than ever before. Prepared from Wheat, Corn and Rice. Makes the finest pancakes imaginable. No trouble at all. Only takes a minute to prepare. All grocers sell

Aunt Jemima's Pancake Flour

Buy a package today and have good old-fashioned, light, digestible pancakes for breakfast tomorrow. You'll be surprised and happy when you see them on the table, smoking hot, delicious and brown.

Aunt Jemima's Pancake Flour is unexcelled for waffles and muffins.

Davis Milling Company,
St. Joseph, Mo.
Manufacturers of the celebrated Aunt Jemima's Special Cake and Pastry Flour.

DAVIS' GOLDEN SHEAF
KANSAS HARD WHEAT
FLOUR
All our products guaranteed to please you.

FREE Aunt Jemima and Her Rag Doll Family

These rag doll dolls are the best rag doll toys for the little folks. They are given away FREE in exchange for the complete one month package of Aunt Jemima's Pancake Flour. Every child will love to play with these dolls, and so will you.

An ad for Aunt Jemima pancake flour from the November 7, 1909, edition of the New York Tribune. A former slave, Nancy Green became the spokesperson for the Aunt Jemima pancake mix in 1890 and played the character until her death in 1923.

works for him it will work for you,” and a magazine photograph of a Mexican sleeping under his sombrero against a Philco television set. Martínez was particularly disturbed by a Liggett & Myers commercial for L&M cigarettes, which featured Paco, a lazy Latino who never “feenishes” anything, not even the revolution he is supposed to be fighting.

In 1970, a position paper prepared by activists Domingo Nick Reyes and Armando Rendón charged that the media had transferred the negative stereotypes it once reserved for blacks to Latinos who had become “the media’s new nigger.” The protests of Latinos soon made advertisers more conscious of how they portray Latinos.

As advertisers began to realize that African Americans held the promise of untapped profits in the 1960s, they realized that Latinos were also a target that was too good to pass up. Industry trade publications contended that Latinos had the same characteristics that made blacks an attractive market, but their use of Spanish allegedly cut them off from English-language advertising. Advertisers in the 1960s and 1970s were advised to use language and culture most familiar to their target audience to give their messages the greatest impact.

By the 21st century, the amount spent by Latinos in the United States increased remarkably. The population also became more complex, including more people from a variety of nations, as well as generational, gender, and regional differences. Latinos, once a single market segment, were split into more subgroups by advertisers. Still advertisements will target the largest number of Latinos, supporting the idea that there is no difference between ethnicities or nationalities. Critics contend that this erasure of individual cultures sends a message that specific heritages are not valued.

Asian Americans

Advertisers have also used images of Asians that cater to the stereotypes held by white America. As with blacks and Latinos, it took organized action by Asian Americans for corporations and advertising agencies to change. Following protests in the mid-1970s, for example, a Southern California supermarket chain agreed to remove a television campaign in which a young Asian karate-chopped his way down the store’s aisle, cutting prices.

In the 1980s, several firms were hit financially by Japanese imports, and this increased the negative depictions of Asians, specifically Japanese people, in ads. Such advertisements played upon the fears of perceived Japanese economic dominance. Others played on well-known stereotypes. For example, one commercial featured a Chinese family laundry that used an “ancient Chinese laundry secret” to get clothes clean. Companies pitching products from air travel to pantyhose portrayed Asian women as seductive China dolls to promote their products.

The lack of a large Asian American community in the United States may be one reason why such groups were still stereotyped in the 1980s. However, their population and income growth rate in the 1980s and 1990s made it clear that they were a market to pay attention to. By the mid-1980s, there were signs that advertising was beginning to integrate Asian Americans into crossover advertisements designed to have broad appeal.

The increasing numbers of Asian Americans have led to the community having more economic clout. Their average annual income is reported as the highest household income of any U.S. group. Noting the different national origins in this group, advertisers have been advised to be careful to avoid cultural conflicts.

Like many Latinos, many Asian Americans are newcomers to the United States who prefer media in their native language, which is what advertisers use to reach them. And, like African Americans, they also share physical characteristics that distinguish them from whites in advertising appeals.

Gays and Lesbians

After the gay liberation movement in 1969, advertisers began to consider selling to the lesbian and gay market. In the early 1970s, *Advertising Age* began running articles about the possibilities of marketing to gays. Lesbians figured little in these early discussions.

Advertising companies were initially reluctant to take on the gay market because there was not much reliable statistical data about gay men. However, in 1977, the *Advocate* hired a marketing firm to survey its readers. The results indicated that *Advocate* readers were gay professionals, between 20 and 40, with above-average incomes. Because they did not have to support a family,

they could spend their incomes on themselves, particularly on high-priced items such as clothes, travel, and liquors. By painting the gay market as one comprised of upscale men with expensive habits, the survey seemed to confirm what was thought about the gay market, and by extension, the gay community. By 1980, national advertisers such as Seagrams, Simon and Schuster, and major film companies began placing ads in national publications like the *Advocate* and in local gay newspapers. Advertisers also became aware that, especially in urban areas, the fashion predilections of gay men were being emulated by straight men. Advertisers began to see gay men as both hyperconsumers and as influential trendsetters.

By the mid-1990s, most advertisers had overcome reluctance about advertising in gay publications; it would seem that advertisers would always want to tap any potential markets to increase profits. However, there have been times, especially in media channels that target mass audiences, when advertisers have backed away from controversy over running an advertisement to satisfy one audience over another. For example, in 2005, the American Family Association (AFA) threatened to boycott the Ford Motor Company if it continued to run ads for Jaguar and Land Rover in the gay and lesbian media.

At times, a network has anticipated controversy and has refused to run an advertisement. For example, in 2010, Mancrunch.com, an online dating site for gay men, attempted to buy time during the Super Bowl. The commercial featured two young men on a sofa watching a sporting event, and while watching the game, they simultaneously reach into a bowl of chips and touch hands. The inadvertent contact sparks a flame between two men, and they begin to kiss, while a third man watches them with a puzzled expression. CBS opted not to run the advertisement.

It is important to note that, while there is great ethnic and racial diversity within the gay and lesbian community, such diversity is not reflected in advertising. Identity-based advertising overwhelmingly focuses on prosperous white men as the representative homosexual. Not only have advertisers focused on white models of “gayness,” but most of the marketing research has been aimed at gay men rather than lesbians, bisexuals, or transsexual people. So, while major

national magazines like *Out* and the *Advocate* define themselves as serving lesbian and gay readers, in practice the gay white male market is their target audience, and thus women and nonwhite gays and lesbians are marginalized.

Gay scholars have discussed how pervasive images of white, upper-middle-class, “straight looking” people often appear at the expense of those more distanced from and threatening to the mainstream, such as the poor, the elderly; ethnic, racial, and sexual minorities; drag queens; and butch lesbians. In advertisements and in gay publications in general, scholars have noted a paucity of nonwhite gay and lesbian images. Advertisements tend to focus on the prosperous white man as “the” representative homosexual; the cultural privilege of whiteness and maleness leaves the gay part of homosexual identity to be the most salient. The exception is advertisements for fantasy vacations to “exotic” lands where gays and lesbians of color exist to serve the desires of the gay white consumer. Thus, while advertisements that target gays can subvert stereotypes by portraying gays as “normal” people, such images also offer a version of gay visibility that perpetuates the stereotype of an idealized consumer.

One reason for the dearth of ethnic gay marketing may be related to the idea that gay minority populations are less open about sexual orientation than whites, and this makes it more difficult to market to them directly. At the same time, however, the narrow constructions of gay identity that advertising presents can, in turn, further hinder gay people of color from affirming their own gay identity, because the images of “gayness” presented in the media do not look like them.

The Price of Segmentation

With new advancement of personalized media technologies and an increased awareness of diverse audiences, advertisers have benefited from the growing emphasis on segmentation. Critics, however, are concerned as to the impact such marketing segmentation will have on the political organizing of marginalized communities. As marketers come to better understand the immense economic disparities within various groups, the profit imperative may motivate advertisers to play on those disparities rather than the similarities between groups. The segmentation target

marketing entails may ultimately undermine political cohesion between diverse communities.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Latinos; Magazines; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Newspapers; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity; Television.

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and whites, and some women. A policy designed to redress centuries of discrimination and injustice, affirmative action has been targeted for engaging in alleged reverse discrimination. Moreover, affirmative action has been, in part, responsible for the elevation of millions of African Americans, white women, and other minorities into higher education, business, politics, and industry. The idea of equal opportunity—a key ideal of Americans—has rarely extended to minorities. Liberal politicians, trying to address the lack of opportunity found in African American life, instituted the policy under pressure from civil rights activists, the civil rights movement, and the growing demands for equality of postwar America. Along with the Cold War, American politicians needed to eliminate the oppression of African Americans and prove that the United States was the land of the free.

Definition

Merriam-Webster describes affirmative action as "an active effort to improve the employment of members of minority groups and women," and as an "effort to promote the rights or progress of other disadvantaged persons." There are different types of affirmative action: minority and female businesses competing for government contracts; minority and female students applying for admission to colleges and universities; minorities and females applying for admissions into graduate, law, and medical schools; and minorities and females applying for jobs in the private and public sectors. These goals for inclusion of minorities and women can be achieved in a number of ways that are often referred to as race-conscious or gender-conscious measures. For instance, a university can take into account a candidate's race when determining admissions decisions. Universities can justify such race-conscious measures because they serve a compelling educational, societal, and governmental need.

However, affirmative action cannot be used in such a way that discriminates against whites or others. Quotas, for example, are strictly prohibited except in the most narrowly tailored instances in which a court orders such steps to redress the most intransigent employer or educational institution. Last, courts have ruled that affirmative action can be limited, or even eliminated, if it deprives others of their constitutional rights.

Affirmative Action/ Equal Opportunity

Affirmative action has been one of the most controversial and divisive issues of the past 50 years. The policy divides Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, many African Americans

Early History

The idea of affirmative action is rather recent in the American imagination. Furthermore, it is completely associated with African Americans in the popular mind-set. Yet affirmative action has been present in the United States since colonial times. The ways in which it has been practiced have been abundant and varied. At Ivy League educational institutions, such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, and Pennsylvania, so-called legacy admissions have long been used. The principle is that children—historically they were usually male—of alumni are given preference in admission decisions. For instance, despite John F. Kennedy's less than stellar academic record in prep school, he was still admitted to Harvard, in part, as the result of his father's status as a 1912 alumni of the university. But the concept also applies to other areas, such as unions and public sector employment. In places such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, jobs in law enforcement, emergency services, public utilities, and municipal agencies were long determined by ethnicity, family ties, and partisan concerns.

Affirmative action has long been used in more personal ways that benefit a select group. Students graduating from college have also played off their fraternity/sorority connections, relationships with parents of their friends, and connections made during their collegiate years to obtain internships and jobs that circumvent the normal hiring processes. The point here is that affirmative action can, and often does, take different forms. Only in the past 50 years has affirmative action become racialized and determined, at least by some, to be unacceptable.

African Americans and Race-Conscious Measures

Arguably, some of the earliest efforts to redress racial discrimination date back to the New Deal and the Roosevelt administration. In 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated as president of the United States. In the midst of the Great Depression, with unemployment at 25 percent, millions of Americans demanded a new political course. As the new president situated himself in the White House, hundreds, and eventually, thousands of men and women took positions with the new administration. Many of these people were

progressives and liberals, committed to charting a new path for the nation. Roosevelt welded together an unlikely coalition of Southern Democrats, labor unions, African Americans, intellectuals, and women, into an electoral and governing coalition. Some of those people were sympathetic to the calls for freedom and equality.

One prominent member of the Roosevelt administration who was long associated with civil rights was Harold Ickes. Ickes desegregated the Department of the Interior. He issued orders that banned discrimination, especially in the Public Works Administration. Contractors doing business with the projects under Ickes's control were prohibited from discriminating against blacks, subject to losing pay for allowing discrimination to take place. Some were even required to set aside positions for African American workers. Blacks also benefited from other government agencies and programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, the U.S. Housing Authority, the Federal Works Authority, and the Works Progress Administration. Moreover, as World War II dawned, FDR was cornered by A. Philip Randolph's proposed March on Washington to protest discrimination.

Randolph demanded defense industry jobs for African Americans in June 1941. After refusing President Roosevelt's demands to stop the march, Randolph finally received a satisfactory solution: an executive order. The president issued Executive Order 8802, which said that "no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origins" was allowed. The southern delegation in Congress howled at the president's decision, which also created the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). Through race-sensitive members of the Roosevelt administration and pressure tactics of people such as A. Philip Randolph, the FDR years saw the beginning of what would become affirmative action.

The Modern Era

The modern era of affirmative action began during the Kennedy administration. In March 1961, President John F. Kennedy (JFK) signed executive order 10925, which created the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. This committee ordered that all federally financed projects take "affirmative action" in regard to hiring

practices. Moreover, it mandated that employment not be discriminatory. Kennedy had campaigned for the White House, in part, on the promise of doing more for African Americans. By the end of the 1950s, the United States was in the throes of the civil rights movement. Civil rights leaders, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Whitney Young, John Lewis, Diane Nash, Rosa Parks, James Farmer, and others, led protests throughout the south demanding first-class citizenship, voting rights, and economic justice. Most African Americans could not get into good schools and universities. Most African Americans could not, even when possessing a postsecondary education, secure white-collar employment. The sickness of racism prevented white employers from hiring and/or promoting black employees. When Dr. King was arrested in Georgia on flimsy charges, then senator Kennedy and his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, called the judge and helped secure his release. In doing so, the Kennedy brothers secured black votes for the presidency. The result was supposed to be vigorous action on the critical issues of the day: civil rights. The issuance of executive order 10925 was a part of that understanding: to compel federal contractors to level the playing field. But it was minor in comparison to what would be coming in the next few years.

On the sun-drenched streets of Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, President Kennedy was assassinated in front of his wife and horrified bystanders. And with his untimely death, Vice President Lyndon Johnson (LBJ) assumed the presidency. Many African Americans were disturbed at the thought of the 6-foot-4-inch Texan in the White House. After all, Lyndon Johnson, as Senate majority leader, had wielded tremendous power, power that had been used to largely stifle civil rights legislation throughout the 1950s. Yet LBJ managed to surprise political observers by becoming one of the most important and revered civil rights presidents in American history.

As President Johnson took control of the government, he deliberately tied his political destiny to the legacy of the martyred President Kennedy. Among his first priorities was the passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. The law banned discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, and sex. Along with a

declaration of War on Poverty, Johnson moved aggressively to initiate affirmative action, define what it was supposed to be, and explain why it was needed to address economic problems in the African American community. In June 1964, at the historically black Howard University, Johnson made a famous and lasting speech that formally introduced affirmative action to the nation.

Speaking to the Howard graduates, Johnson discussed ways in which African Americans were unable to progress. Johnson said the following:

In far too many ways American Negroes have been another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed of hope. . . . But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "You are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

As a demographic group in the United States, African Americans were certainly behind the majority white population in education attainment, wealth, health, occupational achievement, and standard of living. Moreover, few African Americans in June 1964 had much in the way of financial or social mobility. The structural and institutional barriers were too high for the vast majority of African Americans to climb on their own. Tremendous human capital was being wasted by the cultural and racial bias of the majority. Steps would have to be taken to compel recalcitrant educational institutions, businesses, and others to make use of all human capital.

In September 1965, Johnson took steps to put affirmative action into place. With Executive Order 11246, he required all contractors of the federal government to "take affirmative action" to secure minority employees. By 1967, the original executive order had been amended to cover women as well. In compelling contractors to hire African Americans, Johnson ensured that large corporations, and other businesses, would hire African Americans if for no other reason than to

secure government contracts. Moreover, it was presumed that after securing employment with such firms, those firms would change their culture and recognize the value added to their firms by their new employees. The next president of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, would dramatically advance the cause of equal opportunity.

In 1968, former congressman, senator, vice president, and 1960 Republican presidential nominee Richard M. Nixon won election to the White House. He had run a divisive and antagonistic campaign that preyed on the fears and racial hatreds/resentments of southern and blue-collar voters. Endlessly pounding home the message of “law and order,” Nixon implicitly promised to do something about the protesters, civil rights marchers, and others, who many believed were destroying the country. Little did they know that in crucial ways Nixon would advance the cause of equal opportunity.

In 1969, President Nixon took dramatic action; he initiated what became known as “the Philadelphia Order.” Often referred to as one of the most powerful affirmative action orders in history, the Philadelphia Order guaranteed fair and nondiscriminatory hiring practices in construction jobs in Philadelphia. Whites controlled public works agencies and private sector contracting in Philadelphia. They used their numbers and power to prevent African Americans from obtaining jobs in construction, law enforcement, firefighting, public works, and city government.

Arthur Fletcher, an African American and assistant secretary of labor, designed the plan as a test case. The central idea was not to impose quotas but to provide powerful incentives for construction firms to hire African Americans. The backlash to affirmative action and equal opportunity was coming, in court cases that challenged the constitutionality of the policy.

Legal Challenges and the Conservative Revolution

In 1978, in the landmark Supreme Court decision *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, the high court ruled that the University of California, Davis had violated the rights of Allan Bakke. Bakke, a 33-year-old white man, had applied to the university’s medical school and was denied admission. Since the medical school reserved 16

seats for minority and disadvantaged student applicants, Bakke argued that it had engaged in “reverse discrimination.” Educational institutions could not have a system that set firm quotas into place. Moreover, “reverse discrimination” became a commonly used phrase in conservative circles. It remained so for the next 30-plus years.

By 1980, however, the Supreme Court reversed course and permitted small quotas. In *Fullilove v. Klutznick*, a federal law requiring that public works projects have 15 percent set-asides for minority contractors was challenged. The law in question was the Public Works Employment Act of 1977 and its “minority business enterprise” provision. The court claimed that the inflexible arrangement in place would violate white contractors. But the “limited” approach and focus of the law did not violate the Constitution. This was an important case because of the difficulties minority-owned businesses had securing government contracts. Often larger, white-owned businesses had the inside track on securing contracts, thus leaving smaller and less influential businesses at a significant disadvantage.

In fact, the Supreme Court has taken contradictory positions on affirmative action and equal opportunity. While the court ruled in favor of Bakke and against petitioners in *Fullilove v. Klutznick*, this demonstrated the complexity of this important issue. Over the course of the next 30 years the Supreme Court continued to frustrate supporters and opponents of affirmative action. In 1986, the court ruled against a local school board’s plan to lay off white teachers before minority teachers in an effort to maintain diversity in *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education*. In 1987, in *United States v. Paradise*, the high court decided that strict quotas were acceptable in very limited circumstances after the Alabama Department of Public Safety refused to promote or, in many cases, hire African American state troopers. In 1989, in *City of Richmond v. Croson*, it was determined that affirmative action and other race-conscious measures must be able to survive “strict scrutiny.” A Richmond affirmative action/equal opportunity program that set aside 30 percent of construction monies for minority-owned businesses because of past discrimination did not meet that threshold. As the 1990s dawned, however, public sentiment and a new administration

would challenge the use of these measures in ways that had not been seen before.

Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Under Attack

A case that compelled the Clinton administration to reevaluate the more than 130 affirmative action or race-conscious programs throughout the federal government was *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña*. During the 1990s, affirmative action increasingly came under attack from opponents. *Adarand* prompted President Clinton to take a closer look at the federal government's role in such programs and policies.

While the Supreme Court's decision in the *Croson* case applied to local and state governments, *Adarand* targeted the federal government. The question once again would be "Can federal programs survive 'strict scrutiny'?" In an exhaustive review, the Clinton administration decided to limit programs that were of questionable value and protect other, more acceptable programs that advanced affirmative action and equal opportunity. Clinton delivered a landmark address at the National Archives in July 1995, in which he strongly defended the controversial program because of the necessity of providing opportunity to disadvantage groups and because of the stubborn persistence of racism and discrimination.

At the same time Clinton was implementing new guidelines for the federal government, Republicans around the country were demanding change, often using the rhetoric of Martin Luther King, Jr., and his call that men be judged not by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. In California, voters passed Proposition 209, which banned all affirmative action throughout the state. Michigan, Texas, and Florida all considered the same. And there was growing pressure from interest groups to pass voter-approved referendums, like California had done. In 2000 and 2001 opponents of these measures petitioned the Supreme Court for relief. In what became known as the Michigan cases—*Gratz v. Bollinger* and *Grutter v. Bollinger*—the high court grappled with the meaning of opportunity, fairness, equal protection of the laws, and societal interest. In *Gratz*, the court ruled that race could be used but it had to be more narrowly tailored. In *Grutter*, the court approved the "compelling

interest" served by the University of Michigan Law School by having a diverse student body.

In 2006, opponents of affirmative action again pounced by attacking efforts to integrate schools. In a 5–4 decision, the Supreme Court determined that integration plans in Louisville, Kentucky, and Seattle, Washington, were unconstitutional. *Parents v. Seattle* and *Meredith v. Jefferson* represented a major reversal for the federal government and its commitment to equal opportunity and integration.

Conclusion: Ricci v. DeStefano and Fisher v. University of Texas

By 2006, the Supreme Court had changed. Chief Justice William Rehnquist died in 2005. Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor retired in 2006. President George W. Bush appointed two hard-line conservatives to fill their seats, Chief Justice John Roberts and Associate Justice Samuel Alito. In 2009, the court heard the case of *Ricci v. DeStefano*. White firefighters in New Haven, Connecticut, filed suit after they were denied promotion because the city had thrown out a test because too few minorities had passed it. The court ruled that it was unconstitutional and a denial of the plaintiffs' rights to refuse to promote the firefighters who passed the test because too few minorities had failed to succeed. Arguably, however, the most important affirmative action case in 30 years went before the Supreme Court in 2013. *Fisher v. University of Texas* challenged the court's decision in *Grutter*.

Abigail Fisher, who is white, had applied to the University of Texas and was denied admission. She filed suit, claiming that her rights were infringed because Texas had a 10 percent plan to admit all top graduates, and the university then placed her in a regular pool that considered race as a factor for admission.

Finally, affirmative action and equal opportunity have been controversial. Most Americans declare themselves prejudice free, yet oppose efforts to open opportunity to others. While the United States is changing demographically and politically, these measures continue to come under attack from a variety of places. It remains a struggle for which activists remain vigilant. The push for equal opportunity is complicated by the changing demographics of the United States.

Once considered as a program for African Americans, affirmative action has increasingly been used to assist underrepresented groups of all stripes. Latinos and Asians, in addition to African Americans and women, have been able to use affirmative action to gain access to better schools, the workplace, and business contracts. Employers and schools often seek qualified minorities and underrepresented groups—anyone who is not white—to diversify their schools and workplaces. In the process, more minorities have made academic and economic gains.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Segregation.

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Afghan Americans

There are an estimated 70,000 to 90,000 people of Afghan ancestry in the United States, according to the U.S. Census Bureau in 2010, although community groups and researchers estimate the actual population to be higher—possibly up to 150,000. The vast majority of Afghan Americans live in

major urban areas, particularly the San Francisco Bay Area; in and around Washington, D.C.; New York City; and Los Angeles.

Small numbers of Afghans have lived in the United States throughout the 20th century, arriving on student scholarships or as businessmen. However, the vast majority of Afghans living in the United States came to the country as refugees beginning in 1979. During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979–89), Afghan refugees were welcomed to the United States as victims of a Communist regime. After the Soviet Union's withdrawal from Afghanistan, civil war followed by the Taliban regime meant that Afghan refugees did not return to Afghanistan; instead, where possible, they arranged for their extended family members to join them in the United States. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent U.S.-led coalition attacks on Afghanistan, Afghans continued to arrive in the United States, mainly through family reunification or through special refugee resettlement programs aimed at vulnerable Afghans such as widows and other female-headed households.

Most Afghan Americans come from relatively wealthy, urban backgrounds in Afghanistan. Many had previously worked for the Afghan government or in other professional roles such as university professors, doctors, lawyers, or engineers. Some have been able to continue their professional careers in the United States, but for many, language issues and the difficulties of transferring professional qualifications have meant that they have sought out other employment as business owners or in local government, for example. Younger Afghans, both male and female, are generally encouraged by their parents to go to university and pursue professional careers.

Afghanistan is a culturally diverse country, comprising many different ethnic groups, including Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazara, Uzbeks, and others. There are two official languages—Dari (an Afghan variant of Persian) and Pashto. All these ethnic and linguistic groups are represented in the Afghan diaspora, but most Afghan Americans prefer to publicly stress the unity of the label *Afghan*, especially when interacting with non-Afghans. The religious heritage of most Afghan Americans is Sunni Muslim, followed by Shi'a Muslim, and a tiny number of non-Muslim Afghans. In areas

where there are sizable populations of Afghan Americans, communities have built mosques. Other indicators of sizable Afghan American populations include Afghan grocery stores and restaurants serving halal food, and banqueting halls, used to host Afghan weddings, engagement parties, funeral wakes, and other events such as concerts or fund-raisers for humanitarian projects in Afghanistan. For example, in Fremont, California, the concentration of Afghan businesses in one particular area has led to its being referred to as Little Kabul.

Afghan Americans draw on a rich and extended cultural heritage that combines Islamic culture and traditions specific to the geographical area now called Afghanistan. Afghan Americans' two biggest annual celebrations reflect this combined heritage, with one being religious (*Eid-ul Fitr*, the end of Ramadan, the Islamic month of fasting) and the other pre-Islamic (*Now Ruz*, the Persian new year).

Socializing with family, extended family, and friends is an important part of Afghan American

culture, often revolving around shared meals. Afghan cuisine shares some similarities with food from Afghanistan's neighboring countries but is also uniquely Afghan. Aromatic spices such as cardamom and cumin are used more than spicy ingredients such as chili. An Afghan meal, particularly when guests are present, is likely to include a variety of different dishes such as pilau (rice cooked in meat broth), *qorma* (stews of meat and/or vegetables), *ashak* or *mantu* (Afghan dumplings), kebabs, chutneys, and flat bread. Green or black tea is usually drunk, with dried fruit and nuts as snacks.

Intellectual culture and heritage is highly prized by most Afghan Americans, particularly the fields of poetry and literature. Perhaps the most famous Afghan Americans are those associated with literature and academia, such as the author of *The Kite Runner*, Khaled Hosseini, and other writers such as Mir Tamin Ansary, Fariba Nawa, and Zohra Saed. Afghan American academics include Ali Ahmad Jalili, Nazif Shahrani, Shaista Wahab,



Dr. Ashraf Ghani and U.S. Ambassador Karl W. Eikenberry meeting in Panjshir Province, Afghanistan. Ghani was born in Afghanistan, but he moved to the United States in 1977 to attend Columbia University; he did not return to Afghanistan until 2002. He is a leading scholar of political science and anthropology and worked at the World Bank for a number of years.

and Mohammad Qayoumi, the first Afghan American president of an American university. In politics Zalmay Khalilzad has been U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Iraq, and Afghanistan, and other Afghans who have previously worked or studied in the United States have gone on to significant roles in Afghanistan politics, such as presidential candidate Ashraf Ghani and members of President Hamid Karzai's family.

Afghanistan faces an uncertain future. Although some Afghan Americans have visited Afghanistan since 2002, insecurity there makes it impossible for most to consider returning for long periods. Over thirty years, Afghan refugees have established themselves in the United States financially and socially, and brought up a generation of Afghan American children.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Americanization; Muslim Americans; Refugees; War in Afghanistan and Iraq.

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African American Vernacular English

African American Vernacular English (AAVE) has been known by a variety of names: ebonics; black English; African American Language (AAL), also called African American English; black

vernacular; black English vernacular (BEV); black vernacular English (BVE); or nonstandard Negro dialect, to name a few. Whatever it is called, studies have estimated that in the late 1960s to early 1970s over 80 percent of Americans of African descent spoke some variety of black English.

Creole

Its origins are one of several controversies surrounding AAVE. Dillard University along with creolists like William Stewart and John Rickford, theorize that the differences from other English dialects are traceable to normal historical factors, specifically to language-contact phenomena associated with the West African slave trade and with European maritime expansion in general, and to survivals from West African languages. This theory equates the development of AAVE with that of other English-based Creoles of Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, Hawai'i, or Sierra Leone. In contrast, there are those who deny any parallels between AAVE and other African-based Creoles. The fact is that the controversy rests on the degree of influence from British and other white dialects rather than complete denial of the impact of African survivals in these languages in contact. According to Rickford:

From the point of view of the creolist/dialectologist debate, the fundamental question is whether a significant number of the Africans who came to the United States between the 17th and 19th centuries went through processes of pidginization, creolization and [maybe] decreolization in acquiring English [the creolists' position], or whether they learned the English of British and other immigrants fairly rapidly and directly, without an intervening pidgin or Creole stage [the dialectologists' position].

Ebonics

The term *Ebonics*, which emerged in the mid-1970s, has been described as having "linguistic and paralinguistic features, which on a concentric continuum represent the communicative competence of the West African, Caribbean, and United States slave descendants of African origin." It includes the various idioms, patois, argots, ideolects, and social dialects of black people, especially those who have been forced to adapt to colonial circumstances.

Ebonics derives its form from ebony (black) and phonics (sound) and refers to the study of the language of black people in all its cultural uniqueness. This politicized definition gave rise to one of the loudest debates in the mid-1990s following a move by the Oakland, California, School Board to recognize Ebonics as a language.

Language Versus Dialect

At the heart of the controversy is the distinction between what is characterized as language and what is dialect (if it is a language, it validates the creolists' argument). The designation of language carries a clout not allocated to a dialect. Languages can be used to refer to either a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms. Dialect refers to one of the norms. Some regional varieties may be associated with literary traditions. Other regional varieties may be considered pejorative and not associated with any literary tradition. Dialect may be used for local varieties and various types of informal, lower-class or rural speech. As a social norm, dialect is a language that is excluded from polite society. A language has more power than any of its dialects. In sum, distinguishing languages from dialects, we draw upon notions of power, solidarity, low and high prestige, mutual intelligibility, and dialect continuum. Clearly, there is complexity in the ongoing controversy in attempting to distinguish AAVE/Ebonics/black English vernacular as a language rather than a dialect.

The discussion about language and dialect is further complicated by adding the variety standard English as the norm. Standard English is that variety of English that is usually used in print and that is normally taught in schools and to nonnative speakers learning the language. It is also the variety of English normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations.

Historical Perspective

Descriptions and controversies around AAVE/black English date back to the earliest writings about language in America. From the early description of Negro dialect by W. F. Allen as phonetic decay and debasement of language on the isolated St. Helena Island in the Georgia Sea Islands in 1865 to the patronizing 1916 *Literary*

Digest editorial that describes plantation songs as full of warm-blooded sentimentality, we see the negative depiction of African Americans through their language. For example, when Zora Neale Hurston published her seminal work on Negro folklore in 1935, which represented the language, culture, and discourse style as accomplishments of pride, she was deeply criticized for exposing Negroes in a distasteful light.

More recent descriptive studies of AAVE focused on metropolitan areas, a by-product of the African American Great Migration from rural south to urban north in the early to mid-20th century. Sociolinguist Walt Wolfram explained the following:

The large influx of African Americans in these metropolitan areas led to intensified racial isolation and, along with other social and cultural ramifications of such de facto segregation, a social environment conducive to the maintenance of ethnolinguistic differences.

Like all languages, AAVE possesses distinct words, sounds, and grammar. For example, educator and linguist Geneva Smitherman states the following:

. . . the pronunciation system of black English employs the same number of sounds as white English (ranging from 45 to 48 sounds counting stress and intonation patterns), but these sounds exist in a few different patterns of distribution.

In AAVE, speakers frequently reduce or simplify word endings so that, for example, "test" becomes "tes," or "ask" becomes "as." Likewise, the medial or final "th" becomes "f," such as in "birthday" becoming "birfday." Other recognizable differences in pronunciations are represented by a shifting of primary stress to the first syllable as in PO-lice or DEE-troit. Verb tense use is probably the most observable so that "he is going" becomes "he going"; "he is gone" becomes "he gone"; and "he has been gone for a while" becomes "he been done gone." Another prominent marker of AAVE is the use of double negatives, which serve to stress meaning, such as, "I don't want nobody to give me nothing."

Discourse Style

AAVE spans more than just the syntactic, phonological or morphological characteristics. It is also important to explore the notion of African American discourse style. The ability to speak “well” is a very important component in the African American experience. Speaking well establishes one’s reputation in the African American community. It is used to earn the community’s respect, and has its roots in African verbal art, *Nommo*, the belief in the magical power of the word. This power spans social, political, musical, spiritual, emotional, and even psychological boundaries. In the late 20th century, African Americans could be heard saying “Word” or “Word up” as signifying agreement. This reference comes from the sociohistorical belief in the power of the word.

A prominent feature of AAVE discourse style is that of call and response, an interactive and interdependent speech act demonstrating communality rather than individuality. Emphasis is on group cohesiveness, cooperation, and the collective common good. Whether in sacred or secular settings, the African-derived tradition of call and response is a spontaneous verbal and nonverbal interaction between speaker and listener in which all of the speaker’s statements (calls) are punctuated by expressions (responses) from the listener.

Another common attribute of African American discourse style is signifying, a survival tactic of verbal insult in which a speaker humorously puts down or talks about the listener to make a point, or sometimes to make fun. It is generally not taken seriously. The indirect method may be used to play the dozens, as in, “Yo mamma’s so fat, that when the whales saw her they started singing ‘We are family.’” It is socially acceptable and the humor makes it easier for the recipient to accept it.

Another feature is narrative sequencing, which reflects the storytelling tradition that makes abstract observations about life, love, and people in the form of a concrete narrative sequence that meanders from the point, associating episodes along the way. The story is dramatically acted out. These are not the only discourse features of AAVE, but they are ones that are easily recognized as giving AAVE its unique character.

Bona Fide Language

Despite documented evidence, there is still today denial that AAVE either exists or that it should be classified as a bona fide language, even though features of black English are used in some form by a substantial number of African Americans and are often co-opted by television, advertising, and the media. For example, in 1996 when the Oakland school board passed a resolution recognizing Ebonics as a language, its purpose was to provide a means for speakers of Ebonics to qualify for federally funded programs traditionally restricted to bilingual populations. However, the effect was to raise the controversy over African American Vernacular English to a new high.

Though the resolution had many detractors and supporters, it was later concluded that Oakland was looking for tools to teach children Standard English so that they might be more competitive in the marketplace and have access to the rights of Standard English speakers. It was then that the Linguistic Society of America announced a resolution affirming that, whatever the name used, the language variety was rule-governed, systematic, and distinct.

Hip-Hop and Rap

In recent years hip-hop culture has become a major purveyor of AAVE and its discourse style. Many scholars of rap music and hip-hop more broadly locate its origins in African American verbal traditions such as playing the dozens, signifying, the hidden messages in enslaved people’s folktales and songs, the call and response of the black church, the joy and pain of the blues, the jive and slang of the jockeys, hipsters, and jazz musicians, the boasting of street talk, and the eloquence of black activists. One might even brag that AAVE is no longer owned by African Americans. It has become a national treasure, yet still problematized for many African Americans who have become handicapped by its sole use.

The push for standardization of any language artifact brings with it political and cultural manifestations that have particularly affected African American Vernacular English. In an environment where racialized imagery and issues of intellect and identity are continuously explored, it is appropriate to conclude that whether AAVE is a language or a dialect, it is clearly used by a great

many African Americans in a variety of settings. As a result, from classroom teachers to politicians, American society is undergoing a repositioning of cultural and linguistic diversity that engages social contexts and allows multiliteracies to enrich society.

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See Also: African Americans; Afrocentrism; English Language: Ethnic and Regional Variations; Ethnic Studies; Language Usage in the United States.

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African Americans

African American history, a relatively recent field, has since the 1960s become integral to our understanding of U.S. history. From the colonial era through the 21st century, even as slavery and racism relegated it to the margins of official history, African American history has been inextricably linked to the U.S. (American) past. African Americans made defining and profound contributions to U.S. society and culture from the earliest colonial settlements through the 21st century. As both a labor and sociocultural force, black slaves helped build the British colonies in North America into the society that in 1776 would proclaim its national identity as the United States of America.

African American slaves formed the labor force upon which early American society depended, contributing the labor that made possible the great agricultural empire of the antebellum south. As recent research has shown, slave labor was also essential to the establishment and early development of regional centers such as New York and Washington, D.C., including the construction of monuments in our capital that are today synonymous with American history and identity, such as the Capitol and the White House.

Though the African American legacy was, until the post-1960s era, largely dismissed by mainstream historians, today African Americans have been recognized not only for their material contributions to the founding of the country but also for their defining role in the emergence of what are regarded today as quintessentially American cultural practices. Jazz, blues, rock and roll, spirituals, and rap music, whose origins lie deep in the African American past, are some of the better-known and popular American cultural practices with African American origins.

Less known within mainstream U.S. society, but equally influential on U.S. history and culture, are the great literary works written by African Americans from the slave era to the present, and particularly the distinctive perspective on American history and culture expressed in these works. The prophetic voice in African American writing, which, according to many scholars, has for centuries articulated the moral conscience of American society, shaped both black and white American literature and culture in innumerable ways. This influence helped determine the progression of U.S. history from the slave era through the 20th century.

From the poetry of the slave author Phillis Wheatley and the autobiography of the former slave Olaudah Equiano in the late 18th century to the great slave narratives of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs in the 19th century, language and writing, as the scholar Henry Louis Gates has famously asserted, became for many blacks synonymous with the quest for freedom, equality, and justice. These democratic ideals, proclaimed in the founding U.S. national documents, were both critically scrutinized and renewed by black writers who called for the nation to live up to its foundational ideology.

One can trace later classic African American literary works—such as W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940), Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952), or Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* (1978)—directly to these early slave writers. Scholars agree that the modern African American literary tradition rests upon the foundation of slave narratives of the 19th century and earlier. But slave narratives, which number in the thousands, were not only among the first literary works written by African Americans; they were also the first historical narratives produced by blacks and therefore also form the foundation of the field of African American history. Equally important, one can also trace the famous prophetic sermons and speeches by civil rights-era leaders as different as Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X back to a slave society within which the black church formed the most influential social institution.

Fundamental to African American history and culture, as described above, the oral (folk) tradition formed the underlying source not only of black writing but of a wealth of cultural knowledge that was for centuries, from the slave era to the present, maintained within African American communities. One cannot narrate black history without emphasizing the centrality of an oral cultural tradition that kept alive the history and culture of black communities under brutally oppressive social circumstances. Even under centuries of slavery, when literacy for slaves was outlawed and slave families could be broken up at the whim of the slave owner, African Americans both remembered their past and creatively adapted themselves to their new circumstances in North America. This does not mean that much was not lost as Africans were severed from their homelands and forced to adapt to their lives as slaves; but the simplistic assumption that slaves in North America, or in other regions of the Americas, lost all of their ties to an African past no longer forms a viable part of scholarly research on African American history and culture.

The history of African Americans can be divided into four periods spanning the slave era to the 21st century: the African diaspora and slavery, the colonial and antebellum period, the post-bellum period to World War I, and the modern era. Within this chronological framework,



The engraving shows slaves marching in chains by the site of the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., around 1815. Recent research has shown the use of slave labor in the construction of national landmarks such as the Capitol and the White House.

discussion of one era may nevertheless overlap with and illuminate other eras. The first period, the African diaspora and slavery, discusses the history of African Americans in the context of New World slavery and provides an account of African American history in the early colonial era to 1700. The second, the colonial and antebellum period, traces African American history in the late (i.e., post-1700) colonial era leading up to the American Revolutionary War and examines black history in relation to the sociohistorical events preceding the Civil War. The post-bellum period to World War I (1865–1918) covers a defining time in modern African American history, when the progressive policies established during the Reconstruction era (1865–76) gave way to the Jim Crow period; it also describes the first Great Migration of African Americans from the south to the north, which began in 1910. Finally, the modern period covers African American history from 1919 to the present, which saw the emergence and recognition of African Americans as full citizens only as they and their supporters brought an end to Jim Crow segregation. This struggle culminated in the 2008 election of the first African American, Barack

Obama, to the presidency of the United States. The modern era also saw the remarkable rise, through music, literature, and other arts, of African American culture to a position of prominence within U.S. mainstream and popular culture.

The African Diaspora and Slavery

The history of African Americans begins before the first slaves landed in the British colonies of North America in the 1620s. As noted above, this history includes the collective memory of a distant African past, kept alive by African Americans over centuries of enslavement through a wealth of cultural (folk) practices. It also includes a slave past shared with the descendants of Africans who live today throughout the Americas. Though sometimes overlooked in accounts of U.S. history, current scholarship examines early African American history within this broader hemispheric (American) setting, in which the definition of “America” is expanded to include the Caribbean, Spanish America, and Brazil. The early history of African Americans comes into sharp focus as one branch of a larger socioeconomic process spanning centuries when set within this broader geographic framework. By 1513 the Spanish, who were the first colonists to import African slaves to the New World, had brought slaves to their colonies in Cuba and Hispaniola. This places the African presence in the Americas close to a century before the arrival in North America of the first English colonists, whom we call the Pilgrims.

The African diaspora refers to the peoples throughout the Americas who are descended from African slaves. The Atlantic slave trade, which brought approximately 12 million African slaves to the Americas, flourished from the mid-16th century to the mid-19th century, reaching its peak in the late 18th century. During this time enslaved Africans were uprooted from their homes and dispersed to regions throughout the New World. Their destinations depended entirely on the contingencies of the market economy of slavery. In his classic slave narrative, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789), Equiano describes his travels as a slave and seaman in the Caribbean, the British colonies in North America, as well as other parts of the Americas. His book, like most slave narratives both an autobiography and a historical account, provides an early

picture of how the Atlantic slave trade operated in a hemispheric setting. This trade in people sent African slaves throughout the Americas as European colonists sought a labor force to establish their colonies and build productive, though brutally exploitative, agrarian economies.

Those brought to North America were a small minority of the total number transported to the Americas during the Atlantic slave trade. The large majority of slaves, by some estimates 95 percent of the total population transported over approximately 250 years, were taken to the Caribbean, Brazil, and Spanish America. But despite the relatively small percentage of slaves transported to North America, by the early 18th century approximately half a million enslaved African Americans lived in the British colonies that would become the United States. By the mid-19th century, when the United States was on the brink of civil war, approximately 4 million slaves lived in the southern states out of a total southern population of 9 million. The population of the United States as a whole at this time was 22 million.

The first African slaves brought to the British colonies in North America in the 1620s were exploited for their labor to establish farms and towns in the wilderness of the New World. The great economic benefits of slave labor to white American society led to the rapid increase in the slave population particularly in the southern colonies, where a plantation-based agrarian (cotton) economy became dependent entirely on slave labor for its survival. While in the north the proportion of slaves to the entire population was never more than 5 percent, in the south by 1790 it had grown to a third of the population and by 1860, as noted above, to almost half of the southern population.

As both slave writings and historical research on slavery describe, in the United States this institution took on a character distinct from its forms in other regions of the Americas. Although slaves throughout the New World shared many experiences, such as the daily brutal reality of their physical enslavement, and were also bound together by a history rooted in an African past, in North America slavery developed unique characteristics, which will be discussed below.

Orlando Patterson uses the concept of “social death” to define the experience of slavery as it

existed from antiquity to the modern era. “Social death” captures the daily immediacy of physical and psychological oppression visited upon slaves as a matter of course, whether or not they were regarded by their masters as “privileged” (e.g., house slaves). To summarize Patterson, the slave’s life was characterized by three inter-related experiences that collectively defined his or her status as a slave: absolute powerlessness, alienation from all rights or claims of birth, and a generalized sense of dishonor. The slave’s powerlessness was marked by the fact that it “always originated . . . as a substitute for death,” meaning that because the master could at any time take the life of his slave, the latter always lived under the “conditional commutation” of death. The slave’s “execution was suspended only as long as the slave acquiesced in his powerlessness.” Second, the slave existed as a socially dead person. “Because the slave had no socially recognized existence outside of his master, he [she] became a social nonperson,” so that “he ceased to belong in his [her] own right to any legitimate social order.” Finally, according to Patterson, the slave “could have no honor because he had no power and no independent social existence, [and] hence no public worth.”

The Colonial and Antebellum Era

From the colonial period through the Civil War (1620–1865), African Americans formed a foundational segment of the American population. Even as they, with some exceptions such as freed slaves and their descendants, lived under the yoke of slavery, blacks created a distinctive rich culture that sustained them through centuries of adversity, a legacy that made a lasting imprint upon both American and world culture.

African American history in the antebellum era can be characterized as a series of struggles and “negotiations” with the dominant (white) European American society, social processes that varied greatly depending upon the region and period examined. These struggles and negotiations involved a series of complex efforts by blacks, over a span of generations, to adapt to the harsh realities of slavery and thus assure, to the extent that this was possible given the harsh circumstances as described by Patterson, their physical and cultural survival.

Adaptation to their condition did mean that African Americans did not resist slavery. Rather, blacks adopted some white (European) American practices and beliefs and then adapted them to their own life experiences as slaves. In this and other ways, African slaves and their descendants became African Americans. Religion (Christianity) offers perhaps the most striking example of the process by which a (white) European American social institution was adopted, then transformed, by blacks to address their needs and condition as slaves.

Because slaves transported to North America could not openly practice African religions, they and their descendants adopted Christianity but adapted it to their own social circumstances and individual needs. In some regions of the Americas, such as the Caribbean, African slave culture created syncretic religions comprised of both Christian and African-origin religious beliefs. In North America black Christianity, though not syncretic, became a pillar of slave society and a primary means of resistance to slavery. The black church under slavery not only offered daily spiritual sustenance for its oppressed followers, but by focusing on key passages in the Bible it embraced the hope of inevitable escape from bondage. While pro-slavery white Christians used selected tales from the Bible to justify slavery, black Christians embraced the story of the plight of the Israelites under Egyptian bondage, and their eventual salvation, as the foundation of black (slave) Christianity.

In the slave narrative *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Harriet Jacobs describes these radically different interpretations of the Bible in a moving passage in Chapter XIII in which she compares a pro-slavery sermon to one given by a preacher sympathetic to the plight of slaves. Jacobs concludes her narration by citing the folk refrain of a slave preacher: “Ole Satan’s church is here below; Up to God’s free church I hope to go.” The focus on biblical stories addressing the condition of slavery, along with the fact that the black church offered a primary space of slave unity and community, meant that the black church also became a place where resistance to slavery could be safely discussed or planned. Most of the dozens of slave rebellions in North America that took place from the colonial through antebellum eras,

of which the most famous was led by the slave preacher Nat Turner in 1830, were organized through the black church. Yet, as Jacobs's book also illustrates, resistance to slavery more often took forms other than open rebellion. Slaves could run away, feign illness, disrupt or sabotage work, among many other subversive, but nonviolent, acts. Jacobs emphasizes in her book that the generational struggle to maintain the black family unit under slavery, when its very existence posed a direct threat to the institution of slavery, formed a fundamental, though often unacknowledged, means of resistance.

Despite laws that made teaching slaves to read and write illegal, slaves, former slaves, and free blacks in North America wrote thousands of historical and literary works, primarily autobiographical slave narratives but also fiction, poetry, journalism, political tracts, sermons, ballads, diaries, journals, and letters. The history of African Americans from the colonial era through the Civil War was narrated by blacks themselves through these writings, even as their collective history would be denigrated and dismissed by mainstream and "official" historians until well into the 20th century. As Gates shows, under slavery—as well as under the racialized culture that existed in the free northern states—literacy and language took on a special meaning for African Americans. Just as, as Gates states, the first slaves to escape were those who had learned to read and write, for free blacks as well language and writing became identified with selfhood and inevitably with freedom.

Free blacks such as Martin Delany (*Blake, or The Huts of America*, 1859–62), Harriet E. Wilson (*Our Nig: Sketches From The Life of a Free Black*, 1859), and William Wells Brown (*Clotel; or, The President's Daughter*, 1853) wrote foundational novels. As early as the late 18th century, slaves such as Phillis Wheatley and Jupiter Hammon wrote and published poetry, a literary genre that, according to slave owner Thomas Jefferson (see *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1785) and other white Americans, could never be mastered by blacks given their assumed intellectual inferiority. Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, Harriet Tubman, Henry Bibb, Olaudah Equiano, and thousands of other former slaves wrote autobiographies, though only the most famous of these remarkable narratives are read today. Most slave

narratives went unpublished, existing today only as manuscripts, but the works by Jacobs, Douglass, and Equiano have since the 1960s become classic literary (and historical) texts, as important to understanding colonial and antebellum U.S. history as the famous writings by Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, or Cotton Mather.

David Walker's *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829) is the best-known and influential political essay by an African American published in the antebellum era. Moving beyond simple appeals to end slavery, Walker stridently called for African Americans to free themselves from slavery, first by recognizing their own humanity and then by taking direct action rather than depending upon the promises of hypocritical U.S. institutions such as the government or the church. Walker highlights not only the presence of an early black nationalist movement, but his brilliant criticism of U.S. political and religious institutions delineates the fundamental sociohistorical contradiction, centered on race and slavery, faced by the United States from its founding through the outbreak of the Civil War. Walker points to the bitter reality that by the early 19th century, even as the northern states increasingly opposed the southern states' "peculiar institution," at least tacitly acknowledging the hypocrisy of the republic's founding democratic ideology, for decades the north continued to accommodate the south. This political accommodation, which signaled the country's failure to live up to its founding principles of equality and justice, lasted until the south seceded in 1861. It explains why slavery lasted in the United States much longer than it did in most other nations in the Americas.

The Civil War and Reconstruction

During the Civil War thousands of free blacks and newly freed slaves fought heroically against the Confederacy in the Union army's newly formed United States Colored Troops (USCT). Martin Delany, a physician and the author of the novel *Blake, or The Huts of America*, among other works, became the first black field officer in the U.S. Army, achieving the rank of major, the highest rank of any African American soldier in the Civil War. By the end of the war, black regiments formed approximately one-tenth of the entire Union army's ranks. Twenty-five African

American soldiers earned the Medal of Honor during the Civil War, including 15 who were members of the United States Colored Troops, such as Christian Fleetwood and Charles Veale, who received the medal for their actions in the Battle of Chaffin's Farm on September 29, 1864.

Just as slavery formed the primary cause of the Civil War, after the national cataclysm between the United States and the Confederate States the newly freed slave population of approximately 4 million became a central subject of concern in the postwar policy known as Reconstruction (1865–77). Reconstruction policy aimed broadly to rebuild the south, which lay in ruins after the war, but it also enforced the newly adopted Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, which extended full rights of citizenship and suffrage to all African Americans. Moreover, it created programs of racial uplift, such as the Freedman's Bureau, which assisted freed slaves in a variety of ways as they sought to integrate into postwar southern society. Scholars generally agree that Reconstruction policy proved a noble though short-lived and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to address the urgent needs of freed slaves.

The Thirteenth Amendment, which outlawed slavery, was adopted in 1865; the Fourteenth Amendment, which granted all rights of citizenship to blacks, was adopted in 1868; and the Fifteenth Amendment, which protected voting privileges for African Americans and other races, was ratified in 1870. Along with adopting these laws, the victorious North recognized that in the aftermath of war the millions of newly freed blacks in the south required further assistance and protection. But the progressive policies toward blacks implemented under Reconstruction, which led to the election of hundreds of blacks to national, state, and local political offices, would be overshadowed by the backlash that followed. With the end of Reconstruction in 1877 and the establishment of the black codes and then Jim Crow segregation—de jure and de facto regulations that discriminated against and disenfranchised blacks—African Americans would struggle for decades under racial oppression. The thousands of lynching of blacks—estimated to be between 3,000 and 4,000—during these decades were the most obvious and terrifying evidence of black

disempowerment before the law. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s emerged as blacks sought to empower themselves and reclaim their full rights as U.S. citizens.

W. E. B. Du Bois is regarded as the most influential black intellectual of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and a foundational figure in modern black history. His classic 1903 book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, examines the dire social condition of African Americans at the end of the century, when 90 percent of blacks still lived in poverty in the southern states. Du Bois's work, a richly hybrid text comprised of essays, autobiography, fiction, history, and sociology, traces this condition to the slave era as well as to the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction period. A combination of intimate autobiographical pieces about the author's personal experience of racism and scholarly essays that provide sociohistorical context, Du Bois's work, much like David Walker's *Appeal* decades earlier, called upon the conscience of Americans to recognize the humanity of blacks and thereby extend equality and justice under the law to them as U.S. citizens.

Du Bois's incisive argument against Booker T. Washington—who was the most prominent African American leader of the era and author of the slave narrative *Up From Slavery* (1901)—cast Washington as an accommodationist toward Jim Crow segregation. The debate with Washington, in which Du Bois called for an immediate end to segregation and full civil rights for blacks, would set forth the terms for discussions of black progress well into the 20th century.

The Modern Era to World War I

Beginning in 1910, the oppressive racial and socioeconomic conditions under which southern blacks lived, described a few years earlier by Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk*, led to the first Great Migration of African Americans to the north. The outbreak of World War I led to labor shortages in the north as European immigration, amid the conflict, came to a halt and tens of thousands of young American men entered the military. Although the migration of blacks to the north would last into the post-World War II era and as late as the 1970s, during the initial migration to 1930 approximately 1.5 million blacks migrated to the northeast and midwest. This migration of

approximately one-tenth of the U.S. black population from the rural south to the urban north had a profound impact on African American society. It presented blacks with economic opportunities in the industrial north that had never existed for them in the south, fundamentally transforming the African American population.

The Great Migration also led to racial hostility against African Americans as their numbers grew dramatically in cities such as Detroit, Pittsburgh, New York, and Chicago. Jim Crow segregation had existed in the north long before the Great Migration. Into this tense racial setting thousands of African American veterans returned from World War I; having fought for the United States in the Great War, these veterans and their

families realized that even in the north, as blacks they remained second-class citizens. The series of race riots that took place from 1917 to the early 1920s, though not confined to the north, killed scores of blacks and resulted from racial hostility directed at blacks as they sought in the modern Jim Crow era to assert their rights as U.S. citizens.

The Modern Era: World War I to the Present

The 20th century saw remarkable achievements by African Americans as they were collectively freed, after 80 years of struggle culminating in the civil rights movement led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., from the strictures of Jim Crow segregation. The continuing Great Migration



An African American family stands outside a brick cottage that had served as slave quarters at the Hermitage Plantation in Savannah, Georgia, around 1907. In the early 18th century there were approximately half a million enslaved African Americans in the future United States, and by the mid-19th century, out of a total population of 9 million people in the southern states, about 4 million were slaves.



The struggle for civil rights for African Americans culminated in the 2008 election and 2012 re-election of Barack Obama as the first African American president. President Obama, surrounded by his family and First Lady Michelle Obama, whose ancestry includes slaves, pauses to survey the crowd after his second presidential inauguration swearing-in ceremony on January 21, 2013.

after World War I led, by the 1970s, to approximately 5 million more blacks leaving the south for the northeast, midwest, and west. The 20th century also saw the emergence of a black middle class and upper class, as blacks sought jobs and opportunity in the great urban industrial regions of the northeast, midwest, and west. Though a black middle and upper class had always existed in the northeast and midwest, in the modern era and particularly after World War II these groups dramatically increased in numbers. The dream of both W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, that education would transform and uplift the African American population, was realized as blacks finally gained full access to colleges and universities. This, along with the end of Jim Crow segregation in schools and all other walks of life, opened doors for blacks in business, government,

the arts, and entertainment. The black dream of freedom and uplift through education culminated in the election of Barack H. Obama to the presidency, the first African American to hold this office. Of the previous U.S. presidents, that is, those who held the office before the Civil War, 12 had owned slaves and eight owned slaves while in office.

But as African Americans in the post-1960s era made great advancements, the legacy of Jim Crow racism and its attendant socioeconomic inequities continued to weigh on large segments of the black population. The black urban underclass never saw sustained economic benefits from the social transformation brought about in the 1960s and after by the civil rights movement and the Great Society. Though overt racism in the form of Jim Crow segregation ended, other types of racial

inequality emerged, as in the legal and justice system, causing untold harm to large segments of the black population. Today non-Hispanic blacks account for approximately 40 percent of the total prison and jail population, roughly 1 million of the 2.3 million people incarcerated, though they comprise only 12.6 percent of the U.S. population. African Americans are incarcerated at nearly six times the rate of white Americans, and mostly for nonviolent drug-related offenses. Many black urban communities have been devastated by the so-called prison industrial complex, where their family members may be imprisoned for decades, often for crimes whose origins are rooted in poverty. The transformation in the United States in the last 30 years from an industrial to a service and information-based economy, which has resulted in the closing of industrial plants throughout the northeast, midwest, and west, has proven calamitous to what was an emerging urban and suburban black middle class.

For contemporary black leaders like Benjamin Todd Jealous, Al Sharpton, and Jesse Jackson, or educators and intellectuals such as Cornel West, Henry Louis Gates, and Bell Hooks, among many others, the clarion call for freedom, equality, and justice for African Americans therefore remains as urgent today as it was during the Jim Crow era. This sense of urgency—itsself a response to the backlash to the progressive (liberal) policies of the 1960s that culminated in the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981–88)—continues to define African American politics in the 21st century even as Democrats in 2008 retook the White House.

Twentieth-Century Entertainment and the Arts

In the realm of entertainment, popular culture, and the arts, African Americans from the 20th century to the present have shaped U.S. culture in profound and myriad ways. Many cultural genres regarded throughout the world today as quintessentially “American” have African American origins, the most obvious being jazz, blues, and rock and roll (and rhythm and blues) music, all of which dominated U.S. popular music for much of the 20th century. Jazz greats such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, blues artists such as Robert Johnson and Charlie Patton, and rock and roll stars like Chuck Berry and Little Richard,

among many others, contributed defining works to the American musical legacy. Rap music, whose origins are rooted in the 1970s and 1980s, continues this legacy in the 21st century; much like jazz, blues, and rhythm and blues in the 20th century, rap music has transcended racial and cultural boundaries in this manner and come to dominate the U.S. popular music scene and extend its influence throughout the world.

In the 20th century African Americans produced a wealth of fiction, autobiography, non-fiction, poetry, and plays, including some of the classic works of modern U.S. literature such as Ralph Ellison’s novel *Invisible Man* (1952), Zora Neale Hurston’s novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), and Langston Hughes’s poetry of the 1920s through 1940s. The African American literary tradition, whose achievements culminated in the novelist Toni Morrison’s acceptance of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993, begins with the slave narratives and traces a path in the late 19th century through writers such as Du Bois, Paul Larence Dunbar, Frances E. W. Harper, and Charles Chestnut.

The Harlem Renaissance, a cultural and arts movement based in Harlem, New York, which spanned the 1920s, marked the first great outpouring of artistic production by blacks in the 20th century and stands as a pinnacle of modern African American artistic achievement. This movement constituted in part a cultural and political response to the endemic racism of the period and particularly the continued oppression under Jim Crow society. Among the best-known writers associated with the Harlem Renaissance are Hurston, Hughes, Claude McKay, James Weldon Johnson, and Alain Locke.

The Harlem Renaissance’s influence on U.S. and African American writing and culture has been immeasurable. Morrison and other modern and contemporary writers such as Ellison, James Baldwin, Alice Walker, August Wilson, and Ishmael Reed pay homage to this early black literary movement in their works. Collectively 20th-century black writers and scholars not only created a literary tradition that has today gained international recognition but also played a pivotal role in establishing African American literature and other arts as academic disciplines in colleges and universities. The success of African Americans today

throughout the arts, including film, television, and music, rests upon the foundation built by these early writers and artists, as well upon the legacy of black voices from the colonial era through the 19th century who challenged their status as slaves through writing and other forms of resistance. This great social and cultural legacy extends today to all African Americans, of all occupations and classes, as well as to the nation as a whole.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Civil War, U.S.; Constitutional Amendments; Great Migration; Harlem Renaissance; Jim Crow Laws; Racism; Reconstruction; Segregation; Slave Narratives; Slave Trade; Slavery; *Souls of Black Folk*, *The*.

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African Methodist Episcopal Church

The African Methodist Episcopal Church is the largest black religious denomination in the United States. It was established in 1816 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by people of African ancestry. The denomination's name clearly indicates the significant contributions of African Americans to emerging Christianity in North America. The formation of the AME Church marks one of the earliest expressions of black religious independence in antebellum America.

The denomination had its beginning in the mutual aid society and antislavery association called Free African Society (FAS), which Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and others founded in Philadelphia in 1787. These African societies

functioned at the time as quasi-religious institutions that helped fulfill the socioeconomic, cultural, spiritual, and material needs of the African American population in urban Philadelphia and its surroundings.

Generally, historians and scholars of black religion have noted several principal historical forces that stimulated the assertion of black religious independence. These include the long narrative of racial segregation and discrimination in white churches during and after slavery, the moral failure of Christianity in the United States, and the desire for black Christians to gather in free, autonomous worship using the African American tradition and cultural practices within the context of the black church.

The genesis of the AME Church can be traced to a day in November 1787, when Richard Allen and other black Methodists at the predominantly white St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) in Philadelphia took a decisive step to no longer tolerate racial segregation and discrimination in the church. Allen, Jones, and other black Christians had attended a public worship service at St. George's MEC, and as they knelt in prayer in a gallery that was reserved for whites only, some trustees forced them to abruptly leave the church. As Allen recounts:

All went out of the church in a body . . . and they were no more plagued with [us] in that church . . . Here was the beginning and rise of the first church of the denomination later known as the African Methodist Episcopal.

The ousted blacks were determined to reshape FAS as an exclusively African congregation. Most wanted to align themselves with the Episcopal Church, but a small group that included Allen pushed to remain Methodist. In 1794, Bethel AME, with Allen as pastor, came into being. Bethel later was a well-known station of the Underground Railroad. Allen successfully sued in Pennsylvania courts in 1807 and 1815 so that Bethel AME could operate independently of white Methodists.

The AME Church came into existence as a reaction to white hostility against blacks in church. It is good to note here that many slaves joined the Wesleyan movement because of its antislavery

sensibility, and the Methodist Church was probably the first to license black preachers.

AME and Black Freedom

The AME denomination stands as an institutional symbol of black freedom. It contributed enormously to the fostering process of racial consciousness and solidarity in the African American community. It strongly and consistently opposed slavery and institutional racism, and it supported the famous Vesey conspiracy, which was a plan to liberate African slaves in Charleston, South Carolina, and then flee to Haiti. Denmark Vesey, inspired by the spirit of the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804), organized what would have been the most extensive slave revolt ever known in American history. The uprising was planned for July 14, 1822. Slaves opposed to the plan tipped off Charleston officials to the plot, and Vesey and his conspirators were quickly arrested, interrogated, and ultimately hanged. As one of the elderly bishops declared at the denomination's 1856 general conference in Cincinnati, "Every colored man is an abolitionist, and slaveholders know it." Vesey also had helped institute an AME congregation in 1817.



The Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C., was founded in 1838 and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The AME Church grew out of the Free African Society, which was established in 1787.

Social Vision

The AME Church has enjoyed a great reputation for combining secular relevance with the spiritual development of its members. It is fully committed to an ethic of social and political activism, and the common good of all people. As a social institution, it propagated the uplift ideology, which can be observed in its mission statement: The Mission of the AME Church is to minister to the social, spiritual, and physical development of all people. And the religious emphasis is reflected in the church's motto: God Our Father, Christ Our Redeemer, Holy Spirit Our Comforter, and Humankind Our Family.

Furthermore, the AME Church has been a catalyst in the education of African Americans as well as the advancement of the black community since the time of slavery. It was Daniel Alexander Payne, an influential AME bishop and educator, who linked black liberation to education and helped found Wilberforce University, the first historically black, private, liberal arts institution, in 1856. The denomination also established other universities and theological schools, including the well-known Western University (Quindaro, Kansas), Allen University (Columbia, South Carolina), Morris Brown College (Atlanta, Georgia), Jackson Theological Seminary (Little Rock, Arkansas), and the African Methodist Episcopal University (Liberia, Africa).

The AME Church continues the project of social service relief and the Christian vision of social development. Today, the denomination maintains housing projects in many cities and states across the United States. The church's missionary zeal has been apparent since the 1820s, when it had actively participated in missionary endeavors in Haiti, South Africa, Canada, Bermuda, and West Africa. Some of the AME's leading scholar-activists and religious thinkers include James H. Cone, the father of black liberation theology, Cecile W. Cone, and Jacqueline Grant, feminist theologian.

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See Also: Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Segregation; Underground Railroad.

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Afrocentrism

Afrocentrism will be defined here primarily as an ideology and a cultural, intellectual, and educational movement that stresses the African perspective in the quest for values, knowledge, truth, and understanding. Afrocentrism is an intellectual orientation that seeks to de-center the Eurocentric paradigm by shifting the geography of reason and the discourse of civilization to the significance of ancient Egypt in the birth of the modern world. Afrocentrists argue for the putative influence of ancient Egypt—which they contend was undeniably black—on the ancient Greek civilization.

The Afrocentric paradigm articulates the cultural uniformity thesis of continental Africa and across the black diaspora; advocates of this school of thought valorize the African heritage and the continuity of African cultural traditions and values in the African diaspora, as well as the survivals of Egyptian civilization. Afrocentrism is chiefly concerned with the vexed question of the black African origin of civilization and the blackness of pharaonic Egypt. Yet, African American Afrocentrists pursue the de-Europeanization of American education and culture by promoting a

wider openness to cultural relativism, alternative histories, and worldviews.

Origins

The origin of the term *Afrocentrism* is unknown. African American historian William Jeremiah Moses credited W. E. B. Du Bois as probably the first writer to have used the concept of “Afrocentrism” as early as 1961 in a paper proposal, “Proposed plans for an Encyclopaedia Africana,” whose objective was to be “unashamedly Afro-Centric, but not indifferent to the impact of the outside world.” Nonetheless, the cultural critic and most influential Afrocentrist scholar today, Molefi Asante of Temple University, would popularize Afrocentrism as a distinctive worldview in numerous path-breaking studies including *Afrocentricity, the Theory of Social Change* (1980), *The Afrocentric Idea* (1987), *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (1990). Asante defines Afrocentricity as a philosophy and program for social change. In *Kemet*, he writes:

The Afrocentric method seeks to transform human reality by ushering in a human openness to cultural pluralism which cannot exist without the unlocking of the minds for acceptance of an expansion of consciousness.”

Asante’s objective is to inspire proponents of this school of thought “to put African ideals and values at the center of inquiry.” Afrocentrists employ rigorously the African cultural image as a tool to increase the self-esteem and consciousness of the people of African ancestry in the United States and in the African diaspora.

Egyptocentrism

The Afrocentric ideology can be traced in the writings of black and nonblack writers in the 19th and 20th centuries. To various degrees, the works of these writers exhibit both Afrocentric and Egyptocentric themes and ideologies. While the discourse of Afrocentrism seeks to link the cultural traditions and civilization of ancient black Egypt to those of continental black Africa and the black diaspora, the discourse of Egyptocentrism puts forth the idea that ancient Egypt was geographically and culturally African and that the flourishing civilization of Egypt was unquestionably Negroid.

The debate over the black genesis of civilization and over the character of ancient Egypt and the idea that ancient Greece had borrowed both cultural and intellectual resources from the black people of Egypt has also appeared in several controversial texts, such as George G. M. James’s *Stolen Legacy: The Egyptian Origins of Western Philosophy* (1954), Yosef Ben-Jochanan’s *African Origins of the Major “Western Religions”* (1970), and Ivan Van Sertima’s *Nile Valley Civilization* (1980). It is noteworthy to underscore here it was the three-volume magisterial work of the white British and Cornell University historian Martin Bernal, under the provocative title *Black Athena*, that has gained the academic attention of the Afrocentric movement in the United States. The multivolume work (1991, 1991, and 2006), as the author states, was “essentially concerned with the Egyptian and Semitic roles in the formation of Greece in the Middle and Late Bronze Age.” In this historical revisionism project, Bernal also sought to boost the African American self-esteem in the United States and affirm black agency in world history.

Bernal fortifies the works of previous Afrocentrists by establishing literary, archaeological, and linguistic data of the substantial influence of ancient Egypt and Phoenicia on Greek civilization. His well-developed thesis about the Egyptian question claims for the African backgrounds of Attic civilization, resulting in his rejection of the notion that Greek civilization was original and autonomous. Bernal declares that Greece had imported both Egyptian culture and language through the exchange with the Semitic people, known as the Hyksos, in the 17th and 16th centuries B.C.E. The Cornell professor had agreed with other Afrocentrists on many points, that (1) Egyptians introduced civilization to Greeks, (2) Hyksos brought to Greece Egyptian language and culture, (3) classical Greek philosophers borrowed from Egyptian philosophy, (4) Egyptian origins of many of the Greek heroes, such as Socrates and Inachus, (5) Roman poet and playwright Terrence was a black African, and (6) Cleopatra had African ancestors.

In response to Afrocentrist claims and reconstruction of modern history, the Wellesley College professor of classics and ancient history Mary Lefkowitz published a contentious book titled

Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became An Excuse to Teach Myth as History (1996). Throughout the book, Lefkowitz has sustained the long-standing thesis/tradition of the priority of Greece in the development of human civilization and the world of ideas. For her, Afrocentrism should be regarded as a mass of invented histories and traditions of black achievements in world history: As she asserts, “The Afrocentric myth of ancient history is a myth, and not history . . . The ancient Egypt described by Afrocentrists is a fiction.” She added that Afrocentric theories of history and culture are “based on false assumptions and faulty reasoning, and cannot be supported by time-tested methods of intellectual inquiry.”

Furthermore, Lefkowitz states that Afrocentrists are damaging the curriculum in the United States by actively indoctrinating students along their party line across the public school systems and in the sphere of higher learning. Claiming that she is defending “academic standards,” Lefkowitz’s objective is clear:

I would like our children and college students to learn about the real ancient Egypt and the real ancient Africa, and not about the historical fiction invented by Europeans.

As Lefkowitz observes, “Teaching the myth of the Stolen Legacy as if it were history robs the ancient Greeks and their modern descendants of a heritage that rightly belongs to them.”

Multicultural Education

According to Stephen Howe, “Public controversy has centred particularly around the inroads Afrocentrism has made into school-level education in the United States.” By 1991, it was reported that roughly 350 private schools or “Afrocentric academies” devoted to the approach had been established, educating more than 50,000 children. The number has continued to grow. Numerous public school authorities have also introduced Afrocentric curricula, including wholly Afrocentric schools in predominantly black districts as Detroit, Baltimore, and Milwaukee had done. Elsewhere, curriculum reform designed to introduce Afrocentric perspectives produced national-level public storms and political battles, as in New York and Washington, D.C. A first generation of

explicitly Afrocentric school textbooks has begun to appear in various locations, such as Atlanta, Georgia, and Portland, Oregon, with the impact of the *African American Baseline Essays*. Afrocentrism continues to penetrate rapidly into U.S. higher education; the African American Studies department of Temple University in Philadelphia is nationally known as the largest and most influential Afrocentrist program in the United States.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Afrocentrism has contributed a multicultural representation to and multicultural inclusion in America’s dominant culture, as well as offered a multicultural perspective in America’s public education and higher learning. The ultimate goal is to create a more inclusive human discourse and educational environment in which other people’s voices and histories will not be left out in the meganarratives of American and human history.

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See Also: African Americans; Ethnic Studies; Ethnicity.

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Age and Ethnic Diversity

The immigration and population shifts that have changed the faces of the United States have also shifted patterns of aging in ways that have profound implications for most of the country’s social institutions. Because increasingly diverse

populations have spread unevenly across the country, states and regions are facing the need to craft different approaches to these challenges. By 2030, it is expected that one in five Americans will be 65 or older, and by 2050, the United States will be a minority-majority country.

At every age and stage of life, the increase in racial and ethnic diversity will impact the country's cultural and social institutions, including education, politics, religion, housing, and employment. Understanding the demographic patterns is essential for preparing those institutions for the country's increasingly diverse future. While changes related to age and ethnic diversity may seem obvious, the implications of those changes are more subtle and important.

Demographics: Age and Ethnic Patterns

Projections for the racial and ethnic composition of the United States show somewhat dramatic changes through 2050. The total U.S. population is expected to grow from 312.8 million in 2012 to 458.1 million by 2050. Over the same period, the non-Hispanic population is expected to increase from 261.6 million to 314.6 million, and Hispanics from 51 million to 143.5 million.

The distribution and location of the population throughout the United States has significant implications. For example, 50 percent of the Asian population lives in the western part of the United States and comprises 11 percent of that region's population; 45 percent of the Asian population lives in the northeast states. The Hispanic population is concentrated in California, Texas, and Florida. The American Indian and Alaska Native population is concentrated in the south and west. The largest percentage of the black population are in the south (54.3 percent), followed by the northeast (17.8 percent), and midwest (17.7 percent).

Concentrations of racial and ethnic groups in urban areas have grown, according to the 2010 U.S. census. In 2010, approximately 12 percent of the population moved to another location, some within their own county but most to another county. The age group with the most mobility was 20 to 29, with 25 percent reporting a move; the next most mobile age group was 30 to 44, with 14 percent reporting a move.

Traditional locations for Asian and Hispanic immigrants have been gateway areas—California

and New York for Asians, with Florida, Texas, and New Mexico for Hispanics. However, an increasing number of immigrants and especially persons of Hispanic origin are settling in the south and midwest, in rural areas and small towns. They are attracted by a lower cost of living as well as jobs in agribusiness, meat-packing industries, roofing industries, and minimal skilled labor positions, such as in health care. The children of these minorities make an impact on the educational institutions, retail and grocery stores accommodate new tastes, and cultural institutions adapt to integrate them. Bilingual or multilingual education and culturally responsive ethnic social services are created to serve these populations. Shifts in the age distributions of various racial and ethnic groups by birth cohort or generation provide insight into the implications of ethnic diversity across the age span.

The fastest-growing population group is Hispanic. This demographic represents a younger population with higher fertility rates than the white, black, and Asian populations. The median age in 2010 for the total U.S. population was 36.9, projected to be 37.1 in 2015. The median age of individuals reporting Hispanic origin was 19.9, while that of blacks was 31.7; Asians, 36; and whites, 38.4. Burgeoning numbers of Hispanic children in communities will stress schools and health care facilities that support the very young.

Childbirth rates are one indicator of the changes in ethnic diversity. As census figures indicate, the Hispanic population is growing at a faster rate than other racial and ethnic groups. In 2010, average U.S. births per woman were 1.9 overall. By category, these rates were Hispanic, 2.4; black, 2; white, 1.8; Asian or Pacific Islander, 1.7; and American Indian/Alaska Native, 1.4. The replacement level for a country is 2.1.

While childbirth rates of the various racial and ethnic groups have implications for social institutions in the United States, so do the changing proportions of aging racial and ethnic groups. The 2010 census figures show that the white population is aging and not increasing. By 2050, ethnic Hispanics and Asians will constitute a significant proportion of older Americans. The elderly Hispanic population will account for 19.5 percent of all older Americans, while elderly Asian Americans will account for 11.8 percent. The white

population will account for 57 percent of older Americans by 2050.

The 2010 census figures also show that the number of people aged 65 and older is increasing at a higher rate in the Hispanic and Asian American populations and populations claiming two or more races than in the white and African American communities. These figures will influence how the elderly are cared for within the various communities as a matter of both cultural norms and public policy.

The medical model of providing care, drugs, surgery, and delaying death through treatment is costly. Currently, 35 percent of the 39.5 million persons over 65 live in nonfamily households or nursing homes. Of these, 14 million have at least one disability. When adult children live away from their elderly parents, often at great distances, caring for these elderly becomes a public policy problem.

Although the number of young Hispanics is growing rapidly, the number of Hispanic elderly is also increasing, as populations from earlier waves of U.S. immigration begin to age. For example, Cubans who came to the United States during the early Castro regime were often well educated and older; they are in a higher income bracket than those who came in the Mariel boatlift of the 1980s, who were not as educated and did not have the same economic success. Because their employment is often irregular, they are not covered by Social Security or pension benefits, and providing care at the end of life falls to the family, to public agencies, or through the cracks.

Asian elderly, including Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, enjoy a degree of prosperity. The Confucian value on education translates into educational attainment levels, which lead to more economic prosperity. Older Asians have the lowest rate of poverty of the minority groups in the United States.

The minority elderly have been considered at risk of a form of double jeopardy with regard to their quality of life and health. For example, African American elderly today are affected by the previous years of segregation, access to education, and a history of manual jobs. The health care needs and chronic illnesses of African Americans, particularly related to diabetes, lung cancers, and heart disease, bears this out.

Implications of Age and Ethnic Diversity

Factors such as birthrates, aging, mobility, and family changes due to intermarriage have implications for intergenerational relationships, family relationships, and caregiving expectations for both young and old. Until the past century, populations have been characterized as a pyramid, with many children under 5 and fewer people living past 65. Now, with birthrates declining in various ethnic groups and life expectancies increasing among all ethnic groups, a Pandora's box of implications has been opened. The changes in the distribution of age and ethnic diversity in the United States will have a profound impact on the nature of the country in every facet of life, including such institutions as education, family relationships, religion, and social services.

Public education continues to integrate students with diverse language and cultural backgrounds in classrooms. This is an even bigger challenge when stressors on school systems related to federal and state accountability programs and development and adoption of common curricular standards are considered. High school graduation continues to be a challenge for much of the U.S. population. Hispanics have the lowest educational attainment level, with 61 percent completing a high school diploma and 13 percent achieving a bachelor's degree. Blacks report an 82 percent high school completion rate, and 18 percent attain a bachelor's degree or higher. Whites report a 90 percent high school completion rate and 39 percent bachelor's degree completion rate. Asians 25 years or older report that 85 percent have a high school diploma, 50 percent have at least a bachelor's degree, and 20 percent have a postgraduate degree.

The new diversity is reshaping families as well as regions. As the census shows, an increasing number of Americans identify themselves as mixed race, reflecting interracial and interethnic marriages. Almost one-third of Asians and 26 percent of Hispanics who married in 2008 married a spouse with a different race or ethnicity. By 2050, it is estimated that 25 percent of Asians and 50 percent of Hispanics will report mixed ancestry. The least common groups to intermarry are whites and blacks. The fabric of American culture will thus be considerably varied.

The intergenerational relationships among family members are affected by mobility as well

as interracial/interethnic marriage. Asians and Hispanics have traditionally valued community and collectivist values in family and childrearing. When family members move to another community, they may lose those ties. Child care and elder care are two areas directly affected by mobility and changing family relationships. If there is no grandparent to help raise a child or no adult child to care for an aging parent or grandparent, diverse approaches to child care and elder care emerge.

The numbers of older immigrants and refugees are increasing, particularly from India, China, and Mexico, in addition to other Asian and Latin American countries. Often they are the parents of children who are U.S. citizens but arrive with more socioeconomic deficits, limited or no knowledge of English, and difficulties in securing jobs or government benefits. This puts a variety of economic and psychosocial pressures on their children and extended family to support them.

The religious perspectives of a family are affected when individuals join the family from a differing religious perspective. Religions offer answers to questions such as the existence of God, the value and meaning of life, ways to approach life cycle events such as birth and death, and what happens at death. Community structures such as health care and religious institutions are challenged to accommodate the cultural and ethnic diversity of the population. The changing norms associated with various religious traditions can make a difference in areas such as retail and media.

The perception of the dominant U.S. culture as white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant no longer holds. While Christianity continues to be the most widely reported faith, families from Asian backgrounds may bring Confucian or Buddhist perspectives of authority, family, and death. Families from Hispanic backgrounds have generally reported a Roman Catholic perspective. The increasing number of Muslims in the United States also adds to the religious diversity. Increasingly, individuals report no affiliation with any religion.

The increasing number of ethnicities in the United States has led to more diversity in celebrating life events, moving beyond baptisms, confirmations, and bar mitzvahs to quinceañeras, first and 60th birthdays in Chinese communities, and recitations of the Qur'an.

Each cultural and religious tradition may lead to different goals and outcomes for having children and approaching death. Census figures related to the poverty of children and the elderly illustrate the country's challenge in allocating resources to vulnerable populations.

Conclusion

The 2010 census paints a picture of a country experiencing changes among all ethnic age groups. These changes will continue to mold and shape social institutions that serve the life span, such as education, employment, religion, and health care and will affect the intergenerational and social response to needs at each age and stage of life.

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See Also: Age Distribution (Essay); African Americans; Asian Americans; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Hispanic Americans; White Ethnics.

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Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity

The United States as a whole is increasingly ethnically diverse. While this been a part of the American catechism for generations, the data continue to underscore just how true it is: White non-Hispanic Americans are on their way to

becoming a plurality rather than a majority, non-white babies born in 2012 outnumbered white babies, and the number of predominantly white communities is declining. The growth of diversity is happening essentially across the board. In 1980, two-thirds of communities were at least 90 percent white; in 2010, less than one-third of communities were.

The number of communities without an ethnic majority at all, once a rarity, is steadily rising. Such communities are not small statistical anomalies, either. Cities such as Oakland, California, and Jersey City, New Jersey, are roughly equally divided between whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. What the 2010 U.S. census revealed about ethnic diversity is that it is not simply a national trend—which could happen as the result of a growth in ethnic-majority communities of non-whites—but one happening on the local, micro level. This is true in many work sectors as well. While many work sectors diversify slowly, especially (as in the case of medicine or law) because of the high cost of entry and resulting association between class and occupation, other sectors are becoming increasingly diverse.

An Ethnically Diverse Pursuit

But agriculture has always been an ethnically diverse pursuit in the United States. In the colonial and early national eras, when family-owned farms were the norm, distinct styles of farming were practiced by the various western European immigrant groups that constituted the population. Northern Irish families tended to grow corn, which they would use both to feed hogs and to feed the family; cornmeal and grits quickly became staple foods in the south, especially outside the rice country of the Carolinas. After butchering, hogs would be smoked or cured to preserve the meat through the winter. The practice of using small fish to fertilize corn was introduced to New Englanders by local Native Americans and sometimes employed farther south. German American families, on the other hand, often grew wheat, barley, or other grains, and traditionally relied on oxen as their work animals.

As the country expanded westward after independence, waves of immigration provided the manual labor and sheer numbers necessary to turn wilderness into settled lands. Some of those

hired to build the railroads, famously including numerous Chinese immigrants, who later settled down as farmers after the rails were complete. The Northern Irish tradition of raising corn and hogs together was transmitted through the midwest, in which southerners constituted a large part of the settlers, while the “wheat frontier” passed westward at the northern latitudes. The cattle capital of the country shifted from New England to Texas and Kansas as the country expanded, with those new territories building strong industries based on beef, usually by English, Irish, and German Americans (with numerous Hispanic American workers). However, dairy farming remained a prominent industry in New England until the federal farm buyouts of the 1980s.

African Americans were one of the most important players in American agriculture in the 19th century, with slaves providing the manual labor necessary for the south’s cotton empire, among other agricultural concerns. Free blacks during and after the Civil War included many skilled farmers who acquired farms of their own, which was often easier than finding whites willing to hire them at fair terms, although in the south and some frontier states, the practice of sharecropping continued to exploit black, white, and Hispanic labor. Black families on the coasts of Florida and South Carolina were deeded “forty acres and a mule” in 1865, although President Andrew Johnson reversed this, and most never received their land. The 1865 Freedman’s Bureau, though, provided education and relocation services to freed slaves and provided millions of acres of lands for settlement and homesteading. By 1910, there were nearly one million black farm owners possessing a total of 15 million acres, representing about an eighth of American farms. As large-scale commercial farming became the norm in the 20th century, this number dwindled.

After the end of slavery, immigrants were increasingly a source of labor for farms. While some homesteaded in the west and owned farms of their own, others found work as field hands or other agricultural workers on large farms that were usually white-owned. By the first decades of the 20th century, Mexican Americans and Mexican migrant workers comprised the largest portion of California’s agricultural labor force, for instance. In the same era, many Filipinos traveled

to the mainland following the 1898 annexation of the Philippines by the United States, finding work on farms and often housed in migrant camps. Migrant workers and recent immigrants were often forced to seek work through labor agents, especially if their English fluency was poor, and these agents often charged a fee for procuring work.

Agricultural workers were originally excluded from the right to organize labor unions and the benefits of unemployment and disability insurance until the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) was founded in 1962, after decades of failed attempts by Mexican, Japanese, and Filipino farm workers to unionize. The UFW was formed by the merger of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, principally Filipinos, and the primarily Mexican National Farm Workers Association. The UFW's 1965 strike against the growers of table grapes led to a collective bargaining agreement in 1970, representing more than 10,000 farmworkers.

The 2002 Agricultural Census

The most recent Agricultural Census by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) is the 2012 census, the deadline for which was actually extended into mid-2013 in order to maximize the number of responses. The most recent completed Agricultural Census to be released by the USDA is the 2007 census.

The 2002 Agricultural Census was the first to collect information on multiple-operator farms, which accounted for half of all farms in six states, and about a third of all farms overall. Second and third operators tended to be much younger, and while women were only 11.2 percent of principal operators, they were 27.2 percent of all operators, because of the large number of farms run with female second operators. Interestingly, despite the increase in the average age of farmers, the average age of female operators is declining. The farms most likely to be operated by multiple generations, and by implication to stay in the family, were dairy, cotton, tobacco, and grain farms.

The 2002 Agricultural Census also collected ethnic data. Data on minority-owned farms have historically been more scant than data on white-owned farms, because the farms are usually smaller. Smaller farms are less likely to complete

their census forms, and small minority-owned farms in many cases may be disconnected from the larger farming community. The historical data on farms owned by American Indians and Alaska Natives are especially thought to be incomplete.

Beginning in 2002, the National Agricultural Statistics Service (NASS) made special efforts to collect information on minority farm operators, including pre-census promotional activity targeting specific ethnic minorities and female farmers, and obtaining mailing lists from public and private sectors likely to have information on minority farm operators. In order to improve coverage of agriculture on reservations, reservation-level census report forms were used, addressing agricultural activity on entire reservations, which were then checked against individual forms in order to prevent duplication of data. Reservation and Alaska Native village officials were also consulted in generating mailing lists of farmers to contact.

In the 2002 Agricultural Census, whites were found to be the majority of farm owners, at about 1.386 million. Of these, 19,194 blacks were full owners of farms, 10,443 American Indians or Alaska Natives, 639 Native Hawai'ian or Pacific Islanders, 5,935 Asians, and 5,419 operators of mixed race. Very few farms owned by nonwhites were corporations. Rhode Island, a small and largely white state, was the only state with no black farm operators; 72,349 farm owners were Hispanic.

The 2007 Agricultural Census

In the 2007 Agricultural Census, 2.2 million American farms were counted. Of those, 1.83 million had a white male principal operator. While the number of principal operators had increased 4 percent since 2002, the number of nonwhite operators had increased faster than that, and the number of Hispanic operators of any race had increased 10 percent. Female principal operators increased almost 30 percent, claiming a much larger share of principal operators than in the past. Despite this growth, no nonwhite non-Hispanic group could claim more than 3 percent of principal operators. The average age of farm operators increased from 55.3 in 2002 to 57.1 in 2007, while the number of operators over 75 grew by 20 percent and the number of operators under 25 decreased by 30 percent.

Sixty percent of all American farms report less than \$10,000 in annual sales, making them part-time operations for farmers who must rely on nonfarm work in order to earn a living. Nonfarm income covers a portion of farm expenses for 1.2 million American farms—more than half.

Diversity varies within the various subfields of the agricultural sector. Asians and Native Hawaiians have a higher percentage of fruit and tree nut farms than other races, most of which are located in Hawai'i and California. American Indian, black, and Hispanic farmers are most likely to own cattle ranches. Female farmers are equally divided among cattle ranches and feedlots, aquaculture, and other crops.

The 2007 Agricultural Census reported 79,703 American Indian or Alaska Native operators on 61,472 farms and ranches. More than a quarter of these operators reported a second or third race. The number of American Indian or Alaska Native operators grew 88 percent over 2002, and the number of single-race American Indian or Alaska Native principal operators grew 124 percent in that same period. American Indians were 1.6 percent of principal farm owners and 2.4 percent of farm operators in 2007. The average size of an Indian farm was 1,431 acres, considerably larger than the national average of 418 acres, though the average value of sales, \$40,331, was lower than the \$134,807 national average. Seventy-eight percent of American Indian farms earned less than \$10,000. Only 42 percent had Internet access, less than the national average of 57 percent. Only 71 percent of Indian operators were male, less than the national average of 86 percent, and 51 percent reported farming as their primary occupation, compared to 45 percent nationally. Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Oklahoma, and Montana had the highest percentage of American Indian farm owners.

Thirty-eight percent of Indian-owned farms were cattle ranches; 13 percent were sheep and goat farms. Only 3 percent were grain and oilseed farms, compared to 15 percent nationally.

The 2007 Agricultural Census counted 20,417 Asian operators at 15,360 farms, growing 40 percent over 2002, and 18,289 of them reported Asian as their only race. The average Asian-owned farm was 124 acres, considerably smaller than average, but average sales were \$327,621, more

than twice the average. Forty-eight percent had Internet access, and 42 percent had sales under \$10,000. Female Asian farm operators grew 45 percent from 2002. Asians were 0.6 percent of farm operators and 0.5 percent of principal operators in 2007.

Asian farm operators are more likely to own their farmland outright rather than renting or leasing it, and more likely—57 percent—to have farming as their primary occupation. Sixty-three percent of Asian-operated farms grow specialty crops, including fruit and nut trees, vegetables and melons, and greenhouse and nursery operations. Only 9 percent of farms nationwide fall into this classification. The largest category of Asian-operated farms is fruit and nut tree operations, accounting for 37 percent. Only 26 percent of Asian farms raise livestock. More than half of Asian principal farm operators live in Hawai'i or California.

The 2007 Agricultural Census counted 41,024 black operators on 32,938 farms, a 9 percent increase over 2002—more than the overall 7 percent increase, though small compared to the other minorities; 39,697 reported black as their only race. Blacks were 1.3 percent of farm operators and 1.4 percent of principal farm operators in 2007.

Black-operated farms were smaller than average, comprising an average of 104 acres earning \$21,340 a year. Seventy-nine percent earned less than \$10,000 a year, and only 34 percent had Internet access. Female black farm operators increased by 53 percent over 2002 and accounted for 14 percent of black principal farm operators. Black farmers were older than average, at 60.3 years, and a full 37 percent of black farmers were 65 or older. While 44 percent named farming as their primary occupation—about the same as average—93 percent derived less than half of their income from farming, higher than the 80 percent average. Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia were home to the highest numbers of black farmers.

Forty-six percent of black-operated farms were cattle ranches, compared to 30 percent nationally. Grain and oilseed farms, fruit and nut farms, and dairy farms all accounted for much smaller percentages than nationally. Tobacco and cotton accounted for slightly higher percentages than the average, as did hog farms.

The 2007 Agricultural Census counted 82,462 Hispanic farm operators on 66,671 farms, an increase of 14 percent over 2002; 55,570 were principal operators. Hispanic operators accounted for 2.5 percent of operators and principal operators. The average Hispanic farm was slightly smaller than the national average—307 acres in size and \$119,634 in sales. About two-thirds, 67 percent, were under \$10,000 in sales, and 44 percent had Internet access. The number of female Hispanic operators grew 20 percent over 2002, accounting for 12 percent of Hispanic farm operators.

About a third of Hispanic-operated farms were cattle ranches. Sixteen percent were fruit and nut tree farms, compared to 4 percent nationally. Only 3 percent were grain and oilseed farms, compared to 15 percent nationally. Most Hispanic-operated farms were located in New Mexico, California, Texas, Florida, and Hawai'i, which also experienced the greatest growth in Hispanic operators over 2002.

In 2007, women comprised 14 percent of principal operators, a 24 percent increase over 2002; 1,008,943 farm operators were women, a number increasing considerably faster than the national growth average. The most female principal farm operators were found in Arizona, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maine, and Alaska. Female-operated farms were smaller on average, 210 acres in size and \$36,440 in sales. They were about as diverse as male-operated farms, producing considerably less grain and oilseed crops, tobacco, cotton, dairy, and cattle, but more sheep and goats, poultry and eggs, and other animals.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Equal Opportunity; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Manufacturing and Ethnic Diversity; Occupational Patterns (Essay).

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Alamo, Battle of the

The Battle of the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas (February 23 to March 6, 1836), was one of many in the Texas independence movement. An estimated 1,800 Mexican troops, during a 13-day siege under President General Antonio López de Santa Anna, launched an assault on the old Alamo mission. About 200 rebellious Texians defended the mission, led by Colonels William Travis and James Bowie. While the Mexican army was victorious at the Alamo, the battle inspired many Texians to join the Texian army, which ultimately prevailed at the Battle of San Jacinto (April 21, 1836) and ended the revolution.

Manifest Destiny

After Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, the government offered land grants to Anglo Americans in the area of Texas as part of a policy of settlement and pacification of its northern territories, what is now the southwestern part of the United States. It was a predecessor to the Homestead Act, but more generous in allocation. Unable to populate Texas with enough of its own citizens, Mexico encouraged those of another nation to immigrate in exchange for large grants of land, approximately 5,000 acres in size. Settlers were required to convert to Catholicism and loyally support the Mexican government. Anglo Americans coming westward under the worldview of Manifest Destiny had little desire to abide by these conditions and quickly tired of the Mexican government's attempts at enforcement.

Manifest Destiny was not only policy but also ideology. It embodied the notion that Christianity was superior to the polytheism of American Indians and multiple saint worship, or "idolatry" of Mexican Catholics. Anglo Americans also believed in the superiority of the political



The Alamo complex has gradually become known as a battle site rather than a former mission. Its defenders consisted of 13 native-born Texans, 41 Europeans, two Jews, and two blacks; the remainder were Americans from 23 other states.

and economic forms of democracy and capitalism, even though the Mexican Constitution had been modeled directly on that of the United States. Manifest Destiny expressed the belief that nonwhite peoples were incapable of self-government through democracy, a notion intertwined with that of slavery and free labor, implying that nonwhite peoples were incapable of success in a capitalist system driven by notions of private property and individualism. Additionally, Mexico outlawed the practice of slavery in 1829, which caused a financial loss to U.S. settlers, who once again saw a government in Mexico City as intrusive and foreign to their way of life in Texas.

Call to Arms

The U.S. government made several attempts to purchase the area of Texas, but Mexico refused,

given its centrality in the middle of the greater Mexican nation at the time. Finally, in 1835, Stephen Austin, son of Texas' first settler Moses Austin, gave a call to arms. Approximately 7,000 Mexican soldiers arrived at the Alamo mission in spring 1836, under the leadership of Santa Anna. Santa Anna offered the roughly 189 people holed up inside the Alamo the opportunity to surrender, which they refused, hoping to buy time until Sam Houston and other leaders received support from the U.S. government. Thus, Mexico predictably won the Battle of the Alamo, and the rallying cry, "Remember the Alamo," served as a reminder to Anglo settlers and the U.S. government of those who died there.

Texas did not achieve independence at the Alamo, and it was not until the Battle of San Jacinto in April 1836 that Anglo settlers defeated Santa Anna and exchanged the area of Texas for safe passage of him and his men back to Mexico. Sam Houston became the first president of the Republic of Texas in October 1836. Subsequent annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845 was one of the primary causes of the war between Mexico and the United States from 1846 to 1848, as Mexico believed this was the original design of Anglo American settlers who came in the 1820s.

Battle Retold

The Battle of the Alamo is one of the most written about, poorly remembered, and mythologized in U.S. history, with each generation ascribing its own meaning to the events that occurred at the small mission. Its significance was redefined in the 1950s and 1960s Cold War imagination as the epitome of frontier freedom and rugged individualism, in songs such as *The Ballad of Davy Crockett* and movies such as *The Alamo*, directed by John Wayne. The post-9/11 era reinvented it as a battle of American freedom fighters versus Mexican terrorists in the 2004 John Lee Hancock updated depiction of *The Alamo*.

Several important issues are lost in the subsequent retellings of the Battle of the Alamo. The first is the two conditions upon which Anglo Americans received land and were allowed to settle in Texas. Second is Americans' vigorous defense of slavery and the resistance to its abolition by the Mexican government. Third, no one had to die at

the Battle of the Alamo, but chose to do so, negating the notion of a savage Mexican government slaughtering innocent Americans defending their land and liberties. Fourth, inside the Alamo were women, blacks, and Tejano supporters who fancied their commercial and economic prospects in an independent Texas. Their presence and participation complicates a simplistic binary binational narrative of “good” Americans defeating “bad” Mexicans in a fight for freedom and liberty that shapes Mexican and Anglo American relations from that time to this.

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See Also: Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); Manifest Destiny; Mexican-American War; San Jacinto, Battle of; Tejanos.

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Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971)

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, codified as 43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq., was signed into law by President Richard Nixon on December 18, 1971. The act, the largest land claims settlement in American history, was intended to resolve all the various issues surrounding Native land claims in Alaska and stimulate the economy of the state.

Details of the Act

Alaska Natives had often been treated as a distinct category of peoples from Native Americans, but their treatment from the territorial period (1912–37) was inconsistent. Alaska Native peoples’ claims to various Alaskan lands had been handled equally inconsistently, and across the century, federal government actions were based on a number of conflicting premises at various times. There had long been a push, accelerated once Alaska became a state, for some kind of federal act to clarify policy once and for all. The need for this resolution was strengthened when the Atlantic-Richfield Company discovered oil on the Arctic coast of Alaska at Prudhoe Bay. Transporting oil from a remote, harsh location to the lower 48 states would most efficiently be accomplished by constructing a pipeline to the port of Valdez, where it could be loaded onto tanker ships. Pipeline construction could not begin as long as the lands through which it would pass remained in dispute.

The solution was to distribute nearly \$1 billion (\$963 million) to Alaska Natives in return for the permanent abandonment of their claims to aboriginal lands. The U.S. Treasury supplied \$462.5 million of the settlement, while the rest came from revenue sharing in the oil industry. About one-ninth of the state (44 million acres of land) was distributed along with the money. Anyone with at least one-fourth Native ancestry was eligible for settlement benefits.

Village and Regional Corporations

The distribution of the settlement was accomplished by creating 200 local village corporations and 12 Native-owned regional corporations (and later, a 13th Native-owned regional corporation) representing Alaska Natives who no longer lived in Alaska. The regional corporations represented the Alaska Native population of 12 geographic regions of the state, and individual Alaska Natives enrolled in their local corporation and became shareholders. Alaska Natives alive at the time of the settlement received 100 shares of stock in their local corporation; a 2006 amendment made it easier for corporations to also issue stock to those born later.

Corporations were given land in proportion to the population of their enrollment. Village

corporations own the surface rights to their lands, while regional corporations own subsurface rights to all Native lands in their region.

The 13 regional corporations formed to distribute the settlement include the following:

- The Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, which includes Barrow and Point Hope
- The Bering Straits Native Corporation, including Seward Peninsula and Unalakleet
- The Northwest Alaska Native Association Regional Corporation, including Kotzebue
- The Calista Corporation, including the southwest coast, the villages in the Bethel area, the villages on the Lower Yukon River, and the Lower Kuskokwim River
- Doyon, Limited, including the Koyukuk, Middle, and Upper Yukon Rivers; the Upper Kuskokwim River; and Tanana River
- Cook Inlet Region, Inc., including Kenai, Tyonek, Ekulutna, and Iliamna
- The Bristol Bay Native Corporation, including the Upper Alaska Peninsula and Dillingham
- The Aleut Corporation, including the Aleutian Islands, the portions of the Alaska Peninsula in the Aleut League, and the Pribilof Islands
- The Chugach Alaska Corporation, including Cordova, Tatitlek, Port Graham, English Bay, Valdez, and Seward
- The Sealaska Corporation, including southeastern Alaska and Metlakatla
- Koniag, Incorporated, consisting of the islands on and around Kodiak Island
- Ahtna, Incorporated, consisting of Copper Center, Glennallen, Chitina, and Mentasta
- A corporation for nonresident Alaska Natives

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See Also: Alaska Native Categorization (Essay); Alaska Purchase; Aleuts; Eskimos; Native Americans.

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Alaska Purchase

The westward movement was a prominent feature of American history from earliest colonial times. The Louisiana Purchase stimulated the trans-Appalachian movement, which gained impetus with the popular belief in Manifest Destiny in the two decades leading to the Civil War. The election of 1844, in particular, revolved around the issue of U.S. expansion into the Oregon Territory and Texas. Yet, few thought of Alaska as part of this westward destiny; thus it came as a surprise to the general public when the United States purchased this vast, seemingly empty, and inhospitable wilderness area in 1867.

First explored by Russia, which established small fur trading posts as early as the late 1740s, the area had several permanent colonies sprinkled about by the 1790s in what is today Alaska. In 1799, Tsar Paul I bestowed upon the Russian-American Company a monopoly on the increasingly lucrative fur trade. Under this arrangement, Russian traders often forced the native peoples to do the hunting for them through various forms of coercion, including holding family members hostage and in some cases in virtual slavery. It has been estimated that some 80 percent of the indigenous population died during the first half-century of Russian occupation from abuse or the introduction of new diseases.

During the first half of the 19th century, British traders began arriving in the areas along the

eastern borders of Russian Alaska. Americans also began to arrive, both as traders and as hunters and trappers, often in regions the Russians considered to be theirs. By midcentury, competition from these two nations, coupled with a diminishing supply of furs due to overhunting and the increasing difficulty of supplying, much less defending, their distant possessions caused the Russians to be apprehensive about retaining their territory. Following the Crimean War (1853–56), Russia became increasingly fearful of losing Alaska to the British. As a result, the tsar began to consider selling the region before it was lost with no compensation.

Initial overtures to the United States met with little success because the outbreak of the Civil War monopolized American attention. Eduard Stoeckl, the Russian *chargé d'affaires* in Washington, had arrived in 1850 and used the intervening time well to make the acquaintance of a number of prominent American politicians, including William H. Seward, who later became secretary of state. Stoeckl was a strong proponent of selling Alaska. His previous relationship with Seward served both nations well once the war was over and serious negotiations began.

The final treaty signed on March 30, 1867, ceded Alaska to the United States in return for \$7.2 million, about two cents per acre for the 586,412 square miles. In the United States, most reaction to the purchase was positive, although critics of the administration labeled it “Seward’s Folly.” The 1896 discovery of gold in the region, together with the later unearthing of rich deposits of copper and oil, have since made the purchase of Alaska one of the most lucrative acquisitions in world history.

Russian Control

At the time of the purchase, the areas controlled by the Russian government contained some 700 Russians, about 1,800 people of mixed Russian and indigenous background, and an estimated 8,000 indigenous people in areas under Russian control. The two largest Russian settlements were at Sitka (then called New Archangel) and St. Paul. The former contained 116 cabins with 968 people, while the latter had 100 cabins with a population of 283.

Aside from these, the Russians estimated there were an additional 50,000 Aleuts, Inuits, and



The Alaska Pipeline enters the ground near the town of Coldfoot above the Arctic Circle. The project prompted the settlement of long-standing Alaska Native land claims through the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971.

other indigenous peoples in Alaskan areas outside direct Russian control. Under the treaty, the Russians and people of mixed races were accorded the option of becoming U.S. citizens, but few did. The purchase brought under U.S. control a diverse population speaking Aleut, Yupik, Inuit, and other related dialects.

Indigenous Population and Preservation

In 2012, Alaska contained some 90 Russian Orthodox parishes with more than 20,000 members, most of whom were of indigenous background. The indigenous residents comprised about 15.6 percent of the state population, Asians 4 percent, people of mixed race 5.5 percent, and so-called whites 69 percent.

Generally referred to as Eskimos, a name given to them by the Algonquins to the east, Alaska's indigenous population contains 11 discrete cultures, each with its own language, as well as 22 separate dialects. The Alaska Native Heritage Center has classified these into five major groups, including the Athabascan in central eastern Alaska from the Brooks Mountain Range to the Kenai Peninsula; the Unangax and Alutiiq (Sugpiaq) peoples of the coastal south and southwest; the Yup'ik and Cup'ik to the southwest; the Inupiaq and St. Lawrence Island Yupik People to the north and northwest; and the Eyak, Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian on the coastal areas of the northwest.

Indigenous customs, crafts, and traditions are preserved among many communities, as well as in museums and other public repositories. These include traditional forms of weaving, wood carving, music, the crafting of clothing from skins, and the igloo (a house made from ice). Among the most popular and well-known native traditions is dogsledding (or "mushing"), which is still used for transportation in some places and has also moved into the mainstream as recreational and sporting events, including the famous Iditarod race from Anchorage to Nome each March.

In 1971, Congress enacted the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which addressed indigenous financial and property claims and established 13 Alaska Native Regional Corporations to administer the resulting settlement. Under the terms of the legislation, 148.5 million acres of land, approximately one-ninth of Alaska's area, was transferred to the corporations, along with some 200 native villages and \$962.5 million. Eligibility to participate was limited to those who could prove at least 25 percent Native ancestry, which eventually numbered about 80,000 people.

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See Also: Alaska Native Categorization (Essay); Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971); Aleuts; Eskimos; Russian Americans.

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Albanian Americans

Officially, the first Albanian to come to the United States was Kolë Kristofori from the southern region of Albania in the 1880s. Since his arrival thousands of his fellow Albanians have followed from the Balkans, Arbreshë of Italy, and elsewhere. According to the 2010 U.S. census, the total population of Albanians in the United States is 193,813. The largest population of Albanian Americans live in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois, California, Arizona, and Texas. They are found in every area of professional life. For example: Regis Philbin (entertainer), William G. Gregory (astronaut), Eliza Dushku (actress), John and Jim Belushi (comedians), Bleona Qereti (singer and actress), Joseph DioGuardi (politician); Ferid Murad (physician/pharmacologist/Nobel laureate), Fan S. Noli (scholar and diplomat), and Faik Konica (statesman and author).

Albanians are descendants of the ancient Illyrians, an original Indo-European language group inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula between the Bronze and Iron Ages in mid-2nd century B.C.E. And, later description of the Illyrians is documented in the mid-4th century B.C.E. Greek text, *Persiplus* (also known as *the Costal Passage*). From this period to the 20th century C.E., the Illyrians and their descendants were dominated by various empires (e.g., Romans, Slavic Serbs, the Ottoman Turks). Albania's name is linked to an Illyrian tribe variously known as Arber, or Arbreshë, and later, Albanoi.

Emergence of a Modern Nation

Although Albania became an independent country in 1912, and was recognized by Europe's leading nations at the 1913 Conference of London, those ethnic Albanians living in what is modern-day

Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Greece, Serbia, and Italy have remained outside the Albania's reconfigured borders. Further, at the Paris Peace Conference of 1920, France, Britain, and Greece agreed to divide and parcel Albania among Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia but did so without input from the Albanians and the Americans in those negotiations.

This oversight led U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, in March 1920, to block the Paris Agreement and support Albania's independence by his recognition of an official Albanian representative to Washington, D.C.

The Albanian Diaspora in the United States

The Albanian diaspora is comprised of (1) Albanian immigrants who become citizens (such as performer Bleona Qereti), (2) U.S.-born children of Albanian immigrant parents (e.g., comedians Jim and John Belushi), and (3) U.S.-born children of one Albanian immigrant parent married to a U.S. citizen (such as Nobel laureate Ferid Murad). Most arrived in waves.

The first wave of Albanians who migrated to the United States was small compared with other European ethnic groups, for example, the Irish or Italians. The second wave arrived in the aftermath of World War II, and continued through the 1980s. At the end of World War II, Albania fell to Enver Hoxha, a communist dictator who denied Albanians the most basic of human rights. Also, many migrated from the former Yugoslavia to the United States because of the repressive regime. Furthermore, during this second wave, ethnic Albanians (also identified as Chams) were removed by force from their homes in Greece during World War II. They were stripped of their citizenship and their properties, leading some to immigrate to the United States. The third and final wave of Albanians resulted from the loss of political freedom in Kosovo and elsewhere during the late 1980s and early 1990s, and during Serbia's War on Kosovo between 1998 and 1999.

Contemporary Scene

Albanian Americans, like other immigrant groups, hold closely to their cultural and family traditions and their language, and value hospitality as they acculturate to their new national home. Most are bilingual: Parents encourage

their children to learn and speak both Albanian and English. Because families speak Albanian at home, their children maintain their cultural heritage while embracing the worldview, beliefs, and practices of their new country.

"Besa," a promise rooted in Albanian history and culture, is a unique code of honor that extends beyond hospitality. Simply, "Besa" is a protection or responsibility for others (e.g., guests or strangers). It is believed to have played a critical role in Albanians' providing refuge for Nazi-fleeing Jews in Albania during the European Holocaust. In the United States today, Albanian Americans continue to value, demonstrate, and live by this code.

Ferid Murad

Ferid Murad, the son of an Albanian immigrant father and an American mother, was born in Whiting, Indiana, in 1936. A world renowned pioneer in biochemistry, he was a 1998 co-winner of the Nobel Prize for his work in medicine. Specifically, he and his colleagues were recognized for demonstrating how nitroglycerin and related drugs impact the cardiovascular system and blood vessel dilation. Professor Murad, currently on the faculty of George Washington University, has taught and researched at Northwestern University, the University of Virginia, Stanford University, and Abbott Laboratories. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences; a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the Texas Academy of Medicine, Engineering and Science Technology, and an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; English as a Second Language Education; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Refugees; Slovene Americans.

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Alcatraz Island, Occupation of

The occupation of Alcatraz Island occurred in 1969 when a handful of Native American protesters, mostly students, claimed the island by "right of discovery" as a means of drawing attention to the federal government's treatment of Indian rights. The occupation had a tremendous impact not only on the fight for Native American rights, but also on federal Indian policy. The 1969 occupation drew its inspiration from an occupation attempt five years earlier. According to the Treaty of Ft. Laramie (1868) between the United States and the Sioux, any federal land declared to be surplus or no longer in use would be returned to the Native American population. Alcatraz had gained notoriety as a maximum-security federal prison, but by 1963 the federal government had closed the prison and vacated the island. In 1964, it was officially declared to be surplus property.

Seeing an opportunity to draw attention to Indian treaty rights, a small group of Sioux protesters occupied the island for four hours on March 8, 1964, citing the provision of the Treaty of Ft. Laramie. To further draw attention to the historical treatment of Native Americans in the United States, the protesters even publicly offered to pay the federal government the same minimal purchase price that the government had originally paid to the nearby Indian population. The 1964 protest was never meant to be a long-term occupation, but it would inspire just that five years later.

The Occupation

On November 20, 1969, 79 individuals, mostly students but also including families and children,

set out from San Francisco to occupy Alcatraz Island on a long-term basis. They included fourteen students who had already stayed overnight on the island earlier in the month. The protesters, and others who would later join them, did their best to set up a functioning community on the island. Eventually, the community began publishing a newsletter; one member, John Trudell, even began making daily radio broadcasts to the outside world.

The occupiers made long-term plans to redevelop the island for Indian needs, including plans at one point to establish a center for Native American studies, a Native American spiritual center, and even a Native American museum. The number of occupiers grew over time, and some celebrities traveled to the island to make an appearance in support of the occupiers or donated funds and other resources.

However, the community of occupiers was not immune to conflict. There were power struggles within the leadership group of original protesters. Eventually, the occupiers had to deal with new occupiers who had brought drugs with them, or who had come for less than noble purposes. Things came to a head on January 3, 1970, when 13-year old Yvonne Oakes, stepdaughter of Richard Oakes, one of the original student leaders, fell to her death. Though a federal inquiry would later rule it an accident, circumstances surrounding the girl's death remain mysterious. Broken-hearted by the loss, Richard Oakes and his wife, Annie, left the island. By the end of May, the government had cut off electrical power and all telephone services to the island. The next month a mysterious fire destroyed much of the island's infrastructure. Those circumstances, combined with the fact that many of the original protesters had left to return to school or for other reasons, showed that the occupation was losing both momentum and focus. In addition, the occupation was starting to lose its cause célèbre status and was fading from the public eye. Finally, on June 11, 1971, federal forces removed the remaining 15 occupiers.

Legacy

It would be hard to overestimate the historical significance of the Alcatraz occupation. In one sense, it ended in defeat, as the last remaining occupiers were forcibly removed from the island. But

in a much larger sense, it was a resounding success. The occupation was an important catalyst for other significant protests and demonstrations, especially because the Alcatraz occupiers were so successful in garnering national attention through their actions. Other important demonstrations, such as the trail of broken treaties, the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building, the American Indian Movement (AIM) seizure of the *Mayflower II*, and the longest walk found inspiration in the occupation of Alcatraz Island.

Just as importantly, the occupation influenced a significant change in federal policy toward the Native American population. Following World War II, the federal government began a major shift in its relations with Native Americans—the so-called termination policy. Believing that Native Americans needed to be fully assimilated into American society as individual citizens, as opposed to members of tribal communities, the federal government began trying to end its special relationship with Indian nations, as established by the many treaties into which the country had entered over the course of its existence.

Lawmakers also hoped to terminate the significant financial obligations incurred by the government in honoring the provisions of these treaties. The national attention drawn to treaty rights by the occupation of Alcatraz Island, as well as the criticism of federal policy it inspired, helped change federal policy away from termination and toward recognition of existing treaty rights, as well as the rights of Indian nations regarding self-determination.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); Native Americans.

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Aleuts

The Aleuts are an Alaska Native people indigenous to the Aleutian Islands, most of which are part of Alaska except for the extreme western islands, which remain part of Russia. The Aleutian Islands consist of 14 large volcanic islands and 55 small islands that form the majority of the Aleutian Arc in the northern Pacific Ocean toward the Bering Sea. They are located in the westernmost part of the United States. The Aleutians became American territory with the rest of Alaska in 1867, and the Aleut residents in the United States were granted citizenship in 1924.

Some of the Aleutian Islands were captured by Japanese forces in 1942, and islanders were transported to Hokkaido as prisoners of war. The campaign to retake the Aleutian Islands of Attu and Kiska was a prominent part of the Pacific theater in World War II. Before that attack, nearly 1,000 Aleuts had been forcibly evacuated and rounded up into camps by the United States; in 1988, reparations were offered in the amount of \$12,000 for each eligible Aleut.

The name *Aleut* means “community” in the Aleut language; Aleuts self-identify either as Aleut or as Unanga, which means “original people.” Aleuts living in majority-Aleut communities number only about 2,000, although another 15,000 people, mainly living in Alaska, have partial Aleut heritage.

Demographics and Culture

There were an estimated 25,000 Aleuts on the islands before Russian settlement. Aleuts encountered Russians in the 1700s, and many were converted by missionaries to the Russian Orthodox Church. Russian fur traders were the first to use the word *Aleut* as a demonym in reference to the people of the Aleutians. There are considered to be few to no full-blooded Aleuts left in the wake of the Russian period. Only 2,000 of those who enrolled in the Aleut Corporation, the Alaska

Native regional corporation established in 1971 to distribute the settlement from the federal government for Alaskan lands, could establish even one-fourth Aleut ancestry.

Before Russian settlement, Aleuts lived in partially underground houses called *barabaras* or *ulaxes*, which were dug into the ground to offer protection from the high winds of the island chain. The roof was made from layers of sod on top of wooden or bone frames, with a doorway in the roof. A hole in the ceiling was used to let smoke escape, and the entranceway used an “Arctic entry” to prevent the cold wind from filling the rest of the house. Today, no *barabaras* are in use. Traditional Aleuts used tools and weapons made of chopped stone, in the core and flake tradition, and stored their food in special chambers in their *barabaras*. The Aleutian Islands provide



An Aleut boy wearing overalls and fur boots in August 1938 in the Aleutian Islands, Alaska. The Unangan and Unangas are seafaring peoples who have lived in the Aleutian Islands for at least 9,000 years and are known for their fur and animal skin crafts.

few natural resources, and grass was used as a burning fuel and for weaving baskets. Stone and bone were used for almost everything else. *Baidaras*, large boats used for transporting people and goods, were made of bone and walrus skins, while the smaller *baidarka* was covered in seal skins and used for the fast maneuvers required during hunting.

The Aleuts subsisted on hunting, gathering, and fishing, relying on salmon, cod, and other fish, as well as seals, walrus, deer, moose, caribou, and sometimes whale. Like many Alaska Natives, Aleuts collected berries, mixing them with fat and fish to make *alutiqqutigaq*. Hunting was accomplished with barbed darts and several types of harpoons, usually slung from throwing boards to improve the aim. The Aleuts were known for their use of the compound harpoon, which separated into four parts: a long shaft that fit into a foreshaft joined with a ring of bone, fixed with a toggle-head spear tip consisting of a razor-stone head attached with twine to a lower subshaft. The tip would break off once it penetrated an animal but remain connected to the harpoon shaft via the twine, making it harder for a wounded animal to escape. Over time, a diet relying mainly on sea mammals such as seal and walrus shifted to a reliance on salmon.

Most Aleuts today speak English or Russian. The Aleut language is a dying language, spoken by probably less than 200 people. A member of the Eskimo-Aleut language family, it includes the Attuan dialect, now extinct; the Atkan language, spoken on Atka and the Bering Islands; and Eastern Aleut, the dominant dialect. Few Aleuts who are not Native elders speak the language with fluency, and they are more likely to know only a few words or phrases.

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See Also: Alaska Native Categorization (Essay); Alaska Purchase; Eskimos; Russian Americans; World War II.

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Algonquian Languages

North American indigenous languages are known for their large range of diversity, especially when compared to languages from other regions of the world. In Europe, for example, there are only four major language families (Indo-European, Basque, Afroasiatic, and Uralic), whereas North America boasts nearly 60 major linguistic families and isolates. The Algic language family is only one of these major families, and within its remit are another three separate subgroups, to which the Algonquian language group belongs. The other two subgroups of the Algic family consist of two languages in California that are distant relatives to the Algonquian languages; these are known as Wiyot and Yurok. However, despite being a part of such a linguistically diverse continent, the Algonquian language group is one of the most widespread and populous indigenous language bands in North America. Despite this fact, many Algonquian languages, like many other indigenous languages, are extremely endangered today.

Background and Geography

Algonquian languages (not to be confused with the Algonquin language itself) have historically been spoken primarily in the Great Lakes region (extending to some parts of the Rocky Mountains), along the coast of the northern Atlantic down to the modern-day Carolinas. They are also spoken in New England and in parts of Canada. Each language within the Algonquian language subgroup has many of its own dialects, and therefore it is difficult to state precisely how many languages make up the Algonquian subgroup; general estimates approximate, however, that there are around 40 languages in total with a small handful under dispute. Some of the most popularly spoken languages within the Algonquian family

include Cree, Ojibwe (or Anishinaabemowin), Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo, and Blackfoot (Siksika).

One clue to the language subfamily's widespread reach is found in tribal histories, many of which have been corroborated by anthropological and linguistic evidence. The Blackfoot tribe, the most westward tribe of those that comprise the Algonquian language group, is said to have migrated from the Northeastern Woodlands around 1200. Such a migration makes sense linguistically and culturally, as the Blackfeet have adapted to Plains/Athabaskan traditions and Blackfoot is the most divergent of the Algonquian languages. According to Ojibwe oral tradition, the tribe originated from the Lenni Lenape (also known as the Delaware) and migrated around 1660 from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River near New Brunswick across the Great Lakes, following the sacred *mii-gis*—a floating seashell—until they reached the divide between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, at which point the group split into three divisions, which became the Potawatomi, the Ottawa, and the Ojibwe.

These histories of migration are also reflected in contemporary cultural divisions. Officially, the Algonquian language subfamily is its own genetic subgroup, though some scholars have further divided the group into three geographic sections: Plains Algonquian, Central Algonquian, and Eastern Algonquian. These divisions are largely based on geography rather than language. Within such a real categorization, Plains Algonquian is comprised of Blackfoot, Cheyenne, and Arapahoan, whereas Central Algonquian contains a number of derivations of Ojibwe, Cree, Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo, Menominee, Miami-Illinois, Potawatomi, and Shawnee. The final division, Eastern Algonquian, is arguably more linguistically accurate as a genetic subgroup of the Algonquian language subfamily. Eastern Algonquian languages have all but disappeared; of the listed 16 subdivisions, only five still have living speakers.

Linguistics

In a similar vein to many North American indigenous tongues, Algonquian languages have complex polysynthetic morphologies, meaning that one word can encapsulate what it would take another language many words to explain. For example, in Ojibwe the word *asiniikaa* means

Table 1 Statistics for the Algonquian languages

Language	ACS 2010	MLA 2000	Census 2000	UNESCO	Ethnologue
Eastern					
Abnaki	86	90	55	Critically Endangered	Extinct
Delaware	144	113	310	Critically Endangered	Living
Mi'kmaq	209	184	330	Definitely Endangered ¹	Living
Passamaquoddy	1,058	914	970	Severely Endangered	Living
Penobscot	130	70	70	See Abnaki	N/A
Central					
Ojibwe	8,371	8,050	8,355	Vulnerable to Severe ²	Living
Odawa	486	459	560	Severe to Critical ³	Living
Algonquin	435	330	515	Vulnerable to Severe ⁴	Living
Cree	1,155	1,455	1,790	Vulnerable	Living
Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo	1,784	1,445	1,575	Severe to Critical ⁵	Living
Menominee	661	627	805	Critically Endangered	Living
Miami-Illinois	221	148	310	Extinct	Living
Potawatomi	1,014	627	845	Critically Endangered	Living
Shawnee	350	340	490	Severely Endangered	Living
Plains					
Blackfoot	1,756	1,348	1,600	Definitely Endangered	N/A
Cheyenne	2,156	2,089	2,320	Definite to Severe ⁶	Living
Arapahoan	1,226	1,052	1,215	Severe to Extinct ⁷	Living
Atsina	57	55	80	Critically Endangered	N/A

¹ This status is a little better in Canada, where the language is merely Vulnerable.

² UNESCO divided these into Central Ojibwe (located in Canada—Definitely Endangered), Eastern Ojibwe (located in Canada—Severely Endangered), Northwestern Ojibwe (located in Canada—Vulnerable), and Ojibwe (located in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan—Severely Endangered).

³ In Canada, the language is Severely Endangered, whereas in Michigan it is Critically Endangered.

⁴ Both communities noted by UNESCO were located in Canada.

⁵ Sauk-Fox is evaluated together by UNESCO as Critically Endangered, whereas Kickapoo is critical in Mexico but Severely Endangered in Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas.

⁶ Definitely Endangered in Montana and Severely Endangered in Oklahoma.

⁷ Severely Endangered in Wyoming and Extinct in Oklahoma.

“there are many rocks/stones” (or “there is a lot of rock/stone”). Additionally, the languages in the Algonquian group also have animate and inanimate nouns; objects are viewed as living or nonliving based on the word itself. This linguistic gendering is sometimes compared to Romance languages such as Spanish or French, in which

words are given sexual gender. However, as with French and Spanish, distinctions between genders are not always obvious. For example, in Ojibwe the words for cloud (*aanakwad*) and grape (*zboomín*) are inanimate, whereas the words for kettle (*akik*) and potato (*opin*) are animate. Additionally, not all dialects view nouns in

the same way. For instance, in Ojibwe the word for bread is *bakwezhigan*, which is considered animate in Minnesota and inanimate in southern Ontario.

There has been much discussion surrounding the grammatical categories of animate and inanimate nouns; some linguists claim that these distinctions are anthropologically important, while others believe them to be merely syntactic. One argument against this anthropological approach is the fact that, at times, inanimate nouns can be treated as animate beings through the use of transitive and intransitive interaction within a sentence. This is commonly done in folklore, for instance, where inanimate things like stones can speak and act in an animated manner.

Language Statistics

Although official 2010 census numbers have not yet been released, a report issued by the U.S. census and the American Community Survey (ACS) in 2010 provides statistics for indigenous-language speakers. According to the ACS, there are an estimated 21,299 Algonquian-language speakers as of 2010. These figures, however, are not necessarily entirely accurate. In addition to the fact that the numbers are estimates, statistics regarding the number of speakers as of the 2000 census are also somewhat contradictory. According to the Modern Language Association (whose reports are based on the U.S. 2000 Census Summary File 3), there were an estimated 19,390 speakers of Algonquian languages in the year 2000; following this, the estimates therefore project an increase in the number of speakers. However, according to the 2000 census special tabulation 224, there were 22,195 speakers in 2000, leading to a decrease in the number of speakers, according to the estimates.

Because of these discrepancies, all three statistics, denoted as ACS 2010, MLA 2000, and Census 2000, respectively, are included in the table. Despite these numbers, a variety of revitalization programs are in effect that aim to combat the decline of indigenous languages. These programs include a number of Algonquian languages, especially Ojibwe, which is the focus of a number of groundbreaking educational initiatives including immersion schools, online dictionaries, and community collaborations.

In addition to statistical numbers, it is also important to recognize the age and fluency of the speakers. Because of this, many languages have been given distinctions of endangerment to better qualify their status. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), for example, has an interactive *Atlas of World Languages in Danger* in which languages are given a status of vitality from the following: vulnerable (most children speak the language but it can be restricted at school or at home); definitely endangered (in which children no longer learn the language as a mother tongue in the home); severely endangered (in which grandparents speak the language, parents understand it but do not speak it among themselves or teach it to their children); critically endangered (in which the youngest speakers are grandparents or older—and this is partial and infrequent); and extinct (no speakers left).

In addition to UNESCO's categorizations, the Ethnologue organization (part of SIL International) has its own database in which languages are designated as living or extinct—"extinct" being defined as the state in which there are no longer people still living that learned the tongue as a first language.

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See Also: Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Arapaho; Blackfoot; Language Usage in the United States; Lenape; Métis; Native American Languages Acts; Odawa; Ojibwe; Shawnee.

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Algonquian-Speaking Tribes

The Algonquian language tribes have commonly been divided into three separate categories: Eastern, Central, and Plains. There are several reasons for this distinction. Initially, it is believed that all Algonquian-speaking people resided in the Northeastern Woodlands areas of the United States and the Southeastern Woodlands of Canada. However, different groups migrated westward along the Great Lakes in separate waves, with the farthest groups settling in the plains of Montana.

The first group to leave the original Algonquian region was the Blackfoot tribal group, which was presumed to have left the region around 1200 C.E. Following the Blackfoot were most likely the Atsina and Arapaho tribes, the former having broken away from the Arapaho in the 1700s when both tribes were still residing in the easternmost Plains regions of the Dakotas and Minnesota. They were followed by the Cheyenne, who were presumed to have separated from their Great Lakes Algonquian brethren around 1500 and moved westward until the early 19th century, when they settled in a region straddling the Black Hills of South Dakota and the Powder River country of Montana. The last group to migrate westward began their exodus around 1660, traveling from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River near New Brunswick across the Great Lakes until reaching the divide between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan.

It was at this junction that the group is said to have split into three divisions that became the

Potawatomi, the Ottawa, and the Ojibwe; these three tribal groups ultimately formed an alliance known as the Council of Three Fires. The Cree were largely nomadic, with various bands occupying territory in northern Canada that spanned the entire breadth of the combined distribution of the other Algonquian tribes. Modern-day Cree territories essentially mirror the migrations of their southern Algonquian associates.

The migration patterns of the Kickapoo and the Miami are less clear, although in the 17th century they were known to occupy land in Illinois and Wisconsin. Similarly, the Fox and Sauk people are presumed to have continued to live along the St. Lawrence River until the colonial period, during which they were pushed farther west as a result of various conflicts. Interestingly, two cultural groups, the Shawnee and the Menominee, are presumed to have already been present in the Central Algonquian region and were not party to any migrations from the Northeastern Woodlands.

It has been argued that the Shawnee, residing primarily in Ohio, are descendants of the mound-builder culture (also known as Fort Ancient culture) that evolved from the Hopewell culture dating to 100 B.C.E. This link is considered tenuous by some scholars, however, and remains under debate. Regardless of any additional evidence, the Shawnee consider the Lenni Lenape people (or the Delaware) to be their origin tribe, a trait shared with the 1660 migration group consisting of the Ojibwe and other tribes; this is just one piece of evidence suggesting that the Shawnee migrated with this larger group. Additionally, an archaeological gap in the Ohio region between the 1500s and before the first evidence of Shawnee occupation suggests that the Shawnee residence at the site was discontinuous and perhaps entirely separate from that of the descendants of the Fort Ancient culture.

Under no doubt, however, is the historical presence of the Menominee in upper Michigan and Wisconsin. The tribe is believed to have resided in that area for over 1,000 years, descended from the Old Copper Culture, which inhabited that region for the previous 10,000 years.

These historic migrations have separated the Algonquian-speaking peoples into essentially geographic regions, with the most distant cultural and linguistic tribes occupying the westernmost reaches of the group. Because of this, the cultural

development of each region is markedly different from the rest, and therefore it is appropriate to discuss them separately. It must be noted, however, that individual tribes—even those within the same region—are very different from one another, and as such it is difficult to put forward an overview of a general Algonquian culture. There are certainly more differences than there are similarities when it comes to important discussions such as politics, clans, religion, and individual histories.

Plains

Because the Plains tribes of the Blackfoot, Arapaho (Atsina), and Cheyenne were the first to migrate away from their northeastern origins, it is fitting that the cultural developments of the tribes would be markedly different from other Algonquian-speaking tribes. As a result, the Plains Algonquian have far more in common culturally with Athabaskan tribes than they do with their linguistic brethren. This is primarily because the region they inhabit is very different from that of the Central and Eastern Algonquians. The Plains are very flat lands, covered in prairie and grassland—a very dissimilar topography to the trees, rivers, and lakes of the Central and Eastern Woodlands. The lifestyle historically associated with the Plains is nomadic in nature, with tribes hunting buffalo and following the herds in tepees. This was a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, with little evidence to suggest an agricultural component (although the Cheyenne and Arapaho did partake in agricultural traditions when they still resided in Minnesota).

When horses were introduced into the Americas, these tribes were one of the first groups to adopt the animals, having previously used dog travois; eventually, they became well known for their large herds of horses. The arts and crafts of these tribes were not based in pottery or basket weaving, but rather on animal-skin paintings and carving stone and bone. The Arapaho, because of their residence on the eastern Plains, had a more mixed regional culture, participating in the fur trade and fishing. One particularly famous cultural tradition among the Plains tribes was, and continues to be, the Sun Dance ceremony, in which participants dance while staring into the sun and are impaled with small stakes connected to the Sun Dance pole in the quest of a vision from the

Great Spirit. These tribes have been consistently pushed into reservation lands and now reside in Montana, Wyoming, and Oklahoma.

Woodlands

The Central Algonquian tribes are very culturally similar to their eastern counterparts, due to their later date of migration and also the similarity between the topography of the Eastern and Central regions. Both regions are comprised of forestlands that border the Great Lakes, along with many smaller bodies of water and rivers. Because of this environment, the lifestyles of the Central and Eastern Algonquian tribes consisted of hunting, gathering, and agriculture—this was usually within mostly static residences, though some seasonal travel did take place. Food was traditionally a combination of game, plants, berries, fish, maize, and wild rice.

The environment was also an influence on the tribes' arts, crafts, and accommodation. Whereas the Plains tribes tended to live in tepees made of buffalo hide, the Central and Eastern tribes tended to make houses out of birchbark; smaller versions were used in the summer (wigwams) and larger versions in the winter (longhouses). Birch bark also had a number of other uses including basket making and birch-bark bitings (similar to snowflake cut-outs), as well as making canoes. Because of the vast number of waterways in this region, most Woodlands Algonquian tribes used birch-bark canoes as their main method of transportation. The Eastern tribes also have traditions of making wampum belts out of shells, and decorating boxes and clothing with dyed porcupine quills—the latter a tradition the Central and Eastern tribal groups share. Both the Central and the Eastern Algonquian tribes were major participants in the fur trade starting in the 1600s.

Of interest to Native American history more generally are two important political figures who have come from Woodlands Algonquian tribes. Tecumseh (Shawnee) and Dennis Banks (Ojibwe) have both had a significant impact on maintaining indigenous rights in opposition to colonial government efforts to assimilate Native Americans. Tecumseh, whose brother was the religious leader known as the Shawnee Prophet, was responsible for promoting a return to ancestral lifestyle among indigenous people, and also politically and

militarily opposing the U.S. government during the War of 1812. Dennis Banks is a cofounder of the American Indian Movement, which was created to protect indigenous civil rights, especially in urban areas. This goal was eventually extended to protecting and promoting traditional ways of life, including maintaining rights to hunting, fishing, trapping, and ricing.

Contemporary Period

As a result of numerous U.S. and Canadian government policies over the years, a certain polarization has become apparent throughout Algonquian tribal cultures. Through policies of assimilation, the creation of reservations, and the decimation of large swaths of indigenous populations, there has been a certain aspect of homogenization of indigenous culture on the one hand, and an extenuation of differentiation on the other. As the Algonquian tribes enter the 21st century, it is easy to say that many native tribes have become similar, with certain aspects of pan-Indian culture taking over from the individuality of tribal customs and ways of life; however, an element of individual tribal revival is visible in the increasing efforts being made by Algonquian communities to combat assimilationist policies and cultural homogenization. Individual Algonquian tribes are emphasizing very different aspects of their own traditional cultures, whether it be ricing, religion, crafting, language, or storytelling. Because of this, it is difficult to discuss contemporary Algonquian tribes in a general sense, as each tribe, government, reservation, and community is focusing on markedly different aspects of political and cultural life.

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See Also: Algonquian Languages; Arapaho; Blackfoot; Lenape; Métis; Odawa; Ojibwe; Shawnee; Tecumseh's War

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Alianza Hispano Americana

The Alianza Hispano Americana (AHA) was one of the oldest and largest *sociedades mutualistas* (mutual aid societies for Latinas/os) in the United States. Founded in Tucson, Arizona, in 1894 by Pedro C. Pellon, Mariano G. Samaniego, and Carlos I. Velasco, the Alianza spread to 300 chapters, referred to as lodges, in 20 states with over 17,000 members, and survived into the late 20th century. Mutual aid societies provided benefits unavailable to members from employers or New Deal social safety net programs, such as credit unions, disability benefits, and unemployment insurance or burial insurance. In addition to socioeconomic unity, Alianza founders also provided political and cultural solidarity to combat discrimination from Anglo banks and institutions, which viewed Mexican Americans as "outsiders" and poor investments. The Alianza's multipurpose motto was "Protection, Morality, Instruction."

In 1896, the Alianza became a fraternal insurance society and remained one until 1965. Unlike other mutualistas, the AHA allowed women to join in 1913 in response to the suffrage movement. AHA membership in 1939 rose to 17,366, a monumental growth from its 1,171 members in 1907. The Alianza required all members to be

of Mexican ancestry; however, in 1954 it joined forces with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to fight discrimination, and Louis Armstrong was given an honorary membership in 1957 for his civil rights work.

Benefits and Protections

After Arizona became part of the United States under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, and had its inclusion expanded under the subsequent Gadsden Purchase Treaty of 1854, Mexicans in the region faced challenges from Anglo Americans to their land, economic well-being, and political power. They also faced challenges to the maintenance of their culture, language, and religion. Anglos who settled in the late 19th century formed a chapter of the American Protective Association in 1894 in Tucson, an organization that was anti-Catholic and, in the case of Arizona, anti-Mexican. Responses to Anglo American encroachment in the Southwest—not only physically but also economically, politically, and culturally—were met with a variety of responses, ranging from social banditry and armed resistance to benign accommodation through intermarriage.

Tucsoneses, native Mexicans from Tucson, viewed Anglo American settlement in the area a threat to their way of life, and more wealthy citizens saw the Alianza as an important response. Lodges sprang up quickly in mining areas, where interactions with Anglo American capitalists were particularly intense. Membership in the Alianza increased after the first wave of Mexican migration into the United States during the Mexican Revolution of the early 20th century, although a few Alianza chapters existed in Mexico. This transnational insurance and benefit can be seen in the more contemporary organizing and benefits provided to members of the agricultural labor union Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) in Ohio. The FLOC published a regular newsletter, *Alianza*, which featured the work of local chapters, or lodges.

The fraternal insurance movement began in the late 1800s in the United States to combat the limiting of life insurance to the wealthy. Immigrants, black Americans, and Mexicans, included by conquest or migration, viewed the benefits of mutual aid societies and fraternal insurance organizations as providing a modicum

of security in hostile and insecure times and locations. Not all mutual aid societies were as financially solvent as Alianza, and they collapsed because of unsound financial structuring during the Great Depression and post–World War II periods. In Texas, University of Texas scholar George I. Sanchez assisted the Alianza with a project to desegregate prisoners.

Keeping Culture Alive

Alianza also held a number of events and charitable works at its lodges, or chapters, which also added to its success. It had an annual Gold Trophy for the best lodge (*logia ideal*) to encourage civic engagement, which was included in the organization's definition of morality. In Tucson, one lodge had a delivery service for the needy, delivering food, clothes, and toys to families at Christmas. Like many organizations, Alianza encouraged its members to become involved in its structure and culture as part of their commitment to the value of instruction. One lodge in Arizona offered after-school instruction in the Spanish language to Mexican American children who were only taught in English at school.

In Arizona the influence of La Alianza could be seen in other organizations, such as the Tucson Mothers and Wives (*Madres y Esposas*), who played a vital role in the Allied war effort on the home front during World War II. Women staffed an office that provided translation and letter-writing services, a newsletter, and social interaction for families of service personnel. Alianza was clearly an extension of the strong history and culture of mutualism in the state.

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See Also: American G.I. Forum; League of United Latin American Citizens; Mexican Americans; Mexican Revolution; Mutualista.

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Alien and Sedition Acts (1798)

As the first president of the United States following adoption of the Constitution, George Washington was faced with a major financial crisis. Huge national and state debts threatened the newly independent government with economic collapse; the treasury was empty, and government revenues were insufficient to meet annual expenses or even pay the interest on the mounting debt. For a solution, Washington turned to the first secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, a proponent of a strong central government.

Hamilton's financial plan called for full payment of the national debt to reestablish a firm credit, new taxes, and the creation of a national bank. Immediately, opposition arose, led by James Madison and Thomas Jefferson; they viewed the new federal government as one of limited power, with all other powers not specifically enumerated in the Constitution reserved for the states. Two factions developed over this division of power. The Federalists believed that the Constitution created a strong national government with wide, flexible powers. The Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans believed that the central government was a confederacy of independent states that voluntarily gave certain specific powers, and only those powers, to the central government while retaining all others for themselves.

The differences between the two factions were magnified by conflicts over foreign policy. The Federalists favored close relations with Great Britain, America's leading trading partner. With the outbreak of the French Revolution, the Jeffersonians tended to favor closer relations with France, an emerging democracy. When the French Revolution turned radical and began widespread executions, Federalists were appalled at the possibility

of the Jeffersonians allying the United States with the French radicals. Jeffersonians were equally dismayed that the Federalists supported aristocratic England and appeared to be trying to create a strong central government along British lines. Jeffersonians gained support from many new immigrants, largely those from Ireland and France who had a long-standing antipathy for England.

When President Washington chose not to run for a third term in office, the Federalist John Adams won the contest to succeed him, with Jefferson elected as vice president. This created a unique situation where the leaders of the two divergent factions were the key figures in the national administration. During Adams's term in office, relations with France deteriorated to the point that an undeclared naval war existed. At the same time, Federalists were greatly concerned with the unexpectedly strong showing of the Jeffersonians during the nonpresidential election of 1796 and noted that large numbers of immigrants had voted for Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans.

Adams strongly believed that such an organized opposition group was detrimental to national stability. Consequently, following the election of 1796, the Federalists acted to protect the nation from what they feared would be the introduction of European radicalism to American politics. To accomplish this, in 1798 they enacted four laws that are known collectively as the Alien and Sedition Acts. The first three of these laws centered on the feared immigrants. The Naturalization Act extended the residency required for becoming a citizen from five years to 14. The Alien Friends Act gave the president authority to do the following:

. . . order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States, within such time as shall be expressed in such order.

The Alien Enemies Act allowed the president to apprehend and deport resident aliens if their home countries were at war with the United States.

Jeffersonians objected that the two Alien measures gave the president the authority to detain

and deport aliens merely on suspicion without any required evidence or legal hearing. Before its enactment, some aliens left the country, fearful of what might happen if they remained.

The fourth measure, the Sedition Act, troubled critics the most. A portion of it read as follows:

That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

To Jeffersonians, this was a very clear violation of the Constitutional protections in the Bill of Rights. Its intent became quite clear when some 25 people, most of them Republican newspaper editors, were arrested, and their publications were forced to close. The accused even included the Vermont Democratic-Republican Congressman Matthew Lyon, who was fined \$1,000 and sent to prison for four months because of an article he published in the *Vermont Journal* criticizing the Adams administration.

Clearly, the acts aimed to restrict the influence of immigrants in elections and the political process,

but the Sedition Act also threatened fines and imprisonment to U.S. citizens for exercising Constitutional rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. To Jefferson, this was an inexcusable effort on the part of the Federalists to suppress minority opinions and undermine the basic tenets of American democracy and the Bill of Rights.

In response, Jefferson and Madison authored the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in which they argued what became the states' rights theory and established an argument for state nullification of federal laws enacted without the government having the explicit authority granted to it by the Constitution.

Conflict over the Alien and Sedition Acts became a national issue in the election of 1800, which led to the election of Jefferson. He promptly pardoned anyone still in jail once he was sworn into office. Jefferson's theory of nullification, spawned as a reaction to the Alien and Sedition Acts, became the basis for the states' rights argument adopted by the south in its growing split with the north in the decades leading to the Civil War.

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See Also: Bill of Rights; Constitution, U.S.; Nativism.

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Alien Land Laws

The Alien Land Laws refer to state legislation passed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries barring persons ineligible for U.S. citizenship from owning or leasing land. Initially, in some western states, Alien Land Laws were enacted to ensure

that resident aliens (who were white) could hold land in the same manner as citizens as a means of encouraging westward settlement. Larry A. McFarlane, in a study of similar legislation in Kansas enacted in 1891 and repealed in 1901, makes the case that “populist agrarians” wanted to restrict land speculation by British mortgage companies and absentee landlordism.

Anti-Asian Alien Land Laws, on the other hand, arose from the intensification of competition for natural resources between Americans, who believed that they had so-called natural rights to the land, but not “inassimilable Orientals.” Similarly, workers’ fear that “Americans” were losing jobs to Asian labor significantly added to anti-Asian sentiment. On a more profound level, the battle over landownership was intimately tied to the enduring question of American identity. Alien Land Laws implicitly tied national identity to racial identity and both of those to the notion of an essential and natural connection to the land.

To understand the scope of this struggle over land, the evolution of the Alien Land Laws must be connected to a larger history of Supreme Court decisions between 1891 and 1924 and to federal legislation going back to 1790. The Alien Land

Laws, in other words, used several lines of attack. The 1790 Naturalization Act, for instance, stipulated that only “whites” could apply for citizenship. The Naturalization Act of 1870 expanded citizenship to include former enslaved people and those of African descent, but expressly stated that Asians were “aliens ineligible for citizenship.”

Anti-Asian Alien Land Laws also used other federal legislation, such as the Page Act of 1875, the Chinese Exclusion Acts passed between 1882 and 1904, the Gentlemen’s Agreement between Japan and the United States of 1907 to 1908, and the establishment of an Asiatic Barred Zone in 1917. The 1875 Page Law prohibited the entry of “undesirable” Asians, that is, contract laborers, any Asian woman who would engage in prostitution, and persons who were deemed convicts in their country of origin.

Asian Exclusion Laws

In 1859, Oregon passed a law that specifically barred Chinese immigrants from owning land. Then in 1879, California gave the right of land ownership to white Americans or African Americans only. This law eventually became the 1913 Webb-Heney Alien Land Act, which used the



Kiichiro Kosai and his son, Frank Kosai, were the original owners of this dairy farm in Auburn, Washington. As Japanese immigrants, they fought a legal battle for ownership of the farm after their 1919 purchase of the land was challenged under Washington State’s Anti-Alien Land Law of 1921. The photo shows the farm’s creamery (left), milk barn, and main barn in the late 20th century.

wording that persons ineligible for citizenship could not own or lease land. The 1913 Webb-Heney Act was signed into law by then-governor Hiram Johnson, and expanded in 1920 and, again, in 1923. Eventually, California's example spurred other states to pass similar legislation, namely, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Louisiana, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

Chinese immigration dried up largely due to the Chinese Exclusion Acts, while the remaining Chinese in the continental United States found relatively more safety living in urban enclaves than on the land. The Alien Land Acts began to have a significant impact on Japanese immigrants, as well, many of whom were small farmers. By 1909, Japanese farmers in California owned 16,449 acres of farmland and leased another 137,233 acres. Although the influence of the Asiatic Exclusion League was declining by 1911, ongoing Yellow Peril agitation by other nativist groups, now fueled by the rise of Japan as a world power, led to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 to 1908. Efforts to close loopholes in existing Alien Land Laws led to the 1920 Alien Land Law prohibiting the rental or leasing of land by corporations with stock held by aliens ineligible for citizenship. Land could also not be held in the name of minor children of aliens ineligible for citizenship. In 1923, states tightened the existing Alien Land Laws. To circumvent these laws, beginning in 1916, Punjabi men in California began to marry Mexican women, who as a group were eligible for U.S. citizenship. After 1923, these men began to transfer land titles to their Mexican wives and their children.

In 1947, Utah repealed its Alien Land Law. The U.S. Supreme Court, in 1948, in *Oyama v. State of California*, declared that Fred Oyama's rights as a U.S. citizen to equal protection of the law had been violated by a provision in California's 1923 Alien Land Law. The Oregon Supreme Court invalidated the Alien Land Law of that state in 1949, followed in 1952 by decisions in California's Supreme Court.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Asian Americans; Asiatic Exclusion League; Chinese

Americans; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Japanese Americans.

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All in the Family

All in the Family, a television comedy program famous for its controversial topics, premiered February 1971 with a 34th-place rating and, surprisingly, became the country's top-rated series by fall. The show broke new ground as a sitcom, the television format that exemplified popular culture during the second half of the 20th century, as it became a catalyst for discussion about religion, politics, social class, race, and sexuality. It was innovative because of its plot-driven, hot-button topics. Each episode offered viewers opportunities to compare their lives and values with those of the fictional Bunker family. *All in the Family* ushered in a new era of television as it explored controversial themes in a caustic and humorous, reality-based format.

So relevant was *All in the Family* in the 1970s, that people reportedly planned their Saturday

evenings around watching it, with more than 50 percent of the American TV viewing public, or nearly one-third of all Americans, tuning in regularly during its prime seasons. It occupied the top of the Nielsen ratings for five years, won four consecutive Emmy awards as Outstanding Comedy Series, and garnered numerous other Emmy and Golden Globe awards for its insightful portrayal of contentious social issues. President Richard Nixon discussed it on the Watergate tapes, and further testament to its cultural significance is an exhibit of set pieces from the program on display at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The series was further honored on a 33-cent stamp by the U.S. Postal Service.

Politics, Controversy, and Stereotypes

The 1970s were a time of cultural change, and *All in the Family* was both entertainment and a mirror of conservative versus liberal ideology in daily life. Newspapers and nightly news programs broadcast Vietnam War opposition, women's liberation struggles, new standards of morality, and changing attitudes about race and ethnicity across the nation.

Norman Lear, *All in the Family*'s creator, believed that great humor came out of great pain and wanted to capitalize on these issues through what he imagined as a "tragicomedy" series. Typical television programs, unlike plays or films, however, depended less on plot and more on characters because of 30-minute time restrictions. Lear envisioned a new program videotaped before a live studio audience that would serve as a window into an authentic family's generational disagreements.

Norman Lear was further inspired by a British television comedy, *Till Death Do Us Part*, (1965–75) and with coproducer Bud Yorkin changed the lead character from a mean, bigoted dockworker to a likable blue-collar laborer in Queens with intolerant viewpoints. Archie worked through his wrenching social issues, misperceptions, and prejudices with counterpoint provided by the rest of his extended family. In summary, the characters at 704 Houser Street were Archie, a man with narrow-minded values and dismissive of anyone not in agreement with him, and his stay-at-home, somewhat naïve wife Edith, who catered to her husband's every need. By contrast, daughter Gloria Stivic and husband Mike, a full-time graduate

student and counterculture radical, were both liberal-minded idealists who enthusiastically endeavored to fight racism, sexism, and Archie's old-fashioned thinking. Politically and socially misguided Archie used myriad inflammatory racial epithets, bullied his "dingbat" wife Edith, and fought with his "Polack pinko meathead" son-in-law Mike.

Emmy-winning actors Carroll O'Connor, Jean Stapleton, Sally Struthers, and Rob Reiner portrayed these characters. Running for nine seasons (1971–79), it continued in a related version until 1983. Its spin-off shows included *The Jeffersons*, further breaking new ground in television with an upwardly mobile African American family in the lead roles.

All in the Family was both heralded and attacked. Each episode was less a situation comedy and more of a brief teleplay about societal issues, from homosexuality to ethnic prejudice, utilizing comedic overtones. The show was initially vilified in editorial columns across America, accused because of its crude language and topical discussions that legitimized intolerance and promoting racial slurs. Although 74.8 percent of Americans self-classified as white in 2010, many white U.S. citizens in the 1970s personally identified more strongly as ethnic Polish, Irish, Italian, Greek, and other European ancestries because of national pride associated with their parents' struggles as immigrants. Archie's ethnic slurs, therefore, evoked as much controversy as his character's racial epithets.

Ebony magazine accused *All in the Family* of endorsing racial labels, and the Teamsters International lodged a protest against Archie's character for portraying the working man as an uninformed bigot. Alternatively, in 1973 the American Civil Liberties Union bestowed upon Norman Lear the Freedom of Press Award for presenting life as it really was and for attacking controversial topics from both the right as well as the left. Other awards followed as the program's writers' intentions were better understood. Mike, Gloria, or Edith consistently served as liberal voices of reason to Archie's convoluted logic. *Variety* summarized the nation's sentiments similarly: according to viewers' perspectives, it could make prejudice look silly or justify it, evidence of what researchers call selective perception hypothesis.

All in the Family continues to warrant attention because it instigated heated national debates about prejudice and social issues. Schools ask for study guides, readers' polls remain inconclusive regarding its liabilities or value, and academics continue to deconstruct the program 40 years later. Although empirical evidence proving its influence is inconclusive, it unquestionably raised cultural issues that persist today.

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See Also: Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Television.

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All Indian Pueblo Council

Tribal oral history and the records of Spanish chroniclers support the existence of what came to be called the All Indian Pueblo Council (AIPC), a tribal confederation of designated leaders from respective tribes who entered into a compact to govern collective concerns, long before the first European contact in the 16th century. The first written account of the council is a meeting with Governor Juan de Oñate in 1598. The unified action during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 indicates that some political unity among the Pueblo nations continued to exist. Organized opposition to foreign intrusion continued into the mid-19th century. Organized opposition to the Bursum

Act, a law that threatened Pueblo land and water rights in 1922, helped defeat the bill. The All Indian Pueblo Council continued to oppose threats to Pueblo sovereignty during the decades that followed. In 1965, the AIPC adopted a constitution and bylaws. A few years later, the federal government returned 48,000 acres to the Pueblo, signaling a significant policy shift that increased the AIPC's responsibilities. In the 21st century, the AIPC continues in its unique position, advocating for the Pueblo and other tribal nations.

Although the first written account of the AIPC is from the late 16th century, historians agree that the Native American cultures that became the Pueblo nations had developed a regionally based tribal confederation before the Spanish arrived. The first written account notes that on July 7, 1598, Spanish colonial governor Juan de Oñate met with seven Pueblo leaders who were said to represent 34 villages. These representatives agreed that the Pueblos would acknowledge the authority of the king of Spain. The Spanish concluded that the seven represented a confederation of distinct cultural communities because they belonged to different language groups. The pattern of regional cooperation continued into the next century when various tribes united in attempts to drive the Spanish from the region. In 1650, six Pueblos joined with their traditional enemies, the Apaches, to plan an attack. Nine leaders were hanged and others enslaved when the plot was discovered.

Revolt of 1680

The most famous and most effective organized revolt against the Spanish occurred in 1680 when more than 70 communities, from Santa Fe and Taos in the Rio Grande valley to the Hopi pueblos nearly 300 miles west, worked together to plan an attack that took place on August 10, 1680. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was the single most successful rebellion of Native Americans against European invaders. Even after the Spanish reestablished their presence in the region, the Pueblos continued to resist foreign intrusions, including attacks against the Mexicans in 1837 and the Americans in 1847.

The revolt of 1680 served as a rallying cry more than two centuries later when the Pueblos organized under the direction of the AIPC to fight intruders once again. In July 1922, Senator Holm

O. Bursum of New Mexico introduced a bill that held the potential to deprive the Pueblos of as much as 60,000 acres of their land and place water rights and contested lands under the jurisdiction of state courts that were hostile toward Pueblo concerns. The AIPC met on November 5, 1922, to draft an official protest. The council also raised \$3,500 to send a delegation to Washington, D.C. Working with other Indian rights organizations, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and various intellectuals and artists from New Mexico, under the direction of social reformer and Indian rights advocate John Collier, the group's lobbying efforts were successful. The protests of the AIPC and the group's supporters captured nationwide attention and prepared the way for further reform.

Other threats against Pueblo sovereignty prompted decisive action from the AIPC. In the early 1950s, the council took a leading role in the repeal of Indian termination legislation. In the 1960s, the AIPC's leaders were active in the civil rights movement. On October 19, 1965, the All Indian Pueblo Council adopted a formal constitution and bylaws. The formal constitution was in place about the same time that an ongoing battle in which the Pueblos had been engaged for generations acquired renewed vigor.

Blue Lake Watershed

The Taos Pueblos had attempted for decades to regain control of the Blue Lake watershed, a 48,000-acre area high on Wheeler Peak in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. It is believed to be their place of origin, and where their ancestors rose up from the earth. By executive order, President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906 made the area part of the Carson National Forest. The Pueblos' right to the land was recognized in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which promised to respect the grants of lands originating under the previous Spanish rule. Their rights were affirmed in 1965 by the Indian Claims Commission. Between 1966 and 1970, the Blue Lake claim was the subject of four congressional hearings. Two bills were introduced in 1970: one, a compromise bill that would give the Pueblos use but not a trust title; the other—which had the support of six key U.S. senators, including Senator George McGovern (D-SD) and then chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, and of President Richard

Nixon—recognized the full rights of the Pueblos. The combined actions of the Pueblos of Taos and the AIPC and a host of supporters, from a political cartoonist to the National Council of Churches, succeeded. On December 15, 1970, President Nixon signed into law the bill that returned the disputed 48,000 acres to the Pueblo.

In 2009, the AIPC added a new member, the Tiguas of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, the only Pueblo in Texas, bringing the number of representatives on the council to 20. The Tiguas were originally part of the New Mexico Pueblo and were driven into Texas by the Spaniards during the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680.

The AIPC of the 21st century continues to focus on the education of its youth, particularly with its scholarship program, which has led to a dramatic increase in college enrollment. The AIPC also continues to serve as the united political voice of the Pueblo people, endorsing local, state, and national candidates. Additionally, it works to revitalize Pueblo culture and to preserve the Pueblo languages.

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See Also: Native Americans; Pueblo; Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

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Amana Colonies

The Amana Colonies, located today near Iowa City, Iowa, originated as a communal venture in the 19th century. In 1854, the Community of True

Inspiration, a group of German Pietists, established these settlements on a tract of 20,000 acres. A commune was quickly established and prospered until the beginnings of the Depression, in which this previously nearly self-sustaining local economy came to an end. Today, the Amana Colonies, like other antebellum communitarian locals, has become a tourist attraction for the American-history buff. The faith is still strong in the region, although since the end of communalism, there have been a number of other developments.

The Community of True Inspiration was founded in 18th-century Germany, distinguishing themselves from their largely Lutheran surroundings based on the sect's rejection of elaborate ritual and their insistence on the efficacy of continued revelation. These Inspirationists turned to the messages of "instruments," modern prophet-like figures who informed the faithful of the will of God. In Europe, conflicts with neighbors and local governments forced the Inspirationists to relocate several times. It was not until the 1840s that the sect made the decision to set out for the New World.

Under the leadership of the instrument Christian Metz, more than Inspirationists made the journey from Germany to the first Inspirationist colony on American soil: Ebenezer, New York. In 1854, concerned with the arrival of neighboring settlements and the growth of nearby Buffalo, the decision was made to once again relocate. This time they went to Iowa, where they could settle at a greater distance from outsiders; seven villages were organized on 20,000 acres of land: Amana, West Amana, East Amana, South Amana, High Amana, Middle Amana, and Homestead.

Based on their reading of scripture and the instruction of their instrument, the Inspirationists developed a communal system in which all property was held in common, with the exception of a few household goods. Adherents lived in village apartments and dined in a communal kitchen. Each individual was assigned to work in a variety of occupations, determined partly on the society's view of gender roles. Men worked on the farms or as factory workers while women labored in the community school or kitchens.

Metz established a series of rigorous rules for life in the Amana Colonies. For example, settlers were forbidden from wearing certain "worldly"

fashions, playing sports or card games, or running side businesses to accrue additional pocket money. During the 19th century, those who did not comply with the rules were encouraged to leave the settlements.

The Great Change

In 1932, the Inspirationists went through a period of transition that they refer to as the Great Change. At this time, the villages voted to end their communal effort and eventually discarded many of the more stringent rules. They placed the community's property and businesses in a joint-stock corporation, the Amana Society, while operating the religious arm independently as the Amana Church Society.

This Great Change has been credited to three preceding issues. First, the colony entered a post-charismatic period after the death of Christian Metz and Barbara Heineman Landmann, another of the group's instruments. These prophet figures had strengthened the community's identity and zeal in living up to their ideals. When a board of elders became the final voice of authority for Amana, dissent became increasingly common. Second, despite their efforts, the colony was no longer secluded from the outside world. Technology and America's road systems had rendered true isolation impossible. In addition to travelers who made their way through the Amana Villages, young men also faced the draft during World War I (although as pacifists, serving in noncombatant roles). The result was a mixing of loyalties and a questioning of communal regulations. Finally, with the Depression, the villages faced bankruptcy.

In religious matters, the Inspirationists are still characterized by their early Pietist ideals. Services are simplistic. Hymns are sung without musical accompaniment. Men and women sit in pews on either side of the church building. Women wear a black cap, shawl, and apron during the services in answer to the Inspirationists' interpretation of biblical requirements. In addition to studying the Bible, the sect also uses the inspired writings of their 19th-century instruments. On the other hand, a number of changes have been instituted in religious life in Amana. Since the early 20th century, the society has made a gradual shift from German to English (eventually holding services in

both languages.) There is now only one service per week in lieu of the original eleven weekly services. In the 1980s, the society allowed women to serve as elders.

As with other communitarian ventures from the period, industries that were previously run as part of the colonies have continued with a great deal of economic success in the 20th century. Amana Refrigeration, Inc., founded in 1934, was recently bought by Whirlpool. The local businesses have shifted toward heritage tourism, as a number of groups have worked together to preserve the historical buildings and to draw potential guests to the area.

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See Also: European Americans; German Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Amerasian

The term *Amerasian* has been used to describe children born to Asian women and American citizens, particularly to U.S. military personnel while they are stationed in different parts of Asia, including Japan, South Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the Philippines, and Thailand. The term was coined by author Pearl S. Buck, a founder of the Pearl S. Buck Foundation, who dedicated her life to the improvement of the lives of mixed-race children in Asia. Although the original meaning of the term *Amerasian* is a person born in Asia to a U.S. military father and an Asian

mother, the term has also been used, more currently, to describe a person in the United States of mixed Asian and Caucasian ancestry.

The large U.S. military presence in a number of Asian countries since the end of World War II has been a key factor in creating opportunities for G.I.s and local women to meet and potentially develop intimate relationships. The initial cross-cultural encounters occurred in all kinds of places and settings, but especially on and around the military bases. Entertainment establishments catering to American G.I.s such as bars, clubs, and brothels often spring up near bases, and they can become gateways for G.I.s to pursue sexual relationships with local women. There are also many G.I.s who meet local women employed by the military in positions such as interpreters, sales clerks, or waitresses, and fall in love, leading to long-term romantic relationships. Whether their relationships were in good faith or not, unprecedented numbers of interracial liaisons between G.I.s and local women in different parts of Asia consequently gave a rise to the phenomenon of mixed race or Amerasian children.

Many of the Amerasian children are fatherless, and in many cases, they have little or no knowledge of their biological American fathers. These deserted children were often raised by their mothers alone but sometimes had family support from their kin. Under some extreme circumstances, Amerasian children were abandoned by their mothers and by their G.I. fathers, and were placed in orphanages.

Even though Amerasian children's experiences are diverse, they share a similar plight. Historically, they have been marginalized by mainstream society in their home countries because they are stereotypically viewed as the products of illegitimate and exploitative sexual unions between G.I.s and prostitutes. The fatherless Amerasians, particularly those born to African American fathers, face more severe prejudice and discrimination than their Amerasian counterparts whose fathers are Caucasian.

Some believe that Amerasians would be better off if they were raised in multicultural society such as in the United States. Pearl S. Buck, for example, was a pioneer who advocated international adoption and established Welcome House after World War II to find homes for underprivileged

children suffering from injustices and discrimination. Through various nonprofit organizations and religious groups, thousands of Amerasians with little future prospects in their home countries have been adopted by American families since the end of the war. However, there are still numerous Amerasians who are subjected to harsh lives in various parts of Asia.

Amerasians in Postwar Japan

With Japan's unconditional surrender in World War II, Allied occupation of Japan began and nearly half a million U.S. troops arrived later in 1945. As U.S. occupation progressed, so did the fraternization between American G.I.s and Japanese women. G.I.s strolling with Japanese women in public places became common sights, whether their relationships were commercialized, short-term



The annual Asian American Festival held in Houston, Texas, is only one of the many events held in the United States every year that celebrate the culture, traditions, and history of Amerasians living in the United States.

companionship or enduring ones. Hundreds of thousands of American G.I.s–Japanese couples crossed racial and sexual boundaries in one way or another, and some were determined to marry. As more and more couples crossed the boundaries, the issue of Amerasians inevitably became visible as a social problem.

Foreign media started using the terms *occupation babies* or *G.I. babies* to refer to mixed-race children fathered by American G.I.s. The Japanese general public used the Japanese terms such as *ainoko* (child in between) and *konketsuji* (mixed-blood child). Since these terms carry derogatory connotations in Japanese, they have almost no use in present-day Japan. A more neutral term, *haaf* (half Japanese and half American) was created and many Japanese Amerasians themselves adopted the term. There are also other Japanese Amerasians who claim that the term does not recognize them as fully part of the Japanese group but emphasizes half Japanese and half American. Both Amerasian and non-Amerasian scholars tend to use the term *Amerasians* regardless of racial background of their American fathers, while some use more specifically Eurasian and Afroasian to distinguish between Japanese-white Amerasian and Japanese-black Amerasian.

Neither the Japanese government nor the U.S. military authorities acknowledged the growing population of Amerasians as a political issue and failed to provide government assistance for the children. Many Amerasians ended up living in orphanages. For example, the Elizabeth Saunders Home, which was established by a wealthy Japanese individual, separated Amerasian children from the society that was full of prejudice and hostility against the mixed-race children. The orphanage aimed to provide both English and Japanese language education and help the children develop mixed-race identity in the hope of finding them future homes in the United States.

The earliest survey conducted by the Japanese Ministry of Welfare in 1952 revealed a relatively high proportion of deserted children were born to black G.I.s and Japanese women. According to the survey, approximately 4,000 Amerasian children born out of wedlock had been abandoned by G.I. fathers or by both parents. Nearly 500 children were in orphanages; of these children,

77.6 percent of them were Eurasians born to white G.I.–Japanese couples and 23.4 percent were Afroasians born to black G.I.–Japanese couples. In 1958, one orphanage reported that 30 percent of children were Afroasian, while 52 percent were Eurasian and 18 percent were “others.” Fifteen years after the end of occupation, one source estimated there were more than 20,000 deserted Amerasian children in Japan, and that one-sixth of them were believed to be Afroasian children.

Amerasian children were stigmatized regardless of their fathers’ racial backgrounds. They encountered neglect, prejudice, and discrimination, but Afroasian children and their Japanese mothers particularly faced greater social rejection from Japanese mainstream society than their Eurasian counterparts did. The issue of deserted Amerasian children is not just a personal problem or a legacy of U.S. occupation. It is an international political issue associated with U.S. global militarization, which has demanded continuous relocation of U.S. military personnel to overseas duty stations since the U.S. involvement in World War II.

Amerasians in South Korea

The history of Amerasians in South Korea can be traced back to the aftermath of World War II, when Japan’s defeat initially brought over 70,000 U.S. troops to the Korean Peninsula. This officially ended the Japanese colonization of the previous 35 years. Following World War II, the Korean Peninsula was partitioned into the two halves—the north and the south under control of the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively. This tragic partition of the Korean Peninsula opened up a new stage of global conflict between the communist and anticommunist camps, which tremendously affected particular Asian countries and their regions. U.S. military involvement in the Korean War contributed to expansion of American military forces in South Korea.

Following the Korean War, the tension between the United States and communist countries over the Korean Peninsula never ended; this allowed the United States to retain troops to defend their South Korean ally and its neighboring regions. Consequently, American military bases in South Korea, as well as their camp towns, have become the country’s familiar scenes ever since. There

are approximately 29,000 military personnel stationed in the present South Korea, and the camp towns have been playing a significant role in facilitating opportunities for American G.I.s to meet local women.

Just like Amerasians in other Asian countries, Korean Amerasians are viewed as the product of illegitimate sexual unions between prostitutes and American soldiers. They are associated with unequal power relations: the U.S. military presence represents its superiority and masculine dominance over the country, as well as Korean women’s sexuality. Moreover, in countries such as South Korea, where the ideology of racial purity is deeply embedded in society, it is no surprise that Korean Amerasian children are easily singled out and marginalized by mainstream society as pariahs. In local schools, many Amerasian children experience bullying, name-calling, physical abuse, contempt, and insults from their Korean peers. Not all teachers are sensitive to the mixed-race children and some teachers are even hostile to their Amerasian students. These harsh school environments affect their academic performance and overall educational achievement levels. Also, the dropout rates among Amerasian schoolchildren are significantly high.

Not only do the Amerasians face prejudice and hostility from other Korean people, but they are also subject to institutional discrimination. Since racial profiling in hiring processes is a common practice, mixed-race Koreans are more likely to be concentrated in low-end jobs that have fewer benefits. It is no surprise that the unemployment and underemployment rates among the Amerasians are also high. Until recently, the Amerasians were barred from military conscription, a mandatory duty for all citizens of South Korea, which prevented them from fulfilling their masculine responsibility as South Korean citizens. Because of their exclusion from serving the country, the Amerasians were ineligible for government employment and benefits. Although the law was amended in 2006 and military enlistment was extended to the Amerasians, unlike their Korean counterparts, their enlistment is not mandatory but is still voluntary.

Many Korean women working in camp towns originally met future fathers of their mixed-race children through their sexual service jobs. As

single mothers, these women are likely to continue working in camp towns but find it extremely challenging to provide a decent education and a stable family life for their children. Some mothers decided to place their children up for adoption in Western countries, particularly the United States. Indeed, South Korea became one of the major source countries sending adoptees to the United States. Korean transnational adoptees include Korean children from impoverished families, but from 1955 to 1965, the majority of them were mixed-race children fathered by American G.I.s.

In the United States, mostly as a response to pressure from other countries, Public Law 97-359 (also known as the Amerasian Act), legally defined mixed-race individuals of Asian ancestry who were fathered by U.S. citizens between 1950 and 1982 as Amerasian. This law allows the designated Amerasians to obtain permanent residence in the United States. The countries covered by the law are South Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand. It acknowledges the issue of the Amerasian associated with the impact of U.S. military involvement in wars such as the Korean War and Vietnam War on the people and societies in these affected countries. Nonetheless, the law neglects the fact that mixed-race children continued to be born to G.I.-Asian couples after the designated time and other Asian countries and many of them remain underprivileged primarily due to their Amerasian identity without their American fathers. Moreover, to apply for this special immigration program, each adoptee must provide evidence of financial support by a U.S. citizen or lawful permanent resident sponsor for the first five years or until the beneficiary is 21 years old.

Amerasians in Contemporary Okinawa

As in the case of Amerasians in South Korea, the large population of American military personnel in contemporary Okinawa is primarily responsible for the persistent issue of single motherhood and mixed-race children fathered by American G.I.s. Okinawa, which makes up less than 1 percent of Japan's total land area, hosts 38 military bases that account for 75 percent of the total land area used exclusively by the U.S. military in Japan today. According to the Report of Women's Issues Arising from the U.S. Military Bases, it is estimated that there are about 3,700 Amerasians

under the age of 18 who have been raised by Japanese single mothers in Okinawa.

Many single mothers with Amerasian children share similar legal issues to solve. Some are mothers of out-of-wedlock children who seek paternity establishment from their ex-boyfriend, so that their children can obtain U.S. citizenship. Other women, who divorced their G.I. husbands, take legal action to obtain child support from their former husbands. These women expressed fear that legal action might upset their ex-husbands or boyfriends and might adversely affect relationships between the children and their fathers. For Amerasian children living outside the United States, connections to their American fathers and obtaining U.S. citizenship are essential to making sense of their dual identities: Japanese identities, and the racial and cultural identities associated with their American fathers. Nonetheless, the Japanese government offers virtually no support for these mothers who are struggling with the legal issues. Consequently, they are likely to seek assistance elsewhere on their own.

Amerasian children in single motherhood have their own issues to deal with. In many cases, they face hardship in school and society primarily because of their different physical appearance. The majority of Amerasian children born in Okinawa and raised by single Japanese mothers do not speak English fluently. The absence of American fathers in their homes makes it difficult for Japanese mothers to give their children opportunities for speaking English in their everyday lives. Since these children look like Americans, their English proficiency is often assumed. When Amerasian children attending Japanese schools are not able to meet their peers' expectations, they are likely to be ridiculed and bullied. Stigmas attached to Amerasian children, such as being called "illegitimate" or "deserted," are other sources of emotional burdens.

In 1988, a group of Okinawan mothers of Amerasian children established the AmerAsian School in Okinawa to provide bilingual education for children born to Japanese women and American G.I.s in a bullying-free school environment. The school accepts all Amerasian students ranging from kindergarten up to junior high school age who demonstrated a need for such a learning environment. The Japanese government

does not accredit the AmerAsian School, which has the classification “free school.” Neither the Japanese government nor U.S. government supports the school with funding. The school runs primarily on donations and generous amount of tuition received by the parents. For the majority of mothers of Amerasian children, who are single working mothers with relatively low incomes, the choice of whether to send their children to the AmerAsian School or to Japanese public schools is not widely available.

Vietnamese Amerasians

Vietnamese multiracial children fathered by American servicemen tend to be mixed with other Vietnamese refugees who escaped their home country during and after the Vietnam War and emigrated to the United States. However, while large numbers of former Vietnamese allies emigrated to the United States as political refugees, Vietnamese mixed-race children were granted official immigration primarily under the classification of Amerasians. The fact that hundreds of thousands of mixed-race children were born to Vietnamese women and American servicemen between the early 1960s and 1975, and that the majority of their G.I. fathers deserted them, became known to the world much later. When Vietnam’s new communist regime came to power, the mixed-race children were marginalized as “children of the dust” and faced extreme hardships and fears of persecution.

In 1987, the Amerasian Homecoming Act was enacted by Congress, allowing mixed-race children fathered by American citizens who were born between January 1962 and 1976 to become eligible for immigration to the United States. Under this law, some 25,000 Amerasians and about 60,000 to 70,000 of their relatives were admitted to the U.S. between 1988 and 2009. After the peak period of emigration rush between 1988 and 1993, the annual numbers of eligible Vietnamese Amerasian applicants for U.S. immigration declined over the years. Aside from the diminished numbers of eligible Amerasian applicants, the false applications by the Vietnamese who claim to be relatives of Amerasians increased and became problematic. This problem led to tight control of the immigration application process, which came to affect eligible Amerasian applicants. Out of desperation

and frustration, these rejected Amerasians were often susceptible to illegal brokers who used the Amerasians to traffic the Vietnamese into the United States.

Amerasian children who were mostly raised in the United States or adopted into American families have different experiences from their Amerasian counterparts who emigrated to the United States as adolescents. The new American family tends to raise their adopted children as Americans, with English names and expectations that they will assimilate into mainstream society. Also, many of the young Amerasians, especially those who came to the United States when they were still babies, do not know much about the country where they were born. Many Amerasians also constantly deal with their Amerasian identity and belongingness: America or Vietnam, but not both. Some organizations provide support systems for Amerasians to promote their Amerasian identity and develop their own voices. Other Amerasians who came to America as young adults also face various problems ranging from discrimination, social isolation, and language barriers to lack of job opportunities, abuse, and poor mental health.

Many Amerasians research their family roots and wish to meet their biological fathers when they arrive in the United States. Some actively search for their American fathers through various networks. Only a small percentage of Amerasians have been able to reach their American fathers. Although there are many moving stories of reunification, these reunions do not always bring happy endings.

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See Also: Adoption, Transnational/Transracial; Asian American Movement; Asian Americans; Eurasian; Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act (1975); Intermarriage, History of; Mixed-Race Americans; Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); Vietnam War; Vietnamese Americans; War Brides; World War II.

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American Anti-Slavery Society

The American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) was the first national antislavery society in the United States of America. Immediatists, those who supported the immediate emancipation of enslaved people without compensation to slaveholders, established the society in Philadelphia in December 1833. For the remainder of the 1830s, it was the central organization of the abolitionist movement. It brought national attention to the movement to immediately abolish slavery.

Besides its significance as the organizational force of the early antebellum abolitionist movement, the AASS was also a pioneer in several other social movements. It was an interracial organization that sought to abolish slavery, and

it declared that all people are equal, demanding full equality for African Americans, a revolutionary proposal at the time. The AASS also called for gender equality. Thus, the organization was at the forefront of three major social issues in American history, the related movements to abolish slavery and end racism, and the women's movement for equality.

Before the rise of immediatism, the American Colonization Society (ACS) attracted many anti-slavery advocates who considered its plan to colonize freed enslaved people in West Africa a worthy program of gradual emancipation that could eventually help end slavery in the United States. However, most free African Americans opposed the ACS, suspicious of slaveholder involvement in that organization and believing their future and rightful citizenship to be in their country of birth, the United States. African Americans' opposition to the ACS influenced white antislavery proponents such as William Lloyd Garrison and others who would align with the AASS to also oppose the ACS and embrace immediatism.

Garrison subsequently launched an abolitionist newspaper, the *Liberator*, in Boston in 1831. With the *Liberator* as his platform and support from African Americans, Garrison called for the immediate emancipation of enslaved people and for racial equality. Garrison pushed for a meeting of abolitionists in Philadelphia, and at that meeting in December 1833 attendees formed the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Interracial and Female Membership

Whereas antislavery organizations of an earlier era had been white-only organizations, the AASS was an interracial organization that included blacks. It also accepted women. Of the 62 attendees at the organizational meeting, three were African Americans and four were white Quaker women. Subsequently, African Americans formed their own auxiliary societies affiliated with the AASS. Women, as well, formed auxiliary women's antislavery societies that included African American women and functioned in cooperation with the AASS, especially in fund-raising.

During the 1830s, the AASS was a whirlwind of activity. Members formed local, state, and regional abolitionist societies across the north.

They relied on moral suasion, convincing others of the moral and Christian grounding of their cause, to gain support for their goal of immediate abolition. Furthermore, they lobbied Congress with thousands of antislavery petitions, leading southern lawmakers to call for passage of a gag rule to prevent discussion of slavery in Congress. The AASS also launched a massive postal campaign to flood the nation, particularly the south, with abolitionist literature. Southern leaders and postmasters then tried to squelch circulation of abolitionist pamphlets in the south. Theodore D. Weld, one of the most influential abolitionists, recruited “the 70,” a group of abolitionist lecturers to traverse the country delivering abolitionist lectures.

Schism Within the AASS

Despite the zeal of the American Anti-Slavery Society’s members and the organization’s success in increasing its membership and drawing attention to abolition as an issue, tensions mounted within the organization from 1837 to 1839. Those tensions led to a schism in 1840. Among the issues that split the organization were the role of women in the AASS, the efficacy of the political involvement, and disputes between Garrisonians and others who believed Garrison’s views impractical and too extreme.

Concerning the women’s issue, female abolitionists such as Sara and Angelina Grimke had scandalized the nation by speaking before mixed audiences of men and women. Garrison and his closest associates supported the Grimkes, encouraged women’s full participation in the AASS, and called for women’s equality. Other abolitionist leaders, including Arthur and Lewis Tappan, preferred a more traditional role for women in the organization.

The “women’s question” and other issues came to a climax at the 1840 AASS convention. Garrisonians controlled the convention and elected Abigail Kelley to the business committee. At that point, the more conservative members, including the Tappans, left the organization to found a new immediatist organization, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (AFASS). Abolitionists who believed that moral suasion alone could not win emancipation and so favored participation in the political process departed from the AASS and

founded the Liberty Party, the United States’ first antislavery political party.

African Americans in the AASS had urged the organization’s white members to remain consistent with their stated ideals and to treat African Americans as equals. They resented the condescending paternalism of many white abolitionists and asked that they employ African Americans in businesses that they owned. The insistence that white abolitionists’ actions match their rhetoric remained a constant in the abolitionist movement. African Americans in the AASS also believed that the Garrisonians’ emphasis on ideological purity hindered the effort to win emancipation, causing many of them to depart for the AFASS in 1840.

After the schism, the abolitionist movement was never again unified in a single organization; however, the movement against slavery continued and gained adherents. Antislavery political parties grew larger, from the Free Soil Party to the Republican Party. Women from the AASS met at a convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 and launched the women’s movement to secure gender equality. Although the AASS was a much smaller organization after 1840 and suffered financial difficulties, it remained active in the movement against slavery and continued to call for equal rights for all Americans. The American Anti-Slavery Society survived until 1870 when it disbanded because its members felt its reason for existence had passed after the abolition of slavery.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; American Colonization Society; Slavery; *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*; Underground Railroad.

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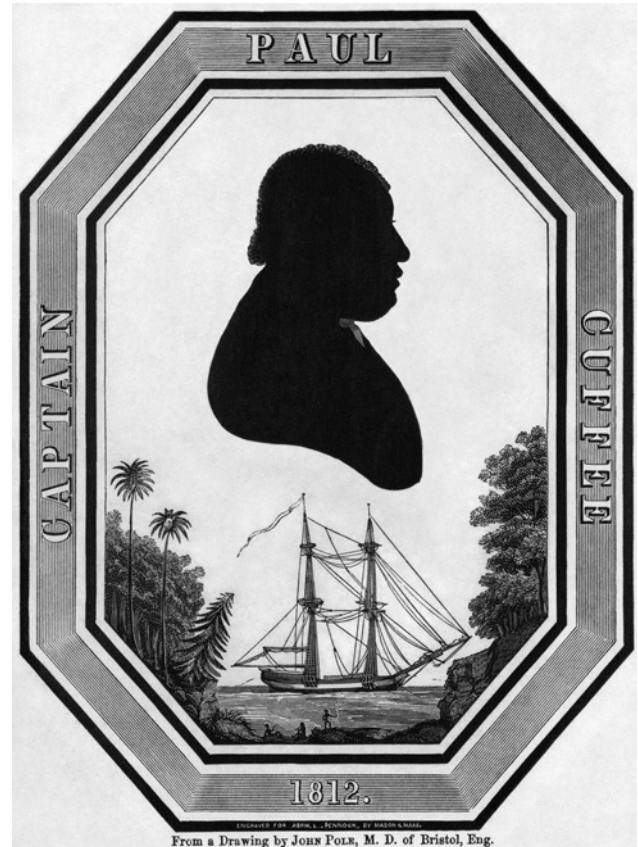
American Colonization Society

The American antislavery movement was not monolithic nor did all its members believe in the equality of races. Some who thought slavery wrong also believed that the races were sufficiently different that they could not live together without discord. The movement is sometimes divided into “gradualists” who favored a gradual emancipation and “immediatists” who would accept only an immediate emancipation. In truth it was much more complex, with numerous approaches proposed by diverse antislavery factions. One of these was colonization.

The origins of the colonization movement are often traced to Paul Cuffee, a Quaker ship owner descended from the African Ashanti and the Native American Wampanoag tribes. Cuffee proposed sending emancipated American slaves to Africa, where they could live in freedom without the discrimination they would face in the United States. He took the first group of 38 freed slaves to Sierra Leone in 1816 and brought back valuable cargo to make the trip financially viable.

Cuffee died the following year, but his idea outlived him with the founding of the Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America, or simply the American Colonization Society, in 1816. The genesis of society began with Virginian Charles Fenton Mercer’s concern about the possibility that freed slaves might foment a rebellion. Through a political acquaintance, Mercer interested Presbyterian minister Robert Finley in the idea, resulting in a meeting at the Davis Hotel in Washington, D.C., on December 21, 1816, which is generally considered the origin of the society.

The meeting was chaired by Henry Clay and attended by such notables as Andrew Jackson, Francis Scott Key, James Monroe, Bushrod Washington, and Daniel Webster. One week later the group adopted a formal constitution. Its first officers were president Bushrod Washington (eldest nephew of George Washington), vice presidents Robert Finley, Henry Clay, and Richard Rush (the son of Benjamin Rush), and secretary John Caldwell. The organization attracted clergy, philanthropists, and other antislavery people who



Paul Cuffee was a successful mixed-race ship owner who planned to bring freed slaves to Africa and then return with lucrative cargo. In 1816, he took 38 American blacks to Sierra Leone but died before he could complete other such journeys.

earnestly believed that “repatriation” to Africa would provide those of African descent with a better opportunity for equal treatment and successful lives. Though not a member of the group, another prominent supporter of the colonization idea was Abraham Lincoln.

Given its guiding premise that people of African ancestry could not enjoy equal freedom and opportunity with other Americans, the society has often been criticized as racist and was generally opposed by African American leaders at the time. For the same reason, the society was often at odds with abolitionists, the Republican Party, and other groups favoring the elimination of the peculiar institution of slavery and the extension of citizenship rights to freed slaves.

Initially, the society also brought together two otherwise opposing groups—Quakers and

plantation owners, the latter mostly from the upper south. Many of the early antislavery Quakers also believed that those of African descent stood a better chance of success through repatriation since they faced near-universal discrimination in the United States. At the same time, the growing number of free people of African ancestry proved increasingly worrisome to southerners who feared the organization of slave rebellions. They also believed that freed slaves could never be successfully integrated into society and saw in the colonization movement a means of ridding their states of this potential menace.

The American Colonization Society was largely responsible for the founding of Liberia as a place of resettlement for freed slaves in 1821. In the succeeding years, thousands of free Africans relocated to Liberia until, in 1847, it declared itself to be an independent nation. It has been estimated that by 1867 the society directly assisted some 13,000 people to settle in Liberia. In 1825, it began publishing the *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, under the editorship of the Rev. Ralph Randolph Gurley, to promote its activities. Among these were ongoing efforts to raise money to fund the resettlement. In 1819, the society received a grant of \$100,000 from the U.S. Congress, and over the years it occasionally received funds from Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. However, most of its funding came from individual donations.

Following the Civil War and the adoption of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, the society enjoyed little support for its colonization efforts; very few people actually moved to Liberia—perhaps fewer than 3,000 between the end of the war and 1890. Under the leadership of William Coppinger, the society refocused its efforts on education and missionary work, but membership and funds steadily dwindled. By the end of the century, it was little more than a shell organization. Although the society continued to exist officially until 1964, it ceased publication of its journal in 1919 and conducted little activity thereafter. Upon its dissolution, its papers were donated to the Library of Congress.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; American Anti-Slavery Society; Back to Africa Movement; Pan-Africanism; Slavery.

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American Council for Polish Culture

Created as an umbrella organization for local and regional groups interested in preserving Polish culture, the American Council for Polish Culture, Inc. (ACPC) was first organized as the American Council of Polish Cultural Clubs in Detroit in July 1948. Its purpose is to provide support for groups promoting awareness of Polish language, history, art, and culture. The council engages in a variety of activities from sponsoring events and celebrations to providing scholarships, disseminating educational materials, and fostering exchanges with Poland. In 2012, the organization included 21 affiliates in 15 states and the District of Columbia. Its governing board, which meets twice yearly, is elected and includes five officers, 12 national directors, representatives from each of the affiliates, and past presidents. It is recognized by the Internal Revenue Service as a 501(c)(3) charitable and educational organization.

The ACPC holds an annual convention hosted by local affiliates at locations that vary from year to year. The convention includes business meetings, presentations, seminars, exhibits, concerts, visits to local points of interest, and an awards

banquet and ball. The organization also publishes the quarterly magazine *Polish Heritage* containing articles and news about the organization, its activities, and Polish culture in general. Among ACPC's contributions toward maintaining awareness of Polish culture in the United States were the founding of the American Center for Polish Culture (now the Polish National Center) in Washington, D.C.; the donation of a sculpted plaque to Harpers Ferry National Historical Park commemorating the poet, dramatist, and sculptor Cyprian Norwid; providing funds for the restoration of the monument to Revolutionary War General Casimir Pulaski in Savannah, Georgia; and supporting an annual Marcella Kochanska Sembrich Concert and award to a young Polish American singer in honor of Marcella Sembrich, a star with the New York Metropolitan Opera and the Royal Opera House in London. The recipient of the Sembrich award is invited to perform at the next ACPC annual convention.

Education and Scholarship

To promote education, the ACPC presents "Polish Perspectives," a popular display at the National Conference on Social Studies that attracts more than a thousand educators from across the nation. In addition to displays, ACPC provides educational materials designed for secondary school teachers. A week-long Youth Leadership Conference scheduled each summer in Washington, D.C., provides college students with opportunities to learn more about the history and culture of Poles and Polish Americans, meet with civic and political leaders, and discuss how they might promote Polish culture in their home communities.

Further, the ACPC provides a number of scholarships to children of its members. To promote the Polish language and culture, the organization offers an annual scholarship of \$2,000 for summer study at a university in Poland. It also oversees the Brigadier General Casimir Pulaski Scholarships Family Trust, which provides grants of \$5,000 to Polish American students pursuing advanced studies at American universities, and the Skalny Scholarships, which grant \$1,000 awards to Polish Americans attending U.S. colleges. The Skalny Scholarships are funded in memory of Louis and Nellie Skalny by the Louis Skalny Foundation Trust.

To foster research and dissemination of Polish culture, the ACPC also sponsors a number of competitions and awards. Among the former are the Literary Competition, which makes funds available to local affiliates in order to promote literary contests for high school and college students; the Adam Styka Art Competition at the shrine to Our Lady of Czestochowa in Doylestown, Pennsylvania; and a Polish Poster Exhibit at the annual national conference. To recognize contributions to the promotion of Polish culture, the ACPC presents an annual Cultural Achievement Award to a Polish American for outstanding achievement in artistic or cultural activities. It also offers an annual Distinguished Service Award to "a prominent American or Polish American who has made an outstanding contribution toward the better understanding and greater appreciation of Polish artistic, cultural, humanitarian, professional, scientific, social or public service achievement."

In addition to its national agenda, the individual ACPC affiliates sponsor lectures, exhibits, concerts, and other cultural activities in their own locales. Many maintain ties to local universities, such as the Polish Cultural Club of Greater Hartford, which is a major supporter of the Stanislaus Blejwas Endowed Chair in Polish and Polish American Studies at Central Connecticut State University; the Polish Heritage Society of Rochester (New York), which cooperates in sponsoring programs at the Eastern European Studies Center established at the University of Rochester by the Louis Skalny Foundation Trust; and the Friends of Polish Art of Detroit, which collaborates with the Youth and Kubienski Art Competitions at the Galeria Art Museum on the campus of the Orchard Lake Schools in Michigan.

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See Also: American Revolution; Polish American Historical Association; Polish Americans.

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American Dilemma, An

An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy was Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal's influential study of race relations in the United States. The Carnegie Corporation commissioned the project in 1937. After years of ethnographic fieldwork, economic analysis, and historical research, this 1,500-page book was published in 1944 to considerable international acclaim. Myrdal later received a Nobel Prize, in part for this, his best-known work. Its impact on U.S. race relations has been mixed.

Contributors

Newton D. Baker and Frederick P. Keppel provided the original impetus for the study, believing, by the mid-1930s, that a comprehensive study of the role of the "Negro" in American life was pressing. Baker, the son of a Confederate officer and a Carnegie trustee, and Keppel, the acting president of the Carnegie Corporation, proposed to name an impartial scholar, and they tapped Myrdal as much for his impeccable international reputation as a scholar and Swedish politician as for his status as a foreigner whose opinion might be taken as neutral.

Myrdal, sensing that his study had enormous political implications, originally applied to Keppel to work with a team of three: a white northerner, a white southerner, and a black man, the combination of whose perspectives he imagined he could render as impartial. But the Carnegie Corporation encouraged Myrdal, at the outset of the project, to work only with black political scientist (and later civil rights leader) Ralph Bunche, then chair of the Political Science Department at Howard University.

Sharp disagreements between the two over the necessary means of solving the "American dilemma" led to Bunche's departure after a year of collaboration. Bunche believed that transracial working-class solidarity would provide the means of agitating for antidiscrimination laws. Myrdal

believed the issue should be pursued by elites, and mainly cites Bunche in *An American Dilemma* as a kind of native informant on issues of black leadership and what Myrdal describes as black anti-elitism. Not crediting him specifically as a collaborator, Myrdal only makes occasional reference to "the Negro intellectual Ralph Bunche" who "testifies" or offers "descriptive commentary" in the body of the text. He cites Bunche's scholarly work repeatedly in the footnotes.

Argument

Myrdal posited a set of cultural norms and habits he called the "American Creed." The Creed is a composite of democratic values: egalitarianism, faith in the rule of law, and a fundamental commitment to fairness. He argued that the American Creed was in fundamental tension with the legal system of U.S. racial segregation and its underlying ideological prejudices. Locating the "Negro problem" as primarily being a problem located in white consciousness rather than black experience, Myrdal systematically unpacked white assumptions about race-based inferiority.

With 47 chapters and 10 appendices, Myrdal intended his study to be as comprehensive and authoritative as possible. Myrdal investigated not only a range of historical topics, such as chattel slavery and Reconstruction, but how those histories were taught (or incorrectly taught) in U.S. public schools. He considered the role of social practices, like occupational discrimination and lynching, as sites through which white Americans ingested an idea of racial inferiority without being explicitly taught. Using the interwoven concepts of caste, class, and color, Myrdal posited the existence of a fixed caste system in the United States, which was distinguished from the class system by reliance on a race-based hierarchy, as well as by the caste system's greater durability. Myrdal argued against the use of the term *race*, which he believed had biological implications that contributed to the diffusion of bigotry.

Myrdal ultimately devoted 10 chapters to cultural trends in African American political organizing, economic opportunity, religious institutions, and social thought. Generally, he believed that new social formations and changes being brought to bear by World War II would have the effect of creating major changes in U.S. race relations. The

book's tremendous impact is explained, in part, by this prescience.

The study is not altogether progressive with regard to its assumptions about the social construction of race in the United States; for example, Myrdal ascribed a "social pathology" to the black community. Stemming from a sociopsychological sense of inferiority derived from caste pressure, the pathology explained why black family formation, crime and insanity rates, and the supposed dearth of cultural accomplishments in black culture were out of step with other ethnic groups. The data and assumptions supporting these contentions were widely criticized by later scholars.

Impact and Legacy

An American Dilemma has sold well over 100,000 copies. Perception of its impact today derives largely from its citation, in the desegregating U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, as a general influence on the court's ruling. In the 1950s and 1960s, Myrdal's work created what David Southern has suggested was a white liberal orthodoxy on race; he argues that it had enormous appeal to those who believed reformation of race relations should be gradual and orderly, and hence the book had a tempering effect on civil rights organizing. Per David Southern, Myrdal's study may also have played a role in diverting midcentury scholars toward the study and criticism of white, rather than nonwhite, political attitudes about race.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement; Ghetto; Lynchings; Race; Race Riots; Racism; Segregation.

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American G.I. Forum

In the spring of 1948, after experiencing years of segregation and inequality as repayment for extensive honorable service in World War II, Mexican American veterans met in Corpus Christi, Texas, to found the American G.I. Forum (AGIF). Led by Dr. Hector P. Garcia, the AGIF challenged not only discrimination in military benefits but also in housing, education, health care, and politics. The AGIF has persisted over the past six decades by evolving to meet contemporary issues in the Mexican American community, working with other Chicano civil rights organizations, and serving as a model and training ground for Mexican American leaders. Women's, youth, and senior auxiliaries of the AGIF have made it a family organization bridging generations.

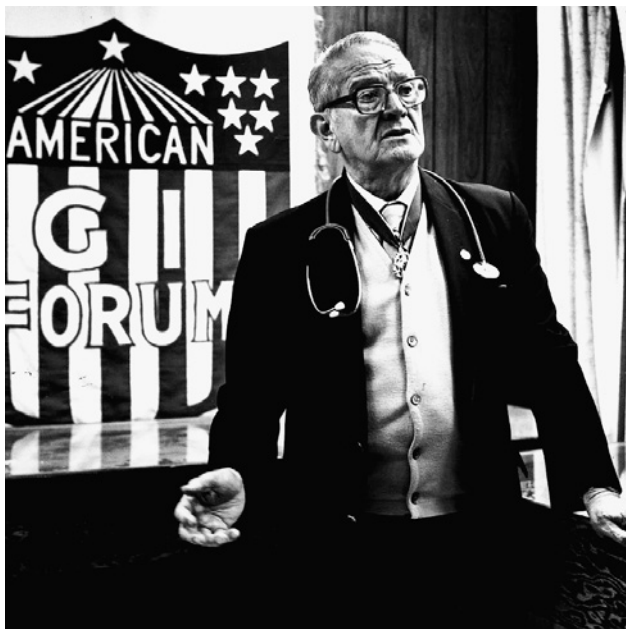
The 1944 Serviceman's Readjustment Act, popularly known as the G.I. Bill of Rights, was the product of the Bonus Army March during the Great Depression and fears of another possible economic crisis upon the return of so many men back into the domestic economy as the war neared its end. The G.I. Bill provided unemployment pay to help transitioning veterans; loan guarantees for homes, businesses or farms; and education and training. The inability of Mexican Americans to access these benefits, or use local American Legion clubs that were "whites only," was unacceptable to returning veterans and their families. Leadership and negotiating the military bureaucracy were two things Mexican Americans learned from their service, and they applied that knowledge to the creation of the AGIF, which moved from the awarding of basic benefits to discrimination on draft boards and lagging health care. It fought for migrant workers, students, and voters.

The case of Private Felix Longoria of Three Rivers, Texas, provided a successful platform for the launching of AGIF issues to a larger audience. Private Longoria was killed in action in the Philippines, yet his family was denied use of Rice Funeral Home for services because the funeral director contended whites would not like it, and the cemetery was segregated. Longoria's widow and sister-in-law contacted Dr. Hector P. Garcia to see what might be done about the matter. Garcia brought national attention to the case of Felix Longoria, prompting then Texas Senator

Lyndon Baines Johnson to have Longoria buried with honors in Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia, in 1949.

In 1954, the AGIF took up the case of Pete Hernández (*Hernández v. Texas*) in conjunction with the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); the case went to the U.S. Supreme Court and expanded the understanding and application of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. *Hernández v. Texas* recognized class bias in jury selection as equal to race, and that was more than just a black–white binary. It eventually led to Mexican Americans being recognized as an ethnic minority group in the state. The G.I. Forum also ensured enforcement of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision in the Texas Supreme Court by challenging violations by local school districts.

The G.I. Forum expanded across the country in the late 1950s and engaged in electoral work on behalf of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. Following the victory of Kennedy, forum members rose to a few positions of national leadership. In the late 1960s, forum charter member Vicente T. Ximenes was appointed the head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC),



Dr. Hector P. Garcia founded the American G.I. Forum after World War II to fight discrimination against Mexican American veterans. He was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1984.

and Dr. Garcia was appointed by President Johnson as alternate ambassador to the United Nations. Dr. Garcia addressed the UN in Spanish, the first time the nation was represented in a language other than English. Garcia and other forum members marched with farm workers in Texas in 1968 and continued to expand their work beyond veterans' affairs to address veterans' communities and broad socioeconomic and political conditions.

While focused on official channels of government, the G.I. Forum also engaged in more direct actions; in 1972 Dr. Garcia and 17 students were arrested for a sit-in targeting the Corpus Christi School District for de facto segregation after the *Brown* decision. He also spoke against making English the official language of the United States in 1987, three years after receiving the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor, from Ronald Reagan, who supported the English language agenda.

In 1998, President Bill Clinton made the AGIF a congressionally chartered veteran's organization following the death of Dr. Hector P. Garcia earlier that year. Garcia was also recognized as a national hero when his image was placed on the \$75 I bond series issued by the U.S. Treasury, joining other famous ethnic Americans such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Marian Anderson, Chief Joseph, and Spark M. Matsunaga.

Today the AGIF has chapters in 40 states and Puerto Rico, and operates under the motto Education Is Our Freedom, and Freedom Should Be Everybody's Business.

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See Also: *Hernández v. Texas* (1954); League of United Latin American Citizens; Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Servicemen's Readjustment Act (1944); World War II.

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American Indian Movement

In 1968, an activist group of Native Americans from the Oglala Lakota Sioux tribes, including Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, Russell Means, and George Mitchell, founded the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Minneapolis, Minnesota, to address issues of housing, treaties, and police harassment. A year later, AIM joined with the Indians of All Nations to occupy Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay. The event gained national attention and focused awareness on issues impacting American Indians.

Background

There had been several American Indian social movements prior to AIM, including the “ghost dance” and “peyote meetings,” which are the most widely recognized. These earlier social movements united American Indians from several different cultures, highlighting the commonalities among the nations in their struggle against conquest. This “pan-Indianism” was further developed as a result of other federal policies, such as the movement of Indian children to boarding schools where they interacted on a daily basis with white society, and the relocation policy that moved American Indians to the cities, where they interacted with people from tribal backgrounds different from their own.

One of the first major political organizations that formed was the Society for American Indians. After the American Indian New Deal policies came into play, the American Indian Federation rose to address the issues brought to the forefront. For example, the Indian Reorganization Act (part of the New Deal) required the abandonment of tribal political structures for the adoption of dominant

group political structures with federal oversight. A second major political organization was the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI).

The National Congress of American Indians, which consisted of tribal members from several different tribal nations, developed to lobby Congress on issues that impacted American Indians who lived on the reservation. Issues included voting, self-determination, Indian civil rights, and Indian education. The most significant legislation addressed by the NCAI was the Termination Act, passed by the Eisenhower administration in 1953. This legislation called for an end to the tribal/federal relationship and the ultimate breakup of reservation land with relocation of American Indian individuals to urban centers. Many of those who migrated to the cities were young American Indians, who then interacted with people from different tribal backgrounds. These young individuals had a different focus than young people associated with other social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Unlike their counterparts, the young American Indians, instead of focusing on issues related to youth, were focused on the rediscovery of traditional ways and the interaction with their elders. In addition, their focus was on issues of sovereignty rather than issues of equality.

The Occupation of Alcatraz

The occupation of Alcatraz Island lasted for 18 months and energized the American Indian people. Although only 100 American Indians occupied Alcatraz at any given time, over 5,600 American Indians served in support roles. The Alcatraz occupation brought American Indian issues to the forefront, which had an impact on American Indians throughout the nation. Members of the American Indian Movement were able to pressure the federal government to address American Indian grievances and, more importantly, the Alcatraz occupation spearheaded the beginning of an intertribal social and political movement that swept the country.

Storming Washington

In 1972, a caravan of American Indians went to Washington, D.C., in what came to be known as the Trail of Broken Treaties, in which AIM members occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and demanded restoration, review, and commitment

to treaties the U.S. government had made with the tribes, including return of 110 million acres of land—and the abolishment of the BIA itself.

The goal of the American Indian Movement was different from that of other civil rights movements. The black civil rights movement, the women's movement, and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual movements all focused on issues of equality, desegregation, and individual rights. The American Indian Movement's focus was on issues surrounding tribal sovereignty. AIM began working on such issues as housing, schools, employment services, and other tribal needs. Culture has always been at the forefront of the American Indian Movement. Its members have fought against mandatory boarding schools, suppression of Indian language and religions, and other U.S. policies.

In 1970, AIM held its first national conference to develop a long-term plan to achieve their goals of culture preservation, better education, and the right to sovereignty. AIM was instrumental in the return of 25,000 acres to the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe in Wisconsin. Northern States Power Company had built a dam that flooded reservation land. AIM took over the dam and reached a settlement. AIM took action to support issues of education and in 1972 offered culturally based education at two schools, the Red School House and the Heart of the Earth Survival School. When federal funds were cut, AIM sued the federal government and funding was restored to the schools.

Wounded Knee

AIM began to address other controversial issues. American Indian fishing rights came under attack in Washington State. Violence was rampant. American Indians were assaulted by vigilantes, game officials, and the police. AIM began to address other issues of violence against American Indians, not only in Washington State, but throughout the country.

In 1973, AIM occupied Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The conflict, occurring on the Pine Ridge reservation of the Lakota Sioux in South Dakota was a significant event. Traditional Native Americans wanted a return to traditional social and political structures, while the progressives, with support from the federal government, wanted to exploit mineral exploration on Pine Ridge. The

occupation of Wounded Knee brought AIM into the national consciousness; the media began to take notice and the nation increased its focus on American Indian concerns.

AIM continued its work to maintain and develop institutions to promote sovereignty. By the mid-1970s, AIM was running a housing project, developing survival skills, and producing Indian news and information. During that time, AIM also brought education programs to incarcerated American Indian offenders in Minnesota. These programs became models for ones later used in other prisons. AIM promoted the American Indian Opportunities Industrialization Center to address the high unemployment issues that plagued many reservations and persuaded the parent company of the Pillsbury Corporation to support job training programs. The focus on education also continued, and AIM sued the Department of Education for underfunding, citing bias.

Divisions

The end of the 1970s also brought internal strife to the organization. By 1993, the American Indian Movement had divided into the National American Indian Movement, led by Clyde Bellecourt, and the International Confederation of Chapters of the Autonomous American Indian Movement. Despite the division, however, both movements have continued to promote American Indian rights involving education, treaties, land use, and the rights of indigenous peoples worldwide.

The American Indian Movement also took on the use of stereotypical images in school sports. In 1992, AIM organized a march on the Super Bowl at the Hubert Humphrey Metrodome in Minneapolis, Minnesota, between the Buffalo Braves and the Washington Redskins. AIM identified an unintended consequence of the use of Indian mascots and names in professional sports and pressured newspapers to quit using what it considered derogatory terms. The divided AIM organizations collaborated with other educational organizations, and the result has been a decrease in the use of Indian names as sports mascots in high schools and colleges.

The two groups have promoted the international sovereignty movement, and in 1996 met with the Zapata Liberation Movement to develop strategies to support sovereignty movements of

all Indigenous people and further developed the International Indian Treaty Council.

Natural resources and land use have always been a concern to AIM members, particularly because of their unique relationship with the U.S. government over the control of resources and sovereignty. The membership not only continues its fight for support of sovereignty in the United States but in recent decades has taken its cause to the United Nations Human Rights Council.

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See Also: Alcatraz Island, Occupation of; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Bureau of Indian Affairs; *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*; Civil Rights Movement; Mascots, Native American (Sports); Native Americans; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978)

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), passed by the U.S. Congress in 1978, points out the ambiguous place of American Indian religions within American jurisprudence. Acknowledging that the federal government had failed to honor its trust responsibility by protecting Native Americans' religious beliefs and practices, AIRFA sought to redress past wrongs and establish enduring principles. AIRFA recognized the "inherent right" of all American citizens to religious freedom; proclaimed the "indispensable and irreplaceable" role of religion "as an integral part of Indian life"; and directed government agencies to "protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise" their "traditional religions."

Beyond these ideals, AIRFA cited the importance to Indian tribes of sacred sites in their traditional territories, endangered species normally protected by conservation statutes, and Native American ceremonies in prisons and schools. In all three areas Indian people were to be granted rights of access, usage, and participation.

The United States had rarely upheld American Indian religious rights. Indeed, the "right of discovery," on which the United States claimed its territorial sovereignty, explicated by Chief Justice John Marshall in the 1823 Supreme Court case *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, expressed the hegemony of "Christian people" over "natives, who were heathens." When 19th-century lawmakers passed the 1887 General Allotment Act, which forced Indians to alter their tribal land tenure, Christian spokesmen justified the coercion by stating, "Barbarism has no rights which civilization is bound to respect." Between the 1880s and the 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and its reservation agents enforced codes prohibiting Indian rituals deemed offensive to Christian and capitalist sensibilities. When BIA Commissioner John Collier avowed Indian rights of conscience and rescinded the codified persecution of American Indian religions in 1934, Christian advocates accused him of fostering "paganism" and "fetishism."

By the 1970s many Americans were coming around to Collier's notions, legitimizing American Indian religions among the spiritual traditions of the world. Congress enacted AIRFA in this spirit, while recognizing American Indian tribal sovereignty, a concept unthinkable in previous eras. U.S. policymakers were willing to declare the religious rights of Indian nations, as well as individuals, risking the charge that AIRFA constituted an establishment of American Indian religions, making it possible for native nations to claim priority for their spiritual activities, above and beyond the shared rights of U.S. citizens.

Some felt that AIRFA was constructed too vaguely, and thus had no teeth. Several subsequent court cases seemed to corroborate this criticism. In *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* (1988), a case that arose in California, the Supreme Court determined that the Yurok, Karok, and Tolowa Tribes' "practice of religion" would not be endangered by constructing a road through public forests utilized by generations of Native Americans for vision questing (the ritualized search for personal contact with the divine). In like manner AIRFA did not defend Indian sacred sites in the Southwest from development, despite native protests.

In *Employment Division v. Smith* (1990), a case that originated in Oregon, the Supreme Court ruled that "minority" religions like the Native American Church, whose use of peyote comprises its central rite, cannot expect special exemption from general state laws like those regarding controlled drugs; furthermore, the states need not avow their compelling need for such laws, even when they infringe upon American Indian religious practices. When Klamath Indian Al Smith employed peyote in religious rituals, he was not only fired from his job at an alcohol and drug counseling agency, but he was also denied state unemployment benefits. He was not accused of any crime; however, the court determined that his behavior threatened a neutral, generally applicable drug law.

The *Smith* decision seemed to put the peyote religion in jeopardy, AIRFA notwithstanding; hence, public outcry ensued, not only from Indians, but also from mainstream religious groups. In response, Oregon passed a 1991 law allowing the religious use of peyote by American Indians in the state. The U.S. Congress enacted the Religious

Freedom Restoration Act in 1993, which required states to demonstrate compelling interest to validate any measure restricting religious practices. The Supreme Court struck down the act in 1997, however, saying that Congress lacks authority to engage in judicial review.

Despite these setbacks, AIRFA encouraged Indian tribes to assert their religious values in the face of public opposition. For example, at Bighorn Medicine Wheel and Devil's Tower, Wyoming, Plains Indians successfully protected their religious prerogatives on public lands, against non-Native American hikers and climbers. In both cases, they enlisted the help of federal agencies, as suggested by AIRFA. The Coast Salish and Makah Tribes in the state of Washington lauded AIRFA for inspiring them to carry out culturally restorative activities—canoeing and whale hunting, respectively.

AIRFA also led to the passage of other, more effective federal resolutions such as the National Museum of the American Indian Act (1989), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), and the Native American Language Act (1992). In 1994, Congress amended AIRFA, providing specific protections to peyotists and Indian sacred sites. Adding more teeth to AIRFA, President Bill Clinton's Executive Order 13007 (1996) sought to guard Indian religious practices on public lands by ordering federal agencies, including the Bureau of Land Management, the U.S. Forest Service, and the National Parks Service, to consult Indian officials in the management of their sacred places. Thus, AIRFA's influence has been relatively effective and ongoing.

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See Also: Ghost Dance; National Museum of the American Indian; Native American Church; Native American Languages Acts; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Reservations, Native American.

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American Indian– U.S. Government Treaties

To understand Indian treaties, or those agreements entered into between the United States and Indian nations, one must first understand what treaties are and the place of treaties in U.S. politics and government. A treaty is fundamentally a contract between nations. The content or terms of treaties are diverse. Some treaties have to do with negotiating the end of conflict between nations. Some treaties have to do with more specific goals such as nuclear disarmament while other treaties may focus on economic agreements between nations.

In the United States the president is authorized by the Constitution to enter into a treaty with consent of two-thirds of the Senate. Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution states that the president “. . . shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur.” Furthermore, according to the Constitution, treaties are the supreme law of the land. Specifically, Article VI, Section 2 of the Constitution declares

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

Hence, only the federal government can enter into treaties, and they are superior to state law. However, treaties do not supersede the Constitution, and they cannot take away rights granted by the Constitution to U.S. citizens. Thus, as authorized by the Constitution, the United States entered into over 400 treaties (both ratified and nonratified) with Indian nations.

Terms and Provisions

Indian treaties are those treaties entered into by the United States and hundreds of American Indian tribes from 1778 to 1871. The individual terms and provisions of treaties are considerably different. While the majority of treaties had to do

with ceding of land, some treaties between the United States and American Indian tribes were related to the conflicts of early settler expansion. For example, the first treaty adopted between the fledgling United States and an Indian tribe—the Lenape, or Delaware—was a treaty to secure the Delaware’s alliance to the United States against other foreign interests of the time. There were also peace treaties signed between the United States and tribes such as the Fort Stanwix treaty signed between the United States and Haudenosaunee. The United States also helped broker peace treaties between warring Indian tribes. However, the central emphasis of treaties has to do with the ceding of Indian lands to the United States in exchange for a variety of obligations on behalf of the United States toward Indian Nations.

These promises or agreements include, for the most part, land set aside for the tribes (today’s reservations) and the promise to ensure the well-being of tribal members through the provision of services to tribes, such as providing food and clothing, education, health care, and economic development. Also explicit in these treaties is the recognition on the part of the United States of tribal sovereignty and the promise that the United States would protect tribes from being forcibly removed from their reservations.

However, the United States did not meet many of the guarantees found in the treaties. Moreover, many treaty commitments enumerated above have never been adequately funded. Finally, treaties entered into by the U.S. government with tribes have never been accorded the same status as treaties entered into between the United States and foreign nation-states. Indeed, a detailed review of the 367 ratified treaties entered into between the United States and Indian nations reveals a more complex picture. In fact, a common theme of treaties signed between tribes and the United States is the inconsistent way in which treaties are interpreted.

History

The history of the United States cannot be divorced from the relations and conflicts with the many Indian nations that eventually came to reside within the borders of the United States. The early history of the United States is steeped in conflict not only with European powers such as the English and French but also the military



Between the 1880s and the 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its reservation agents worked to suppress Indian rituals deemed offensive to Christian and capitalist sensibilities, such as the Ghost Dance, shown here in a drawing from 1900. Participants gathered into a circle as the dance was performed; it was thought to bring peace, prosperity, and unity to Native Americans.

threat of tribes. During the late 18th and 19th centuries, Indian tribes were a military threat to the United States. Treaties entered into during this period thus had the goal of minimizing warfare with tribes.

The first treaty was signed between the United States and the Delaware in 1778, in order to secure the tribe's neutrality during the American Revolution and ensure passage for settlers across its lands. During the period of 1789 to 1849, the War Department was in charge of negotiating treaties. In 1824, the Office of Indian Affairs was created within the War Department to oversee Indian affairs. However, in 1849 the office (renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947) was transferred to the newly created Department of the Interior, which oversees federal lands (including Indian affairs) and natural resources. This organizational shift also signaled a shift in the way the federal government treated tribes. Another shift in treaty making with tribes came in 1867 when Congress removed the process of treaty negotiations from the executive to the newly established

Indian Peace Commission made up of civilian and military personnel with expertise in Indian affairs.

On March 3, 1871, the passage of the Indian Appropriations Act effectively ended all treaty making between the United States and Indian tribes. The act established that Indian tribes were no longer to be treated as independent nations. Instead, tribes were to be thereafter treated as “wards” of the federal government. During the period of treaty making, 1778 to 1871, the Senate ratified 367 treaties with tribes. Another 45 were negotiated but never ratified by the Senate, though some of them have been accorded legal effect. Finally, there are no treaties with Alaska Native tribes, as the purchase of Alaska took place in 1867, followed closely by the cessation of treaty making with tribes.

Federal Indian Law and Policy

As established in the Constitution, Indian treaties are supposed to be considered the supreme law of the land and are thus foundational to Indian law and policy, in particular, federal-Indian trust

relationship—the obligation of the United States to protect Indian treaty rights and lands. Additionally, Article I, Section 8 of the commerce clause, of the Constitution explicitly states that Congress has the unique power to regulate commerce with tribes. This federal plenary power—the absolute authority Congress has to engage relations with tribes—is enumerated in the Constitution’s commerce clause and clarified in a series of Supreme Court cases such as *Ex parte Crow Dog* (1883). However, the role of treaties and the status of tribes as foreign nations have been altered in such a way as to make Indian treaties and thus Indian law and policy a unique blend of treaty rights, Supreme Court law, and legislation.

The origin of today’s federal Indian law is found in a series of cases heard by the Supreme Court in the early 19th century. These cases, together referred to as the Marshall trilogy, not only enumerate some fundamental aspects of federal Indian law, they also establish the extent of federal power over states in dealings with tribes. In the first of these cases, *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), the Supreme Court decided whether an individual non-Indian who purchased land directly from the Piankeshaw tribes before U.S. independence had obtained valid title. The court decided that the individual non-Indian settler had not obtained valid title because the land was not the tribe’s to sell, reasoning that the United States had become owner of all the land by virtue of discovery and conquest of the North American continent by its European ancestors. This is known as the “doctrine of discovery.” According to this doctrine, the act of discovery granted ownership and title of American lands to European nations, which were transferred to the United States following the American Revolution. Because European predecessors had the right to extinguish Indian ownerships and claims to lands, it followed that the United States also has this power. The court held, however, that tribes have the right to continue to occupy and use their traditional lands.

In *Cherokee v. Georgia* (1831), the Cherokee nation sought an injunction against the state of Georgia, contesting a series of laws enacted by Georgia to dissolve the rights of the Cherokee in order to compel them to leave the state. The Cherokee argued that as a foreign nation they were not subject to the laws of Georgia. The Supreme Court

held that they did not have jurisdiction in the case because the Cherokee were not a foreign nation but instead a “domestic dependent nation,” more akin to a “ward to his guardian.” Finally, in a later case, *Worcester v. Georgia*, (1832), the court clarified its position regarding the ability of states such as Georgia to regulate tribes. The court held that the Cherokee were a distinct community, and only the federal government had the power to regulate them, not the states. These three cases laid the foundations of the legal status of American Indian tribes. While the power of treaties was diminished tribes, to this day tribes retain some sort of nationhood status.

Thus, the protection of treaty rights is a critical part of the federal–American Indian trust relationship. Treaties exchanged tribal land for certain protections and benefits. These treaty rights often include, among other things, hunting and fishing rights for tribal members that may extend beyond reservation boundaries, education of tribal children, protection from the state by the federal government, and first priority to water rights. However, many treaties contain vague language regarding the extent of such rights and, over time, this vague language developed into a disadvantage for tribes attempting to actualize treaty promises, particularly in relation to natural resources. While the emphasis of treaties with tribes was to take lands from Indian nations in exchange for a series of guarantees, few treaties spelled out the rights tribes retained. Frequently, states and tribes have gone to court to clarify the vague meaning of such language in treaties. Many of these conflicts, including whether tribes continue to have the right to hunt and fish on their lands, have made their way to the Supreme Court.

Fundamentally the court has stated that Indian treaties are not a grant of rights to tribes. Instead treaties are a grant of rights from tribes to the United States. The rights of tribes are thus multiple, extending beyond those enumerated in treaties. In other words, any rights not extinguished by a treaty are said to be “reserved” to the tribe. This is called the reserved rights doctrine. For instance, a tribe keeps the right to hunt or fish in its territory even if that right is not explicitly enumerated in a treaty. However, this aspect of treaty interpretation concerning the rights of tribes is not explicit in treaties and has led to many disputes.

Thus, in interpreting treaties, the Supreme Court has established a number of rules that guide treaty interpretation. First, the Supreme Court has established that any ambiguities in treaties must be interpreted in the favor of tribes. Second, the court has established that treaties must be interpreted as the tribes would have understood them at the time they were negotiated. Finally, treaties must be interpreted in favor of tribes.

Navajo Treaty of 1868

The number and character of treaties are diverse. The history and context of treaty negotiations and terms between the Navajo and the United States demonstrates that treaty making must be understood both within the historical specificities of individual treaties and the broader historical context of relations between the United States and tribes.

Before signing the treaty between the Navajo and the United States, the Navajo endured a brutal war led by General James Carleton, who wanted to remove the Navajo from their lands to access mining and grazing in the areas of Bosque Redondo and Fort Sumner. The infamous Kit Carson was in charge of the scorched-earth policy inflicted on the Navajo, which led to the surrender of many Navajos at Fort Defiance in Arizona. While Carson promised the Navajo food and security as part of their surrender, beginning in 1863, the Navajo were forced to walk to Fort Sumner in what is known as the Long Walk, a brutal 450-mile journey during which many Navajo died. Conditions at Fort Sumner were appalling. Disease and starvation were rampant. By 1868, over 1,000 Navajo had fled and over 3,000 had died. As a result of these conditions, General Carleton was relieved of his post, and treaty negotiations began with the Navajo.

On June 1, 1868, the Navajo signed a treaty with the U.S. government as a condition of their release back to their traditional homeland, which President Andrew Jackson signed on August 12, 1868. The famous Navajo political and spiritual leader Barboncito represented the Navajo; General William Sherman, a member of the Indian Peace Commission, represented the United States during treaty negotiations. The terms of the treaty went through multiple translations from English to Spanish to Navajo and vice versa. It is also

probable that much was lost through translation, particularly because many terms in Navajo are untranslatable into English. In setting aside the most important terms of the treaty, the borders of the reservation indicated by General Sherman were purposely vague, which resulted in subsequent challenges to reservation borders.

The treaty contains 13 articles, enumerating a number of promises made by the U.S. government to the Navajos. These are cessation of war between the United States and the Navajo; the boundaries of the reservation set aside for the Navajo; the building of a variety of structures on the reservation, such as a schoolhouse; the assignment of an agent to oversee the Navajo; terms for individual land distribution; education of all children; support for farming; provision of goods and payment of monies; agreement to allow railroads and federal facilities to be built on reservation land; and agreement to end all attacks on U.S. citizens. The treaty also included terms for future treaty making; relocation terms of Navajos back to a new reservation; appropriation of money and resources, such as livestock, for the Navajo; and finally, agreement by the Navajo to make the reservation their permanent home. The Navajo have relied on these terms to pursue aspects of self-government. For instance, Article 6, concerning the education of Navajo children, was the basis for Navajo mobilizing to create and control their own schools in the 1970s.

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See Also: Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971); Bureau of Indian Affairs; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831); Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); Indian Appropriation Acts; Indian Claims Commission; Indian Territory; Iroquois Confederacy; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Long Walk of the Navajo; Manifest Destiny; National Congress of American Indians; Native Americans; Navajo; Powhatan Confederacy; Reservations, Native American; Sand Creek Massacre; Seminole Wars; Trail of Tears; Tribal Enrollment; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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American Jewish Committee

The American Jewish Committee (AJC) is one of the oldest Jewish advocacy groups in the United States. It was established in 1906, and, at that time, focused on safeguarding the welfare and security of Jews around the world, with particular emphasis on those in the United States. Today, its focus is not just in the United States but worldwide. The organization has offices in 26 American cities and

nine overseas offices. The group has international partnerships with over 30 Jewish communal institutions around the world. Today, its major foci are building bridges of understanding; advancing the security of Americans and the democratic world; combating anti-Semitism, along with all forms of bigotry; supporting Israel's quest for peace and security; and advocating for energy independence and strengthening Jewish life.

History

In its early years, despite the focus on welfare and security of Jews worldwide, there was greater focus on the United States and on countries from which Jews were emigrating to the United States. Pogroms in Russia were the initial reasons for the founding of the organization. Well-known Jewish leaders from German backgrounds were important in the founding of the organization. Jacob H. Schiff, a prominent Jewish banker, Louis Marshall, an important Jewish lawyer, and Mayer Sulzberger, a Jewish judge, were among the founders of the organization. Then as now, the central office was in New York City. Although clearly a Jewish organization, one of the important early emphases of the organization was the position that prejudice was indivisible, and that the rights of all Jews in the United States would best be protected by a push for equality of all Americans. As part of this focus, early efforts included support of social science research into causes and cures of prejudice. Despite a recognition that Yiddish-speaking eastern European Jews were coming into the United States in large numbers and experiencing problems, the organization was very concerned about the public image of Jews in the United States. They did not want that image to focus on Judaism as a foreign culture transplanted into the United States.

Louis Marshall was an important early president of the group, serving from 1912 to 1929. The organization became the leading voice in the 1920s against immigration restriction, but it was not successful in preventing the passage of legislation that set quotas on the inflow of immigrants. Marshall had more success in stopping Henry Ford from publishing anti-Semitic literature and distributing it through his car dealerships, ultimately resulting in a public apology to Marshall by Ford. During World War I, the AJC helped

create the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to aid victims of World War I. After World War I, the AJC under Marshall pushed for language in peace treaty provisions that guaranteed the rights of minorities.

Another AJC effort in the 1920s was dealing with violent outbreaks of anti-Semitism in Poland and Romania. This type of effort became more important in the 1930s with the advancement of Hitler in Germany. The AJC tried to find places of refuge for Jews until World War II started. Once the war began, the AJC focused on viewing the war as a war for democracy and discouraged emphasis on Hitler's anti-Jewish policies and Jewish-specific issues, partially out of concern about any backlash against Jews in the United States. The Joint Distribution Committee, which had been started at the end of World War I, became very important in helping deal with Holocaust survivors and other Jews after World War II.

1960s to 1980s

By the 1950s and 1960s, major efforts of the AJC were participation in court briefs as part of civil rights efforts and working on dialogue with the Catholic Church. The role of the AJC in the early development of Israel was complicated. The AJC was officially non-Zionist until 1967 after the Six Day War, although it was one of the earliest American Jewish organizations to open an office in Israel. Important to the AJC was an agreement with Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion in 1950 that stated the political allegiance of American Jews was solely to their country of residence.

Following the 1967 war, the AJC transformed itself into a major defender of the Jewish state. By the 1970s, the AJC was one of the major organizations leading the fight to pass antiboycott legislation to counter the Arab League boycott of Israel. In 1975, the AJC became the first Jewish organization to campaign against the United Nations' (UN) Zionism is Racism resolution. The AJC worked on breaking Israel's diplomatic isolation at the UN and helped it gain acceptance in WEOG (West Europe and Others), one of the UN's five regional groups.

Another effort in the 1980s was working on the problem of Soviet Jewry and their wish to emigrate. The AJC was one of the founders of the specialized organization, the American Jewish

Conference on Soviet Jewry. It was a backer of the Freedom Sunday Rally on behalf of Soviet Jewry, which organized 250,000 people for a rally in Washington, D.C., demanding that the Soviet government allow Jewish emigration.

Publishing

In addition to these more political and organizing tasks, the AJC played a major role in Jewish publications until recent years. It was the publisher of *Commentary* from 1945 to 2007, a magazine focused on political and cultural commentary and analysis of politics and society in the United States and the Middle East. Though the initial image of this publication was liberal, the magazine has moved to the right and is now the voice of neoconservatives and independent of the AJC. The other publishing effort of the AJC from 1906 through 2008 was the *American Jewish Yearbook*, a detailed annual account of Jewish life in the United States, Israel, and other parts of the world.

International Involvement

In the last 20 years, the AJC has taken on a number of international efforts in addition to its U.S. concerns. One major international effort has been the opening in 2003 of the Transatlantic Institute in Brussels, Belgium. The goal of this institute is to foster improved relations between Europe, Israel, and the United States. It sponsors regular meetings with foreign diplomats, held both in the United States and in their home countries. The AJC started what has become known as the "diplomatic marathon," generally held in September each year; this is a series of meetings with high-level representatives of foreign countries that is held in New York during the UN General Assembly session. More than 70 nations have participated in this effort. As a way to remain involved in both domestic and international political decisions, the AJC annual meeting was moved from New York to Washington, D.C., to facilitate the involvement of government officials and foreign diplomats. In 2010, the meeting was renamed "The Global Forum." Additionally, Project Interchange, a previously independent body that ran seminars in Israel for influential Americans, became part of the AJC.

As the numbers of formerly Russian Jews living in the United States increased, another push has been the opening of a Russian Affairs Division to

help identify and train new leaders in American Jewish public advocacy. Continuing its tradition of focusing on broader humanitarian needs as well as specifically Jewish issues, the AJC contributed over \$2 million to relief efforts following Hurricane Katrina and the southeast Asia tsunami.

All these recent efforts have been led by Executive Director David Harris, who was named to that post in 1990. The push for more international involvement has been one of his goals. Another newer initiative for the AJC has been the advocacy of energy independence for the United States. This is seen as furthering overall positive goals for the United States with the additional benefit that by helping reduce dependence on foreign, especially Arab, oil it may contribute to greater stability in the Middle East, which would benefit all countries, especially Israel. In addition to urging the United States to focus more on the environment, the AJC has tried to push the private sector to be more energy conscious. To demonstrate its own commitment, the AJC has adopted green policies for itself institutionally, including earning LEED certification in 2011 through making its New York headquarters energy efficient and environmentally sound.

Pushes in the human rights area now occur through the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights (JBI), named for one of the two AJC leaders who pushed in the founding conference of the United Nations in 1945 to ensure that the UN Charter included international human rights guarantees. The JBI focuses on human rights issues of core importance to the Jewish community, such as combating religious intolerance, torture, discrimination (whether based on race, religion, sex, or other status), and preventing the indifference that can lead to genocide.

Recent Issues

An area of recent concern for the AJC, which covers both its interests in the human rights areas and in immigration, has been making policy statements about important immigration issues. The AJC has condemned Arizona S.B. 1070, and has viewed it as a setback in national efforts to achieve immigration reform. The public statements of the AJC about the law when it was under scrutiny by the U.S. Supreme Court were based on

the AJC's general approach that federal immigration reforms must meet the rule of law, include humane treatment of immigrants, and avoid any exploitation of undocumented workers.

In terms of recent issues related to Israel and peace in the Middle East, the AJC supports a negotiated two-state settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The organization on its Web site argues that the current Palestinian strategy of unilateralism, to seek UN recognition for a state that does not yet exist, and to do so without talking to Israel, will harm the peace process. The AJC argues that returning to direct talks is the only path to peace.

In October 2011, the AJC issued a joint statement with the Anti-Defamation League urging American Jews to support a Joint Unity Pledge. The pledge states that "America's friendship with Israel is an emotional, moral and strategic bond that has always transcended politics." In addition, the statement urged that "now is the time to reaffirm that Israel's well-being is best served, as it always has been, by American voices raised together in unshakeable support for our friend and ally." The statement brought protest from Jewish opponents of President Barack Obama's reelection; they perceived it as a call to avoid criticizing the president's policies toward Israel.

In response to some of the criticism, the AJC's executive director David Harris said that the



These wooden plaques for the victims of Auschwitz were placed by the March of the Living, an annual program for students. The American Jewish Committee played an important role helping survivors of the Holocaust after World War II.

statement was intended to preserve the tradition of bipartisan support for Israel and prevent support from becoming subject to partisan politics. Harris recognized the right of people within the Jewish community to take a partisan position, but also stressed the need for both parties to remain strong advocates for Israel.

In recent years, with the growth of Internet-based media efforts, one major activity for the AJC is participation in op-ed pages, interviews, and Web-based publications. The executive director, David Harris, is a regular contributor to the *Huffington Post* and *Jerusalem Post*, in addition to maintaining a blog.

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See Also: American Jewish Congress; Anti-Defamation League; Anti-Semitism; Hadassah; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; National Council of Jewish Women.

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American Jewish Congress

The American Jewish Congress is an association of Jewish Americans organized to defend Jewish interests at home and abroad through public policy advocacy, using diplomacy, legislation, and the courts. This organization is sometimes confused with the American Jewish Committee, which generally goes by the acronym AJC, making it better

to refer to this organization as the AJCongress. Although the organization has a long, proud history, its present situation is difficult, because the bulk of its operating funds were invested with the Madoff group. Because of this, the AJCongress suspended its activities and laid off many of its staff on July 13, 2010. While the organization continues to maintain a Web site, it has not yet really recovered from the losses in operating funds held by the Madoff group. It continues with some activities such as its annual lunches for the Financial Services Industries Awards, with the 48th being held in October 2012.

The organization was started in 1918 by a mix of Jewish leaders, including those from recent immigrant community organizations and Zionist organizations. Its initial meeting was held in Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Prominent Jewish leaders at the time who were part of the initial meeting included Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Felix Frankfurter, and Louis Brandeis, the first Jewish member of the U.S. Supreme Court. The original focus of the organization was to have a national democratic organization of Jewish leaders from all over the country to rally for equal rights for all Americans regardless of race, religion, or national ancestry. One of its stated goals was equal rights for all, and one of the pushes for the founding of the organization was to present a unified American Jewish position at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Rabbi Wise became one of the important leaders of the group, leading to its effectiveness as a pressure group starting in the 1920s. He remained the president and chief spokesperson of the AJCongress until his death in 1949. The organization was very active in the 1930s and 1940s. It was one of the first Jewish organizations to boycott Nazi goods in the 1930s, despite the objection of many other Jewish groups. In 1936, the American Jewish Congress was instrumental in establishing the World Jewish Congress (WJC). While continuing in his position as president of the AJCongress, Rabbi Wise was also elected president of the WJC. During World War II, the AJCongress acted as a liaison between the U.S. government and the WJC on issues relating to rescue attempts made on behalf of European Jews.

In August 1942, Rabbi Wise received a cable from the WJC representative in Switzerland,

Gerhard Riegner, about Nazi plans to exterminate all of European Jewry; the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp was specifically mentioned in the cable. After the State Department confirmed the information, the AJCongress convened the Joint Emergency Committee, which tried to coordinate all major Jewish organizations in the United States in lobbying efforts with the Roosevelt administration. By December 1942, the AJCongress established a Planning Committee, although it was never more than marginally successful. It did hold a large rally at Madison Square Garden on March 1, 1943, with a crowd of 70,000, and some similar but smaller rallies in other U.S. cities.

The AJCongress was pro-Zionist in its platform and had overlapping leadership with the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA). During World War II, the two organizations agreed to concentrate on different tasks, with the AJCongress focused on rescuing European Jews while ZOA worked to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. After the war, the AJCongress was active in pushing for the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948; along with ZOA, it was one of the early organizations to support the founding of Israel as a Jewish state.

The AJCongress also pioneered the use of U.S. courts in the 1940s to defend Jewish rights, even though some other Jewish organizations cautioned that Jews should be less outspoken. Rabbi Joachim Prinz was president from 1958 to 1966, a period when a major focus of the organization was civil rights activities, many of which were linked to the movement for greater civil rights for African Americans. Rabbi Prinz served as a founding chairman of the 1963 March on Washington and spoke at the event.

The AJCongress was a pioneer in the struggle for Soviet Jewry—before it became a popular movement. However, the organization did experience a drop-off in its membership throughout the 1980s and 1990s. After that drop-off, the AJCongress focused more on constitutional issues domestically and supporting Israel and challenging anti-Semitism abroad. It has been involved in a large number of civil rights and religious freedoms cases, before courts at all levels of government, with a focus on federal courts and the U.S. Supreme Court. The AJCongress has advocated the removal of religious symbols from public life,

including Christian symbols but also public displays of menorahs during Chanukkah. The group has also monitored use of federal funds given to faith-based institutions to provide social services.

One additional area of focus for the AJCongress has been issues linked to the role of women in Jewish organizations and their inclusion in public life. It was the first mainstream Jewish organization with a membership of both men and women to devote great effort to women's issues, such as the establishment in 1984 of the Commission for Women's Equality. In 1996, the organization sponsored a conference, *Understanding the Genetics of Breast Cancer: Implications for Treatment, Policy and Advocacy*, under the direction of its Commission for Women's Equality. In 2000, the AJCongress held a session on Cancer Genetics in the Ashkenazi Community to explore medical breakthroughs since the first conference. In May 2006, a major women's conference was held in Tel Aviv, bringing together American and Israeli women.

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See Also: American Jewish Committee; Anti-Defamation League; Anti-Semitism: Hadassah; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; National Council of Jewish Women.

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American Revolution

Although colonial America was largely populated by people of English heritage, it also contained a multiplicity of others whose ancestry traced back to nearly every language group in Europe, as well as indigenous peoples and those of African

ancestry. It has been estimated that at the time of the Revolution about 85 percent of the white colonial population hailed from the British Isles, but not all were English. There were large contingents of Irish, Welsh, Scots, and Scots-Irish, not all of whom would consider themselves to be “English.” About 8.8 percent of the white population were of German ancestry, 3.5 percent of Dutch descent, and a smattering of other groups that may have had local significance but otherwise constituted quite small percentages.

Multicultural Influence

The multicultural influence on the American Revolution, and the corresponding influence of the revolution on American multiculturalism, can be defined in three categories. First, in some cases ethnicity appears to have been a factor in why some groups supported the revolution in greater proportion than others. Second, the assistance rendered to the new “United States” by traditional enemies, such as France and Spain, had an influence on how these nations and their cultures were viewed following the war, and thus the acceptance of French and Spanish cultural elements in America. And third, individuals who came to North America to support the Revolution left a lasting legacy that became, in different ways, a part of the American multicultural mosaic.

Among the diverse groups within colonial America, some contained sizable numbers of people who tended to be anti-English. The Scots-Irish, whose ancestors moved from Scotland to Northern Ireland, then on to North America, were mostly Presbyterians who settled in Pennsylvania and along the frontier edges of the southern colonies. In America, their dislike for the British government was compounded by their residence on the frontier or “backcountry” areas that were remotely located from the centers of political and economic power in the lowland areas. Residents of the backcountry often felt a sense of neglect, with a frequent complaint being that the only time they saw any evidence of government concern was when the tax collector arrived. For these reasons, the majority of Scots-Irish appear to have supported the American Revolution.

Historian James G. Leyburn noted in his *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* that the largely

Scots-Irish community of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, declared its own independence a year before the Declaration of Independence when it adopted the Mecklenburg Declaration in 1775. It was the heavily Scots-Irish Virginia and North Carolina militia that won the critical Battle of Kings Mountain, which caused the British to abandon their Southern Campaign, leading eventually to the decisive defeat of the British at Yorktown. Leyburn quoted a British major general as stating that “half the rebel Continental Army were from Ireland.” He quotes a Hessian officer serving with the British forces in a similar vein: “Call this war by whatever name you may, only call it not an American rebellion; it is nothing more or less than a Scotch Irish Presbyterian rebellion.” No doubt these are exaggerations, but the comments nonetheless acknowledged the significant support of the Scots-Irish for the revolutionary cause.

In New York, the German and Dutch farmers in the Hudson, Mohawk, and Schoharie valleys were under the political control of English landlords, or in the case of the Hudson valley the descendants of the Dutch patroons who had formed a political alliance with the British to maintain their economic and political position. The Germans, and most of the Dutch, tended to support the revolutionary cause as a means of eliminating the political and economic control of the English landlords. This was clearly seen in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys where the American Revolution quickly turned into a local civil war. The German and Dutch population, together with some English small farmers, forced the leading English families to flee to Canada, from where the Loyalists staged at least one major invasion of central New York and engaged in a brutal frontier civil war, with the colonials on one side and Loyalists and their Indian allies on the other, in attempts to regain their lands.

In Pennsylvania, by 1766, one-third of all the residents were of German birth or ancestry. They had a fierce loyalty to their language and heritage that led them to resist English cultural influences during the colonial era. Regarded as “inferior” by the English, and treated as such, the Germans in Pennsylvania proved to be strong allies of the revolution against British control. Like the Germans and Dutch of New York, they raised their own military units to serve in the revolutionary forces.

Iroquois Confederacy

Among indigenous peoples, the most important group during the colonial era were the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy—Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, and Tuscarora. As British allies during most of the French and Indian Wars, they were a powerful group whose influence spread as far west as modern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois, and as far south as Virginia. Furthermore, their strategic location in central New York controlled the vital trade routes to the west. During the Revolution the majority of the Iroquois remained loyal to the Crown, but the Oneida and a few scattered individuals from other groups allied with the revolutionaries.

The Iroquois provided significant military assistance to the British, while the Oneida sent men to fight with the local Mohawk Valley militia and in other campaigns such as Saratoga. However, the rift in the Iroquois Confederacy was the first time that the bonds between the tribes were broken. During the summer of 1779, General John Sullivan led an American army that devastated Iroquois villages in western New York, leaving an estimated 5,000 homeless and dependent on British assistance during the following winter. This, combined with the fact that most of the Iroquois sided with the British, largely destroyed their traditional military and political power. American promises to the Oneida were also largely discarded in the wake of the war as the former Iroquois land was systematically appropriated through spurious agreements and sold to white settlers.

Free Africans

Free Africans in the north often responded to the revolutionary cause by volunteering for service in New England militia units or as crew members on patriot vessels. Rhode Island, in particular, sought to enlist black troops, including enslaved people, into its Continental forces in lieu of white volunteers. On the British side, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation offering freedom to any enslaved person who would volunteer to fight with the British. An estimated 300 responded. In response, in 1776 the Continental Congress agreed to allow free blacks to enlist in the Continental forces, but some southern states

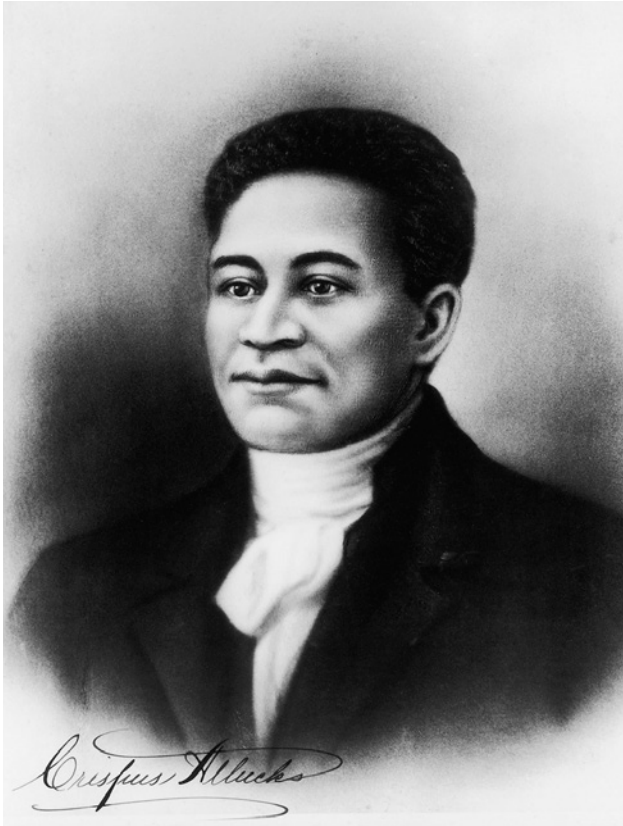
continued to refuse enlistment to Africans. Additionally, some Africans rendered valuable service to the patriot cause as spies, particularly in the Carolinas.

Following the war those who sided with the British were mostly evacuated when the British left, and resettled in Nova Scotia, London, or West Africa. It is estimated that about 10,000 slaves belonging to Loyalists were evacuated during the British withdrawal from Charleston and Savannah and relocated as enslaved people, mostly to Jamaica and St. Augustine. Some of those who fought for American independence gained their freedom, but others did not—it appears to have been a case of individual owners either honoring previous agreements or not. In other respects, African contributions were quickly forgotten and their lives remained largely unchanged.

Foreign Assistance and Cultural Influences

After a long series of wars, Britain expelled France from North America in 1763. Although the French were anxious for revenge, at the beginning of the American Revolution they did not wish to become embroiled in another costly war by openly supporting a revolt few thought had any chance of success. Nevertheless, the French were willing to supply arms, ammunition, and other materiel through a covert Portuguese trading company established for that purpose. France also supplied financial aid and allowed some of its trained military personnel, especially highly sought military engineers, to take a “leave of absence” during which they went to aid the colonists in North America.

Following the American victory at the Battle of Saratoga in late 1777, the French, convinced that the colonials could win their fight for independence, officially recognized the United States and openly came into the war as its ally. French troops and naval units were sent to North America where they proved crucial in the British defeat at the Battle of Yorktown, which ended large-scale military operations and eventually led to the Treaty of Paris guaranteeing American independence in 1783. After decades of hostility toward the Catholic French who were the major enemy during the French and Indian Wars, the English-speaking Protestants who populated the United States generally began to adopt a more accepting



Crispus Attucks, an American slave and merchant seaman, was the first person shot to death during the Boston Massacre in 1770. He became an icon of the antislavery movement and was held up as the first martyr of the American Revolution.

attitude toward things French. In the aftermath of the Revolution, French fashions, music, cuisine, and wine became popular, especially in the more eastern cities.

In 1775, England's primary rival for control of the Western Hemisphere was Spain. Although Spain did not seek war with England, like France it was more than happy to discomfit its rival through covert assistance to the rebels. Using its ports in Cuba and New Orleans, Spain cooperated with the French in shipping military supplies to the Americans, while denying the British usage of their port facilities and access to the lower Mississippi River, which might have allowed them to secure control of the areas west of the Allegheny Mountains early in the conflict.

Spain, like France, eventually declared war and acted aggressively to rid the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf coast of British forts and to capture

the important British base at Pensacola in Florida. When it appeared that the Siege of Yorktown might fail for lack of funds, a collection of some 500,000 silver pesos was taken up in Havana to support the continued operation.

Although Spanish cultural influences on America were not as pronounced as those of France—until after the Louisiana Purchase and the acquisition of Florida brought large numbers of Spanish-speaking people and their culture into the United States—one early contribution is often overlooked. In 1777, the Continental Congress adopted the *real*, or “Spanish dollar,” as legal tender in the 13 colonies. The Spanish dollar was again declared legitimate tender by Congress in 1793 and 1806 and remained a legal medium of exchange in the United States until 1857. Eventually, the qualifier “Spanish” was dropped, leaving the “dollar” the official U.S. monetary unit.

European Officers Aid the Revolution

Scores of European officers came to America to offer their services to the Revolution. Among them were some who left lasting legacies. One of the most important was the Marquis de Lafayette, who rendered distinguished service in Washington's army. Perhaps his most important contribution was his constant advocacy of the American cause, including a trip to France in 1779 to negotiate increased French aid. The result was a new French army of 6,000 troops dispatched to North America under General Jean-Baptiste de Rochambeau. In honor of his contributions to American independence, Lafayette's name has been affixed to roads, counties, and towns, as well as to Lafayette College in Pennsylvania and Mount Lafayette in New Hampshire.

Another French volunteer who served in the American army, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, stayed in America following the war. He redesigned New York's City Hall to accommodate the First Congress and is most noted as the person commissioned to draw up plans for a new city to serve as the capital of the United States in what is today Washington, D.C.

From the German states came Baron Friedrich von Steuben. During the famous winter at Valley Forge he developed a very effective system for training the American army. He is generally

credited with professionalizing the American army to be able to meet the British on equal terms. His home north of Utica, New York, is now the Steuben Memorial State Historic Site. Steuben Day is celebrated in many German American communities in September and the Steuben Society is one of the largest cultural and historical organizations for German Americans. Multiple U.S. cities were named after him and his statue is located, among other places, in Lafayette Park near the White House in Washington, D.C.

From Poland came Kazimierz Pułaski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko. Pułaski served as a volunteer aide at the Battle of Brandywine, where he distinguished himself by leading an attack that delayed the British, allowing time for Washington's army to escape encirclement. Promoted to commander of horse troops by Washington, he is often referred to as the "Father of the American Cavalry." He later created the Pulaski Legion, which he led in the Southern Campaigns until he was mortally wounded at the Siege of Savannah in 1779. He is one of only seven people to be awarded honorary U.S. citizenship. In 1929 Congress enacted legislation to create October 11 as an annual Pulaski Day. Various places have been named for Pułaski, as well as a U.S. submarine and Fort Pulaski in Savannah, Georgia.

Kosciuszko arrived in America in 1776 and his skills as an engineer were put to use on the defenses of the Delaware River near Philadelphia. In 1777 he was assigned to the Northern Army under General Horatio Gates. There he contributed significantly to the crucial American victory at Saratoga that led to the French Alliance. His next assignment was at West Point, where he was the chief engineer for the design of what would later become the U.S. Military Academy. After completion of West Point, he served with praise as the chief engineer under General Nathanael Greene in the Southern Campaigns. For his service, he was promoted to brigadier general, was granted American citizenship, and was admitted to the prestigious Society of the Cincinnati and the American Philosophical Society.

Returning to America in 1798, he penned a will in which he left his American property—including a cash settlement of his back pay for service in the Revolution and a large land grant just north and west of the present city of Columbus, Ohio—to

purchase the freedom of the American enslaved people and to educate them to become productive citizens. As executor of his will, he named his friend Thomas Jefferson. The first statue erected to honor an individual at West Point was dedicated to Kosciuszko, as was another in Lafayette Park across from the White House. The house he lived in on his return trip to America is now the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial in Philadelphia.

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See Also: African Americans; Boston Tea Party; Dutch Americans; French Americans; French and Indian War; German Americans; Iroquois Confederacy; Polish Americans; Scots-Irish Americans; Spanish Americans; Spanish-American War; War of 1812.

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American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) is the oldest national Arab American organization still functional. Founded by Senator James Abourezk in 1980 as a general Arab American advocacy organization, ADC's recent and most important work has been focused on civil rights and civil liberties issues as they pertain to the Arab American community, and it frequently joins with other civil rights, Arab American, and Muslim American groups to advocate for the rights of Arabs and Muslims in the post-9/11 period. Although it has the highest national profile of any Arab American group, it has been subject to numerous controversies over its 30-year history.

The ADC's current work focuses on tracking instances of anti-Arab discrimination in American public life and working to eradicate the sources of this discrimination. There are three main foci to ADC's work: educational efforts focused on changing mainstream American perceptions of Arab Americans, legal work representing Arab American victims of discrimination and trying to intervene with the U.S. government on policies that frequently lead to discrimination against Arab Americans, and documenting and opposing acts of stereotyping in the media. Most of its work related to discrimination has been tied to official government policies and their particular abuses; for instance, ADC was central in opposing the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, a new form of registering male immigrants from Middle Eastern and Muslim countries (and North Korea) that was billed as an antiterrorism action but in fact led to the deportation of 14,000 Arab and Muslim immigrants, none of whom were charged with any terrorism-related crimes. The ADC has also emphasized travel-related discrimination (often referred to as "flying while brown") and has worked with the Transportation Security Agency and other governmental bodies to try to eliminate the phenomenon. The ADC's annual convention is the largest Arab American political gathering and is a major organizational focus.

The ADC is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and has two major components, ADC and ADC-RI (Research Institute). While ADC handles most of the political and advocacy work carried out under ADC's mantle, ADC-RI is responsible for administering scholarship and internship programs and producing educational materials. ADC-RI has 501(c)3 tax-exempt status.

In addition to these two national components, ADC also has local chapters in areas with major Arab American communities. Currently, there are chapters in Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin, as well as a grassroots chapter in Washington, D.C. These chapters are a major part of what differentiates ADC from other Arab American organizations, which can largely be categorized either as national level, without grassroots connections, profoundly local, serving or representing a single geographically delimited community, or ethnically or religiously limited, serving one national-origin or religious group.

The ADC was founded by James Abourezk, a Democrat from South Dakota who served in the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, and who himself was the child of Christian immigrants from Lebanon. (Interestingly, he was succeeded as senator by James Abdnor, another second-generation Lebanese American.)

The original mission of ADC was to focus on U.S. domestic issues that were important to Arab Americans, although foreign policy issues were crucially important to many of its members and staffers. (At the time, the National Association of Arab-Americans had a foreign policy focus and lobbied around those issues; however, it faded from prominence in the 1990s and as of 2002 was absorbed formally by ADC.) However, it has always spoken out on foreign policy issues, particularly where they intersect with domestic issues, such as harassment and abuse of Arab American activists for Palestinian rights. For example, ADC provided much of the defense support for the case of the LA8, eight noncitizens who were arrested for their support of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which led to the U.S.

Supreme Court case *Reno v. American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, et al.*, wherein ADC and others argued that the laws used to prosecute the LA8 were unconstitutional. (The Supreme Court's ruling suggested that immigrants did not have full First Amendment rights, a position with which ADC did not agree.)

The ADC was the target of political violence in the 1980s. The most prominent example of this was the murder of Alex Odeh, ADC's West Coast regional director, at his office in Santa Ana, California, on October 11, 1985. Odeh was a Palestinian American, a naturalized U.S. citizen originally from the West Bank, and a father of two. He had made repeated television appearances in support of Palestinian causes, including one the night before his death to talk about the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* by a group of Palestinian militants, who Odeh argued were not directed by the Palestine Liberation Organization. (The group that claimed responsibility was a minor offshoot of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.) Odeh's death was one of three incidents of violence against ADC in 1985; the others were a bombing of ADC's Boston office in August, and arson at ADC's Washington, D.C., office. Alex Odeh remains an important historical figure for ADC, and he is commemorated by its Alex Odeh Memorial Award for persons who have shown exceptional service to the Arab American community.

In 2011, ADC's annual convention was a source of controversy when Syrian American pianist Malek Jandali was first invited to perform and then had his invitation revoked. Jandali was planning to perform a song called "Watani Ana" ("I Am My Homeland"), which was viewed as a criticism of the Syrian regime, currently undergoing strong challenges from citizens. However, Jandali was asked not to perform the song; many speculated that it was because ADC has received funding and support both from Syrian Americans who are close to the regime and from the Syrian embassy in Washington, D.C. This led to calls for boycott of the convention from pro-democracy activist Arab Americans. The matter is still a source of tension for the ADC, but it has moved toward a more pro-Syrian-resistance position, with recent advocacy for Temporary Protected Status for Syrians in the United States

(a designation that allows them to remain longer because of unrest in their home country).

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See Also: Arab American Institute; Arab Americans; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Lebanese Americans; Syrian Americans.

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American-Islamic Relations, Council on

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) is the largest American political advocacy and civil rights organization working on behalf of the American Muslim community. CAIR is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization that uses legal activism, political advocacy, coalition building,

and education to both advance the rights of Muslims in the United States and to better inform the American public about Islam. CAIR is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and has affiliates in 19 states, with more than 30 chapters in the United States and Canada.

Greater Involvement in American Society

Beginning in the early 1980s there was a marked shift among immigrant Muslim leadership away from isolationism and a foreign political focus toward greater investment and involvement in American society. At this time, large religious umbrella organizations were formed, such as the Islamic Circle of North America (1971) and the Islamic Society of North America (1982). These two groups created national connections among immigrant Muslim populations and ran parallel to large, preexistent African American Muslim national networks, specifically the Nation of Islam and the American Society of Muslims under Warith Deen Mohammed.

A general consensus emerged among the immigrant-focused Muslim community at this time that professional, bureaucratic organizations were the best choice for Muslims' advocacy work in the United States. These discussions occurred within the larger political atmosphere of identity politics, whereby ethnic and other minority or marginalized groups organized around shared political interests. American Muslims also organized around ethnicity and Arabs participated in the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, founded in 1980 and still the largest Arab American civil rights organization in the United States.

The Council on American-Islamic Relations was founded in June 1994 following the emergence of similar organizations in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Founders Omar Ahmad, Nihad Awad, and Rafeeq Jaber created CAIR to monitor discrimination against Muslims in the United States, to protect Muslims' civil liberties, to better educate the American public about Islam, and to encourage Muslim participation in politics and society. The three founders had previously worked together at the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP), a nonprofit organization dedicated to improving welfare of the Palestinian people and advancing the campaign for a Palestinian state.

This connection would haunt CAIR later when particular pro-Israel groups claimed IAP and, by association, CAIR were a domestic front for the Palestinian Islamist party Hamas; no direct proof has been found to support these claims.

CAIR gained national recognition when it responded quickly to the initial and unsubstantiated blame placed on Muslims for the Oklahoma City bombing on April 19, 1995. In the few weeks following the event, CAIR recorded over 200 instances of hate crimes and harassment directed at Muslims, which it published in the report "A Rush to Judgment." CAIR continued to monitor and compile data on hate crimes and discrimination against Muslims and in 1996 began publishing an annual report, "The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States."

In its first years of existence, CAIR established itself nationally as a prompt advocate in cases of civil rights violation and discriminatory action toward Muslims. CAIR also utilized the still-nascent World Wide Web, creating a resource-rich Web site and sending frequent listserv announcements that established a direct connection to its base. With its established public presence, CAIR was able to serve as a platform for Muslims to speak on legislation and with political candidates.

In 1999, CAIR joined with the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), the American Muslim Alliance (AMA), and the American Muslim Council (AMC) to create the American Muslim Political Coordinating Council (AMPCC). The four organizations work on an ad hoc basis and coordinate the division of labor on issues affecting the Muslim community. Coalitions like the AMPCC and other civil and human rights partnerships would prove vital to CAIR in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Muslims were targeted by widespread acts of violence and Islam was branded as a violent and un-American religion. Systematic discrimination against Muslims became normalized in schools and the workplace. And the Patriot Act and government intelligence created a culture of fear for Muslims as widespread surveillance and detention rocked communities.

In the wake of 9/11, CAIR publicly condemned the terrorist attacks as fundamentally against the principles of Islam and worked to counteract the

issues facing Muslims. In the two months after 9/11, CAIR recorded 1,700 complaints of harassment and hate crimes. In addition to creating literature and running workshops to educate American Muslims about their civil rights, CAIR worked with organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild to confront the hundreds of cases of detention. In 2003, it ran advertisements as well as commercials with the theme “I am American, I am Muslim” to challenge prevailing stereotypes of Muslims as foreign and unpatriotic.

In the decade since 9/11, CAIR has been actively engaged in civil rights work, government relations, Muslim political education, media relations, and interfaith works to improve the lives of Muslim Americans and generally to promote justice, civil liberties, and mutual understanding in the United States. CAIR processes hundreds of civil rights cases annually, runs Muslim voter registration drives, and has an active presence on Capitol Hill. It also conducts sensitivity training with government, law enforcement, workplaces, and schools. CAIR maintains partnerships both with civic groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Japanese American Citizens League, and with faith-based organizations like the National Council of Churches. CAIR has established a voice in local, national, and international media and has run two major public education campaigns on the Qur’an and the Prophet Muhammad.

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See Also: Abrahamic Religions; American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Anti-Defamation League; Arab American Institute; Arab Americans; Muslim Americans; Qur’an.

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Americanization

Americanization is the process through which people become American, which in this article specifically refers to adopting the culture of people within the United States. There are several competing ideas about what Americanization should entail, and these ideas have undergone substantial changes over time as the country has become increasingly ethnically and racially diverse. Two frequently discussed approaches to Americanization are the melting pot model and the multiculturalism model.

These two models have different implications for how dominant and nondominant groups in the United States maintain or abandon the cultural heritages of their countries of origin. In the United States, dominant groups historically have had relatively greater social, political, and economic power. Nondominant groups have historically lacked this power. Across U.S. history, a variety of policies have been instituted to enforce or encourage either the melting pot or the multicultural model of Americanization, which has shaped the ways that people from different groups view and represent themselves.

The Melting Pot Model

One approach to Americanization is based on the metaphor of a melting pot. In a melting pot, substances such as different metals are heated and fused together to become one. In the melting pot model of Americanization, people who immigrate to the United States are absorbed into American culture as they adopt the beliefs and practices of the dominant group, while some aspects of their culture, simultaneously, melt into the dominant American culture. The United States is comprised of people from diverse countries of origin, and aspects of these distinct cultures have been infused into one core culture that is referred to as American (U.S.) culture.

There are many dimensions of American culture across which the melting pot model may be observed, such as linguistic practices, artistic expression, culinary developments, and cultural institutions. In terms of linguistic practices, many words in the American English language are taken from other languages in the world. For example, “kindergarten” and “angst” are German;

“bagel” and “schmooze” are Yiddish; “ballet” and “fiancé” are French. With respect to artistic expression, the styles seen in American jazz incorporated aspects of musical traditions more commonly seen in Africa. The cuisine preferred in the United States is also heavily influenced by diverse cultures. Although certain foods such as hot dogs and hamburgers are commonly thought of as “American foods,” these foods are actually German in origin. Pizza is Italian, and many of the foods and ways in which Americans prepare meat is borrowed from the Native Americans. In addition, many cultural and legal institutions in the United States have been imported from other cultures. The American court system is derived from the British system.

Proponents of the melting pot model suggest that immigrants assimilate most of their identity into the host culture, and the host culture is inherently inclusive. Many have characterized the United States as a country that has borrowed the best aspects of many diverse cultures. Not all people, however, believed that immigrants should primarily abandon their cultural heritages in order to melt into the dominant U.S. culture.

Multiculturalism

The multiculturalism model is one that values and promotes ethnic/racial diversity. The term was originally coined in Canada and has become the official government policy in Canada since 1971. The multiculturalism model enables people to retain their immigrant cultures while simultaneously having a shared, superordinate identity as Americans. The influential academic scholar Fathali Moghaddam described two types of multiculturalism: *laissez-faire* multiculturalism and planned multiculturalism.

Laissez-faire multiculturalism describes a society in which government policies do not encourage or require immigrants to assimilate into the host culture. Instead, whether or not people abandon their cultural heritages is determined by economic opportunities and pressures within society. Under this model, some immigrants may choose to stop practicing their cultural traditions or languages in hopes of establishing economic, political, or social stability. For example, one way that people might assimilate is by replacing their surname with a surname that is more typical in the United States,

such as replacing Wong with Smith, in order to enhance their likelihood of being hired for jobs.

People following the *laissez-faire* multiculturalism model do not necessarily need to assimilate to become Americanized or economically stable. To combat ethnic or racial barriers to success, individuals may network with other people within their ethnic group to become successful in certain industries or by creating what is referred to as “ethnic economic enclaves.” For example, an immigrant storeowner may hire other immigrants and assist them in gaining economic security. Nondominant group members may economically and politically solidify to gain financial power, stability, and influence.

Planned multiculturalism describes a society in which the government institutes policies and programs that encourage nondominant group members to maintain their cultures. Nondominant groups have historically lacked social, political, and economic power. These government policies typically fund programs that assist racial and ethnic minorities. For example, funding may be set aside for start-up companies for nondominant groups, official government documents may be published in multiple languages, and university programs may be created to promote the study of the cultures, experiences, and challenges faced by nondominant group members.

Acculturation Strategies

The process of Americanization occurs in a number of ways. One process through which Americanization occurs is acculturation, when people and groups of people of different cultures alter their identities as a result of interacting with one another over an extended period of time. The melting pot and multiculturalism models provide different models for dominant and nondominant groups to acculturate. Another way of conceptualizing acculturation is through John Berry’s model of acculturation.

The Berry model of acculturation suggests that four strategies are used by dominant and nondominant group members to adapt to one another and to cope with stress that may arise from these interactions. The strategies are assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. Assimilation is utilized in the melting pot model and integration is utilized in the multiculturalism

model. Both the melting pot and multiculturalism models reject the separation and marginalization strategies.

Assimilation strategies are utilized when a non-dominant group member does not want to retain their own culture and instead completely adopts the cultural characteristics of the host culture. For example, an immigrant woman may go out of her way to appear more like a member of the dominant group. She may change her hair texture and hair color, change the eye color of her contacts, or dress in the way she believes the dominant group members dress. Dominant group members can also encourage or enforce a policy of assimilation by nondominant group members. For example, an American business owner may choose to hire only those African American women who straighten their hair, or Chinese immigrants who have perfected their English skills. The strategy of assimilation by both dominant and nondominant group members encourages, enforces, and reinforces the melting pot model.

Integration strategies are utilized when non-dominant group members value their own cultures and the host culture. This may only occur in multicultural societies where dominant group members value diversity. For example, many immigrants are able to adapt to the dominant culture in certain settings (such as work and school) while practicing and maintaining their culture in other settings (such as home and church). Correspondingly, dominant group members may be tolerant and accepting of diverse cultures. For example, a judge in the court system may be open and accepting of ethnic/racial minority languages and even take a class to learn a second language. Integration is one of the strategies that further the multiculturalism model by allowing nondominant group members to continue practicing and maintaining their cultures in society.

Separation strategies are utilized when non-dominant group members value only their own cultural characteristics and do not value the characteristics of the host culture. Nondominant group members in this category may minimize their interaction with the host culture. For example, the Amish have strict codes regarding who is and is not part of their community. They also have no desire to be part of the mainstream culture. Dominant group members who adopt

separation strategies impose segregation on non-dominant group members. An example of the dominant group imposing segregation strategies is when the United States imposed Jim Crow laws, which caused African Americans to lack access to education and resources. Separation strategies are not part of the melting pot or multiculturalism models.

Finally, when nondominant group members do not value their own culture or the host culture, they may be exposed to an unusual degree of stress, leading to marginalization. For example, refugees from war-torn countries may feel estranged from their home cultures and displaced in the mainstream host culture. Marginalization may occur when dominant group members are openly discriminatory toward nondominant group members. For example, a dominant group member may tell a refugee to go back to their home country and refuse to hire them. Both the melting pot and multiculturalism models aim to avoid marginalization of any groups.

Factors Encouraging the Melting Pot Model for Nondominant Groups

Factors that enforce or encourage the melting pot model may pressure nondominant group members to assimilate by replacing the cultural characteristics of their heritage and gaining those of the dominant culture. For example, one policy that enforces the melting pot model is the sole use of English for many important forms and requirements. Despite the fact that the United States does not have an official language, the oral test to become a U.S. citizen is conducted only in English.

Additionally, despite the fact that the United States does not have an official government-sponsored religion, many governmental activities and holidays cater to the dominant religious group. As a result, nondominant group members must familiarize themselves with the dominant group's religion in order to function within society. This form of assimilation also reinforces the melting pot model. For example, Christmas is considered a national holiday and most businesses and institutions are either closed or have shorter hours on Sundays because many Christians attend church or observe a day of rest on Sunday. Additionally, there are still a few schools that do not teach the theory of evolution or teach an incomplete version

of the theory out of deference to Christian groups that do not accept evolutionary theory.

There are a number of predominant factors influencing the melting pot model for nondominant groups.

English influences. The dominance of the English and Anglo values in U.S. culture is evident in the country's major institutions, demonstrating the melting pot model. One of these values is the Protestant work ethic, which is the view that work is an obligation of every individual and that hard work is a way of serving God. The Protestant work ethic dates back to the 1700s and still influences the work ethic and capitalistic culture in the United States. In other words, the economy is based on individuals who work and own businesses. The U.S. court system is also based on English common law. The English are a good example of how an immigrant group's culture and values can melt into a society.

Becoming white. Some immigrant groups have assimilated into the dominant U.S. culture by transforming their racial identity from nonwhite (and therefore nondominant) to white (and therefore dominant). In other words, one way in which historically nondominant groups have reinforced the melting pot model is by changing their racial identity. For much of U.S. history, Irish Americans and Italian Americans were considered nonwhite and faced extensive prejudice and discrimination.

One reason for this discrimination was that members of the dominant group in the United States were highly prejudiced against members of the Catholic faith. Italian Americans were viewed as a threat on multiple levels based on their religious and linguistic differences. Over time, the groups became more accepted by the dominant culture as they became increasingly assimilated into the dominant culture. Alfred E. Smith, a Roman Catholic, was nominated as the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party in 1928, and President John F. Kennedy was Catholic with Irish ancestry. Nancy Pelosi, an Italian American, was the first woman in U.S. history to become speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, from 2007 to 2011.

Through years of supporting members of their own cultural groups, both Irish and Italian

Americans have assimilated into the dominant U.S. culture. These groups were once categorized as nonwhite but are now categorized as racially white. Cultural borrowing from the Irish and Italian cultures is seen today (such as consuming pizza and celebrating St. Patrick's Day). Irish Americans also have a significant presence in institutional sectors such as law enforcement, schools, and Catholic churches. Italian Americans have a significant cultural presence in major areas of the country such as New York City, and Italian is the fourth most common language taught in U.S. colleges.

African Americans. African Americans have a complex history in the United States because many did not choose to immigrate to the United States but were instead forced in through the slave trade. However, African American culture has still had a substantial impact on U.S. culture.

Mainstream American culture has borrowed extensively from African Americans and African cultures. For example, the banjo can be traced back to Africa. American music has also been greatly influenced by African American culture, particularly in terms of rhythm and beats. Genres such as jazz, rock 'n' roll, and hip-hop can be directly linked to African American culture. Artists such as Elvis Presley and Amy Winehouse are examples of members of dominant groups relying on and incorporating musical influences of this nondominant group. Hip-hop has a long history in U.S. musical styles and influences American culture in terms of popular dress and linguistic phrases. The influences of African American culture can also be seen on television and in movies. For example, Oprah Winfrey is one of the wealthiest, most powerful, and influential women in the country. Actors such as Denzel Washington, Will Smith, Halle Berry, and Samuel L. Jackson are household names. In this way, African Americans have influenced U.S. mainstream culture and demonstrate the melting pot model.

Asian Americans. In the 1800s, most Asian immigrants came in search of job opportunities. This led to discriminatory policies to limit Asian immigration, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Asiatic Barred Zone Act of 1924, and the Immigration Act of 1924.

However, the U.S. government changed its policies to encourage a melting pot model rather than a separation strategy for the Asian American population. For example, the Walter-McCarran Act of 1952 abolished all anti-Asian federal laws and all federal laws prohibiting the naturalization of Asians in the United States. The Immigration and Nationality Act Amendment of 1965 abolished any racial/ethnic bias in immigration laws and quotas. Today, Asian Americans are economically and educationally rising in status and political representation. In fact, Asian American children often outperform their white counterparts in educational testing. In addition, Asian American women are the most likely of women from nondominant groups to marry Euro-American

men. Thus, Asian Americans have melted into the mainstream economic, educational, and home sectors of the country, demonstrating the melting pot model.

Hispanic Americans. Hispanic Americans have historically faced many hardships and challenges. However, the United States eventually enacted policies that encouraged the melting pot model among Hispanic Americans. The federal government typically uses the term *Hispanic* to refer to individuals of Central/South American, Cuban, Dominican, Puerto Rican, or Mexican descent. Hispanic Americans have faced decades of discrimination, such as the Mexican repatriation from 1929 to 1939, when hundreds of



Kentucky Fried Chicken and McDonald's restaurants on a street in Dongmen, China, suggest the extent of the presence of American culture and corporations on a global basis. Fast food is often viewed as a symbol of U.S. marketing dominance, and companies such as these have many outlets around the world. Outside the United States, the term Americanization is used to describe the influence the United States has on other countries and their culture, cuisine, technology, and business practices.

thousands of Mexican Americans were forced to leave the country.

Despite the political controversies over the role of Hispanic Americans in the United States, the dominant culture has absorbed a great deal of Latin American influences. Thus, Hispanic Americans also demonstrate the melting pot model. They have had a significant influence in American politics, educational institutions, music, movies, and fashion. The mayor of Los Angeles, Antonio Villaraigosa, is the third Mexican American to ever serve as a mayor in Los Angeles. Spanish is not only the most widely spoken second language in the United States, it is also the most widely taught in secondary schools. Notable Latino Americans in the U.S. entertainment industry include Jennifer Lopez, Eva Longoria, Mario Lopez, and Sofia Vergara. Conversely, the dominant culture has had an influence on Hispanic Americans. For example, the linguistic development of Spanglish, a blend of English and Spanish words and phrases. In this way, the English language has influenced Hispanic American culture. In addition, a number of Hispanic Americans have changed their surnames to assimilate to the mainstream U.S. culture (for example, Charlie Irwin Estevez goes by the stage name Charlie Sheen).

Factors Encouraging the Multiculturalism Model for Nondominant Groups

Factors that enforce or encourage multiculturalism typically promote diversity by promoting the maintenance of cultural heritages and practices of nondominant groups. One policy by government and private companies (such as banks, departments of motor vehicles, and medical offices) is to offer literature and telephone consultation in multiple languages. A second approach is to foster the development of “ethnic economic enclaves” in metropolitan U.S. cities, such as Chinatowns, Little Tokyos, Little Italys, etc.

A number of the ideals upon which the United States was founded supported diversity and the social and political rights of nondominant group members. These ideals are highly consistent with the ideals of the multiculturalism model. This is not to minimize the effects of slavery or other atrocities in U.S. history, but rather to highlight the past and present multicultural values of the nation. A minority of Founding Fathers did not embrace the

dominant form of Christianity. Article 11 of the 1797 Treaty of Tripoli states, “The Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion.” Thus, it is fair to say that some of the Founding Fathers believed in the notion that government should not force citizens to assimilate to a specific set of religious beliefs.

In more recent history, President John F. Kennedy enacted the New Frontier program. In terms of multiculturalism, the program aimed to reduce poverty, improve public transportation and housing, and increase the minimum wage and Social Security, all programs that assisted members of nondominant groups. In this way, nondominant group members felt they could maintain and practice their home cultures and therefore demonstrated the multiculturalism model.

One outgrowth of the civil rights movement is that many colleges created ethnic studies departments. These departments were instituted to study the cultures, experiences, and challenges faced by nondominant group members. The goal of these departments was to ensure the preservation of minority cultures. In this way, ethnic studies departments reinforce the multiculturalism model. A number of these departments were involved in student strikes and sit-ins in order to politically fight for the rights of nondominant groups. Ethnic studies departments were backed and funded by the institutions in which they functioned, many of which are funded by the state.

Additionally, the United States offers several federally funded programs that have the sole purpose of promoting diversity. For example, the McNair Program assists nondominant students with their pursuit of doctoral degrees. The United States also institutes antidiscrimination laws. Race is a federally protected class, and racial discrimination as well as hate crimes are serious offenses in the U.S. court system. These policies allow nondominant groups to maintain and practice their cultures and therefore encourage the multiculturalism model.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Filipino Americans; Identity

Development; Interculturalism; Melting Pot; Multiculturalism; Pluralism.

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Amish

The Amish are followers of the traditionalist Christian church who are well known for their simple dress and lifestyle and who are reluctant to adapt to modern conveniences and technology. They form a subgroup of the Mennonite Church, a Protestant group based on the communities of

the Christian Anabaptist. In the United States, the Amish community primarily resides in areas of Pennsylvania. Day-to-day rules of Amish society include banning or limiting the use of electricity, telephones, automobiles, modern clothing, insurance, and government assistance. They are a tight-knit community, and members who do not conform to the expectations of Amish society are excommunicated or shunned, considered a form of shame within the community.

The roots of Amish Mennonite society descend from the Swiss Brethren, a 16th-century fellowship. The Swiss Brethren were Anabaptists, which by definition means “one who baptizes again.” These followers, part of the Radical Reformation, had been baptized when they were born, but later in life were baptized again. In 1693, a schism formed within the Mennonite fellowship. A man named Jakob Ammann, a Swiss Mennonite leader, favored strict church discipline and shunning and felt the followers were veering away from traditionalist teachings of the Mennonite Church. Mennonites across southern Germany and Switzerland became divided, and those who sided with Ammann, from which the Amish name is derived, withdrew.

The Amish Come to America

Amish Mennonites began migrating to the United States in the 1700s amid religious wars and persecution throughout Europe. The majority of early Amish settlers came to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, although others later settled in Alabama, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, and Maine, among other states.

It was not until the mid-19th century that the discussion of retaining Amish identity came into play. In the 1860s, conferences within the Amish communities were held to discuss how the followers should adjust to a modern, emerging society. As the meetings continued, more traditionally minded bishops, referred to as the Old Order Amish, began to boycott the meetings, as more progressive leaders continued to congregate and eventually merged with the Mennonite Church. The progressive members accounted for nearly two-thirds of Amish society in America. One of the most controversial issues dividing the two sects was shunning.

By the end of the 1800s, the conservative Old Order Amish only had an estimated 5,000



An Amish man using horses to haul farm equipment in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, around the late 1990s. While the farm equipment appears to be highly mechanized, it has steel wheels, which make it difficult to move. There are currently 27 Amish settlements in the United States and Canada; the community in Lancaster County is one of the largest.

members. Despite their small numbers dispersed across the continent, the Old Order Amish remained a remarkably close-knit community and retained commonality. They remained in contact not only through visits but newspapers that printed stories about different Amish communities.

The Old Order Amish is what dominates Amish society in the United States today. There are 27 communities in the United States and Ontario, Canada. The largest Amish populations are in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; Holmes County, Ohio; and Elkhart and LaGrange counties in Indiana. Other sizable settlements are found in Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. There are, however, a number of Amish Mennonite groups that do not associate with the Old Order Amish, including the

Western Ontario Mennonite Conference, which no longer exists. Because their history is so deeply rooted in the European Mennonite Church, the Amish people have a Swiss-German ancestry.

A Culture All Their Own

The rejection of modern technology and luxuries is rooted in Amish mentality, which rejects pride, arrogance, and places a high value on humility. Access to electricity, automobiles, and modern appliances would theoretically create competition within the community for goods. Likewise, photographs or modern clothing might spark personal vanity. Particularly among Old Order Amish, weddings and ceremonies are simple events, and most do not even decorate a tree for Christmas.

One commonality among Old Order Amish communities is the strong sense of church tradition, which works to preserve family and community life. The Amish believe in bearing children and socializing with friends and family, as large families are viewed as a blessing from God. The Amish have a strong sense of community, and activities such as “barn-raising” bring them closer together. Barn-raising is a community effort in which all members of an Amish community gather at dawn at the site where a new barn is to be built. Typically, men are assigned work, women prepare meals, and children run around the site all day. In this community endeavor, a barn is built in one day.

As religion is the focal point of Amish society, the members celebrate most religious Christian holidays and often those not recognized by mainstream society. In addition to Thanksgiving, Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter, the Amish celebrate Ascension Day, Pentecost, and Whit Monday. However, their celebrations are modest, and observances include fasting and meditation on scriptures. On Christmas Day, the Amish have a solemn celebration; they observe a “second Christmas” on December 26, as a time to visit with friends and family.

Specifics within each Amish district differ. These may include the color of buggies and specifications to garments. Clothing remains the same among different Amish communities, as plain dress is seen as a sign of humility. In general, conservative Amish females wear modest dresses made from solid-colored fabric. Their garments include long sleeves, and dresses are never shorter than halfway between their knee and the floor. Rarely do they cut their hair, and it is kept fastened in a bun on the back of the head. To indicate they are single, women wear a black prayer covering, which looks similar to a bonnet, on their heads, while married women wear white ones. Likewise, males stick to plain fabrics for suits and often wear suspenders, black socks, and straw or solid black brimmed hats. Men typically grow beards after they marry.

There are three languages generally spoken by Amish followers. But the English language is becoming increasingly prevalent, particularly in the classroom setting, although Pennsylvania Dutch is used in group settings, and High German is used in church services.

Further distinguishing themselves from traditional society, the Amish do not pay into Social Security. In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law an amendment that exempted certain religious sects, including the Amish, from paying the tax. Based on religious principles, the Amish do not believe in insurance, either. They do pay sales and property taxes, as other citizens, although they are exempt from paying motor vehicle registration fees and motor fuel taxes because they only use bicycles and buggies on public roads.

Amish children are taught in a one-room schoolhouse operated by the Amish community. It is common that Amish children are not educated beyond the eighth grade, as it is thought that knowledge acquired up to that point is sufficient. There are few Amish children who go on to attend high school or college.

Rumspringa

In most communities, Amish teens experience a period of adolescence referred to as Rumspringa, which means to jump around, and is derived from the Pennsylvania Dutch verb *runspringen*. During this time, teens generally court and find a spouse and, moreover, decide if they want to stay with the Amish faith and become baptized or leave the community. While the majority choose to stay, those who leave experience modern conveniences and technology often for the first time in their lives.

This freedom sometimes leads them to experiment with drugs and alcohol, although this does not bar them from rejoining the community should they decide to be baptized. In Amish communities with a larger youth population, very often there are subgroups the more rebellious teens can join. The period of time one experiences rumspringa varies among different communities.

Popular Culture

There is often an interest or intrigue from outside the Amish culture regarding their lifestyle. Despite their aversion for modernization, the Amish have often been the subject of many popular culture songs, television shows, and movies.

In 1955, many caught a glimpse of Amish culture for the first time when the Broadway musical *Plain and Fancy* opened in New York City. In 1985, Amish culture was the plot for *Witness*,

a thriller featuring Harrison Ford that depicted a young Amish boy who witnesses a murder in Philadelphia while traveling with his mother. A policeman, played by Ford, goes into hiding with the family. The film received eight Academy Award nominations and won two for Best Original Screenplay and Best Film Editing.

On the small screen, the Amish became the subject of reality television when *Amish in the City* aired on UPN in 2004. The show depicted Amish teenagers living together in non-Amish society during Rumspringa and followed their decision of whether to join the church and be baptized. Although *Amish in the City* was controversial, another television show, *Breaking Amish* on TLC, with a similar plotline, aired in 2012. *Breaking Amish* follows five Amish people who have chosen to leave their roots and explore outside the strict Mennonite community. This show goes beyond following Amish youth on Rumspringa and shows individuals who have definitively decided they want to pursue careers and live outside the Amish community, although adjusting to a modern lifestyle is not easy. The show also gives a glimpse into the practice of shunning as these characters choose to leave their family and way of life behind.

Traditional Amish in a Modern Society

The Amish are one of the fastest-growing populations in the world with an average of seven children per family. The population had a 12 percent increase between 2008 and 2010, with a current population estimated at 249,000. Although statistics show the population steadily rising, it is difficult to accurately gauge how many members belong to the church, as Amish children are not baptized and therefore not considered members until they reach age 18. The community grew 84 percent from 1992 to 2008, and within that period 184 new settlements were established across six states.

As converts to Amish life are rare, and nearly all Amish descend from approximately 200 settlers from the 1700s, the population faces genetic disorders from inbreeding. Although rare, this form of inbreeding, known as the founder effect, primarily affects the mortality rate of children. Amish couples refuse to get genetic testing to discover if they have these disorders, however,

and accept this potential fate as God's will. Their orderly genetic history, however, is useful to researchers studying Alzheimer's, Parkinson's, and macular degeneration diseases.

Despite their growth, the Amish mentality continues to clash with the theme of individuality so predominant throughout American culture. Oftentimes, they have faced discrimination from their modern neighbors, including having stones thrown at their horse-drawn carriages. Conflicts have emerged between subgroups of the Amish community, as well. In September 2012, 16 members of the Bergholz, Ohio, Amish community were convicted of federal hate crimes for beard-cutting attacks against another Amish community. Although the police say attacks within the Amish communities are rare, the Amish are often reluctant to bring their cases to the local authorities and many cases may go undocumented.

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See Also: Clothing and Ethnic Diversity; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Culture Shock; Hate Crimes; Pennsylvania Dutch; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Amnesty

An amnesty is an official act of forgiveness, or pardon, extended by the U.S. government for a past offense. Although various amnesties have been

issued by the government throughout the nation's history, such as President Jimmy Carter's 1977 unconditional pardoning of draftees who failed to comply with their military service obligations during the Vietnam War, the concept of amnesty in recent years has been most associated with illegal immigration. A controversial topic, some policymakers and media pundits have suggested amnesty as a possible solution to address the millions of undocumented aliens living and working in the United States, by extending legalized status to them. Such an idea generates intense opposition from critics of amnesty, who often counter that such a plan would serve as a reward, rather than punishment, for persons who entered the United States in violation of its immigration laws. Critics also claim that conferring amnesty to those living in the country illegally would encourage additional illegal aliens to settle in the United States by instilling in them the idea that they, too, might one day be beneficiaries of an amnesty. Supporters of legalization counter that under the status quo, several million undocumented aliens continue to live and work in the United States, which in and of itself represents a quasi-form of amnesty, even though the undocumented population is denied many rights and protections guaranteed to U.S. citizens and legal permanent resident aliens.

An estimated 11.5 million illegal aliens lived in the United States in 2011. However, more than 60 percent of this total had been residing in the nation since before 2000, thus indicating that many undocumented immigrants have established important social, cultural, employment, and familial connections in the United States. Although illegal immigrants come from virtually every nation of the world, Mexican nationals comprise the majority of undocumented aliens in the United States. Approximately 58 percent of the country's total undocumented population is from Mexico. Demographers and immigration scholars claim that net immigration from Mexico has stagnated, or possibly even declined, since 2010, as a result of worsening economic conditions in the United States that have impeded opportunities for undocumented aliens to find employment.

Nevertheless, the number of illegal aliens living in the United States increased 27 percent between 2000 and 2009, causing controversy and leading to concern and even anger in many local

communities throughout the nation in response to mounting fears regarding overcrowding, unemployment, crime, use of public services among the undocumented, shifting demographics, and the social, cultural, and linguistic impacts of migration on local towns and cities. As a result, immigration policy became a contentious political issue in the first decade of the 21st century, and President George W. Bush was forced to grapple with immigration more so than other presidents in recent decades. Growing opposition to illegal immigration led several states and local municipalities to enact their own versions of immigration reform over the past 20 years, although most of these ordinances were subsequently struck down as unconstitutional in federal courts. Amid this tense political climate, elected officials in both the Republican and Democratic parties sought to find a plausible solution to the nation's immigration policy dilemmas.

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act

Should Congress approve an amnesty for undocumented aliens, it would not mark the first time in history that the nation conferred a mass legalization on millions of illegal immigrants. The number of illegal immigrants residing in the United States increased steadily throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, fueled by economic crises and growing unemployment in Mexico and the increased demand for low-wage, unskilled, undocumented labor by American employers. Following several years of debate in Congress, President Ronald Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) into law on November 6, 1986. Also known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Act after its two leading sponsors, Republican Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming and Democratic Congressman Romano Mazzoli of Kentucky, IRCA represented a compromise between liberals and conservatives who held different positions on how the nation should best resolve the illegal immigration issue. In a nutshell, IRCA contained two major provisions: employer sanctions and a legalization program.

The 1986 law made it a federal crime for U.S. employers to hire illegal aliens and required employers to check a prospective employee's proof of legal residency before the time of hire. The act established sanctions in the form of fines issued by the Immigration and Naturalization

Service to punish employers who were found in violation of this provision. The employer sanctions plank had been advocated by labor unions and others on the political left since the late 1960s out of concern that large numbers of undocumented aliens undermined American workers through their willingness to accept significantly lower wages and poorer working conditions. Proponents of employer sanctions contended that most illegal immigrants entered the United States to find work; therefore, by making it illegal to hire undocumented aliens, the incentive to migrate would be eliminated and illegal immigration would decline.

The other major provision of IRCA established two categories of amnesty for undocumented aliens. The first category offered legalized status to those who could provide proof that they had lived and worked in the United States since at least January 1, 1982. The second amnesty, titled the “Special Agricultural Worker” program, granted legalization to undocumented aliens who had worked at least 90 days of agricultural labor between March 1985 and May 1986. Illegal aliens who qualified for the amnesty were given from May 5, 1987, to May 4, 1988, to complete the application process, and approximately 3 million undocumented workers attained legal permanent residency status under the 1986 act. Mexicans accounted for nearly three-quarters of those legalized.

Despite an initial reduction in Border Patrol arrests in the first few years after the enactment of IRCA, the law’s long-term effectiveness is highly questionable. The federal government has issued relatively few employer sanctions in the 25 years since the passage of IRCA, and such fines are so low (customarily \$1,000–\$1,500 per head) as to be largely inconsequential. Furthermore, the establishment of employer sanctions has given rise to the manufacturing of fraudulent Social Security and other identification cards. Opponents of amnesty point out that after the legalization of three million undocumented aliens under IRCA, the number of illegal immigrants in the United States increased to 5 million by 1996 and more than 12 million by 2009.

The McCain-Kennedy Bill

As illegal immigration grew substantially throughout the early years of the 21st century, the issue

emerged as one of the nation’s most controversial and emotion-laden social problems. In April 2005, a group of armed volunteers calling themselves the Minuteman Project began conducting citizen patrols along the southern Arizona border with Mexico to provide surveillance and assistance to the Border Patrol. Likening themselves to neighborhood watch groups, the Minutemen nevertheless drew criticism from immigrants’ rights advocates and even President George W. Bush, who referred to their tactics as vigilantism. The Republican-controlled House of Representatives passed H.R. 4437 in December 2005 along highly partisan lines, with most Republicans voting in favor the bill and most Democrats against. Nicknamed the “Sensenbrenner bill” after its leading sponsor, Wisconsin Congressman James Sensenbrenner, H.R. 4437 attempted to stiffen penalties on illegal immigrants and to increase scrutiny of certain legal immigrants by calling for the construction of a 700-mile fence along the U.S.-Mexico border, increasing undocumented presence in the United States from a civil infraction to a felony, and establishing criminal penalties for persons who “aided and abetted” undocumented aliens. The bill sparked massive protests among undocumented immigrants and immigrants’ rights supporters in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Houston, Phoenix, Atlanta, and other cities across the nation throughout spring 2006. Ultimately, H.R. 4437 did not make it out of the House of Representatives, as the U.S. Senate produced a very different immigration bill.

This bipartisan bill, sponsored by Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona and Democratic Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, made its way to the Senate floor in the spring of 2006. The McCain-Kennedy approach contrasted sharply with the Sensenbrenner bill in that it represented comprehensive immigration reform, which addressed many different aspects of immigration policy, rather than taking an “enforcement-only” approach. The McCain-Kennedy bill called for increased border enforcement, a crackdown on tourists and foreign students who enter the United States legally but overstay their visas once they expire (who account for 40 percent of all undocumented aliens), establishing stricter civil and criminal penalties on employers who hire undocumented workers, and establishing a

pathway to legalization for undocumented immigrants who paid a \$2,000 fine, learned English, and did not have a criminal record.

Despite strong support from President Bush and high-profile senators of both major political parties, such as Republicans Arlen Specter (Pennsylvania) and Mel Martinez (Florida) and Democrats Barack Obama (Illinois) and Hillary Clinton (New York), the McCain-Kennedy bill ultimately failed to pass in the Senate. The bill sparked condemnation from right-wing talk radio personalities, political pundits, and immigration control advocates, such as CNN host Lou Dobbs, who demanded a stringent, enforcement-only approach toward illegal immigration. An attempt to revive the McCain-Kennedy bill during the 2007 legislative session also proved futile.

The DREAM Act

An additional legislative bill aimed at legalizing the status of certain undocumented immigrants is the Development, Relief, and Education of Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which has been introduced in several sessions of Congress over the past decade but has never been approved by both the Senate and House of Representatives. First introduced in 2002 as a bipartisan initiative by Republican Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana and Democratic Senator Dick Durbin of Illinois, the DREAM Act would grant legalized status to younger-generation undocumented aliens who were brought to the United States illegally during childhood by their parents or caretakers. In exchange for legal residency, such persons would be required to fulfill certain educational or military requirements. Different versions of the DREAM Act have been presented for debate in various sessions of Congress over the years. The last version, which came up for congressional vote in December 2010, contained the following stipulations to qualify for the DREAM Act: an individual must have entered the United States when they were 15 years old or younger, be between ages 12 and 35 to apply for legalization, must have lived in the United States for five years, and must hold a high school diploma or general education degree. Furthermore, such individuals must either earn a bachelor's degree from a four-year college/university or serve six years in a branch of the U.S. military with an honorable discharge.

Despite much optimism heading into the congressional vote, the DREAM Act failed to muster the mandatory number of votes for the president to sign it into law. The Democratic-controlled House of Representatives passed the DREAM Act by a 216–198 vote on December 8, 2010, setting the stage for the Senate's crucial vote on the bill. However, the Senate (also controlled by the Democrats) came up five votes short of overcoming a Republican-led filibuster designed to kill the measure. President Obama has repeatedly expressed his support for the DREAM Act, once declaring that the bill “is not only the right thing to do for a group of talented young people who seek to serve a country they know as their own by continuing their education or serving in the military, but it is the right thing for the United States of America.”

The challenge of passing the DREAM Act stems from the unyielding opposition of Republicans who decry the bill as another attempt to reward lawbreakers, the concerns of moderate Republicans and Democrats who fear that expressing support for the DREAM Act will result in a political backlash from their constituents, and the shrill anger against illegal immigration expressed incessantly on right-wing talk radio and other media outlets, which invokes discourses of Spanish-speaking migrants as a “threat” to the United States and constructs illegal immigration as an alleged “life-and-death” struggle for the nation. One California Republican congressman referred to the bill mockingly as the “Nightmare Act” during the House debate.

Recent Developments

Despite its defeat in 2010, supporters of the DREAM Act remain hopeful that the U.S. Congress will eventually pass the bill. During the 2011–12 Republican presidential primaries, former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney repeatedly expressed his disapproval of the DREAM Act. In December 2011, Romney declared that he would veto the DREAM Act if he were elected president, and in a televised September 2011 debate in Florida, Romney criticized Texas Governor Rick Perry, a conservative Republican, for Perry's support of the DREAM Act. On June 15, 2012, President Obama issued an executive order that suspended the deportations of young undocumented

migrants who were brought to the United States before the age of 16 but who are younger than 30 years of age, have earned a high school diploma or have served in the military, and do not have a criminal record. Romney criticized Obama's order as an election-year political stunt, although Romney eventually softened his tones on the DREAM Act and immigration policy while attempting to court Latino voters in the later stages of the 2012 election.

It is also important to note that illegal immigration, particularly from Mexico, has decreased significantly in recent years. The estimated 11.5 million undocumented aliens residing in the United States in 2011 marked a decline from more than 12 million in 2007. Experts also contend that illegal immigration from Mexico was at net zero in 2012, as a result of fewer Mexican workers entering the United States and an increased number of Mexicans returning to their homeland amid worsening economic conditions and job prospects north of the border.

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See Also: Deportation (Repatriation); DREAM Act; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986).

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Amos 'n Andy Show, The

Originating at WGN in Chicago, *The Amos 'n Andy Show* was one of the longest-running and most successful radio shows in the history of American broadcasting. At the peak of its popularity the show attracted between 30 million and 40 million listeners a night, six nights a week. It was required listening for legions of faithful followers. But the historical significance of the radio show is often overshadowed by debates regarding the racial politics surrounding the television version of *Amos 'n Andy*, which was created in 1951 and aired for two years until 1953. The legacy of both the radio and television programs is a contentious subject for many people who argue about the show's racial representations and the program's influence on listeners and viewers.

Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, the creators of *Amos 'n Andy*, first met in Durham, North Carolina, where they began their lifelong relationship as professional collaborators and close friends. Gosden, originally from Richmond, Virginia, and Correll, from Peoria, Illinois, worked together for the Joe Bren Producing Company traveling the country as performers. By 1926, they capitalized on this experience by creating and starring in the *Sam 'n Henry* radio show for WGN in Chicago. The two white actors played the roles of black men. They created these characters because they felt strength in their performance abilities rested in imitating the black southern voices they had become familiar with through their travels.

Sam 'n Henry became a popular radio show in Chicago, and Gosden and Correll wanted to expand the show's reach to additional areas of the country. After proposing the new concept of national syndication to WGN, they were turned down and decided to move on after their contract expired. The pair then teamed up with WMAQ, which was willing to take a chance on syndication. The characters of Sam and Henry were the property of WGN so the pair developed two new characters—Amos Jones and Andy Brown. Despite initially tough reviews, *Amos 'n Andy* gained popularity and in 1929 the program expanded to a national audience on NBC, becoming the first nationally syndicated radio show.

The stories of *Amos 'n Andy* were centered on the two men, who had relocated from Atlanta, Georgia, to Chicago, Illinois. In 1929, when the show went national, the location was changed to the Harlem section of New York City. Plot lines varied over the years, focusing on different characters and story lines that ranged from the romantic to the comically absurd. The main characters have been classified as stereotyped caricatures of African Americans. They included Amos Jones, a cab-driving family man; Andrew "Andy" Hogg Brown, his gullible friend; George "Kingfish" Stevens, a schemer and con man; Algonquin J. Calhoun, a shyster lawyer, Lightnin', a slow-moving and slow-talking janitor; Sapphire Stevens, wife of Kingfish; Sapphire's Mama, a domineering mother-in-law; and Madame Queen, Andy's girlfriend.

The historical significance of the radio program can be attributed to several facets of the show. *Amos 'n Andy* was groundbreaking radio because of its use of the serial format. It is credited as being the first radio program to use a continuing storyline in addition to continuing characters. Gosden and Correll devised new storytelling techniques that captivated audiences. Additionally, the show and its creators were pioneers in the concept of syndication, which is still in use today.

Seeking to capitalize on the success of the radio program, Gosden and Correll spent years redeveloping their show for television, and in June 1951 *Amos 'n Andy* first appeared on television. Actors were hired and the show featured the first all-black cast on television. The importance of an all-black cast was significant during a time when blacks were primarily found in supporting roles and portrayed as maids and chauffeurs. Now they were playing the roles of doctors, lawyers, and businessmen. In a period before civil rights events such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Greensboro sit-in, and the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, the show provided hope by representing potential progress for race relations in the United States.

Despite this positive outlook by some, others held an opposing perspective of the show. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led a charge that the characters on the show were harmful stereotypes, and they called for the cancellation of the show. In an August 1951 Bulletin, they presented their

arguments that the characters showed Negro doctors and lawyers as unethical, women as vulgar, and men as lazy, dishonest, and inferior. They feared that these images would lead white people to think this was an accurate depiction of all black people.

After just two years, *Amos 'n Andy* the television show was cancelled. The radio program, in various forms, remained on the air until 1960 and reruns of the television show aired until 1966. In the decades since the shows concluded, there has been no consensus on how history should remember *Amos 'n Andy*. Whether the show was an insulting return to the days of blackface and minstrels or if it should be appreciated for its advances to radio and television will continue to be debated. Whatever the answer, the controversy highlights the changing and increasing complexity of race relations in America and brings attention to debates about the possible social impact of television representations.

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See Also: Blackface; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Radio; Television.

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Ancient Order of Hibernians

Founded in New York City in 1836, the Ancient Order of Hibernians is a fraternal organization for

Irish Catholics; it takes its name from the classical Latin name for Ireland. Fraternal organizations in the United States, evolving from tradesman organizations and Catholic “third orders” (religious orders of laymen), rose in popularity in the 19th century. They exploded in popularity around the turn of the century, when about half of all adult men belonged to at least one fraternal organization, with the average man belonging to two.

The use of Greek and Latin—as in the word *Hibernia* or the Greek letters used to identify the newly developed college fraternities—was common, as were claims of ancient origins, which were usually symbolic rather than literal. The word *fraternity* was consciously used to invoke the Greek word *phratry*, a social division within Greek tribes. While fraternal organizations of men bound together by religious faith or field of work continued, the trend of the 19th century boom in fraternal organizations was the growth in groups bound together by other criteria.

Rise of the Hibernians

In the case of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), the criterion was ethnic background. One of the largest groups of recent immigrants in the 1830s, when immigration from southern and eastern Europe had not yet picked up speed and the use of Chinese laborers by railroads and mines had not yet inspired the formation of anti-immigrant labor parties, the Irish faced considerable discrimination and poor treatment in the United States. Irish Catholics were the most numerous and the least assimilated, as Catholicism was viewed with suspicion in much of the United States.

Even Irish Protestants rarely associated with Irish Catholics because of frictions originating in their homeland. Furthermore, American public schools frequently used the King James Bible as a main textbook, and at the time, Catholics were forbidden by their church to read this Protestant translation. Given the enmity between Irish Catholics and the English Protestant culture out of which the King James translation had developed, this was an especially sore point for Irish Catholics.

The Know-Nothings and the Molly Maguires

The Know-Nothing movement developed in the 1850s, when the AOH was still young. The

Know-Nothings, an explicitly anti-Catholic political movement that sought to bar Catholics from public office, was responsible for many of the “Irish Need Not Apply” signs memorialized in photographs at places of employment. Anti-Irish discrimination and its effect on employment led to the development of the stereotype of the Irish as a laborer underclass, occupied mainly by construction and cleaning jobs, because these were the fields least likely to discriminate.

The benefits of the protection and camaraderie offered by a fraternal organization were significant. The AOH originally operated as a secretive group, as many fraternal organizations did. Its motto was “Friendship, Unity, and Christian Charity.” The group’s goals included promoting equal rights for Irish Catholics, ending discrimination against Irish Catholics, and furthering the cause of financial security for its membership. Groups like this provided networking opportunities and crowd-sourcing, which were otherwise unavailable to persecuted religious and ethnic groups.

The AOH is often associated with the Molly Maguires, and a number of men were members of both. The Molly Maguires was a secret society of coal miners that originated in Ireland and often employed violent vigilantism to pursue its aims. Members of the Molly Maguires formed a sister group in the United States, the nature of which has long been contested by historians. Many agree with the view that the American Molly Maguires were largely violent, with some further claiming that the AOH served mainly as a seemingly legitimate cover for the Maguires. This is the view of any historian defending the actions of the Pinkertons, the detective agency hired as violent strike breakers during the coal-miner wars of the late 19th century.

Other scholars either see a clearer divorce between the violent Maguires and the social organization of the AOH or see the actions of the Maguires in a less-critical light, especially in view of the conditions faced by coal miners and the tactics employed by mine owners. The negative view of the connection between the AOH and the Maguires often depends on contemporary accounts, which did not distinguish between labor union membership and violent vigilantism; both were threats to mine owners and other exploitative employers.

Home Ties

As with many ethnic fraternal organizations, the AOH retained ties to groups back home. It was related to the Catholic agrarian movements in Ireland in the 1700s and 1800s (groups that were the institutional ancestors of the Molly Maguires) and to the 1798 rebellion against British rule. An Ancient Order of Hibernians formed at some point in Ireland; history is not clear as to whether it predated the American branch, but it did attain significant numbers by the end of the 19th century. Later in the century, the AOH had strong ties to the Home Rule League, which was founded in 1873 to further the cause of home rule for Ireland and developed into the modern Irish Parliamentary Party.

Controversy and Growth

The AOH experienced a tumultuous period of division in the 1880s when the head of the order, National Delegate Jeremiah Crowley, became unpopular with much of the membership after authorizing some much-protested expenditures. The dissidents appointed Francis Kiernan as Crowley's interim replacement in 1883, pending the national convention in May 1884. At that convention, one of Crowley's cronies, Henry Sheridan, was elected by a slim margin. Within three months, a new national convention was held, in which the national board was expelled by the membership over an assortment of issues, most of which concerned the American AOH's unacceptable degree of involvement in Irish politics. This led to a temporary split as various chapters aligned themselves with one of two different organizations, both of which claimed the right to be called the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The split continued until 1898, at which point the original leadership of each organization had left the spotlight and public life behind. Irish American Bishop James McFaul was able to mediate a reconciliation.

The dispute had created an animosity between the American and Irish orders, which remained for most of a century as the Irish insurrection of 1916 made Irish politics more controversial than ever among Irish Americans. The American community was deeply divided between those who wanted to support the insurrectionists in search of home rule and those who adopted a

noninterventionist attitude, which was especially strong in that era.

In 1981, American AOH President Jack Connolly made a symbolic visit to the AOH in Ireland, beginning the process of rebuilding diplomatic relations between the two bodies. Since then, Irish AOH members have participated in American St. Patrick's Day parades, and the two organizations have begun several joint projects, including a memorial to the victims of the Irish famine (which precipitated much of the Irish immigration to the United States).

The national convention of the order in 1908, held in Indianapolis, provided this definition of the order in the preamble to its constitution as follows:

The members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America declare that the intent and purpose of the Order is to promote Friendship, Unity, and Christian Charity among its members by raising or supporting a fund of money for maintaining the aged, sick, blind, and infirm members, for the payment of funeral benefits, for the advancement of the principles of Irish nationality, for the legitimate expenses of the Order, and for no other purpose whatsoever . . . Friendship shall consist of helping one another and in assisting each other to the best of our power. Unity, in combining together for mutual support in sickness and distress. Christian Charity, in loving one another and doing to all men as we would wish that they should do to us.

At the time of the convention, the order had 127,254 members, with an additional 56,000 or so belonging to the Ladies' Auxiliary. Today, despite the considerable decline in the popularity of fraternal organizations, the order has about 80,000 members.

The Ladies Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians was formed in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1894, at which point the AOH had expanded considerably. The Ladies' Auxiliary went on to raise the money necessary to build the sculpture *Nuns of the Battlefield* in Washington, D.C., as a tribute to the nuns who tended to soldiers in the U.S. Civil War. Created by Irish sculptor Jerome Connor and finished in 1924, *Nuns of the Battlefield*

helped serve as a reminder of the benevolent actions associated with American Catholicism.

Architecturally significant buildings associated with the AOH include the St. James Church in New York City, where the order was first formed; Hibernia Hall in Davenport, Iowa, built in 1891; Hibernian Hall in Boston, built in 1913; and Hibernian Hall in Charleston, built in 1840 and listed as a U.S. national historic landmark.

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See Also: Irish Americans; Irish Potato Famine; Northern Irish Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity.

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Angel Island

Angel Island is the largest island in the San Francisco Bay and best known as an immigration station that operated between 1910 and 1940. The main gateway to the United States on the Pacific seaboard, Angel Island was a major point of landing for Asian immigrants, particularly the Chinese.

At the Angel Island Immigration Station, newcomers went through interviews with immigration officers, medical inspection, and temporary

detention in accordance with American immigration law. Some of them were denied admission and sent back to their country of origin. Angel Island illuminates the selective manner in which the United States admitted ethnically and culturally diverse immigrants to the nation in the first half of the 20th century.

By the early 20th century, Congress had passed a series of immigration laws that provided for the exclusion and deportation of foreigners on the grounds of prostitution, poverty, criminal offenses, contagious diseases, and subversive political beliefs. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in particular prohibited the entry of Chinese laborers into the United States. The Angel Island Immigration Station was built in January 1910 largely for the purpose of enforcing the Chinese exclusion laws, though the station processed other Asian, European, and Latino/a immigrants as well.

The implementation of immigration law at Angel Island consisted of several steps. When a vessel arrived in the port of San Francisco, a team of United States immigration and medical officers examined the condition of passengers and determined who could land instantly and who needed further inspection at the landing station. While cabin passengers, mostly European visitors or white American citizens, received inspection in the privacy of their rooms on the ship and were usually allowed to land without difficulty, steerage passengers, most likely to be Asian immigrants, endured humiliating and exhaustive public medical examination at Angel Island. Immigrants were also interrogated about their eligibility to enter the country. Europeans, returning residents who had proper documentation, and Japanese and Korean women who were joining their husbands in America were admitted relatively easily. Chinese immigrants, however, experienced longer and more detailed hearings because of the Chinese exclusion laws.

While their applications for admission were being processed, immigrants were detained at racially segregated residential facilities on Angel Island. At detention barracks, husbands and wives were separated and not allowed to see each other until they were admitted to the United States or ordered to return to their homeland. Mothers were allowed to stay with their children

who were under the age of 12, but boys over 12 were detained in the men's section. Life in detention was characterized by boredom and anxiety. Immigrants spent their time gambling, reading newspapers and books, or playing sports in the yards. Some detainees expressed their frustration by writing poems on the walls of barracks.

The Angel Island Immigration Station has been popularly called the Ellis Island of the West, but there were important distinctions between Angel Island and the landing station in New York. Ellis Island mainly processed immigrants from Europe, and most of them spent only a few hours or at most a few days at the station. Immigrants were



A large group of Asian boys gathered on the porch of the hospital on Angel Island in 1923. Detention on Angel Island could last for weeks and sometimes for more than a year.

selectively refused admission, but the overall purpose of Ellis Island was to let them in the country. Angel Island, by contrast, was designed chiefly for the reception of Asian immigrants, and its foremost purpose was the exclusion of Asians deemed undesirable. Also, detention on Angel Island could last for as long as weeks and even more than a year.

The operation of Angel Island came to a sudden end when a fire destroyed the immigration station in 1940. The remaining building was left abandoned for more than two decades. Beginning in 1970, community activists and descendants of Angel Island detainees developed a campaign to restore the history of Angel Island and preserve the station. In December 1997, the Angel Island Immigration Station was officially named a National Historic Landmark. With funding from the federal government and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Angel Island was restored and opened as a historical site in February 2009.

Legacy

During its three-decade operation from 1910 to 1940, the Angel Island Immigration Station processed over half a million immigrants from 80 countries. The treatment of newcomers at Angel Island was driven by the racial, cultural, and economic ideology of who could, and could not, become members of American society. Like Ellis Island, Angel Island might have been a door to new freedom and economic mobility for immigrants. Yet for those who were denied admission, and probably for those who were admitted after harrowing inspections and detentions as well, Angel Island was a bitter indicator that not all immigrants were equally welcomed by the United States. Angel Island reminds us of the contested views of immigration that shaped the historical development of multicultural America.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Chinese Americans; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Ellis Island; Immigration Acts; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.; Japanese Americans; Korean Americans; Nativism.

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Anglo-Powhatan Wars

When English settlers arrived on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay in 1607, they found a confederacy of around 30 Algonquian-speaking Native American tribes who took their name from the powerful Powhatan, the paramount chief. While the English were establishing Jamestown, Powhatan was expanding his area of dominance. From July 1607 to 1609, a policy of accommodation generally governed the relationship between the settlers and the Powhatan natives. The English needed the corn grown by the Powhatan-controlled tribes, and the Native Americans were interested in English goods. Trade between the two groups was disrupted only occasionally by outbursts of violence. By 1609, Powhatan was no longer satisfied with copper and beads; he wanted to trade maize for muskets.

It was also becoming clear that the Powhatans' view of land as communal was at odds with the English view of land as private property that could be claimed by walls and fences. The English, unwilling to trade in arms and stirred by a new charter that challenged them with converting the natives to Christianity, obtained the corn by force. For the next quarter century, except for brief periods of peace, Powhatan's confederacy and the English settlers were at war with each other. Three Anglo-Powhatan wars left the Powhatan chiefdom successively weaker until, by the end of the third war, it was destroyed.

Conflicts between the English and Powhatan's forces intensified in the fall of 1609, beginning the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1610–14). As

the colonists encroached on Algonquian land, it became clear to Powhatan that the English would not be content with Jamestown as a trading post. Powhatan laid siege throughout the following winter, leading to what came to be called the Starving Time. Rather than attacking the settlers directly, the Powhatans cut off their food supply. They slaughtered their hogs penned on an island a short distance down the river. They penned the settlers inside the fort, making it impossible for them to hunt, fish, or bargain for food.

As settlers began dying of malnutrition, survivors resorted to eating horses, rats, and snakes. According to some accounts, some even resorted to cannibalism. The English were at their most vulnerable at this point, but rather than attacking, Powhatan ended the siege in May 1610 so that the Native Americans could begin their spring planting. On May 24, survivors of the *Sea Venture* wreck arrived after a year marooned in Bermuda. They found only 60 of the Jamestown settlers alive.

With the arrival in June 1610 of a ship from England bearing reinforcements and a year's supplies, the English were reinvigorated. They attacked, burning Powhatan villages and executing women and children. They defeated the Nansmonds and Kecoughtans at the mouth of the James and the Appamattucks near the falls. In April 1613, Captain Samuel Argall captured Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan. Pocahontas converted to Christianity, and in April 1614 the English brought the message to Powhatan that his daughter planned to marry John Rolfe. The marriage sealed the peace.

Three years after the English victory in the First Anglo-Powhatan War, Powhatan abdicated his position of principal chief in favor of his brothers Opitchapam, the peace chief, and Opechancanough, the war chief. Pocahontas died in England in 1617, and Powhatan died the following year. The English used the years of peace to expand settlements and establish tobacco plantations along the James River. The English grew complacent. Then on March 22, 1622, Opechancanough's warriors attacked the colony and killed about one-third of the settlers. The Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–32) had begun.

The English responded by destroying Indian villages and crops. Attack and counterattack

became the pattern over a 10-year period. In sustained battles, Native American arrows proved no match for English guns. In one two-day fray with the English outnumbered more than 12 to one, the Native Americans suffered heavy casualties while the English had only 16 wounded soldiers. In 1632, a truce was arranged but tensions remained high. The attitude of the English toward Native Americans had been changed significantly by the second war. The idea of a people whom they could convert to Christianity and Anglicize in order to live harmoniously with them was gone. The goal now was to obliterate or enslave. The colonists continued to expand their settlement inland.

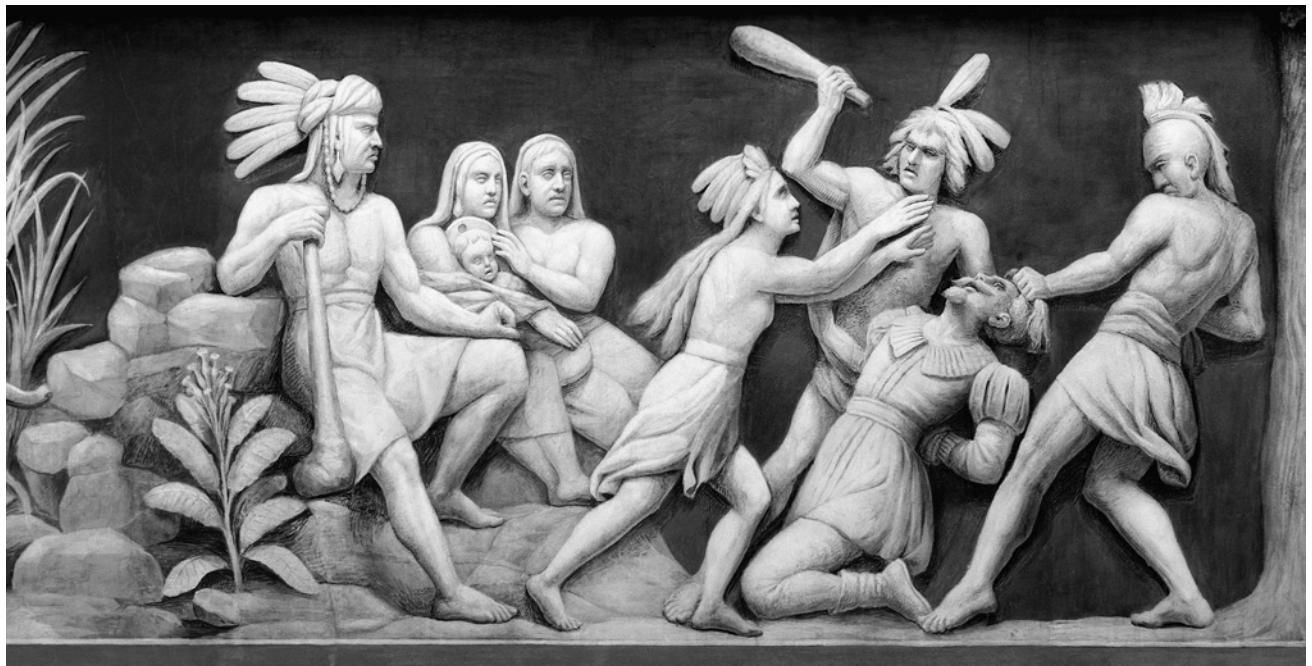
An aged Opechancanough watched the Powhatan population declining and his people being pushed farther and farther westward. Whether the Powhatans abandoned their land or surrendered to the English, the Powhatan culture was endangered. Opechancanough ordered another attack in 1644, the first attack of the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644–46). Fatalities among the colonists were higher than in the

surprise attack of 1622, but the English population had increased to around 15,000. The loss was less than 10 percent, and Jamestown was safe. The English counterattacked, burning buildings and crops and killing any natives they captured.

Within six months, the English had reclaimed all the plantations they had abandoned during the initial attacks, and they forced the Powhatans to retreat. Opechancanough was captured in late summer 1646 and shortly afterward was shot in the back in his jail cell in Jamestown. His death marked the end for the Powhatans. His successor, Necotowance signed a peace treaty in October 1646, ceding most of the tribes' remaining land to the English. The once powerful confederacy was forced to retreat to a reservation north of the York River.

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See Also: Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Native Americans; *Pocahontas*; Powhatan Confederacy.



In this sculpture, Pocahontas is shown saving John Smith, one of the founders of Jamestown, Virginia, from being clubbed to death in 1607. Chief Powhatan was Pocahontas's father, and is shown seated at the left. The first war between the Powhatans and English colonists lasted from 1610 to 1614. In 1612, Pocahontas was captured and held for ransom for peace. Peace was finally accomplished and sealed by the marriage of Pocahontas to colonist John Rolfe in 1614. This was the first known inter-racial marriage in Virginia.

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Anglos

The term *Anglo* derives from the appellation *Anglo-Saxon*, which refers to the language and culture of the English-speaking inhabitants of the island of Britain in the historical era between the end of the Roman Empire and the Norman Conquest of 1066. In America, the expression more commonly designates Caucasian citizens of northern European descent. *Anglo-Saxon* has been in use since the 19th century, while the print usage of *Anglos* dates initially from ca. 1835–45.

In contemporary usage, Anglo is used to differentiate American citizens of non-Hispanic or non-Latino descent, particularly those who live in areas of the country with a substantial Hispanic or Latino/a population. This term is not limited to citizens of northern European descent but rather to those whose primary language is English and who self-identify as white. The term was popularized in the 1970s and was most used by Hispanic and non-Latino citizens to describe white Americans, and more broadly, white American culture. The term is not often used in areas of the country without a sizable Hispanic or Latino/a population. Additionally, the ethnic groups viewed as comprising the Anglos have varied, often for geographical and/or historical reasons.

The Colonial Era

Anglo-Americans formed the economic and political elite very early in the colonial era.

Nonetheless, early America was ethnically and culturally diverse. There remained a sizable Dutch population in New York and New Jersey, for example. However, though the terms *Anglo* and *Anglo-Saxon* had yet to gain prominence, ethnic, national, and sectarian tensions were long present between Anglo citizens and non-Anglo citizens. Roman Catholic migration was not encouraged by northeastern Anglo Protestants; they instead settled in Maryland and Philadelphia. Later, there were incidents of English mobs rising against Irish and Scots-Irish immigrants.

English became the primary language in virtually every colony by 1775. In 1790, when the first American census was conducted, it is estimated that 75 percent of the population was of an Anglo background, with the majority of this population tracing their lineage to England. These English Americans formed 48.3 percent of the total population of America, but they held numerical sway only in the northeast. In the mid-Atlantic and the south, they were a minority, although still influential as a political and social class.

The New Frontier and Texas

As the frontier expanded in succeeding decades, some areas were settled by nonwhite ethnic groups while other regions, such as Spanish-settled Florida and French-settled Louisiana, possessed an existing non-Anglo majority. By 1820, Anglo settlers had crossed through Louisiana and into the region then known as the internal province of Texas, a part of the Empire of New Spain. It was here that Anglos first encountered its Spanish-speaking, Catholic citizens. Over the next two decades, interactions between Anglo settlers and *Tejano* and *Mexicano* residents would shape culture, history, and national boundaries on both sides of a shared borderland.

Anglo-American migration increased after 1821 when Texas became part of the new nation of Mexico, now independent of the Spanish Empire. The political leaders of this region initially encouraged trade with the burgeoning Anglo community in order to bolster its own economic development. This was true not only of Texas, but also of the other northernmost areas of this country, including future New Mexico and California.

Texas, being the closest to the southwestern frontier of the American republic, was one of the

first areas to receive an influx of Anglos, including both small-time farmers as well as those seeking to transplant the large-scale cotton cultivation present in the American Deep South. While Anglos also branched out to the Spanish-Mexican settlements of the far Pacific coast and created the Santa Fe Trail linking Missouri with the Mexican state of Chihuahua, a great influx of Anglos had settled in this region by the 1830s, with some estimates citing 25,000 American citizens living in East Texas alone.

If any single event could be said to have had vast repercussions on the future Anglo-Mexican relationship, then the 1821 land grant to Anglo Stephen F. Austin remains pivotal. It not only sparked the Anglo settlement boom in Texas, it set in motion events that led to the Anglo establishment of the Republic of Texas in 1836. In 1820, Spanish authorities granted permission for 300 Anglo families to settle on a large tract of land situated between the Colorado and the Brazos rivers, a decision that the Mexican authorities then finalized the following year upon winning independence from Spain. Austin agreed with the Mexican authorities that Anglo settlers should adhere to the legal and religious codes already present. For their part, Anglo settlers were agreeable to emigrating from the United States, lured by vast areas of cheap land available at a fraction of the price of land in the United States. These initial Anglo settlers are often referred to as the “Old Three Hundred.”

Another reason for the initial welcome given to Anglo-Americans was that this region had only been sparsely inhabited by Tejano and Mexicano alike, due in part to attacks on each by the Plains Comanche. Some estimates of the Tejano population of 1821 are as low as 4,000 citizens. As there was little interest among Mexican citizens in resettling to these relatively wild and desolate northern provinces, this appeal to Anglo immigration appeared a prudent move. However, as Anglo settlement concentrated in Texas, the Mexicans began to rethink their initial overtures, fearful that a growing Anglo presence would undermine their own governing and cultural traditions.

Even in this initial phase of Anglo settlement, local authorities in what was then known as the Mexican state of Texas and Coahuila, sought to

codify its initial agreement with Austin via its passing of, in March 1825, a colonization law. This law reiterated that Anglos were to follow the existing system of governance, legal codes, and religious practice.

Meanwhile, Austin settled additional land grants with the authorities; by 1830, the Anglo colonies grew to 1,500 families. On April 6, 1830, Mexico prohibited further Anglo immigration. However, by this time other *empresarios* began to recruit Anglo settlement and, unlike Austin, they were less concerned whether these new arrivals would act in accordance with existing Mexican laws and social norms. Many of this second wave of colonists began to arrive after 1830, and tensions soon grew among the Tejanos already in the province, as well as with the central government in Mexico City.

Growing Tensions

Anglo-American settlement was also continuing apace throughout the West beyond Mexican Texas during this time period. Manifest Destiny, as Reginald Horsman points out, possessed a racial element in which the Anglo-American elite constructed the idea of whiteness as a marker of cultural and political superiority. As a term, *Anglo-Saxon* gained a new currency by the middle of the 19th century; bringing Anglo-Saxonism was often used as a rationale to annex lands west of the Mississippi River, including not only Texas and the southwest but also the Great Plains and the northwest. The term *Anglo*, inspired perhaps by American usage of the term *Anglo-Saxon*, began to be used along the southern borderlands by the Mexican authorities.

There were other factors present that were not strictly race related, particularly in Mexican Texas but throughout the borderlands, which delineated the Anglos from the Mexican and Spanish. For example, many Anglo immigrants continued to favor English and made no efforts to learn Spanish, which remained the official language for legal and business matters.

Second, while Austin’s 300 families agreed in principle to embrace the Roman Catholicism that was the state religion of the republic, many Anglos strayed from this promise early on. Considering that subsequent waves of Anglo settlement tended to be from nearby Deep Southern

states such as Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana in which the vast majority of Anglos were not only Protestant but from fundamentalist religions such as Southern Baptist and Methodist, which had long viewed Catholicism as outright heretical, a widespread unwillingness to practice Catholicism was inevitable.

There were also contrasting beliefs with regard to legal and military matters, with the Spanish long having favored an approach to each that was antithetical to the Anglo-American traditions rooted in British norms. Simply put, Anglos tended to favor democracy and individualism while the Mexicans tended to favor the authority of the church and state alongside communalist practices in which the family was foregrounded.

All told, differences between the Anglos on one side and Tejanos and Mexicanos on the other grew throughout the 1830s, culminating in the Texas Revolution and the establishment of the Anglo-dominated independent Republic of Texas in 1836.

Manifest Destiny and Anglo-Saxonism

One reason that the establishment of Texas Republic was successful lay in the sheer number of Anglos living there by 1836; by some estimates, 30,000 Anglo-Americans resided alongside an estimated 5,000 citizens of Mexican Tejano descent. For its part, the Mexican authorities refused to accept the new Anglo-dominated state on its northern border and skirmishes between the two entities continued until the formal annexation of the new Texan nation by the United States in 1845.

Here again, Manifest Destiny was in play, with the additional wrinkle that in order to annex Texas, the United States found itself fighting a war with Mexico between 1846 and 1848 after President James K. Polk made clear his intention to occupy part of the Texas Republic still contested by Mexico.

There had been a strain of hemispheric expansionism toward the south that had periodically expressed itself in American political and diplomatic circles. In 1767, Benjamin Franklin argued for Anglo expansion not into only Texas but Cuba. Later, President John Quincy Adams proposed to buy Texas for \$1 million in 1828; while he was thwarted by his diplomatic minister who feared a Mexican refusal and further deterioration of relations, the following year Andrew Jackson would

make another offer to the Mexicans. This offer was turned down.

Nonetheless, as American troops fought the Mexicans across Coahuila, Nuevo México, Chihuahua, and Alta and Baja California, it was only northern provinces that ultimately proved to be of Anglo interest, despite the brief flowering in 1846 of a movement known as the All Mexico movement, which advocated the annexation of the entire Mexican state. The proponents of the All Mexico movement in part saw it as a power play against the slaveholding states of the Deep South.

As with similar proposals made during this era to annex Cuba and the Yucatán, Anglo opinion preferred annexation of the relatively empty lands of New Mexico and California to the acquisition of a large, non-Anglo, population farther south. This alternative opinion was voiced in 1848 by South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun, who opposed the annexation of Mexico for explicitly racial reasons. Despite the fact that proponents of Texas settlement and eventual annexation cited the spread of democracy and progress that would flourish in the wake of “Anglo-Saxonism” being brought to these regions by the Americans, there remained a contentious debate among the Anglo-American elite as to where and under what circumstances Anglo ideology should be exported.

After the War

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Mexican-American War and created the present social and political boundaries of the United States and Mexico. It also led to the new era of relations between the now dominant Anglos and the new Latino/a Americans, estimated to number 80,000 when the treaty was signed. While at times harmonious and at times fraught, this relation would prove enduring, well into the 20th century.

Across the new American southwest, Anglos settled in increasing numbers. While there were occasional episodes of violence between Anglos and Latino/a in Texas and northern California in 1850, 1860, and the 1870s, elsewhere relations were more peaceful. This tended to be particularly evident in the New Mexico Territory and in southern California where—as in the early days of Mexican Texas—there were relatively fewer

inhabitants overall as these areas of the country proved remote.

Nonetheless, there was a sizable contingent of Latinos living in New Mexico throughout the 19th century; Spanish presence in the region dates back to the settlement of Santa Fe in the 17th century. While some Hispanos—before and after 1848—hoped for better relations with the Anglo community, there were occasional outbreaks of conflict, including the Hispano–Pueblo Indian uprising in Taos in 1847. While the Anglo community remained small in number, U.S. forces won a series of battles and the region became the territory of New Mexico in 1850. As in neighboring Texas, the Hispano/a and Latino/a communities attempted to preserve their long-standing cultural and religious practices amid a burgeoning Anglo hegemony.

The arrival of the transcontinental railroad in the 1870s opened up these last areas to Anglo settlers. While border relations between Anglo-Americans and Mexico remained at times fraught with turmoil, by the end of the 19th century, relations appeared to improve. In the borderlands, the Latino/a population continued to grow, particularly in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas.

Anglo Ideology in the Twentieth Century

As Latino/a citizens were gradually absorbed into the American mainstream, by the 1920s, the melting pot theory of assimilation began to gain currency among social scientists, an idealistic model with roots in both J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's 1784 *Letters From an American Farmer* and Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," among others. This dovetailed with a new influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe that began in the late 1800s. Anglo identity broadened to include all northern European Caucasian ethnicities, which now identified itself in opposition to European ethnicities of southern, central, and eastern Europe. As the 20th century progressed, many of these ethnicities began to be absorbed in a larger Anglo identity, while non-white ethnic groups such as American Indians, African Americans, and Mexican Americans still resisted assimilation.

However, Anglo ideology has also been reassessed; some social scientists claim that American

history has been studied with many attempts to impose this model of Americanism upon non-Anglo citizens. A more recent term for this paradigm—one applied in a broader context than in Anglo-Latino/a relations—is Anglo-conformity. Anglo-conformity assumes that the presence of ethnic groups is subordinate to a single dominant group—in this instance, represented by the Anglo. Anglo culture was often conjoined with the ideology of "Anglo-Saxonism" throughout the 19th century, as we have seen. In contrast with the 18th and the 19th centuries, this ideology has now been critiqued on its own merits.

By the 1990s, there was a growing interest in a new field in ethnic studies, variously called white studies, whiteness studies, or white culture studies. One of the purposes of this field is to examine how Anglo racial-cultural modes have played out in American history. Mexican Tejanos used the term *Anglo* in the early and middle decades of the 19th century to denote the differences between their Spanish-Mexican cultural practices and the Anglo-American practices that gradually supplanted them. The term *Anglo* thus denotes a unique relationship between two ethnic groups with a specific history rooted in the conflicts that arose between the nascent Mexican Republic and the United States throughout the borderlands that separated the two countries.

Ethnic Classification in the 2010 Census

The 2010 census confirmed recent trends in population growth. Continuing the practice established in the 2000 census in allowing participants to identify as more than one race, the results of the census confirmed that 75 percent of the white population growth was accounted for by the whites who also identified as being of Hispanic origin. Meanwhile, the race group designated as "white alone" grew from 211.5 million in 2000 to 223.6 million in 2010. The percentage of the white alone group as a percentage of the total U.S. population declined slightly, however, in 2010: 72 percent rather than 75 percent as reported in 2000.

As defined by the census, the race "alone" population group refers to respondents who self-identified as one race on the 2010 census. This comprises individuals who marked only the "white" category and not one of the alternate "white-and" combinations. Also in 2010,

“Hispanic or Latino” was amended; it now stated “Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin.” Finally, greater emphasis was made on the difference between race and ethnicity; for the purposes of the census, Hispanic origin was defined as an ethnicity and not as a race.

However, population of white “alone” or otherwise non-Hispanic whites declined in 15 states; two-thirds of northeast states, half of the states in the midwest, and several states in the south reported declines in Anglo population.

The white or Anglo population continues to be the largest American race group, even as it grows at a slower rate than the overall population. Here, the “white-and” race group signals a significant trend. Between 2000 and 2010, whites who identified as being of Hispanic origin increased by 56 percent.

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See Also: European Americans; Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); Mexican Americans; Tejanos; White Categorization (Essay); Whiteness Studies.

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Annie Hall

Annie Hall is a 1977 American feature film, written and directed by and starring Woody Allen in the lead role of writer Alvy Singer. The film’s tagline is “A Nervous Romance.” In the character of Alvy Singer, *Annie Hall* perfects the stumbling, neurotic New York Jew that Woody Allen had created as a character for delivering his stand-up

comedy routines. The film served to maintain and perpetuate many of the stereotypes in liberal New York Jewish culture, and would become one of the key texts referenced by later Jewish comics and in television series, such as *Seinfeld* (1990–98) and *Curb Your Enthusiasm*, which began in 2000 and is still running.

Woody Allen was born Allan Stewart Konigsberg on December 1, 1935, in Brooklyn, New York, the son of Martin and Nettie Konigsberg. As a teenager he began writing jokes for a local newspaper and went on to write his own material to perform as a stand-up comic. He wrote his first screenplay *What’s New Pussycat* in 1965 and directed his first film *What’s Up, Tiger Lily* the following year. He has had a prolific career, achieving considerable success as a writer, director, playwright, and musician. Allen has been nominated for 18 Academy Awards and won four.

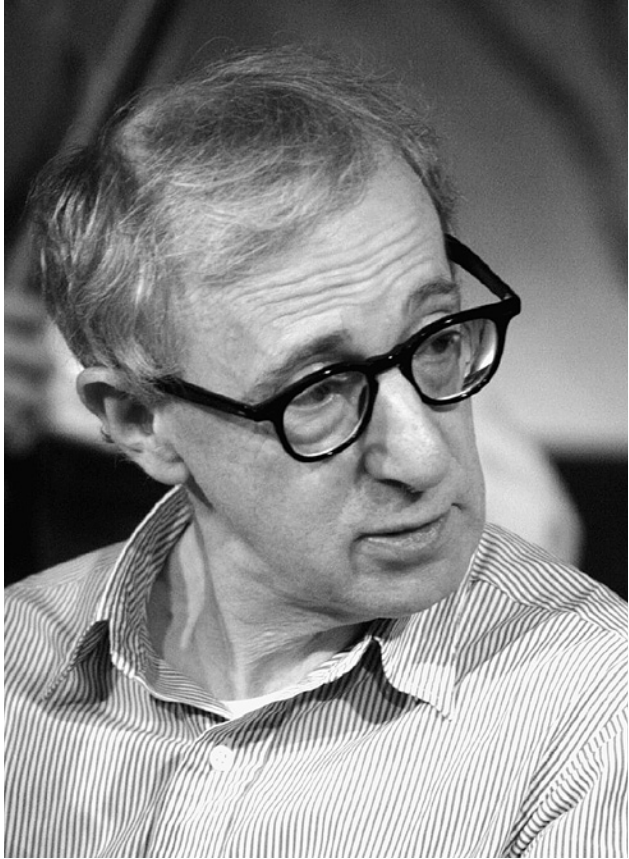
Annie Hall won four Academy Awards in the 1978 Oscar ceremony: Best Actress in a Leading Role (Diane Keaton), Best Director (Woody Allen), Best Picture (producer Charles H. Joffe), and Best Original Screenplay (Woody Allen and Marshall Brickman). Woody Allen was also nominated for Best Actor in a Leading Role. Although *Annie Hall* is widely critically acclaimed, it is Allen’s later film *Manhattan* (1979) that more often features in the canons of the greatest films ever made.

Synopsis

Annie Hall is a fictional film that follows a few years in the life of Alvy Singer (Woody Allen). Alvy is contemplating his failed relationships, particularly dwelling on his affair with Annie Hall (Diane Keaton). Alvy and Annie are introduced by mutual friend Rob (Tony Roberts). They become romantically involved, Annie moves into Alvy’s apartment, and he encourages her to go into therapy, which she does. Their relationship sours, and Annie moves to California. Alvy visits her there but is unable to persuade her to reconcile with him. They argue, and he returns to New York. A few years later, they meet and reminisce about their time together.

Cultural Commentary and Criticism

Through a series of direct addresses to the camera, voice-overs, and flashbacks, *Annie Hall* presents



Woody Allen won an Academy Award for best director in 1978 for *Annie Hall*. In 2004, *Comedy Central* ranked Allen fourth on their list of the 100 greatest stand-up comics.

Alvy Singer as a neurotic man unable to find satisfaction in either his romantic relationships or in life more generally. In the title role, Diane Keaton as Alvy Singer's girlfriend Annie Hall won critical acclaim for her performance, and her distinctive unisex costume in the film sparked a fashion trend for androgynous clothing. Allen and Keaton were in a relationship for several years in the early 1970s, and he wrote the role of Annie for her. Like many of Woody Allen's films, *Annie Hall* is often interpreted as being an autobiographical account of his life and relationship with Keaton. He has stressed that this is not the case.

Annie Hall established Woody Allen as an auteur director with a distinctive style. In addition to frequently working with the same production team and actors, his trademark features include the use of long- and medium-range shots, as opposed to close-ups; the use of jazz and a

soundtrack by Dick Hyman; psychoanalysis; voice-over narration or direct addresses to the camera; and multiple references to cinematic classics. As in *Annie Hall*, the vast majority of Allen's films have been set in Manhattan, with California portrayed as a culturally impoverished and commodity-obsessed counterpart to New York's chic urban cosmopolitanism. Alvy claims that Hollywood is a city where "the only cultural advantage is being able to make a right turn on a red light." When Annie says that California is very clean, Alvy retorts that the reason is "because they don't throw their garbage away, they turn it into television shows."

Annie Hall is an intertextual and self-reflexive movie. It is intertextual because it refers to other media texts. For example, waiting for Annie outside a cinema, Alvy is hounded by an Italian American man who recognizes him as a celebrity. When Annie arrives, Alvy is relieved, claiming, "I'm standing with the cast of *The Godfather* here." This is a horizontally intertextual reference because it invites the audience to draw on their knowledge of stereotypical portrayals of Italian Americans in mainstream-genre movies. It is also vertically intertextual as it refers to a specific film in the genre, *The Godfather* (1972). Finally, it is self-reflexive because Diane Keaton, starring as Annie in *Annie Hall*, also played Kay Corleone in *The Godfather*. By inviting the audience to believe that Alvy is talking to Annie about *The Godfather*, a text in which the "real" Annie would know stars the actor being played by herself, the script draws attention to its own artifice and construction as a media text.

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See Also: *Godfather, The*; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Jewish Americans; Motion Pictures; *Seinfeld*.

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Anti-Defamation League

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is an organization that advocates nondiscrimination and equality of all people, with a special focus on Jewish people, culture, and heritage. Based in New York City, the ADL has 29 offices in the United States and three offices in other countries. The ADL was founded in October 1913 by Sigmund Livingston with the support of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish service organization. The league's original motto was "to stop, by appeals to reason and conscious, and if necessary, by appeals to law, the defamation of the Jewish people."

The current motto of the league is "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people [and] to secure justice and fair treatment to all." The change of wording in slogans over the years illustrates how the organization evolved over time. As it exists today, the ADL attempts to fight anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry; defend democratic ideals and protect civil rights; advocate support for Israel with policy makers, the media, and the public; and defend the security of the state of Israel and Jews worldwide. The ADL's ultimate goals are to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens and to put an end to unfair discrimination against any body of citizens.

Goals of the League

The goals of the ADL are many, but they focus on the general goal of promoting tolerance for all peoples. The stated goals of the ADL are as follows: fighting anti-Semitism, bigotry, and racism; promoting civil rights; maintaining the separation of church and state; defending other religions; tracking extremism; and promoting Holocaust awareness and defending the State of Israel.

In its efforts to fight anti-Semitism, bigotry and racism, the ADL has opposed groups or

individuals considered to be anti-Semitic or racist. These groups and individuals include the (original) Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan (its factions and subfactions), Henry Ford, Mel Gibson, neo-Nazis, the American militia movement, and white-power skinheads. The ADL raises public awareness of these hate groups by releasing information and responses to public acts of bigotry. These releases include a yearly analysis of anti-Jewish activities in its annual *Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents*. The ADL has long been a very strong proponent of civil rights not only for Jews but for a variety of other minority groups as well. During the 1960s the ADL was one of the organizations in the forefront of the civil rights movement for African Americans in the American southeast. In recent times, it has fought for fairness in Hispanic affairs, especially in the case of equal opportunity for immigrant children.

The ADL puts a major focus on religious freedom for people of all faiths; it expresses this by emphasizing the separation of church and state. As part of this emphasis, the ADL has taken a firm stance against teaching intelligent design in science classrooms. The league opposes these pseudo-theories on grounds that creationism and intelligent design are closely tied to religious beliefs and that government is prohibited from endorsing beliefs; thus, they should not be taught in science class. The league also opposes public school Bible curriculum. In a similar position, the ADL supports the legal precedent deeming displays of the Ten Commandments in public facilities unconstitutional, despite the prominence of the Commandments in Judaism.

In a merger of goals, the ADL supports the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people to be married and legislation that would label crimes against LGBT people as hate crimes on grounds that many of the struggles of LGBT people are the result of bigotry and an improper relationship between church and state. The ADL was strongly opposed to Proposition 8, which would make same-sex marriage illegal in the state of California. The ADL also proved influential in the passage of the 2009 Matthew Shepard Act by Congress. This law makes it possible to define a criminal act as a hate crime if it was motivated by actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or disability.

In addition to passing hate crime legislation and supporting same-sex marriage, the ADL seeks to end discriminatory employment practices based on sexual orientation.

While a primary concern of the ADL is to protect Jewish people, another key goal of the organization is to defend other religions. As part of this objective, the ADL has periodically made statements against the misrepresentation of other faiths. One such statement was in regard to the anti-Mormon film *The God Makers*. The ADL said that the statements in this film regarding Mormons and Mormonism would be unacceptable if they were made in relation to other religions (i.e., Catholicism or Judaism). The ADL continued by stating that films such as *The God Makers* were “a challenge to the religious liberty of all.”

The last, but certainly not least, goal of the Anti-Defamation League is Holocaust awareness and defense of Israel. The ADL firmly and consistently stresses the importance of remembering the Holocaust to prevent such an event from happening again. To these ends, the ADL vehemently fights Holocaust deniers and revisionists who seek to diminish the severity of the genocide against Jews and other groups during World War II. In recent times, the ADL has actively opposed ethnic cleansing and genocide in Bosnia and Darfur. In defense of Israel, the ADL opposes the development of nuclear weapons by Iran due to the repeated threats that Iran’s government has made against Israel. This goal is also pursued by supporting U.S.–Israel cooperation to strengthen the security of Israel.

Tracking Extremists

A major activity of the ADL is the tracking of extremists and the documenting of their stated goals and organizational culture. Toward this end, the ADL issues *Extremism in America: A Guide*. This publication is an encyclopedia of American extremists and it is continually updated. The guide provided information on topics as diverse as racist skinhead culture as it reached its peak in the 1990s and documentation of the illegal immigration debate strengthening neo-Nazi organizations.

As part of its programs that monitor extremists, the ADL assisted the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) in an investigation

of individuals who planned to assassinate then presidential nominee Barack Obama. This investigation led to the arrest of two men with ties to the Supreme White Alliance hate group on charges of plotting to murder dozens of African Americans and plotting to assassinate Obama.

Notable Members

The accomplishments of the Anti-Defamation League would not be possible without its members. While many of the original members of the ADL came from legal backgrounds, the league of today also incorporates researchers, investigators, public relations specialists, and innumerable volunteers. The following individuals have played a particularly influential part in the activities of the ADL.

Sigmund Livingston (December 27, 1872–June 13, 1946) founded the Anti-Defamation League in 1913. His family emigrated from Germany in 1881, and he became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1888. Over the course of his career, Livingston served as an attorney in the Chicago area, authored numerous books, and tirelessly addressed negative Jewish stereotypes. In the defining moment of his life, Livingston represented a Jewish factory manager in Georgia named Leo Frank. Frank was accused of murdering a young female employee. After being found not guilty, the manager was lynched by a mob unhappy with the outcome. Livingston established the ADL in 1913 in direct response to this incident.

Abraham Foxman has been the national director of the Anti-Defamation League since 1987. He was born May 1, 1940, in Baranovich in the Soviet Union (now located within the borders of Belarus). Facing heavy persecution, his parents were forced into a ghetto during World War II. Seeking to protect him, Foxman’s parents gave Abraham up for adoption to a Catholic family. While with this family, Abraham was baptized, given a new name, and raised as a Catholic. In his adult life, Foxman has received many awards from both nonprofit organizations and statesmen. However, for all his success, Foxman has often found himself in the middle of controversy. His most contentious public stances on issues include his support for LGBT rights, his opposition to an Islamic cultural center near Ground Zero of the World Trade Center attacks in New York City,

his criticism of former president Jimmy Carter's comparison of the separation of Jews and Palestinians in Israel to apartheid in South Africa, the portrayal of Jews in *The Passion of the Christ*, and other issues.

Robert Sugarman is currently national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League in the United States. He was educated at Yale University, then went on to Yale Law School. As an attorney, Sugarman specialized in First Amendment matters. Outside work, he is active in community and philanthropic work. Sugarman has also served as past president of Hillel of New York, among many other prominent positions. Sugarman claims a deep understanding of global terrorism, democratic values, and the State of Israel.

A Hub for Combating Prejudice

Due to the broad scope of projects pursued by the ADL, the organization has been involved in many hate-fighting projects. Organizations founded by the ADL include the Braun Holocaust Institute and the Hidden Child Foundation. The ADL also supports other groups that foster interfaith and intergroup relations, research groups, working groups, and advocacy organizations.

Over the course of its history, the scope and nature of the ADL's work has shifted several times. When the ADL was first established in 1913, it served to provide legal defense for Jews. Over its first decade, it also branched into battling the bigotry of the Ku Klux Klan and other American anti-Semitic organizations. During the 1930s and 1940s, the ADL joined coalitions to counter global anti-Semitism and established the fact-finding operations that would eventually become a core component of the organization.

After the Six-Day War, and continuing to the present, the ADL had put significant resources toward advocating for the State of Israel. Since then, the ADL has committed itself to fighting what it sees as Arab-originating anti-Israel propaganda and keeping America informed on facts about the Jewish state. The ADL currently puts much of its effort toward antiterrorist efforts both domestic and abroad. Groups targeted by the ADL include the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Ku Klux Klan.

The ADL goes to great lengths in developing and promoting educational projects. Topics for

these programs include law enforcement training regarding hate groups, youth leadership, anti-bias teacher training, and Holocaust awareness, among others. As part of its public education objectives, the ADL releases a variety of publications. One such publication was a list of the "ten leading organizations responsible for maligning Israel in the US." In the 1990s, the ADL regularly released reports on anti-Semitism and extremist activities from far left and right in its periodical *The Militia Watchdog*. This publication ran from 1995 to 2000; back issues of this publication are available on the ADL's Web site.

Since the Internet has become commonly accessible, hate groups have used it to espouse their views and grow in membership. For this reason, the ADL dedicates significant resources to online activities and has a significant presence on the Web. As part of its online activities, the ADL both monitors hate on the Internet and documents its findings for the benefit of the public. This documentation includes an extensive online visual database of hate groups and their symbols, logos, tattoos, and other aspects of their organizational culture. Data collected in this database include graphic symbols, acronyms, number symbols, tattoos, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, recruitment tactics, and white power music.

The ADL also works to prevent acts of hate on the Internet through a variety of prevention programs. These activities include the online publication of the "Parents Guide to Hate on the Internet," which explains various aspects of cyberbullying and other problematic behavior. In addition to this guide, the ADL engages in an educational initiative on trickery, trolling, and other online threats. The ADL also maintains the Law Enforcement Agency Network, which serves as a resource for law enforcement agencies in combating hate groups and hate crimes.

Criticisms and Controversy

Though its stated goal is the advancement of all people, the activities of the ADL are not without conflict with individuals or groups. These conflicts range wide on the political spectrum, from the Far Left to the Far Right. Over the course of its long history, the ADL has come into conflict with many individuals and groups over a wide variety of issues.

In the later part of the 20th century, a concept arose among the leaders of the ADL that gave birth to much controversy. The concept is called the New Anti-Semitism. It states that anti-Semitism has revived itself among leftists and academics in their overly harsh criticism of the State of Israel and its right to exist. Those who insist on the existence of the New Anti-Semitism hold that critics of Israel often make unfair statements about Israel that would not be made if not for Israel's tie to Judaism. Proponents of the New Anti-Semitism argue that these criticisms are simply manifestations of suppressed feelings of hatred toward the Jewish people.

Critics of the concept of New Anti-Semitism argue that it too closely ties criticisms of Israel with anti-Semitism. They also argue that the concept of New Anti-Semitism trivializes the meaning of the term *anti-Semitism* and exploits the concept to silence debate. The ADL has repeatedly claimed that Israel should be open to criticism, but some criticism is indeed anti-Semitic. However, the difference between anti-Semitism and objective critique of Israel has often proved difficult to differentiate.

Noam Chomsky, the ardent leftist author and activist, has criticized the ADL for its responses to leftist critiques of the State of Israel. He states that the ADL is all too ready to label any criticism of Israel as anti-Semitic. Chomsky points out that this is particularly absurd due to the human rights philosophies held by the individuals and organizations the ADL has labeled anti-Semitic. Over the course of his human rights work in the 2000s, former president Jimmy Carter came into conflict with the ADL. In his book *Palestine: Peace, Not Apartheid*, Carter compares the treatment of Palestinians in Israel to the treatment of blacks in South Africa during apartheid. The ADL saw this as an unfair and unjust characterization of the State of Israel with potential anti-Semitic origins.

Another controversy regards not the theory of the ADL but its tactics. The ADL has been known to deploy heavy surveillance techniques on other groups in efforts to root out hate groups. As a result, it has been accused of repeatedly overstepping appropriate boundaries with other organizations. Because extremist groups are secretive, the ADL admits that it uses undercover sources

who function in a manner much like investigative journalists. In this regard, the ADL states, "Our mission is to monitor and expose those who are anti-Jewish, racist, antidemocratic, and violence-prone, and we monitor them primarily by reading publications and attending public meetings."

In the 1990s, some aspects of the ADL's monitoring activities became controversial, particularly the ADL's surveillance of nonextremist groups. These nonextremist groups include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Council on American-Islamic Relationship, the Nation of Islam, the Jewish Defense League, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the United Auto Workers union (UAW), *Mother Jones* magazine, Greenpeace, Jews for Jesus, and others.

Jeremy Baker
Independent Scholar

See Also: American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Semitism; Hate Crimes; Hate Crimes Laws; Holocaust, The; Israeli Americans; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity; World Jewish Congress; Zionism.

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Anti-Miscegenation Laws

Anti-miscegenation laws criminalized both marriage and sexual relationships between people of European descent and non-Europeans, typically indigenous people and people of African descent. Colonial legislatures passed the first anti-miscegenation laws in the British North American colonies of Maryland and Virginia in the second half of the 17th century; assemblies in other British colonies quickly followed suit. These laws bolstered a racial divide that would persist from the colonial era through the 1960s.

The Supreme Court eventually ruled in *Loving v. Virginia* (1967) that anti-miscegenation laws violated the Constitution's equal protection clause. The *Loving* decision marked a permanent shift in U.S. race relations and has been regarded as a major victory for advocates of civil rights and marriage equality.

Effects on Politics, Economy, and Culture

Anti-miscegenation laws have played a critical role in the nation's political, economic, and cultural history. During the 17th century, the colonies of Virginia and Maryland grew increasingly dependant on plantation agriculture. Many laborers first arrived from England as indentured servants, contractually bound to work in the tobacco fields for a period between four to seven years. On completing their indenture, many of these former servants, often at odds with Native populations, settled the backcountry.

As a response to the impermanence of white servitude and conflicts on the frontier, colonists looked to Africa for a permanent source of labor. Within a generation slavery became associated with blackness, as whiteness became associated with freedom. Throughout this time, white lawmakers passed anti-miscegenation laws to clarify and strengthen the social hierarchy and segment the labor force into wage-earning, free white men and enslaved blacks; they also criminalized sexual partnerships with Native Americans, thus formalizing racial segregation. At the same time, individual rights, such as the vote and the acquisition and transfer of land and property (including indentured servants), configured U.S. citizenship

as a category almost exclusively reserved for white, able-bodied men.

Growth of Slavery

After the American Revolution, the relationship between race and slavery solidified further. Cotton supplanted tobacco as America's most profitable export, and many planters moved west to plant the crop in the fertile ground of the Mississippi Delta. By the middle of the 19th century, the southern economy was wholly dependent upon slavery, and many of the region's lawmakers, plantation owners, and writers grew ever more strident in their defense of the institution. Sociologist George Fitzhugh and influential politicians like John C. Calhoun, Alexander H. Stephens, Jefferson Davis, James Henry Hammond, and others asserted that people of African descent were inferior. Accordingly, miscegenation posed a threat to the labor system and the social order, both of which were rooted in a white supremacist ideology.

Eventually, the Civil War brought about the abolition of slavery by the end of 1865, and with it, new possibilities for freedom and equality emerged. Radical Reconstruction led to an unprecedented level of black political participation. Mississippi elected the nation's first two black senators (Hiram Rhodes Revels and Blanche Bruce), and southern states sent integrated delegations of representatives to state and federal governments.

Ku Klux Klan and Jim Crow

Due to the success of Republican-led Reconstruction efforts, disaffected Confederates organized paramilitary groups like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the White Leagues. These organizations initiated a campaign of political terrorism against black politicians, Reconstruction advocates, and their white allies; they sought to "redeem" the south and to restore white rule. The KKK leveraged deadly violence, targeting anyone who was involved or expressed solidarity with Reconstruction. Black southerners, under the threat of death or torture, ultimately submitted to yet a new formation of white supremacy: Jim Crow. After white southerners suppressed African American political involvement, they passed several new measures that ensured segregation into the foreseeable future.

After reclaiming control of the south during the 1870s and 1880s, the so-called redeemers passed additional anti-miscegenation laws, or they simply reinforced the old ones. The Supreme Court legitimized these efforts in the *Pace v. Alabama* ruling (1883). Here, the court unanimously sided with Alabama's Jim Crow law prohibiting interracial marriage. The ruling declared anti-miscegenation laws constitutional and provided states the authority to criminalize all forms of interracial relationships. The court's decision rested on the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. Since "each offending person . . . white and black," the court ruled, received the same punishment, there was no violation of the amendment. This influential case presaged *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), when the court famously upheld racial segregation under the guise of "separate but equal." Together, the two rulings ushered in an era of federal nonintervention, paving the way for white-led state governments to pass racially discriminatory laws as they saw fit.

By the turn of the century, every western state (with the exception of Washington) had passed some form of anti-miscegenation law, criminalizing physical intimacy between whites and African Americans, as well as between whites and Asians, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. Meanwhile, every state in the former Confederacy had banned under the law all sexual encounters between two people who did not share a common race or ethnicity. At the same time, the north and most midwestern states maintained relatively liberal policies toward interracial, heterosexual partnerships. New York, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Minnesota, and Wisconsin had never instituted anti-miscegenation laws; Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Iowa, and Kansas overturned theirs before the Civil War; Illinois, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Maine had legalized interracial sex and marriage during the 1880s. Congress, on three separate occasions, voted against a constitutional amendment that would have made miscegenation a federal crime.

Mann Act of 1910

However, Congress did pass the Mann Act in 1910. The act provided law enforcement expansive powers to target anyone they believed to have engaged in sex trafficking, prostitution, or

"immorality," broadly defined. In practice, the act functioned as a means for federal authorities to police miscegenation. One example involved a famous African American boxer, Jack Johnson. In 1912 Johnson was arrested for allegedly violating the act. Yet, Johnson never engaged in sex trafficking or solicitation as his arrest seemed to have suggested. Rather, it was Johnson's consensual sexual relationship with a white woman named Lucille Cameron that authorities declared immoral. Facing jail time, Johnson and Cameron skipped bail and fled the country. Johnson eventually returned and served one year in federal prison.

The case illustrated the national taboo associated with interracial sex, particularly between black men and white women. Indeed, persistent stereotypes of lascivious black men provided much of the impetus for anti-miscegenation laws as legislators vowed to protect white women from what they claimed were the sexually predatory instincts of black men.

Vigilantism, Lynch Mobs, Eugenics, and Sterilization

The pervasiveness and strict enforcement of anti-miscegenation laws during the last quarter of the 19th century and first quarter of the 20th were part of a larger decline in the nation's race relations. Beyond the criminal justice system, vigilantism and extralegal violence was common. Lynch mobs attacked, maimed, or killed men of color accused of rape, sexual assault, or even consensual sexual encounters with white women. The KKK routinely terrorized black communities, in many instances receiving material assistance or tacit approval from local police departments throughout the south and midwest.

The Birth of a Nation, a successful major motion picture and landmark achievement in the history of American cinematography, presented the mythic narrative of white redemption following the Civil War, and it culturally sanctioned brutal violence directed toward African Americans. The movie, adapted from Thomas Dixon's novel, *The Clansman* (1905), depicted the rise of the Klan as a necessary and positive force that protected white society from so-called inferior African Americans who allegedly lusted for young, white women. The movie glorified and perpetuated white supremacy and fueled the

belief among many white Americans that punitive anti-miscegenation laws were required to maintain social order and keep African Americans from “mixing” with whites. The film remains an emblematic expression of the nation’s early-20th century racial nadir.

After World War I, the courts, as well as state and federal lawmakers, did not loosen restrictions on interracial marriage or other anti-miscegenation measures. In fact, racism gained a renewed intellectual standing as a result of the eugenics movement. Eugenics gained widespread acceptance in the American academy, and noted racial theorists such as Lothrop Stoddard, Madison Grant, and Harry Laughlin proposed that the “Anglo-Saxon race” faced decline if the nation permitted interracial and interethnic relationships. These figures lobbied federal and state government, and the courts bolstered anti-miscegenation and segregation laws and even ordered the sterilization of those who were deemed “unfit.”

In 1923, the Supreme Court ruled that Bhagat Singh Thind (*United States v. Thind*) was not “a white person” and thus ineligible to be a legal citizen of the United States. This ruling called into question whether white citizens could legally marry an “Asiatic,” all of whom were presumably not recognized citizens and thus subject to anti-miscegenation laws. Months following the *Thind* decision, Virginia passed its Racial Integrity Act in 1924 and began sterilizing citizens who were alleged to be “imbecilic” or racially contaminated. In reality, the state targeted mostly poor women (many of whom were white) who had given birth outside marriage.

The most famous victim of forced sterilization was Carrie Buck. After undergoing the invasive procedure, Buck sued Virginia for damages, and she demanded that the commonwealth halt the practice. The Supreme Court eventually ruled against Buck, upholding the right of Virginia authorities to sterilize citizens who allegedly compromised the state’s racial integrity. On the eve of World War II, 30 other states had passed, strengthened, or maintained some form of anti-miscegenation or sterilization laws.

Post-World War II Desegregation

Only after World War II did the popular consensus about interracial sex and marriage begin to



Boxer Jack Johnson with Lucille Cameron around 1921. Johnson’s relationship with Cameron, whom he later married, led to his arrest and eventual imprisonment under the Mann Act.

shift. The ideology of Hitler’s Third Reich was in fact based upon many of the same suppositions as the U.S. eugenics movement. Both deployed racial pseudo-science and biological determinism as means to justify power and control over minority peoples. Upon uncovering the horrific crimes carried out by the Nazis, the eugenics movement lost much of its credibility as European and American leaders recognized the genocidal impact of racist public policy.

At the same time, millions of people of color and their white allies demanded an end to Jim Crow, and they pressured elected leaders as never before to fulfill the nation’s democratic promises. Between 1948 and 1965, Harry Truman ordered the desegregation of the armed forces; the Supreme Court overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson*; and under President Lyndon Johnson, Congress passed civil rights and voting rights legislation. Still, southern lawmakers clung fastidiously

to their anti-miscegenation laws, making the policies among the last vestiges of Jim Crow era racism.

This changed in 1967, after an interracial couple, Mildred and Richard Loving, successfully challenged Virginia's Racial Integrity Act. A few years earlier, Virginia police had arrested the Lovings for violating the act, a felony charge that could have resulted in a one-year prison sentence. In response, the couple alleged that Virginia unlawfully discriminated against interracial couples. After quickly ascending the lower courts, the case was heard by the Supreme Court. Unanimously, the high court ruled in favor of the Lovings, thus reversing the 80-year precedent set by *Pace v. Alabama*. Anti-miscegenation laws, Chief Justice Earl Warren ruled, violated the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.

Accordingly, it was no longer lawful for states to ban heterosexual couples, regardless of whether they shared a common racial, ethnic, or religious identity, from marrying or engaging in consensual sexual relations. The *Loving* decision thus ended nearly 300 years of anti-miscegenation laws in both British North America and the United States.

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See Also: *Birth of a Nation, The*; Eugenics; Intermarriage, History of; Intermarriage Court Decisions; *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); Mestizo; Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Mulatto; Race Mixture in the United States; Racism; Segregation.

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Anti-Racist Education

Anti-racist education, also referred to as, anti-racist pedagogy, oppositional pedagogy, and antiracism education, is an educational movement that seeks to expose, critique, and eliminate racism, especially covert racism, in prekindergarten through 12th-grade schooling in order to bring about educational equity and equality for racial and ethnic minority students. Within anti-racist education, racism is understood not as a function of individual racial prejudice, but as an economic and social order built on the false notion that humans can be classified as biologically superior or inferior based on race.

Consequently, anti-racist education situates understanding of racism inside an often-unacknowledged classist system that reveals race as a social construct designed to perpetuate white privilege, rather than a biological reality. While the biological efficacy of race and, therefore, racism has long been scientifically debunked, because it has in the past served, and continues today to serve, to justify violent economic and governmental practices, its influence on modern-day societal organization persists, including in educational realms.

Racism as a Historical and Theoretical Problem

While anti-racist education has historically been, and continues today to be, discussed and practiced in myriad educational arenas in the United States, it has gained incrementally more acceptance in Canada and the United Kingdom. However, worldwide over it is still generally considered to receive far less attention and acceptance in mainstream educational contexts than other forms of antibias-oriented education. The marginalization of anti-racist education is a function of the perception, popularized through the neoliberal "color-blind" philosophies emerging in 1960s America, that paying overt attention to race is, in and of itself, racist. Perhaps ironically, this perception allows racism to persist unfettered by critical analysis or corrective action.

Anti-racist education is often described as a "radical" form of multicultural education, or as in contrast to the most prevalent forms of multicultural education. While progressive multicultural educators argue that a core feature of

multicultural education is that it is anti-racist, anti-racist educators maintain that this feature of multicultural education is, at best, subordinated in mainstream practice. As a consequence, the gap in academic performance, largely between Native American, African American, Latina/Latino, and Asian American students from particular ethnic groups, and most white students endures. From the perspective of anti-racist education, this disparity persists precisely because the most prevalent applications of multicultural education are divorced from a sociopolitical context and, therefore, do not take into account relations of power in society that produce, reproduce, and perpetuate educational inequities and inequality based on race and class.

According to anti-racist education scholar Julie Kailin, reformist multicultural education focuses on the symptoms of racism or on describing how things are, rather than on the causes of racism or by asking why things are the way they are or if they have to be that way. Anti-racist, multicultural education scholars Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate contend that this happens because scholars across academia have not yet developed a cogent theory for understanding race and racism. Going one step further, Marxist scholars argue that, in addition to being theorized, race and racism must also be “historicized,” or located in a historical context, so that “political economies” or the “structural relations of production” out of which race and racism have emerged are made transparent.

Conceptualizing Anti-Racist Education

Anti-racist education scholar and practitioner Enid Lee has historically and theoretically conceptualized anti-racist education as needing to engage and eradicate three racial and economic gaps: in academic performance, in academic experience, and in community responsiveness. She argues that power and its unequal distribution is responsible for the emergence, proliferation, and persistence of these gaps. While the racial and economic gap in academic performance is well known, it is often referred to as an achievement gap rather than a performance gap. As an achievement gap, the problem of poor educational performance of working-class students and students of color is located with, or blamed on,

the students themselves, their families, and larger economic and cultural communities, as well as the associated perceived lack of value for education among all members of these groups.

As a performance gap, the problem of these students’ academic underperformance is situated in the larger contexts of societal classism and racism, structural inequality in schools, and related discriminatory educational practices. Related to the academic performance gap, the academic experience gap examines the differential manners in which students from non-dominant economic and racial/ethnic groups are treated in schools, despite coming into schools with similar technical and dispositional preparation to succeed in school as their dominant group classmates. The experience gap reveals that school policies, structures, curricula, and personnel are predisposed to engage and affirm educational readiness in white middle-class students, but that they not only fail to do the same for these students’ minority counterparts, they also fail to even recognize that this readiness is present in minority students.

These failures are a function of the third gap, the lack of school-system responsiveness to working-class and/or minority communities, even when those communities are the geographic hosts to entire school districts, and even when the children from these communities constitute all or a significant majority of school student populations. Accordingly, rather than intentionally and proactively developing educational practices that seek to interrupt and dismantle negative social and economic trends in minority communities, schools are often the cause of these trends. For example, the erroneously perceived achievement gap in schools leads to student-experience gaps, which leads an array of talented students to leave school before graduating, leading these students into lower-paying and less intellectually satisfying lines of work, which leads, disproportionately, to the disenfranchisement of working-class and/or minority communities.

Other anti-racist educators characterize anti-racist education as a pedagogical approach for critically investigating, from the lens of societal power relations, the knowledge bases that inherently constitute and reconstitute class and race oppression. The goal of this investigation

is to deconstruct these knowledge bases in order to erect alternative views of reality that expose unequal relations of power and the institutional structures that enable them to persist. This conceptualization of anti-racist education also advocates moving beyond mere theorizing to engagement in transformative action in order to actually bring about a more economically and racially just social order. Accordingly, students are taught to think critically about injustices in the world in relationship to their learning across the curriculum, and then to apply this learning by taking “real world” action aimed at dismantling those injustices.

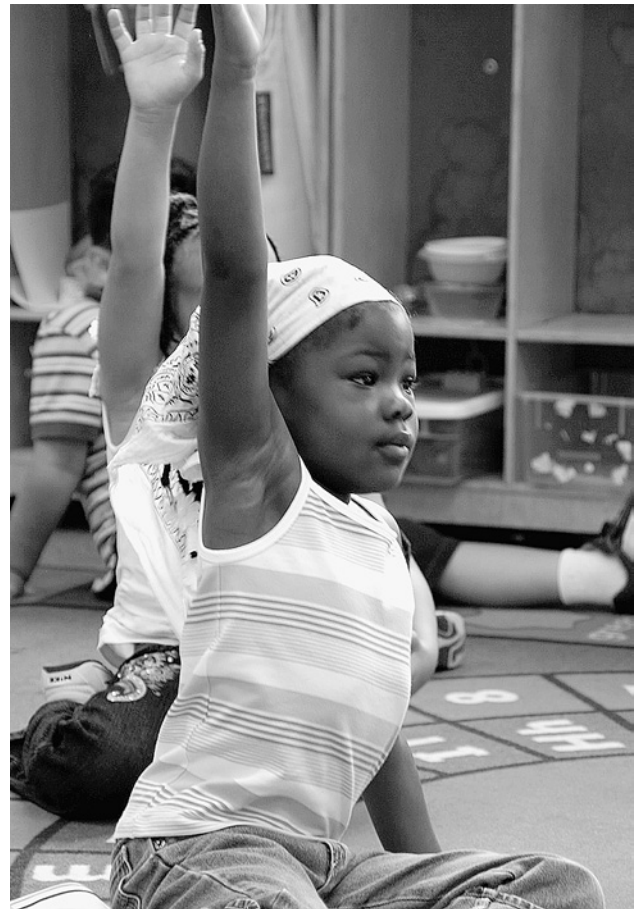
Kailin recognizes that in order for students to be able to think and act in these ways, teachers must be prepared to facilitate their development accordingly. Toward this end, she has articulated a conceptualization of anti-racist teacher education. In order to become anti-racist educators, pre- and in-service teachers must be engaged in varied examinations of racism and classism at the individual and institutional levels. Individual-level examinations must focus teachers on acknowledging and understanding their own class and race backgrounds, the social construction of “whiteness” and associated white privilege, their perceptions of classism and racism and the causes of both, classist and racist labeling and/or victim blaming, manifestations of racism in their relationships with students and their families, and their own teaching practice.

Anti-Racist Teacher Education

Institutional-level examinations must educate teachers about the history of race and racism in the United States and in U.S. schools; teacher and student demographics, school resegregation and the corresponding unequal distribution of educational funding and related resources, institutional racism and the organization of schools, manifestations of racism in schools and both student and teacher reactions to these manifestations, past and continuing representations of people of color in the media and the curriculum, student and parent perspectives on education and schooling, the negative impact of racism on white students, the working conditions of teachers, and the impact of standardization on teacher credentialing and student learning.

While realization of such an anti-racist teacher education program may seem idealistic or impractical, both anti-racist and anti-racism, multicultural educators maintain that the only real impediment is societal will; American educational policy makers, scholars, and practitioners have the knowledge, skills, and resources to make this vision a reality; what they lack is the resolve to do so. As a result, racial and economic gaps in education and related social problems continue, ensuring that the current oppressive social order remains intact.

Pioneering antioppression educator Paulo Freire argues that the persistence of structural oppression is a function of “false generosity.” Because those with the power to bring about institutional change are too well served by current



Anti-racist education is an educational movement that seeks to expose, critique, and eliminate racism, especially covert racism, in order to bring about educational equity and equality for racial and ethnic minority students.

social norms, even when they articulate commitments to change they fail to enact those commitments. Similarly, founding critical legal scholar Derrick Bell contends that “interest convergence” precludes significant transformation of the societal organization for the working class and/or people of color. To the extent that such transformation does occur, it does so only because it is perceived to, and actually does, benefit those already privileged by race and class stratification.

Generative Critiques

Critiques of the anti-racist education paradigm suggest that it is, at once, both buoyed and troubled by the persistence of racial categorization and racism in society. On the one hand, the case for anti-racist education is made; on the other hand, the possibility is raised that the approach is ineffective. Anti-racist education simultaneously argues that race is not real, but that it has inescapable impact on social power relations and the corresponding order. Accordingly, anti-racist education maintains that working-class students and students of color are quite educationally capable, but largely incapable of being educationally successful because of classism and racism in schools and society. A consequence of these juxtapositions, critics charge that anti-racist education has no real merit if nothing can change or, at least, if nothing significant does change.

However, similar contradictions emerge when change, however insignificant or significant it is perceived to be, does occur that could point to the efficacy of anti-racist educational efforts over the long term. For example, the election of President Barack Obama as the first president of known African descent in the United States has led critics of anti-racist education to proclaim that racism no longer exists, but not to conclude that anti-racist and other forms of antidiscriminatory education have played any part in reducing the individual and/or institutional prejudices that may have precluded this from happening sooner. Likewise, Obama’s presidency has been heralded as a sign of the declining significance of race in a now “postracial” American society, instead of being analyzed as an extraordinary exception to the continuing rule of racism: Obama was elected in spite of racism, not because racism no longer exists.

Anti-racist education has played an important role in bringing about greater educational equity and social justice, especially for students from historically underrepresented racial and ethnic groups in U.S. schools.

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See Also: Critical Pedagogy; Critical Race Theory; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Dual (Two-Way) Immersion Education; Educational Achievement; Multiculturalism; Privilege; Whiteness Studies.

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Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism refers to prejudice, discrimination, persecution, and/or hatred directed toward Jews on the basis of their ethnic or religious heritage. Although anti-Semitism dates back thousands of years to the persecution of Jews in ancient times by the Egyptians and Romans, hostility toward Jews in Western societies holds a particularly pernicious history since the medieval era. During the 14th and 15th centuries, for example, Jews throughout the predominantly Christian European continent were blamed for causing the bubonic plague (also known as the black death), accused of poisoning the wells and thereby contaminating the drinking water for Christians, and rumored to kidnap and eat Christian children. Popular myths at the time also held that Jewish men menstruated and that Jews were the offspring of Satan and, therefore, inherent enemies of Christianity.

The United States

Unlike European societies, the government of the United States has never institutionalized official anti-Semitic practices. However, this has not curtailed prejudice toward, suspicion of, or mistreatment of Jews in American society. Being of Jewish faith and heritage in an overwhelmingly Christian society marks one as an outsider to a certain degree, but many American Jews do not actively participate in religious practices. Throughout the history of the United States, Jews have experienced anti-Semitism on both religious and nonreligious grounds, ranging from ethno-religious slurs and name-calling to more malicious conspiracy theories, incidents of vandalism, and acts of violence.

As opposed to various monarchies and empires across Europe, the U.S. government never persecuted Jews or adopted anti-Semitic laws. Instead, anti-Semitism in the United States has consisted of privately held and informal prejudices, beliefs, stereotypes, and distrust of Jews, along with acts of violence and vandalism against Jewish persons and property. Although the federal government has never implemented anti-Jewish policies, various states enacted “blue laws” during the 18th and 19th centuries, which required businesses to remain closed on Sundays in accordance with its tradition as the Christian Sabbath and a day of rest. Such policies impacted Jewish merchants by

forcing them to close their businesses on a day that they otherwise could have worked. Most blue laws have since been repealed or are unenforced.

Anti-Semitism Before World War II

American anti-Semitism reached its peak during the 1920s and 1930s amid a social context of large-scale immigration, the “red scare” of communist revolution, and the economic despair of the Great Depression. Jews do not share a uniform physical appearance and are not a distinct biological “race,” but proponents of immigration restrictions and scientific racists during the early 20th century nevertheless labeled Jews as members of an allegedly inassimilable “Hebrew race” who posed a threat to the nation’s Anglo-Protestant cultural core. Such theories were advanced by Madison Grant, a prominent anthropologist and head of the Immigration Restriction League, who ominously warned that the nation was committing “racial suicide” through the influx of Catholic and Jewish immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. The Ku Klux Klan, the oldest active hate group in the United States, reached its all-time peak in membership during the 1920s, boasting an estimated four million dues-paying and robed Klansmen by 1925. The Klan had previously been confined to the south, where it persisted as a vehemently antiblack organization, but in the early 20th century, amid a heavy period of immigration, the Klan expanded its geographic reach into the northern and midwestern states and broadened its tactics to espouse an anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-immigrant agenda.

Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology and himself a German Jewish immigrant, publicly challenged anti-Semitic and racist ideas. However, anti-Semites attempted to discredit Boas’s critiques of popular notions of racial inferiority by pointing out his Jewish heritage which, they claimed, delegitimized his work. Despite Boas’s challenges to anti-Semitism and racism, President Calvin Coolidge in 1924 signed a restrictive immigration act that severely limited immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Since most Jewish newcomers at the time hailed from Russia, the 1924 act dramatically reduced Jewish immigration to the United States.

Other prominent anti-Semites of the early 20th century included automobile industrialist Henry

Ford and aviator Charles Lindbergh, both of whom advocated Jewish conspiracy theories. Ford published volumes of articles titled “The International Jew: The World’s Foremost Problem” in his weekly newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*, between 1920 and 1927 that accused Jews of a sinister plot to take control of the governments of different countries throughout the world.

The Nazi regime used these publications as propaganda during the 1930s, and the Third Reich awarded Ford the Grand Cross of the German Eagle (the Nazis’ highest accolade for a foreigner) in 1938. Adolf Hitler admired the automobile mogul for both his business acumen and rabid anti-Semitism, and a portrait of Ford hung inside the Führer’s private office. Ford later apologized for his anti-Semitic views. Lindbergh accused Jews of trying to persuade the U.S. government to abandon its position of neutrality and enter World War II so Jewish bankers and entrepreneurs could profit from industrial wartime production demands.

Father Charles Coughlin, a prominent Roman Catholic priest and radio personality, also drew praise from Nazi Germany for his fiery accusations on the airwaves proclaiming Jewish domination of American financial institutions. Coughlin also tried to justify the 1938 Nazi persecution of Jews during Kristallnacht. Ford and Coughlin each published versions of *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a Russian propaganda essay first written in 1903 that accused Jews of attempting to take control of all the governments of the world.

Jews also endured discrimination via exclusion from educational, professional, and social institutions in the first half of the 20th century. Harvard University and other elite private colleges and universities maintained strict quota systems to limit the number of Jewish students on campus and within faculty ranks, and many fraternities and sororities excluded Jews from membership.

Country clubs also commonly either barred Jews outright or limited Jewish membership to a minimum, as did professional occupations such as medicine, teaching, and engineering. Despite the pervasive stereotype of conspiratorial Jewish bankers, Jews were actually underrepresented within high-level management positions in the nation’s banking and insurance industries.

Anti-Semitism After World War II

Public opinion polls have consistently demonstrated that explicit anti-Semitic attitudes have diminished considerably among Americans over the past 50 to 60 years. For example, today nearly 90 percent of Americans say they would vote for a Jewish candidate as president, as opposed to less than 50 percent during the 1950s. Nearly two-thirds of Americans surveyed also agreed that Jews have enhanced the cultural life of the United States. On the other hand, one-quarter of Americans surveyed in 2004 blamed the Jews (rather than the Romans) for the crucifixion of Jesus, a 19 percent increase since 1997. Some scholars attribute this trend to the popularity of the 2004 film *The Passion of the Christ*, which has been criticized by some who believe the film portrays Jews as callous and ultimately responsible for Jesus’s death.

Although overt displays of animosity toward Jews may have diminished in American society following World War II, anti-Semitism has not disappeared from the nation’s social fabric. More than 1,700 anti-Semitic bias incidents occurred nationwide in 2005, including acts of vandalism, harassment, assault, and desecration of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. On August 10, 1999, a 37-year-old white supremacist, Buford Furrow, opened fire inside the lobby of the North Valley Jewish Community Center in Los Angeles. Furrow’s rampage left one person dead and five more injured, and he later confessed that he intended the incident to serve as “a wake-up call to America to kill Jews.”

After declining in size and significance throughout the 1970s and 1980s, white supremacist organizations have reemerged over the past 15 years, facilitated tremendously by the relative anonymity of the Internet, which enables their rage-filled rhetoric to reach an ever-wider audience. White supremacist ideology is viciously anti-Semitic, rehashing long-standing conspiracy theories of Jews controlling the U.S. government (termed “Zionist Occupied Government”), along with the nation’s media and banking industries, as well as accusing Jews of promoting integration, multiculturalism, and “race mixing” in order to allegedly erode the nation’s white Christian heritage. Sociologist Abby Ferber observes that Jews represent the ultimate enemy for white supremacists, while

Martin Marger notes that stereotypes of Jews as “greedy” and “obsessed with money” remain common. Some white supremacists accused American and Israeli Jews of masterminding the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, in order to prompt the U.S. military to eradicate Israel’s adversaries in the Middle East. Adherents of this conspiracy theory erroneously assert that Jewish employees of the World Trade Center were instructed in advance to remain home from work on the day of the attacks.

The nation’s most notorious white supremacist and anti-Semite of the post-civil rights era, former grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan David Duke, attempted to reform the Klan’s image in the 1970s by dressing in three-piece suits rather than the customary hooded robe and eschewing the nocturnal burning of crosses in rural fields in favor of making televised appearances on talk shows such as *Donahue* and *Jerry Springer*. Duke, who won election to the Louisiana House of Representatives in 1989, once suggested in an issue of his self-published newsletter that the United States should be redistricted into distinct “race nations” to segregate the different major racial/ethnic segments of American society. Duke called for the nation’s Jewish population to be relocated to Manhattan and Long Island, a territory he mockingly dubbed “West Israel.” Duke has repeatedly dismissed the Holocaust as a lie, hoax, or conspiracy invented by Jews, and his 1998 autobiography, *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding*, alleges that Jews are responsible for most of the evil throughout the world’s history, that Jews control the national and global economies, and that Judaism is in a declared state of war with white Christianity.

While anti-Semitism remains ubiquitous in white supremacist ideologies, it also factors prominently into the rhetoric of some black nationalist figures, most notably Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam. Over several decades, Farrakhan has referred to Jews as “bloodsuckers” in reference to accusations that Jews controlled and profited most from the transatlantic slave trade and the subsequent oppression of blacks in the United States. Like Duke and other white supremacists, Farrakhan has likewise claimed that Jews run the nation’s banks and media outlets. On *Meet the Press* in 2000, Farrakhan openly questioned the

patriotism of U.S. Senator Joseph Lieberman, the nation’s first Jewish vice presidential nominee, because he suspected that, if elected, Lieberman might exhibit greater loyalty to Israel than to America. During a speech delivered in June 2010, Farrakhan claimed that Jews were attempting to manipulate President Barack Obama, the nation’s first black president, from recognizing that blacks, rather than Jews, are the true descendants of the Israelites mentioned in the Bible and that blacks, therefore, have an inherent right to Israeli territory.

Tensions between Jews and African Americans came to a head during the Crown Heights riots in Brooklyn in the summer of 1991. On August 19, a station wagon driven by a Jewish man, Yosef Lifsh, struck two black children. One child, 7-year-old Gavin Cato, died in the hospital of injuries sustained during the accident. However, rumors circulated that the initial ambulance on the scene neglected to provide medical assistance to the wounded children in favor of treating Lifsh. These rumors enraged many black residents and led to three days of angry protests in which demonstrators chanted “Jew! Jew! Jew!” and threw bottles and rocks at police and bystanders. As it turned out, two police officers instructed medical personnel to remove Lifsh from the site in order to ensure his safety from the angry crowd, a move that was interpreted by onlookers as an indication that greater emphasis had been placed on a Jewish man’s safety than a black child’s life.

A 29-year-old Jewish man, Yankel Rosenbaum, was stabbed multiple times by a black protester during the first night of the riot; he died a few hours later in the hospital. The riot and its aftermath strained relations between Jews and African Americans in New York City, and one historian from Brandeis University labeled the 1991 Crown Heights riots “the most serious anti-Semitic incident in American history.”

Anti-Semitism has drawn the attention of Hollywood and independent filmmakers in recent years. The 1992 period piece *School Ties*, starring Brendon Fraser and Matt Damon, takes place at an elite, private, all-male preparatory school during the 1950s and illustrates how David Greene (Fraser), an outstanding quarterback recruited by the school for his athletic talent, struggles to conceal his Jewish identity from his inner circle

of bigoted Anglo-Protestant and Roman Catholic friends, as well as his white Anglo-Saxon Protestant girlfriend, who also holds anti-Semitic views. *American History X* (1998), a brutally honest look at white supremacist ideology starring Edward Norton, showcases the manner in which a good-natured teenage boy comes to adopt his vulgarly racist and anti-Semitic beliefs en route to becoming a murderous neo-Nazi. *The Believer* (2001), starring Ryan Gosling, is based on the real-life case of an Orthodox Jew who hid his true ethnic and religious heritage in order to join a neo-Nazi organization.

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See Also: Anti-Defamation League; Aryan Nations; Hate Crimes; Hate Speech; Holocaust, The; Jewish Americans; Ku Klux Klan; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; White Supremacy.

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Apache

Apache are a group of related Native American nations of the southwest and the Plains states. In contrast, Apachean refers to both Navajo and Apache, who share related languages and traditional creation beliefs deeply rooted in their sacred land of the southwest.

Due to linguistic similarities across the Pacific northwest and northwestern Canada, some historians suggest that a migratory hunter-gatherer group descended from Canada to the southwest of what is now the United States from 1000 to 1500 C.E. and splintered off into several Apachean



Two Native American men stand in a doorway on the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico around 1936. Two Apache reservations, Fort Apache and San Carlos, were among the 10 largest reservations in terms of population in 2010.

groups. Regional, cultural, and linguistic groupings of Apaches include the Western Apache, Chiricahua Apache, Mescalero Apache, Jicarilla Apache, Lipan Apache, and Plains Apache. Federally recognized contemporary Western Apache Nations are now all located in central or western Arizona and include the Yavapai-Apache Nation of the Camp Verde Reservation, the Tonto Apache Nation, the White Mountain Apache Tribe of the Fort Apache Reservation, and the San Carlos Apache Tribe. Federally recognized Chiricahua Apaches are located with the Mescalero at the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico, at the Fort Sill Apache Nation of Oklahoma, and at the newly acquired Fort Sill Apache Reservation in Arкета, New Mexico. Jicarilla Apache are located in New Mexico on the border with Colorado.

The Apache Nation of Oklahoma is the only exclusively Plains Apache people, although the

Lipan Apache of Texas came to occupy the southern plains of Texas and deserts of New Mexico and Mexico and as of a 2009 gained state recognition; they are headquartered near the southernmost Texas-Mexico border. A minority of unrecognized bands of Apaches still struggle for recognition throughout the southwest.

Apache Religion

Traditional religious beliefs among Apaches involve various related creation beliefs. For example, the Jicarilla recount how Black Hactin, the child of Black Sky and Earth Woman, created humankind, who eventually emerged from a lower world on sunbeam ladders into the present world. Apache origins have many variations that involve a creator, sometimes known as Giver of Life or Ussen; White-Shell Woman, White-Painted Woman, or Changing Woman; and her two children, Killer of Enemies and Child of Water, who rid Earth of evil represented by various monsters. Commonalities across Apaches include a belief in power gained by nonhuman spirits, an avoidance of ghosts, and the girl's puberty ceremony.

Apache spiritual leaders or medicine people can acquire their power through dreams, visions, and contact with power through physical manifestations, such as animals, or by the learning of complex songs and rituals. Apaches may approach a different healer, shaman, singer, or medicine person to ask for protection from enemies and illness, for the diagnosis of an illness, and for curing it. For many Apaches, Crown Dancers traditionally embody the Mountain Spirits who help guide Apache life on earth. Core ceremonial and historical knowledge is embedded in the landscape and can be evoked by place-names in ceremony, story, or song. In many Apache traditions, ghosts are avoided because they can harm the living unless helped along in their transition through a four-day ceremony.

In the girl's puberty ceremony among Western Apache, the transitional girl embodies Changing Woman and gains some of her healing and creative abilities, and longevity. The cane that the girls use in the ritual represents the long life that the ceremony will help them achieve. A second aspect of the girl's puberty ceremony, sometimes called a sunrise ceremony, is to maintain a pleasing, harmonious behavior through the rigorous

four-day event. Maintaining this demeanor is necessary for the ceremony to go well and serves as training to keep her balanced during future duties as matrilineal head of the family. A third aspect of the ceremony is to provide growth and physical endurance. Every day, the girl must run, perform household tasks, and undergo ceremonial molding by her godmother in order to develop into a strong and capable woman. Finally, the ceremony helps ensure abundance in the girl's future, as she gives gifts in abundance to the attendees and is showered with blessings of corn meal or corn pollen throughout the ceremony.

Apache Resistance in the 1800s

Like many Native Americans, Apaches have various long histories of military, political, and cultural resistance to colonization and assimilation. The Chiricahua Apaches are most famed for centuries of military resistance, even though many leaders sought earnestly to establish peace with the unpredictable United States, Mexican, and Spanish governments. In the 1800s, Mangas Coloradas (Dasoda-hae) was a famed leader of the Chihenne band of Eastern Chiricahuas. Cochise (Cheis) subsequently rose up as a leader of his Chokonen band of the Central Chiricahua.

Although not originally a war chief, Geronimo (Goyaałé) was of the Bedonkohe band of the Southern Chiricahua and a medicine man who gained fame in the last Native American prolonged war in the United States. Geronimo was a spokesperson for the Ndéndai war chief, Juh. He was aided by Lozen, a woman warrior, medicine woman, and sister to the Chihenne war chief Victorio. Lozen is one example of how Apache gender roles were sometimes flexible.

Contemporary Times

After decades of internment on reservations or prisons, assimilationist boarding schools, and U.S. control, Apaches slowly gained political power and recouped numbers lost to illness and war in the 1900s. The 2010 census listed the Fort Apache Reservation as the third-largest American Indian reservation in population at 13,014 and the San Carlos Reservation as the sixth-largest reservation in population at 9,001.

Like most Native American peoples, the majority of Apaches circulate through urban areas.

Contemporary Chiricahua Apache political leaders have included Wendell Chino, who was also half Mescalero Apache. He was elected leader of the Mescalero Apache Nation from 1955 to 1998, in an era that expanded Apache control over its own resources by expanding infrastructure, industry, and tourism. As president of the National Congress of Indians, Chino also became a national and international spokesman for tribal sovereignty. Another noted leader was Mildred Cleghorn (En-Ohn or Lay-a-Bet). Born during the imprisonment era of Chiricahuas, she lived to see federal recognition of her people and to become the first chairwoman of the Fort Sill Apache Nation.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Ethnic Studies; Native Americans.

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Apollo Theater

Historical landmark and African American cultural symbol, the Apollo Theater at 253 West 125th Street in New York City was the most important venue for African American entertainers from the 1930s to the 1970s. A roll call of those who performed there reads like a history of popular music of the 20th century. One of its legendary attractions was Amateur Night, begun in 1934. It was both testing ground and launching pad for African American artists who defined

musical genres. The glory days ended by the mid-1970s, but a decade later the Apollo received landmark status. On Christmas Eve 1985, Amateur Night was reinstated, and in 2001, the Apollo began a major restoration and renovation of its façade and marquee and a new chapter in its illustrious history.

Origins

The building that became the Apollo Theater was an Irish music hall in the years after it was built in 1913. A few years later, it was Hurtig and Seamon's Burlesque Theater, where mostly white females, including most notably comedienne and musical star Fanny Brice, performed for an audience that excluded African Americans. In 1932, reformers closed burlesque theaters. Sidney Cohen bought the building in 1934 and reopened it as the Apollo Theater. Cohen's Apollo Theater was the first to provide entertainment by African American artists for an African American audience.

Frank Schiffman and Leo Brecher took over the Apollo in 1935. The Schiffman and Brecher families operated the theater until the late 1970s. During these years, African American legends and rising stars entertained Apollo audiences. In 1935, Bessie Smith, known as the Empress of the Blues, appeared for four weeks; they were her only live performances that year. Count Basie made his first appearance in 1937, but he regularly returned, entertaining Apollo audiences several times a year. In 1946, Lionel Hampton's band proved so popular that they played seven shows a day for seven days. In 1962, Berry Gordy brought the Motown Revue to the Apollo, with emerging stars like Marvin Gaye, Diana Ross and the Supremes, Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Little Stevie Wonder, the Temptations, and Martha and the Vandellas. Aretha Franklin performed in 1971 for a series of sold-out concerts, and, in 1977, Parliament-Funkadelic, the funk music collective, became the last artists to appear under the Schiffman management of the Apollo.

Not all the stars were musicians. Comedians from Jackie "Moms" Mabley (the first female comic to play there) to Bill Cosby to Whoopi Goldberg to Chris Rock appeared on the Apollo stage, as did dancers such as Bill "Bojangles" Robinson and Maurice and Gregory Hines. The Apollo's own chorus line was considered the best

in the city. The theater was also the first, and for a time the only, theater in New York City to hire African Americans in backstage positions.

Amateur Night

But it is the theater's Amateur Night for which it is most widely known. Ralph Cooper is credited with starting the talent contest. He also served as the first master of ceremonies. It was his idea to use comedy to move the less talented offstage. Norman Miller was the first to don a costume and with a hook chase offstage contestants who earned the disapproval of the audience. Later, Bob Collins and Howard "Sandman" Sims took on the part. In the 1980s, C. P. Lacey, dubbed the Executioner by Cooper, assumed the role that he still held in 2012. Amateur Night at the Apollo became a Harlem institution. Broadcast by radio station WMCA early on, it was soon syndicated in 21 cities. The Apollo had a national audience.

From the beginning, the rowdy audience, who could embrace talent with wild enthusiasm or jeer contestants with raucous disdain, was an important part of the mix. Performing at the Apollo took courage. Luther Vandross was reportedly booed offstage four times before winning the audience on his fifth try. A 15-year-old Ella Fitzgerald was so intimidated by the dance act that preceded her that she changed her mind and sang instead. She won first place and a job as vocalist with the Chick Webb Orchestra that night. Within weeks she was recording "A Tisket, A Tasket," which became her breakthrough hit and a jazz standard. Sarah Vaughn quipped that she was more interested in the \$25 the winner received than discovery. She got both. First-time winners received \$200 in 2012. Gladys Knight and the Pips drove from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York for their chance on the Apollo stage, and Joe Jackson drove his five young sons from Gary, Indiana, to compete. Both groups went on to become Motown legends.

The list of artists whose careers launched from the Apollo stage on Amateur Night includes the most celebrated African American talent: Billie Holiday, Pearl Bailey, Otis Redding, Wilson Pickett, James Brown, Stevie Wonder, and Lauryn Hill. And their influence rippled in ever-widening circles to shape nearly eight decades of American popular music.

By the 1970s, support for the Apollo was declining. Social changes had opened new doors to African American artists, and pressure for Harlem businesses to be owned and operated by African Americans was growing. In 1977, the Schiffman family closed the theater. It was bought by the Harlem Urban Development Corporation in 1981. As Harlem's oldest theater, it received landmark status at federal, state, and city levels in 1983. Amateur Night was revived, and in 1987, *ShowTime at the Apollo*, the television show based on the original Apollo Amateur Night, began airing in syndication.

The Apollo Theater Foundation was established in 1991 through the joint efforts of state and local governments and the private sector. The foundation has honored the Apollo's legacy even as it has renovated the building, restored it as a leading performing arts venue, and extended its community outreach. The Apollo remains Harlem's top attraction, drawing 1.3 million visitors annually and inspiring the dreamers who still come hoping the magic of the Apollo will work for them.

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See Also: African American Categorization (Essay); African Americans; Black Entertainment Television.

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Appalachians

The name *Appalachian* came from the word *Appalachee*, the name of an American Indian tribe in northern Florida, and can also refer to a mountainous region or its inhabitants. The Appalachian people come from a diverse group that includes Native Americans and migrants from England, Ireland, Scotland, Poland, Germany,

and North Africa. The Appalachian Mountains encompass a 200,000-square-mile region from southern New York to northern Mississippi, representing 410 counties and 23 million people.

History and Migration

Before the migration from Europe and Africa, the Appalachian region was populated by the Cherokee and Shawnee Indians for more than a thousand years. When settlers arrived in the 1600s, they found the coastal areas were overpopulated, so people started moving farther west and settled in the Appalachian Mountains. Due to the isolated geography, the Appalachians lived in an almost unchanging world from the 1600s to the late 1800s.

The majority of settlers in the southern Appalachian region came from England, Scotland, and Germany in the 1700s, seeking land, freedom, and new opportunities. By the late 1800s, large-scale logging and coal mining found their way into the dense, lush forests that held an abundance of fossil fuels. The technological advances of the era went largely unused and unnoticed by the native inhabitants. During the 1800s and 1900s, more people arrived from Ireland, Wales, France, Italy, Holland, and Africa, turning the area into a rich, multicultural region. It is difficult to make an accurate assessment of Appalachians because the group is not a recognized subcategory on the U.S. census. However, in recent years, many Appalachian counties in eastern Kentucky and West Virginia have experienced a population decline, according to 2010 census data, as this population began to move to midwestern cities like Chicago, Cincinnati, and Detroit, where they created entire urban neighborhoods with a distinct Appalachian culture.

Mystery of the Melungeons

While the Appalachian population includes people from Europe and North Africa, one group, the Melungeons, has been referred to as the lost race of Appalachia. There has been a mystery surrounding the origins of these dark-skinned Appalachian residents. Some speculate they descended from Portuguese explorers, or perhaps from enslaved Turks or from Gypsies. The term *Melungeon* has been used as a slur for a number of groups of mysterious mixed-race ancestry from New York to Louisiana. The claims of the

people that they were of Portuguese descent was likely used so they would remain free and retain the privilege of being white.

Census data from the Appalachian region during the 1800s shows a large number of people listed as “free persons of color,” neither black nor white. During this time, laws were put in place to penalize the mixing of races, and several court cases arose from the Melungeon designation. The idea of Africans or people of color owning land or working had negative connotations. A recent DNA study in the *Journal of Genetic Genealogy* has found that the families historically called Melungeons are the offspring of sub-Saharan African men and white women of northern or central European origin. It is estimated that there are several thousand descendants of the historical Melungeons today.

Values and Culture

The 20 million Appalachians today are by no means homogeneous. They may be found in rural or urban areas, work in coal mining, steel industries, farming, or holding positions as ministers, rabbis, artists, or lawyers. The communities of the central Appalachian region maintain the distinctive culture of miner-mountaineers. In its traditional aspects, this culture places a value on rural lifestyle and relative isolation. The people also place a strong importance on personal relationships and the church.

Mountain families are typically large and tend to settle close to one another. It is not unusual today to find families with four generations living side by side. They have their own music (bluegrass and folk), history, art, oral tradition, dialect, religious beliefs, and ideas of justice, education, and health. Competitiveness and boasting tend to be frowned on in rural Appalachia, and although success is not discouraged, people are expected to play down their achievements and not act as if they are “above” everyone else. Appalachians have distinct speech patterns, usually described as slow drawls. Many urban Appalachian youth are now mixing their Appalachian slang and dialect with that of the urban African Americans. Examples can be heard in the music of artists such as Eminem and Kid Rock.

Appalachians consider themselves proud Americans, yet seem to be less politically active than the general population. This may be due to

the historically harsh treatment of mine workers by their employers. Their American pride is sometimes expressed in the form of racism, in which nonwhites are seen as inferior or intruding.

Religion is valued highly by Appalachians and most Appalachians think of themselves as Christians. Because Appalachians treasure their rich oral traditions, these can conflict with educational institutions. Rather than viewing schooling as learning new knowledge, many Appalachians fear that schools may cause their children to give up or lose the traditional ways of life. This clash has led to lower educational attainments and high poverty rates in the region. Urban Appalachians live in highly polluted, low-income industrial areas (such as Detroit), and many rural Appalachian areas lack basic amenities, like running water and indoor plumbing.

Economy and Employment

The southern Appalachian Mountains have a great deal of natural resources, including, iron, coal, limestone, shale, oil, gold, silver, copper, lead, and marble. Because of these resources, Appalachians have an abundance of industrial jobs. Other jobs may include crafting and farming, although the basic geography of the region makes this sometimes difficult. Some of the major crops are tobacco, corn, cotton, hay, fruits, vegetables, and wheat. One of the biggest industries in Appalachia is coal mining. Due to this history of mining and the way in which coal mining companies control all aspects of the area (including housing, shopkeeping, and workloads), many miners do not trust people from outside their world. In the craftmaking industry, Appalachia is known for basket weaving, quilting, woodcarving, and making musical instruments, such as dulcimers and fiddles.

American economic trends since the mid-1980s have caused changes in the type of jobs and the level of pay available to those in Appalachia. Jobs in high-paying manufacturing and blue-collar occupations have declined, while jobs in the low-wage service sector increased. For many displaced workers who are able to find work in the service industries, they experience cuts in wages and benefits and a loss of seniority and the potential for advancement. Even within the service industries, automation is replacing the traditional workforce. Without access to higher paying jobs, the

majority of Appalachians have problems maintaining adequate incomes.

Media Portrayal

Several stereotypes have been developed over time regarding the Appalachian people. Sometimes referred to as hicks, rednecks, and hillbillies, the media has portrayed Appalachians as uneducated, backward, and slow.

No other region or group of people have been so misrepresented by the mass media. Cartoon characters, such as Li'l Abner and Snuffy Smith, and television shows like *Hee Haw*, the *Beverly Hillbillies*, and *Green Acres* have indelibly attributed these stereotypes of natural stupidity to anyone with an Appalachian accent. One only has to mention the movie *Deliverance* to trigger feelings of fear and violence in connection with this isolated group of people. Still, the region's fame or infamy has forced writers and critics to dwell on what has been done to Appalachia, rather than what Appalachia has contributed to the world. The region has contributed best-selling authors, such as Barbara Kingsolver, Charles Frazier, Homer Hickam, and Robert Morgan; entertainers (Lucille Ball), musicians (Patsy Cline), and



A farming couple near Barbourville, Knox County, Kentucky, in 1940. The 2010 census found that the population of Appalachian counties in eastern Kentucky and West Virginia is now declining.

scholars (Henry Louis Gates, Jr.). While television shows like *The Waltons* portrayed kind and loving families, most featured hillbillies trying to buy the White House, cuddling a pig, or rising from a corn patch to tell jokes.

Conclusion

The United States is home to many cultures. The fact that one group does not fit perfectly into the construct of Americanism does not necessarily merit a full-scale revision of multicultural paradigms. Appalachian Americans are not generally discussed in multicultural textbooks or thought of as a distinct cultural group, yet they exhibit major cultural differences when compared to the common social construct of white America. For this reason they continue to be marginalized, even in a time when acceptance of ethnic minorities and ideals of a pluralistic society are the norm.

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See Also: Anglos; Caucasians; *Deliverance*; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; White Categorization (Essay); White Ethnics.

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founded in 1985 by James Zogby, a second-generation Arab American who was actively involved in Democratic Party politics, particularly the Rainbow Coalition. Zogby had previously been executive director of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, but had left after a conflict with its founder, James Abourezk, and founded the AAI as a way of continuing his activism. Zogby is the brother of John Zogby, a respected pollster and also a Democratic party activist. The AAI is divided into two segments, the AAI and the AAI Foundation, which are legally distinct but are highly integrated in their actions. AAI is highly focused on federal U.S. policy, and has a strong focus on actions in Washington, D.C., with a less substantial presence on the ground in other Arab American communities.

The AAI is a lobbying and policy-monitoring body. Bipartisan in framework, it focuses on monitoring U.S. policy toward Arabs in the United States and the Middle East. AAI publishes an annual Congressional Scorecard, which provides information about the voting records of all members of Congress on issues that it deems important to Arab Americans. In 2011, the relevant issues were the Arab Spring, Palestine, Lebanon, civil liberties, and immigration reform; From 2009 to 2010, they were Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, civil liberties, immigration reform, and other pieces of legislation that were specific to the Arab world. AAI also assists Arab American candidates for office in their elections and keeps records of Arab Americans in elected offices, from the local to the national level. Finally, AAI conducts occasional opinion polling of Arab Americans, and is generally considered a prime source for information about Arab American public opinion.

Since 2001, the AAI has made statements opposing the restrictions on civil liberties imposed by the Patriot Act, the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Israeli policies toward Palestinians, and other elements of U.S. foreign policy. These are consistent with AAI's pre-2001 positions. These criticisms have earned the organization the ire of many U.S. citizens; in particular, in 2006 the organization received a series of violent threats in the form of voice mails and e-mails. However, AAI has also been criticized by members of the Arab American community for not speaking out on the issues in stronger terms.

Arab American Institute

The Arab American Institute (AAI) is one of the two most prominent Arab American lobbying organizations in Washington, D.C. The AAI was

The AAI Foundation focuses on education and research. First, it provides the most detailed demographic analysis of the Arab population in the United States available to the general public, although it is limited by its use of U.S. Census Bureau data. Second, it sponsors Yalla Vote, a voter-registration and get-out-the-vote campaign in major Arab American communities and swing states with Arab communities during the years in which there are presidential elections. Third, it helps organize the Arab American Day of Service, along with the National Network of Arab American Communities. Finally, it is involved in educational and public opinion outreach to non-Arab Americans, with the intention of improving understanding of Arab communities, culture, and life among non-Arabs.

The AAI Foundation has been involved with the Census Bureau as part of attempts by the Arab American community to alter the way that Arab Americans are racially and ethnically categorized by federal data. Since the 1990 census, AAI has been involved in efforts to encourage Arab Americans to respond to census instruments and give full information. This is particularly important because it is widely believed that official Census Bureau statistics drastically undercount the number of persons of Arab descent in the United States. (In its own estimates, the AAI triples the federal estimates.)

In advance of the 2000 census, in particular, the AAI was involved in a campaign to disaggregate the “white” designation to allow non-European persons classified as white to mark themselves as North African or Middle Eastern. This campaign was not successful. However, AAI has remained involved with the Census Bureau, and continues to advocate for better ways of counting Arab Americans. AAI remains a census information center for the Arab American community, and produces materials in Arabic and English about the census. Helen Hatab Samhan, former executive director of the AAI Foundation, regularly provides testimony before Congress and to the Census Bureau about the Arab American community.

The AAI has been criticized by members of the Chaldean, Assyrian, and Maronite Catholic groups for including these groups among its counts of people of Arab ancestry in the United States. The three groups are Christian minorities

in the Middle East; unlike other groups such as the Kurds and Armenians, they are Arabic-speaking, but remain culturally distinct.) In its demographic work, the AAI continues to include those groups in its estimates, but does so while explicitly mentioning their different identities.

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See Also: American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Arab Americans; Chaldean Americans; National Rainbow Coalition/PUSH; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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Arab Americans

Arab Americans, those of Arab descent who share common language and heritage, can be traced to geographic areas outside the United States that encompass 22 countries in the Middle East, North Africa, and southwestern Asia. Arabs, primarily Christians, immigrated from Syria and other Arab countries to the United States in the 1880s during the period of the Ottoman Empire. They

worked as petit merchants and were illiterate in both Arabic and English.

A second wave of Arab immigrants, primarily Muslims, arrived after World War II. Since the 1940s and 1950s many Arabs arrived in the United States seeking education and economic opportunities, and most of them remained in the new homeland. Palestinians immigrated to the United States in great waves, especially during the displacement policy of the late 1930s and 1940s. However, the racial hierarchy in the United States and the political system that maintained it proved to be a grave hindrance to Arab immigrant assimilation until the 1940s. By the 1960s, several factors facilitated the rapid immigration of Arabs to the United States, including the Immigration Act of 1965, which eliminated restrictions on immigration; the Israeli-Arab war of 1967; and other conflicts in the Middle East.

The population of Arab immigrants in 1990 was 860,354. It reached 1,250,000 in 2000, an increase of 38 percent. By 2010, the population reached 1,680,000 million. More than 82 percent of Arabs in the United States are U.S. citizens. Despite the rapid growth of Arab Americans, they still make up less than half of 1 percent of the overall U.S. population, which, according to the 2010 census numbered 308,745,538 in 2010.

It is important to note that census data on Americans of Arab descent are classified either as "White" or "Other" with reference to their ethnicity or ancestry. However, there is no box for Arab Americans in the ethnicity section as there is for Asians or Hispanics. Thus, about 80 percent of Arabs are classified as white, while 17 percent are classified as white and another race.

Further, the U.S. census does not classify Arabs as a minority group. Yet many Arabs who have recently immigrated to the United States often tend to associate themselves with American minorities. Some authorities state that the data from "ancestry" responses still undercount the Arab American population, which, they argue, has climbed to almost 3.5 or 4 million.

Arab Americans live in all 50 states: 26 percent reside in the northeast, 24 percent in the midwest, 27 percent in the south, and 23 percent in the West. Arab Americans live mostly in California, Michigan, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, and

Pennsylvania. However, the majority of Arab Americans are concentrated in metropolitan areas such as Detroit (mainly Dearborn, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit), Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and New Jersey. According to the American Community Survey (One-Year Estimates) conducted in 2010, Dearborn, in the Detroit metropolitan area, has the largest proportion or concentration of Arab Americans in the United States, accounting for nearly 41.7 percent (40,788 people) of the city's population in 2010. Comparatively, Arab Americans represent 0.9 percent of the population of New York and 1.1 percent of Los Angeles.

National Origins of Arab Americans

According to the 2010 U.S. census, the Lebanese, ranking first among Arabs with a population of 504,000, constitute almost 30 percent of the total population of Arab Americans. With a population of 197,000, Egyptian Americans are ranked second (more than 12 percent of Arab Americans), while Syrians, with a population of 159,000 are ranked third (constituting 9 percent of the population of Arab Americans). Ranking fourth are the Palestinian Americans, with a population of 104,000 (6 percent of the Arab population), while Iraqis ranked fifth, constituting 5 percent of the Arab American population. The Iraqi population in 2000 was 37,714, but in 2010 it increased to 101,000 due to the influx of refugees as a consequence of the American invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003. Arab communities with smaller populations include those of Moroccan (78,000) and Jordanian (68,000) descent. The category of "other Arabs," whose population is 286,000, includes even smaller communities such as Yemeni, Sudanese, and Saudi Arabian, among others.

According to the 2000 U.S. census, 63 percent of Arab Americans were born in the United States. The Arab population was 57 percent male, whereas the total population of the United States was 49 percent male. Furthermore, the proportion of Arab males is larger than that of Arab females in all age groups through age 64.

Creating an Arab American Culture

Early Arab Americans recognized the importance of cultural societies and organizations in providing them with information and services necessary

for coping with their new American environment. They established the first Arabic newspaper, *Kawkab Amireca*, in the United States in 1892, followed in the early 20th century by societies such as the Syrian American Club and the Syrian Education Society, among other institutions, that served, supported, and united the communities. Other contemporary organizations established between 1960 and 2000 include the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the Arab American Institute (AAI), the Arab American Action Network (AAAN), the Arab American National Museum (AANM, Dearborn), the Arab American Heritage Council (AAHC, Flint, Michigan), the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS, Dearborn), the Arab Cultural and Community Center (ACCC, San Francisco), and the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA). Arab media and newspapers, such as Arab television and radio programs and the *Arab American News* (in both English and Arabic languages), have been established to actively serve Arab Americans in different communities.

Arab Americans are politically active and have been elected to political positions serving their communities. As voters, Arab Americans are concerned with jobs, health care, and the economy. Arab Americans are selective with regard to their political party affiliations. According to the Arab American Institute's report of a poll titled "Arab American Voters in 2010: Their Identity and Political Concerns," Arab Americans have shown a continually increasing trend toward support for the Democratic Party. In 2002, for example, 39 percent identified as Democrats, while 31 percent were Republicans. By 2010, Arab Americans who were Democrats constituted 50 percent of the Arab population, while those who were Republicans constituted 25 percent.

The Impact of September 11

The identity of Arab American is a forceful element unifying all Arabs living in the United States. Indeed, Arabs from different Arab or Middle Eastern countries have become familiar faces in many cities or areas across the country. The term *Arab American* connotes unity, notwithstanding the implicit multiplicity of these citizens. Arab American identity has especially become visible

since the events of September 11, 2001. Arab Americans have experienced a variety of forms of discrimination and stereotyping based on factors such as race and ethnicity, dress (especially the turban, veil, and headscarf), customs, and religion. Arab Americans have been viewed by Western media and many non-Arab Americans as being antidemocratic or in sympathy with terrorism. However, Arab Americans have seen in such crisis an opportunity to speak out, having faith in the pluralistic and free society of the United States, to educate and share information about their faith, lifestyle, and motivations. Additionally, the events of 9/11 have motivated people, Arab and non-Arab, to develop significant interest in the Arabic language. More than 50 percent of Arab Americans report speaking a language other than English. To be more specific, the number of Arab Americans who speak the Arabic language at home is 845,390, nearly 50 percent of the total Arab American population.

The negative stereotyping has further united Arab Americans to counter negative images and to portray themselves not only as Arab but also as American. In the mid-1990s, 51 percent of Americans of Arab descent described themselves as Arab Americans. However, the number of those who identified themselves as Arab Americans substantially increased to 62 percent in 2010. The percentage of Arab Americans who have stated that they are proud of their ethnicity exceeds 90 percent. Arab Americans have a strong belief that Arabs in the United States are more united than the Arabs in the Middle East.

Hybrid Identity

Arab immigrants have developed and expressed their Arab American hybrid identity in both public and private sectors. An Arab American hybrid identity has been shaped by many factors but particularly by continuing interactions between the culture of the new homeland and the traditions and conditions of the old homeland, as well as by the interplay between Arab Americans' perceptions of themselves and how others see them. However, the original identity gets weaker the longer Arab Americans are away from their country of origin.

Arab Americans have a mixture of Arabic tradition that extends beyond a specific country or

homeland. They have experienced a gradually emerging sense of unified identity, or reconfiguration of identities, framed by the American culture as well as by the deep consciousness of the tradition of the old homeland, encompassing, for example, the Arabic language, traditions or social customs, intimate family relations, religious values, cuisine, art, and music. With their multicultural orientations, Arab Americans have made significant contributions to American culture in science, philosophy, history, art, and literature.

Arab Americans are currently more visible through their success in economic, educational, political, and public domains. Many Arab Americans have achieved prosperity in business, academia, engineering, and other fields and as such have been successful and mainstreamed into U.S. society and politics. Arab Americans are more affluent than the U.S. population as a whole. For example, the median income for Arab American households in 2008 was \$56,331, compared to \$51,369 for all households in the country. Mean individual income was 27 percent higher than the national average of \$61,921.

Similar to the U.S. average, 60 percent of Arab Americans are in the labor force, with 5 percent being unemployed. Seventy-three percent of working Arab Americans are employed in managerial, professional, technical, or administrative positions, while 14 percent are employed in service jobs, compared to 17 percent of Americans overall. Most Arab Americans (88 percent) work in the private sector, while 12 percent are government employees. A larger number of Arab Americans (33.4 percent) than non-Arab Americans (17.9 percent) are involved in sales-related services.

Arab Americans are younger than the general U.S. population. Moreover, they are better educated than the average American. Over 89 percent of Arab Americans have obtained a high school diploma and 45 percent have obtained a bachelor's degree or higher. (On average, only 28 percent of Americans have obtained bachelor's degrees). In addition, 18 percent of Arab Americans have a postgraduate degree, nearly twice the American average of 10 percent; 89 percent of Arab American adults have at least a high school diploma. Moreover, according to the Arab American Institute, Arab American women



Over 82 percent of Arabs in the United States are U.S. citizens and 63 percent were born in the country. The overall Arab American population is 57 percent male, as opposed to 49 percent for the total population of the United States.

are some of the most highly educated women in the United States.

Family Relationships

Strong and intimate family and kin relationships are a common feature among Arab Americans. For example, more than 65 percent of the members of the working community in Dearborn came to the area because they had kin there. The strong commitment to family relations is also reflected in the fact that Arab Americans are more likely to be married than the total U.S. population; 61 percent of Arab Americans are married, compared to 54 percent of total Americans. The divorce rate among Arab Americans is 13 percent, compared to 19 percent among average Americans. Further, Arab American family size is larger than that of

the general American population. Arabs prefer to live in close neighborhoods, exchanging visits and showing hospitality and generosity.

Arab and non-Arab Americans openly share and participate in Arab International Festivals (in Detroit), Annual New York Arab American Comedy Festivals, Annual Arab Cultural Festivals (in San Francisco), and Arab American Festivals (in Phoenix), among other multicultural events. People from different Arab or home countries (such as Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Yemen) may come together at the local mosque to pray for and lament the loss of young Arabs (or Arab Americans) who died while they visited their home countries and/or were killed in the war. Common features of the Arab culture identify the bond between Arab Americans and their homeland. For example, in many cities with substantive Arab communities, many grocery stores, bakeries, and restaurants have Arabic names such as Al-Amir, Baraka, Halal Pizza, the Shaikh, Mezza, Shatila, and New Yasmeen, among others.

Another common feature among Arab Americans is their ability to choose which elements of their original cultures they wish to keep and which they want to reject. They can choose how far they want to incorporate and assimilate into the mainstream American culture. For example, they enjoy sports, such as American football and hockey, have participated in sports, and eagerly talk about sports.

“Half and Half”

Although Arab immigrants share common culture, there are many differences among Arab Americans as individuals and as ethnic groups. For example, they adhere to different religions, including Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. They are also diverse in terms of economic, political, educational, and professional backgrounds and preferences.

Arab Americans encompass a highly diverse people ranging from the Egyptians, whose ancestry goes back 4,000 years, to people who more recently arrived as refugees. Many Arabs claim mixed ancestries. For example, there are Arab Irish Americans, Arab Italian Americans, and Arab German Americans. Arab Americans have multiple or “half and half” identities associated with particular Arab homelands such as Egypt,

Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Yemen, among others. However, Arab Americans do not say such phrases as “half Arab and half American,” but rather they use phrases such as “half Egyptian and half American,” “half Syrian and half American,” and “half Lebanese and half American.” Such statements are applicable to those who are born, for example, to an Egyptian father and British American mother, or a Lebanese mother and French American father.

As opposed to the term *Arab American*, which connotes unity, phrases such as “half Egyptian and half American” signify diversity and multiplicity. Within the American multicultural milieu a young Arab American may attempt to trace the chain of his origins further, claiming, for example, that he is “one-fourth American, one-fourth Lebanese, one-fourth French, and one-fourth Syrian.” It is not a matter of divided loyalty leading to split personality, but rather a matter of longing for roots, real or imagined, in the fatherland and full recognition or acceptance in the new land.

Interestingly, there is opportunity for segregated communities, such as Yemeni and Lebanese, to exist within an Arab American community such as Dearborn and to interact on a high level. These communities comment on each other on personal and social levels. These comments can relate to fashion, dialect, and certain social customs such as gender segregation at wedding ceremonies. The dialectal differences between Arab Americans from different homelands also generate interesting topics of conversation among them.

Some Arab Americans, such as those belonging to Yemeni communities, follow strict traditional behavioral rules when compared with other Arab Americans. While some Arab American women wear traditional clothes, including veils, other Arab women have adopted a more Western style of dress. They may express their preference for wearing trendy Western clothes such as capri pants and short shirts or blouses that fall just below the waist. They talk about how they tease each other during such traditions and celebrations as Ramadan, and about their religious, cultural, and dialectal differences.

The U.S. Census Bureau does not include or track religion. Surveys show that Arabs make up less than 25 percent of the Muslim population,

including Sunni and Shi'a, in the United States. Further, there are various sects within the Christian population including the Maronite Christians from Lebanon and Coptic Christians from Egypt, among others. It seems that there is a relationship between adherence to a specific religion and intensity of discrimination. For example, a poll, conducted in 2010 by the Arab American Institute, showed that 62 percent of Arab Americans who identified themselves as Muslim reported having been discriminated against, compared with 35 percent of Arab Americans who identified themselves as Christian.

Some Arab Americans have mixed feelings regarding their immediate environments. They express their pride at being American, and enjoy and defend the freedoms found there. They like the innovative and inventive spirit, as well as the science and technology characterizing America. But they have problems with certain aspects of American society regarding the racial stereotyping of certain segments, including Arabs. Despite their differences, Arab Americans are aware that their unified identity forms a unique blend of both the traditional and "new" or modern life. Their new hybrid identity is a combination of sameness and difference. It is like the same person speaking two or several languages. All in all, the configuration of Arab American identity generates an enduring force unifying all Arabs living in the United States. However, this unified identity of Arab Americans does not negate multiple identities being identified with their particular Arab homelands.

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See Also: American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Arab American Institute; Egyptian Americans; Iraqi Americans; Jordanian Americans; Lebanese Americans; Muslim Americans; Palestinian Americans; Saudi Americans; Syrian Americans.

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Arapaho

The Arapaho Indians (Inuna-Ina, or "Our People") were Native American nomadic tribes that, from the 17th century, lived throughout the plains of Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Kansas. They followed and hunted buffalo and also survived on elk, deer, fish, chokeberries, and, when times were tough, their own dogs. They were deeply rooted in certain spiritual beliefs and celebrated the summer solstice with the Sun Dance Festival and practiced the popular, cross-tribal Ghost Dance.

Before Europeans arrived on the shores of America, the Arapaho were located in the eastern woodlands of Minnesota and parts of North Dakota. They had permanent villages and were sedentary people who were agriculturally based, with corn their primary crop. However, when the white man arrived and started taking over their territory, they were forced to move westward. It

was then that they developed a nomadic lifestyle, following the seasonal migration of buffalo herds.

They used the buffalo for everything, from food to clothing. They even used the skin to make their tepees, which were lightweight and easy to break down and transport. The tepees were originally only 12 feet high, but once the tribes started using horses, they built them twice as high. Women, who were in charge of cleaning and cooking, were also in charge of these make-shift houses. They had to erect them and take them down, toting the heavy poles during their travels. A whole village could be packed up and ready for transport in an hour.

Dividing Roles, Duties by Gender

Men and women had different roles in the tribes. While women were the caretakers of the home, men were the warriors and hunters, responsible for defending their families and providing food. However, both genders shared in the rich oral storytelling, traditional medicine, music, craftwork, and artwork. They were renowned for their beadwork and quill embroidery, used on moccasins, clothing, bags, and tepees. The tribal members existed in small bands that were determined by birth. They could move between the bands at will. They used dog-pulled *travois* (drag sleds) before Europeans introduced them to horses. They became expert horseback riders and traveled much greater distances with horses. Their primary weapon was the bow and arrow, but they were also skilled with spears and used hide shields to protect themselves.

Men and women also dressed differently. Even though each gender wore their hair in two long braids, usually wrapped in fur, the women sometimes painted their hair red, while the men attached feathers to their hair. At times the men mimicked the Sioux and wore impressive headdresses. The women donned long buckskin dresses or split skirts, while the men wore leggings and breechcloth. Both wore moccasins and buffalo hide robes to stay warm. They used bright paint on their faces for specific occasions, like religious rituals, festive decorations, or war.

They were deeply spiritual people who believed in the connections between themselves, animals, and the land. They also revered the wisdom of the elders. The nucleus of their beliefs revolved

around the *Be He Height* (Overall Creator). They exercised their spiritual beliefs in dance rituals, which provided them with visions and a link to their ancestors.

Factions and Conflict

By the mid-1850s, the tribes had split into northern and southern sects, the latter moving to the mountains and the former to the plains. They were primarily in Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, encompassing the Platte and Arkansas Rivers. They were close with the Cheyenne, Sioux, and Gros Ventre tribes, and warred with the Crow, Kiowa, and Comanche.

Unlike the Cheyenne, they had an accommodating temperament. They traded with all tribes of the Great Plains, particularly the northern Lakota and the southern Comanche, and used Plains Indian Sign Language to communicate.



An 1899 portrait of an Arapaho man in mostly traditional dress holding a shield. Both men and women wore their hair in two long, decorated braids, and men added feathers as well.

They also traded with the white man, who eventually destroyed the buffalo. They were not peaceful with everyone, though, and were often at war with other tribes, particularly the Shoshone. Their concept of war, unlike the Europeans, revolved around exhibiting courage, not claiming territory, so there were very few casualties. They had war parties, where they would *count coup* (touch an adversary in battle without harming him). They would also steal an enemy's horse or weapon or simply force the enemy to retreat.

The tribe's most prosperous times were in the late 1820s, and this ended with the arrival of European immigrants. Despite signing the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1851, the Arapaho had their land encroached by gold miners and settlers, then were attacked and killed by Colorado militia in what became known as the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864. The Arapaho waged war against the United States. Peace treaties were signed in 1865 and 1867, with the Arapaho given a reservation in Kansas. Life was never the same for them again.

Culture and Contemporary Life

One of their most important ceremonies was the Offerings Lodge or Sun Dance, which celebrated the Summer Solstice for eight days. They would put a pole in the middle of the lodge with tepees surrounding it. Participants painted their bodies and wore an apron, wristlets, and anklets. As they danced, they stared at the sun, becoming hypnotized. Then, tiny sticks were used to puncture the skin and impale their bodies to the pole. The object was to show no sign of pain. If the tribal member did not show pain, he would receive visions from the Great Spirit. The Arapaho were also avid practitioners of the Ghost Dance and peyotism.

Despite a cultural revival during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the group and its traditions face extinction due to government policies enforcing tribal "termination," through English replacing their traditional Algonquian language and the fading of their oral storytelling. Their population as of 2013 was 5,000 and they maintain their deeply spiritual beliefs by carrying on the tradition of the Sun Dance.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); Ghost Dance; Native American Languages Acts; Native Americans; Sand Creek Massacre.

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Argentine Americans

The Republic of Argentina is a Spanish-speaking nation located in the southernmost portion of South America, covering more than 15 percent of the continent. With a population of over 40 million in 2010, Argentines have traditionally considered themselves Europeans, reflected in the fact that about 90 percent are descended from Italian and Spanish immigrants, with the balance whose heritage traces to Germany, Poland, Russia, Ireland, Hungary, France, and a number of other European countries.

Prominent non-Europeans came from Syria, Lebanon, Japan, Korea, and the neighboring nations. About 90 percent are Roman Catholic, with the balance comprised of mostly Jews and Protestants. According to the 2010 U.S. census, there were 224,952 Argentine-born people residing in the United States, although the extent of the population with one or both parents of Argentine ancestry is largely unknown because of insufficient records.

Historical Development

Throughout most of its history, Argentina has been a receiving nation for immigration. The earliest discernible Argentine migration to the United States, beyond a few individuals, occurred between 1910 and 1930, but being small in number, these were generally incorporated into the category "Other Hispanics" in U.S. data. Larger Argentine immigration began only in the late 1950s and 1960s, when the search for greater

economic opportunities served as a primary motive, especially among college-educated professionals. A second phase of recent immigration began in the mid-1970s, when a larger number of Argentines began leaving their country to escape the “Dirty War” (1976–83), during which a military dictatorship began persecuting and murdering political opposition.

Hyperinflation in the 1980s contributed further to migration. The result has more than doubled the number of Argentines in the United States from 44,803, recorded by the 1970 census, to 92,563 in 1990, and 136,578 in 2000. Most of these migrants settled in urban areas, especially New York, whose 17,363 Argentines in 1990 represented 18.8 percent of the total new arrivals in the United States; Los Angeles came second with 15,115 (16.3 percent). Aside from these large metropolitan areas, the largest area of Argentine concentration is in south Florida.

Deteriorating economic conditions in Argentina, beginning in 1998, led to renewed interest in economic migration, largely to Spain, Italy, the United States, Canada, and Israel. U.S. census data from 2000 indicated the newer arrivals have settled increasingly in California (20.3 percent), Florida (20.1 percent), New York (13.8 percent), Texas (7.5 percent), and New Jersey (6.2 percent), with the communities of south Florida emerging as an Argentine American cultural center. North Miami Beach, often referred to as “Little Buenos Aires,” is home to restaurants, bakeries, cafés, travel agencies, and a variety of other Argentine American establishments. Tango music permeates the streets along with the aromas of *parrillas* (steakhouses), while local ethnic groups and the Argentine Arts Organization, located in Lake Worth, sponsor music, art, and other cultural events.

Cuisine

An important cultural influence is readily seen in the cuisine available in larger urban areas where Argentines have settled. *Empanadas* (turnovers stuffed with a meat mixture) are readily found in Argentine communities, and the cuisine is beginning to make inroads into the general population. Traditional *asado* (grilled meats and ribs) and *parrillada* (a mixed barbeque) have become popular, with some restaurants advertising meat imported directly from Argentina as a means of

distinguishing themselves from other restaurants promoting themselves as Argentine or Brazilian steakhouses.

Another typical Argentine creation, *dulce de leche* (a thick caramel), can be found in grocery stores throughout the United States as an ingredient in leading ice cream brands and chocolate candies, as a topping for toast or bread, or as dessert to be served and enjoyed by itself. *Mate*, a traditional tea-like beverage made from the *yerba mate* plant, is increasingly found not only in specialty shops but also in larger grocery stores.

Cultural Contributions

Argentine contributions to the musical arts in the United States include composer Lalo Schiffrin who, among other achievements, wrote the music for the popular television series *Mission Impossible*. Mildred Couper was one of the first musicians in America to experiment with the use of quarter-tones, using this technique in the ballet *Xanadu* in 1930.

Duilio Dobrin founded the popular LatinPops series of the Florida Philharmonic Orchestra and was honored by Pope John Paul II in 2000 for his contributions to the development of liturgical music. Violinist and composer Terig Tucci performed on NBC Radio, Voice of America, and for RCA Victor, eventually heading the profitable RCA Victor Latin American programs and becoming musical arranger for the CBS Pan-American Symphony Orchestra.

Opera director Tito Capobianco served as director for the Cincinnati Opera Festival (1961–65), the Cincinnati Opera (1962–65), the San Diego Opera (1976–83), and the Pittsburgh Opera (1983–2000). Guillermo Gregorio was influenced by the modernistic spirit of 1960s Buenos Aires, where he first engaged in the activities of the Fluxus-like performance group Movimiento Música Mas, the Experimental Group of Buenos Aires, and the Group of Contemporary Music of La Plata. After moving to the United States founded the Madi Ensemble, which is concerned with the bases of various Argentine avant-garde styles. His CDs have appeared under the label ART.

Other contributors include fashion photographer Fernando Bengoechea, whose work appeared in *Vanity Fair*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *ELLE*, and *Oprah*. Among America's most prominent

and influential architects is Argentine César Pelli, famous for designing especially tall buildings, such as the Petronas Twin Towers in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Among his many works are the World Financial Complex in New York, the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, One Canada Square in London, the Arnoff Center for the Performing Arts in Cincinnati, the expansion of Reagan National Airport in Washington, the Kurayoshi Park Square in Japan, Two International Finance Center in Hong Kong, the Connecticut Science Center in Hartford, and the residential tower over the Museum of Modern Art in New York. For his work, Pelli was honored with the American Institute of Architects' Gold Medal and an honorary doctorate from Yale University.

In the fields of performing arts, one of the most prominent actors and directors for years was Fernando Lamas. His lengthy list of film credits includes *The Avengers*, *The Merry Widow*, *The Girl Who Had Everything*, *Rose Marie*, *The Lost World*, *Revenge of the Musketeers*, *A Place Called Glory*, *The Lonely Profession*, and *The Cheap Detective*. Most of his directing took place on television on *Mannix*, *Starsky and Hutch*, and *Falcon Crest*. His son, actor Lorenzo Lamas, had starring roles in the television series *Falcon Crest*, *Renegade*, and *The Bold and the Beautiful* before moving on to various roles in stage productions. Film director and producer Alejandro Agresti is best known for the movie *Valentín*, which garnered a host of awards, and *The Lake House*, starring Sandra Bullock and Keanu Reeves. Alejandro Rey starred in *Fun in Acapulco* with Elvis Presley, was a regular on the television series *The Flying Nun*, and appeared in several other television productions. Miguel Mas played roles in the popular television daytime series *Days of Our Lives* and *General Hospital*, while Jacqueline Obradors had several television roles, including Detective Rita Ortiz on the popular drama *NYPD Blue*.

Novelist and playwright Ariel Dorfman, a professor at Duke University, wrote the play *Death and the Maiden* about an encounter between a victim of torture and her former torturer that was made into a movie in 1994. His works have been performed in some 100 countries in 40 languages and have been honored with two Kennedy Center Theater awards. Dorfman became a Chilean citizen, and beginning in 1990, he divided his time

each year living alternately in the United States and Chile.

Journalist Andrés Oppenheimer of the *Miami Herald* has his column, "The Oppenheimer Report," syndicated in some 60 newspapers worldwide. He is the author of five best-selling books and a co-winner of the 1987 Pulitzer Prize for his work on the Iran-Contra Affair. Human rights activist Alicia Partnoy was among the first to write about the disappearances in her native land and has testified before committees of the United Nations, the Organization of American States, Amnesty International, and the Argentine Human Rights Commission. Susana Torre edited *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* and was co-founder of *Heresies, A Feminist Journal on Art and Politics*.

Contemporary Argentine Americans

Generally speaking, Argentines appear to assimilate quite readily into American life. According to U.S. census data, among the primary differences are that Argentines exhibit a higher level of educational attainment than the American average, especially for females, and a much higher percentage of whom are actual immigrants, more than five times greater than the U.S. average. They also average about 10 percent higher household incomes. The growing institutional infrastructure includes the Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce in New York; the Argentine Association of Los Angeles; the Argentine–North American Association for the Advancement of Science, Technology and Culture in New Jersey; Casa Argentina in Chicago; the Argentinean Information Service Center (AISC) in New York; and the Sociedad Sanmartiniana de Washington in McLean, Virginia.

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See Also: Hispanic Americans; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Latinos.

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Arizona Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (2010)

The Arizona Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (Arizona Senate Bill 1070) is an immigration law that was passed in the state of Arizona and signed into law on April 23, 2010, by Governor Janice Brewer. Originally scheduled to take effect on July 29, 2010, the law was controversial because it implemented the most sweeping anti-illegal-immigration provisions in the United States at the time. As a result, the law garnered significant national media attention and was the subject of multiple legal challenges, including one from the U.S. Department of Justice that reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

Controversial Provisions

Arizona S.B. 1070 was passed by the Arizona legislature with the professed intent of enhancing cooperative enforcement of federal immigration law between local government actors. However, several of its provisions actually went beyond federal legal requirements and penalties for noncitizens residing in the country without the appropriate legal documentation. U.S. federal laws require that all noncitizens over 14 years of age who remain in the country for longer than 30 days register with

the U.S. government, and retain the registration documents in their possession at all times. This is the federal requirement that distinguishes a non-citizen who is considered "documented" from one who is considered "undocumented." Arizona S.B. 1070 broadened the documentation requirements by making it a state misdemeanor for such individuals to be in Arizona without possessing the required documentation.

A number of the act's other provisions also garnered controversy. In particular, the act's requirement that state law enforcement officials make efforts to determine an individual's immigration status during lawful stops, detentions, or arrests, or whenever an officer has a "reasonable suspicion" that the individual may be an illegal noncitizen, became a subject of scrutiny as critics argued that these provisions encouraged racial profiling. Politicians and civil rights organizations rallied against this provision, with the result that within a week of the act's signing, it was amended by Arizona House Bill 2162 to include language prohibiting the use of race, color, and national origin by law enforcement as criteria for suspecting that an individual may be in the country illegally. However, many critics continued to maintain that the provisions encouraged racial profiling even as amended.

Other aspects of the act that courted controversy included a provision allowing law enforcement officials to arrest a noncitizen without first obtaining an arrest warrant when the official had "probable cause" to believe that the individual had committed a public offense that would lead to the individual's deportation from the country; and other provisions that imposed criminal penalties on persons assisting in the transport, housing, or hiring of individuals found to be in the country illegally. For example, one section of the law required employers in the state to verify, through online government databases, that every new employee had "federal work authorization," which is a special visa for noncitizens granting them authorization to work in the country. All of these provisions were the subject of legal challenges that reached the Supreme Court.

Boycotts, Protests, and Legal Challenges

The passage of Arizona S.B. 1070 led to nationwide protests and organized boycotts, particularly in the tourism sector. One single-day protest



This protest was held outside the downtown Minneapolis Hilton in response to the Arizona S.B. 1070 law, which drew protests and boycotts nationwide on May 1, 2010. A number of lawsuits were also filed challenging the constitutionality of the law.

occurring on May 1, 2010—one week after the bill’s passage—involved hundreds of thousands of people organizing in over 70 U.S. cities. Around the same time, a number of lawsuits were filed challenging the constitutionality of the act, including one by the U.S. Department of Justice seeking an injunction against the law’s enforcement. A federal judge in the state of Arizona granted an injunction blocking Arizona government officials from enforcing most of the controversial provisions of S.B. 1070 just one day before the law was scheduled to take effect.

Supreme Court Ruling

The only controversial provision that was not subject to the injunction was the one that criminalized assistance in the transportation of illegal noncitizens. The state of Arizona appealed this injunction unsuccessfully with the Ninth

Circuit Court of Appeals, and again with the U.S. Supreme Court, which issued a ruling on the constitutionality of the law on June 25, 2012.

In a 5–3 ruling, the Supreme Court held that a number of the law’s central provisions were unconstitutional. These included the provision making it a state misdemeanor for a noncitizen to be present in Arizona without appropriate documentation, the provision allowing state law enforcement officials to make arrests without obtaining a warrant, and the provision making it unlawful for a noncitizen to apply for employment without federal work authorization. The court held that each of these provisions was “pre-empted” by federal law, meaning that federal laws already existed that were unconstitutionally broadened or undermined by the provisions.

However, the court voted to uphold the controversial provision requiring Arizona law enforcement officials to inquire as to the immigration status of any lawfully detained individual, when reasonable suspicion existed that the individual was in the country illegally.

The court reasoned that the provision contained limitations that should, in practice, prevent law enforcement officials from violating the Constitution (e.g., the requirement that race and national origin not be used as criteria), and stated that if the provision, upon coming into effect, were to be applied by officials in an unconstitutional manner, it might be subjected to further legal challenges in the future.

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See Also: Customs and Border Protection, U.S.; Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.; Migrant Workers; Politics and Ethnic Diversity.

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Armed Forces, U.S.

The U.S. Armed Forces consist of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard. All branches are controlled by the Department of Defense with the exception of the Coast Guard, which is under control of the Department of Homeland Security. Each state also has a National Guard, which began as colonial militias and is the oldest section of the armed forces, celebrating 375 years in 2011. The president serves as the commander in chief and overall head of the military.

The Continental Congress created the first official standing military force in 1775, and named George Washington as commander in chief. There was not a large standing military force until after World War II. The National Security Act of 1947 reorganized the U.S. military and intelligence agencies and created today's military structure. The act unified the Navy and War departments under the new Department of Defense (DOD) and created the National Security Council (NSC) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The U.S. military has grown steadily since 1947. The 2010 U.S. defense budget was \$663.8 billion dollars, 27 percent of the overall federal budget. This accounts for 43 percent of global military spending and is six times more than the next-highest military spender, China. Even per capita spending is the highest globally at \$2,000, compared to the global average of \$200.

Personnel

The total number of military personnel (including Active Duty military, Active Duty Coast Guard, Ready Reserve, Coast Guard Reserve, Retired Reserve, and Standby Reserve) is over 3.6 million, making it the largest employer in the United States. According to the DOD report "Demographics 2010 Profile of the Military Community," there are 1,458,697 Active Duty and Coast Guard service members. The Active Duty force comprises 14.4 percent women and 85.6 percent men. Women comprise a slightly higher percentage of the Reserve and Guard (Selected Reserve) members at 17.9 percent, compared to 82.1 percent for men. Thirty percent of Active Duty service members identify as belonging to a racial minority (Black/African American, Asian, American

Indian or Alaska Native, Hawai'ian or Pacific Islander, Multiracial, or Other/Unknown). The Selected Reserve has a slightly lower proportion of minorities, only 24.1 percent. As Latino is categorized as an ethnicity, it is analyzed separately. Latinos make up 10.8 percent of the Active Duty force and 9.5 percent of the Selected Reserve. Minorities make up only 27.6 percent of the total U.S. population according to the 2010 census, yet are slightly overrepresented in Active Duty and Selected Reserve forces. This is not the case for women and Latinos, however. Women comprise 50.8 percent of the total U.S. population and Latinos 16.3 percent. The Navy has the largest percentage of minority personnel (37.9 percent) and the Marine Corps the smallest (21.4 percent).

The number of minority enlisted personnel compared to minority officers remains disproportionate. While minority Active Duty commissioned officers doubled between 1977 and 1997 (7 percent to 15.3 percent), in 2010 there were just seven minority enlisted personnel to every minority officer. Blacks represented 18.5 percent of enlisted personnel but only 9.5 percent of officers; Asians, 3.7 percent enlisted and 3.8 percent officers; Native Hawai'ian and other Pacific Islanders, 0.7 percent enlisted and 0.2 percent officers; Native Americans and Native Alaskans are 1.9 enlisted percent and 0.6 percent officers; Multiracial groups comprise 2.3 enlisted and 0.9 percent officers; and Other/Unknown are 4.4 percent enlisted and 7.7 percent officers. In total, in 2010, 22.7 percent of officers and 31.4 percent of enlisted members identified themselves as a minority.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity

Racial and ethnic minorities have always been a part of the military, including blacks, Asians, Native Americans, and Latinos. Both enslaved people and free blacks served on both sides during the Revolutionary War (1775–83) and over 180,000 blacks served with the Union forces during the Civil War (1861–65). Enslaved people provided labor but did not fight with the Confederates. Asian Americans have fought in every war since the War of 1812 (1812–15), and on both sides during the Civil War. Latinos have also fought in every U.S. conflict, and approximately 9,900 Mexican Americans fought during the Civil War in integrated volunteer units.

Many racial and ethnic minorities also served during World War I (1914–18), but usually in segregated units. More than 350,000 blacks served in segregated units, and a black infantry regiment, known as the Harlem Fighters, served six months on the front lines, the longest length of time of any U.S. unit. Asian Americans also served in segregated units, but Latinos served in integrated units. Native Americans joined the Armed Forces in World War I, even though they did not have U.S. citizenship (citizenship rights were not granted until 1924). The first use of Native American languages in coded communications was during World War I in which 14 Choctaw men in the U.S. Army's 36th Division (known as the Choctaw Code Talkers) used their language to send coded radio and telephone transmissions. These men were influential in several key battles in France.

World War II (1941–45) increased the participation of racial and ethnic minorities, albeit still in segregated units as the military could no longer exclude much-needed recruits. During World War II, 4 percent of recruits were black, 2 percent were Mexican American, approximately 2 percent were women, almost 3 percent were Puerto Rican, and less than 1 percent were Japanese American, American Indian, and Chinese American. One of the most famous segregated black units to serve during World War II was the Tuskegee Airmen, a noncombat, operational unit that flew 200 out of 205 bomber escort missions without the loss of an aircraft.

Native Americans again played a crucial role in battlefield communications, using native languages to send coded military communications. Both the Army and the Marine Corps utilized Native American languages and servicemen during World War II. These men became known as the Code Talkers. The Army formed its code-talking unit one year before the Marines, using the Comanche language. There were 17 Comanche Code Talkers during World War II. These men were part of the 4th Signal Company of the 4th Motorized Infantry Division and were involved in many of the major battles that led to the end of the war. The 4th Division was involved in the liberation of Paris in August 1944 and the Battle of the Bulge (December 16, 1944–January 25, 1945).

The best-known code talkers are the Navajo Code Talkers. There were 400 Navajo Code Talkers

in World War II. The Navajo code was the only U.S. code not to be broken during the war and was paramount in winning the war. Other Native languages were also used during World War II, such as Cherokee, Choctaw, Lakota, and Meskwaki. Following World War II, President Harry S. Truman formed a committee to investigate civil rights violations and racial violence. In 1947, the Committee on Civil Rights urged the president to desegregate the Armed Forces and Truman, under Executive Order 9981, racially desegregated the U.S. Armed Forces on July 26, 1948. Desegregation did not occur quickly, not only because of logistics, but also because of resistance. Segregated units still served during the Korean War (1950–53), but interestingly Korean Americans served in integrated units. The most decorated unit was the 442nd Infantry Regiment, comprised mainly of Japanese American enlisted men. The last all-black units were not disbanded until September 1954.

Following World War II, the U.S. Armed Forces served in a variety of theaters, including the Korean War (1950–53), the Vietnam War (1964–75), the Persian Gulf War (1990–91), and the War on Terrorism (2001–present). During the Vietnam War, the U.S. government focused on racial discrimination. In 1963, the DOD issued the first equal opportunity directive and created civil rights offices to address racial discrimination and the unequal treatment of minorities within the Armed Forces. The unpopularity of the draft and the Vietnam War led President Richard Nixon to end the draft in 1973. The U.S. Armed Forces is now an all-volunteer force, with more racial and ethnic minorities and women joining than ever before. The Armed Forces officially maintains a zero-tolerance policy toward racism and racial discrimination.

Women and Women of Color

Women have always served in the military and taken part in every major war. In the early wars such as the Revolution and the Civil War, women followed the troops on marches providing cooking, laundry, and supplied the troops with water, food, and other necessary supplies during battles. It is estimated that 20,000 women served in these supporting positions during the Revolutionary War. Women also served as soldiers and spies during this time. For example, Deborah Samson disguised herself as a man and joined the military as

Robert Shurtlieff during the Revolutionary War, and Harriet Tubman, one of the most famous members of the Underground Railroad, served as a Union spy and nurse during the Civil War.

Historically, nursing is the most common way for women to serve in the military. Approximately 21,000 U.S. women served as military nurses during World War I, and about 1,800 African American nurses signed up with the Red Cross to be military nurses, although they were not allowed to be part of the military during the war. Native American nurses, however, were allowed to serve. Nurses did not become full members of the Armed Forces until 1947.

The biggest influx of women in the military came in May 1942, when Congress passed Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers's bill, creating a women's corps for the Army, the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAACs), but later dropped the "A" for auxiliary and became (WACs). Other branches followed closely behind, forming their own female units. The Navy formed the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service



This November 29, 1943, photo shows African American nurses in the U.S. Army receiving their first batch of mail from home at their station in the southwest Pacific. The Army actively recruited black women, but only 500 served in the Army Nurse Corps.

(WAVES), the Coast Guard formed *Semper Paratus* (SPARs), meaning always prepared, and the Marines straightforwardly titled its unit Marines. During World War II, 350,000 women served in these units, as well as in the Army and Navy Nurse Corps. This is approximately 10 times the number of women that served in World War I. Only the Army made an effort to recruit black women. More than 4,000 black women served in segregated black units as WACs. Only 500 black women served in the Army Nurse Corps and only a few in the Navy Nurse Corps. The Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) and Marines had no black women. The WAVES and SPARs allowed black women to serve near the end of the war, and made history by serving in integrated units for the first time. Other women of color were allowed to serve without being segregated.

The Vietnam War changed women's role in the military, including more and more available positions and rank within the forces. In 1967, Congress repealed the law passed in 1948 that limited women to 2 percent, and by the end of the 1970s, three times more service women were on duty than during the 1960s. In 1991, Congress lifted the ban on women flying combat missions, and additional opportunities opened for women in 2010 when the ban on women serving on submarines was lifted. As of 2010, there are 203,695 (14.4 percent) women in the Armed Forces.

The female Active Duty force is more racially and ethnically diverse than the male force. In 2010, 53 percent of Active Duty enlisted women identified as white (compared to 71 percent for men), 31 percent black (16 percent for men), 4 percent Asian (4 percent for men), 13 percent as Latino (12 percent for men), and 7 percent mixed/other (5 percent for men). Close to 50 percent of Active Duty enlisted women identified themselves as belonging to a racial or ethnic minority group.

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See Also: American G.I. Forum; American Revolution; Civil War, U.S.; Code Talkers; Executive Order 8802 (1941); 442nd Regimental Combat Team; Servicemen's Readjustment Act (1944); 65th Infantry Regiment; Tuskegee Airmen; Vietnam War; War in Afghanistan and Iraq; World War I; World War II.

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Armenian Americans

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, approximately 485,000 Americans of Armenian ancestry resided in the United States in 2009. The size of this ethnic population increased nearly one-third since 1990, when the census bureau counted 385,488 Armenian Americans. Although often overlooked in discourses of U.S. multiculturalism, Armenian communities have existed in the United States for well over a century. The earliest waves of Armenian immigrants began to arrive on American shores during the late 19th century when Armenia was under Turkish rule as part of the Ottoman Empire. More than 60 percent of Armenian Americans today live in the western states, with the largest concentration in California, particularly within the greater Los Angeles area.

Migration and History

The major wave of Armenian immigration dates to the 1890s, driven by large-scale massacres of ethnic Armenian Christians by Islamic Turkish nationalists, who killed nearly 300,000 Armenians during 1894–95. Strong anti-Armenian sentiments stemmed from their status as both a religious minority and the high proportion of wealthy entrepreneurs within the Armenian population in lands under Ottoman rule. More than 60,000 Armenians fled to the United States between 1890 and the outbreak of World War I in

1914. Two more waves of genocide in 1915–18 and 1920–22 resulted in the massacre of approximately 1 million ethnic Armenians within the Ottoman Empire and diminished the geographic distribution of Armenians to the area around Constantinople. Nearly 31,000 Armenians who escaped the Turkish death throes fled to the United States between 1920 and 1924. Most of these early Armenians settled in New York City and Boston, where many became concentrated in the carpet industry. Other Armenian communities emerged within Chicago and Detroit. However, the restrictive Immigration Act of 1924 severely limited immigration from southern and eastern Europe. The 1924 act reduced Armenian immigration to an annual quota limit of 150 persons.

The Immigration Act of 1965 overturned the exclusionary quotas of the 1924 law, resulting in an increase in Armenian immigration. During the 1980s, for example, more than 60,000 Armenians immigrated to the United States. Since the 1970s, the majority of Armenian newcomers have established residence in California. Fresno and Los Angeles each have large Armenian communities. In October 2000 the City of Los Angeles officially designated a neighborhood in East Hollywood "Little Armenia," with a street sign bearing the moniker posted at the intersection of Hollywood Boulevard and Vermont Avenue.

The Armenian Genocide

The Turkish massacres of the late 19th and early 20th centuries remain an important subject for many Armenian Americans. Protests aimed at raising public awareness of these massacres and designed to pressure the Turkish government to officially acknowledge this genocide have occurred in several U.S. cities with significant Armenian communities, such as Los Angeles, Fresno, New York City, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. Demonstrators have called on President Barack Obama to officially declare the massacres acts of "genocide," thereby placing greater pressure from the U.S. government on the Turkish government to acknowledge the atrocities.

Several celebrities have taken up this cause, including George Clooney and Kim Kardashian. Clooney, his father, and four members of Congress were arrested at a March 2012 protest

sponsored by the Armenian National Committee of America, while Kardashian blogged in 2011:

Until this crime is resolved truthfully and fairly, the Armenian people will live with the pain of what happened to their families and the fear of what might happen again to their homeland.

Notable Armenian Americans

Many Armenian Americans have achieved positions of influence in politics, literature, sports, music, and the entertainment industry. George Deukmejian served as the 35th governor of California from 1983 to 1991 after serving four years as the state's attorney general. Author William Saroyan won the Pulitzer Prize and the Drama Critics' Circle Award in 1939 for his play *The Time of Your Life*. The content of Saroyan's books, plays, and short stories often focused on the social and cultural experiences of Armenians.

In sports, tennis legend Andre Agassi, of Armenian and Iranian descent, is one of only seven players in the history of the game to win the U.S. Open, the French Open, the Australian Open, and Wimbledon championships. Head coach Jerry "The Shark" Tarkanian led the University of Nevada, Las Vegas Runnin' Rebels to the 1990 NCAA Final Four championship and is widely regarded as one of the greatest coaches in college basketball history.

Cherilyn Sarkisian, better known by her stage name Cher, rose to stardom in the 1960s in the pop music duo Sonny & Cher before establishing a solo career that has spanned nearly 50 years and generated a hit single on the Top 100 music charts in six consecutive decades. An accomplished actress, Cher has starred in movies such as *Mask*, *The Witches of Eastwick*, and *Burlesque* and won the Academy Award for Best Actress for her role in the 1988 film *Moonstruck*.

The late Robert Kardashian was a noted defense attorney who gained nationwide recognition during the 1995 O. J. Simpson trial. His daughter Kim Kardashian is a leading Hollywood socialite and fashion entrepreneur. Kim, along with her sisters Kourtney and Khloé and their mother Kris currently star in the reality television program *Keeping Up With the Kardashians*.

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See Also: Armenian Network of America; European Americans; Genocide.

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Armenian Network of America

Founded in 1984, the Armenian Network of America (ANA) is a professionally based, non-profit community organization dedicated to promoting the interests of Armenian Americans and Armenians all over the world. The ANA provides a forum for Armenian American professionals to interact and advocate on behalf of the larger Armenian American and global Armenian community. The organization also creates a space for networking within the Armenian American community using a computer base; this computer-networking component sets the ANA apart from other Armenian American groups.

The U.S. Census Bureau estimated in 2010 that there were approximately 474,500 people of Armenian ancestry in America. The first main wave of immigrants from Armenia was in the late 19th and early 20th century as refugees fled the Ottoman Empire to escape persecution. The second wave was a result of violent military conflicts in the region that caused many more Armenians to relocate to the United States. As a result, there are large numbers of both recent immigrants and those Armenian Americans who come from families who settled in the United States generations ago. This cultural perspective gap within the Armenian American community is one of several that the Armenian Network of America strives to bridge. Ironically, the largest population of Armenian Americans is centered in the Los Angeles, California, area, which does not have a chapter of the ANA.

The Armenian Network of America was started by a group of four young Armenian American adults after they got together in August 1983 and determined that there was a need in their community that they could meet. This founding group comprised Levon Boyajian, Greg Postian, Edele Hovnanian, and Michael Kasparian. A central theme they sought to address was a perceived tension between being Armenian and being an American professional; the four founding members, who all had experience in the Armenian American community and in other Armenian cultural groups, envisioned the ANA helping reconcile this tension and help themselves and others like them.

At its inception, the ANA had one chapter located in New York City. Today there are two chapters, one in New York City and one in Washington, D.C., and a national board of directors, which manages the corporate business of the non-profit. The current vision of the ANA has continued to embrace online relationships and networking and has expanded to promote a more generalized, global sense of Armenian American culture and cohesiveness.

Much of the ANA culture is social and collegial. Both the New York and Washington, D.C., chapters regularly sponsor mixers such as happy hours and picnics. At times the chapters host joint events such as baseball game outings when New York and D.C. teams meet on the field. There are also events with a more professional feel such as resumé-building seminars and more formal networking events. The ANA also sponsors Armenian cultural events, including book lectures by Armenian American authors, Armenian music concerts, and various guest speakers from the Armenian American community. The ANA periodically also spotlights through its Web site various member professionals.

The impact of the ANA on Armenian American culture is notable. One of the ANA's most important activities is its mentorship program. This program brings Armenian American students and business professionals together with other professionals and successful members of the Armenian American community so that they can grow their careers in tandem. The mentees in the program receive professional guidance, assistance with communication problems and the contacts, support, and advice from a more senior member of

the Armenian American community. The mentors also benefit from the program in that they hone their leadership skills and develop as professional coaches while contributing to their community. Furthermore, more seasoned ANA members find in the group a forum for their guest speaker and publication events.

The Armenian Network of America also impacts mainstream American culture. The ANA allows individual Armenian Americans to meet their full potential in society while retaining a sense of cultural identity; this in turn makes Armenian American professionals a positive and influential force in U.S. society. In addition, cultural events sponsored by the ANA have a broader impact on American culture. For example, the ANA promotes Armenian cultural events such as food festivals. The ANA also liaises with other Armenian American groups to bring events like an Armenian night at the theater to the larger community.

The focus on online networking perseveres within the ANA. Each chapter of the ANA has an active Facebook presence and the New York chapter also Twitters. Recent events sponsored by the ANA have highlighted political issues along with technological concerns. For example, the Washington, D.C., chapter has put on a panel discussion on "Transparency in the Armenian Environmental Context" that shows a continued dedication to the welfare of Armenians around the world, as well as a focus on social media and technological issues; the chapter's president, Alex Khachaturian, made a statement to the press expressing the support of the ANA for Armenian environmental protections. In this way the ANA continues to ally itself with Armenians all over the world from all walks of life while advocating for the more specific professional agenda of the membership.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Armenian Americans; Genocide.

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Art and Ethnic Diversity

Pre-Columbian art varied from tribe to tribe, and often used materials that were the by-products of activities necessary for the tribe's survival, like hunting. Painting on animal hides was common, for instance, using pigments derived from minerals and plants. In northern regions, among whaling cultures, elaborate carvings were often made from whale or walrus ivory. The earliest of these carvings were made for shamanic ritual purposes. The northwest tribes carved both totem poles and, like many tribes elsewhere, ceremonial masks, which are intricate and advanced in their carving techniques and served religious purposes. In some cases, artistic pursuits were gendered. Among the Plains tribes, women typically painted their buffalo hides with geometric designs, either abstract or to serve as maps. Men painted theirs with depictions of visions they had had or battles they had fought.

Early American Art

American art has often been consciously concerned with American identity. In the paintings of the young republic, for instance, portraiture is very prominent as are paintings of significant historical events as well as contemporary events of historical significance.

The Pennsylvania-born painter Benjamin West (1738–1820) was known for his paintings of events of the Revolutionary period. West claimed to have been taught as a child by a Native American friend and he maintained a lifelong interest in the aesthetics of Native American culture, amassing a collection of artifacts that he used as references. *General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer From The Tomahawk of a North American Indian*, completed in 1768, is an oil painting on canvas portraying an event from the French and Indian War. The British General Johnson intervenes to stop a Mohawk warrior from scalping the wounded Baron Dieskau, Johnson's French enemy. West was praised at the time for his attention to detail in his portrayal of the Native American, whose tattoos

and clothing were carefully researched and are noticeably more meticulously detailed than the white subjects in the painting.

Of course, West's interest, while it may have been more than aesthetic, is not exactly sympathetic to the Mohawks and other Native Americans he portrayed. *General Johnson* clearly portrays the Mohawk warrior as a savage who needs to be restrained, in contrast with the civility of the British officer who defends the very enemy he has defeated—despite the fact that the real-life General Johnson was known as the “White Savage” because of his brutality. Key to understanding the painting is not only the portrayal of Indians as wild savages, but the debate during the French and Indian War over the appropriateness of Europeans allying themselves with Indians in wars. The practice was opposed because Native Americans were seen as savages who could not be trusted to treat civilians and the wounded properly, who would not abide by gentlemanly rules of combat, and who in essence represented a form of violence considered improper and inhumane even in war, just as certain classes of weapons are viewed today.

Nineteenth-Century American Art

Over the course of the 19th century, American art developed further and embraced a wider range of subjects and approaches, soon shifting from its focus on the “Great Men” of history. The influx of immigrants, primarily from Europe, also helped shake the country out of its early strict adherence to British painting traditions. Rural American landscapes were favored by painters from the Hudson River school, as well as the later luminists and tonalists, and the natural beauty of the continent was hailed as a distinctively American subject.

One of the major Hudson River painters was Robert Seldon Duncanson (1821–72), an African American painter born in New York to freed slaves from Virginia. Duncanson taught himself to paint by copying prints of other works, and when he was 21, three of his portraits were included in an exhibition in Cincinnati, then an important center of the arts. His later work included not only portraits but the landscapes associated with the Hudson River school and scenes from literature, including an early painting *The Trial of Shakespeare* (1843) and *Uncle Tom and Little Eva* (1853), a commissioned depiction of a scene from

Harriet Beecher Stowe's abolitionist novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Historical paintings like those of Benjamin West were out of fashion in the 19th century, but as American painters became increasingly fascinated with the western frontier, Native Americans again became popular as subjects. George Catlin (1796–1872), born in Pennsylvania as West had been, is one of the better-known painters of Native American portraits. Like West, he was a collector of Native American artifacts. Employed as a lawyer as a young man, he followed his artistic impulses in his 30s and set out to visually document America's "vanishing race" of Indians. From 1830 to 1836 he visited 50 tribes, including several that reported very limited previous contact with white culture. He produced hundreds of paintings of the communities he visited and later assembled many of them into his Indian Gallery, with which he traveled throughout the country on the lecture circuit. Though most of the Indian Gallery is now owned by the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Catlin was unable to interest the government in purchasing his work; he sold much of it to pay his debts.

A contemporary of Catlin's, John Mix Stanley (1814–72) was similarly an artist-explorer. Much of his work was lost in an 1865 fire while being exhibited at the Smithsonian, but what survives suggests a serious figure in the history of American art. Unlike West and Catlin, Stanley's interest in Native Americans seems to have developed later. Stanley's first travels to the southwest were for the express purpose of painting Native American portraits. He attended the 1843 council of 17 Indian tribes meeting with representatives of the Republic of Texas to seek peace, and spent a month among the thousands of Indians who had gathered, making numerous paintings. Stanley was the first of the major Indian portraitists to include Hawai'ians in his work. He traveled to Hawai'i in 1848, shortly after a trip through the northwest territories, and spent a year producing portraits of the royal family of King Kamehameha III, the first Hawai'ian king to govern as a constitutional monarch. His surviving works are held by several national and regional museums, including the National Portrait Gallery, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

Paintings of Native American individuals and culture continued as a vital focus in American

painting throughout the century, following Catlin's and Stanley's examples. Seth Eastman (1808–75) produced numerous paintings of Native American life, especially as illustrations for his wife Mary Henderson Emerson's book on Dakota life and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's six-volume *Indian Tribes of the United States*. Elbridge Ayer Burbank (1858–1949) was formally trained as an artist in Chicago and produced over 1,000 Native American portraits, including the only painting of Geronimo drawn from life, as well as notable paintings of Sitting Bull, Red Cloud, Blue Horse, and Chief Joseph. W. Langdon Kihn (1898–1957) spent years among various Indian tribes to document their culture in his paintings and drawings and was admitted as a member of the Blackfoot tribe. Perhaps no one was more associated with a fascination with the American West than Frederic Remington (1861–1909), a distant relative of Catlin, whose treatment of the frontier was to painting what the westerns of Owen Wister were to literature.

One Indian portraitist, Joseph Henry Sharp (1859–1953), founded the Taos Society of Artists. Taos, New Mexico, has long been an important center of the arts, and in 1893 Sharp was one of the first white artists to visit it. His reputation was built on the strength of his portraits of Plains Indians and warriors from the Battle of Little Bighorn (200 of which were commissioned by President Theodore Roosevelt). The Taos Society was founded in 1915, and for 12 years was a commercial cooperative that launched Taos into a significant art colony.

Native Americans in most areas had traditionally painted on animal hides, but in the late 19th century, an art movement later called ledger art developed among the Plains Indians. The buffalo whose hides had been used as an art medium, had been hunted nearly to extinction as a result of federal policies. Plains Indian artists turned to other media, including muslin bags, canvas, and paper from accounting ledger books. These artists now had access to watercolors, fountain pens, and pencils, and produced numerous landscapes and scenes of historical importance, especially depicting battles, hunts, and religious ceremonies.

Twentieth-Century Developments

The influx of a broader variety of immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries may well have contributed to the change in the American

art world as the 20th century dawned. The period is especially known for the Ashcan school, a group of artists who rebelled against the kind of romanticism embodied by Remington and the general westward-looking, rural-loving ways of the 19th century in favor of a grittily realistic portrayal of urban life, ash cans and all. One of the prominent Ashcan painters was George Luks (1867–1933), the son of central European immigrants who left a career in vaudeville to study art in Europe. When he returned, he embarked on an illustration and painting career marked by paintings of crowded street scenes that included immigrant pushcart peddlers, varieties of ethnic dress, and the open-air markets of New York's ethnic neighborhoods. The Ashcan school provided some of the earliest portraits of the immigrants who settled in New York City and other cities, and of the neighborhoods in which they lived. While the Ashcan school failed to win over much of the country, its realistic approach to its subjects was still comprehensible compared to the styles introduced at the Armory.

The 1913 International Exhibition of Modern Art is better known as the Armory Show, having been held at the 69th Regiment Armory in New York City before traveling to the Art Institute of Chicago and Boston's Copley School of Art. It was the first major show introducing experimental modern European styles of art to an American audience, and the most significant event in 20th-century American art history. Displayed works included the cubism of Marcel Duchamp and his brother Jacques Villon as well as examples of futurism and fauvism. Although modernism was rejected by most of the American art scene, it left a permanent mark and directly influenced later movements like abstract expressionism. It established a divide between the art world and the public that has not diminished since: when Theodore Roosevelt declared of the cubist, odd-looking works at the Armory Show, "That's not art," he spoke a proclamation that has been repeated in museums of modern art daily by people who do not appreciate art styles that appear nonrepresentational.

The Harlem Renaissance began immediately after World War I, blossoming in the 1920s and lasting until the mid-1930s. Based around Harlem but encompassing the African American community and Francophile blacks in Paris, it was a flourishing of black arts that followed generations of

African Americans' striving for civil rights and the upheaval of the Great Migration. It coincided with a number of events important to African American life and history, including the release of the film *The Birth of a Nation* and the subsequent creation of the second Ku Klux Klan; the rejection by African Americans of minstrel shows and blackface, even as new forms of racial stereotypes took root in the new medium of radio; the return of black soldiers from World War I; the maturation of northern black neighborhoods like Harlem; the birth of jazz in New Orleans; the growth of northern African American churches; and the influx of black Caribbean immigrants, largely to New York City.

The central figure of works of the Harlem Renaissance, in any medium, was the "New Negro," a term used at the time to describe an African American self-image, one who resisted Jim Crow laws and other forms of white oppression, and one who was self-confident and assertive. While Hudson River painter Duncanson had been supported primarily by white patrons, especially abolitionist supporters, the artists of the Harlem Renaissance were significantly supported by African American patrons—though the height of the Renaissance's commercial success also depended heavily on the interest of whites exploring "primitive cultures."

Harlem Renaissance artists included the multi-talented Henry Bannarn (1910–65), who was primarily known as a sculptor and had worked for the Works Progress Administration; Beauford Delaney (1901–79), who was also an important figure later in abstract expressionism; illustrator and painter Prentiss Taylor (1907–91); Aaron Douglas (1898–1979), sometimes called the Father of African American Arts, who painted both murals and canvases and illustrated major Harlem Renaissance magazines; photographer James Van Der Zee (1886–1983), who shot portraits of black New Yorkers; Romare Bearden (1911–88), who worked in collage, cartooning, and painting; the muralist and sculptor Charles Henry Alston (1907–77); Lois Mailou Jones (1905–98), a painter who became the most prominent female artist of the Harlem Renaissance. Other well-known Harlem Renaissance artists included Norman Lewis (1909–79) and dynamic cubist Jacob Lawrence (1917–2000), as well as Archibald Motley (1891–1981), whose realistic portrait paintings aimed to affirm African

American racial pride by breaking out of the stereotypical exaggerations of white caricatures. Another Harlem Renaissance artist, Augusta Savage (1892–1962), was the subject of a scandal when a French-government-sponsored art program rejected her application because of her race.

Influence of the Great Depression and World War II

The commercial height of the Harlem Renaissance ended with the Great Depression, but the New Deal programs enacted in the 1930s to remedy the Depression helped popularize and support numerous art movements. The Works Progress Administration's (WPA) Federal Art Project in the mid-1930s provided funding for unemployed artists, turning their talents toward public works like murals on government buildings. One result was the introduction of the influence of Mexican muralism, a school of politically motivated art in Mexico beginning in the 1920s, to the United States, in part through the immigration of Mexican artists. Antonio Garcia and Xavier Gonzalez are among the most prominent muralists of the era, with Garcia especially remembered for his work *March on Washington*, a mural depicting President Herbert Hoover's failure to deal with the Depression, followed by President Franklin Roosevelt's job creation programs (such as the WPA).

The real prominence of Mexican muralism in the United States, though, came in the 1960s in the form of the Chicano mural movement, primarily in the southwestern United States. Murals were painted on public buildings, schools, churches, and the grounds of housing projects, concerned with Hispanic cultural iconography like pre-Columbian heroes and mythology and Mexican revolutionaries, as well as strong Catholic imagery. Like the Harlem Renaissance, the Chicano mural movement was a direct address on the matter of ethnic identity, and, importantly, it was on public display.

After World War II, abstract expressionism developed—the first American art style to attain international status. Growing out of surrealism, abstract expressionism goes a step further than cubism and futurism by focusing on nonrepresentational art—paintings that do not attempt to depict reality. Abstract art is not itself an American invention; however, abstract expressionism may be thought of as an American school of abstract

art (especially painting) that encompasses both the anarchic drip paintings of Jackson Pollock and the Color Field paintings of Mark Rothko.

Color Field painting makes color the subject of the painting, and is most associated with Rothko (1903–70), who immigrated to the United States in 1913 from the Russian Empire. A modernist painter in the 1920s and 1930s when modernism was out of fashion, Rothko continued to develop his style and embraced elements of surrealism in the late 1930s and early 1940s, when surrealism was in the spotlight because of the immigration of war-fleeing artists like Salvador Dali to the United States. He became known especially for oil paintings on large canvases consisting of rectangles of color placed in proximity to each other. He has since become one of the two artists, along with Pollock, most closely associated with abstract expressionism, by both its critics and its advocates. Another major figure in abstract expressionism, somewhat less known to the general public, is Dutch immigrant Willem de Kooning (1904–97), who innovated the subfield of action painting. After immigrating to the United States in 1926, de Kooning emerged as a leader of abstract expressionism in the 1940s. De Kooning's expressionist work, like Pollock's drip painting, emphasized the importance of the painter's gestures and movements in creating the painting.

Many the prominent artists of abstract expressionism were European immigrants or born to immigrant parents. Armenian immigrant Arshile Gorky (1902–48) arrived in the United States in 1920, having fled the Armenian Genocide with his mother, who died of starvation before they could leave for America. An impressionist painter in the 1920s, he became friends with de Kooning and produced abstract works influenced by the horrors of the genocide. Surrealist and expressionist William Bazotes (1912–63) was born to Greek immigrants in Pennsylvania and was a WPA artist. Theodoros Stamos (1922–97) was also the son of Greek immigrants, developing a style as a young man that combined earth tones with imagery suggestive of geological formations or sea life.

Numerous art movements followed abstract expressionism. The use of appropriation has become increasingly prominent, as has graffiti art. Graffiti provides artistic expression for young people who might not otherwise have the means

to express themselves in a public visual medium. Jean-Michel Basquiat (1960–88), a Haitian American born in New York, was one of the most significant painters of the 20th century despite his early death; he began as a graffiti artist and noise rock musician before developing his neoexpressionist painting style.

Since the maturation of the American art scene after World War II, minority groups have sometimes been forced to work outside the mainstream art industry. In the 1950s, for instance, a group of African American artists in Florida grouped together and called themselves the Highwaymen, after the US 1 and A1A coastal highways. Unable to find galleries willing to display and sell their work, they sold directly to the public, putting on their own exhibitions and selling paintings out of the trunks of their cars. Some of the surviving members continue to paint in the 21st century.

One of the most influential artists in the 21st century is Kara Walker (b. 1969), an African American painter. Born in California, Walker moved to the south as a teenager and attended both the Atlanta College of Art and the Rhode Island School of Design. Her early installation *Gone: An Historical Romance of a Civil War as it Occurred Between the Dusky Thighs of One Young Negress and Her Heart*, a mural of cut-paper silhouettes exhibited in 1994, remains a classic. Much of her work evokes the violence of the Old South.

Japanese American Mine Okubo (1912–2001) was born in California and worked as a mural artist for the Federal Art Project and the Works Progress Administration before being interned in a camp along with many other Japanese Americans in 1942. She was released after two years, as part of an arrangement under which she was hired as an illustrator by *Fortune* magazine. Her first published work accompanied a *Fortune* article on Japan. Her illustrations from her time of confinement were published as the groundbreaking *Citizen 13660*.

Asian American art experienced a renaissance in the 1990s, and catalyzed by the pan-Asian American civil rights concerns of the Asian American movement, a surge in Asian immigration, and the shifting political and economic relationships between the United States and Asian nations. Much of this art addressed themes of displacement, the Other, and diaspora culture. Chinese American sculptor Ming Fay, born in Shanghai

in 1943, became known for his commissioned public art installations and glass mosaics. Tomie Arai has explored race and gender issues through visual narratives and memoir. Artist and activist Hanh Thi Phnam, who arrived in the United States after her family was evacuated from Saigon in 1975, has in her photography explored her identity as an Asian, lesbian, and immigrant.

Contemporary Latino art is often influenced or informed by the art community and artistic movements of Latin America, including the “Rupture Generation” of post-World War II Mexican artists who embraced international trends, and the long shadow of Mexican surrealists like Frida Kahlo. Cuban-born Carmen Herrera was an active participant in the New York art world in the heyday of abstract expressionism and continued to develop her own geometric style, though she has spent most of her career in obscurity and did not sell her first paintings until the 21st century. Amalia Mesa-Bains often draws on both her Mexican American heritage and her Catholic upbringing in constructing her altar installations, which include both modern and pre-Columbian influences and materials. Her 1987 altar *Grotto of the Virgins* was created as a cave through which the viewer walks to visit three consecutive chapels devoted to three women: Frida Kahlo, Mexican actress Dolores del Rio, and Mesa-Bains’s grandmother.

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See Also: Chicano Movement; Dance and Ethnic Diversity; History/Heritage Months; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Aryan Nations

The Aryan Nations, established in 1974, was founded as the political arm of the Church of Jesus Christ–Christian, a white supremacist and self-identified Christian Identity organization. The church was founded in 1946 by Wesley Swift, a former Methodist minister, in California. Swift's successor, Richard Butler, organized the Aryan Nations, after relocating to Hayden Lake, Idaho. Aryan Nations is the most publicly recognizable arm of the Christian Identity movement, itself encompassing a variety of white supremacist groups and individuals throughout the United States. The Aryan Nations' efforts throughout the latter quarter of the 20th century were aimed at establishing itself as a headquarters for this larger movement.

History

The theological background of Christian Identity has its origins in British Israelism, a movement that grew to some prominence in the late 19th century. According to British Israelism, nations with their genesis in Great Britain are descendants of the biblical Twelve Tribes of Israel. As a result, when adherents to this philosophy read scriptural prophecies concerning the Jews, they interpret them as references to themselves. Christian Identity took an anti-Semitic turn by introducing the "two seed theory." In short, the theory claims that modern Jewish peoples are descended from Satan. Coupling these theological ideas with anti-Jewish conspiracy theories, the Aryan Nations subscribe to a belief that the world's governments are controlled by a Satanic "Zionist" cabal.

Christian Identity is also a millenarian movement with a belief that the apocalypse would be brought about in the wake of a dramatic race war between descendants of Adam (the white race) and descendants of Satan (Jewish people). The Aryan Nations saw themselves as responsible for preparing for this coming conflict. As a result, the movement promoted survivalist training, and its compound was host to paramilitary drilling. In the meantime, the Aryan Nations envisioned an independent white supremacist homeland in the Pacific Northwest. Butler encouraged his sympathizers to relocate to the region.

The Aryan Nations focused on outreach. They established a mail-order service distributing tracts and cassette tapes of sermons to interested parties. Most importantly, the Aryan Nations held an annual meeting at Hayden Lake inviting all of like mind-set to spend the weekend for the Aryan Nations' World Congress. At other times of the year, white supremacists, including youths, gathered to Hayden Lake as a pilgrimage to visit Butler and the movement's headquarters. Hayden Lake would serve as an ideal location for paramilitary training and other festivities in relative private. The Aryan Nations also devoted their energies to distributing their ideas throughout the nations' prisons. This led to an increase of membership, but may have also directly influenced the creation of the Aryan Brotherhood, one of the most violent white supremacist prison gangs.

Militant rhetoric predicting a future apocalyptic "race war" was common under Richard Butler, but it was not until a new group emerged from Aryan Nations' members that actual violence was perpetrated by members of the movement. In 1983, Robert Jay Matthews, a member of the Aryan Nations, was inspired by reading *The Turner Diaries*, a Christian Identity novel depicting the coming of a "Second American Revolution" and subsequently organized a group of antigovernment revolutionaries known as the Order. The Order would be responsible for various armed robberies, counterfeiting, bank heists, as well as the murder of Alan Berg, a Jewish radio show host. In the coming year, members of the Order were convicted on a variety of charges. On December 8, 1984, Robert Jay Matthews died in a shootout with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in Washington state.

The Aryan Nations were understandably linked to the Order. Members were residents of Hayden Lake and had used Aryan Nations facilities as part of their effort to print counterfeit monies. Although Richard Butler was not involved in the perpetration of the Order's violent crimes, in 1987 he was tried for sedition alongside Order members. The Fort Smith, Arkansas, jury eventually acquitted all the accused of those charges.

Lawsuit

In 2000, the Aryan Nations lost a \$6.3 million lawsuit initiated by the Southern Poverty Law Center in behalf of Victoria and Jason Keenan. The

Keenans had an encounter with the Aryan Nations while travelling past the Hayden Lake compound. When their car backfired, armed guards believed that the occupants of the vehicle had fired at the compound. They followed the Keenans, forcing their vehicle off the road and subsequently detaining them at gunpoint. After the lawsuit, Aryan Nations was required to sell the 20-acre estate that housed the Aryan Nations at Hayden Lake before Butler himself declared bankruptcy. Structures on the compound were subsequently demolished, and the Keenans were awarded the trademark for the name “Aryan Nations” in 2001. After this dramatic turn of events, Butler lived in a donated home nearby until his death in 2004.

There are currently at least three movements claiming to continue the legacy of the original Aryan Nations. These rival groups are in conflict both concerning the means that should be employed to achieve their goals and, perhaps most importantly, whether Aryan Nations should remain tied with the Christian Identity movement or should encompass other forms of “racialist” religion.

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See Also: Anti-Racist Education; Anti-Semitism; Hate Crimes; Hate Speech; White Supremacy.

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that grew out of the social movements of the 1960s. While the African American civil rights movement had developed as a response to the common lot of African Americans, the Asian American movement developed more slowly because of the more heterogeneous nature of the community. Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Filipino Americans, and others had very different histories and had faced different challenges, but all had faced unusually high levels of discrimination as well as being lumped together both by laws (especially immigration and miscegenation laws) and popular thought, which perpetuated stereotypes about “inscrutable Orientals” and Asian passivity.

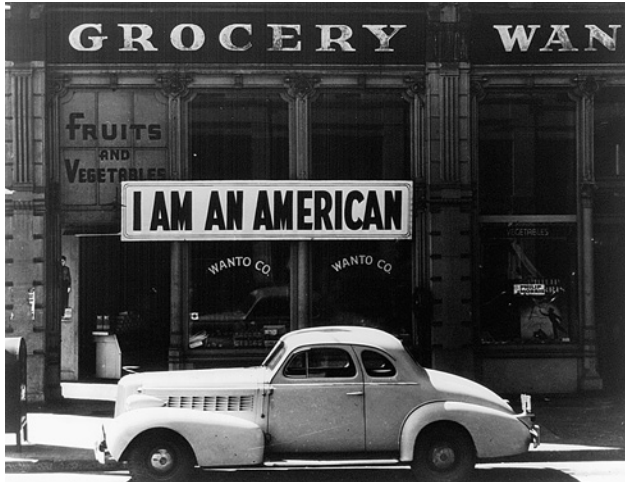
The development of a pan-Asian American civil rights movement was inevitable, but its growth in the 1980s was precipitated by the violent death of Vincent Chin, a Chinese American whose killing was motivated by anti-Japanese sentiment.

Asian immigrants faced an unusually high level of discrimination as their numbers grew in the 19th century. Asian laborers, mostly Chinese, were imported for major works of manual labor, including the work of the California Gold Rush, the building of the railroads, and numerous mining operations in the Pacific Northwest. Employers typically paid Chinese workers significantly less than white workers, and white workers in turn were displaced from work, or perceived that they were. This fueled resentments, leading to waves of anti-Chinese violence throughout the west from roughly the 1870s to the turn of the century, including several infamous massacres.

Anti-Chinese sentiment—the so-called Yellow Peril, the specter of Asian immigration transforming through sheer numbers the culture of the United States—was also instrumental in the formation of 19th-century labor unions and workingmen’s political parties. Labor unions sought to stabilize wages and prevent employers from being able to hire Chinese workers at lower wages than white workers. Workingmen’s political parties sought the passage of laws requiring the same thing. Both also supported legislation like the Chinese Exclusion Act, which suspended Chinese immigration to the United States in 1882. The Scott Act in 1888 went further, preventing Chinese immigrants who had previously immigrated to the United States from reentering the country once they left—effectively requiring them to choose between countries.

Asian American Movement

The Asian American movement is a pan-Asian American civil rights and social justice movement



This sign reading "I am an American" appeared in the window of an Oakland, California, store owned by a Japanese American on December 8, 1941, the day after Pearl Harbor. The store was closed and the owner interned with other Japanese Americans.

Exclusion was repealed in 1943, though many immigration restrictions were not lifted until 1965, and other race restrictions remained in force—like state laws preventing Chinese from marrying whites—many of which remained in force until the Supreme Court ruled in *Loving v. Virginia* that all anti-miscegenation laws were unconstitutional.

Popular Culture

Even at a time when many other racial caricatures, and the racist nature of blackface shows, were falling out of favor, Asian caricatures became a stock in trade of American popular culture. Pulp stories of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s used numerous caricatured Asian villains, depicted via phrases like "slanted eyes," "satanic cunning," and "moon-like yellow faces," the most famous of which is Fu Manchu. Boris Karloff played Fu Manchu in one of the film adaptations, *The Mask of Fu Manchu*. The alien warlord Ming the Merciless in the Flash Gordon comic strip and later film serial was another Asian caricature villain playing on Yellow Peril fears. Like Fu Manchu, he was typically depicted by white actors, as was Charlie Chan, the heroic but highly caricatured Asian American detective portrayed in most films by Swedish actor Warner Oland or American actor Sidney Toler. The use of makeup to turn white actors into Asian caricatures is sometimes called "yellowface," an echo of the

shoe polish and other means by which white actors are turned into African American caricatures. One of the most egregious examples still seen in many airings on TV is Mickey Rooney's buck-toothed portrayal of a Japanese neighbor in the film adaptation of *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. And of course, during World War II, Japanese Americans (and in some cases, non-Japanese Asian Americans) were not only mistreated by many of their neighbors but were rounded up in large numbers and placed in internment camps.

Vincent Chin

In the 1970s and 1980s, the economy of Japan prospered while the U.S. economy declined, helping motivate anti-Japanese attacks in the political and business spheres. Japan was not merely an economic rival. It was frequently described as crafty, sneaky, cunning, and inscrutable—characteristics associated with Asian stereotypes. The image of the *ninja* was frequently invoked by outspoken anti-Japanese like Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca. It was in this context that anti-Japanese sentiment led to the killing of Chinese American Vincent Chin.

A Detroit man celebrating his bachelor party, Chin drew the ire of Ronald Ebens and his stepson Michael Nitz, recently laid-off Chrysler auto workers. Ebens, Nitz, and others got into a fight with Chin's party at a bar, filled with racial invective. Ebens and Nitz followed Chin out of the bar and beat him unconscious; he died four days later. After a plea bargain, the assailants were sentenced to three years probation and a fine. The Detroit Asian American community reacted angrily, bringing greater national attention to the killing and the trial. Numerous Asian American groups and individuals were instrumental in applying pressure to the government, leading to a federal case in which Ebens and Nitz were charged with violating Chin's civil rights, because of the racial motivation of the crime.

Eventually, Nitz was acquitted, as was Ebens after a retrial when his original conviction was overturned. Civil suits for unlawful death were more successful, but beyond dealing with these two assailants, a greater good had been wrought: the Asian American movement had been born, developing out of the cooperation of previously disparate Asian American interest groups.

“Remember Vincent Chin” was a rallying cry far beyond Detroit and long after 1982.

Organizations and the Civil Liberties Act

Major groups that have been instrumental in the Asian American movement include the New York-based Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund founded in 1974, which was part of the national campaign demanding justice for Chin and which since 1988 has conducted the Asian American Exit Poll to make up for the lack of data on Asian American voting patterns produced by the mainstream media; the nonprofit Asian American Action Fund founded in Washington, D.C., in 1999 to encourage Asian American political activity; the Chinese American Service League in Chicago; the Japanese Americans Citizens League founded in 1929 and instrumental in assisting those who were interned; the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, an organization of Asian American labor union members; and the Brooklyn Chinese-American Association.

In 1988, the Civil Liberties Act was signed into law, granting reparations to Japanese Americans who had been interned during World War II and formally recognizing the injustice of Executive Order 9066, the order that resulted in the internment. The act was sponsored by California Democratic congressman Norman Mineta, who had been interned as a child, and was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan, who had served in the military in World War II (albeit as a liaison to the First Motion Picture Unit). Two years later, in 1990, President George H. W. Bush declared May 1990 Asian Pacific American Heritage Month, commemorating the arrival of the first Japanese in the United States (in 1843) and the completion of the transcontinental railroad (in 1869).

Asian American Studies

Though the academic field of Asian American Studies dates to the 1960s when the study of different ethnic communities in the United States began to gain traction in the academic world, the founding of Asian American Studies programs in universities did not take off as quickly as those of African American or Latino Studies programs. This has been one of the causes taken up by the Asian American movement. Today, most of the major programs are in California,

where San Francisco State University includes a College of Ethnic Studies, and not only a bachelor's degree and department in Asian American Studies but one of the only master's degrees in Asian American Studies. Major programs outside California include Cornell University's, which was the first Ivy League Asian American Studies program (founded in 1987), the State University of New York (SUNY) Stony Brook, the University of Washington, the University of Colorado, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Columbia University. In the Asian neighborhood of Flushing in New York City, Queens College, City University of New York, is home to the Asian American Center and the Asian American/Asian Research Institute. In 1998, the *Journal of Asian American Studies* was founded, published triannually by Johns Hopkins University Press.

The Japanese American National Museum was opened in 1992 in the Little Tokyo neighborhood of Los Angeles, California, to preserve the history and culture of Japanese Americans. Its motion picture archive includes numerous home movies of Japanese Americans from the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, and over 130 years of Japanese American history are documented.

Since 2009, Asian Americans have overtaken Hispanics as the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States, and they are generally better educated and better employed than whites, blacks, or Hispanics. Anti-Asian sentiment continues to be prominent in American culture. Fears of China's competition with the United States as it expands its free trade activities, or of the implications of the United States owing money to China, are much sharper and expressed in much grimmer terms than fears—rarely even voiced—of similar competition from Russia and Brazil, which are experiencing similar economic growth, just as fears of West Germany's economic prosperity were rarely expressed as strongly as fears of Japan in the 1970s and 1980s.

Bill Kte'pi
Independent Scholar

See Also: Asian Americans; Chan, Charlie; Chinese Americans; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Executive Order 9066 (1942); Hate Crimes; Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; Yellow Peril.

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Asian Americans

The Asian population in the United States is the nation's fastest-growing major race group, increasing by 46 percent between 2000 and 2010, and reaching an estimated number of 17.3 million, or 5.6 percent of the total population. Asian Americans are categorized by ancestral roots in an area that covers more than one-third of the Earth, a region that includes the Far East, south-east Asia, the Indian subcontinent, and a list of nations such as Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam, among others. While a majority of Asian Americans are Christian, in total, the community practices a diverse range of faiths—Sikh, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism—and languages. Chinese (23 percent), Asian Indians (19 percent), and Filipinos (15 percent) comprise the largest Asian populations in America.

U.S. residents of Asian descent form the majority in some towns, cities, and states, with the highest concentration of Asian populations residing in California (5.6 million), New York (1.6 million), Texas (1.1 million), New Jersey (0.8 million), Hawai'i (0.8 million), Illinois (0.7 million), Washington (0.6 million), Florida (0.6 million), Virginia (0.5 million), and Pennsylvania (0.4 million). Overall, the Asian population grew in every state across the country between 2000 and 2010. Of the total number of U.S. residents of Asian descent, 14.6 million reported belonging to one Asian population alone and 2.6 million claimed

Asian heritages in combination with some other group, with both totals increasing dramatically over the last decade. The median age of the total Asian population is 37.2 years, with 22 percent of the Asian population under the age of 18 and less than 10 percent over the age of 65.

In spite of a history of U.S. laws that prevented the naturalization, immigration, and enfranchisement of Asian Americans or targeted the community for prosecution and internment, Asian Americans have been active contributors to our national patrimony and are a vital and dynamic set of our citizenry, highlighted by a record number of Asian Americans serving in the U.S. Congress in 2013 and achievements and innovations in almost every sector of America. However, misconceptions about Asian Americans and their long history in the United States—for example, that Asian Americans are a “model minority” or “forever foreigners”—continue to obscure the understanding of the Asian American experience and the recognition of the central roles that Asian Americans have played, as heroes or foils, in the national story.

Furthermore, the diverse ancestral origins and varying waves of immigration and cultural histories means that Asian Americans are far from a monolithic community or linked by a continuous and monolithic narrative; the Asian American population is the summation of a growing and diverse set of classes, cultures, ethnicities, histories, languages, and religions that are intertwined with other populations, Asian and non-Asian alike, mixed race and via adoption. Indeed, the mixed-race Asian population and the adopted Asians, a practice beginning with Korea and continuing with Vietnam and China, are growing segments of the American population.

The Asian American experience is central to the understanding of a multicultural America, but the story is a set of discontinuous threads. The challenge is to provide, in a coherent and balanced manner, a comprehensive and workable Asian American narrative, even while the term *Asian American* continues to hold symbolic and political power. To paraphrase a work by Lisa Lowe, a scholar of Asian American studies, Asian Americans are marked by their heterogeneity, hybridity, and multiplicity. These concepts describe the Asian American experience and demonstrate the

need to recognize Asian Americans as a complex, changing, and growing set of communities in need of deeper study and greater attentiveness to the nuances of their experiences.

Pre-1965: Roots and Representations

Since 1860, the U.S. government has collected data on the number of people of Asian descent, beginning with the counting of “Chinese” in California—reportedly 36,000 in number—and then growing to a list of seven race categories for Asian in 2010: Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Other Asian. However, the migration of Asians to the Americas predates the founding of the republic; Asians arrived as part of trade between the new colonies, old empires, and Asia. Reports of a Chinese barber appeared in Mexico City as early as 1635. In 1587 reports were written about the Spanish vessels arriving at the California coast’s Morro Bay with Filipino ship hands. By the 1760s, Filipino settlements populated areas near New Orleans. While the early wave of Asians in the Americas was linked to maritime trade, the majority of Asian migration fulfilled the slave-like labor needs of a nascent democratic and industrial society emerging from an age of empires.

In the late 18th century, Chinese men, driven by the search for a better life in the wake of China’s defeat by France, the United Kingdom, and the United States in the Opium War of 1842, began arriving in larger numbers in the Kingdom of Hawai’i to work in the archipelago’s plantation system. The arrival of the Chinese was the start of a larger wave of Asian immigrant labor—Koreans, Japanese, and Filipinos—that would continue farther eastward to service the industrialization of America.

By the mid-19th century, Asians, predominantly Chinese, formed the bulk of labor used in the mining of gold and other natural resources as well as in the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Eventually, they provided low-end domestic labor, performing tasks such as cooking and laundry. During the American Civil War, Asians served on both sides, an action that received attention from the U.S. House of Representatives in 2003, which briefly considered declaring these soldiers of Asian descent to be honorary citizens. In the late 19th century and into the early 20th century, Chinese,

Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and South Asian Indians—Hindus and Punjabis—had become part of America’s growing agricultural industry, toiling on farms, plantations, canneries, and fisheries in Hawai’i and across the American West.

These early waves of Asian migration form the foundation for the geographical concentration of Asians in Hawai’i, along the West Coast, and in areas near or in New York City and the emergence of urban ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatowns or Japantowns, in major metropolitan cities and ports. Though Asians provided the labor needed by the American economy and served in the U.S. military during this period, working conditions were harsh, and the economic, political, and social mobility of Asian people was severely limited. The sentiments against Asians were sometimes expressed violently. In the western states, some Asians were driven out of cities and towns, or killed by mobs. The view of Asians at the time was stated in derisive terms that circulated widely through newspapers and popular culture. Asian workers, especially the Chinese, were called Coolies, a term used to dehumanize Asians. They were called the Yellow Peril, embodying the fear that Asians in America were a threat to jobs, families, and the American way of life. Promoted by groups like the Asiatic Exclusion League, these stereotypes and others, such as Asian bodies being diseased or untrustworthy, formed the complex of American orientalism, a blend of pseudoscience, xenophobia, and wild exoticism, to justify the exploitation, persecution, and/or confinement of Asians. Immigration stations, such as the Angel Island Immigration Station off the coast of San Francisco, become a place of prolonged detention and forceful scrutiny to stem the immigration of Asians to America.

Actions to prevent the settling of Asians in America included limiting immigration to men or preventing familial immigration, taxing Asian immigrants, and enacting laws against the ownership of property. As a result, some Asians did return to Asia. A majority of the ones who stayed were men who performed manual and/or domestic labor during a time when gender sharply divided vocations. Under these circumstances, these early immigrants began families with Asian and non-Asian populations. Punjabis and Filipinos married Latinos in California. In Hawai’i,

Asians intermarried across ethnicities and with Native Hawaiians.

In 1882, President Chester Arthur signed the Chinese Exclusion Act to curtail Chinese immigration to the United States, including the reentry of residents of Chinese ancestry, and naturalization. In 1907, the Empire of Japan and the United States agreed to the Gentlemen's Agreement whereby the United States would not impose restrictions on Japanese immigration if Japan prevented Japanese from immigrating to America. The National Origins Act of 1923 severely limited immigration from Asian countries. An exception were Filipinos, who, because of the Spanish American (1898) and Philippine American (1899–1913) Wars, were declared U.S. nationals vis-à-vis their status as U.S. colonial subjects.

In 1943, the year when China officially became an Allied nation during World War II, the Chinese Exclusion Repeal Act (also known as the Magnuson Act) allowed the limited immigration and naturalization of Asians. Korean immigration increased during the Korean War (1950–53), enabled by the War Brides Act of 1946 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1953 that allowed the limited immigration of Koreans to arrive as war brides, professional workers, and students, or through adoption as orphans of the war. It was only with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (also known as the Hart-Celler Act) that the United States no longer considered national origins and quotas as criteria for immigration. The Hart-Celler Act introduced an emphasis on skills and family relationships for the basis of immigration and established conditions that greatly shaped the characteristics of Asian America today and the formation of modern multicultural America.

Pre-1965: Becoming American

Asian American responses to their disenfranchisement are quintessential elements of the American story of civil rights. The Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898) affirmed birthright citizenship as written in the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Born in San Francisco to Chinese immigrants, Ark challenged the U.S. government's refusal to recognize his American citizenship. The 1906 San Francisco earthquake opened an unusual way for

Chinese to immigrate to the United States—the earthquake destroyed records of people's citizenship and immigration status. The 1882 Exclusion Act allowed the immigration of foreign-born children of U.S. citizens to join their fathers. Without records, many Chinese could claim to be the “paper sons” of Chinese Americans and immigrate to America. In 1913, India-born A. K. Mazumdar became a naturalized U.S. citizen but had his citizenship revoked by the Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind* (1923), which ruled that south Asian Indians were ineligible for naturalization due to their non-Caucasian status. Prior to the *Thind* case, in *Takao Ozawa v. United States* (1922), the Supreme Court ruled that the Japanese were also not “white.”

Asian communities organized themselves in response to anti-Asian sentiment and the harsh living conditions. In the late 19th century, Chinese communities formed the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, serving San Francisco and New York City. Indian immigrants formed community-based organizations such as the Ghadr (“revolutionary”) Party, the India Congress Association of California Farmers, the India Welfare League, the Indian American Association of America, and the India League of America. These organizations worked to improve conditions and opportunities for South Asian Indians in the United States and in colonial India and, in some instances, linked opportunities for Indians in America with India's independence from the British.

Many of these Indian groups lobbied Representative Clare Booth Luce, a Republican, and Representative Emmanuel Celler, a Democrat, to introduce bills changing U.S. immigration laws, leading to the Luce-Celler Act in 1946, which permitted the naturalization of Asian immigrants and limited immigration from Asia. The political success of this coalition of Indian American organizations continued with the political life of Dalip Singh Saund, the founder of the Indian American Association of America. In 1956, Saund, a Democrat, became the first Asian American member of the U.S. Congress.

In 1929, the Japanese formed the Japanese American Citizens League to work on issues related to civil rights. However, in 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive

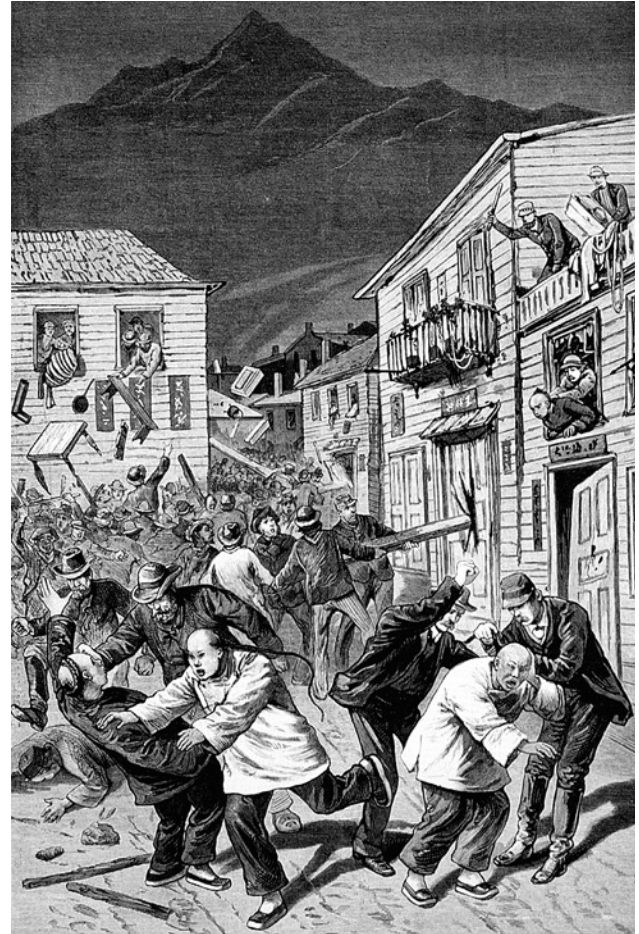
Order 9066 (EO 9066), the presidential action that allowed the internment of Japanese Americans and immigrants during World War II. As a result, 120,000 people of Japanese descent were interned along the Pacific Coast, from Washington to Arizona. California-born Japanese American Fred Korematsu challenged the legality of his incarceration and his case made it to the Supreme Court—but lost. Although the Supreme Court ruled against Korematsu, he maintained his position against EO 9066. Decades later, Korematsu's case led to a presidential inquiry, a Congressional apology, and reparations for the internment of Japanese Americans and the vacation of his conviction.

EO 9066 also influenced the Japanese Americans to serve in the U.S. armed forces during World War II. Japanese Americans served in the storied 442nd Regimental Combat Team and 100th Infantry Battalion, and some served in the Military Intelligence Service. The 442nd Regimental Combat team became the most decorated regiment in the history of the U.S. Army. In 2011, Congress awarded the Medal of Honor to the Japanese American veterans who served in these units.

During the same year of the transformative Hart-Celler Act, Filipino American labor leaders like Philip Vera Cruz and Larry Itliong and their Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) joined Latino labor leader César Chávez and the predominantly Mexican American National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) to participate in the Delano grape strike and boycott to improve working conditions for farm workers. Filipino Americans had a long history of organizing around labor, dating back to the 1920s in Hawai'i and continuing to labor associations on the West Coast, such as Seattle's Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union in 1933. Together, the AWOC and the NFWA formed the iconic United Farm Workers of America (UFWA), which was a force for labor and minorities and a model for a multicultural coalitional labor politics.

1965 to 1982: Awakening and Change

In 1960, the U.S. Census Bureau reported almost 900,000 Asians in the United States, or less than half a percent of the total population, recording only residents of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino descent. However, the 1960s were a significant



The engraving shows a violent mob attack on the Chinese inhabitants of Denver, Colorado, on October 31, 1880. Two years later, President Chester Arthur signed the Chinese Exclusion Act to restrict Chinese immigration to the United States.

decade for Asian Americans and multicultural America, seeing significant changes to laws regarding race, immigration, and citizenship. The passage of the Hart-Celler Act and the coalition between Filipino Americans and Latinos can be read as narrative pivot points in the Asian American story. The lifting of restrictions on Asian immigration and naturalization permitted a steady increase in the Asian American population and a more vibrant cultural identity. The minority labor movements, such as the UFWA, resonated with the civil rights movements of the 1960s to become a catalyst for the power movements, including the Asian American movement that emerged later in the decade. The formation of a diasporic or pan-Asian political consciousness during the late

1960s corresponded with the decolonization and third world revolutionary movements in Asia, a spirit that was intensified by the escalation of U.S. military involvement in Asia.

Asian Americans joined African Americans, American Indians, and Latino Americans in a quest for the full enfranchisement of America's minority communities and the recognition of their essential roles in the American story. Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, and other Asian Americans began organizing around a shared experience, narrative, and political identity as Asian Americans. In 1968, Asian Americans joined a multicultural coalition of students and student groups committed to social justice to begin one of the longest student strikes in American history in support of open admissions and the establishment of a department for Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University. In 1969, a similar multicultural coalition of students and student groups staged a strike at the University of California, Berkeley in support of ethnic studies. In each of these student protest movements, Asian Americans were key voices and leaders. The movements to establish the discipline of ethnic studies gained deeper institutionalization with the founding of the Association for Asian American Studies in 1979, which promoted the research and teaching of Asian American studies. Overall, the strikes established a blueprint for political action and underscored the importance of pan-Asian American community advocacy alliances and organizations. The Asian American movement was born.

The revolutionary awakening and cultural pride of the Asian American movement were part of a larger redefinition of Asian America. The award-winning and innovative architectural designs by Massachusetts Institute of Technology- and Harvard University-trained Chinese American Ieoh Ming Pei (I. M. Pei) began to take root across the United States and around the world. His contributions to the American landscape took hold during the 1960s and 1970s, beginning with the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colorado (1961–67), the East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (1968–78), and the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library in Boston (1965–79), among other institutions. The contributions of Asian Americans to American architecture continued with Chinese

American Maya Lin's award-winning design for the iconic Vietnam War Memorial in 1982.

1965 to 1982: Film, Television, and Literature

On movie and television screens, new representations of Asian Americans, especially representations of Asian American men, were in popular circulation. These characters reflected the idealism and revolutionary feelings of the era. American-born George Takei played Sulu in the multicultural science fiction television series *Star Trek* (1966–69). During 1966–73, American-born martial artist Bruce Lee popularized Hong Kong martial arts cinema in the United States and around the world, producing films and characters with political and physical kinetics. In 1965, Asian American actors in Los Angeles established the East West Players theater organization to produce work that offered Asian American stories beyond popular stereotypes. Six years later, activists and filmmakers in Los Angeles also established Visual Communications with the objective of supporting Asian American filmmaking. In 1976, activists and filmmakers in New York City formed Asian CineVision to support Asian American filmmaking on the East Coast.

In 1980, activists and filmmakers in San Francisco created the National Asian American Telecommunications Association (now the Center for Asian American Media) to promote independent Asian American filmmaking and Asian American productions for public broadcasting in cooperation with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Public Broadcasting Service. In 1981, Wayne Wang released the groundbreaking film, *Chan Is Missing*. The innovative film offered fresh and clever takes on Asian American experience that stood in contrast to the Hollywood blockbusters that characterized the 1980s. In 1995, *Chan Is Missing* was named to the National Film Registry, a list of films deemed “culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant.”

In 1973, Chris Kando Iijima, Nobuko JoAnne Miyamoto, and William “Charlie” Chin, musicians and activists in New York City, recorded *A Grain of Sand: Music for the Struggle by Asians in America*, the first album of Asian American music. Through their music, the singers shared the Asian American experience and political consciousness—from immigrants to citizens to

activists responding to discrimination—in ways that resonated with the revolutionary spirit of the times.

In 1974, two edited works laid the foundation for the emergence of Asian American literature: David Hsin-fu Wand's *Asian American Heritage: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry* and Frank Chin, Jeffery Paul Chan, Lawson Fusao Inada, and Shawn Wong's *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian-American Writers*, recovering and collecting representative selections. Asian American literature would become a rich medium for Asian American cultural criticism, scholarship, and expression.

1965 to 1982: Impact of the Vietnam War

Like the Korean War, the Vietnam War (1955–75) had a similar impact on Asian migration and Asian America. The war and its aftermath displaced millions of southeast Asians, bringing some to the United States as refugees whose experience and profile differed from immigrant groups and patterns that had previously defined Asian America. Cambodian, Chinese, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia sought refuge in the United States, fleeing political persecution and the U.S. military campaign in southeast Asia. The 1975 Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act allowed these refugees to enter the United States and to receive special assistance from the government, and there were other initiatives, such as Operation Babylift, a limited program to evacuate thousands of Vietnamese orphans for adoption by American parents.

Many southeast Asians continued to seek shelter in the United States for many years after the fall of Saigon, some assisted by the United States Refugee Act of 1980. The initial waves of refugees were processed in temporary resettlement camps housed on military bases in Arkansas, California, Florida, and Pennsylvania. In some cases, these southeast Asian refugees were resettled in states in the midwest, such as Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, and in the south in states such as Texas and Louisiana. According to the 2010 census, Vietnamese communities now register in large numbers in Los Angeles, San Jose, and Houston; Cambodians in the Boston-Cambridge-Quincy area; and Hmong in the Minneapolis–St. Paul–Bloomington area. While many southeast Asian American refugees

have been able to live the American Dream, many continue to be less well off than the general population of Asian Americans. Cambodians and Hmong are almost twice as likely to live in poverty. Cambodians, Hmong, and Laotians are almost twice as likely to be unemployed, and all have lower rates of college attendance and graduation.

Asian Americans and the Asian American movement made progress during the 1960s and 1970s. Near the end of the 1970s, Asian Americans were slowly joining the mainstream and being celebrated as part of America's multicultural fabric. In 1977, Congress designated a week in May as Asian-Pacific Heritage Week. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter designated the weeklong celebration as an annual event. In 1990, President George H. W. Bush declared the entire month of May as Asian Pacific American Heritage Month. May was chosen because it also commemorates the first immigration of the Japanese to the United States and the completion of the transcontinental railway.

However, it was in 1982 that Asian Americans rallied around another tragic event to increase their political impact. A week before his wedding, 27-year-old Vincent Chin was beaten into a coma by two autoworkers in Detroit, Michigan. The autoworkers cursed Chin, a Chinese American, as a foreign "Jap" who caused unemployment in the United States and proceeded to beat him with a baseball bat. Four days later on June 23, 1982, Chin died of his injuries. The perpetrators were fined and sentenced to probation. This injustice and its tie to the erroneous notion that Asian Americans are "forever foreigners" outraged many, and Chin's death became a catalyst for forming a united Asian American coalition out of the many Asian community and advocacy groups in the United States. This coalition pushed for a civil trial for Chin's death and formed the groundwork for hate crimes legislation.

1980s to Present: Ethnic Suburbs, Pioneers, and Tensions

Through the 1980s, many Asian Americans were enjoying a modest version of the American dream and finding or creating opportunities in business, science, engineering, technology, and other professions. Asian Americans were also moving away from urban centers to settle in suburban settings, resituating ethnic enclaves as centers of

community and culture to the suburbs. Notable suburbs included Monterey Park, California, and other suburbs of Los Angeles; Silicon Valley and surrounding suburbs of San Francisco, California; Edison, New Jersey; and Flushing, Queens, New York. The amenities of the suburbs and their opportunities attracted young immigrant families, even though tensions persisted in some communities. Monterey Park, considered the first suburban Chinatown, passed or attempted to pass English-only ordinances. The vibrant community of Indian Americans in Edison held large protests against continued harassment by local law enforcement. The deepest antipathy in the 20th century surfaced during the 1992 riots in Los Angeles between African Americans and Korean Americans, amid the overall violence throughout the city.

Following the election of Dalip Singh Saund, Asian Americans, historically disenfranchised, began to have a steady, albeit small, number of

members serving in the U.S. Congress and in governorships and state legislatures across the country, with the states of Hawai'i and California electing the most members of Asian descent to public office. With statehood in 1959, Hawai'i sent the first Americans of Chinese and Japanese descent to the U.S. Senate, beginning with Senator Hiram Fong in 1959 and Senator Daniel Inouye in 1963. The state of Hawai'i also elected the first Asian American woman to Congress in 1965, Representative Patsy Matsu Takemoto Mink.

Senator Inouye served with the highly decorated 442nd Regimental Combat Team and served as president pro tempore of the Senate, making him the highest-ranking Asian American politician in American history and one of the Senate's longest-serving members. Senator Inouye started as one of Hawai'i's first two members elected to the House of Representatives, joining Representative Spark Masayuki Matsunaga, making them



Asian Americans in New York City drawing attention to human rights issues in the Philippines beside other immigrant groups at one of the many May 1, 2010, immigration reform rallies held across the United States. Asians are the fastest-growing major race group in the United States; their numbers increased 46 percent between 2000 and 2010, making up an estimated 5.6 percent of the total population. Approximately 22 percent of the Asian population is under the age of 18.

the first Japanese Americans to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives.

In 2008, Louisiana elected Representative Joseph Cao, the first Vietnamese American to serve in Congress. Cao was a refugee from the Vietnam War. In 2012, the state of Hawai'i elected Mazie Hirono to the U.S. Senate, making her the first Asian American woman as well as the first Buddhist to serve in the Senate. In 2012, the highest number of Asian Americans elected to Congress is also one of the most diverse. Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI) became the first Hindu to be elected to Congress, Mark Takano (D-CA) became the first openly gay person of color to be elected to Congress, and Tammy Duckworth (D-IL) became the first Thai American woman to be elected to Congress and the first to represent the state of Illinois.

Norman Mineta, a Japanese American who was interned during World War II, became the first Asian American to serve in a presidential cabinet and did so under two presidential administrations. Mineta was appointed by President Bill Clinton in 2000 to serve as secretary of commerce and by President George W. Bush in 2001 to serve as secretary of transportation, overseeing dramatic changes to the nation's travel security in the wake of September 11, 2001. President Bush also appointed the first Asian American and Chinese American woman to a cabinet position with his selection of Elaine Lan Chao to serve as secretary of labor in 2001. President Barack Obama also appointed the largest number of Asian Americans to cabinet positions in U.S. history: Secretary of Commerce Gary Locke, Secretary of Energy Steven Chu, and Secretary of Veterans Affairs Eric Shinseki.

In 1994, Ben Cayetano was the first Filipino American governor when he was elected in Hawai'i. In Washington State, Gary Locke became the first Chinese American to be governor of an American state in 1997. In Louisiana, Bobby Jindal became the first Indian American to be governor of a U.S. state in 2007.

Conclusion

The post-1965 era enabled a generation of Asian Americans to be pioneers in arts, business, cuisine, culture, education, fashion, film, military, media, medicine, music, politics, sciences, sports,

technology, and television. These high-achieving individuals are the faces for a longer story of the Asian American pioneers. While Asian Americans are ascending in all aspects of American life, the overall recognition of their contributions remains relatively unknown or underrepresented in popular discourse and in institutions of national patrimony. Moreover, the achievements of some Asian American communities as well as the affluence of some Asian Americans are often assumed to be true for all Asian Americans, in spite of the heterogeneity constitutive of the total population and the census data that prove otherwise.

The stereotype of the "model minority" remains a challenge to understanding Asian Americans. Some Asian American communities may excel in specific fields but experience discrimination or denigration in popular culture. South Asian Indians were the target of harassment, profiling, and/or violence in the years following September 11, 2001. Competitive tensions between the United States and China are fodder for political campaign materials in ways that resonate with the "yellow peril" xenophobia that was pervasive during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The stereotype that Asian American values are either antithetical to or emblematic of the American spirit distorts the understanding of the Asian American experience and obscures the overall representation of racial minorities in an emerging multicultural America. As one of America's fastest-growing and heterogeneous populations, Asian Americans are a major thread of America's multicultural story and will remain so for generations.

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See Also: Angel Island; Asian American Categorization (Essay); Asian American Movement; Asiatic Exclusion League; Cambodian Americans; Chan, Charlie; Chinese Americans; Filipino Americans; 442nd Regimental Combat Team; Hmong Americans; Indian (Asian) Americans; Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act (1975); Indonesian Americans; Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; Korean Americans; Laotian Americans; Pacific Islander Americans; Pacific Islander Categorization (Essay); Taiwanese Americans; Thai Americans; Vietnamese Americans; Yellow Peril.

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Asiatic Exclusion League

Organized May 14, 1905, in San Francisco, the Asiatic Exclusion League (AEL) was a white supremacist group committed to ending the immigration of Asians to the United States. Although Japanese immigrants were the primary target, the league opposed the immigration of all Asians, including Koreans and Hindu Indians. Delegates from 67 groups participated in the founding of the league, but organized labor, fearful of losing jobs, was at the forefront. By 1908, the league claimed 100,000 members and 238 affiliated

organizations. The AEL's influence was not limited to California. Members successfully lobbied on the national level as well, and discriminatory laws that were a legacy of the AEL remained in effect until the 1960s.

Emigration from Japan was rare before the late 19th century. Thus, it wasn't until after 1884, when pressure from Hawai'i sugar plantation owners resulted in an increase in exit visas, that Japanese began immigrating to Hawai'i and, in smaller numbers, to California. By 1890, 2,000 Japanese resided in the United States, excluding those in Hawai'i, which was not a territory of the United States until 1900. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 had barred all Chinese immigration, and the Japanese evoked the same prejudices and fears that had led to that legislation. Differences in religion, language, and physical appearances exacerbated the fears of substantial job losses, particularly in agriculture and related industries.

Labor and School Segregation

The AEL was not the only anti-Asian organization, but it took the lead in coordinating anti-Japanese action. Labor unions were the source of AEL's executive board and its financial resources. Olaf Tveitmore, the first president and one of the founders of the AEL, was recording and corresponding secretary of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, editor of its weekly journal, and general secretary treasurer of the California Building Trades Council. Abraham Yoell, recording secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, served as AEL's financial secretary, the league's only full-time, salaried position. The labor connection intensified AEL's political power at local, state, and federal levels.

In 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education ruled that Japanese and Korean children must attend the Oriental School established in 1884 for Chinese children. Such segregation remained legal until the mid-1940s. Rising crime rates and drug usage were also attributed to the Japanese. The league lobbied to boycott Japanese goods and to exclude Japanese from certain kinds of work, such as agricultural jobs. After the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, newspapers advertised places designated as areas where only whites would be allowed to build homes and own property.

Gentlemen's Agreement

Through official channels, the government of Japan objected to discrimination against its citizens. The result was the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 in which Japan agreed to cease issuing passports to workers wishing to immigrate to the United States, and the United States agreed to end discrimination against Japanese already in the United States. The unofficial agreement excluded wives and children of men who had already emigrated, and it did not restrict the Japanese entering the United States from Hawai'i. By 1910, there were more than 40,000 Japanese immigrants and *Nisei* (second-generation Japanese born in the United States) living in California, and Japanese formed the largest minority in Washington State.

The AEL began pressuring Congress in 1907 to restrict Japanese immigration from the territory of Hawai'i. The league's staunchest ally in Congress was E. A. Hayes, representative from California's Fifth District. Hayes, who with his brother owned the *San Jose Mercury* newspaper and a prune ranch in South San Jose, employed Japanese labor in his orchards. He also delivered passionate anti-Japanese speeches in Congress in which he used propaganda generated by the AEL that painted the Japanese as a growing threat to the sound economy and morals of the United States. Such tactics led to the California Alien Land Laws, the first of which was passed in 1913, which barred Asian immigrants from owning land in the state.

Citizenship Denial and Internment Camps

In *Takao Ozawa v. United States* (1922), the Supreme Court denied Japanese immigrants the right to become citizens. President Calvin Coolidge signed a federal immigration law in 1924 that ended the immigration of all Asians into the United States. The law subverted the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907. Japan, in protest, declared May 26, 1924, the effective date of the legislation, a day of national humiliation. Tensions between the two nations increased.

Although influence of the AEL increasingly weakened after 1911 and soon completely disintegrated, other organizations less dominated by organized labor continued the work begun by the league. Anti-Japanese groups were organized all along the West Coast. One of the largest and most active was the San Francisco Japanese Exclusion

League. In February 1942, two months after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor prompting President Franklin D. Roosevelt to declare World War II, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 that directed all Japanese and Japanese Americans living on the West Coast to be removed to internment camps, in what some historians saw as a predictable conclusion to more than three decades of efforts to eliminate the presence of Japanese in the United States.

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See Also: Alien Land Laws; Angel Island; Asian Americans; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Executive Order 9066 (1942); Gentleman's Agreement (1907); Immigration Acts; Japanese American Citizens League; Japanese American Internment; *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind* (1923); Yellow Peril.

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Association for the Study of African American Life and History

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) is the oldest scholarly organization dedicated to the study of black history and culture. Currently the ASALH maintains over 20 branches across the United States. Founded in 1915 as the Association for the Study of Negro

Life and History (ASNLH) by African American historian Dr. Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950) and minister Jesse E. Moorland (1863–1940), the organization changed its name to the Association for the Study of African American Life and History in 1972. Through its annual conference and publications, ASALH provides venues for new research to be presented to the public. ASALH is responsible for determining the annual theme for Black History Month, which is celebrated nationally in February. The organization disseminates scholarship to a wide audience that ranges from school-aged children, the general public, and academics. In doing so, ASALH educates Americans about cultural diversity.

Born in 1875, Carter G. Woodson is widely hailed as the father of black history because of his lifelong commitment to promoting the subject in academic and nonacademic circles. In 1912 Woodson, the son of former slaves, earned a Ph.D. in history at Harvard University. When he graduated, he became the second African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard, preceded by prominent scholar W. E. B. Du Bois, who graduated in 1895. Woodson played an instrumental role in obtaining professional recognition of African American history during an era where the majority of historians did not believe African Americans had a history, let alone one worth studying. Woodson believed that racial tension was the result of lack of historical and cultural understanding. He sought to use the ASALH as a vehicle to combat intellectual racism by promoting the academic study of African American history and culture. After Woodson's death in 1950, Howard University history professor Rayford Logan was named executive director of the ASALH. The ASALH operated out of Woodson's home from 1915 until 1970, when the Carter G. Woodson building opened in Washington, D.C. The National Trust for Historic Preservation designated Woodson's home as a National Historic Landmark in 1976.

Woodson's goal was to elevate African American history, first within academic circles and then within the larger African American community. To achieve this aim Woodson founded the *Journal of Negro History* (JNH, now the *Journal of African American History* [JAAH]) in 1916. Modeled after the *American Historical Review* published by the American Historical Association, the JNH

was the first scholarly journal dedicated to African American history and retains its premier status today. In 1921, Woodson created Associated Publishers, which provided a publication venue for books on African American and African history that were being ignored by mainstream publishing houses. In 1937, Woodson established the *Negro History Bulletin*. Now the *Black History Bulletin*, the publication is targeted toward secondary school teachers and publishes articles on African American, African, and African diaspora history.

One of the key organs through which the ASALH advances multicultural understanding is the annual Black History Month and its predecessor, Negro History Week. In 1925, Woodson announced plans for a Negro History Week, which would promote the achievements and contributions of African Americans to American society. The first Negro History Week was celebrated in February 1926, chosen to include the birthdays of two important figures in African American history—President Abraham Lincoln (February 12) and abolitionist and orator Frederick Douglass (February 17). Negro History Week was unique with its focus on black youth audience. Since its launch, the ASALH has distributed instructional materials to schoolteachers and the leaders of civic organizations. Woodson envisioned Negro History Week expanding to a yearlong exploration of African American history and culture. It was not until 1976 that the weeklong event became a monthlong celebration. Every U.S. president since 1976 has proclaimed February as Black History Month.

In 2005, ASALH founded *The Woodson Review*, which provides information on the national Black History Month theme. Past Black History Month themes include Neglected Aspects of Negro History (1931), The Use of Spirituals in the Classroom (1947), Great Negro Educators (1952), African Art, Music, Literature: A Valuable Cultural Experience (1972), The Afro American Family (1985), African Americans and Civil Rights: A Reprisal (1997), and Carter G. Woodson and the Origins of Multiculturalism (2008).

The ASALH organizes an annual academic convention based on the Black History Month theme. Each year scholars from across disciplines convene to present new scholarship in the field. Other ASALH activities include the hosting of an annual luncheon, the maintenance of a speaker's

bureau, and the administration of an annual essay contest for undergraduate and graduate students. In 2012, ASALH launched its newest endeavor *FIRE!!! The Multimedia Journal of Black Studies*, which is unique in its publication of work that uses multimedia evidence.

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See Also: Ethnic Studies; History/Heritage Months; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; United Negro College Fund.

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Audacity of Hope, The

Published in October 2006, *The Audacity of Hope* is the second book by then Senator Barack Obama, who was later elected president in 2008 and reelected for a second term in 2012. Unlike his autobiography published in 1995, his second book focuses more on his views and beliefs on politics, racial dynamics, faith, economics, family values, and other current topics. The book was ranked as a best seller on Amazon.com and by the *New York Times* and has been translated into more than 30 languages. The audiobook version won the Grammy Award for Best Spoken Word Album in 2008. However, critics in general agreed that *The Audacity of Hope* lacked the candid voice that his autobiography *Dreams of My Father* possessed. Nonetheless, the book helped Obama establish his brand as an "American Idol" and paved his path to the White House.

The origins of the book exist in the 2004 Democratic National Convention, where Senator

Obama delivered the keynote address. Influenced by his former pastor, Jeremiah Wright, who had used the phrase "audacity to hope," Obama titled his address "The Audacity of Hope." Although the speech lasted less than 20 minutes, Obama became a national icon whose message resonated with many Americans, and even people around the world. Although Obama had yet to announce his candidacy for the presidency, even at the moment of publication of the book, its publisher Three River Press had reportedly paid the author \$1.9 million as a part of the advance contract for three books. According to Nielsen BookScan, the book sold close to 70,000 copies during its first two weeks of sales. The sales boomed, especially after Oprah endorsed the book on her show.

Impact on Presidential Election

Although Obama wrote the book as a senator, he touched upon many of the contentious issues that would become heated debating points during the presidential campaign. The book covered the welfare system, President George W. Bush's administration's view on national security against terrorism, criticism of Bush for the war in Iraq, American dependency on oil, and other matters. Obama emphasized the importance of collaboration between the two major political parties. He argued that Americans have been dissatisfied with strong partisanship, are seeking reconciliation for the sake of greater national good, and that flexibility is one of the keys to achieving these goals.

He argued that while the two parties need to adhere to their respective core values, they also need to collaborate with each other. Similarly, based on his knowledge as a scholar of constitutional law, he stated that the historical document sometimes needs to be interpreted and applied with flexibility within the context of current society. In addition to these philosophical ideologies about the political system, the book discusses Obama's more concrete visions regarding public school system reform, compensation for teachers, and other issues that could generate opportunities for youth and disadvantaged populations.

Obama's essays encompassed topics beyond those that typical policy makers would write. He argued that faith will continue to be a significant ingredient in American national identity and can

enable a bridge between two parties while requiring tolerance and diversity. He also underscored the importance of family, acknowledging the reality that in many families both parents have full-time jobs and that an appropriate amount of social support is necessary for family stability and the healthy growth of children.

Influence on Race and Foreign Relations

Obama's reference to race in *The Audacity of Hope* reflects the intricacy of American racial politics that many critics have identified, especially for Obama whose mother was a white American and whose father was Kenyan. They argued that for Obama to be a viable presidential candidate, it was important that he did not alienate white voters while also not disappointing African American and other minority populations. On one hand, Obama argues that there remains much to be done to improve the experiences of racial minorities. On the other hand, he states that many of the prejudices stem from an unfamiliarity and lack of knowledge, rather than from racism. Obama denounces racism and the victim mentality at the same time.

More than five years after its initial publication, *The Audacity of Hope* has supplied a portion of the income for the Obama family. Obama earns 15 percent of hardcover sales and 7.5 percent of paperback sales in the United States. On his 2010 joint tax return, he claimed \$100,001 and \$1 million in royalties for hardcover and paperback books, respectively. In addition, he claimed \$1 million and \$5 million, respectively, in royalties for his first hardcover and paperback autobiography.

The U.S. government has used Obama's books as a part of its soft power. The U.S. embassy in Indonesia, for example, has spent close to \$4,000 to purchase Indonesian copies of *The Audacity of Hope* and \$4,800 for copies of Obama's autobiography. U.S. embassies in Turkey, France, and other countries have also recorded between \$3,000 and \$9,000 for similar purchases.

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See Also: African Americans; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Presidency, U.S..

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Australian Americans

According to the 2010 census, Australian Americans number 67,000. Their origins can be traced to several waves of immigration to the United States, most notably in the gold rush of the 1840s, the 1870s, and the post-World War II war brides. This immigrant group has integrated into U.S. culture so well that there is little that can be said to be distinctively Australian.

Colonial Australia's Beginnings

The 1770 exploration and colonization of Australia by the English is credited to James Cook, captain of the HMS *Endeavor*. He was followed by Arthur Phillip, who became the first governor. Australia was an official English penal colony from 1778 to 1823; the last prisoners were sent there in 1868. In total, 162,000 male and female prisoners were transported, primarily from England, Ireland, and Scotland. The large number of prisoners sent to Australia provided cheap labor to create a colony and naval base, and reduced the population of an England experiencing poverty and prison overcrowding.

The first 780 prisoners arrived in Sydney Cove, known as Botany Bay, near Sydney, New South Wales, in 1780. By 1830, almost 60,000 convicts had been settled in Australia. Over 50,000 Irish convicts were sent to Australia between 1791 and 1870. Irish seeking a better life from the potato famine also immigrated to Australia. The Irish accounted for 25 percent of the population in Australia by 1870. A "white Australian" culture that was a blend of Anglo-Celtic cultures

emerged. The Anglo-Irish brought Christianity with them, and the majority of Australians still identify as Christian.

Australians who came to the United States during the gold rush in the 1840s settled in California, largely in the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas. The promise of striking it rich and untapped economic opportunities lured 6,000 to 8,000 Australians to make the 8,000-mile, one-month voyage. Some of these voyagers included former convicts, seeking to leave Australia.

Anti-immigrant sentiment in the press labeled these Australians “Sydney Ducks” and blamed them for starting organized crime in the San Francisco Bay area. The California legislature tried to pass laws to make it illegal for former convicts to enter California. Many of these Australians returned to Australia.

In the 1870s, another wave of immigration began. The economy in Australia was good, and regular ship travel between Australia and the United States was possible. Between 1871 and 1880, 10,000 immigrants came to the United States. Until World War II, Australian immigration was insignificant.

War Brides

The next noticeable influx of Australian immigrants came after World War II. The United States had one million troops stationed in Australia during World War II, following the fall of Singapore and the Battle of the Coral Sea in 1942. Approximately 10,000 to 15,000 Australian and New Zealand war brides came to the United States between 1945 and 1947. Since the war, about 2,000 to 3,000 Australians have immigrated each year.

Culture, Food, Sports, and Music

As Australians have assimilated so well into U.S. culture, evidence of Australian culture among persons who claim Australian descent is reminiscent of the Anglo-Celtic heritage of Americans of the same descent. The perceived personality of Australians is being laid-back, casual, sarcastic, brash, and individualistic. A media figure who embodies these characteristics is the *Crocodile Dundee* character portrayed by actor Paul Hogan, who was likened to the Davy Crockett folk hero of U.S. pioneer days. Dundee popularized a

distinctive icon for Australian dress—the khaki bush hat with a wide brim.

Cuisine brought to the United States and retained by Australian Americans includes barbecues of steak and lamb, Anzac biscuits (cookies), pavlova—a meringue dessert named after a Russian opera singer—meat pie, baked beans on toast, and Vegemite. Vegemite is an Australian cultural phenomenon akin to peanut butter in the United States. From childhood on, Australians at home and abroad consume this spread, a red-brown paste made from leftover brewer’s yeast, spices, and vegetables and most likely an acquired taste.

Australian beer and wines have become very popular in the United States. Australia is the world’s sixth-largest producer of wine, and over a quarter of that goes to the United States. Australian lagers are imported in great quantities in the United States.

Outdoor sports favored by Australian Americans include swimming, sailing, tennis, rugby, and cricket. Australian Americans gather to watch the Melbourne Cup horse race, the Rugby League grand final, and the Australian-rules Football League grand final. Golfer Greg Norman and tennis greats Rod Laver and John Newcombe have commanded significant followings in the United States.

The music of Australian Americans reflects their Irish and British antecedents. School-age children in the United States associate kangaroos, wallabies, kookaburras, and boomerangs with Australian culture as they learn “Waltzing Matilda,” “Kookabura Sits in the Old Gum Tree,” and “Tie Me Kangaroo Down, Sport.” Many Australian musicians have enjoyed great success in the United States, including Dame Joan Sutherland, Helen Reddy, Olivia Newton-John, country music singer Keith Urban, and the rock groups AC/DC and Men at Work. One of the most prominent Australian Americans is media czar Rupert Murdoch, who was born in Melbourne and became a U.S. citizen in 1985.

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See Also: Anglos; California Gold Rush; War Brides; World War II.

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Austrian Americans

It is impossible to correctly estimate the number of Americans of Austrian descent, though the 2000 U.S. census reported 735,128 Americans or 0.3 percent of the 2000 population. The difficulty in determining an exact number is introduced by Europe's fluctuating borders, and the rise and fall of its states throughout American history. A Habsburg-dominated Austria grew out of the Holy Roman Empire and became a major European power around the 17th century, while North America was being settled; it was proclaimed an empire in 1804 and reorganized as Austria-Hungary in 1867. That empire collapsed with the end of World War I in 1918 and was succeeded by six states, including the modern republic of Austria, which was annexed by Germany in 1938 and didn't regain sovereignty until 1955.

The earliest Austrian settlers in North America seem to have arrived in the early 18th century. Hundreds of Protestant Austrians from Catholic Salzburg settled in the colony of Georgia in 1734, establishing the town of Ebenezer near Savannah. The first governor of Georgia after independence, Johann Adam Treutlen, was an Austrian American. In the mid-19th century, 48ers immigrated to the United States following the uprisings in Austria in 1848, prompted by liberal intellectuals. A number of them became involved in the abolition movement, as they settled in northern cities like New York. Skiing was popularized in the United States in part because of Austrian Americans, who introduced alpine skiing, which became a

competitive sport in 1861. Common occupations of 19th-century Austrian Americans included laborers, the service industry, and the growing steel industry.

The timing of an immigrant's arrival to the United States (or the pre-Revolution colonies) affects the likelihood of that new American identifying and being identified as Austrian. German speakers from anywhere in Europe were often counted as Germans by U.S. immigration officials in the 19th and early 20th centuries, regardless of their ethnicity. Immigration statistics from Austria-Hungary were not subdivided according to the empire's major ethnic groups, of which there were about 15. Nor were immigrants classified consistently; the same family might be classified as Austrian or Serbian depending on the immigration official. Many Austrians continued to be categorized as German until well after World War I.

In the chaos following World War I, over 18,000 Austrians immigrated to the United States from 1919 to 1924, at which point new immigration laws restricted Austrian immigration to 785 per year (bumped up to 1,413 per year in 1929). Until 1937, 16,000 more immigrated from that point; Austrian immigration to Canada also increased steeply because of American restrictions. In 1937, when the federal government relaxed immigration restrictions for refugees at the behest of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, numerous Austrian Jews came to the United States—over 30,000 before 1941. Some of this immigration was reversed in the 1960s as postwar Austria stabilized. Today, annual immigration from Austria is in the low hundreds.

The greatest concentration of Austrians settled in New York City, which today has a community of 93,083 Austrian Americans as of the 2000 census. Large groups also settled in Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley (58,002 in Pennsylvania as a whole) and New Jersey (45,154). California (84,959) and Florida (54,214) have high concentrations of Austrian Americans, principally from later interstate migration from the northern cities. By percentage, the American communities with the most Austrians are in Wisconsin (Waterville: 12.1 percent, Durand: 9.2 percent, Rock Creek: 5.2 percent, Drammen: 4.4 percent, Mondovi: 4 percent), Pennsylvania (Coplay: 10.6 percent, Northampton: 5.2 percent, Upper Nazareth

Township: 4.2 percent, Shuykill Township: 4.2 percent), and the Mid-Atlantic.

Austrian Americans include a number of prominent entertainers, including Natalie Portman, Fred Astaire, Hedy Lamarr, animators Max and Dave Fleischer (responsible for the Superman and Popeye cartoons), and Arnold Schwarzenegger, who followed in Ronald Reagan's footsteps by turning his fame as a movie star into a career as the Republican governor of California. (The similarities even extended to both governors being succeeded by Jerry Brown.) So great was Schwarzenegger's popularity in the Republican Party early in his first term that there was serious talk of attempting a Constitutional amendment to permit all American citizens to run for president (rather than just natural-born citizens).

The Austrian directors Fritz Lang, Otto Preminger, and Billy Wilder migrated to the United States in the middle of the 20th century. Wilder would go on to have his greatest fame in the United States, directing such films as *The Apartment* and *Some Like It Hot*. The movie *The Sound of Music* is based on the true story of the von Trapp family, Austrians who immigrated to the United States.

Austrians were generally quick to assimilate in the United States, which is not to say that their ethnicity has been forgotten. In most areas they assimilated more completely than their German counterparts, and more easily than their Hungarian counterparts. Many Austrians, like Germans and others, changed their last names to English-sounding names during World War I, when Anglo-Americans scornfully called many central European Americans (without much concern for specifics) Dutchy, from the German *Deutsch*. But the Austrians influenced American culture while assimilating into it: they popularized the importance of the fir tree in American Christmas celebrations, and the practice of bad children receiving a lump of coal. The hymn *Silent Night* was written by Austrians Joseph Mohr and Franz Gruber in 1818 and was translated into English in 1859, becoming a staple of American churches. Today, the Austrian Cultural Institute (funded by the Austrian government) represents Austrian culture in the United States, and publishes the bimonthly *Austria Kultur*.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; German Americans; Hungarian Americans.

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Aztlán

Aztlán, or much less commonly, *Aztatlan*, is the legendary, mythical ancestral homeland of the Nahua peoples of Mesoamerica; it includes most of Mexico and a majority of the Central American countries. Usually identified as Aztecs, the Nahua are a loose grouping of ethnic and cultural subpopulations and city-states. The relationship is that the Nahua share a common Uto-Aztecan or Nahuatl linguistic origin. The word *Aztec* is, in fact, the Nahuatl word for people from Aztlán. The meaning of the name *Aztlán* is much less certain, but most Nahuatl linguists have often translated it as the "place of whiteness." Because Aztlán is the Spanish pronunciation and translation of the original Nahuatl, the literal meaning may have changed.

Because of the loss of some of its tangible history, descriptions of Aztlán are subject to various interpretations, accounts, and histories. In Nahua accounts, Aztlán's location is much less important than the story of a great migration from Aztlán to Tenochtitlán, the present-day Mexico Federal District (Mexico City). Mesoamerican historians approximate that this migration began in the year 1064, which is also the first year of the Aztec solar calendar. According to Aztec legend, the Mexica, the group most identified as Aztecs, were the last group to settle (or conquer) the area; they eventually settled near Lake Texcoco, an area already occupied by other high civilizations.

The movement southward into Tenochtitlán takes on a very important and symbolic history. The legend is that the Aztecs were to build a city at the location where they spotted an eagle

perched on a prickly pear cactus and devouring a serpent with its beak and talons. The image, now an important Mexican national symbol, is widely recognized as the coat of arms of Mexico and is included in the country's national flag.

Contemporary Use of the Term

After the Spanish conquest of Mesoamerica, the legend of Aztlán gained value and significance in mythological proportions as a paradise, existing somewhere in the far north. These stories stimulated Spanish expeditions and conquests into what is now the U.S. southwest. Since then, explorers, anthropologists, treasure seekers, and many others have attempted to locate Aztlán, speculating that the location could be anywhere in North America.

The concept of Aztlán has also become a symbol for varying indigenous Mexican, Mexican nationalist, and Chicana/o and Mexican American movements. In particular, the Chicano movement's many and various strains used the name Aztlán to refer to the former lands of northern Mexico, the present-day U.S. southwest, lost because of the Mexican-American War (1846–48). Consequently, Aztlán became a physical, primordial, and in some cases legal symbol for Chicana/o activists, as the homeland.

To exercise this right to the homeland, some Chicana/os have proposed the creation of a new country, while others have suggested that the area be returned to Mexico. Many have taken these options seriously, but what we have seen is a symbolic return of Aztlán to Chicana/os. In other words, the threat has not been a military *reconquista* (reconquest), but instead a demographic and cultural one.

Aztlán as a Metaphor

Chicano/a activists have often imagined the greater U.S. southwest as Aztlán—a legendary/historic homeland for Chicano/as. Thus, many use it as their primary icon. For these activists, Aztlán has great symbolic currency, becoming a cultural metaphor and a permeable connection between Mexico and the United States. In Chicana/o nation building, Aztlán symbolizes a shared cultural, indigenous heritage, and a common language. In other words, Aztlán provides a place and space

with a mixture of Spanish, English, and some use of various indigenous languages; it symbolizes a connection to and ownership of the land, and a political, social, and later historical displacement from that land. As the Chicano/a homeland, Aztlán then becomes a unifying concept and base for Chicano/a nationalist discourse and of cultural pride, identity, and presence in the United States, as well as a basis of commitment toward acknowledging and claiming indigenous imaginations as part of the Chicano/a reality.

Aztlán may not be visible on a map, but it is a region unto itself and is full of complexities, ambiguities, and contradictions. Aztlán suggests both a melding and divergence of many cultures. Primarily, Aztlán is a geographical area first settled by a number of indigenous nations that have maintained a territorial tie to the land. Because of historical providence, Aztlán is also a unique enclave of Mexican and Chicana/o cultural identity and the emblematic homeland of Chicano/as.

No one knows where Aztlán is located. Regardless of the legitimacy of Aztlán, it is a rallying point for a people who feel that they have been left without a homeland. It is also an attempt to find an identity, culture, and homeland that many Chicana/os feel has been denied, as not only a symbol of hope, but also as physical proof that Chicana/os belong somewhere.

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See Also: Chicano Movement; Chicanos; Mexican Americans; Mexican-American War; Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán.

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B

Back to Africa Movement

The Back to Africa movement, also known as emigration or repatriation, refers to the desire of people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere to return to their native land. Since the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade, which resulted in the forced migration of an estimated 12 million Africans from the 16th to the 19th centuries, people of African descent have long desired to return to Africa. From the very inception of the slave trade, African men and women actively revolted against their captors, demanding their return to their native land—literally and metaphorically. In the United States, in particular, people of African descent have led a variety of movements to return to Africa, although such efforts were often supported by whites.

The 19th Century

One of the earliest organized efforts to advance emigration to Africa was led by Paul Cuffe, a wealthy African American businessman. Born in 1759 near Bedford, Massachusetts, Cuffe became an avid sailor, traveling extensively to and from West Africa during the early 1800s. In 1811, he visited Sierra Leone, where he began to forge ties with the nation's leaders and arrange plans

for relocation. Convinced that African Americans could not live without discrimination in the United States, Cuffe worked tirelessly to recruit black men and women willing to emigrate. In 1815, he successfully led a group of 38 Africans from the United States to Sierra Leone, using his own funds to cover expenses. While his plans for additional trips fell through as a result of his untimely death in 1817, his actions sparked a growing interest in emigration. In the years following Cuffe's voyage, the Back to Africa movement gained significant momentum throughout the United States.

One of the most significant efforts to send African Americans back to Africa was led by members of the American Colonization Society (ACS). A religious organization, the ACS was initially founded in 1816 by Reverend Robert Finley and a coalition of white slave owners and Quakers who opposed slavery in the United States. Finley, a Presbyterian minister from New Jersey, believed that slavery was a national sin and openly called for its abolition. While Finley and the other members of the ACS supported abolitionism, they maintained certain racial prejudices and founded the organization on the premise that blacks and whites could not peacefully coexist.

Believing that emigration was the next viable step after abolitionism, members of the ACS played a central role in relocating African



The history of Liberia is unique and began when private societies started founding colonies for free blacks from the United States. Liberia had an elected black government and offered free land to African American settlers, making Liberia the most common destination for emigrating African Americans in the 19th century. American influence is often seen in the culture and architecture of Liberia. This former Masonic lodge is located in Monrovia, Liberia.

Americans to West Africa. Between the period of 1817 and 1866, the ACS sent an estimated 13,000 African Americans to Liberia and established the nation as a colony for free blacks in 1847. During the Civil War and the early years of Reconstruction, emigration from the United States to Liberia gradually declined as African American leaders such as Frederick Douglass openly criticized the ACS and African Americans' efforts to relocate.

While the Back to Africa movement declined during the mid-1860s, black leaders such as Bishop Henry McNeal Turner helped revive it. Born in Newberry, South Carolina, in 1834, Turner became an itinerant preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in the late 1850s. During the Civil War, he became

pastor of Israel Bethel AME Church in Washington, D.C., and was appointed one of the first African American U.S. Army chaplains by President Abraham Lincoln. In the years following the war, Turner became actively involved in the Republican Party, serving as a delegate to Georgia's constitutional convention in 1868. After his political prospects abruptly ended when all black members of the state legislature were removed, Turner began advocating emigration.

Disheartened by his experiences and convinced that extinction was the only alternative to emigration, Turner appealed to African Americans to leave the country, using various outlets, including his newspapers, the *Voice of Mission* (established in 1892) and the *Voice of the People* (established

in 1901). While Turner advocated emigration to Africa as the best means to improve the social and economic conditions of African Americans, he also believed that it would bring Christianity and civilization to the continent. His efforts resulted in the emigration of an estimated 500 African Americans to Liberia during the late 1890s.

Although the ACS was no longer the central organization for emigration during this period, many African Americans in the south continued to seek aid from the organization, especially after the formal establishment of Jim Crow segregation laws. In the state of Arkansas, where more than one-third of Liberian emigrants originated, an estimated 100 black residents relocated to Liberia with the aid of the ACS during the late 1890s. This marked one of the last ACS-funded groups to relocate to the country after the U.S. Civil War. By 1900, the organization focused exclusively on education and missionary activities until its closing in 1964.

The Twentieth Century

During the early 20th century, the Back to Africa movement would thrive as a result of the teachings of Marcus Mosiah Garvey. More than any other proponent of emigration, Garvey's message resonated with black men and women, especially members of the working class. Born in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, in 1887, Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Jamaica in 1914 with the assistance of Amy Ashwood, who would later become his first wife. In the years following its relocation to Harlem in 1916, the UNIA became the largest and most influential black-led organization in the African diaspora, attracting an estimated 2 million members during its heyday. While Garvey advocated social, political, and economic empowerment through a variety of business ventures, he was also an avid supporter of emigration and promoted the establishment of an autonomous black nation state in West Africa.

Using the pages of the *Negro World*, the UNIA's official newspaper, Garvey encouraged supporters to invest financially in the creation of the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation (BSL). The largest UNIA business venture, the BSL was established, among other things, as the primary means of relocating people of African descent to West

Africa. In only a matter of months, Garvey raised sufficient funds to purchase the first BSL ship, the *Yarmouth*, for \$165,000 by selling shares of stocks for \$5 each. In November 1919, the *Yarmouth* embarked on a voyage to the Caribbean, drawing crowds of enthusiastic supporters. Within a few short years, Garvey purchased two additional BSL ships, the *Shadyside* and the *Kanawha*, with plans to transport people of African descent to Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Garvey's plans would be cut short on July 12, 1922, when he was arrested for mail fraud, allegedly using the U.S. mail to promote and sell BSL stock for ships that had not yet been purchased. In 1923, he was found guilty of the charge, and two years later began serving a five-year term at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. After numerous appeals, Garvey was ultimately pardoned by President Calvin Coolidge in November 1927, but ordered to leave the country. On December 2, 1927, in the presence of more than 500 supporters in New Orleans, Garvey was deported to his native Jamaica. He died in London on June 10, 1940.

The Contemporary Scene

Although Marcus Garvey was unsuccessful in his efforts to lead a mass movement of African-descended people to West Africa, he left an indelible mark on black men and women throughout the African diaspora. In the decades after Garvey's deportation, the desire to return to Africa remained an integral part of the African American community. During the 1960s and 1970s, a number of black leaders, including Louis Farrakhan, Malcolm X, and Stokely Carmichael, advocated the return to Africa (literally and figuratively) in solidarity with African liberation struggles. While the interest in returning to Africa has significantly declined in the 21st century, many African Americans continue to migrate to West Africa intent on finding their way back home.

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See Also: Abolition; Afrocentrism; Black Muslims; Black Panther Party; Newspapers; Pan-Africanism; Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League.

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Bangladeshi Americans

The modern nation of Bangladesh was formed in 1971, when the region of East Pakistan won its independence from Pakistan, which itself had been created in 1947 by the British partition of India. One of the provisions of the division was to subdivide the province of Bengal, previously part of British India, between India (West Bengal, predominantly Hindu) and Pakistan (East Bengal,

predominantly Muslim). An independent Bengal state was immediately proposed as an alternative, for reasons of both cultural continuity and economic pragmatism (most of the province's industry was in the west). The proposal failed. Though most East Bengalis shared a religion with the rest of Pakistan, cultural and language differences led to their oppression, and political dissent organized almost immediately, culminating in the war for independence. In the aftermath of the war, refugees fled—many of them crossed the border to West Bengal in India, while others left for the West, including the United States. (The Los Angeles Bangladesh Association, which printed a newspaper and helped serve the interests of the city's Bangladeshi community, was founded in 1971, the same year as Bangladeshi independence.)

Bengali Immigrants to the United States

Most Bangladeshi immigration to the United States is even more recent than that, increasing in the 1990s; in New York, for instance, the Bangladeshi population rose from about 5,000 in 1990 (half of the Bangladeshi American population) to 28,269 in 2000. The U.S. Census Bureau announced in 2007 that there were 143,619 Bangladeshi Americans, which represents 0.065 percent of the American population. While early immigrants were motivated by escaping the political turmoil of newly independent Bangladesh, more recent immigrants have been motivated principally by the country's employment opportunities. Most are under 40, and about half of immigrating adults are married.

Nearly all Bangladeshi Americans are Bengali (though not all Bengali Americans are Bangladeshi Americans) and include Muslim, Hindu, Christian, and Buddhist Bangladeshis. The Bengali language is one of the world's major languages, with over 200 million native speakers and its own script.

The first Bengali immigrants to the United States arrived in the early 1900s and worked as lumberjacks in the Pacific Northwest and railway workers in California. There numbers were small because of the discriminatory immigration quotas in place at the time. A small number of Bengali and Indian immigrants were able to challenge those quotas on the grounds that modern

anthropology considered them Caucasian, but this loophole was eliminated in 1924, and Bengalis living in the United States had restricted citizenship rights until 1946.

Around the 1940s, Bengali immigrants began to settle in New York City and San Francisco; these were often merchant sailors who had abandoned their ships. The largest Bangladeshi population is found in the New York City area, though at the dawn of the 21st century a sizable percentage of the New York Bangladeshi population relocated to the thriving Muslim American community in the Detroit metropolitan area. A similarly large population is in Paterson, New Jersey, and the Dallas, Texas, Bangladeshi population is larger, proportionally, than New York's. The Dallas community founded the Texas Bangladesh Association in 1997, with 500 members. In recent years, the Bangladeshi community has been dispersing from its traditional metropolitan centers; from 1990 to 2000, for instance, the Bangladeshi population in Georgia grew from 135 to 1,283, mostly as a result of migration from other states.

These numbers reflect documented Bangladeshi Americans, and there is a great deal of speculation about the number of undocumented Bangladeshis. Numbers as high as 50,000 for the New York City area, and about three times that for the country as a whole, have been suggested. Compared to other ethnic groups, Bangladeshi Americans are more likely to be first-generation immigrants and less likely to speak fluent English. However, they are also likely to intermarry with other ethnic groups; many second- and third-generation Bangladeshis are multiracial, their fathers or grandfathers having married African American or Hispanic women when prohibited by 20th-century miscegenation laws from marrying white women.

Notable Bangladeshi Americans

Second-generation Bangladeshi American Hansen Clarke was elected one of Michigan's representatives to Congress in 2010. The first Bangladeshi American congressman, he is a Democrat (as are most Bangladeshi American registered voters) and had previously served in the state House of Representatives and the Michigan Senate. His father, Mozaffar Ali Hashim, had emigrated from Bengal before the partition of India and married an

African American woman, Thelma Clarke, who raised Hansen after his father died while he was a child. Clarke now represents one of the country's poorest congressional districts and introduced a bill to forgive a portion of student loan debt.

Other significant Bangladeshi Americans include YouTube cofounder Jawed Karim, Fordham University space historian Asif Azam Siddiqi, *American Idol* semifinalist Arianna Afsar, the U.S. Navy's first imam, Abuhena Saifulislam, World Series of Poker winner Saif Ahmed, *Atlantic* associate editor Reihan Salam, and activist Rais Bhuiyan. Born in Bangladesh, Bhuiyan came to the United States to study, and was shot by Mark Anthony Stroman in September 2001, during Stroman's 9/11-motivated shooting spree of those he believed were Arabs. Bhuiyan was shot in the face with a shotgun, and after going deeply into debt to pay for the surgeries required to reconstruct his face, he began a charity to save Stroman—who had killed several others—from the death penalty. (Appeals failed, and Stroman was executed in 2011, hours after Bhuiyan spoke to him by telephone to forgive him.)

Today, the North American Bengali Conference is held every year to celebrate the culture of the Bengali diaspora in the United States, including Bangladeshi Americans.

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See Also: Hindu Americans; Indian (Asian) Americans; Muslim Americans; Pakistani Americans.

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Barrio

In the United States, the word *barrio* is used to denote a Latino or Hispanic neighborhood within a city, typically a lower socioeconomic class or working-class neighborhood. Derived from the Arabic *barri* (meaning “outside” or “wild”), the word *barrio* is used throughout much of the Spanish-speaking world to refer to neighborhoods, districts, or municipal divisions within a city, regardless of socioeconomic status. Found in urban centers throughout the country, barrios have been at the heart of the development of Latino communities and Latino culture in the United States for over a century. They have also faced issues of poverty, discrimination, infrastructure and schooling deficiencies, crime, and gang activity typical of many American inner-city areas.

While most barrios today include a mix of Latinos from various national origins, traditionally they have been dominated by one immigrant group, which varies according to region or city. For example, Mexican American barrios are strongly concentrated in Texas and the southwest; Puerto Ricans are the majority in New York City and Philadelphia barrios; and Cubans are concentrated in Miami. Barrios in many parts of the country (particularly in the southwest) have a particular look and cultural landscape that makes them different from other urban neighborhoods, including brightly colored houses, fences enclosing house properties, colorful murals in residential and commercial areas, and ethnic shopping centers. Housing stock is also older in barrios than in other parts of the city, with houses having been passed down from generation to generation.

In terms of demographics, a barrio has been defined as an ethnic neighborhood where at least 40 percent of the population are of Latino origin and at least 40 percent of the residents live in poverty. Because of this link between barrios and poverty, historians have typically attempted to fit barrios into a “ghetto model,” which has created a generalized image of the barrio with pejorative meaning. In other words, a barrio is portrayed as a place where people are forced to live and where residents are unskilled, poor, ill educated, and ignorant about the means of getting ahead in American society. However, scholars such as Ricardo Romo have revisited this distorted ghetto

image, arguing that the majority of Latinos, for reasons of language, kinship, and folk customs, chose to live together in barrios. These communities have provided, particularly for new immigrants, a sense of identity into the homeland and a transition into American society, acting as “agents of localized acculturation.” That being said, restrictive real estate covenants and prejudices have historically prevented barrio residents from moving into Anglo neighborhoods.

Historical Development

While Hispanic barrios already existed in towns across Texas, California, and other predominantly Hispanic areas in the 19th century, it was the early 1900s that saw the consolidation of these ethnic communities, as cities all over the region experienced major industrialization and unprecedented population growth. Barrios grew as a result of increased Mexican immigration driven by the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) and the demand for workforce that arose during this period—marked by World War I and the United States’ rapid industrialization.

In the early 1900s, the two main Mexican American urban centers were El Paso and San Antonio in Texas. Other cities developed distinct barrios, including Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Las Vegas in New Mexico; Durango, Pueblo, and Denver in Colorado; and Tucson and Phoenix in Arizona. Along the south Rio Grande Valley, Laredo, Mercedes, Brownsville, and Corpus Christi were the main urban barrios. In general, barrio formation during this period was tied to segregation patterns, and housing and infrastructure within barrios were poor. In an era of dense urban configuration, barrios were on the immediate periphery of downtowns and manufacturing zones.

San Antonio was home to the largest urban barrio in the southwest during this period. The city’s West Side barrio was established directly adjacent to the city’s civic center, separated by San Pedro Creek. The barrio’s labor force was a major factor in maintaining San Antonio’s dominance over the regional economy in banking, manufacturing, commerce, and culture. The barrio economy itself was an important center of commerce, opportunity, and business formation for minority entrepreneurs—helping San Antonio to boast the most significant Chicano business ownership patterns

in the southwest during the first half of the 20th century. In the past few decades, the city's Mexican American section has also been responsible for a growing Tejano music industry as well as a thriving Spanish-language media sector. Despite all this, the West Side barrio has been the most impoverished zone of the city during the past century, becoming the site of San Antonio's first public housing development.

It was California and not Texas, however, where the most significant urban barrio in the United States would emerge. The East Los Angeles barrio was formed in the 1900–30 period, when the city grew from 100,000 people to a metropolis of over a million. Mexicans adapted to this industrialization process and contributed to the creation of an ethnic community in one of America's fastest-growing cities. By 1930, the East Los Angeles barrio had gained fame as the largest Mexican community in the United States, with more than 90,000 residents. This concentration of Mexicans on the east side took place as the city became decentralized thanks to improved urban transportation, with Anglos and European ethnics beginning to move to the suburbs. Mexicans then bought or rented homes in the old Italian, Jewish, and Russian neighborhoods. By 1950, either by choice or as a result of exclusion from Anglo communities, most second-generation Mexican Americans still lived on the east side. In the 1950s, the barrio was carved up by the construction of freeways and public structures, prompting relocation of residences and division of old communities. The barrio was a central site of student protests, anti-war demonstrations, and picketing of area supermarkets by the United Farm Workers union in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, according to the 2010 U.S. census, East Los Angeles has a population of 126,496—97 percent of which is Latino.

San Francisco and San Diego are home to two other important California barrios. In San Francisco, the Mission District has been recognized as the city's barrio since the mid-20th century. From the beginning of San Francisco's development, Mission Dolores, south of the city center, was an area of working-class housing linking labor to the harbor. Initially multiethnic in character, the composition of this area changed with the out-migration of European Americans into new suburbs. By the 1920s and 1930s, Spanish and Mexican

American cultural influences dominated the Mission District, and the concentration of Chicanos changed the economic and social milieu of the zone. Meanwhile, San Diego's present-day barrio had its origins during the 1910 to 1930 period due to the influx of Mexican laborers to southern California. In order to be closer to worksites in the waterfront district, many Mexican families moved into Logan Heights, previously a middle-class suburb. Thus, the Barrio Logan quickly replaced the city's Old Town as its main Mexican American neighborhood. Today, the San Diego inner-city barrio, located southeast of downtown, is comprised of three neighborhoods: Barrio Logan, Logan Heights, and Sherman Heights. The barrio's population is 68 percent Latino, with 40 percent of residents living below poverty level, according to census figures.

In the northeast, the largest barrio is New York City's Spanish Harlem. Unlike Latino communities of the southwest, Spanish Harlem is mostly Puerto Rican—in fact, it is the country's oldest and largest Puerto Rican barrio. Previously an area inhabited by German, Irish, Jewish, and Italian immigrants, East Harlem changed in the late 1920s as these ethnic groups began to move out. Thousands of Puerto Rican immigrants, driven by the lack of economic opportunities on the island, migrated to New York City and began to move into the area. By 1960, 600,000 Puerto Ricans lived in New York City. Bodegas, or neighborhood stores, have traditionally been a distinctive feature of East Harlem and other Puerto Rican barrios, becoming important business and social spaces for barrio residents. According to the 2010 census, there were 723,621 Puerto Ricans in New York City—making it the largest Puerto Rican city after San Juan. Philadelphia is also home to an important Puerto Rican barrio, numbering 121,643 residents, or 8 percent of the city's population, according to the 2010 census.

In the midwest, the city with the largest barrios has historically been Chicago. According to the 2010 census, Chicago has the third-largest population of Mexican Americans after Los Angeles and Houston (576,857 residents), and the third-largest concentration of Puerto Ricans after New York City and Philadelphia (102,703 residents). A lesser-known, but equally significant barrio is St. Paul's Lower West Side. This Minnesota

community became the most important Mexican barrio of the upper midwest starting in the early 1900s, as workers came to the city attracted by agricultural labor, particularly in the sugar beet fields. Meanwhile, in the south, Miami is home to Little Havana, one of most important Cuban barrios in the country. Little Havana is noted as the center of social, cultural, and political activity in Miami among Cuban immigrants, who began settling there after the 1959 Cuban revolution. In addition to Cubans, Little Havana has also attracted large numbers of Nicaraguans and other Central American immigrants.

Recent Developments

Barrios are by no means static communities, constantly morphing their characteristics and ethnic makeup along with the immigration and demographic changes experienced by the United States in the past few decades.

Starting in the 1980s, immigrants from El Salvador and other Central American nations besieged by civil war and poverty began pouring into the United States, many of them settling in neighborhoods that were traditionally Mexican or Cuban. According to the 2010 census, close to 4 million Central Americans call the United States home—close to a fourfold increase since 1990. More than half a million Central Americans reside in Los Angeles, especially in neighborhoods such as Pico Union, the Westlake district, and Watts. Central American immigrants have also poured into Texas, changing barrio demographics in cities such as Houston. Today, a significant percentage of the population of Magnolia (Houston's traditional Mexican barrio) is Central American.

Moreover, since the 1990s, many cities in the midwest and south that historically attracted few Hispanics have experienced an unprecedented Latino population growth. One example is North Carolina. Mexican Americans have become the ethnic majority in Charlotte neighborhoods such as Eastland. In the Raleigh area, newly formed barrios now house Mexicans, Central Americans, Dominicans, and other Hispanics. While many Latinos have been leaving Hispanic-concentrated neighborhoods in large numbers in the past two decades, new immigrants are moving into those spaces and creating new ones. While it may look different, the barrio is likely to continue to be an

important feature of an increasingly multicultural urban America.

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See Also: Chicanos; Cuban Americans; Ghetto; Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Mexican Americans; Mexican Revolution; Migrant Workers; Nicaraguan Americans; Puerto Ricans; Salvadoran Americans.

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Baseball and Ethnic Diversity

Baseball has been among the most popular sports in the United States during the last 170 years. Indeed, the sport has been identified as part of a an iconic tripartite of American identity (baseball, mom, and apple pie). In the 1800s, there was much speculation and debate as to whether baseball was adapted from a British game (rounders) or a uniquely American creation. A commission determined that the game was created by Abner Doubleday (a U.S. citizen) in 1839. This decision was later overturned for lack of corroborating evidence, and no single individual has ever been credited with the game's creation.

However, the initial organization of U.S. baseball has been attributed to Alexander Cartwright. He is credited with writing the first set of baseball rules and creating the team of Cartwright's Knickerbockers in 1846. Since then, the relationship between baseball and U.S. culture has remained

strong. To some extent, the history of baseball presents a mirror into ways in which the United States has been culturally inclusive or exclusive over time.

Early Baseball, Ethnicity, and Race

Professional baseball teams, in which players are paid employees, have existed since 1869. Although the majority of professional teams comprised exclusively white/Caucasian Americans, there were rare exceptions. In 1884, the Toledo Blue Stockings had two African American players, brothers Moses Fleetwood and Weldy (sometimes referred to as Weldy) Wilberforce Walker. The team was part of Major League Baseball, as it that existed at that time.

In 1871, Esteban Ballán debuted with a team known as the Troy Haymakers (the predecessor of today's San Francisco Giants). Ballán was born in Havana, Cuba, but emigrated to the United States and is credited with being the first Latino American professional baseball player. Four years later, he returned to Cuba and helped organize baseball teams and leagues, and was a player/manager for a team that won several national Cuban championships. This was one of the earliest records of U.S. baseball principles being exported to another country.

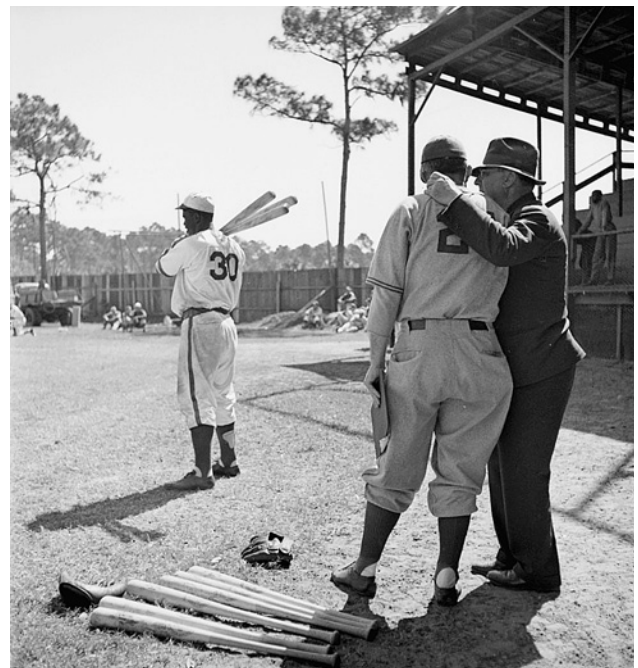
Louis Sockalexis played for the Cleveland Spiders in 1897 and has been identified as the first Native American (Penobscott Indian) to play in the major leagues. Adolfo Luque, who played for various teams over a 20-year period, is credited with being the first Hispanic/Latino player in a U.S. World Series (on the 1919 Cincinnati Red Sox team).

A Segregated Game

From the 1880s to the 1940s, most baseball teams were racially segregated. The restrictions were consistent with the era's Jim Crow mores, a series of laws, social practices, and rules of etiquette that emphasized the superiority and separateness of white/Caucasian Americans. By restricting access and life opportunities, the Jim Crow system worked to relegate other racial/ethnic minority groups to second-class citizenship. These restrictions were so specific that in Alabama it was illegal for black and white individuals to play board games (e.g., dominoes, checkers) together. Comparatively, the restrictions for racially segregated

baseball were more severe. Although Jim Crow is commonly associated with restrictions placed on African Americans in the south, similar separatism was enacted toward Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans in various regions across the country.

If players had a biracial heritage, they were denied access to the white teams. For example, Jimmy Claxton played two games for an Oakland team in 1916. After it was discovered that his parents were an interracial couple, Claxton was released from his contract. Vincent Nava had a somewhat similar experience. Nava's parents were an interracial couple. (There are conflicting reports as to whether Mr. Nava was born in Cuba, the United States, or Mexico). However, there appears to be consensus that he had some Hispanic/Latino heritage. He began playing baseball in California in 1882 under the name Irwin Sandy. During the time that he played for East Coast teams (e.g., Providence Clubs), he revealed that his name was Vincent Nava. Nava played his last professional game in 1886. There has been speculation that he was released from professional



Jack Roosevelt "Jackie" Robinson was the first black Major League Baseball player, breaking the "baseball color line" when he played for the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. He was instrumental in bringing an end to segregation in baseball.

teams because his name change exposed his biracial/Hispanic family background.

During this segregationist period, different baseball leagues emerged. Although the term *Major Leagues* was often used to describe the white/Caucasian American teams, these were not the only leagues. African Americans formed leagues in northern and southern states. Hispanic American players created their own leagues and game series in the southwestern United States/northwestern Mexico regions. Hawai'i (when it was a U.S. territory, prior to statehood) had a Japanese American baseball team as early as 1899. Native Americans also created their own baseball league. This emergence of separate leagues was consistent with the development of other social infrastructures (e.g., schools, hospitals) by racial/ethnic groups that were segregated from white sports teams. Thus, the baseball leagues fit with the self-empowerment movements to build upon strengths and enhance well-being within disenfranchised communities.

European Immigrants and Sports

In contrast to African Americans and Hispanic Americans, white European immigrants (e.g., German, Polish, Italian) had an easier time entering the Major Leagues. During the Civil War (1861–1865), thousands of immigrants were recruited to join the Union army. Their military service was considered an indication of their allegiance to their new country and its culture. Integration into the army units gave them opportunities to rapidly learn about U.S. culture, including sports. There are reports that soldiers (including immigrant and first-generation soldiers) played baseball as a recreational activity. After the war, some individuals were so skilled that they were able to join professional teams. For example, Oscar Bielaski, who learned baseball in the army, became the first Polish American to enter the major leagues in 1872.

From the 1880s to 1920, there was a significant increase in European immigrants to the United States. Although many of these immigrants were white/Caucasian and did not face racial prejudice, they faced cultural prejudice. Negative stereotypes and caricatures of Irish, Jewish, and Italian immigrants were common in the media of the time. Many immigrants and their first-generation descendants found themselves blocked

from certain areas of employment (e.g., “No Irish Need Apply”). Comparatively, baseball was more open and players' inclusion into the field was rapid. For example, nearly half of the Giants' team roster in the 1890s was composed of Irish and Irish Americans.

Within the U.S. mainland, games were sometimes played between teams of different leagues. In the 20th century, improved sea transport (and later plane transport) made it possible for white/Caucasian teams to travel to Caribbean islands, South America, and Pacific islands. At these locations, games were played between teams of various racial/ethnic groups. These games were for exhibition purposes—“real baseball” was still a segregated game. Still, it has been argued that these games had an important social impact. Players and coaches of the white/Caucasian American teams saw the talent of players on other (more racially/culturally diverse) teams. It has been reported that during the 1930s, some coaches and managers were advocating the recruitment of these players and a dismantling of the segregated team system. Thus, it is possible that these exhibition games were not meaningless events. Rather, such games might have helped break down prejudices and social barriers between players of various leagues.

It is common to associate the civil rights movement with the 1960s. However, there were significant movements toward equality during the 1930s and 1940s. A series of events contributed to recognition that Jim Crow segregation and later “separate but equal” principles were morally wrong. Some players took the position that their ethnic/religious identity had important social value. For example, Hank Greenberg (the first Jewish American baseball superstar) was mindful of his social responsibility to reflect a positive image of Jews and Judaism. This importance became magnified during the rise of Nazism in 1930s Europe. Greenberg noted that his baseball success countered Hitler's negative messages about Jewish people. Similarly, Joe DiMaggio was the son of Sicilian immigrants and seen as an important social symbol of Sicilian/Italian pride within the United States. He had a 56-game hitting streak in 1941 and was voted the Greatest Living Player in 1950. He was such a powerful presence that his team has been referred to as

“DiMaggio’s Yankees.” DiMaggio retired from baseball in 1955, but is still considered one of the best players of all time and a national treasure.

During World War II, the service of elite units such as the Tuskegee Airmen and Navajo Code Talkers, demonstrated the intelligence, dedication and exemplary skill of individuals from several racial/ethnic groups. President Harry Truman is credited with supporting equality initiatives in housing and employment, and ordering the racial/ethnic integration of the military. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) won several legal cases that dismantled some forms of separation and served as the foundation for the more famous cases of the 1950s. Thus, it has been argued that such events fostered a social context that facilitated the acceptance of racially integrated baseball teams. For example, Allie Reynolds (a Native American player) joined the Cleveland Indians in 1942. Within four years, five other Native Americans had joined the Major Leagues: Cal McLish, Brooklyn Dodgers; Charlie Cozart, Boston Braves; Jessie Pike, New York Giants; Pat Cooper, Philadelphia Athletics; and Jim Gladd, New York Giants.

Integrating the Majors

Jackie Robinson was the first African American player to play continuously in the Major Leagues. He joined the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947 and remained part of this team for 10 years. Jackie Robinson was (posthumously) awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest award that can be granted to a U.S. civilian who did not serve in the military. After Jackie Robinson’s arrival, many African American players were able to enter (and remain) in the leagues. For example, John Wright (Brooklyn Dodgers), Larry Doby (Cleveland Indians), and Willard Brown (St. Louis Cardinals) joined their teams in 1947, as well. Jackie Robinson and Dan Bankhead were the first African American players in the World Series (1947). The Boston Red Sox was the last team to hire an African American player, Elijah “Pumpsie” Green, in 1959. Some players, such as Leroy “Satchel” Paige, had had impressive careers during the segregated era before becoming part of the first wave of players to integrate the Major Leagues.

Similarly, a rapid integration of Hispanic/Latino players began during the same period. In 1948,

Saturnino Miñoso, from Cuba, joined the Cleveland Indians and played in the 1951 World Series for the Chicago White Sox. By 1950, there were more than 50 Hispanic/Latino players who had played in the Major Leagues. Roberto Clemente was recruited from Puerto Rico in 1955 to join the Pittsburgh Pirates and was part of this team when it won the 1960 World Series. This rapid inclusion of Hispanic/Latino players is partly attributed to an active recruitment system that was built between U.S. team managers/owners and scouts in the Caribbean and South American countries.

The inclusion of Asian and Asian American players has been relatively slower. In 1956, Bobby Balcena was the first Filipino American to enter the Major Leagues. He played briefly for the Cincinnati Reds, but the majority of his career was spent in the minor leagues. Nine years later, Masanori Murakami became the first Japanese player to join a professional U.S. team. He played for the San Francisco Giants for one year, but then returned to Japan, where he played baseball for an additional 18 years. It has been argued that there was less emphasis on Asian Americans to join U.S. Major League teams when opportunities to play baseball in other countries (e.g., Japan) were available.

For some people, there was a presumption that equality and integration were achieved by the 1970s. In 1971, the Pittsburgh Pirates had all major positions for the starting lineup filled by African Americans. In 1975, Ryan Kuroski played for the St. Louis Cardinals, and he is recognized as the first Japanese American player in the Major Leagues. However, there were still some barriers to social acceptance and incidents of racism and discrimination. In 1974, Henry “Hank” Aaron hit his 715th home run, exceeding Babe Ruth’s home run record set in 1935. As it became apparent that Aaron might break Ruth’s record, he received a great deal of attention from the general public. Some individuals and groups were highly offended that an African American player would exceed the success of a white/Caucasian American player. Aaron received many derogatory messages, including death threats. This incident highlights the vehemence with which some portions of society still held segregationist and discriminatory views. For some, Aaron’s experience marks a turning point in U.S. baseball. Since then, there

has been an expanded effort—including training within the professional baseball leagues—to build support for players from racially and culturally diverse groups. One sign of social progress was the comparatively better experience Sammy Sosa (a Hispanic/Latino player) received in 1998, when he surpassed Roger Maris's home run record.

During the past few decades, the range of racial and ethnic diversity has varied. The peak of Major League membership for African Americans was reached in the 1970s, when approximately 25 percent of players were African Americans. In 2012, this membership had dropped to less than 10 percent. By comparison, there was a higher percentage of African American Major League players in the 1950s than during the current decade. There does not appear to be a consensus on the reasons for this decline and on ways to reverse this trend.

An estimated fewer than 5 percent of current U.S. Major League players are of Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander heritage, yet the internalization of baseball has contributed to the development of strong and active major leagues in Asian countries, such as Japan and South Korea. And some U.S.-born athletes have moved to Asian countries to play baseball in these leagues. Baseball almanacs identify three current Native American Major League players. Comparatively, Hispanic/Latino athletes have a larger presence in the U.S. professional baseball, with an estimated 25 percent of current players of Hispanic/Latino or Mexican American descent.

Women and Professional Baseball

For most of U.S. history, baseball was considered a man's game. However, there was a brief period from 1943 to 1954 when women were a significant part of the professional baseball industry. In World War II, millions of men joined the military. Their military service was considered a patriotic act, but it also represented a depletion for the baseball leagues of both players and fans. To maintain cultural interest in the sport, the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League was formed. The league was composed of multiple teams, and all players were women. Although there was speculation that teams were initially formed as a novelty/comedic act, players clearly demonstrated athletic skill and baseball prowess.

For example, Dorothy Schroeder had an RBI (runs batted in) rate of .431, which met or exceeded the rate of many male players. Joanne Weaver was the league's batting champion for three consecutive years.

Yet, the league required that women's athleticism be balanced with traditional standards of femininity. The players were required to attend charm school to learn proper etiquette (e.g., manners, appearance, behavior). On the field, female players wore skirts rather than pants. Off the field, players were expected to behave in a demure and "ladylike" manner.

Notably, some of the racial segregation exhibited in men's baseball was also present in women's baseball. African American women were not permitted to join the American Girls Baseball League. So, some of these women joined the extant men's teams, creating mixed-sex teams. For example, when Hank Aaron left his team in Indianapolis to join the Boston Braves, a woman named Toni Stone was hired as his replacement. A year later, Stone was traded to the Kansas City Monarchs, and Constance Enola Morgan became her replacement. Mamie "Peanut" Johnson also played on a mixed-sex team for two years, from 1953 to 1955.

The women's league teams were mostly disbanded by the late 1950s. For the next four decades, more attention was given to softball as a sport for female players. In 1992, the American Women's Baseball Foundation was formed. This foundation works to promote opportunities for women to play competitive baseball. There are similar organizations in other countries (e.g., Women's Baseball Association of Japan), and various teams engage in international tournaments. It is possible that such associations will build a sustainable presence for women in professional baseball again.

Conclusion

Throughout its history, there has been a significant transformation in the degree of racial and cultural diversity within Major League baseball. Up to the first half of the 20th century, baseball reflected the challenges faced by underrepresented groups to gain equality and respect within U.S. society. The successes of some players allowed individuals of their respective racial and ethnic groups (e.g.,

Italian, African American) to share pride in their accomplishments. Although individuals might not have known the players personally, they felt connected to them via a common ethnic/religious identity. Simultaneously, the social acceptance of players by teammates, other players, and fans is credited with lessening prejudice and segregation. Consistent with parasocial contact principles, positive views of specific players were extended to positive views of their racial/ethnic/religious groups in the larger society.

Since the second half of the 20th century, there is greater integration among players of diverse ethnic groups. The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport has rated Major League Baseball as good-to-excellent in racial and gender diversity. As professional baseball is a sport that has typically been played in large venues and received media saturation, it has a significant and influential presence on the societal stage. Given its prominence in the general society, baseball has been a venue through which cultural issues of exclusiveness and inclusiveness have been revealed, challenged, and changed. Thus, it is possible that baseball will continue to be a means of recognizing cultural diversity among Americans and celebrating the collaboration that can be achieved among players from disparate backgrounds.

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See Also: Basketball and Ethnic Diversity; Boxing and Ethnic Diversity; Football and Ethnic Diversity; Negro Baseball Leagues; Soccer and Ethnic Diversity; Sports and Ethnic Diversity.

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Basketball and Ethnic Diversity

The game of basketball, which originated at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Training School in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1891, is arguably the most widely exported American sport form. Its national and international appeal has garnered global attention from athletes and spectators inhabiting six continents.

The global popularity of basketball is evident at the amateur and professional levels. It is estimated that well over 250 million people worldwide participate in organized competition, and countless others engage in pick-up games on a daily basis. Global network and media coverage has made it among the more marketable sports in the world. The etiology and evolution of basketball throughout the 20th century yields a unique sociocultural and historical perspective of American sport, as well as racial and ethnic relations.

Historical circumstance has played a major role in the development of American sport forms. Basketball, invented during the height of the Industrial Revolution and the Gilded Age (1880–1920), was no exception. The industrial workplace was the catalyst of America's growth and expanding economy during this period. Organized professional team sports and recreational pastimes grew out of this environment partly because of the diverse workforce. Because of the massive immigration from Europe, industrialists and capitalists believed that sports participation could be used to train immigrant workers to become loyal, efficient, and patriotic citizens. Therefore, team sports were employed as an assimilatory agent

and value purveyor in hope that ethnic and cultural ties would be abandoned.

The systematic utilization of sport was basically for capitalist expansion and the status of the United States as a world power. "Americanized" sports such as football, baseball, and basketball were endorsed and sponsored. Jay Coakley's assessment of the Industrial Revolution and the development of organized American sports, particularly as an acculturation process, helps explain the playground movement in densely populated urban cities in the late 19th century. Advocates of the corporate-bureaucratic-meritocratic society promoted organized playground programs that used team sports because they could suppress the traditional values of white ethnic groups (i.e., Italians, Irish, Germans, Jews, and others) and replace them with those deemed American. The inculcated values were reinforced in public schools, adult-sponsored sport programs, and ultimately the industrial workplace. These groups were the first to play organized basketball.

The Origin of Basketball

Basketball is an American sport invented by James Naismith, the Canadian-born physical educator and coach at Springfield College (Massachusetts). Naismith was commissioned by Dr. Luther Gulick, director of the gymnasium department of the International YMCA Training School at Springfield College, to develop an indoor winter sport for students between football and baseball seasons. Given two weeks to create the activity, Naismith assessed the strengths and weaknesses of the existing sports and conceived a game where body contact would be minimized. The big soft soccer ball of the times was chosen because it was safest, while two peach baskets suspended 10 feet in the air at opposite ends of the gymnasium were erected to further reduce collisions. Because of the physicality of other sports where athletes ran, kicked, or hit the ball, Naismith's 13 original rules only permitted passing the ball to advance it. To score a goal, players had to toss a soft, lobbing shot into the suspended basket. Dubbed "basket ball" by its inventor, the first game was played with two nine-man teams on December 21, 1891.

The sport became an instant success at the YMCA Training School, so much so that

individuals wanted to rename it Naismith Ball, in deference to its inventor. However, Naismith objected and required that it be called "basket ball." By 1893, basketball had been introduced internationally by the YMCA movement and the many students who learned the game under James Naismith.

Growth of Basketball

Basketball was introduced far and wide by college YMCA players and Naismith himself, who traveled with a touring team along the East Coast. His barnstorming eventually sowed the seeds of a vibrant new sport in several major metropolitan areas.

Naismith took the game west when he relocated to the YMCA in Denver, Colorado, in a similar position (1894). He concurrently acquired a medical degree from the Gross Medical School at the University of Colorado and eventually took up permanent residence at the University of Kansas in 1898. Ironically, Dr. Naismith was not hired to develop and coach basketball, although once there he did for 39 years. He was hired to lead chapel prayer. His previous training at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, prepared him to undertake the position, and serendipitously enabled him to spread the game of basketball in the military. As chaplain in the Kansas National Guard, he taught the sport to his soldiers.

By mid-1890 basketball was played extensively at YMCAs, settlement houses, church facilities, and schools. The game was also picked up and revised by Senda Berenson at nearby Smith College, and taught to her female students. In 1898 the first professional basketball league was established in Philadelphia. Eventually, traveling ethnic basketball teams like the Buffalo Germans toured the country. The inclusion of basketball as a demonstration sport in the 1904 Summer Olympic Games at St. Louis also promoted the game to the world, even though it was not sanctioned as a medal sport until 1936.

The City Game and Ethnicity

Basketball grew extensively in the eastern metropolises: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. Because of spatial constraints in these densely populated urban cities, basketball became a viable sport of choice. The nominal

start-up costs and access to municipally funded recreation centers, playgrounds, and parks also aided its community acceptance. Inner-city settlement houses, schoolyards, and YMCAs became the major purveyors of the sport's talent pool, who were drawn mainly from the poorer ethnic groups. By the start of World War I, basketball was second only to football in popularity in high schools and colleges nationally.

The sport of basketball was indigenous to the city and the style of those who played the game for the first two decades. Early athletes were German, Irish, and Jewish. Eventually, African Americans were introduced to the game through segregated YMCAs. The Celtics, established in 1912 from a New York settlement house known as the Hudson Guild, were located in a predominantly Irish neighborhood. They became the leading professional team of the 1920s. However, other notable semiprofessional, ethnically oriented teams of the 1920s included the South Philadelphia Hebrew Association (SPHA), the Harlem Renaissance (Rens), and the Harlem Globetrotters, the only franchise still in existence.

Weekend leagues in the 1930s (American Basketball League and National Basketball League) provided a modicum of income for barnstorming teams and itinerant players. Occasionally, integrated invitational tournaments were held throughout the country. In 1939 the Harlem Renaissance won an eight-team World Championship title against the all-white Oshkosh All-Stars. A year later the Harlem Globetrotters defeated the Rens to become world champions.

The Globetrotters, formed in Chicago and allegedly a spin-off team of the Savoy Big Five, became a dominant team in the mid-1920s and until the National Basketball Association integrated in 1950. Ironically, they had a monopoly on the black basketball talent pool because teams and leagues were segregated. Partially because of league integration and the impending loss of star black players, the Globetrotters eventually changed their style of play to strictly comedic entertainment. They eventually became the most iconic and celebrated international basketball ambassadors in sport history. For example, in 1950 and 1951, they were the first American professional basketball team to tour Europe, north Africa, and South America.

The College Game

Basketball found a niche at many colleges and universities, where scholastic programs and annual tournaments were held. This was particularly true in eastern and mid-Atlantic urban areas, as well as certain midwestern and West Coast cities. Intracity collegiate basketball rivalries with scheduled doubleheaders were common in large cities like New York, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. The burgeoning interest and potential revenues facilitated the establishment of several national championship tournaments in the 1930s: National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA), National Invitational Tournament (NIT), and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA).

Like other collegiate sports, basketball was devoid of black players in most of the major conferences, yet they were afforded opportunities at select northern white institutions. The exception was the Big Ten, which excluded black basketball players until after World War II. As a result, blacks were recruited to play at various midwestern and West Coast universities. Jackie Robinson, the two-time Pacific Coast Conference scoring champion and arguably the best all-around player of his time, excelled at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) before joining the military in 1941. Unbeknownst to most, Robinson played professional basketball with the Los Angeles Red Devils, an integrated team in 1946, after playing summer baseball on the Dodgers minor league club in Montreal, Canada. Later, fellow Bruin Don Barksdale would be named a college All-American in 1947 and the first black player on the United States Olympic basketball team in 1948. However, the vast majority of black basketball players were relegated to historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) located primarily in the south.

Since basketball was not played extensively in the southern states before and immediately after World War II, many players at HBCUs were from northern and midwestern inner cities. Because of sanctioned segregation in the south, HBCUs were forced to organize their own athletic conferences and tournament affiliations. The Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association (now Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association or CIAA) was the first black athletic conference, established in 1912. It was followed by several other HBCU conferences.

Before integration, these conferences produced most of the black basketball stars but were excluded from national tournament championships.

Changing the Game and Tournament Exposure

Interest in basketball grew dramatically among blacks during the post–World War II period partly because of professional basketball integration in 1950, as well as the federally mandated desegregation of the armed forces and the public schools. However, national basketball tournament champion organizers were still not amenable to the inclusion of HBCUs, even though John McLendon, the “Father of Black Basketball” and student of Dr. Naismith, lobbied extensively for the chance to compete. Eventually the NAIA relented in 1952 and created Division 29. The outcome was a black college tournament that sent the winning team to the NAIA National Tournament. HBCU basketball prowess was forthcoming.

The national exposure of HBCU basketball soared exponentially when John McLendon’s Tennessee A&I team won the NAIA National Tournament three consecutive years (1957–59). It was the first time an African American college team won a national title against a white opponent in any team sport. McLendon’s up-tempo offense introduced a new style of play that would be emulated by college and professional teams. Subsequently, other HBCU representatives would win the NAIA championship.

The larger and more celebrated NCAA Basketball Tournament experienced a major change as well when unheralded Texas Western University (now the University of Texas at El Paso, or UTEP) defeated the University of Kentucky, known as Rupp’s Runts, in the 1966 championship game. It was the first time that a major college team started five black players in a championship game and defeated an all-white team. As a matter of fact, all seven of Don Haskins’s Texas Western University players who played were black. Some referred to this sociocultural and historic sport event as the “Emancipation Proclamation of 1966.” The game’s outcome, along with sundry civil rights legislation passed during the decade, spiked the recruitment of black athletes in basketball and football nationally. However, college basketball programs became the primary beneficiary. Within

a 20-year period, collegiate sport programs experienced the most dramatic increase in integration than ever before. For example, the percentage of black players on college basketball teams increased from 10 percent (1962) to 34 percent (1975), and the average number of black players on college teams increased from 2.9 to 5.7 between 1966 and 1985.

The aggressive recruitment of black basketball talent at non-HBCUs has continued into the 21st century, as athletic programs have found the sport to be a major revenue generator. Richard Lapchick’s annual Racial and Gender Report Card for 2010 indicated that black males and females comprised 61 percent and 51 percent of college basketball teams, respectively. The percentage of black head coaches of collegiate basketball programs has also increased over the years, and stands at approximately 25 percent for males and 11 percent for females. The combination of black male and female head coaches of women’s programs is approximately 15 percent. Ethnic diversity in collegiate basketball has increased for other nonwhite racial groups similar to professional basketball.

Professional Ball and Integration

The commercial success and complexion of professional basketball has changed dramatically since the inclusion of its first three black rookies in 1950: Nate “Sweetwater” Clifton, Earl Lloyd, and Chuck Cooper. The latter broke the color barrier in the newly formed National Basketball Association (NBA) when he was drafted in the second round by the Boston Celtics, the same franchise that hired Bill Russell as player-coach in 1966. He became the first African American coach in the NBA. Unfortunately, league integration was a slow process because of the stereotypical views held by league officials, team management, players, and fans. At the time, NBA players were mainly from second-generation German, Jewish, and Irish families and had been raised in metropolitan New York. In the early 1960s approximately 84 percent of the players were white and from urban areas.

The ethnic makeup of the NBA began to change mid-decade when highly touted black collegians, several from HBCUs, joined veteran all-stars like Bill Russell, Elgin Baylor, Wilt Chamberlain, and Oscar Robertson to raise the level of play and lead

their respective teams to championships. Kareem Abdul Jabbar (aka Lew Alcindor), Elvin Hayes, Earl Monroe, Walt Frazier, Willis Reed, and others from the rival American Basketball Association helped solidify the game during the 1970s.

With the merger of the NBA and ABA in 1976, the league and talent pool expanded. The ABA added a more up-tempo, high-flying, spectator-driven game that was missing in the elder league. The most celebrated player was Julius “Dr. J” Erving and his patented slam dunks. Fans and players alike emulated his style of play and dress. He, along with the rivalries between Larry Bird (Boston Celtics) and Ervin “Magic” Johnson (Los Angeles Lakers), rejuvenated spectator interest and rekindled memories of the Chamberlin-Russell duels of decades earlier.

International Exposure and the Dream Team

Basketball is played throughout the world, and many have contributed to its global exposure. Touring college, professional, and armed forces teams have played a major role in disseminating the game. Also, the International Basketball Federation–sanctioned leagues and tournaments have drawn players from all over the world. This international exchange of basketball skills and techniques has enabled foreign players to equip themselves so well that they have begun to rival American players.

Because of the recent success of international teams and players, the United States permitted its NBA players to compete in the 1992 Olympic Games. The celebrity status and notoriety of these all-star players commanded a media following unlike any other team. Dubbed the “Dream Team” by the media, many of the players were known throughout the world by merely their first name or moniker (e.g., Magic, Air Jordan, Clyde the Glide, and Larry). Needless to say, the team’s arrival and decimation of their Olympic opponents in Barcelona reestablished America’s dominance in basketball, but more importantly, it fueled the dreams and aspirations of athletes worldwide.

As a result, both the NBA and its female counterpart, the Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA), have grown internationally in stature and ethnic diversity. Recent NBA data (2011) indicate that 17 percent of its players are foreign born. Racially, 82 percent of the league is comprised of

players of color, with 78 percent black. Similar statistics for the WNBA have been documented: blacks (69 percent), whites (21 percent), Latinas (3 percent), and foreign players (6 percent). Thus, the face of professional basketball has undergone an astounding metamorphosis since its first black player entered the NBA in 1950, while the African American population remains at 13 percent.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Baseball and Ethnic Diversity; Boxing and Ethnic Diversity; Football and Ethnic Diversity; Soccer and Ethnic Diversity; Sports and Ethnic Diversity.

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Basque Americans

According to the 2008–10 American Community Survey (ACS) estimate, there are approximately 55,822 Basque Americans of full or partial Basque descent living in the United States. The Basque people are indigenous to the Pyrenees mountain

region in Europe where some originated in southwestern France and others in northeastern Spain. The earliest Basques in America may have arrived with Christopher Columbus. The largest contemporary populations of Basques in the United States reside in California, Idaho, Nevada, Washington, and Oregon, and they have been present there since the mid-1800s. Many migrated to the United States at that time seeking economic stability because of poverty in the Basque region.

Though the first Basque men in the western United States became sheepherders and ranchers, they were not predominantly herders in the old country. They came mainly from varied rural occupations. Pictured in the homes of many Basque Americans today are paintings or photographs of their traditional family homesteads. Bright white stucco with red tile roofs, the farmsteads (*baserri*) dot the rolling hills in the old country. Though a small percentage of Basques in the United States are still running sheep operations, increasing numbers have attended universities and have entered varied other professions.

Roman Catholic is the dominant faith of Basque Americans, and the people strongly support education. Though the Basques participate fully in American culture, they treasure their ancient and unique heritage. They keep many ethnic markers alive, and most important to many Basques is their unique language. It is of non-Indo-European origin, and it remains somewhat of a mystery to scholars. To speak it is a point of pride for the Basques, though the use of the language has faded with passing generations. Both the University of Nevada at Reno and Boise State University in Idaho sponsor Basque language classes using *Batua*, a unified consensus dialect created by scholars because of variants in the original spoken and written Basque. In some cities where the Basque American population is sizable there are Basque-language choirs and dancing clubs for adults and teenagers. A few cities in the United States have language immersion primary schools for children.

The North American Basque Organization (NABO), various Basque Cultural Centers, the Society for Basque Studies in the United States, and a Basque Museum on Grove Street in Boise, Idaho, are only a few of the formal efforts the Basque Americans have created to preserve their



The photo shows a Basque American hotel and restaurant in Winnemucca, Nevada, in 1981. About 55,822 people of full or partial Basque descent lived in the United States in 2010.

heritage for future generations. There are Basque restaurants in several of the western states that offer authentic Basque cooking served family style. The menus are varied, but thick and savory bean soup, codfish served with tomato sauce, lamb, fresh green salad with a light vinegar-oil dressing, freshly steamed vegetables, long loaves of bread, and a variety of desserts are almost always available. The Basques were cod fishermen for generations that stretch back into antiquity, and long ago they fished the northeastern shores of America. Cod is a staple in the diet of the Basque country, and the tradition has continued here.

Every five years an International Basque Cultural Festival called the *Jaialdi* (festival) is held in Boise, Idaho; the public is invited. Activities during the four-day celebration include a scholarly symposium, dance performances, choirs, music

performed throughout the days, booths, weightlifting and wood-chopping competitions, tables of *muz* (a card game), singing storytellers, and an outdoor dance on Saturday night. Sometimes heard at the festival are voices trying their skill at the *irrintzi*, once a war cry and a way for people in the Pyrenees to locate one another in times past. The cry is now a subject of competitions at festivals in the old country and here, and it sounds like a cruel laugh that then changes to a horse's neigh followed by a wolf's howl. The end sounds like the fading notes of a jackass's bray. A beautiful Basque Mass is held on Saturday evening at Boise's St. John's Cathedral. A Basque choir sings, and the Boise *Oinkari* (walker/infantry) dancers perform a colorful traditional dance at the altar.

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See Also: Americanization; French Americans; Language Usage in the United States; Spanish Americans.

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planned by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and funded by the U.S. government, trained about 1,500 Cuban exiles to overthrow the newly established Cuban government. The invasion was launched on the night of April 16, 1961, and was defeated within three days by the Cuban army, led by Fidel Castro. By April 19, 1961, most of the members of the invading force, organized in the paramilitary group Brigade 2506, had been captured. This unsuccessful invasion challenged U.S. hegemony in the region and strengthened Castro's hold on power. It took place amid an already strained relationship between the two countries, which would later culminate in the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962. The aftermath of the Bay of Pigs invasion greatly affected the development of the Cuban-American community in the United States.

Historical Context, Invasion, and Failure

The Bay of Pigs invasion was motivated by the Cuban Revolution, which resulted in Fidel Castro's ousting of U.S. ally Fulgencio Batista on January 1, 1959. Cuba's relationship with the United States began to deteriorate soon afterward. The Cuban government initiated a wave of nationalization of private land, including U.S.-owned properties and assets on the island, and the United States responded by placing an economic embargo on Cuba in October 1960. In the meantime, President Dwight D. Eisenhower tasked the CIA with preparing the overthrow of the Castro government.

After President John F. Kennedy took office on January 20, 1961, he approved the operation initiated by his predecessor. In an attempt to keep U.S. involvement secret, preparations were conducted abroad and the Cuban exiles who had been recruited by the CIA were trained in Guatemala and Nicaragua. The first attack was launched on April 15, 1961, when eight B-26 bombers left Nicaragua to bomb Cuban airfields. The U.S. planes used for the attack had been repainted as Cuban Air Force planes to simulate a defection from the Cuban military. During the night of April 16, a diversionary force approached the northeastern shore of Cuba, while the members of the brigade, escorted by CIA agents and U.S. ships, landed on the Bay of Pigs. Within two days, most of the members of the brigade had been captured and about 100 had been killed. Those

Bay of Pigs Invasion

The Bay of Pigs invasion was a failed military invasion of Cuba at the Bahía de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) in April 1961 carried out by a group of counterrevolutionary Cubans. The invasion,

captured were imprisoned, but they were released in December 1962 in exchange for \$53 million in food and medicine, raised by private donations in the United States.

Many explanations have been proposed to explain the great failure of the invasion. First, plans for the attack were poorly hidden from the Cuban government which, once aware of an imminent invasion, trained and armed soldiers. Second, because President Kennedy wanted to conceal plans for the invasion from the public, he was not able to provide adequate air, naval, or land support. Finally, and most importantly, the plan relied on the false assumption that the invasion would be popularly supported in Cuba. Contrary to U.S. expectations, however, there was no uprising, mass defection, or insurrection against Castro in Cuba.

Consequences of the Invasion

The failed invasion had a significant impact on American foreign policy internationally, but also domestically, as it changed the trajectory of

multicultural America. Over 50 years after the Cuban Revolution and the subsequent Bay of Pigs invasion, consequences of U.S. action in the region can still be perceived in the United States.

Most evidently, the events led to an exodus of Cubans to the United States, particularly in south Florida. The large influx of Cubans prompted the U.S. government to initiate a public relations campaign aimed at portraying Cuban refugees as valuable immigrants, both ideologically and socially, as these first waves of migration were largely composed of educated, upper-class, white Cubans who had lost their possessions during the revolution. These immigrants were presented by the media as being universally anticommunist and therefore compatible with American principles, thus illustrating the case of the Cubans as a vindication of American identity and values.

However, because of the revolution and U.S. policy toward Cuba during the Bay of Pigs, successive waves of immigration crafted distinctions within the Cuban-American population. The



A Cuban propaganda poster proclaims a quote from Castro: "Luchar contra lo imposible y vencer," which means "Fight against the impossible and win." Peter Bourne, a Castro biographer, wrote of Castro and the Bay of Pigs invasion, "Cuba's stature in the world soared to new heights, and Fidel's role as the adored and revered leader among ordinary Cuban people received a renewed boost. . . . In his own mind he had done what generations of Cubans had only fantasized about: he had taken on the United States and won."

continued embargo on Cuba and the subsequent deterioration of living conditions on the island led to several successive waves of a very different type of Cuban immigrant to Miami: economic migrants of darker skin who had, on average, a lower level of education. The distinction within the Cuban community, based on skin color and wealth, still persists.

Although the economic assimilation of Cubans into the United States—facilitated by the U.S. government—led them to successfully form a powerful exile community in Miami, they largely resisted cultural assimilation. These exiles hoped to return to Cuba and so maintained a strong sense of identity. The Cuban community acquired tremendous political power through campaign donations and lobbying by groups such as the Cuban American National Foundation in the key electoral state of Florida.

The trauma of the revolution and the failed Bay of Pigs invasion led to the creation of a strong Cuban exile community in South Florida and contributed to their identity and political cohesion. First formed for temporary exile, this community strengthened because of U.S. domestic policy, the role of the media during the Bay of Pigs, a shared anti-Castro sentiment, and a U.S. reluctance to endure criticisms of hegemony. A distinct Cuban American culture emerged, and the Cuban experience in America differentiates this group from other Hispanics and contributes to the multicultural character and heritage of the United States.

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See Also: Cuban American National Foundation; Cuban Americans; Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act (1966).

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Bear Flag Revolt

The Bear Flag Revolt of 1846 was one of many significant battles during the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and reflected attitudes and hostilities manifested both before and after 1846. It set a pattern for filibustering and independent armed uprisings in the southwestern United States for the next decade. California's eventual adoption of the Bear Flag as the state flag has also been controversial and interpretations over what it means have been important in an increasingly diverse state. The representations and interpretations of the Bear Flag Revolt and the involvement of Mexican Americans can vary widely, as they do with the Battle of the Alamo. Thus one brief isolated battle between the United States and Mexico has come to represent more than the sum of its events.

Raising the Flag

At the request of U.S. President James K. Polk, John C. Fremont led a group of Anglo American settlers in 1845 into Alta California, then a province of Mexico and presently near San Francisco. On the morning of June 10, 1846, a small band of white settlers, encouraged by Fremont but not officially sanctioned by the U.S. government, rebelled against Mexican rule and began what would become several days of skirmishes. The short-lived battle culminated in the June 14 arrest of Californio Mariano Vallejo, the Mexican *comandante* of Alta California, at his ranch in Sonoma. Mariano and his brother Salvador were taken to Sutter's Fort in Sacramento where they later reportedly recounted to historian Hubert Howe Bancroft how they had been humiliated and abused in a manner unbecoming their socioeconomic and political importance. On June 15, a day after the brothers' arrest, William B. Ide, who would lead the short-lived California Republic, read a proclamation of independence from Mexico. In celebration, settlers raised a flag in the plaza decorated with a crude rendition of a grizzly bear. Thus, the rebellion became known as the Bear Flag Revolt.

Perhaps unknown to Fremont and other Anglo American settlers until the July arrival of the U.S. Navy was that the United States had declared war on Mexico on May 13, 1846. Thus, the Bear Flag Revolt ran parallel to the Mexican-American War, and its victory was capitalized on by the U.S.

military. Whether the revolt was sanctioned by the government or led by the military in a more clandestine operation, similar to that of Texas in the 1830s, continues to be of historical debate. Given the United States' offer to purchase parts of Alta California in 1835, much as it had done previously with Texas, speculation continues on Fremont's role in the revolt.

Choosing Sides

Some wealthy Californios fought on the side of Anglo American settlers, because, much like their Tejano counterparts at the Battle of the Alamo, they supported their own personal status and property against a government in Mexico City and in a new emerging U.S. social order. Prior to the Bear Flag Revolt, some Californios even supported their own independence movement under the leadership of Mexican Brigadier General Jose Marie Castro, who was stationed in the Monterey Bay area. Many poor Mexicans and Indians fought against Anglo American settlers and their wealthy Californio counterparts, who understood that, with the Bear Flag Revolt, U.S. occupation and annexation were imminent.

Although upon occupation of California in July 1846 the U.S. government promised safe and fair treatment for all residents of the territory, for the majority of Mexican and Indian residents the result was anything but fair. Mexicans, poor and wealthy alike, were forced to give land, money, and supplies to both Bear Flaggers and the U.S. military; poorer Mexicans were often subject to theft, assault, and death. While the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 was meant to end hostilities between Anglos and Mexicans in this new U.S. territory, relations remained strained and violent, particularly in the mining districts after the discovery of gold and silver brought a massive influx of settlers.

The original Bear Flag was raised in Sonoma, and several historic replicas were displayed in San Francisco but were destroyed in the city's 1906 earthquake and fire. Still, the flag's image was promoted consistently throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries by patriotic organizations such as the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West. California Governor Hiram Johnson signed state Senate Bill 291 in 1911, making the Bear Flag the state's official flag. In 1953 and

1954 specifications were established for the design and manufacture of the California state flag, and beginning in 1961, state code mandated the regular compiling and dissemination about the laws and regulations regarding the state flag.

Strained Relations

In 1996, on the 150th anniversary of the Bear Flag Revolt, Mexican, Anglo, African, and Native Americans protested the celebration in Sonoma, led by then governor Pete Wilson, as causing a division and promotion of ongoing ill will between the state and various ethnic groups, particularly those targeted by Wilson's immigration policies.

The Bear Flag Revolt continues to shape U.S. and Mexican relations in California, and the state flag is a continual reminder of how California and its peoples entered into the union and the ongoing adjudication of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo's protections for its descendants.

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See Also: California Gold Rush; Californios; Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); Manifest Destiny; Mexican-American War.

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Belarusian Americans

The first massive immigration wave of Belarusians started at the end of the 19th century and lasted until World War I. Political emigrants and

Belarusian Jews were the dominant immigrants to the United States. This initial immigration was the result of several factors, including the difficult economic situation for Belarusians in their home countries; limitations on the Belarusian language (many Belarusian schools in Poland were closed at the beginning of the 20th century, and the newspapers published in the Belarusian language were proclaimed illegal); intolerance toward Orthodox Belarusian Jews; high taxes; and a lack of learning possibilities.

Emigration was not intensive during the period between World War I and World War II. However, a second emigration wave started after World War II, when, according to various calculations, around 50,000 Belarusians arrived in the United States. According to Vitaut Kipel, the newcomers constituted a significant number of Belarusian natives. These Belarusians emigrated because of political reasons, anti-Communism, and the desire to reestablish an independent republic of Belarus. Some of these emigrants were prisoners of the Polish–Soviet War (1919–20); others had left Belarus after World War I and settled in European countries before relocating in America; and still others were Belarusians who were sent to German labor camps during World War II. The emigrants also included refugees, deserters, and dissidents. In later years, the scope of emigration decreased significantly, and the emigrants were primarily Belarusians of Jewish origin.

The Belarusians settled throughout the United States, with the largest number living in the states of Illinois and New York. Such distribution was conditioned by the demand for unqualified workers and the decisions of the people responsible for diverting ships with emigrant passengers to American ports.

Nowadays, there are between 700,000 and 750,000 Americans of Belarusian origin in the United States, although it is difficult to ascertain the exact number. This is partly because the ethnic group of Belarusians is not distinguished in official emigration documents, as it was identified with larger emigrant groups such as Russians or Poles, because the Belarusians held the passports of these countries. In addition, there are conflicting interpretations about the territory from where the Belarusians came. It is essential to know whether this is the territory of the present-day

Belarus or an earlier part of the territories where the Belarusians lived in Poland and Lithuania.

Culture

Red, white, black, and green colors dominate in the Belarusian national costume, depending on the region of Belarus. According to Kipel, Belarusian Americans have preserved the main elements of the traditional costume.

A trace of Belarusian cuisine also remains in the life of Belarusian Americans. One of the culinary remnants is the traditional bagel. Americans also know Belarusian *pirogy*, *kielbasy*, and cabbages. The Belarusian cuisine is dominated by various grains, potatoes, beef, pork, and mushrooms. Many dishes, such as *dranikai* and *babka*, are made with potatoes. There are also dishes similar to the ones of neighboring countries (Lithuania, Latvia, and Poland), such as cabbage rolls, borscht, cold beetroot soup, or meat jelly. Belarusian Americans have preserved the traditional cuisine in their families.

During the period from 1991 to 2007, 227 Belarusian books were published in the United States. The most significant Belarusian publications are *Belarus Digest* and *Belarusian Review*; both magazines are published in English.

Prominent Belarusian Americans

The Belarusians have integrated into the American community, attending U.S. schools, colleges, and universities, and working in business or public service. This integration is exemplified by Rusel (Ruslan) Timoshenko, who in 1993 came to the United States with his parents, finished school, and decided to work for the New York City Police Department. In 2007, as he was patrolling the street and attempting to arrest a criminal, he was shot to death. Timoshenko was honored by the mayor of New York, Michael Bloomberg, and the Association of Russian-Speaking Police Officers. He was also honored with a gold medal for his courage.

The most widely known Belarusian Americans are television personality Larry King, whose mother was an emigrant from Belarus; former U.S. attorney general Michael Mukasey, whose father was born not far from Baranovich; fashion designer Ralph Lauren and economist Simon Kuznets, whose parents were emigrants of Jewish

origin from Pinsk; actor and producer Kirk Douglas, whose parents were emigrants of Jewish origin from Gomel; and his son, Michael Douglas, also an actor and producer.

Organizations

Belarusian Americans have established some national nongovernmental organizations that seek to unify the Belarusians who come to the United States and to preserve national identity and culture. In 1950, the Belarusians established a formal religious organization, the Belarusian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (BAOC). This organization provides teaching services according to the programs of the schools in which they are offered, while providing liturgical services in the Belarusian language.

Another significant organization is the Belarusian American Association (BAZA), which was established in 1949 and registered in New York State. The Belarusian American Community Center "Polacak" demonstrates the will of the Belarusians to integrate into their new homeland while preserving their own identity. The name of the center refers to the city of Polotsk in Belarus, one of the oldest Slavic centers.

In 1990, after the reestablishment of Belarusian independence, the demand for a dialogue between the native country and the Belarusian diaspora emerged. In May 1993, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus confirmed a state program called Belarusians in the World.

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See Also: Jewish Americans; Latvian Americans; Lithuanian Americans; Polish Americans; Russian Americans; Ukrainian Americans; World War I; World War II.

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Belgian Americans

Belgium is a small country in the Low Countries (with the Netherlands and Luxembourg), which border France and Germany. The modern state was created in 1830, when France assisted the region (predominantly Catholic, in contrast to the Protestant Dutch king) in gaining its independence from the Netherlands. Belgian is a nationality, not an ethnicity. The major ethnic groups of Belgium are the Flemish people, or Flemings, a Dutch-speaking people who make up about 60 percent of the country and are centered in Flanders, and the French-speaking Walloons, principally in Wallonia.

Belgium had been controlled by both France and the Netherlands in rapid succession; each side to some extent feared being replaced by a future bilingual people, so the new state adopted both French and Dutch, preserving the use of both. The term *Walloon* is sometimes used, especially by non-French speakers, to refer to all French-speaking Belgians, but this is a misusage; the Flemish and Walloons are the largest groups in Belgium, not the only groups, and Brussels, in Dutch-dominated Flanders, is overwhelmingly French-speaking. Because of the country's dual language groups and long cultural ties to its neighbors, both Flemish and Walloon identity are complicated matters not limited to language.

There are about 389,171 Flemish Americans and 400,000 Walloon Americans as of recent estimates.

Colonists from the region of present-day Belgium preceded the British in parts of North America, notably Dutch settlements on Long Island and Staten Island in what is now New York, and Hoboken, Jersey City, Pavonia, Communipaw, and Wallkill in what is now New Jersey. Peter Minuit, the director-general of the Dutch colony of New Netherlands from 1626 to 1633, was Walloon, and negotiated the purchase of Manhattan from the Algonquin tribe in 1626. Lord Baltimore, the English peer who was the first governor of the colony of Maryland (and governed for a lengthy 42 years, contributing significantly to the character of the early American civilization), was descended from Flemish aristocracy. Belgian Americans have fought in all major wars in which the United States was involved.

The first major wave of Belgian immigrants after the founding of the United States came in the 19th century as part of the larger wave of European immigration. From 1820, when the first Belgian immigrants arrived, until 1910, 104,000 Belgian immigrants arrived. By 1900, Belgian religious orders had been established in 16 states, and 14 of those states had bilingual schools. The number of immigrants roughly doubled between 1910 and 1970. During the 19th century, immigrants were often skilled tradespeople and settled in the places where there was a demand for their skills, especially what was then the frontier or proximate to it: Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan, and West Virginia. During the 20th century, Belgian immigrants frequently came seeking an American university education, or work in the country's scientific, technical, and academic communities. Large Belgian American communities have developed in Washington, Oregon, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Florida, North Dakota, and Minnesota.

The largest Belgian American community is that of Wisconsin, spread across Brown, Door, and Kewaunee counties, in the Green Bay area. The region was originally settled by Walloons in the 1850s, and a large percentage of the population is descended from Walloons today. Though Belgian Americans assimilated in most parts of the country, their influence remains in a number of ways. Belgian place names like Brussels, Antwerp, Rosiere, and Liege are used by many towns throughout the United States. A dialect of

Walloon French may still be spoken in some Belgian American communities.

Though a number of Belgian churches were established, today most Catholic Belgian Americans do not belong to specifically Belgian parishes; the dispersion of the Belgian American population is one factor (Wisconsin and Detroit Belgian Americans, where they are the most concentrated, are more likely to belong to Belgian parishes), and the overall shortage of Catholic priests, and resulting contraction of parish churches, is another.

Cuisine

Booyah, sometimes today called chicken booyah, is a traditional dish in parts of the midwest, dating from the 19th or early 20th century. It can be found in Belgian American regions of Wisconsin as well as parts of Minnesota. Typically a dish prepared at fairs, church picnics, and other large gatherings, booyah may be cooked in a kettle holding more than 50 gallons, and the name is believed to derive from the French word *bouillir*, meaning to boil. Over the course of two days, a stock is prepared from bones and vegetables, in which meat and root vegetables are then cooked. Chicken is common, and beef and pork are popular; it is not uncommon to see two or three meats used in the same booyah.

Booyah may be related to burgoo, a stew endemic to Kentucky, home to a significant number of Belgian Americans. A game-rich state, in Kentucky burgoo was traditionally made with squirrel, raccoon, venison, game birds, or whatever else the hunters had brought home; the meats might be smoked, and unlike booyah, a thickening ingredient like cornmeal, wheat, or mashed beans is added. The thickness has become the defining characteristic of burgoo, in which a spoon should be able to stand up, and it lends itself well to a number of condiments, from cider vinegar to Worcestershire sauce; in other respects it is prepared much like booyah, and is associated with large gatherings.

Door County continues to celebrate the Kermis Harvest Festival, an originally Dutch tradition held throughout the Low Countries and passed on to Belgian Americans. Originally, a Kermis was a celebration of the anniversary of a church's founding; in the United States it has become a harvest festival, celebrating Belgian

cuisine and culture. A mainstay at Kermiss is Belgian pie, made with a yeast-raised crust (most American pies use unleavened crusts), a filling of fruit or rice pudding, and a topping of sweetened cottage cheese mixed with cream.

Prominent Belgian Americans

Famous Belgian Americans include Henry Ford, whose mother was the daughter of Belgian immigrants; movie star Audrey Hepburn; jazz musician Toots Thielemans, who immigrated to the United States in 1952; Leo Hendrik Baekeland, the chemist who invented Bakelite in 1907; political scientist Anne-Marie Slaughter, who became famous to the general public in 2012 for her *Atlantic* article “Why Women Still Can’t Have It All”; and Green Bay Packers player and coach Curly Lambeau, for whom Lambeau Field is named.

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See Also: Dutch Americans; Flemish Americans; French Americans.

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Beloved

Beloved is a novel written by Toni Morrison in 1987. It was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1988 and led to Morrison’s receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993, the first African American woman to be so recognized. A film adaptation was made in 1998, directed by Jonathan Demme, and starring Oprah Winfrey (who also produced it), Danny Glover, and Thandie Newton.

The novel begins in 1873 and ends in 1875, with flashbacks to 1795. Time and locations

(the slavery plantation ironically named “Sweet Home” in Kentucky and the mysterious house 124 in Ohio) reflect the arduous journey of enslaved people from the south to the north in search of freedom before and after the Civil War. The numbers of the house metaphorically represent the absence of the third child, Beloved, who was killed by her mother Sethe when a posse arrives to take her daughter back into slavery. For Sethe, it is an ultimate act of love of a mother who can only protect her children by putting them out of the reach of the slave owners.

Beloved first appears as a ghost who haunts house 124 and symbolizes the repressed memory of Sethe, but also epitomizes the whole African American community. However, when Paul D, who worked on the same plantation as Sethe, comes to visit and triggers memories of the painful past, Beloved appears as a grown woman but who is on an emotional level of a 2-year-old child, the age she was when she died. Her memories recall the experience on a rat-infested slave ship with tightly packed bodies.

Recovered Memory

The novel is dedicated to the more than 60 million people who perished in slavery, and Beloved embodies their voices. By making the untold history, which has been buried like the dead child, come to life, Morrison makes it the focal point of the novel. The novel rests upon the notion of recovered memory that can be entered even outside the mind of the individual. It makes the memory of slavery simultaneously individual and communal and allows it to be accessed and examined. Morrison wanted to draw attention to the period of American history that is often glossed over without profound examination of the toll it took on the entire society, and to pay tribute to its victims.

At the end of the novel, women from the community perform a ritual to exorcise Beloved and stop her from tormenting Sethe, who desperately tries to give Beloved all the love she was not able to give her in life and to justify her actions. Beloved’s disappearance symbolizes the disappearance of memory of all the enslaved people who perished, but also of their continuing, even if unacknowledged presence. Her very name honors the love of all mothers in slavery for their children. It also illustrates the dualism of life

and death, as it refers to the people gathered at Beloved's funeral and all who read the novel and thus participate in the transmission of the story. Beloved stops haunting the community once they face her and the guilt they feel over her death, the burden of their collective past, but the sad remnants linger even after she disappears.

Psychological Repercussions

The novel is primarily concerned with the psychological repercussions of slavery. Scarred bodies of the enslaved testify to their broken psyches. Their physical survival depended on their (un)willingness to allow themselves to love themselves and their fellow slaves, to lay claim to their bodies and the bodies of the ones they love. Morrison questions on what the ability of love depends in circumstances when people are not allowed to feel human and are treated only as somebody's property. More than rape and the taking of her milk, Sethe is destroyed by the fact that her owner—whom Morrison names Schoolteacher, parodying scientific discourse used at the time to justify slavery—categorizes her characteristics in two columns: human and inhuman, objectifying her and rationalizing her mistreatment at the hands of his nephews.

Negation of the identity of the enslaved people is prefigured in their inability to choose their names, to occupy the position of subject, and use their voice. Their empty identities are reflected in the arbitrariness of their names, such as Sixo, Paul D, A, and F. The characters who give themselves new names after obtaining their freedom, such as Baby Shugs and Stamp Paid, achieve a level of mental independence, and renegotiate their Otherness. Baby Shugs becomes a preacher in the community, teaching former enslaved people to love themselves and to love their bodies as the only way to deal with the hate heaped on their selves. They claim themselves and their subjectivity in different ways and are able to envision a future together. Sethe's daughter Denver, as the third generation born into slavery but brought to a free territory, represents hope at the end of the novel, since she manages to unite the African American community.

Neoslavery Narrative

The novel contains elements of historiographic metafiction, magic realism, utopianism, and Gothicism. Its cyclic structure, multiple points of view

and streams of consciousness, and intertextuality with references to Greek myths, the Bible, and apocalyptic literature situate it in the postmodern tradition of American literature. Morrison developed a genre of neoslavery narrative, which reenvisions the history of African Americans who, during 300 years of slavery, were dispossessed of history and identity. Unlike slave narratives, however, the novel focuses predominantly on the inner lives of enslaved people's familial and communal history and oral tradition in recreation of their stories. Similar novels include Octavia Butler's *Kindred*, Edward Jones's *The Known World*, and Margaret Walker's *Jubilee*.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Codes; *Color Purple, The*; Slavery.

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Beth Din

Beth Din (also *beit din* or *bet din*), from the Hebrew, meaning literally house of judgment, is the term applied to a rabbinical court that consists of at least three *dayanim*, or judges. Judaism traces the origin of *battei din* (the plural form) to the biblical account of Moses appointing elders to help judge and govern the people. A hierarchy of courts arose during the rabbinic period to deal with both civil and religious law. The *beth din* never again possessed the importance it held during the Second Temple period, but throughout the

Diaspora, battei din were established. In the 21st century, Jews use these religious courts voluntarily to arbitrate disagreements within the community, to oversee conversions, and to validate or nullify marriage and divorce. During the Temple and Mishnaic period, a three-court system was in place. At the local level, the beth din consisted of three judges who received their authority from the heads of the academies or from the patriarch. These judges had authority over civil and religious matters. A beth din ruling was required for the conversion of non-Jews, for the release from vows, for exemption from the law annulling debts in the sabbatical year, for exception to the law requiring the release of slaves after six years, and similar issues, including all matters that required the payment of fines.

While almost all towns had a beth din of the lowest level, only towns with a population greater than 120 had a higher court, sometimes called the small Sanhedrin, comprised of 23 judges who were authorized to hear criminal cases. Their jurisdiction ranged from cases that might appear to belong to the lower beth din, such as slander, but that might result in criminal sanctions (as with slander of unchasteness) to capital cases.

The highest court was the Great Beth Din, called the Sanhedrin. Comprised of 70 judges, the Sanhedrin was the supreme court, the source of final authority for the making and interpretation of law. Some crimes such as the uttering of false property or the corruption of an entire town could be heard only by this highest court. Some death penalty cases such as against the rebellious son, the enticer of idolatry, and false witnesses required confirmation by the Sanhedrin before the sentence could be imposed. The Sanhedrin also appointed the judges of the lower courts.

The beth din reached the height of importance during the Second Temple period (530 B.C.E.–70 C.E.). The prophet Ezra, who is connected closely with the restoration of Mosaic Law and the study of the Torah, is credited with its establishment. It was he who decreed that a beth din be set up in all populated centers. After the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E., the beth din at Yavneh, established by Yochanan ben Zakkai, became the national and religious center of Judaism. References in the Talmud indicate that local battei din continued to be active in this period.

Even as the hierarchical court structure disintegrated, the need for the beth din continued. The Jewish community continued to avoid secular courts to settle disputes. The autonomy of the beth din varied according to location. In Spain, Jewish courts were authorized by the king, and, in some cases, given criminal jurisdiction. The Council of the Four Lands, similar to the Sanhedrin of earlier times, was granted authority over Poland's large Jewish population. From 1580, perhaps earlier, until 1765, the council regulated Jewish social, economic, and religious life. Emancipation in the 18th century granted greater civil rights to Jews, but the authority of Jewish courts was largely limited to ecclesiastical matters such as synagogue procedures, life events, and kosher food.

In 21st-century America, Jews voluntarily choose to use a beth din. Battei din are asked to rule on issues connected to synagogues, clergy, and lay leaders. They also rule on larger social and ethical issues and on more specific issues concerning taxation, inheritance, and intellectual property. Many Jews still feel the obligation to use a Jewish forum to adjudicate disputes that involve a fellow Jew. The beth din, like secular alternative dispute resolution methods, is usually quicker and less expensive than litigation. According to Jewish law, Jewish courts have exclusive jurisdiction over the termination of marriage. A civil divorce alone is not sufficient to end a Jewish marriage. A religious divorce properly executed with the aid of a rabbinical court is required.

Founded in 1960, the Beth Din of America is sponsored by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. For more than half a century, it has ruled on areas of family law, Jewish divorce, and personal status. Since its reconstitution in 1994, it has also adjudicated financial disputes. Some congregations establish their own beth din. These battei din claim no jurisdiction outside their own group. All battei din follow the procedures laid down by the Shulhan Arukh (Code of Jewish Law) known as Hoshen Mishpat (the Breastplate of Justice). Diaspora battei din lack the power of compulsion, but generally those who submit an issue to a beth din will abide by the decision rendered.

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See Also: Jewish Americans; Law and Ethnic Diversity; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Beulah Show, The

The Beulah Show is a radio and television situation comedy series that revolves around an African American maid in the Henderson household, a suburban white middle-class family. The program aired on the ABC radio network from 1945 to 1947, the CBS radio network from 1947 to 1954, and the ABC television network from 1950 to 1953. The direction, writing, and production of *The Beulah Show* were handled by white men.

The character of Beulah originated with Marlin Hurt, a white man. He introduced and played the maid, Beulah Brown, in 1939 in a program called *Hometown, Unincorporated*, and in 1940 on NBC radio's *Show Boat* series. In 1943, Beulah became a major part of another series titled *That's Life*. In late 1944, the character gained popularity in the radio comedy *Fibber McGee and Molly*.

Hurt's character Beulah spun off to a separate radio series, *The Marlin Hurt and Beulah Show* (later *The Beulah Show*), airing on CBS in 1945. The series was well received but was taken off the air temporarily following Hurt's sudden death from a heart attack in 1946. Twelve months after Hurt's death, a nationwide search for a new Beulah occurred, and in February 1947, another white man, Bob Corley, was enlisted to play the role on ABC radio.

The series and character outgrew their novelty act status in October 1947, when Hattie McDaniel



Amanda Randolph played the role of Beulah from 1953 to 1954. She is shown here with Ernest Whitman, who played Beulah's boyfriend. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, among others, accused the show of stereotyping.

signed on to play the role for CBS. McDaniel was a successful black film actress, having performed as a domestic in over 300 films for 15 years before appearing as *Beulah*.

In the television version of *The Beulah Show*, Beulah Brown was played by Ethel Waters from 1950 to 1951, Hattie McDaniel from 1951 to 1952, and Louise Beavers from 1952 to 1953. The Henderson family included father and businessman Harry (portrayed by William Post, Jr., 1950–52; and David Bruce, 1952–53), mother and homemaker Alice (Ginger Jones, 1950–52; and Jane Frazee, 1952–53), and their 10-year-old son Donnie (Clifford Sales, 1950–52; and Stuffie Singer, 1952–53).

Beulah could manage and solve all of the family's problems but could not solve her own, which was convincing her boyfriend and fix-it shop owner Bill Jackson (portrayed by Percy "Bud" Harris, 1950–51; Arthur "Dooley" Wilson, 1951–52; and Ernest Whitman, 1952–53) to marry her. Bill and

Beulah's girlfriend Oriole Winston (Thelma "Butterfly" McQueen, 1950–51; and Ruby Dandridge, 1951–53), a maid of the Hendersons' next-door neighbors, were always present to assist Beulah in resolving her weekly situations.

Beulah and the Image of Mammy

Historically, Beulah's role is closely patterned after the Mammy, the primary image construction of black females in American popular culture prior to *Beulah*. Mammies were faithful, obedient domestics who could also be domineering, strong-willed, and bossy. They were a "blend of quick temper, earthy wisdom" and typified the "good" black mother figure in white homes. Beulah is a domestic and, as star of the series, is the savior of the Henderson household.

However, Beulah's portrayal of a domestic does not succumb to the simplistic functions often ascribed to the Mammy stereotype because of the intricacies of television production. As the central character of a television show, Beulah is actually afforded the same privileges as white television sitcom fathers. That is, the central character of any television show has a certain amount of narrative power simply because the episodes are written from his or her point of view, are based on their values, and literally revolve around them. The narrative importance of the white father in 1950s sitcoms, in particular, is evident through familial conversations, praise-giving occasions, the narrative itself, and visual and aural dominance.

The interesting factor concerning Beulah is that she has an unusual amount of power. Even though she is a middle-aged, heavy-set, black working-class domestic (at the bottom of the American social hierarchy with the exception of black children), Beulah has more access to and more influence in the Henderson household than the other family members. Furthermore, the execution of this power causes Beulah to be constructed as a white father and white mother conflated into one character. Beulah is neither black nor white. Therefore, Beulah is afforded this narrative importance, not because she is black, female, and working class, but because she is the star of the show.

Beulah Brown was a victim of the time in which her character appeared on radio and television. Even though her race and class indicated on one

level that she was separate and unequal from the Henderson family, on another level she was constructed simply as another typical sitcom star that enjoyed the same rights and privileges as white fathers in other sitcoms.

The Beulah Show should be remembered as one of the pioneers of the American television situation comedy genre because it helped shape the sitcom form, it was the first significant TV sitcom to focus on blacks, and it permitted talented African Americans a way to make a living. Unfortunately, however, it also pioneered and televisually began the construction of an image of black women that has been very difficult to dismantle.

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See Also: African Americans; *Amos 'n Andy Show*, *The*; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Television.

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BiDil Controversy

BiDil, a drug used to treat congestive heart failure, made history on June 23, 2005, when it became the first drug approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for use by one

specific racial group. BiDil was approved specifically for use by self-identified black patients after it was shown to substantially reduce deaths in comparison with a placebo in a trial involving only blacks. Some hailed BiDil's race-specific approval as beginning of a new era of personalized medicine in which pharmaceuticals would be prescribed based on an individual's genetic makeup; others found the claims for BiDil to be suspect and also questioned the wisdom of treating self-declared race as a classification based in genetics rather than as a social construct.

The history of BiDil dates back to the 1980s, when a cardiologist, Dr. Jay Cohn, studied the effectiveness of the vasodilators hydralazine and isosorbide dinitrate to treat patients with heart failure. At the time, Cohn was not considering the effects of these drugs on any specific racial group, and the trial subjects consisted of both black and white men. Two trials were organized in conjunction with the U.S. Veterans Administration; the first (Vasodilator Heart Failure Trial I, or V-HeFT I) ran from 1980 to 1985, while the second (V-HeFT II) ran from 1986 to 1991. These trials found that vasodilators could help patients with heart failure, but that another type of drug, the angiotensin-converting enzyme (ACE) inhibitor, was even more effective for most patients. As a result, ACE inhibitors became the treatment of first choice for patients with heart failure, while hydralazine and isosorbide dinitrate, both of which were already available as generic drugs, became an alternative treatment for patients who did not do well with ACE inhibitors.

Cohn continued to study the effectiveness of hydralazine and isosorbide dinitrate (H/I) in combination, and in 1996 presented BiDil, the first H/I drug, for FDA approval. When approval was denied, Cohn reanalyzed the data from the 1980s trials and found that African Americans in those trials had done particularly well when treated with H/I. A new trial testing the effectiveness of BiDil on African Americans proved successful—deaths were reduced by 43 percent in a trial of 1,050 African American patients with heart failure. In fact, the drug was found so superior in comparison to a placebo that the trial was halted early so BiDil could also be offered to the placebo group. Note that in this trial, both groups took their prescribed medications during

the trial, so BiDil or the placebo was tested for effectiveness in combination with the patients' usual drugs. This trial led to BiDil becoming the first drug to receive FDA approval for use with a specific racial group.

A legitimate question has been raised as to why, during Cohn's second attempt to receive FDA approval for BiDil, he did not arrange for trials with a racially mixed group. One possible answer may be economic rather than scientific: the original patent for BiDil (as a treatment for individuals of all races) would have expired in 2007; the new application, based on using BiDil as a treatment for African Americans only, would not expire until 2020. What is certain is that no statement can be made about the effectiveness of BiDil for blacks versus individuals from other races because the study that led to FDA approval included only blacks, and the original studies from the 1980s were not designed to answer the questions necessary to receive FDA approval.

Because BiDil was approved for a particular population group, some people believe it is a pharmacogenomic drug, but this is not correct. There is no claim that the effectiveness of BiDil is based on the differing response of individual patients to the drug, based on variations in their genetic makeup, nor is there any evidence linking the effectiveness of BiDil to any particular genes. In addition, conflating self-identified race with genetic factors is problematic; thus, any supposition that the drug exerts some particular effect because of the genetic makeup of black Americans is inherently suspect.

The practice of retrospective subgroup analysis is also questionable—statisticians refer to such analyses as “data fishing” because they are not based on hypotheses but may instead capitalize on chance factors in the data. Finally, the number of black patients in the 1980s trial that offered the strongest argument for BiDil as a drug uniquely effective for blacks was much smaller (45) than is the norm in FDA trials to seek approval of new drugs.

Marketing aside, the existence of a drug particularly effective with black heart failure patients would be welcome in the medical community because blacks in the United States suffer from higher rates of death from heart failure than whites. For instance, the age-adjusted death rate

from heart failure in 2004 for white Americans was 213.3 per 100,000, while for black Americans it was 280.6 per 100,000. However, this differing rate of death could be caused by a combination of factors, including poverty, health behaviors, and access to health care, and does not demonstrate any genetic difference causing the discrepancy, nor any need for specific treatments for black heart failure patients only.

BiDil has not been a great success commercially, in part because many insurers have refused to cover it or have required high co-payments on the grounds that its active ingredients are already available generically (at about one-sixth the cost of BiDil). In addition, the specification of BiDil as a drug only for African Americans greatly reduces the pool of patients who might be prescribed it. At the time of the drug's approval, some predicted sales as high as \$825 million, but in the first year after approval, national sales amounted to only \$4.5 million. In 1986 two high-ranking executives, Chief Executive Michael D. Loberg and Chief Business Officer Lawrence E. Bloch, resigned without explanation from NitroMed, the company that brought BiDil to market.

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See Also: Advertising; African Americans; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Medicine and Ethnic Diversity; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity.

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Bilingual Ballots

In the United States, federal provisions for bilingual ballots are linked to a longer history of voting rights and citizenship. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, states that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. However, through the establishment of poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, and the delayed suffrage of women, many states and local jurisdictions routinely disenfranchised minority voters.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (CRA) banned many forms of racial discrimination and Title I prohibited the unequal application of voter registration requirements, but it did not address the literacy tests that prevented many people from voting. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA), and its subsequent revision in 1975, became the central piece of legislation to protect the voting rights of language-minority citizens.

Title VI of the CRA states that the federal government or federal programs cannot discriminate or deny benefits to people on the basis of race, color, or national origin. While language is not specifically listed in Title VI, most applications of this statute rely on the connection between language and national origin. The VRA banned English literacy tests because they were designed to disenfranchise African Americans, who had higher rates of illiteracy because of educational barriers and discrimination. By 1975, widespread voting discrimination was still occurring, particularly among minority groups whose primary language was not English.

Enfranchisement of Language Minorities

During the 1975 reauthorization of the VRA, Congress turned its attention to the enfranchisement of language minorities, in part because of Title VI's entailment of national origin and language. Congress added minority-language assistance provisions, which were designed to provide meaningful access to voting by eliminating language barriers for citizens with limited English proficiency (LEP).

These provisions were designed as a partial remedy for the effects of past discrimination against language minorities. The provisions established

triggers based on the concentration of language minorities and the rate of voting registration of these minorities. These triggers included bilingual ballots, the prohibition of English-only elections materials, bilingual voting assistance, and the establishment of preclearance requirements. Currently, these minority language provisions cover 31 states, either in whole (Texas, Alaska, Arizona, California, New Mexico) or in part.

Spanish language assistance is the most common, but a growing number of jurisdictions are required to provide bilingual voting assistance in Chinese, Vietnamese, Tagalog, Korean, and Japanese. After Spanish, voting assistance in Native American languages is the most prevalent, especially in Alaska. The bilingual ballot and voting assistance provisions have had a significant impact on voter registration and turnouts of language minorities, particularly for Native Americans and Hispanics. Since the 1992 amendments to the VRA, which increased provision coverage, Asian Americans have also seen much higher levels of registration and turnout. In addition, the number of minority elected officials has dramatically increased, due in part to the growing enfranchisement of LEP citizens.

Resistance and Arguments

Unfortunately, there has been substantial resistance to the bilingual ballot provisions, both at the state and federal levels, even though evidence strongly indicates that the VRA language provisions are necessary to prevent current and future patterns of voting discrimination. During the 2006 reauthorization of the VRA, some members of Congress unsuccessfully attempted to repeal or limit these provisions, arguing that they were a costly unfunded mandate and that LEP voters should accept English as the “language glue” of the American multiethnic immigrant melting pot.

However, it is important to note that the United States does not have an official language, even though English is unquestionably the dominant language of the nation. All attempts to make English the official language have failed in part because English fluency is not a prerequisite for American citizenship. Even though naturalized citizens must demonstrate a limited proficiency in English, the standard is not fluency or high literacy.

Proficiency Versus Literacy

Additionally, it is important to recognize the distinction between speaking proficiency and literacy. Literacy tests were so effective for disenfranchising emancipated African Americans (for whom it was illegal to learn to read and write) precisely because of this distinction. A bilingual speaker who knows enough English to function daily in American society may have a very limited literacy level that would not be adequate for voting purposes. Indeed, many monolingual English speakers have difficulty in understanding the convoluted legal language and syntax that characterizes ballot questions.

Additionally, English-only elections have a disproportional impact on first-generation or older immigrants, who were educated in non-English educational systems. Because the second generation is incorporated into the American educational system, they will have much higher English literacy rates than their parents.

Conclusion

According to figures compiled from the 2008 presidential election, while the number of people who did not vote because of problems with English was small, the data indicate that a significant proportion of eligible Asian and Hispanic voters did not vote because of their limited English proficiency. Whereas only 1.4 percent of nonvoters stated that difficulty with English was a barrier to voting, that rate climbed to 9.3 percent for Asian American voters and 3 percent for Hispanic voters.

This high rate of nonvoting tends to occur in places where the VRA triggers have not yet been activated through population density, indicating that the bilingual ballot provisions of the VRA are effective and remain important for voter enfranchisement. The VRA and its subsequent revisions are a critical part of the United States’ immigrant history and its multicultural national future.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Civil Rights Acts; Constitutional Amendments; Official English Movement; Voting Rights Acts.

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“Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2008.” <http://www.census.gov/prod/2010pubs/p20-562.pdf> (Accessed December 2012).

immersion, a model of bilingual education, native English-speaking students participate, as well. Bilingual education programs use ELLs’ native language and English as a second language for instruction of literacy and the content areas.

According to the National Association for Bilingual Education Web site, bilingual education “refers to approaches in the classroom that use the native languages of English language learners (ELLs) for instruction. Goals include: teaching English; fostering academic achievement; acculturating immigrants to a new society; preserving a minority group’s linguistic and cultural heritage; enabling English speakers to learn a second language; developing national language resources; or any combination of the above.”

Bilingual education has been implemented across the world for centuries. Because linguistic diversity is the norm in many societies, the use of multiple languages for instruction is a common practice. Bilingualism and multilingualism has been created out of trade, migration, politics, natural disasters, war, and colonialism. Technological advances and widespread use of virtual communication tools, increasing international travel, and growing migration have raised the bilingual population throughout the world. Most of the world’s population is bilingual: 56percent of Europeans are bilingual, while 38 percent of the population in Great Britain, 35 percent in Canada, and 17 percent in the United States are bilingual. A study conducted by the United Nations found that 66 percent of the world’s children are bilingual or multilingual. The current increase in multilingualism is partly because more people around the world are educating their children in a second language, especially in English, but also in Arabic, Chinese, and Spanish.

History

Bilingual education in the United States is not a new concept. North American communities began implementing bilingual schooling as early as the 1600s. In 1839, Ohio became the first state to adopt a bilingual education law permitting German-English instruction, and in 1847 Louisiana approved a similar provision for French-English education. The New Mexico Territory adopted a law to authorize Spanish-English schooling in 1850. The school superintendent of St. Louis, William

Bilingual Education

Broadly defined, bilingual education is the use of two languages for instruction and learning of academic content in schools, usually in PK-12, but can also include higher education. While this definition is the common thread that categorizes education in two languages, there are wide differences in models, linguistic goals, distribution of each language, targeted population, and more. In the United States, bilingual education is typically offered to students who are not proficient in English, commonly known as English-language learners (ELL). In dual language or two-way

Harris, who later became U.S. commissioner of education, argued in favor of bilingual education in the 1870s, stating that “national memories and aspirations, family traditions, customs and habits, moral and religious observances cannot be suddenly removed or changed without disastrously weakening the personality.” In many states, such as Colorado and Iowa, bilingual instruction was offered in as many diverse languages as Polish, Chinese, Norwegian, and Cherokee. In San Francisco, Chinese-language schools were established beginning in the mid-1880s, while in Texas, state education funds helped establish Czech-language schools in the late 19th century.

By the early 20th century at least 600,000 students in public and parochial schools received instruction in German. However, anti-German sentiments after World War I drove states to abolish all bilingual education in most schools and enact English-only instruction laws. The ban against bilingual schooling lasted until the early 1960s. The revival of bilingual education was driven by Cuban exiles in Dade County, Florida, after the Cuban Revolution, who recognized the importance of educating their children in Spanish and English.

Policy and Legislation

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), abolishing school segregation, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin, provided the basis for the passage of the federal Bilingual Education Act of 1968. This legislation provided federal funding to encourage school districts to implement native-language instruction and other types of support services for English language learners. The Bilingual Education Act was enacted as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; it was replaced in 2002 by the English Language Acquisition Act under the No Child Left Behind Act. Title VII became Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which no longer gave funding priority for native-language instruction and instead gave each state discretion on how to spend federal funds for English language learners.

In the 1974 landmark decision in *Lau v. Nichols*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with

the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum because students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. The court’s decision required schools to take steps to overcome language barriers impeding ELLs’ access to the curriculum.

Neither the Bilingual Education Act nor the *Lau* decision requires any particular methodology for teaching ELLs. In other words, there is no federal mandate for bilingual education, although a few states mandate it under certain circumstances. What civil rights laws do require are educational programs that offer equal opportunities for ELLs through specialized instruction, such as the use of the native language and/or ESL instruction.

Politics of Language Education

While the education of ELLs may appear to be simply a matter of choosing whether to use the students’ native language, ideologies and beliefs about linguistic diversity, immigration, and immigrant rights permeate pedagogical and linguistic decisions. Educator and author Richard Ruiz delineates three orientations that drive the policies and politics of language and ELL education: (1) language as a problem orientation—the belief that language diversity results in social conflict, divisiveness, and ethnic strife; (2) language as a right orientation—the view that language is a basic human right and that language prejudice and discrimination must be challenged; and (3) language as a resource orientation—considers language diversity as a cultural, social, personal, and national resource, both as an economic advantage and a vehicle for social unity.

In the last two decades, the “language as a problem” orientation has paved the way for the “official English” movement that aims to legislate English as the official language of the United States. To date, bills introduced in Congress to make English the official language have failed. Nonetheless, 28 states have passed official English laws. Hawai‘i is the only state that has two official languages, English and Hawai‘ian. Language restrictionism policies are closely tied to language minority education. States have been successful in passing legislation banning bilingual education and instituting compulsory English immersion programs. In 1998, California passed Proposition 227, the English Language Education

for Children in Public Schools initiative; Arizona passed Proposition 223 in 2000; and Massachusetts discontinued bilingual education in 2002.

ELLs are one of the groups most at risk for academic failure and arguably the most vulnerable. Immigration status and language barriers present significant challenges for most ELLs and their families, often restricting their potential for success and future opportunities. The intense and often extreme anti-immigration sentiment reappearing across the country cause many ELLs and their families to live in daily fear associated with society's language and ethnic prejudices. ELLs have to cope with considerable linguistic, socio-cultural, and legal challenges that other disadvantaged groups do not experience. Even ELLs who are U.S. citizens, but whose parents are undocumented, face the frightening prospect of having their parents deported. Out of fear of deportation or imprisonment, parents of ELLs sometimes

keep their children home from school. This takes a heavy psychological toll on students and often interferes with their learning.

Children of undocumented immigrants find themselves caught between two broken systems: public education and immigration law. Through no fault of their own, they find themselves in the cross fire of tough laws, policies, and social stigma. Anti-immigrant patterns, often targeted at Latinos, and particularly Mexicans, resurface often and in many different forms. Arizona and Alabama, among other states, have enacted restrictive and harmful policies that have long-lasting, negative effects on the education of ELLs. For example, Arizona has endorsed a number of statewide policies that directly target Latino immigrants, including banning bilingual education, eliminating the Ethnic Studies Program, and barring teachers who have foreign accents from teaching ELLs. The state also enacted S.B. 1070,



There are many points of view on the topic of bilingual education in the United States. Opponents argue that it delays a student's ability to master English, thereby setting them back and retarding their learning of other subjects as well. Proponents of the practice argue that it keeps non-English-speaking children from falling behind their peers in math, social studies, and science while studying English. They also argue that such programs actually teach English better than English-only programs.

a law that allows police to check a person's immigration status while in the process of enforcing other laws. Alabama's H.B. 56 requires public schools to collect information on the residency status of children and their parents. The state law contradicts a 1982 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Plyler v. Doe* that gives undocumented students the right to a free K–12 public education and prohibits schools from requesting residency status documentation.

Claims about the ineffectiveness of bilingual education combined with the media's predisposition against it, misinformation, and incorrect assumptions have been widespread. The inadequate implementation of some bilingual programs further fuels the notion that bilingual education is a failure. The real culprits of low performance in bilingual education programs can be better explained by lack of adequate funds, scarcity of qualified educators, overcrowded classes, and the absence of proven teaching methodology. Well-designed bilingual programs that address these fundamental factors have proven to be highly effective for linguistically diverse students. Numerous studies have demonstrated that students who participate in programs that use the native language for instruction for more than three years show better academic performance, mastery of English, and are less likely to drop out of school.

Second Language Acquisition

One of many false claims about bilingual education is that ELLs can acquire English in one year. Decades of research, both in the United States and abroad, have demonstrated that the acquisition of academic language for a second-language learner takes between five to seven years, in comparison to the one to two years it takes to learn conversational language. In the United States, ELLs' loss of their home language and culture is often seen as necessary for their English development. However, research shows that cognitive skills are best acquired through the primary language and then more easily transferred to the second language.

Developing additive bilingual and biliteracy skills has no negative consequences for students' academic, linguistic, or intellectual development. To the contrary, research findings point to linguistic and academic benefits for bilingual children

who demonstrate a greater awareness of linguistic meanings and seem to be more flexible in their thinking than monolingual children. The use of the home language helps children develop critical thinking abilities and cognitive skills. This cognitive structuring is not only shaped by linguistic knowledge but also by cultural knowledge and the context in which that knowledge is obtained.

Bilingual Education Program Models

Offering bilingual education programs for ELLs depends on several factors: sufficient numbers of students from the same language group, availability of certified bilingual teachers, and state and local policies that allow or require bilingual education.

The different models of bilingual education have distinctive characteristics: linguistic goals (bilingualism or monolingualism in English), differences in length of implementation (short term or long term), variations in amount of use of each language, and distinctions in student composition. Models fall under one of two paradigms: additive programs—whose goal is to develop full bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism by adding the second language and maintaining and developing the first language; and subtractive programs—whose goal is to become monolingual in the majority language by abandoning the native language. Additive program models include maintenance, developmental bilingual, heritage language, and dual language or two-way immersion; while subtractive models include transitional bilingual education. Programs that do not use the native language and are therefore not considered bilingual models are structured English immersion, and English as a second language. The various models are:

- *Transitional bilingual education, early-exit and late-exit*: temporarily supports ELLs' academic development by providing native language instruction as students acquire English through ESL and consists of two program types: (1) early-exit, the model most widely implemented in the United States, in which ELLs are moved into the general English education program after one to four years, once they have achieved proficiency in English;

and (2) late-exit, in which students continue to receive instruction in their native language for a few more years after having achieved proficiency in English.

- *Maintenance bilingual education*: also known as developmental or enrichment bilingual education. This program allows ELLs to maintain and develop their native languages after they have acquired English, usually through eighth grade or beyond. The aim of maintenance bilingual education is for students to develop bilingual and biliterate proficiencies and to achieve academically at grade level.
- *Heritage language*: designed for students who are not proficient in the heritage language of their family and who have varying degrees of skills. The aim of these programs is to revitalize the native language and culture, which is no longer used fluently by the younger generation of its speakers.
- *Dual-language education*: also known as two-way bilingual immersion, is the only bilingual model that integrates English native speakers with ELLs. All students develop their native language and culture while acquiring a second language and culture. The goals are to develop biliteracy and bilingualism, high academic achievement, and multicultural competencies.

Because educational program evaluation studies are difficult to design, research on the effectiveness of bilingual education remains in dispute. The vast variations in program implementation, pedagogical approaches used, types of schools, differences in student populations, and communities being compared add to the difficult task of determining the programs' effectiveness. Nevertheless, researchers, educators, and applied linguists recognize that the following premises have strong empirical support: (1) native-language instruction does not retard the acquisition of English, (2) well-developed skills in the native language are associated with high levels of academic achievement, and (3) bilingualism is a valuable skill for individuals and for the country.

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See Also: Bilingualism; Multicultural Education; National Association for Bilingual Education; National Association for Multicultural Education; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages; *Plyler v. Doe*.

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Bilingualism

Bilingualism is defined in multiple ways. Some describe it as an equal capacity to fully communicate in two languages—written and spoken—whereas others describe bilingualism as the ability to understand and communicate in two languages with greater skills in the use of one of them.

In general, researchers identify three types of bilingualism: (1) simultaneous bilingualism refers to a person who learns to speak two languages at the same time (e.g., infants who are exposed to two languages at the same time); (2) receptive bilingualism refers to a person's ability to fully understand two languages but use only one language to communicate (e.g., children whose parents speak different languages at home, but they use only one of those languages to communicate); and (3) sequential bilingualism refers to individuals who learn a new language after they have already learned and mastered a first language.

Myths and Facts

While results of some studies have provided evidence of the advantages of bilingualism, other studies have highlighted the challenges that bilingual individuals face.

One of the most popular myths is the idea that bilingual children present developmental delays. Strong evidence supports the assumption that the capacity to learn multiple languages is natural to all human beings. Studies show that all infants have the capacity to discriminate sounds from different languages and are able to reproduce the sounds and recognize their meanings. For instance, babbling among babies is a natural way to try to reproduce sounds the baby hears. Thus, a baby with a monolingual parent(s) will reproduce the sounds of only one language, whereas babies with a bilingual parent(s) would be stimulated to reproduce sounds for both languages and would be able to differentiate those sounds.

Based on those findings, researchers have suggested that infants who are stimulated to develop bilingual skills at an early age show better attention skills and memory over time. That is, older bilingual infants and children have been reported to have a greater ability to analyze words, meanings and use those words in particular situations. Greater thinking and analyzing skills also allow bilingual children to develop advanced problem-solving and attention skills and the capacity to filter important information, compared to those with monolingual skills.

Another myth relates to the assumption that exposing children to two languages will confuse them, and they won't be able to master either. Though the process might be challenging for the

children exposed to two languages, there are multiple strategies that researchers and practitioners have recommended to follow to support the positive development of bilingualism. One suggestion is to use a one-parent one-language approach, so that the child will identify the language as part of the relationship with that particular parent, thus facilitating the differentiation of the two languages. Other researchers argue about the advantages of having both parents using both languages at the same time, called "code switching," so that children would be able to acquire social cues and learn when to use one or the other language based on the social context. Evidence suggests that bilingual individuals often mix languages based on the situation, and that allows them to engage at different levels with family members, relatives, peers, and their community members.

Another assumption is that bilingualism is directly related to intelligence and, thus, sometimes children are exposed to a bilingual context for the greater benefit of having smarter children. Studies have provided evidence that bilingual children do present advantages over other children in language awareness and some cognitive processes (e.g., memory, learning words' meanings), but only in some areas, and that does not translate to bilingual children being more intelligent overall than monolingual children. In addition, bilingualism does not represent an indicator of greater or lower educational achievement or professional career paths.

Other myths about raising bilingual children include beliefs that such children will struggle communicating in either one or both languages; that they will develop learning disabilities, particularly in mastering math and science; and that bilinguals have "split" personalities because they express ideas and emotions in either their first or second language. Empirical evidence shows that there are not significant differences in mastery of language skills between monolingual and bilingual children.

Indeed, researchers have argued that the so-called language delay is based on the misunderstanding that variations in language acquisition among children are "abnormal." In fact, variations occur from child to child within a normal range of language mastery, despite being monolingual or bilingual. Researchers have also documented

multiple cognitive advantages associated with bilingualism that include linguistic awareness, communication and thinking skills, intellectual growth, and greater cultural sensitivity.

Bilingual Schooling

Bilingual schooling generally refers to the existence of two languages in the school setting. The implementation of bilingualism in the school system and educational curricula is not always a simple process. Many important issues need to be taken into account, such as the students' native language, the depth and breadth of the bilingual curriculum, the instructional goals, and teachers' bilingual skills. Strong evidence suggests that "dual immersion" bilingual programs (speakers from both languages) equally support the acquisition and proficiency of both languages for all students involved, both native and foreign speakers.

Bilingualism, Labor Force, and Labor Market

Though much has been speculated about the benefits and disadvantages of bilingualism for immigrants and their children's academic achievement and professional future, little is known about the language characteristics of U.S. labor force and labor market demands. Traditionally, information about individuals' language abilities has been widely documented in the U.S. census; however, that data does not necessarily document a person's ability to speak a second language or a person's level of written or spoken proficiency in two or more languages. Yet, bilingual ability is a key element in the labor market because it facilitates competition for jobs in the United States and around the world.

Social scientists across multiple disciplines (e.g., sociology, political science, economics, education, international relations, and psychology) have broadly documented how language deficiencies directly affect the educational attainment of students, translating into negative labor market outcomes. Among immigrant populations, language skills play an important role in supporting learning abilities, the acquisition of new skills, and a worker's assimilation or integration into the national labor force. Thus, bilingualism could have significant consequences for the national economy because it impacts the accumulation of

knowledge and skills necessary to support personal, economic, and social well-being—known as human capital—as well as influence earnings and occupational distribution.

For example, employment opportunities that require a certain level of language proficiency might not represent a realistic opportunity for an immigrant who has low language proficiency. Even though the individual possibly has the required skills for the job, he or she will be forced to take on low-skill jobs that do not require those language skills. Research has shown that first-generation immigrants (foreign-born) are more likely to take lower-skilled jobs than their second-generation counterparts (native-born), mostly because of the native-born workers' capacity to write, read, and speak the host country language and, thus, exhibit greater bilingual abilities. Furthermore, native-born children of immigrants often become translators for their parents, relatives, and community members who lack bilingual skills.

U.S. statistics show that in addition to education and work experience, language skills represent an important factor for job opportunities. Recent studies have documented that the demand for bilingual workers, native and foreign-born, will continue to rise during the next decade because there is a high demand for bilinguals in the labor market—particularly in education, economics, and service-related jobs. Foreign language associations and schools throughout the nation have reported a remarkable increase in student registration, mainly for Chinese and Spanish languages, during the last eight to 10 years. There has also been an increase in the need for interpreters and written materials translators, mostly in the health care industry, international trade, and business areas. In 2011, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that employment opportunities for interpreters/translators would increase by 22 percent between 2008 and 2018 and that fully bilingual workers would be highly marketable across multiple careers. A similar demand for bilingual workers is occurring around the world, with a demand growth of approximately 150 percent in 2011 alone.

Despite bilingualism being generally perceived as a valuable skill in the labor market around the world, the patterns of associations between income and language skills vary greatly from country to country. For example, in the United

States, some evidence shows that bilingual workers at nonsupervisory jobs, such as manufacturing, earn more than their monolingual coworkers. But at the managerial and supervisory levels, bilingual workers report earning less than their monolingual counterparts. In Canada, a 2010 study found that bilingual men and women—approximately 3.6 percent and 6.6 percent, respectively—earn a greater income than English-only speakers. Though earnings differences across countries for bilingual versus monolingual workers might be perceived as labor discrimination, it is important to note that these differences might also be based on the labor market's definition of greater/lower marketable characteristics of workers.

Debate Over Bilingualism

Bilingualism in the 21st century cannot be understood without taking into account globalization, technological and communication innovations, and scientific advances, as well as political and demographic changes, notably increased immigration across nations. As a result of these transformations, people around the world are becoming more exposed to multiple cultures and languages and expressing an elevated interest in belonging to global, sociocultural networks that impact their ideologies and lifestyles. Worldwide, it has been estimated that 65 percent to 75 percent of the population is bilingual and has been exposed to some type of bilingual education, either formal or informal instruction.

How much or how little some populations are exposed to bilingual schooling seems to be closely related to national interests in fostering bilingualism and the resources used to support development of bilingual programs and services. For example, immersion education programs are offered for English native speakers in Canada to learn French, while at the same time similar programs are offered to indigenous and immigrant populations to learn English. Across Latin America (with certain variations in individual countries), English is included in the academic curriculum to support the development of bilingual skills and foster better employment opportunities. In addition, among countries with a high percentage of indigenous populations, such as in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, bilingual education programs are used to teach those populations

the national language and to integrate them into the local society. Given the increasing rate of immigration, emigration, and population growth around the world, bilingual education programs represent a great resource to support individual development and well-being.

Unfortunately, bilingualism is not exempt from controversy. Interesting examples of procedures and laws developed and imposed by countries to deal with bilingualism and the adoption of foreign languages into national territories abound. The French government passed a law (Toubon law) in 1994 requiring citizens to use the French language when providing services and warning businesses that they would face large fines for using English in their advertisement campaigns. Throughout the world, the adoption of words or terms from other languages continues to proliferate, mostly due to the globalization, technological innovations, and open access communication. As a result, new words are created or old ones are transformed into new terms that have become universal as they enter the languages of different populations around the world, such as *laissez-faire* (French), *per capita* (Latin), OK (English), *salsa* (Spanish), and *kindergarten* (German).

A salient controversy regarding bilingualism relates to the subject of bilingual learners' formal and informal instruction. In the United States, for example, some high schools, universities, and colleges require students to take foreign language courses as a prerequisite for graduation; in other states, laws have been passed to enforce the use of English language only. States with a great influx of immigrants have published bilingual information in written documents and Web sites, and in some areas the media presents information on radio and television in two languages, such as, Spanish/English, Japanese/English, and Polish/English. Many organizations have joined the campaign, including public utilities, government agencies, nongovernmental agencies, elected and/or campaigning officials, schools, and restaurants.

Conclusion

In summary, the U.S. Census Bureau reports that in 2000, almost 10 million children between ages 5 and 17 spoke another language besides English at home. Based on those statistics and given the continuously changing demographics and fast

growth rate of first- and second-generation immigrants, bilingualism will continue to be a pressing issue in U.S. education, economics, and politics.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Language Usage in the United States; Multicultural Education; National Association for Bilingual Education; National Association for Multicultural Education; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages; *Plyer v. Doe*.

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implicitly protected only white men, excluding Native Americans, African Americans, and women. These exclusions were not explicit in the text, but were well understood and applied. It took additional constitutional amendments and several Supreme Court cases to extend full citizenship and the same rights to all minorities. The First Amendment prohibits the making of any law respecting an establishment of religion and impeding the free exercise of religion. Additionally, neither the Constitution nor any of its amendments mention or contemplate an official national language.

The First 10 Amendments

The Constitution was remarkable but incomplete because it did not include a declaration of individual rights. It stated what the government could do but did not say what it could not do. In 1791, this gap was filled. Inspired by Thomas Jefferson and drafted by James Madison, the first 10 amendments were added to the Constitution.

The first eight amendments establish specific guarantees. These are the freedoms of religion, speech, press, and the right of the people to assemble and to petition the government. Other provisions contained in the first eight amendments also deal with the rights of individuals. The Fourth Amendment protects individuals from excessive searches and seizures by law enforcement officials. The Fifth Amendment prohibits double jeopardy, and it states that people cannot be forced to testify against themselves and guarantees due process. The Sixth Amendment establishes the right of an accused person to a public trial by jury. The defendant also has the right to a lawyer, and to confront witnesses. The Eighth Amendment prohibits the infliction of cruel and unusual punishment on those convicted of a crime. The Ninth Amendment states that the American people have rights that are not specified in the Constitution or the Bill of Rights. The Tenth Amendment stresses the national character of the U.S. constitutional system. The remaining amendments address other specific issues. The Second Amendment acknowledges that the people's right "to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." The Third Amendment prevents the government from making citizens shelter soldiers in their homes.

The Seventh Amendment assures a trial by jury in civil cases. Originally, the Bill of Rights

Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights is the collective name for the first 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Since its adoption in 1791, it has served as the founding element of basic American freedoms. It specifies the guarantees and liberties of the American people and protects them from the beliefs of popular majority opinions and transitional government officials. Originally, the Bill of Rights

applied only to the laws and activities of the federal government. It was not until after the Civil War that the Bill of Rights' provisions were applied to the individual states.

Equality for Women and Minorities

The Bill of Rights seemed to be written in wide-ranging language that excluded no one, but, in fact, it was not intended to protect all the people. Whole groups were left out. Women were second-class citizens, essentially the property of their men and unable even to vote until 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified. Native Americans were completely left outside the constitutional system. They were governed not by ordinary American laws but by federal treaties and statutes that deprived tribes of most of their land and much of their political autonomy. The Bill of Rights ruled for nearly 135 years before Congress granted Native Americans U.S. citizenship. And it was well sensed that there was a “race exception” to the Constitution.

For 78 years the Constitution enforced slavery and protected racial subordination. Instead of constitutional rights, enslaved people had no access to the rule of law; they could not go to court, make contracts, or own any property. They could be beaten, imprisoned without trial, and hanged. In short, as one infamous Supreme Court opinion stated: “Blacks had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.” The American ideal of equal rights under law was not explicitly included in the Constitution until after the Civil War, with passage of the three Reconstruction-era amendments. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) banned slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) established equal rights of citizenship to all Americans, with the special purpose of recognizing the rights of former enslaved people. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) provided that voting rights of citizens “shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

Freedom of Religion

The right to freedom of religion is so central to American democracy that it was enshrined in the First Amendment, along with other fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The Bill of Rights guarantees

an atmosphere of absolute religious liberty and diverse faiths have flourished in America since the founding of the republic. The Constitution does not mandate the separation of church and state, although some of the Founders voiced their support for this idea. Indeed, James Madison once observed that “the [religious] devotion of the people has been manifestly increased by the total separation of the church from the state.”

The establishment clause and the free exercise clause together read: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . .” Originally, the First Amendment applied only to the federal government. A number of the states effectively had established churches before the First Amendment was ratified, with some remaining into the early 19th century. Subsequently, *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947)—a decision that denied tax reimbursement to parents of children attending private religious schools—incorporated the establishment clause and applied it against state law.

The first case to examine the scope of the free exercise clause was *Reynolds v. United States* in 1879. The case dealt with the prosecution of a polygamist under federal law, and the defendant’s claim of protection under the free exercise clause. The Supreme Court upheld the law and the government’s prosecution. This case, which also revived Thomas Jefferson’s statement regarding the “wall of separation” between church and state, introduced the idea that although religious exercise is generally protected under the First Amendment, this does not prevent the government from passing neutral laws that could impact religious practices.

This interpretation of the free exercise clause continued into the 1960s. Applying a new standard of “strict scrutiny” in several areas of civil rights law, the Supreme Court started to apply this rule to First Amendment religion clauses, as well, interpreting the free exercise clause to require accommodation of religious conduct except where a state could show a compelling interest. One example was *Sherbert v. Verner*, in which the court overturned the state Employment Security Commission’s decision denying unemployment benefits to a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church who was fired after her employer adopted a six-day work week, which would have required her to

work on Saturdays against the dictates of her faith. As Justice William Brennan stated for the majority, “to condition the availability of benefits upon this appellant’s willingness to violate a cardinal principle of her religious faith effectively penalizes the free exercise of her constitutional liberties.” This view of the free exercise clause would begin to narrow again in the 1980s and 1990s. Examining a state prohibition on the use of peyote, the Supreme Court upheld the law, despite the drug’s use as part of a religious ritual, and without employing the strict scrutiny test. Instead, the court reaffirmed that a “neutral law of general applicability” does not implicate the free exercise clause. This was followed by intense opposition from Congress and the passage of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 1993 in an attempt to re-establish the prior test. However, in *City of Boerne v. Flores*, the Supreme Court struck down the act, holding that it unconstitutionally tried to usurp the Supreme Court’s role in interpreting the Constitution.

No Official National Language

Many people are surprised to learn that the United States promulgates no official language. As one of the major English-speaking nations, many assume that English is the country’s official language. Despite efforts over the years, the United States has not adopted an official language. English-only laws can violate the Constitution’s protection of due process, especially in courts where no translation service is offered, and in instances where English-only ballots are used and bilingual ones were available in the past. According to the 2010 census, 55.4 million people aged 5 and older speak a language other than English at home, more than double that of the last three decades and at a pace four times greater than the nation’s population growth.

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See Also: Abolition; Constitution, U.S.; Language Usage in the United States; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Supreme Court, U.S.

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Birth of a Nation, The

D. W. Griffith’s *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) was a cinematic masterpiece for its day, a three-hour feature film with battle sequences and wide-angle shots. More significant than its cinematography, however, was its inaccurate depiction of the post–Civil War era, namely its portrayal of the Ku Klux Klan as a much-needed white vigilante organization that saves the white south from evil black-led reconstructionists.

Birth of a Nation is largely based on writer Thomas Dixon’s fictional antiblack works, *The Leopard’s Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905). The first half of *Birth of a Nation* deals with the Civil War, including various battle scenes, and culminates with the south’s surrender at the Appomattox Court House. The second half of the film focuses on the Reconstruction era, particularly in South Carolina. The film also features a love story between Ben Cameron, a white southerner, and Elsie Stoneman, a white northerner. One of the most fascinating and controversial features of the film, however, is the portrayal of African Americans.

Portrayal of American Blacks

For instance, there are scenes that focus on Reconstruction-era legislative sessions in South Carolina, in which Griffith depicts the legislature as dominated by a barbaric black majority, while the white minority watches helplessly. In the legislature, some African Americans are barefoot, while others are eating chicken or secretly drinking from flasks of liquor. According to Griffith, the first piece of legislation passed by this black-dominated legislative body provided for the intermarriage of blacks and whites. Shortly after this legislation is passed,

Griffith focuses the camera on the African American legislators who stare longingly at the few white women spectators in the gallery, and then the African Americans erupt into paroxysms of joy.

Moreover, all the major “black” characters, such as Silas Lynch and Gus, are actually whites in blackface, and these characters chronically leer and stalk white women throughout the film. For example, even though Lynch is lieutenant governor of South Carolina, his main ambition, according to Griffith, is to marry Elsie. After she rebuffs him, Lynch decides to kidnap her. Like Lynch, Gus is also consumed with desire for white women. Gus, a corrupt Union soldier, constantly follows and stares at Ben Cameron’s younger sister, until he finally catches her alone at a spring and asks the young white woman to marry him. She flees from Gus, and in a memorable scene, throws herself over a cliff rather than be ravaged by Gus.

Whereas African Americans are vilified throughout the film, Griffith’s white characters, especially southerners, are depicted as physically strong and noble. In one scene, a white man fights and defeats an entire tavern full of African Americans, until he is finally shot in the back by the nefarious Gus. In another scene, a handful of whites, including two former Union soldiers, admirably defend their position against an entire black regiment.

The film ends with a celebratory defeat of Reconstruction-era South Carolina by the Klan and their allies. Gus is captured and killed after a “trial” by the Klan, and Lynch and his supporters are routed in a skirmish with Klansmen. Finally, Ben and Elsie are married, thus showing a unification of the white south and the white north in a post-Civil War society.

The NAACP and the Rise of the KKK

The Birth of a Nation was immensely successful, as throngs of whites flocked to see the film. President Woodrow Wilson even screened it at the White House. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a national civil rights organization formed just six years before the film’s debut, picketed the film nationwide and demanded that it be censored. The NAACP was somewhat successful in its efforts, as the film was ultimately banned in Boston and Wilmington, Delaware. Nevertheless, *The Birth of*



A poster of the movie The Birth of a Nation that refers to the original title of the book, The Clansman. The film was highly controversial and caused widespread protests.

a Nation grossed \$18 million and contributed to the reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Klan had been lying dormant for several decades but made a comeback several months after the film’s release. By 1925, the Klan would march 40,000 members strong on the nation’s capital in a peaceful demonstration, and also claim a nationwide membership of 5 million. *The Birth of a Nation* is not solely responsible for the reemergence of the Klan, as xenophobia surrounding World War I was a huge factor, as well, but it definitely was a factor in the Klan’s reappearance.

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See Also: African Americans; Blackface; Ku Klux Klan; Motion Pictures; Reconstruction.

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Black Codes

Black codes were laws passed by former confederate states after the Civil War and during Reconstruction that curbed the freedom and civil liberties of newly freed slaves. They lasted until the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868; similarly restrictive laws called Jim Crow laws were passed at the end of Reconstruction in 1876. With slavery outlawed, states enacted black codes in an effort to transfer to blacks many of the restrictions previously held by slaves, in order to maintain legal and social distinctions between the black and white populations. The laws varied in their degree of strictness and limitations from state to state. Black codes were a perpetuation of antebellum slave codes but differed in that they granted freedmen limited civil rights such as the ability to marry, own personal property, and sue in court.

Discriminatory Laws During Slavery

Slavery was adopted because of the shortage of workers in the new North American colonies. The expansion of industry drove colonists to seek ways to maintain production without driving up the cost of labor. Chattel slavery was born in this economic environment, which would ultimately give slave-masters complete control of the enslaved workers.

Laws called “slave codes” were laws passed in the antebellum south that were designed to perpetuate the system of chattel slavery, permanently locking African Americans into a lifetime

of bondage. These were the antecedents to the post-emancipation black codes, embedding in law a system of black inferiority and restricting slaves’ ability to marry, travel, or become free.

In the early part of the 17th century, blacks worked alongside white indentured servants and were of the same social status. By the late 1600s, laws were systematically implemented in the English colonies that began to greatly restrict the actions and behavior of blacks, which led to the racialization of slavery in the United States. There were significant differences in each colony’s slave laws. Virginia, for example, was noted for having particularly harsh laws against African Americans. A 1669 law stated that if an enslaved person resisted his or her master and was killed while being punished, the master would not be charged for the crime. The assumption was that the slave-master did not have malicious intentions because no one would willfully destroy their own property.

But laws restricting black freedom were not limited to slaveholding states nor dependent on the institution of slavery. Northern states in the mid-19th century implemented laws restricting blacks, either prohibiting them from migrating to the state at all (as in Illinois in 1853) or prohibiting marriage between blacks and whites, as in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. Such anti-miscegenation laws were standard in the south, and these border states were influenced by their neighbors.

Restriction on Free Blacks

Black codes had a negative impact on everything from the daily life of African Americans to legal proceedings. African Americans could not testify in court in cases that involved those of their own race. In addition, they could not vote or participate in any legal proceedings. Further, they could not own a home or property or even rent a place of residency. Beyond that, any type of speech or conversation by blacks that was deemed a threat to white society or individuals was considered criminal behavior. Anyone found guilty of actions considered to be seditious had to pay a hefty fine. In addition, blacks could not buy firearms and they were penalized if they violated curfew. The black codes became more and more restrictive for African Americans in an effort to perpetuate a white supremacist society. The primary effect this had on blacks during Reconstruction was to

infringe their ability to be full American citizens; the black codes were dehumanizing. The laws enacted represented a continuation of the slave codes that had relegated blacks to nonhuman status during antebellum times.

The degree of harshness of the codes was contingent on the state in which one lived. Mississippi was notorious for its harsh treatment of African Americans. Annually blacks had to sign a legally binding labor contract. The contract stated that if they were ever to run away and not complete their assignment, they were forced to forgo their pay for the entire year. At any time, the servants—as they were sometime referred to—were expected to be prepared to show identification that displayed their place of residence and authorization to work. If they were caught trying to escape labor and flee the region, they could be promptly arrested and returned to their master, as employers were often called. People were employed to be on the lookout for fugitive laborers. These so-called Negro catchers were paid handsomely for their important responsibility of keeping blacks in their place. In addition, anyone caught trying to convince a black servant to flee employment or trying to assist a runaway with food or drink could be imprisoned or assessed a fine.

Black male children in Mississippi were required to be apprentices until they were 21 years old. African American girls were apprenticed until they were 18. The master could punish enslaved children in the same way their parents could, including the administration of corporal punishment. Due to southern white fear of black deviance, great pains were taken in Mississippi to keep African Americans from loitering or aimlessly wandering about towns and cities. Therefore, any vagrant free black person would be charged a heavy fine, which they generally could not pay, so they were forced to work until the debt was settled.

South Carolina had equally cruel black codes. For example, slaves who missed work because of illness were charged for the food, medical care, and other resources consumed during the hiatus. The cost was deducted from their wages. Black South Carolinians had to work from sunup to sundown and domestic servants had to be on call 24 hours a day. The code in South Carolina even mandated that African Americans display a kind disposition and exert gentle speech toward their masters.

Many of the activities blacks were permitted to do benefited white society and disadvantaged African Americans. For example, blacks were allowed to enter into contracts but this was primarily done to lock them into labor contracts that were unfair and paid low wages. Like Mississippi, the codes existed throughout the south that penalized blacks for trying to terminate their employment. In some states African Americans could face imprisonment if they fled their job. In a system that seemed to perpetuate slavery even after emancipation, it seemed that black codes were designed to mimic the social relations between blacks and whites of antebellum times, re-creating the slave/slave master relationship.

The northern public was largely critical of black codes, as they recognized the laws as an attempt by the south to maintain the southern status quo. The 1866 elections proved a major blow for black codes. The Republicans gained large majorities in the election. As a result, they implemented martial law in the south.

New elections were held and free blacks were allowed to vote along with poor whites, and the new government repealed all black codes. In 1868 The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, which granted blacks equal protection and ensured that southerners could not resurrect black codes. However, similar laws would be implemented in the south during the 20th century known as Jim Crow laws, a manifestation of earlier black codes. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 finally brought an end to over 200 years of laws that denied equal citizenship to African Americans.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Freedmen's Bureau; Jim Crow Laws; Slavery.

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Black Entertainment Television

Black Entertainment Television (BET) is an American cable network primarily targeting a young African American audience. Established by Robert L. Johnson on January 25, 1980, and currently owned by Viacom, BET offers music, entertainment, comedy, movies, and other programs. Much of its programming reflects hip-hop and urban cultures of contemporary American society. Although BET offered current affairs programs, such as Ed Gordon's *BET News* and Tavis Smiley's *BET Tonight*, the network's major overhauls in the early 2000s resulted in its increasing investment in music and the dismantling of BET's news division. Its sister channels include BET Gospel, BET Hip-Hop, and Centric, formerly known as BETJ or BET Jazz.

Before starting BET, Johnson worked in Washington, D.C., as press secretary to Walter E. Fauntroy, a congressional delegate, and as vice president of government relations for the National Cable Television Association. When Johnson learned about a plan to launch a cable channel targeting an elderly audience, he realized that the same principle could apply to African American viewers, which was estimated to have a \$75 billion purchasing power. Initially, BET offered gospel music and reruns of low-budget films. Johnson planned to generate profit from advertising by leveraging the fact that blacks watched more television than whites and tended to be more brand loyal.

Initially, BET broadcast two to four hours a week, without original content, as a block of programming on Nickelodeon. Johnson admitted that BET showed movies considered to be

Blaxploitation films because that was all it could afford. It wasn't until the summer of 1983, when Taft Broadcasting Company made a \$360,000 investment, that its programming expanded to six hours a day, seven days a week. BET started showing music videos provided by record companies for free, and its own content, including *Bobby Jones Gospel Hour* and *Video Soul*.

Growth and Expansion

Although BET began turning a profit in 1986, when its subscriber base exceeded 12 million, it still struggled to find channels through which its programs could be aired. During this period, many urban areas, including New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Boston, and Detroit, did not have cable services or were just beginning to be wired with cable. Most services existed in suburban and rural areas, where white audiences were reluctant to have BET added to their channel lineup, especially because cable channels were still limited in numbers.

Nonetheless, BET's programming grew, and since the late 1980s, it has served as a portal of current affairs for African Americans. Journalist Ed Gordon appeared on *BET News*, *Black Men Speak Out*, *Conversation With Ed Gordon*, and other programs. Tavis Smiley was the host for his talk show, *BET Tonight*, until Gordon took over his position in 2001. *Lead Story*, *BET Nightly News*, and other news programs were some of BET's news programs that became available to its audience.

In 1991, BET became the first African American-controlled company to be traded on the New York Stock Exchange, raising \$72 million. After aggressive expansion efforts during the decade, BET Holdings owned four cable television channels, four magazines, and an online service. It also established BET SoundStage Restaurant in Maryland. In 1999, BET announced a \$35 million venture project with News Corporation, USA Networks, and Liberty Media to launch its Web site, www.bet.com.

Selling Out and Critiques

In 2001, Johnson sold BET to Viacom for approximately \$3 billion, making him the first African American billionaire. By then, the network reached over 60 billion viewers domestically. Although the

payoff for Johnson was \$1.5 billion, many African Americans viewed his decision as a betrayal to black communities. Critics claimed that Johnson was solely interested in financial gain and not the advancement of African American culture and the preservation of its heritage. Journalist George Curry said this was a part of a larger issue facing African Americans who witnessed AOL Time Warner's purchase of 49 percent of *Essence* magazine (currently owned by Time Inc.) and 100 percent of www.Africanna.com. Similarly, the *Chicago Tribune* held the ownership of Blackvoices.com (currently a part of the *Huffington Post*).

Since the early 2000s, BET has struggled to strike a balance between entertainment and news. For example, following the death of Coretta Scott King on January 30, 2006, BET maintained its regular music video programming while its cable competitors covered King's funeral live. Although BET broadcast a special program titled *Coretta Scott King: Married to the Mission* on the evening of the funeral, it did not escape severe criticism by the National Association of Black Journalists, among others.

BET's entertainment programming has not escaped criticism either. Curry commented that BET had become ET, or empty television, saying the network has lost its unique programming that offered serious perspectives on issues concerning black America. Activist and author Keith Boykin and filmmaker Spike Lee agreed with Curry. Boyce Watkins, a professor at Syracuse University and frequent commentator on many networks, asserted that the growth of BET was one of the black disasters of the 20th century.

The Hunger Strike and Beyond Television

In November 2007, E. Faye Williams of the National Congress of Black Women, and members of other civil rights groups joined the Reverend Delman L. Coates in his protest called "Enough is Enough." The group demonstrated in front of the homes of Viacom executives in Washington, D.C., and New York, claiming that BET and other channels under the umbrella of Viacom degraded African Americans and women.

On March 16, 2008, "The Hunger Strike," an episode on *The Boondocks* widely speculated to be a portrayal of Viacom's pressure on the Cartoon Network, was aired only outside the United

States. The episode, which criticized BET, only became available to the general public after its DVD release. Rapper Percy Miller's launching of Better Black Television (BBT) has been one of the responses to such criticism against BET.

BET's presence has gone beyond television programming. Since 2001, it has hosted the BET Awards. The event showcases the works, contributions, and performances of African American and other minority singers, actors, athletes, and other personalities in entertainment. In 2006, BET launched the BET Hip-Hop Awards, specifically to celebrate hip-hop performers, producers, and artists. Since 2008, the BET Honors has awarded African American achievements.

BET has also increased its presence globally since the establishment of BET International in February 2008. The network caters to the British, Irish, African, and Middle Eastern markets, with both U.S.-produced and locally produced programs, including *106 & Park*, *American Gangster*, and *College Hill*.

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See Also: African Americans; Hip-Hop; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Television.

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Black Hills Dispute and War

The Black Hills are a geological anomaly created from volcanic eruptions that formed concentric rings approximately 1.8 billion years ago. The

tallest peaks east of the Rocky Mountains, the hills suddenly emerge from the surrounding grasslands and are home to one of the most complex and diverse biological ecosystems. They are considered a sacred site by several Native American tribes of the northern plains such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Lakota. Scholars currently date the earliest indigenous habitation in the area to 7,000 B.C.E. The so-called Black Hills Dispute and Black Hills War refer to a struggle of more than 150 years between the Lakota people (also known as the Sioux) and the United States government over ownership of this area, which continues today. Numerous natural sites within the Black Hills, such as Bear Butte, Harney Peak, Wind Cave, and Reynolds Prairie, are deeply connected with the oral and ceremonial traditions of the Lakota.

Lakota Oral and Ceremonial Traditions

While historical accounts note the Lakota's arrival in the Black Hills area circa the 1770s, Lakota oral tradition identifies the Black Hills as the site of their origin and posits the 1770s migration as a return to their homeland. For the Lakota, the sacred enclosed landscape of the Black Hills, which they refer to as the heart, is a physical location where the celestial movements in the sky are mirrored and associated with specific sites. Careful observers of the sun and the night sky, the Lakota were quite knowledgeable about the cyclic pattern of celestial movement and changing seasonal patterns. The interrelationship between celestial movements, particular stories, specific sites, and ritual served to provide sacred order to the life of the Lakota, gave meaning to their understanding of their place in the universe, and was believed to be necessary to the continuation of all life.

Broadly, the Black Hills mirror the movement of the sun through a great circle of stars that marks the perimeter and is remembered through two oral traditions: the sacred hoop and the race track. Movement of the sun through specific constellations of the night sky from spring to fall required the Lakota to move to particular sites along the racetrack and conduct specific rituals. For example, when the sun was in the constellation of the Bear's Lodge (at the summer solstice), memorialized through the story of a hill created by Fallen Star to save children threatened by

bears, the people moved to what is known today as Devil's Tower to perform the Sun Dance ritual. Understanding the interconnections of the quartet aids in understanding the critical importance of the Black Hills to the Lakota.

Contact

Early contact between the Lakota and colonial powers began at the turn of the 19th century. They were one of the tribes encountered by the Lewis and Clark expedition. In the early years of contact there was trade between the tribe and French traders and Americans, but by 1851, white encroachment was quickening and the first major treaty was signed between the United States and the Lakota at Fort Laramie. In spite of land cessions, the original Ft. Laramie Treaty reserved a significant portion of land that included most of present-day Nebraska, the western halves of South and North Dakota, and portions of northeastern Wyoming and southeastern Montana for the Lakota. However, the United States retained the right to establish roads, military, and other posts in the Lakota territory. The treaty also served to establish boundaries between different Native nations.

The Black Hills War

Seven years after the Ft. Laramie Treaty, gold was found at Pike's Peak, west of the western-most border of the newly formed Lakota Territory. This triggered a wave of gold seekers through Lakota Territory, nearly 100,000 people in 18 months' time. It also created an American desire for faster transportation into the area and sights were set for a transcontinental railroad. The influx of Americans through Lakota Territory triggered enough tension and skirmishes for the Americans to call for a new treaty at Ft. Laramie in 1868, which reduced the Lakota land base, but it still included the Black Hills. The treaty also called for the establishment of government agencies on the reserved lands.

In 1874, General George Custer entered the Black Hills on an expedition to find a location for the construction of a government agency. The expedition also included a large company of soldiers, geologists, and miners. On June 30 they struck gold, starting a new wave of gold fever. Skirmishes between the Americans and the Lakota and Cheyenne intensified as the Natives

continued to defiantly leave their reservations in protest over the intrusion of whites into the Black Hills, their sacred lands.

Many met for a Sun Dance led by Sitting Bull, the important Hunkpapa Lakota chief, in June 1876. Native accounts of the ritual claimed that Sitting Bull received a vision that prophesied an important Native victory against the American soldiers. Eleven days later Lakota and Cheyenne forces engaged Custer and his troops at the Greasy Creek. The Battle at Little Bighorn and the defeat of Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer and the Seventh Cavalry on June 25, 1876, is arguably the most widely circulated story of the Indian American archives—for both Natives and non-Natives. From a Native perspective, the victory was foretold through vision and therefore supernaturally sanctioned.

The great victory, however, signaled coming defeat as huge numbers of soldiers hounded the Lakota, driving them to their reservations. Some, such as Sitting Bull, fled to Canada for a time. Another great leader, Crazy Horse, managed to elude the forces for nearly a year before eventually turning in himself and his band at Camp Robinson in May 1877, and within months he was killed during a scuffle as he was arrested and taken into custody.

In 1877, the U.S. government repealed the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty and reduced Lakota lands significantly, placing specific bands in separate locations. Most importantly, the Black Hills were no longer part of the Lakota lands. A new threat to the Oglala came later that year with the passage of the Dawes Allotment Act, which sought to reduce the holding of the Sioux and divided the great reservation into six separate reservations. The Dawes Act planned to “civilize” the Indian through the cultivation of farming.

It provided for allotments of 160-acre plots, which would be given to each adult male member of the tribe. Through ownership of private property, the reformers supporting the act argued that the Indian would acquire the skills necessary to enter their place within the American system. The act meant that the tribal tradition of jointly owned lands would be broken, the larger Lakota Nation would be broken into smaller, more manageable groups, and, perhaps most importantly, the plan would free 9 million acres of land for

further settlement, meaning a large profit for the U.S. government.

Twenty years of tension and deep divide provided fertile ground for the Ghost Dance, a millennial movement that swept through many Native tribes, in particular the Lakota. Not only was there considerable stress between the tribes and the U.S. government, there were profound splits internal to each group. The Lakota first heard about Wovoka, the visionary founder of the movement, from the Shoshone and Arapaho. Wovoka was considered the Son of God on earth, who had come first to the whites who had rejected and killed him. Five Lakota left their agency without permission to visit the new Messiah. Upon their return, they called a council and Indian police promptly confined the travelers to the prison.

After their two-day confinement, the prisoners were released after promising not to hold councils to share what they learned during their visit. The matter, however, was not laid to rest. The next spring, Kicking Bear, from the Lakota Cheyenne River agency, went to visit the Arapaho; his stories about the Ghost Dance and instruction about how to perform the ritual circulated throughout the reservation. The Ghost Dance movement took hold among the Lakota people and gained momentum.

In mid-December 1890 the situation was ready to explode. Sitting Bull had been killed at the Standing Rock agency, and many members of his band fled to meet up with Big Foot’s band from the Cheyenne River agency. They were returning from a Ghost Dance ritual but were heading toward the Pine Ridge agency to surrender. On December 28, the U.S. military intercepted the group and forced them to set camp even though they were only 16 miles away from the agency seat. The following afternoon a melee broke out as soldiers worked to disarm the bands. There are numerous, conflicting reports about what transpired next, but in the end the majority of Lakota—more than 150 men, women, and children—were killed in the Massacre at Wounded Knee, effectively ending the Black Hills War.

The Black Hills Dispute

With the closing of the frontier and the move to the 20th century, the Lakota never forgot the



Harney Peak is the highest natural point in South Dakota. A Sioux Native American named Black Elk claimed to have had his Great Vision on the site of Harney Peak when he was 9 years old. In a book about Black Elk by writer John Neihardt, Black Elk recorded his vision as "While I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner the shapes of all things in the spirit, and the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being."

Black Hills. In the early 1920s their efforts shifted to legal resistance. They filed a land claim for the Black Hills, arguing the 1877 legislation was illegal because the United States never legitimately purchased the land. They won a major victory in 1956, which was appealed. Eventually the case was heard by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 30, 1980. In *United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians* the court ruled 8–1 to uphold the original Lakota victory, which found the United States illegally seized the Black Hills. The court awarded the Lakota nations \$106 million, the largest award to Native tribes for illegal land seizures. However, the Lakota never sought monetary award; they wanted the return of their sacred lands. In spite of exceptional poverty in contemporary times, the Lakota nations continue to reject the award, which with accrued interest is now in excess of \$350 million.

The gold boon dwindled quickly and today the economic mainstay of the Black Hills is tourism.

Mining is a historical object rather than an income producer. Propelling the tourism industry are two important attractions. First, the Black Hills are home to Mount Rushmore, one of the most important icons of American ideals meant to evoke a strong sense of nationalism. More than two million tourists visit it every year. For Native peoples, the site is a symbol of American imperialism. It was occupied during the late 1960s and early 1970s by the American Indian Movement, demonstrating Native resistance that continues to contest ownership of the Black Hills. Mount Rushmore has also entered popular culture and is mobilized in many ways from political cartoons to T-shirts, movies, and posters. It is a frequently used icon that both exalts and critiques political and/or social power. It is also symbolic of Native presence, resistance, and persistence.

The second draw of tourism to the Black Hills is its natural scenic landscape, much of which is managed by national and state park services that

control access to the lands—another site of contention for the Lakota. In an interview for the film *A Seat at the Table*, Lakota activist Charlotte Black Elk relates the denial of her application for an access permit to the Black Elk National Forest, which is named for her grandfather, while applications from others such as the motorcycle group Hell's Angels were approved.

Update

In 2012, an announcement was made that a large parcel of privately owned land in the Black Hills was going to be auctioned publicly. Known today as Reynolds Prairie, the land was one of the more significant sites in the racetrack oral tradition and is known to the Lakota as *Pe' Sla*, Lakota for bald head. It was and is considered by the Lakota to be the center of the Black Hills. According to oral tradition Lakota traveled there in May after spring had fully arrived and conducted rituals in which offerings were given in gratitude for their many blessings; these rituals are considered necessary for the continuity of the life cycle.

Lakota and other Natives were outraged that the auction was to be public and that the land was in danger of development. Facebook and the Internet were used extensively, shaping the outcome. First the public auction was canceled, and the owner decided to hold a private auction instead. Second, a fund was set up to accept donations in an effort to help the Rosebud Sioux raise the earnest money and on September 10, 2012, the Associated Press reported that the Rosebud Sioux Tribe's bid of \$9 million for 2,000 acres of land was accepted by the land's owners.

The tribe's confidence that it could raise the funds to purchase the land before the November 30, 2012 deadline, wasn't misplaced. Through the combined efforts of the *Oceti Sakowin* [Great Sioux Nation], the \$9 million was raised, and the land purchased. Rosebud Sioux Tribe Chairman Cyril "Whitey" Scott announced on November 30, 2012, that the purchase had been made. "I can tell you that *Pe' Sla*, the sacred land on behalf of the *Oceti Sakowin*, is secured. The \$9 million was secured, *Pe' Sla* has been purchased."

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See Also: American Indian Movement; *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*; Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); Great Sioux War; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Native Americans; Sioux.

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Black Muslims

The label "Black Muslims" refers to African American adherents to religious groups that share a tenuous relationship to orthodox Sunni Islam. These groups emphasize black nationalism and separatism, as opposed to the Islamic belief of the *umma* or a unified Muslim community that does not make doctrinal differences in race or ethnicity. Black Muslims are usually identified as belonging to the Moorish Science Temple of America, Nation of Islam (NOI) or one of its splinter groups, or the 5 Percent Nation of Gods and Earths.

Moorish Science Temple of America

Founded in 1913 in New Jersey, the Moorish Science Temple of America is the Nation of Islam's predecessor. Its original leader, Noble Drew Ali, was believed to be a reincarnation of three of the world's greatest religious leaders: Jesus, Buddha, and Muhammad. Followers of Drew Ali were

taught some of the orthodox precepts of Islam, including facing east during prayer, observing Friday as the Sabbath, and calling their God “Allah.” Also included in worship are some traditional Christian hymns, most likely appropriated from Drew Ali’s Baptist upbringing in North Carolina. Members also adopted the suffixes “Bey” or “El” to their surnames as a means of distinguishing themselves from other blacks and of creating an identity not inherited from their ancestors’ slaveholders.

The mission of the Moorish Science Temple of America was to promote racial uplift and, in contrast to NOI, its members were encouraged to become good and upstanding citizens, rather than confrontational. Ideologically, the group aligned itself with Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association, and by the 1930s, the group numbered well over 30,000 members. Membership in the Moorish Science Temple declined with the founding of NOI and the introduction of Sunni Islam to the Black Muslim fringe. In the 2000s, only about 200 members attended annual meetings on the East Coast.

Nation of Islam

W. D. Fard founded the Nation of Islam in Detroit in 1931. Fard was a peddler of undetermined ethnic origins who introduced Islam to urban blacks in the northern United States. The NOI actively promotes the idea that blacks are superior to whites, and that black subjugation by whites was the result of efforts of a mad scientist called Yakub, who created the white or, as the NOI refers to them, “Caucasian” race. As such, the NOI is focused on restoring blacks to their original elevation in the social and evolutionary scale.

The organization loosely incorporates elements of Sunni Islam into its teachings, including fasting, modest dress (e.g., head coverings for women), and specific gender roles. Congregations meet in temples identified by cosmic numbers, like Harlem’s famous Temple No. 7.

The 5 Percent Nation of Gods and Earths

The 5 Percent Nation of Gods and Earths is a splinter group of Nation of Islam. It was founded on October 10, 1964, by former NOI member Clarence 13X. In contrast to NOI, which

preaches its own formulation of Islam, Clarence 13X taught his followers that they are gods. The 5 Percent Nation of Gods and Earths, more commonly known as the “Five Percenters,” believe that the world’s black population is divided into three groups: 85 percent are unaware of divine knowledge or of God; 10 percent are people who know the truth, but rather than embrace it, they deceive others for personal gain. Among this group are religious leaders within the black community who profit from religious leadership. The last 5 percent, the Five Percenters, are known as the “Poor Righteous Teachers,” who strive to bring the truth to blacks.

The group is guided by the tenets of what is referred to as “Universal Knowledge.” A sun, moon, star, and the number seven represent this knowledge, as well as the group itself. Each item has its own significance related to gender and the dissemination of knowledge: the sun represents the male body, knowledge, truth, and light. The moon represents the female body and wisdom. The star represents understanding and children. Finally, the number seven represents God as the Five Percenters understand him: as a man, not a mysterious, omniscient force as perceived in other religious groups. The group relies on the “Supreme Alphabet” and “Supreme Mathematics” for understanding scripture and lessons borrowed from NOI.

Every year, the group holds a series of annual events known as universal parliaments. These are gatherings to encourage members to expand their understanding of universal knowledge and to discuss issues affecting the Five Percenters as a group.

From the 1980s and into the 2000s, much of the proselytizing done by Five Percenters was done through the medium of hip-hop music. Among the more notable members of the Five Percenters are Eve, Erykah Badu, Public Enemy, and Wu-Tang Clan.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Power Movement; Muslim Americans; Nation of Islam; Pan-Africanism; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League.

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Black Panther Party

Founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California, on October 15, 1966, the Black Panther Party (originally known as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense) was a radical African American organization that promoted black nationalism and resistance to the integrationist ideals of the civil rights movement. Newton and Seale had been heavily influenced by Malcolm X's black nationalism, Mao Zedong's "picking up the gun" ideology, and philosophies of other thinkers including Franz Fanon and Che Guevara. Until its demise in 1982, the Panthers worked closely with the urban black population that was experiencing segregation, racism, poverty, and other social, economic, and political difficulties. Partially because of its publication, *The Black Panther*, the party expanded nationally during the late 1960s, with its peak membership nearing 10,000 in 1969. Although its fundamental philosophy subscribed to socialist and communist ideas, the party attracted diverse membership.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense initially captured national attention in 1967 when its rifle-bearing members dressed themselves in leather jackets and black berets and marched into the California state Capitol building. This demonstration was a response to what the party maintained was the brutality against blacks committed by the white-dominated police forces. In addition, the party's volunteers patrolled the streets in Oakland to educate African Americans

about their rights. This was the beginning of the organization's role of infusing black pride and engagement into political militancy.

Programs

The Black Panther Party had a set of strict rules for its members. One of the key regulatory programs was the Ten Point Program, which called for freedom, employment, housing, education, and other fundamental rights. Notably, the program sought exemption from military conscription as a manifestation of the party's resistance to a racist government, as well as "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace." These ideas stemmed from Newton's fundamental theory of "what we want" and "what we believe" that emphasized African American self-determination.

Although the party was originally launched to protect African Americans from police brutality, it expanded its scope to include various community programs. Modeling after Head Start, the Panthers started the Free Breakfast for Children program. Additionally, they hosted free sickle-cell anemia testing, offered grocery donations to the poor, encouraged drug and alcohol rehabilitation, organized free ambulance services, and engaged themselves in many other social outreach activities called Survival Programs. Party leaders believed that these programs were consequential in altering African American consciousness. Simultaneously, the presence of the party in local communities resulted in an increasing participation by women and urban residents, in general.

Political Activity

The Black Panther Party influenced the development of African American political radicalism. The party emphasized antiracist and anticapitalist perspectives. Newton's assessment on American racial politics frequently compared itself to the racial and ethnic subjugations of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans. Such anticolonialist theories led to the party's denouncement of the United States as an empire. In the context of the Vietnam War and the geopolitical environment of 1970, the Black Panther Party called for global cooperation among oppressed people around the world in order to attain revolutionary intercommunalism.

Between 1973 and 1975, the Black Panther Party heavily exercised its political agency. Seale ran in the Oakland mayoral race in 1973 and received the second-highest number of votes among the nine candidates. Elaine Brown ran for Oakland City Council in 1973 and 1975, gaining 30 percent and 44 percent of the vote, respectively. Seale and Brown led massive voter registration campaigns. Despite their electoral losses, the candidates showed the power of African American political mobilization by winning many votes. Eventually, in 1977, Brown helped Lionel Wilson become Oakland's first African American mayor.

Controversy and Harassment

The party remained controversial. Its leaders, including Eldridge Cleaver, often encouraged armed resistance. Their display of weapons, demonstrations, use of revolutionary language, and other actions led to violent confrontations with authorities. Locally, the Panthers experienced violence and intimidation by the Oakland Police Department. In April 1968, Bobby Hutton was killed by an Oakland police officer during a gun fight. Nationally, in the following year, two members were killed by the Chicago Police Department. Dozens more were also shot or imprisoned.

Furthermore, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 1967 had its counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) infiltrate and attempt to neutralize the party. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover commented in 1968 that the Black Panther Party was the greatest threat to domestic security. Along with leaders and members of other civil rights organizations, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Nation of Islam, the Panthers' members were targeted by COINTELPRO.

Although the party's diverse membership helped the organization grow rapidly during its early period, it caused dissonance within the party as the 1970s progressed. Newton and David Hilliard preferred to maintain the combination of community service and self-defense as its main objective. Cleaver and others were inclined toward a more aggressive approach. The disagreement between Newton and Cleaver resulted in Cleaver's removal from the Central Committee. In the meantime, Brown increased the party's

involvement in electoral politics and women's roles within the organization that had long been predominantly male. In 1977, however, Brown left the party after Newton ordered the beating of a female member upon Newton's return from Cuba. Although the party existed until 1982, its membership was less than 30 by 1980. The dissolution of the party was inevitable when Newton was found to have embezzled funds from a Panther-sponsored school in order to buy drugs.

Legacy

The legacy of the party remains to this day. In 1989, the New Black Panther Party was established in Dallas, Texas. It later welcomed many of the former Nation of Islam members. In 2004, the National Alliance of Black Panthers was established. Although many of these organizations are unrelated to the party, its emphasis on grassroots activism and self-determination continues to appeal to many African Americans.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement; Nation of Islam; Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

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Black Power Movement

The Black Power movement consisted of various political movements based on black autonomy, self-sufficiency, and nationalism. The term *black power* was first used by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., in the 1950s. Growing out of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the Black Power movement aimed to achieve full racial equality. While these two movements share much in common, there exist many differences.

Furthermore, since the Black Power movement included black separatist factions that emphasized self-defense, which was frequently associated with violence, it was stereotyped as a militant movement in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. In reality, however, it was a complex movement with differing ideologies and impacts upon American society and culture.

Despite the achievements of the civil rights movement, most notably showcased by the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, many African Americans continued to believe that racial discrimination persisted and the idea of self-determination was ignored in the movement. They claimed there was a need for more emphasis on black autonomy. The base of the Black Power movement exists in this sentiment of the mid-1960s. Many large cities were beginning to have black majorities. Malcolm X argued that even though he shared the concerns of the civil rights movement, African Americans should pursue their equal rights by any means necessary. He considered integration a surrender to white supremacy.

This call for immediate action and solidarity resonated with other leaders and activists. In 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale established the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. The



The Black Power movement encouraged African Americans to embrace their heritage by adopting hairstyles that highlighted their natural hair texture, such as cornrows. The braids regained popularity in the United States in the late 1960s and 1970s.

assassination of Malcolm X, urban uprisings in the mid-1960s, and continuing social instability set the stage for the Black Power movement to start. Leading the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Stokely Carmichael used the expression “Black power” to attain racial solidarity and to shift SNCC’s focus on African American–centered social change. By the end of the decade, the Black Power movement had spread both domestically and internationally.

The movement’s fundamental belief in black autonomy was not new in American history. The Harlem Renaissance, Pan-Africanism, and other cultural and political movements had existed since the early 20th century. In many ways, the Black Power movement would not have existed without the achievements of the 1950s and 1960s. Although these earlier movements encouraged racial pride and self-esteem, as did the Black Power movement, mid-century activism was more dynamic and expansive. Additionally, unlike the civil rights movement, which took place primarily in the southern states, the Black Power movement had wider manifestations.

The Black Power movement existed in numerous areas. Many of these examples emphasized the link between Africa and the United States. One of the most prominent examples that remains highly current to this date is the holiday of Kwanzaa, established by Maulana Karenga in 1966. Kwanzaa is based on seven principles: *umoja* (unity), *kujichagulia* (self-determination), *ujima* (collective work and responsibility), *ujamaa* (cooperative economics), *nia* (purpose), *kuumba* (creativity), and *imani* (faith). Stemming from African religions, these ideas helped many African Americans reconnect to African cultural heritage. In sports, at the Olympic Games in Mexico in 1968, the gold medalist Tommie Smith and the bronze medalist John Carlos raised their fists on the podium after the 200-meter race. In 1968, San Francisco State University launched the nation’s first Black Studies Department. Many colleges and universities followed. These intellectual developments encouraged the word “black” to replace “Negro” during this period.

In addition, African Americans began to adopt more African-style hairdos and clothing. “Black is beautiful” as a cultural movement phrase was widely shared to dismiss the idea that African

Americans' natural skin color, hair, and facial features were ugly. In the arts, Amiri Baraka, Nikki Giovanni, Sonia Sanchez, Maya Angelou, and others produced various artistic works that reflected the concerns of the movement and underscored the culture and tradition of Africa. Even artists who were not involved in the movement such as Toni Morrison, the Temptations, and others expressed their political awareness. The Black Power movement's impact existed in other parts of African diaspora. In the Caribbean, for example, the idea of autonomy, solidarity, and equality led to the Afro-Caribbean movements, the People's Progressive movement in Barbados, and the Black Beret Group in Bermuda.

The end of the Black Power movement had two significant causes. The first was its tie to violence. Even though the Black Power movement brought about numerous changes and improvements, a common association to violence inaccurately characterizes the movement. On the one hand, even after the civil rights era, African Americans faced unequal job opportunities, wage gaps, segregation, and other forms of racism. On the other hand, both whites and blacks believed that the solutions to these problems that the movement promoted were extremely separatist and could possibly undermine the progress made during the civil rights era.

The second cause of the movement's demise was its lack of organization. Without a single figure who led the movement, there was no consensus on its ultimate goals or means to achieve them. The mainstream Black Power followers considered the radical members to be too willing to resort to violent measures. On the other hand, the radicals argued that the mainstream participants were too accommodating. With the assassinations of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton in 1969, raids and arrests led by the U.S. government and other events resulted in the quick decline of the Black Panther Party. Simultaneously, in the early 1970s, there was an increase in the number of blacks who considered supporting progressive white officials more viable. For these reasons, the Black Power movement terminated by the mid-1970s.

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See Also: African Americans; Afrocentrism; Black Panther Party; Civil Rights Movement; Ethnic Studies; Kwanzaa; Pan-Africanism.

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Blackface

Theatrical “blackface” makeup used in vaudeville and minstrel shows assisted in the depiction of black characters in stereotypical ways. This tradition became popular in the mid-19th century in the United States. Arising from the tradition were popular stereotyped subcharacters that grew very popular; some examples are the darky, the coon, the mammy, the Uncle Tom, the buck, the Jezebel, and the pickaninny.

These stereotypical characters were exaggerated and two-dimensional. The darky, a simpleton and buffoon, was lazy and cowardly. The coon butchered the English language and put on airs trying to seem distinguished despite his obvious crude nature. The mammy, often played by men, was a sexually unappealing, stubborn, and bossy source of homespun “wisdom,” which was more likely to be more simple buffoonery and superstition. The Uncle Tom was a gentle, religious old man, sitting ineffectually on a porch, typically. Both the mammy and the Uncle Tom persist even in 2013 as logos for food products. The buck and the Jezebel were the threatening, hypersexualized male and female counterparts to the mammy and Uncle Tom or darky. Both the buck and the Jezebel were predatory and threatening to white culture. Finally, the pickaninny was the barefoot, ignorant black child.

From 1830 to 1930 the blackface performance was a key component of American theater. In the early 1900s blackface began to be performed apart from minstrel shows as its own independent

kind of show. This phenomenon also thrived in the United Kingdom.

Blackface performers used burnt cork and later greasepaint and even shoe polish to achieve their exaggerated black skin. They used other makeup to accentuate their lips, and “nappy” wigs. The clothes of the blackface performer were generally shabby, ratty formal wear to further a ridiculous feel to the characters.

Al Jolson was a Jewish American actor, comedian, and singer. At the peak of his stardom he was known as the “World’s Greatest Entertainer.” In the 1930s, he was America’s most famous and highest-paid entertainer. Between 1911 and the end of the 1930s, Jolson performed in nine sold-out Winter Garden shows, made a series of successful musical films, traveled for 16 national and international tours, pressed in excess of 80 hit records, and in 1927 starred in the groundbreaking, first full-length movie with dialogue, *The Jazz Singer*.

Jolson’s blackface and singing style are seen by experts as metaphors for the suffering of both Jews and blacks throughout history. Historian Michael Alexanderas calls *The Jazz Singer* a fictional blend of Jewish liturgical music and African American music in the form of jazz. The film, and Jolson specifically, were well received by Harlem audiences and critics alike.

The mid-20th century in the United States brought with it the civil rights movement and the end of blackface as a common theatrical form. The technique persists as of early 2013, typically as critical or satirical commentary, but also as political speech from across the spectrum. For example, some instances of blackface have been seen on the campuses of major southern universities such as the University of Alabama as recently as the early 1990s during Old South Week. One of the most enduring impacts of the blackface tradition was the ongoing co-opting of African American culture in the United States.

Notably, black performers were also using blackface onstage by the mid-19th century; in fact, until the 20th century, black actors were generally not permitted to perform out of blackface, regardless of their complexion. Activist and philosopher Frederick Douglass spoke out against blackface in general, although he acknowledged the presence of blacks on stage in any form to be a positive development. Even so, these shows

with black performers, billed as authentic cultural “insider” experience, typically found white audiences viewing the performers as if attending a circus or visiting a zoo more than patronizing the arts. These all-black minstrel shows tended to depict a fictionalized and romanticized view of life on American slave plantations.

Although, of course, performing in blackface subjected the black community to stereotypes and forced black performers to be complicit in this process, compared to other work available, performing in blackface provided black actors with a fairly good income. It also allowed black performers, albeit in a limited way, to develop their craft. Furthermore, this kind of performance brought African American culture to the forefront of American culture and show business. An all-black vaudeville organization, the Theater Owners Booking Association (TOBA), was founded by performers in 1909. Although TOBA members tended to make very little from their performing, their organization did support the further growth of the black entertainment industry. In 1914, for example, the Harriet Beecher Stowe classic *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was brought to the stage by TOBA performers.

Yellowface

Yellowface refers to the practice of white performers wearing makeup and costumes to portray Asian characters. However, the term also refers to the institutional practice of refusing to hire Asian performers to portray Asian characters and the promulgation of racist, stereotypical caricatures of Asians in the performing arts industry.

During the mid-19th century, following the building of the railways and the California Gold Rush, Asian stereotypes and negative ideas about Asian immigrants had become commonplace. Between 1850 and 1930 more than one million Asian immigrants entered the United States. The coolie was the Asian equivalent of the darky, a basic unskilled, uncivilized laborer identifiable by his “coolie hat.” The Yellow Peril was a less comedic and more threatening stereotype that exploded in popularity in the late 19th century as the racial purity movement grew in California. The idea of the Yellow Peril was that the Asian was a polluting influence in otherwise pure white society.

Other 19th-century Asian stereotypes included the deviant, the dragon lady, and the nonthreatening sex objects (the lotus blossom, the China doll, and the geisha girl). The deviant depicted household servants and laundry workers by day who haunted opium dens and ran female prostitutes as slaves by night. The dragon lady is the Asian Jezebel, hypersexualized and economically opportunistic. The nonthreatening sex object stereotypes were all servile and obedient in their hypersexuality.

The 20th century gave rise to two more notable Asian stereotypes: the gook and the model minority. The gook was a product of the Korean War and became much more popular during the Vietnam War. This stereotype portrayed the Asian as a supernaturally powerful enemy, stealthy and sneaky, and above all, dangerous. The model minority was the well-assimilated and successful Asian juxtaposed against the less-assimilated Latino immigrant and the black.

Yellowface performances on the movie screen began with the famous *Madame Butterfly* starring Mary Pickford in Asian makeup (1915). This trend dovetailed with the “whitewashing” practice in which Asian characters were transformed into white characters so that yellowface makeup was unnecessary. In 1935 Anna May Wong, the first Chinese American movie star, was considered for the Asian lead character O-Lan in *The Good Earth*. The role went to Luise Rainer, a white actress, and Wong was cast as the dragon lady villainess—a role she turned down.

Other well-known yellowface characters include Charlie Chan and Fu Manchu, both played by the same white actor, Warner Oland. Charlie Chan appeared as a wise and benevolent (albeit at times comedic) detective. Based on an actual person in Honolulu, Chang Apana, Charlie Chan was the “positive” antidote to Yellow Peril. Fu Manchu and characters like him were more traditional Yellow Peril characters; Dr. Fu Manchu was terrifying, completely evil, and almost unstoppable.

The yellowface tradition continued well into the 1970s in the United States. White actor David Carradine played Kwai Chang Caine in the popular television series *Kung Fu*. Carradine returned to the role—in yellowface—in the 1990s. Max Von Sydow provided a science

fiction reprise of the Fu Manchu character in 1980’s *Flash Gordon*.

Brownface

Brownface refers to the racist, stereotypical caricatures of Latinos in American culture, particularly in the media. “Latino” includes anyone from Central or South America living in the United States. Like other ethnic groups in the United States, Latinos have traditionally been pigeonholed into several long-standing stereotypes.

The Latin Lover was popularized by Italian actor Rudolph Valentino in the 1920s, but this stereotype was based on long-held ideas about Latino sexuality and the “dark, mysterious stranger.” The female version of this caricature—the harlot, spitfire, exotica, or mamacita—has persisted throughout different generations with remarkably few changes, hypersexualized and animalistic.

The bandito was a dirty, unkempt, violent criminal depicted most often in the old westerns. This stereotype of the lawless Latino gave rise to other, more modern incarnations: the greaser, the zoot suiter, and the gang-banger, to name a few.

The greaser actually originated in 19th-century California as Mexican miners who successfully found gold were harassed and intimidated. Later, the greaser was the hooligan outsider heralding the loss of the “good” urban neighborhood typified by the Sharks in *West Side Story*, for example. The Mexican American zoot suiter in the 1940s was also thought to be a criminal and pronounced as such by mainstream media; this hysteria culminated in violent attacks on zoot suiters and other Latinos in Los Angeles. Finally, the gang-banger is the more modern Latino criminal, vicious, pointlessly violent, and cruel.

The domestic, maid, day laborer, wetback, peon, and beaner are all part of the Latino worker stereotype, typically in service to white families and speaking in broken English with exaggerated accents. The undercurrent of anti-immigration sentiment in these roles is generally very obvious.

The male buffoon or comedic relief is the classic fool with a Latino twist. He is simple, childlike, and clumsy. He is often the comedic sidekick to a more heroic character, such as Pancho in *The Cisco Kid* and Chico in *Chico and the Man*. His female counterpart is also a source of comedic

relief, and typically her accented antics are used to negate her sexuality.

Finally, the lazy Mexican stereotype and its various incarnations such as the drug addict and the slum dweller depict the Latino as foolish, lazy, and a drain on society.

The children's character Speedy Gonzales, along with his Mexican peer mice, provides an interesting example of brownface stereotypes. Speedy, although he is the hero, is a comedic figure, complete with notable accent and gigantic sombrero. His cousin Slowpoke Rodriguez is the typical drunken, lazy Mexican, and the bystanders in any situation are the peons, cowardly and weak, and in need of guidance and intervention.

Historically, these stereotypes were an important outcropping of Manifest Destiny and the conquering of the American southwest. The displacement of Mexicans and subsequent exploitation of immigrants for labor birthed not only stereotypes such as those discussed above but also a general failure to acknowledge Latino contributions to the American economy and culture.

Brownface also refers to the difficulties experienced by Latino actors attaining roles and the tendency to cast non-Latinos in Latino roles. Some examples of this include Telly Savalas's portrayal of Pancho Villa, Charlton Heston as a Mexican in *Touch of Evil*, and Marlon Brando as Emiliano Zapata.

As of early 2013, brownface issues persist in American culture. At least 18 percent of Latin Americans also have African heritage, yet the appearance of black Latino characters is extremely rare. Whites also continue to be cast as Latino characters in television and film. Finally, there is a strong tendency to depict upper-class Latinos as white Hispanics. In contrast, thuggy supporting roles tend to fall to nonwhite Latinos.

Redface

Redface refers to the racist, stereotypical caricatures of American Indians in American culture, particularly in the media. It also refers to the institutional practice of refusing to hire Native American performers to portray American Indian characters and the promulgation of racist, stereotypical caricatures of Native Americans in the performing arts industry. Like other ethnic groups in the United States, American Indians

have traditionally been pigeonholed into several long-standing stereotypes. The chief was the head of an Indian tribe. Most Native American "chiefs" were not actually chiefs, and were simply Native American leaders. The brave, or buck, was an American Indian man who had evidenced his courage or value as a soldier or hunter.

The Indian Princess was supposedly the Native American equivalent of royalty, the daughter of a chief. In reality, there was never an American Indian royalty class. The princess stereotype created attractive, "believable" American Indian mates for whites in various stories. The squaw was any Native American woman who was not a princess. She was asexual despite her status as mother and silently served her family and tribe. Along with the squaw was the papoose, the Native American baby.

While many American Indians are depicted as savages, two subcaricatures are central to the idea of the savage. One is the renegade, the "injun" or warrior who is violent and animalistic and opposes whites at every turn. The injun made numerous appearances in the traditional western movie. The other is the noble savage, a simple, peaceful figure living in harmony with nature. The crying "Indian" of the Keep America Beautiful campaign is the noble savage. (Ironically, Iron Eyes Cody, the man who played the crying Indian, was Italian.)

When Europeans first came to North America there were many distinct cultures and languages living in the area. It was only after the oppression and stereotypical treatment they experienced within mainstream American culture that Native Americans conceived themselves as a people. Depending on their role in the lives of white settlers, American Indians were either noble savages (as when they served as guides or helped fight the French) or violent, renegade savages (as when they interfered with westward expansion).

As recently as 2013, Native Americans were still fighting redface depictions in American sports. The co-opting of American Indian images and names by sports teams such as the Washington Redskins and the Atlanta Braves has received considerable attention but had not been resolved at the time of this writing.

In the earliest western movies many Native American extra roles were filled by Navajos who

were close by, although speaking roles went to white actors. Six Nations actor Jay Silverheels played the role of Tonto in *The Lone Ranger*; he also founded the American Indian Actors Workshop. Chief Dan George was nominated for the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor in the 1970s and was the first American Indian to receive a nomination from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Will Sampson, who played a memorable role in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* in 1975, also founded the American Indian Film Institute in 1979. Finally, Russell Means is a Native American activist and noted actor who played in *The Last of the Mohicans* and *Natural Born Killers*.

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See Also: Chan, Charlie; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Mascots, Native American (Sports); Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Motion Pictures; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Blackfoot

The Blackfoot confederacy consisted of several individual Native American tribes: the Piikana, or Peigan; the Siksika; and the Kainai. Blackfoot tribal territory traditionally spanned from the north between Edmonton and Calgary, Canada, south to Wyoming, west to the Rocky Mountains, and east to the Cypress Hills region in Canada. Originally, the tribes spoke a common language, *Niitsi'powahsin* (Blackfoot), which was part of an extensive Algonquian language family.

Until the late 1800s the Blackfoot was a High Plains, nomadic culture that relied primarily on native plants and American bison (buffalo) for food, shelter materials, and clothing. Each of the three tribes divided into smaller bands containing around 20 family units of about 250 people and had from 20 to 25 tepees.

In winter, each band stayed in a relatively sheltered area near a river to wait out the long, harsh months associated with this geographical climate. With warmer spring temperatures, the Blackfoot bands dispersed, meeting and moving with the migration patterns of the buffalo. Near the summer solstice the three groups convened at an agreed-upon spot for a large summer gathering known as the Sun Dance. The near-extinction of the buffalo by the late 1870s at the hands of U.S. soldiers and settlers forced the Blackfoot to change their lifestyle and to adapt to the new reality imposed on them.

Today, the U.S. population of Blackfoot, who self-identify as Blackfeet in the contiguous 48 states, is distributed across a wide geographic area, but there is a large reservation located near Glacier National Park in Browning, Montana. According to the U.S. 2010 census, about 10,405

Blackfeet reside within the 3,000-square-mile reservation. Approximately 74 percent of the total Blackfoot populace considers itself to be multi-racial. This may be due to multiple tribal affiliations, as well as nonnative influences.

Historical Development

In the middle 1600s, French traders and trappers in central Canada began to meet indigenous Blackfoot peoples. Near the end of that century, Hudson Bay Company officials wrote about their contact with the Blackfoot in Alberta, Canada, and referred to traditional Blackfoot maps to indicate what might be on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. French trappers and traders arrived in larger numbers and brought with them Jesuit priests, and nuns—and European diseases.

In 1803, the United States purchased most of Montana from France via the Louisiana Purchase. While exploring the region, members of the Lewis and Clark expedition met and clashed with Blackfoot (Peigan). Meriwether Lewis killed a Peigan in the exchange, thus setting the tone for future encounters between the Blackfeet and U.S. government officials. The Peigan group was arbitrarily split into two groups, the North Peigan and the South Peigan, by the imposition of an international border between the United States and Canada in 1818. This political boundary disrupted the original seasonal migration of the Blackfoot peoples, as European settlers encroached into the region from the east.

The U.S. and Canadian border—referred to colloquially by the Blackfeet as the “Medicine Line”—impacted Blackfeet mobility and treaty negotiations. Guns were actively traded in the region, which escalated conflicts between white settlers moving west and native populations under duress. Smallpox and other diseases new to indigenous populations had devastating effects throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, killing approximately 90 percent of the Blackfoot population. A series of treaties limited the migration patterns and land use of the Blackfeet in both Canada and the United States.

Military, Missionaries, and Reservations

The U.S. army began building forts in Blackfoot territories in the 1830s. The 1860s brought more white settlers, the whiskey trade, and the first

steamboat via the Missouri River. The U.S. Army killed about 217 Blackfeet, primarily women and children, at the Marias Massacre in 1870. The first missionary school for Blackfeet children was built in 1872 in Montana. Missionary schools separated Blackfeet children from their families, their native language, and their cultural traditions.

President Grant established the Blackfeet Reservation near Browning, Montana, in 1873. Ten years later the Canadian Pacific Railroad reached the traditional Blackfoot homeland, making it easier for white settlers to move into the area. The last major buffalo hunt for the Blackfoot was in 1884.

Into the Present Day

The 1910 U.S. census reported 2,268 “Indians” living on the Blackfeet Reserve; Glacier National Park was established from ceded Blackfeet land that same year. Oil was discovered in Blackfoot territory in 1931. Three years later, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act, taking much of the remaining Blackfeet land and placing it under government control. Large-scale logging began on the Blackfeet Reserve in 1945. Today, oil and gas reserves, as well as tourism and ranching, provide a majority of Blackfeet household income and local jobs.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Ethnic Studies; Native Americans.

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Blaxploitation Films

Blaxploitation films are low-budget movies that appeared in the 1970s, originally targeting an urban African American audience, and made some financial success. Many blaxploitation films featured funk and soul music and included African American actors.

With some exceptions, these films were a few of the limited venues where black actors could play central roles on the movie screen during the 1970s. Later, non-African Americans began to watch this genre of films. Blaxploitation films' stereotypical portrayals of African Americans eventually led to controversies about black representation and caused the gradual end of the genre. Although the blaxploitation film boom did not last more than 10 years, close to 100 of these films were produced during this period.

The term *blaxploitation* was coined by Junius Griffin, a former film publicist who at the time these films first appeared headed the Los Angeles branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Griffin used his close affiliation to Johnson Publications, through its magazines *Jet* and *Ebony* to popularize the term and the genre.

The Birth of Blacks in Film

Blaxploitation films exist as a part of the long history of African Americans in the film industry. The first half the 20th century witnessed the rise of hundreds of African American-only theaters where low-budget black musicals, westerns, comedies, and other films were available. While some African American actors appeared in non-black-only films earlier in the century, their numbers were limited. Furthermore, their roles were extremely limited to stereotypical black characters, such as a maid or ignorant slaves as seen notably in *Gone With the Wind* (1939). In the

meantime, between the 1920s and 1940s, Oscar Micheaux, the first African American to produce a feature-length film, paved the way for African American film production. By the end of the 1960s, Sidney Poitier had become the first black actor to win an Academy Award for Best Actor in the 1963 film *Lilies of the Field*, and *In the Heat of the Night*, produced four years later about a black detective (also played by Poitier) investigating a murder in a racist small town, had won five Oscars, including best picture.

It was during this period when many films came out with African American casts, featuring crime, drugs, prostitution, and other socially controversial topics. Many of these films reflected race-based resistance against whites and included white authority figures, such as police and politicians, who antagonized blacks. For example, one of the most successful blaxploitation films, *Sweet Sweetback's Baaadasssss Song* (1971), about saving a Black Panther from some racist cops, written by, directed by, and starring Melvin Van Peebles, depicted sex, violence, and resistance to a white-dominated society. Another successful film, *Shaft* (1971), directed by Gordon Parks, featured a private detective in New York who worked to find a kidnapped daughter of a mobster. Other known blaxploitation films include *Variety* (1972), *Slaughter* (1972), *Detroit 9000* (1973), *Black Caesar* (1973), and *Willie Dynamite* (1974).

Peebles's and Parks's films were so popular that they set the standard for other blaxploitation films. Most films in the same genre that followed depicted an aloof African American protagonist, white villains, sex, violence, action, and struggles of economically dispossessed African American urban residents. The more prevalent this plotline became, the more criticism the genre experienced. Critics argued that the movie industry was producing these films for blacks with black actors in a token manner, instead of offering them larger production budgets and socially uplifting content. When *Superfly* came out in 1973, many protested its portrayal of a cocaine dealer who was making a last large deal before his retirement.

Stereotypes, Prejudice Mark Genre's Decline

Several factors caused the genre's decline. Most significantly, promulgation of white stereotypes

against African Americans and depictions of blacks as socially unacceptable prompted the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Urban League to join with black film professionals to form the Coalition Against Blaxploitation. It was clear that even though the films offered entertainment to many urban blacks, they did not correct prejudices against African Americans. Although others argued that these films showed black power and pride, such optimism was limited.

Protests and activism against the genre soon led the industry to seek other types of films that would still generate profit from the same, namely urban, African American audience. Additionally, while *Jet* magazine once characterized blaxploitation as just another clichéd work, along with blackface, critics saw the films as noninnovative. As a result, filmmakers slowly expanded the genre from the controversial crime and violence movies into other categories. Horror films, such as *Scream*, *Blacula*, *Scream* (1973), *Abby* (1974), as well as black westerns and martial arts films gained popularity. Filmmakers also began to produce remakes of earlier films for a black audience. *The Black Godfather* (1974), *Black Shampoo* (1975), and *Black Samurai* (1977) were some examples.

Although the blaxploitation genre dwindled by the end of the 1970s, its influence is still felt. Recent movies such as *Austin Powers in International Man of Mystery* (2002), *Kill Bill, Vol. 1* (2003), *Inglorious Basterds* (2009), and other films follow familiar plotlines and characters of the blaxploitation models to different degrees. Similarly, Spike Lee and John Singleton have produced films that use blaxploitation elements, frequently causing criticism for glorifying criminal or violent acts as heroic.

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See Also: African Americans; *Gone With the Wind*; Motion Pictures; *Shaft*; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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B'nai B'rith

B'nai B'rith, Hebrew for “Sons of the Covenant,” was founded in New York by 12 German-born Jewish immigrants for the purpose of providing unity and dispelling disorder in the Jewish community. The 12 men met regularly to discuss the status of Jewish immigrants in the United States, and in the early fall of 1843 they created an organization whose design was to unite Jewish people from a variety of backgrounds toward the common cause of asserting an American Jewish identity. By 1850, the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith dedicated itself to developing a Jewish identity within the confines of American culture.

Early Development and Growth

Initially, its goals were two pronged: assimilate Jewish men, women, and children into mainstream American culture; and establish a strong American Jewish community. Founded originally as a brotherhood, B'nai B'rith emphasized culture based on ethnicity over religion in an attempt to bridge the religious differences that spanned the various denominations of Judaism, including Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform movements, each espousing patently different doctrine and dogma.

Akin to many immigrants during this time period, Jewish immigrants sought ways to assimilate American ways of life into their daily routines so that they and their children would blend seamlessly into U.S. culture. In the specific case of Jewish immigrants, this adaptation sometimes inspired a secular approach to Judaism. Therefore, members often made their sole connection to Jewish heritage through the primarily social, rather than religion-based, vehicle of B'nai B'rith.

The organization established itself first in New York and Baltimore but quickly grew across the East Coast and expanded into the western and southern regions of the United States. B'nai B'rith members initially established smaller groups or

“lodges” in larger metropolitan areas and then cultivated supplementary lodges in smaller communities. The growth in number of lodges naturally led to an increase in new members. The lodges sustained themselves financially by charging induction and membership fees. They also served a philanthropic function by requiring additional payments from members that were directed to an insurance fund for Jewish widows and orphans. In its contemporary form, B'nai B'rith has grown into a global Jewish organization with a presence in over 50 countries, where it is known as B'nai B'rith International (BBI).

Philanthropic Affiliations

In addition to establishing lodges, the organization has focused its efforts on philanthropy and social services. As early as 1897, a women's auxiliary group enjoyed a brief existence, and then, in 1909, the first official B'nai B'rith Women was formed in San Francisco. In 1927, B'nai B'rith Girls groups emerged, sometimes called Junior Auxiliaries or Girls' Auxiliaries. Until 1990, however, only men were allowed full membership, and B'nai B'rith maintained a somewhat complementary relationship with the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW). Since that time, women have been allowed full membership in B'nai B'rith.

B'nai B'rith serves as an affiliate of the Anti-Defamation League, the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (BBYO), and the college campus organization, Hillel. The Anti-Defamation League works to end denigration of the Jewish people and to “secure justice and fair treatment for all.” Both the BBYO and Hillel focus their endeavors on young people. The BBYO especially works to unite Jewish teenagers from disparate backgrounds and to encourage them to “live Jewish lives while making a difference in the world,” while Hillel, created by Rabbi Benjamin Frankel at the University of Illinois in 1923, provides a Jewish presence on university campuses.

Community Services

Currently, B'nai B'rith International lists a number of social services provided for children. For example, BBI Cares for Kids is a community service project that sends teddy bears and other stuffed animals to children with health problems.

Perlman Camp is an organization that sponsors a youth summer camp to teach young adults religious tolerance and to foster the next generation of Jewish leaders. Diverse Minds Youth Writing Challenge provides a scholarship competition for high school students promoting messages of tolerance and equality. Winners receive a \$5,000 college scholarship, along with the publication of their work. Finally, Smarter Kids-Safer Kids is a guidebook published by B'nai B'rith for children and parents that discusses issues such as sexual abuse, Internet safety, and public safety.

According to the B'nai B'rith International Web site, the organization also provides a variety of community services. For example, B'nai B'rith sponsors *Project H.O.P.E.* (Help Our People Everywhere), which collects and distributes food to poor and elderly Jews during Passover when expensive and difficult to find foods are required to celebrate the holiday according to Jewish dietary laws. Seder Kits for Soldiers and Buddy Bears for Military Families send kosher food care packages to military personnel serving overseas and stuffed bears to children with a parent serving overseas. B'nai B'rith supports stem cell research by partnering with American Technion Society and the Stem Cell Foundation International to raise money for research and public awareness of the benefits of stem cell research. Finally, Unto Every Person, There is a Name sponsors ceremonies, such as the annual Holocaust Remembrance Day. Ceremonies are held nationwide, usually in public parks or government buildings, where names of those who perished during the Holocaust are read to keep their memories alive and to reassert a commitment to prevent genocide.

Significance and Impact

Today, B'nai B'rith International proclaims that the organization exists as the “Global Voice of the Jewish Community.” Specifically, through Hillel, B'nai B'rith provides leadership on both high school and college campuses, nationally and internationally. Presented publicly as a secular organization, B'nai B'rith emphasizes Jewish unity regardless of religious differences. It is politically active in a variety of contexts, as well. It champions civil rights legislation, as well as international issues. It works with the Leadership Council of Aging Organizations to advocate for seniors and for the preservation of

Social Security. It assists victims of disasters around the world, such as individuals impacted by the Mount Carmel wildfires in Israel, Japanese victims of the earthquake and tsunami that hit Tohoku, flood victims in the United States, and victims of Hurricane Irene. Since its inception in the 19th century, B'nai B'rith International has extended the initial goal of establishing an American Jewish identity to asserting a global Jewish identity; promoting Jewish unity, security, and continuity; and standing up against anti-Semitism and intolerance around the world. B'nai B'rith works for Jewish unity, security, and continuity and fights anti-Semitism and intolerance around the world

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Semitism; Jewish Americans; National Council of Jewish Women; World Jewish Congress.

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mid-to-late 1970s after the fall of South Vietnam in April 1975 and the dislocations in surrounding countries. The United States evacuated 130,000 Vietnamese by air, then by sea, mostly to the United States. Boat people also left by land and by air.

Boats have long been a way for the poor to flee oppression or hardship and seek asylum elsewhere. Boats are often poorly designed for the sea voyage and routinely overcrowded. Boat people run a real risk of being attacked by pirates and an equal risk of being rejected when they attempt to land, perhaps even forced to return. Boat people are small in number compared to illegal border crossers that plague the United States and Europe—with half a million unauthorized immigrants in the United States annually.

Only 20 nations take part in United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) resettlement programs. Among nations receiving large numbers of refugees, the United States led in 2009 with 60,191 refugees resettled in the country, followed by Canada with 10,804, and Australia with 8,742. Those seeking refuge in the United States include refugees from nearby islands. Cubans have been boat people since the 1950s, and Haitians and Dominicans also undertake the dangerous but relatively short trip. Moroccans, Albanians, and Vietnamese have also become boat people. Contemporary boat people are less likely than that flow to be in small fishing vessels; rather, they purchase passage on large ships, but the boats are still overcrowded, marginally seaworthy, and extremely expensive.

The Vietnam War

South Vietnamese in the unified Vietnam feared government reprisals for their actions in the war. And the Communist rule in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) was repressive because Saigon was the center of Americanization. An estimated 65,000 southerners were executed and a million more were sent to reeducation camps and prisons, where 165,000 died. In desperation, southerners chose the illegal act of leaving their country, and the only transportation option was the fishing boat common to Vietnamese coastal waters. Vietnamese seeking to leave often bribed officials and then departed secretly at night in a boat that could have as many as 400 passengers or on smaller homemade rafts or fishing boats.

Boat People

Although it has come to be used more broadly to describe any group of refugees using boats to escape their home countries, more commonly the term *boat people* applies to Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians who fled southeast Asia in the

Families were routinely separated because of the cost, with only some members leaving at a time. Middle-class Saigonites with forged papers traveled to Danang, stayed in a safe house, and then boarded a fishing vessel for international waters. Because it took several false starts before a successful escape, refugees depleted their resources.

As many as 1.5 million fled on coastal vessels. These craft were not designed for open water, and refugees in panic overcrowded them, so the sea voyage was extremely perilous. Estimated deaths range from 50,000 to 200,000, primarily due to drowning, but refugees also faced attacks by pirates, murder, slavery, and prostitution.

Ethnic Chinese

There were also ethnic Chinese, known as Hoa, who left Vietnam for Hong Kong in fear of Communist retribution. Hundreds of thousands of Hoa left Vietnam after 1975. The Chinese ruled Vietnam for a millennium, and in the Christian French era the Chinese Vietnamese came to dominate commerce and industry and immigration increased. Ethnic Vietnamese regarded the Chinese as alien and discouraged assimilation; the Chinese tended to retain Chinese citizenship.

After partition in 1954 the two Vietnams attempted to press assimilation of the Chinese into society. Those in North Vietnam after partition were encouraged to become citizens, while those in South Vietnam were allowed to defer citizenship until unification. The Chinese were less than 1 percent of the northern population and had little influence on the economy. The partition and war enhanced Chinese commercial dominance in the south and encouraged them to move into banking, steel, cement, and construction, particularly of military bases. The Chinese controlled banking, the rice trade, and most manufacturing and became exceedingly wealthy as massive amounts of American capital flooded in.

In 1975 unification came. The new government attempted to stabilize the society, particularly the economy. The Vietnamese began nationalization and confiscation in the late 1970s, attacking Hoa suspected of sympathizing with China, profiting from Vietnamese poverty, and siding with the United States. Southern Hoa were capitalists in a Communist economy, and there was violence as they resisted the government's takeover.

Nationalization and other economic reforms alienated the Hoa. So did forced incorporation and assimilation. By mid-1978 there were 1.3 million Hoa, the largest minority in Vietnam.

The government encouraged Hoa to leave; all they had to do was pay a bribe and a departure fee. The government also charged fees in gold, making by one estimate \$115 million, or 2.5 percent of the Vietnamese gross national product (GNP). The trade flourished between 1977 and 1979.

By April 1978 boat people were leaving at a rate of 5,000 a month. The government supervised the departures, which were up to 85 percent Hoa. They left in large vessels of up to 1,000 passengers. By the end of 1978, 265,000 Hoa were in China, preferring state oppression from their own people rather than from Vietnamese. The total Hoa migration to China was about 450,000, but after 1980, the government of Vietnam eased relations with the remaining Hoa and stopped the departures. As of 2007 there were about 900,000 Hoa still in Vietnam, 1 percent of the population.

Along with the Hoa, the exodus of 1978 included ethnic Vietnamese, the stereotypical boat people in small boats, scantily provisioned. Some of the Hoa from China fled the state farms for open water. Hoa and ethnic Vietnamese refugees totaled more than a million, with the peak departure month June 1979 (55,000).

While that was going on, the newly unified Vietnam attacked Cambodia (Kampuchea) and China in, respectively, December 1978 and February 1979, producing a large number of refugees. The victorious Communists in Vietnam imprisoned a million, and 165,000 died being reeducated. Torture and abuse were widespread. The war's destruction and severe poverty were other stimuli to outmigration. And the Sino-Vietnamese War of 1979 pushed Hoa to become boat people.

1970s and 1980s Refugee Flows

From 1975 to 1985 over 575,000 Vietnamese fled by sea, and even in the latter year, 2,700 a month still sought asylum in other southeast Asian countries. Some were unfortunate enough to remain at sea for months. In open waters, the best hope was that a freighter or other oceangoing vessel would pick up the boat people and take them 2,200 kilometers to Hong Kong. Another option



These Vietnamese refugees were waiting to be taken aboard a command ship in May 1984. The 35 men, women, and children had spent eight days at sea in a 35-foot fishing boat.

was to arrive at one of the southeast Asian countries—boat people went to China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines.

In 1981, 77 percent of boats that landed in Thailand had been attacked; in 1982, 65 percent; and in 1983, 56 percent. In 1983, half the boats that reached Thailand had been attacked, and a large share of those that landed in Malaysia were victims en route. Thailand had 40,000 to 50,000 fishing boats and abundant hiding places for part-time pirates. Thai government control was weak and police presence was inadequate (pirates were more

heavily armed). Thai fishermen-turned-pirates killed hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese refugees, and the slaughter was often brutal as pirates used hammers, machetes, or guns to kill entire boatloads or tossed refugees overboard to drown.

The Thai government did not help the refugees and sometimes hindered U.S. Navy rescue efforts. Thailand demanded and received several million dollars in financial assistance from the United States and other nations.

Boat people who survived the horrors of life on the South China Sea were processed through UNHCR refugee camps in southeast Asia. In the camps, rapes and beatings continued, and U.S. aid money intended for the camps was mostly diverted. Thai guards bullied and mistreated inmates.

The refugees were unable to find refuge readily. Not all nations welcome boat people. They are a source of controversy in Australia, Canada, the United States, Italy, and Spain, as well as in the small nations of southeast Asia overwhelmed by the massive 1970s–1980s refugee flows. Malaysia was among the countries that refused to allow them to remain if they did land. Desperate refugees sank their boats offshore to keep authorities from towing them back to sea.

In 1979 Hong Kong was the first to establish a “port of first asylum,” and the port received over 100,000. Refugee camps were the scene of violent clashes between security forces and boat people, upsetting the public (the camps were close to heavily populated residential areas).

Between 1979 and 1984 under the Orderly Departure Program refugees settled in the United States and elsewhere in the West. First they had to return to their point of departure, see if they were eligible under set criteria, and then migrate. In 1979 the numbers rose over 100,000, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries indicated that they could take no more because their camps were already packed. With 10,000 to 15,000 Vietnamese departing each month, 65 nations met at Geneva and increased UNHCR funding. President Jimmy Carter raised the immigration quotas to double the number of southeast Asian refugees accepted each month. The United States and Vietnam established the Orderly Departure Program. In 1980 and 1981 the flow was diminished. By 2000 over 2 million Vietnamese had left their country.

Resettlement and Repatriation

By 1995 nearly half a million Vietnamese were in the United States, another 210,000 were elsewhere in the world, and 46,000 were in ASEAN camps. As the countries phased out the camps, they forced their inmates to repatriate. In 1996 there were still 39,000 in camps. The United Nations ceased funding and closed the camps. The Vietnamese went back to an uncertain fate. Of the 2 million boat people from Vietnam, somewhere between 30,000 and 250,000 died (one estimate says almost half a million).

Countries of first asylum became increasingly reluctant to take additional refugees as the outflow continued. Southeast Asians considered pushbacks of newcomers. In June 1989 the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees was adopted. It established that all boat people after March 14, 1989, were not refugees but seekers of asylum who would have to qualify for refugee status. Those screened out were returned to Laos and Vietnam under a monitored, orderly repatriation program. For those classed as economic refugees, the future included years in a camp before repatriation to Vietnam. By the mid-1990s the refugee flow had diminished to the point that many camps were shut down. The receiving countries had already taken about all they were going to take.

Humanitarian Operation (HO) was a program for those who had helped the United States or were in the former regime. If they were persecuted by the current regime after 1975, they were allowed to immigrate, as were Amerasian children and their mothers or foster parents. The program ended in 1994, but in 2005 the United States and Vietnam established a new HO immigration program. Another relocation effort was conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church.

Western countries preferred married couples, young families, and adult women. Single men and minors tended to remain in the camps for years. UNHCR workers sometimes recommended hard-working and industrious members of this group for resettlement in the West. Some preferred the camps to Hong Kong, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Malaysia. And Vietnam became more capitalist and offered financial incentives to returnees in the 1990s. Voluntary or forced repatriation to Vietnam was the lot of most of the camp dwellers,

but Hong Kong, now Chinese, took 2,500 in 2002. The final 200 in the Philippine camps moved to the West in 2008, and the boat people were history.

The United States and Europe were major recipients of boat people, with the United States taking 823,000, Australia and Canada 137,000 apiece, France 96,000, and Britain 19,000. Refugee loads declined in western Europe, Australia, and the United States in the late 1980s when visa requirements stiffened. Israel accepted several hundred Vietnamese, comparing them to Holocaust refugees. Other nations and their totals were Japan, 11,000, and Germany, 40,000.

Boat People in the United States

The U.S. Refugee Act of 1980 authorized 50,000 refugees a year and established administrative procedures for permanent residency and citizenship. Children and spouses of servicemen and political prisoners were also allowed asylum/refugee status. In all, the United States acquired 531,310 Vietnamese between 1981 and 2000.

In the aftermath of the boat people escapes, the United States had significant populations of southeast Asians—Hmong, Laotian, Cambodian, and, particularly, Vietnamese. Significant Vietnamese migration to the United States took place between 1977 and the mid-1980s. The Hmong and Montagnard were ethnic minorities who backed the United States and South Vietnam in the war and ended up in the refugee camps in the late 1970s to avoid the instability of the new Vietnam. Laotian Hmong ended up in California and Minnesota, from which they funded attempts to overthrow the Communist government. Montagnards remained in resistance in Vietnam until the end of the Cold War, but most were either in Cambodian camps or resettled in the United States.

Boat people in the United States were supported by nine voluntary agencies that worked with local sponsors to settle refugees through the country. Churches and families agreed to provide food and shelter and arrange for school, jobs, and general adjustment. The government sought to spread the refugees widely to prevent them from becoming burdensome to a given community. The Vietnamese preferred not to live in cold climates and wanted to live with family and friends in a familiar setting.

Soon 40 percent of all Vietnamese Americans were in Orange County, California. San Jose, California; Houston, Texas; and Washington, D.C., also held significant numbers. The boat people revitalized their new communities as they became the seventh-largest language group in the United States. Vietnamese remains the language 83 percent of Vietnamese Americans speak at home, but Vietnamese have one of the highest naturalization rates of any immigrant group. In 2000 there were 1.22 million Vietnamese in the United States, the fifth-largest Asian group but projected to be number two in 2010 behind the Chinese.

By the end of the century, as relations between Vietnam and the United States normalized under President Bill Clinton, former boat people became overseas Vietnamese, Viet kieu. And a significant number of the 2.7 million Viet kieu began returning to Vietnam in the late 1990s, bringing their experience, knowledge, and wealth acquired in the receiving states.

The returnees invested \$89 million in 2007, nowhere near the \$5.5 billion or more in remittances by diasporan Vietnamese but a harbinger of investment to come. While not as significant as the overseas Chinese—or as wealthy—the Viet kieu provided a significant stimulus to the modernization and economic growth of Vietnam.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Cambodian Americans; Hmong Americans; Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act (1975); Laotian Americans; Refugee Act (1980); Vietnam War; Vietnamese Americans.

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Bolivian Americans

Bolivian Americans are one of the smallest Hispanic groups in the United States: the third-smallest, with a population of 99,210, as of the 2010 census. Nearly half of the 2010 population, 38 percent of the total, live in the Washington, D.C., area. Much of the rest are concentrated in Los Angeles, California; Miami, Florida, and its outskirts, Providence, Rhode Island; and Queens, New York. Texas, New Jersey, Illinois, New York, and Massachusetts all have small Bolivian American populations as well.

The 20 cities and towns with the highest percentage of Bolivian Americans are all located in Virginia, near Washington: West Falls Church (7.62 percent), Annandale (6.68 percent), Seven Corners (6.49 percent), Lake Barcroft (4.94 percent), North Springfield (4.87 percent), Bailey's Crossroads (4.45 percent), Lincolnia (4.29 percent), Kings Park (3.95 percent), Pimmit Hills (3.2 percent), Woodburn (2.71 percent), Burke (2.28 percent), Ravensworth (2.11 percent), Idylwood (2.09 percent), King Park West (2.05 percent), Dulles Town Center (2.04 percent), Merrifield (2.04 percent), Arlington (2.03 percent), and Newington (2.01 percent).

Part of the Inca Empire before European colonization, Bolivia is a landlocked central South American country. Its ethnic diversity leads to many distinct groups of Bolivians, and of Bolivian Americans: those of indigenous descent, those of European descent (including Spanish, German, and Croatian), Afro Bolivians, and Japanese Bolivians. While Spanish is the most common language in Bolivia, about 30 percent of the country speak Quechua and 25 percent speak

Aymara, languages indigenous to the Andes region. (Smaller indigenous groups include the Guarani, Moxos, Tacanas, Panos, Aruacos, and others.)

About 60 percent of the country are indigenous, and there is an additional mestizo population (a mix of indigenous and European descent) that does not self-identify as indigenous. (Most of the population identify as both indigenous and mestizo.) Afro Bolivians are the descendants of African slaves brought to the country by the ruling Spanish conquistadors during the colonial period. The country recognizes 37 official languages. Many of the Japanese Bolivians are descended from Japanese Okinawans who were relocated to Bolivia by the U.S. military during World War II.

Immigration Waves

The first major wave of immigration from Bolivia did not occur until the middle of the 20th century, which partly accounts for Bolivia's underrepresentation in America's Hispanic population. A wealthy country at the dawn of the 20th century, Bolivia lost some of its territory in its defeat by Paraguay in the 1932–35 Chaco War, which contributed to the growing power of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR). The MNR fought a revolution against the established government in 1952 after losing the 1951 election.

During the revolution and the ensuing 12 years of chaos before the revolutionary government was overthrown by the military, many Bolivians fled the country to the United States and other destinations. As with the immigration from Cuba in the same era, most of the immigrants were middle to upper class, well educated, highly skilled, a mix of well-off families and young professionals. They were individuals who could afford to leave and prosper elsewhere, in other words. This wave of immigrants were primarily of European or mestizo descent, and consisted overwhelmingly of Spanish speakers.

The second wave of immigration came in the 1980s as Bolivia's economy suffered after a series of successful and failed coups, widespread unrest, and dramatic reforms that transferred control of many public enterprises to foreign investors. Most of the second-wave Bolivian immigrants

were indigenous or mestizo and were more likely to consist of young men, either unmarried or leaving their families at home. Sometimes their families joined them once they had established a residence. Both of these two major waves were likely larger than records show; a common method of bypassing immigration restrictions, especially in times of crisis, is to visit on a tourist visa and simply not return. For this reason, Bolivian American population figures are assumed to be understated. Like many other Central and South American groups, Bolivian Americans have a low rate of naturalization (becoming citizens); many retain ties to Bolivia and intend, or hope, to return some day. Despite this they are generally well assimilated and have a high rate of English fluency.

Certainly some Bolivian immigrants came to the United States before the first wave, but their nationality was rarely correctly noted. Hispanic Americans were not further classified according to nation of origin in the census until 1960, and immigration officials often did not bother being more specific than Central or South America in their records.

Prominent Bolivian Americans

Famous Bolivian Americans include Jaime Escalante, who was born in Bolivia, immigrated to the United States, and as a high school teacher, became famous for his methods teaching AP Calculus to struggling students (he was the subject of the movie *Stand and Deliver*); movie star Raquel Welch, born Jo Raquel Tejada, whose father immigrated from Bolivia when he was 17; country singer-songwriter James T. Slater; White House Domestic Policy Council director Cecilia Muñoz, born in Detroit to Bolivian immigrants; composer and conductor Jaime Mendoza-Nava (1925–2005), whose Hollywood scores included elements inspired by the traditional music of the Andes region; Ben Mikaelson, a Danish Bolivian whose family immigrated to the United States when he was a child and who went on to become a writer of children's literature; Chicago journalist Milenka Peña; and violinist and conductor Jaime Laredo.

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See Also: African Americans; Argentine Americans; Brazilian Americans; Chilean Americans; Croatian Americans; German Americans; Japanese Americans; Paraguayan Americans.

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Boston Tea Party

The Boston Tea Party, as it came to be known, was a symbolic act in defiance of Britain and a key event in the growth of the American Revolution. It was the culmination of a resistance movement throughout the American colonies against the Tea Act, which had been passed by the British Parliament in 1773. The protests were not only driven by the financial problems related to that imposed taxation but also by an ongoing dispute about the extent, if any, of the British Parliament's authority over the American colonies without the colonies having any elected representation. The event stands as an iconic incident in American history, and other political protests often refer to it.

The roots of the Boston Tea Party are found in the social and political conditions of the North American colonies at the time. Before the outbreak of the Revolution, there were only few links between the 13 British colonies. Neighboring colonies were often hostile to one another, quarrelling over territory and trade. The vote was limited to white, male property owners. The poor, women, and Native and African Americans were excluded.

The 1760s and 1770s were hard times. The economy was depressed, wages were low, and

there was not enough work for everyone. Hardship often made poor people angry and ready to join riots against British soldiers, customs officials, and wealthy pro-British Americans. At the bottom of colonial society were the African Americans. They numbered around half a million, about one in five of the population, and almost all were slaves. They had virtually no rights and could be bought and sold as personal property. There were also about 200,000 Native Americans living in and around the 13 colonies; they had no rights and were often considered enemies.

Relations between Britain and the 13 colonies began to worsen after the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, which drove France out of North America. Until then, Britain had paid little attention to its colonies. But now it decided to keep army personnel permanently stationed in North America and wanted the colonies to pay for it. Most Americans resented the army's presence, and none wished to pay the cost of its upkeep. When the British parliament tried to impose taxes on the colonies, the Americans rejected what they called taxation without representation. The Americans believed that people should only pay taxes approved by an assembly that they had elected. Since American citizens had not elected the British parliament, it could not tax them.

In 1773 the smoldering conflict between Britain and the colonies suddenly flared up into an uncontrollable blaze. The spark was the British decision to allow the East India Company to sell tea directly to the American colonies, instead of auctioning it to the middlemen. The price of the tea in the colonies would fall dramatically. But the three-penny import duty on tea imposed in 1767 by the Townshend Acts (a series of laws passed by the British parliament relating to the colonies in North America) remained. As the first ships carrying East India tea arrived in American ports, they met with resistance everywhere. In Boston, events came to a head. In November, three tea-laden ships arrived in the harbor. Local people, urged by radicals such as Samuel Adams and John Hancock, stopped the tea being unloaded. But the governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, refused to let the ships leave port without unloading their cargo. On December 16 a mass meeting was held at Boston's Old South Meeting

House. Chaired by Samuel Adams, the meeting called for the three tea-laden ships to leave immediately. The commander of the ships asked Governor Hutchinson for permission to do this, but his request was refused.

Shortly after six in the evening, Adams banged his gavel three times and declared, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." It was the signal for direct action. With no British soldiers to stop them, about 1,000 people ran down to where the ships were anchored. They were led by a group disguised as Native Americans and armed with axes. Clambering aboard, they split open the tea chests and hurled their contents into the water, cheered on by a large crowd of onlookers. According to historian Philip DeLoria, by wearing Indian dress as an "obvious" disguise, the Boston Tea Party radicals emphasized their difference from real Indians even as they asserted that their adoption of certain Indian ways had made them into a new thing called an American. Representations of the Indian Other were often crucial to the development of a self-conscious American national identity.

Right after that incident, the British Empire began an intense crackdown. In 1774, parliament passed four measures, known as the Intolerable Acts. In September 1774 all the colonies, except Georgia, sent representatives to the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia. The congress agreed to set up a Continental Association to organize a boycott of British imports. It boldly asserted that only the elected colonial assemblies had the right to pass laws for Americans and to tax them. The congress called for resistance to the Intolerable Acts. A few months later, the Revolutionary War began.

The term *Boston Tea Party* did not appear in print until 1834. Before that time, the event was usually referred to as the "destruction of the tea." American writers were for many years apparently reluctant to celebrate the destruction of property, and so the event was usually ignored in histories of the American Revolution. This began to change in the 1830s, however, especially with the publication of biographies of George Robert Twelves Hewes, one of the few still-living participants of the "tea party," as it then became known.

The Boston Tea Party has often been referenced in other political protests. In 1973, a mass

meeting at Faneuil Hall called for the impeachment of President Richard Nixon and protested oil companies in the ongoing oil crisis. Afterward, protesters boarded a replica ship in Boston Harbor, hanged Nixon in effigy, and dumped several empty oil drums into the harbor. In 2006, a libertarian political movement called the Boston Tea Party was founded.

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See Also: American Revolution; French and Indian War; Native Americans.

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Boxing and Ethnic Diversity

Boxing, as well as sports in general, is a venue through which various ethnic groups have affirmed their identities while claiming a social space for themselves within American life. This process occurs in two ways. The first occurs when members of a respective ethnic group lace up the gloves and directly participate in boxing as athletes. The second process entails the consumption of boxing as fans or spectators, in which fans often identify with fighters who share their neighborhood, hometown, and/or heritage as symbols of pride. This is accomplished by attending matches at local gymnasiums and arenas, watching fights on television, or purchasing world championship title matches on pay-per-view.

The “sweet science” has a long, and somewhat mythical, history of representing a means of social mobility and incorporation for working-class, urbanized immigrant and racial/ethnic minority groups in the United States. It serves as a prominent example of the role that sports play in cultivating a sense of social incorporation and cultural pride. Legendary African American prizefighters who embodied the aspirations of their ethnic compatriots include Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, Sugar Ray Robinson, and Muhammad Ali. Irish American counterparts include John L. Sullivan, James J. Braddock, and Billy Conn, while Italian American fight fans still revere Jake LaMotta and Rocky Marciano. Ring legends José Torres, Wilfredo Gómez, Héctor “Macho” Camacho, Félix “Tito” Trinidad, and Miguel Cotto stand as symbols of Puerto Rican pride among *boricua* (Puerto-born) boxing enthusiasts. Mexican American fans have taken pride in Bobby Chacón, Salvador Sánchez, José “Pipino” Cuevas, Julio César Chávez, Johnny Tapia, Oscar De La Hoya, and Saúl “Canelo” Álvarez.

Early Years

With roots extending to Greco-Roman times, boxing is one of the oldest sports still practiced today. English colonists brought boxing to American shores, although political and religious opposition to pugilism in the early-to-mid 1800s drove the sport underground, causing many bouts to be staged secretly on barges or farms. From the earliest days of the republic, enslaved people and immigrants (particularly the Irish) constituted the majority of boxers. The modern era of boxing dates to 1892, when gloves replaced bare-knuckle fighting. That year, “Gentleman” James Corbett defeated the “Boston Strong Boy,” John L. Sullivan, to capture the heavyweight title. The last of the great bare-knuckle champions, Sullivan was known for entering bars and challenging, “I can lick any son-of-a-bitch in the house.”

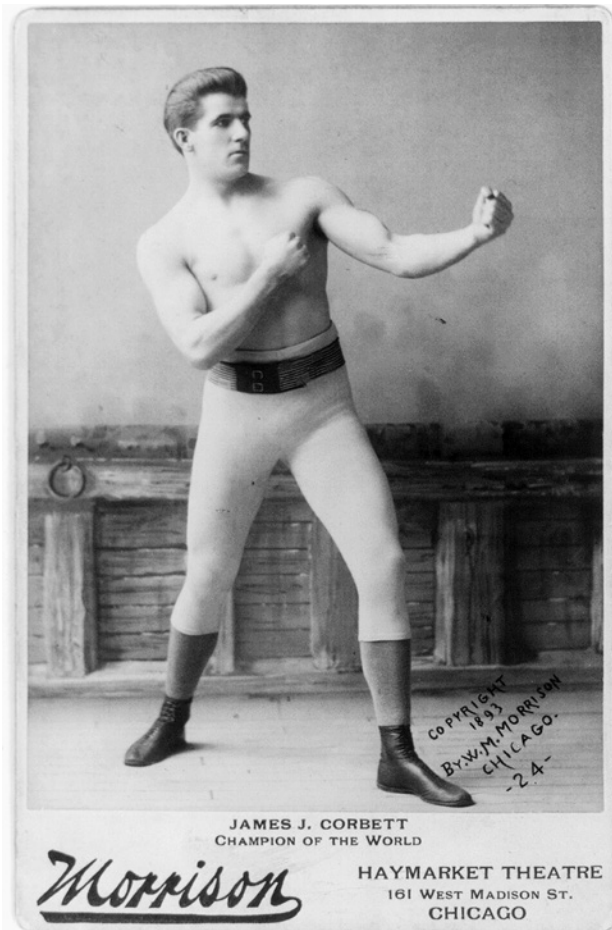
Irish, Italian, and Jewish Americans dominated boxing during the first half of the 20th century, as the sport proved extremely popular with European immigrants living in urban communities. Jack Dempsey, of Irish, English, Cherokee, and Jewish descent, was heavyweight champion from 1919 to 1926 and became a cultural icon of the Roaring Twenties. Along with his contemporary

Babe Ruth, Dempsey is credited for pioneering the rise of the modern professional athlete in American society. Dempsey produced the first \$1 million and \$2 million gates in the sport’s history. He ultimately lost the championship to fellow Irish American Gene Tunney in September 1926.

Boxing was one of the few sports in American society that actually flourished during the Great Depression, as working-class youth in cities throughout the nation took up the sport in hope of achieving economic prosperity. James J. Braddock, the son of Irish immigrants, upset Max Baer to win the heavyweight title in June 1935. Laboring as a longshoreman during the Depression in order to support himself and his family, Braddock epitomized the rags-to-riches journey that symbolized hope and inspiration for millions of Americans struggling through the economic crisis, and his life is chronicled in the film *Cinderella Man* (2005).

Despite contemporary popular stereotypes of Jews lacking athletic talent, Jewish fighters played a prominent role in amateur and professional boxing throughout the United States during the early 20th century. Arguably the greatest Jewish pugilist was Benny Leonard, who is regarded by boxing experts as one of the best lightweights in the sport’s history. The son of eastern European immigrants, Leonard grew up in the mean streets of Manhattan’s Lower East Side during the 1900s and 1910s and became known as the “Ghetto Wizard” during his professional career. Leonard possessed lightning-fast hand speed and incredible punching power for a smaller fighter, and thrilled fans with his adaptability in the ring. He could outbox technically sound fighters while also engaging in toe-to-toe slugfests with brawlers. Leonard won 88 straight bouts and held the lightweight championship from May 1917 until January 1925, the longest lightweight title reign in history. After retirement, Leonard returned to the ring as a referee. He died of a massive heart attack while refereeing a match in New York City in April 1947.

One of the few African American fighters to achieve stardom prior to the 1950s was Joe Louis, a ring legend who was the first black athlete to earn national popularity in American society. The son of southern sharecroppers, Louis took up boxing after his family relocated to Detroit in the



"Gentleman" James Corbett is declared "Champion of the World" on a card printed in Chicago in 1893, the year after he defeated "Boston Strong Boy" John L. Sullivan for the heavyweight title.

mid-1920s. Louis's heroic stature emerged in the buildup to his June 1938 bout with former heavyweight champion Max Schmeling of Germany, a match that the American public envisioned as a symbolic showdown between American democracy and German Nazism. Even President Franklin D. Roosevelt praised Louis's patriotism, commenting that the nation needed muscles like Louis's in order to defeat Germany. Adolf Hitler, on the other hand, cited Schmeling as proof of Aryan alleged supremacy. Louis destroyed Schmeling within two minutes of the first round, cementing his status as an American hero. Louis held the world heavyweight title from 1937 through 1949, the longest reign in history. Louis served in the army during World War II. He died in 1981 and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

A pair of Italian American pugilists, Jake LaMotta and Rocky Marciano, rose to prominence in the 1940s and 1950s, respectively. Of Italian and Jewish parentage and known as the "Bronx Bull," LaMotta held the middleweight crown from June 1949 to February 1951. LaMotta is most remembered for his five brutal fights with Sugar Ray Robinson, considered by most boxing historians to be the greatest pound-for-pound fighter ever. LaMotta had one of the strongest chins the sport has ever seen, being knocked out only three times in 106 career bouts. Filmmaker Martin Scorsese's 1980 masterpiece *Raging Bull* is a biographical film depicting LaMotta's professional and personal trials and tribulations. Marciano, the only heavyweight champion to remain undefeated throughout his entire career, held the title from 1952 to 1956 and retired with a record of 49 wins, 0 losses, and 43 knockouts. Marciano began his professional career at a time when Italian Americans were still a stigmatized ethnic group, but by the time of his retirement, he had been embraced by the white mainstream as professional sports in the United States was undergoing a profound demographic shift.

Contemporary Times/Muhammad Ali

Since the 1950s, boxing in the United States has become increasingly dominated by African American, Puerto Rican, and Mexican American fighters. Prizefighting's transition from a sport consisting primarily of Irish, Italian, and Jewish American pugilists to black and Latino fighters coincides with the entrance of formerly racialized European immigrant and ethnic groups into the mainstream of American society. As ever-increasing numbers of Catholic and Jewish European ethnicities attained middle-class economic status and relocated to the suburbs in the post-World War II era, the heavily working-class and urbanized sport of boxing saw fewer fighters of these heritages as the years progressed. Nevertheless, boxing still appealed as a means of upward mobility for other working-class populations.

Muhammad Ali, the best-known boxer of all time, achieved global popularity unlike that of any athlete as a result of his accomplishments in and out of the ring. Born Cassius Marcellus Clay in 1942, Clay won the gold medal at the 1960 Rome Olympics and captured the world

heavyweight championship by stopping Sonny Liston in 1964. After winning the title, Clay converted to Islam, changed his name to Muhammad Ali, and aggressively spoke out on civil rights issues. Ali successfully defended his championship nine more times before being stripped of the title and banned from boxing for three and a half years for his refusal to be inducted into the army after being drafted in 1967. Defending his opposition of the Vietnam War, Ali boldly declared, "No Vietcong ever called me 'nigger!'"

This simple statement, uttered as criticism of the nation's legacy of using black soldiers to defend freedom abroad while denying African Americans equality at home, resonated with millions of anti-Vietnam War protesters in the United States and critics of American foreign policy around the world. Ali was finally reinstated in boxing in 1970 and regained the heavyweight championship as a heavy underdog against George Foreman in a 1974 bout in Kinshasa, Zaire, dubbed the "Rumble in the Jungle." Ali finally retired from boxing in 1981 with a record of 56 wins, five losses, and 37 knockouts. ESPN presented Ali with the Arthur Ashe Courage Award in 1997, and President George W. Bush awarded Ali the Presidential Citizens' Medal and the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2005. In 1999, *Sports Illustrated* named Ali the greatest "Sportsman of the 20th Century."

Ali's 1975 fight with little-known journeyman Chuck Wepner, a white club fighter from New Jersey, inspired Sylvester Stallone to pen the script for *Rocky*. Ali underestimated Wepner and was outboxed by the underdog throughout the early rounds. Wepner knocked Ali down in the ninth round; however, Ali demonstrated his greatness by rallying and knocking out Wepner with 20 seconds remaining in the 15th round. In *Rocky*, Stallone plays Rocky Balboa, a down-on-his-luck and past-his-prime Italian American slugger from Philadelphia nicknamed the "Italian Stallion." Balboa earns a title shot against Apollo Creed, the flamboyant Ali-like world heavyweight champion. Creed fails to take the mismatch seriously, and Balboa knocks him down in the first round. Like Ali, Creed refocuses after rising from the canvas and ultimately escapes with a narrow victory over the sentimental favorite underdog opponent. *Rocky* won three Academy Awards

in 1977, including Best Picture, and spawned five sequels over the next 30 years. In *Rocky II* (1979), written and directed by Stallone, Balboa marries his sweetheart Adrian, starts a family, and ultimately becomes champion by defeating Creed in a rematch. Famous for its excellent Philadelphia cinematography and its gritty depiction of working-class, Italian American ethnic identity, the *Rocky* films remain the most popular boxing movies ever filmed.

African American Domination

African Americans dominated the heavyweight division in professional boxing from the 1960s until the end of the 20th century. Other prominent black heavyweight champions included Joe Frazier, Larry Holmes, Mike Tyson, Evander Holyfield, and George Foreman. Holmes held the title from 1978 to 1985, a duration bested only by Joe Louis's 11-year championship reign. Tyson became the youngest heavyweight champion in boxing history at the age of 20 when he knocked out Trevor Berbick in the second round of their November 1986 bout. At the other end of the age spectrum, the 45-year-old Foreman became the oldest heavyweight champion of all time when he regained the crown by knocking out Michael Moorer in November 1994. With devastating one-punch knockout power in either hand, Tyson and Foreman remain two of the hardest hitters the fight game has ever seen. Holyfield earned a bronze medal at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and captured the heavyweight title on four occasions (1990, 1993, 1996, and 2000), eclipsing Ali's previous record as a three-time heavyweight champion.

African American fighters have also made a significant impact on other weight divisions. During the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, the welterweight and middleweight divisions produced several classic bouts featuring "Marvelous" Marvin Hagler, Sugar Ray Leonard, and Thomas "Hitman" Hearns. Leonard, a gold medallist at the 1976 Montreal Olympics, won professional titles in five weight divisions and was named "Boxer of the Decade" for the 1980s by *Ring* magazine. Meanwhile, the epic 1985 bout between Hagler and Hearns is considered by many boxing journalists to be the most thrilling fight in the sport's history.

Growing Latino/Asian Presence

In recent years, numerous Mexican/Chicano and Puerto Rican boxers have achieved prominence, particularly in the lower weight divisions. The growing Latino presence in amateur and professional boxing occurs at a time in which the Latino population of the United States has increased considerably. The most popular Latino prizefighter is Oscar De La Hoya, a second-generation Mexican American from East Los Angeles who captured Olympic gold in Barcelona after posting a stellar amateur record of 223 wins and 5 losses. Nicknamed the “Golden Boy” for his victory in the 1992 games, De La Hoya won 10 world titles in six weight divisions as a professional fighter. Seeking to tap into the purchasing power of Latinos and capitalizing on Oscar’s popularity and handsome looks, boxing promoter Bob Arum marketed De La Hoya as a crossover star to both Mexican and non-Mexican fans. De La Hoya retired in 2009 after generating more than \$750 million in boxing revenue and fighting more times on HBO than any other boxer.

Héctor “Macho” Camacho and Félix “Tito” Trinidad represented Puerto Rican boxing prominence during the 1980s and 1990s, respectively. Camacho was born in Bayamón, Puerto Rico, but grew up in East Harlem. As an amateur fighter, Camacho won the New York Golden Gloves championship in 1978, 1979, and 1980. He stopped Rafael Limón of Mexico in the fifth round to capture the World Boxing Council’s super featherweight title in August 1983 and won the lightweight championship by defeating another Mexican, José Luis Ramírez, in August 1985. He remained undefeated until 1991. Trinidad, a native of Cupey Alto, Puerto Rico, was one of boxing’s most feared punchers during his heyday. He held the world welterweight title from 1993 to 1999 and captured the light middleweight and middleweight crowns.

The growing presence of Latinos within pugilism in recent decades has generated an intense Mexican–Puerto Rican boxing rivalry, rekindling memories of the Irish-Italian and Italian-Jewish rivalries of the early 20th century. Notable installments of this intra-Latino rivalry include Salvador Sánchez vs. Wilfredo Gómez (1982), Héctor Camacho vs. José Luis Ramírez (1986), Julio

César Chávez vs. Edwin Rosario (1987), Chávez vs. Camacho (1992), De La Hoya vs. Félix Trinidad (1999), and Antonio Margarito vs. Miguel Cotto (2008 and 2011).

Although Asians have not exerted the same degree of influence on boxing as African Americans and Latinos, Manny “Pac-Man” Pacquiao has arguably established himself one of the top fighters of the early 21st century. An elected member of the Filipino Congress, Pacquiao is currently one of the sport’s biggest stars, has captured world titles in a record eight weight divisions, and was named “Fighter of the Decade” for the 2000s. Known for his aggressive pugilistic style, Pacquiao has defeated every top Mexican boxer of his era, garnering the moniker of the “Mexi-cutioner” in the process. Splitting his time between Manila and Los Angeles, Pacquiao is one of the most famous Asian athletes in the world and has emerged as a source of cultural pride for Filipino Americans.

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See Also: Baseball and Ethnic Diversity; Basketball and Ethnic Diversity; Football and Ethnic Diversity; Soccer and Ethnic Diversity; Sports and Ethnic Diversity.

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Boyz N the Hood

The year 1991 was a prolific one for African American–made movies, as the new wave of black films gained momentum. John Singleton’s *Boyz N the Hood* was the most popular success of the year’s 19 black-made films. Most of these films were part of the new wave commitment to

take charge of black images in the media; filmmakers sought to explore and expose the depth and complexity of the lives of blacks to a world used to simplistic stereotypes of black characters. Some black characters were even heroes.

The power of John Singleton's film comes from its autobiographical realism, its cinematic and storytelling strength, and the intensity of Singleton's commitment to ending the evils that lead to black-on-black violence and destroy the lives of boys in the black urban underclass.

John Singleton himself emerged from the film's South Central Los Angeles neighborhood, embodying the story of a young black man's escape from the ghetto. He grew up on movies and hip-hop and became a black auteur at age 23, writing and directing this movie that made box office headlines. He wrote the script while studying film at the University of Southern California and shared it with people at Columbia Pictures while interning there. He convinced them to allow him to direct the film although he had only directed student projects. He shot the film in his home neighborhood while subject to gang threats.

Singleton portrays the lack of hope, the unemployment, and the drugs, as well as the pervasive violence of crime and gang wars that frame the everyday lives of three youths growing up there. Tre, Ricky, and Doughboy live on the same street and represent a spectrum of youthful male responses to this environment—all of which are seen to depend largely on parenting. About 11 years old at the beginning of the film, they already show evidence of their differing paths. When we pick them up seven years later, Doughboy (rap artist Ice Cube) has just returned from prison, his half-brother Ricky (Morris Chestnut) is a parent but also a celebrated high school football player with hope for a college scholarship, and Tre (Cuba Gooding, Jr.) is a good student with a girlfriend who is still a virgin and a passionately committed father, Furious Styles (Laurence Fishburne).

Singleton tells a compelling coming-of-age story with these three close friends, each complex and sympathetic. This is a message film, but the message is embodied in the characters and the action, as well as articulated by Furious and the on-screen plea at the end: "Increase the peace." Doughboy

exhibits courage and family commitment, but his mother's preference for Ricky is painfully clear. Without hope, education, or parental support, he slides into the landscape of alcohol and violence. Ricky's hope for escape through education is shattered by his senseless death, which sets in motion the climactic revenge. Tre is pulled by his loyalty and pride to participate in the vengeance and violence that would certainly mean the end of his life. It is his father's continual presence, attention, and teaching that enable him at the last moment to choose against it. He will have a future; the others will not. He had a father, a strong black male, who could teach him how to be a man; the others did not.

Furious Styles's fathering is more than presence; he teaches Tre the fundamental values of responsibility for his actions (including sexual), attention to homework and chores, self-discipline, and respect for elders. Furious also communicates his belief that the plight of the urban poor is caused by white greed and white hope that African Americans will "kill ourselves." White people have little part in the movie; the most villainous character is a black policeman who seems to hate blacks and sadistically enjoys his white-conferred power over them.

Boyz N the Hood initially drew the audiences it portrayed, and although all the characters rang true, Doughboy spoke most deeply to and for them. Singleton's primary purpose was to shake his own people into action to heal their own communities and give their children lives through fathering, tough-love parenting, and education. Yet he hoped and planned that the film would cross color lines to dispel stereotypes about the lives of black youth and generate compassion and awareness of white complicity.

The film uses conventional storytelling techniques and methods of characterization, making it accessible to all audiences. For most whites and many African Americans, the film provided their first exposure to authentic hip-hop culture and the realities of life for many black urban youth. It opened their eyes and generated sympathy. However, various audiences and reviewers have criticized the film's pedantry, antiwhite conspiracy theories, and black separatism. Black women have protested its portrayal of black women and the assumption that only men can make the difference as parents. For the most part, the emotional

power of Singleton's story has affected audiences exactly as he hoped.

Boyz N the Hood launched the acting careers of Cuba Gooding, Jr., and Ice Cube, and made John Singleton both the first African American and the youngest director to receive an Oscar nomination. Its popular and economic success generated a rash of similar films and, while about 75 percent of audiences were black, it crossed color lines, continues to speak to people of all cultures, and proved once again the power and expertise of African American filmmakers.

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See Also: Academy Awards; African Americans; *Amos 'n Andy Show, The; Do the Right Thing;* Motion Pictures.

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Bracero Program

The Bracero program was established through executive order in August 1942, and in 1951 it was formalized under Public Law 78. Under the program, over 4 million Mexican workers came to the United States to work in agriculture. Braceros worked in the fields, harvesting beets, tomatoes, cucumbers, and cotton. The Bracero program was the origin of the massive legal and illegal migration of the last two decades of the 20th century.

History of Foreign Manual Labor

The first U.S. use of foreign manual labor in the west was by the cattle industry of the 19th century and the fruit orchards of California between 1850 and 1880. Dry land agriculture in the southwest and California required large acreages for

cultivation of wheat, and large farms continued to grow as farmers shifted to Mediterranean climate crops such as fruits and vegetables. For laborers, conditions and pay were dismal.

The Chinese were the first source of labor. Two hundred thousand Chinese, barred from work in the cities after they built the railroad, contracted to work in California's agriculture fields until 1882, when they were banned from entering the United States by the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Japanese were the next to work in the fields, but the Mexicans were there, too. Between 1850 and 1880, 55,000 immigrant laborers were working in U.S. agriculture, industry, and the railroads.

The development of the railroad that tied central Mexico to the United States brought in an increase of Mexican workers, with upwards of 60 percent of the railway crews coming from that country. Many of these workers were fleeing worsening living conditions in Porfirian Mexico, in the years preceding the 1910 Mexican Revolution. They also found work in the United States as miners, ranch hands, and other labor-intensive jobs. Then came the revolution and constant deterioration of the Mexican agricultural sector. Mexican peasants suffered two million deaths during the revolution and the following decades of government neglect.

In 1917, Congress restricted the flow of migrants across the U.S.-Mexican border but exempted agricultural workers, bringing in over 200,000 laborers between 1917 and 1923. World War I had increased migration, but labor abuses persisted, despite a Mexican model labor contract that delineated the rights and conditions of all migrant workers. In 1924 the United States defined undocumented workers as illegal and established the Border Patrol.

The Great Depression ended the demand for farmworkers. Surplus Mexicans—those with no proof of employment—were deported. Mexican nationals had been recruited for work in mines, railroads, and agriculture during the prosperous years, but the Depression made Mexicans economically superfluous, placing potential burdens on U.S. welfare systems. In California and then in Congress, pressure mounted to deport Mexican nationals, including many who had been recruited in the first place. Some 500,000 Mexicans left the United States during the 1930s, some

by deportation, others by voluntary repatriation under pressure.

By the late 1930s, jobs in Mexico were getting increasingly hard to find so Mexican laborers began to look elsewhere. The obvious place to look was the United States, where a shortage of all labor, particularly manual labor, had resulted from America's entry into World War II.

World War II Labor Shortages

World War II revived demand for workers. Food was a vital war requirement, and the draft had taken away surplus agricultural labor jobs. Domestic workers were moving into war jobs, as well, creating a further labor shortage. When California farm owners asked for seasonal labor, the United States and Mexico agreed to initiate a series of laws and diplomatic agreements to import temporary contract laborers. Called the Bracero program (the Spanish term for strong-arm), the plan went into effect on August 4, 1942, despite complaints from farm labor reformers, who argued there was no labor shortage, only a shortage of decent wages and working conditions.

U.S. farm laborers worried that braceros would undercut their wages and take their jobs, despite provisions that Mexican workers were authorized only where there was a documented labor shortage; they were not strikebreakers. Under the agreement, Mexican workers had to receive the prevailing wage, work for 75 percent of the contract period, and receive decent working conditions, including sanitary and free housing, employer-paid insurance, and free transportation to and from the border.

Farmworkers by the thousands came from Mexico's agricultural regions by train to the northern border. Ciudad Juarez, the entry point into El Paso, Texas, was a vibrant gathering place and recruitment center. El Paso processed 80,000 braceros a year at its peak, nearly a quarter of the 350,000 Braceros recruited each year.

The farm bureaus, and independent associations controlled the contracts. They were written in English and normally were not translated into Spanish. Laborers often signed them without understanding their rights and the conditions. The rules also went unenforced. The U.S. government underfunded inspection programs, allowing abuses to become rampant. Illegal

recruitment and smuggling began from the very onset of the program.

Between the 1940s and mid-1950s, farm wages dropped drastically, as braceros began entering the manufacturing sector, with no protected right. On termination of a contract, the Bracero had to turn in his work permit and return to Mexico. Any other return to Mexico required written permission from the boss.

Post-World War II Labor Abuses

In 1947, with the end of World War II, the Bracero program ended, too. Mexicans started migrating to the United States illegally. Because of the power of agricultural interests, Congress failed to enforce the law and ignored blatant violations of human rights and massive illegal immigration. Farmers faced no penalties, so the number of undocumented Mexicans quickly surpassed the number of legal braceros. Illegal migrants caught in the United States were legalized and allowed to return to work on a farm. The pejorative term *wetback* was given to these illegal migrants stemming from a Border Patrol sweep called Operation Wetback because many of these migrants swam rivers to cross the border into the United States.

In October 1948, in a move called the El Paso Incident, U.S. immigration officials opened the border to migrant workers, despite an agreement with Mexico to restrict immigration and regardless of the fact that the wartime justification was no longer necessary. Farmers demanded cheap labor, Mexico abrogated the agreement. Because of the violation, farmers continued to hire illegal migrants while waiting for the Bracero agreement to be reenacted.

The braceros and illegal migrants offered a guaranteed labor force that allowed agribusinesses to expand to meet the demand for fruit and vegetables. The money the migrants sent home reinforced Mexican dependency on American work, and the back-and-forth movement of workers developed networks between rural Mexico and rural United States that brought increasing traffic beyond the fields to nonfarm work, leaving American farms short of labor and creating more demand for braceros. In the 1950s, braceros comprised over half the labor force in California agriculture and manufacturing sectors, and wages fell as a result.

In 1951, a commission recommended sanctions in the form of fines, and President Harry Truman and the Mexican government agreed, but Congress did not want sanctions. The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act made harboring illegal aliens a felony, but it included the Texas Proviso that specified that employing undocumented migrants was not considered as harboring them. Owners remained free of penalties.

Between 1942 and 1964, there were 4.6 million braceros in the United States and 4.9 million apprehensions of Mexican nationals. During the Border Patrol's Operation Wetback, 1.1 million Mexicans (including American-born children of braceros) were repatriated. Operation Wetback increased the fear under which agricultural workers lived, giving farmers even more leverage to abuse them. Braceros who protested the treatment, especially illegal migrants, faced certain deportation.

To encourage hiring braceros instead of illegal migrants, the Department of Labor (DOL) eased rules regarding wages and payment for food and housing. Bracero entries peaked at 445,200 in 1956. President John Kennedy reversed the easing of the rules, and the subsequent DOL enforcement led to a decline in bracero numbers.

Ending the Bracero Program

By that time, the Bracero program had outlived its usefulness and was becoming an embarrassment. CBS's *Harvest of Shame* aired in 1960, convincing Kennedy that the braceros were hurting opportunities and conditions for American agricultural workers. Lee G. Williams, who headed the Bracero program for U.S. Department of Agriculture, labeled it legalized slavery.

Churches, civil rights advocates, and labor organizations had long opposed the Bracero program, but the decision to end it came only after the farmworker population diminished and farm owners became dissatisfied with the program. The Bracero program was an indirect subsidy because it guaranteed cheap labor. In 1942, 22 percent of the workforce was in agriculture; by termination of the Bracero program, agriculture employment dropped to under 7 percent (by 2012 it was under 3 percent).

Despite farmers' protests, the Bracero program died on December 31, 1964. By then,

mechanization of cotton fields and other forms of labor meant that braceros were now superfluous. Farmers also created a supply of labor contractors to hire fewer American workers at higher wages, reflecting higher productivity; the farmers mechanized tomato harvesting and eliminated 90 percent of the pickers. And they accepted farm unionization after labor activist César Chávez joined the Filipino grape pickers and won a 15-year "golden age" for agricultural workers, an age that ended with the rise of illegal immigration after 1980.

Massive Mexican migration dates from 1980, with 4 million green cards issued during the last two decades of the 20th century out of an estimated 6 million Mexicans entering the country. The argument that braceros would reduce illegal migration had been wrong. Returned to Mexico, braceros faced the same shortage of work that had brought them to the United States—and they now had experience in the fields of west Texas, southern New Mexico, and elsewhere. Two-thirds of the 40 million arrests of undocumented Mexicans in the United States occurred during the 1980s and 1990s.

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See Also: Great Depression; Mexican Americans; Migrant Workers; Operation Wetback; World War I; World War II.

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Brazilian Americans

Although not a large ethnic group in the United States, the population of Americans with Brazilian ancestry has increased significantly over the past two decades. The U.S. Census Bureau's 2009 American Community Survey estimated that 373,000 Brazilian Americans lived in the United States. This estimate is more than double the size of the Brazilian American population in 2000 (181,000) and more than four times greater than the number of Brazilians living in the United States in 1990 (approximately 66,000). Many claim that the actual number of Brazilian Americans is much higher because of the undocumented status of many recent migrants who remain undercounted by the Census Bureau. Although difficult to enumerate precisely, some experts have suggested that the U.S. Brazilian population may be as high as 1 million. The Portuguese term *brazuca* is often used as an affectionate term for Brazilian immigrants living in the United States.

The vast majority of Brazilian Americans live in urbanized communities along the East Coast, with large communities in New York City; Miami, Florida; and Boston, Massachusetts. In fact, the block of West 46th Street between Fifth Avenue and the Avenue of the Americas in New York City is officially known as Little Brazil because of its large concentration of shops that cater specifically to Brazilian tourists. Los Angeles, California, is home to the largest Brazilian American population on the West Coast. In New England, the presence of Portuguese American and Portuguese immigrant populations facilitated the social transition of Brazilian migrants into local communities to a degree because of a similar linguistic background. However, the Portuguese and Brazilian populations of New England do not necessarily identify closely with one another.

Migration History

Less than 30,000 Brazilian Americans lived in the United States in 1960. Immigration from Brazil substantially increased following the Immigration Act of 1965, which abolished national origins quotas and diversified immigration to the United States by increasing the portion of immigrants from non-European nations. Approximately 2,000 Brazilian immigrants entered the United States each year

from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s, after which economic crises in Brazil produced a dramatic surge in migration. More than 21,000 Brazilians migrated to the United States during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Whereas Brazilian immigrants before the 1970s tended to be middle class and college educated, more recent migrants have come from a working-class background and have taken up manual labor occupations, particularly in the restaurant and cleaning industries. Many immigrants send portions of their earnings to relatives in their homeland; Brazil ranks second to Mexico in remittances from the United States.

Racial-Ethnic Identity

Academics, pundits, and Brazilian Americans themselves debate whether Brazilians should be considered a Latino population. One side of this debate relies on an inclusive interpretation of *latinidad*, which argues that the designation *Latino* is shorthand for persons with heritage from Latin America; using that definition, Brazilians do constitute a Latino ethnic population like Puerto Ricans or Dominicans.

Others contend that the label *Latino* is virtually synonymous with the term *Hispanic*, thereby implying ancestry from a Spanish-speaking society. Under this more rigid and exclusionary definition, Brazilians (whose heritage derives from a Portuguese-speaking nation) do not count as Latinos. Popular opinions vary considerably on this subject, although the U.S. federal government officially defines the ethnic category Hispanic or Latino as "a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race." As such, the U.S. government does not consider Brazilian Americans a Latino population.

Quantitative and qualitative research on identity politics among Brazilian Americans has revealed a geographic discrepancy in the manner in which members of this ethnic population self-identify. Based on studies conducted in southern Florida and New England, two areas with sizable Brazilian American communities, researchers noticed a divide in how individuals identified by race and ethnicity. In southern Florida, Brazilian Americans were much more likely to embrace the label Latino and to incorporate it into their own self-identification, while their ethnic counterparts in New

England generally eschewed this term. Instead, Brazilian Americans in New England generally preferred to self-identify as white. Sociologists regard the divergence in self-identification as an outgrowth of local social dynamics in each region.

The large presence of Cubans, Colombians, and other Latin American populations in southern Florida has resulted in a profound Latino cultural influence on the region, which facilitates the maintenance of a Latino identity. This contrasts sharply with New England, where Latinos such as Puerto Ricans and Dominicans represent stigmatized racial minority groups within a majority-white region, thereby compelling a greater inclination to self-identify as white.

Regardless of how they choose to self-identify, Brazilian Americans often find themselves automatically grouped as Latino by many other Americans who may or may not be aware of their Brazilian heritage. The tendency for non-Brazilians to perceive Brazilians as Latinos derives from decades of media depictions of *Carnaval*, as well as samba singer and dancer Carmen Miranda and her signature fruit headpiece, combined with a tendency among the general public to interpret the Portuguese-based accent of Brazilian immigrants as a Spanish-speaking accent.

Notable Brazilian Americans

As their population continues to increase, several Brazilian Americans have achieved notoriety within American society. Perhaps the Brazilian American to have the most profound social impact on American society is Eduardo Saverin, who cofounded Facebook with Mark Zuckerberg and three others in 2004. Saverin is depicted in the 2010 motion picture *The Social Network*, although he renounced his U.S. citizenship in 2011.

Ana Beatriz Barros and Gisele Bündchen are two of the world's leading fashion models, having gained international stardom through their work with Victoria's Secret. Barros has also modeled for GUESS? and Jennifer Lopez's JLO fashion line, while Bündchen has garnered additional fame through her marriage to New England Patriots quarterback Tom Brady. Six-foot, 11-inch basketball star Nenê (born Maybyner Rodney Hilário) has averaged more than 12 points per game throughout his NBA career with the Denver Nuggets and Washington Wizards.



New York City's West 46th Street was officially titled "Little Brazil Street" in 1995 by the city. The area is home to over 76,000 Brazilian Americans. In 1984, the first "Brazilian Day" was held in New York City to celebrate Brazil's Independence.

Natalie Morales has had a respected career as a broadcast journalist and news anchor with MSNBC, NBC News, and the *Today* show. Actress Jordana Brewster rose to fame with her roles as Mia Toretto in the action films *The Fast and the Furious* (2001), *Fast & Furious* (2009) and *Fast Five* (2011).

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See Also: Cape Verdean Americans; Ethnicity; Hispanic Americans; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Latinos; Portuguese Americans.

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Brendale v. Confederated Tribes of the Yakima Nation (1989)

Brendale v. Confederated Tribes of the Yakima Nation (1989) complicated the question of whether American Indian tribal nations have the ability to control the land within reservation boundaries, whether those lands are owned by tribal members, and whether Indians who are not members or are non-Indians can control or own the land.

The 2010 census reported that the majority of people (77 percent) living on the reservation or on trust land do not identify themselves as American Indian, but they are still subject to tribal policies. As a result of demographics and federal tribal relationships, non-Indians are subject to tribal regulations if they live within reservation boundaries. Conflict has arisen as a result of the federal Indian policy.

There are several examples established in Indian law that culminated with *Brendale v. Confederated Tribes of the Yakima Nation*. The Yakima nation, just as have state and local governments, established consistency in land use through comprehensive zoning laws. The authority of American Indian tribes to regulate civil and criminal behavior within reservation boundaries is derived from Supreme Court precedent. These cases arose as a result of the historical federal policies that have had a lasting impact on jurisdictional issues within reservation boundaries.

Indian Land and Precedent-Setting Cases

As a result of the Dawes Act (1887), reservation land came into the possession of non-Indians, creating tremendous jurisdictional issues between states and Indian nations. There are many non-Indians who live within reservation boundaries, with non-Indian fee land mixed in with Indian-owned allotments and property that is tribally owned. The result has led to a number of Supreme Court decisions that are complex and seem to swing back and forth between supporting tribal sovereignty and diminishing tribal authority. For example, in *United States v. Mazurie*, the court limited tribal

authority where it found that the tribe had only the authority given to it by the federal government.

The ability to control land within reservation boundaries was further limited in *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*, where the court said that the Suquamish had no criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians who had committed crimes within reservation boundaries or on trust land. The Supreme Court further eroded tribal sovereignty in *United States v. Montana*, where it found that because of the Crow Nation's dependent status, they were stripped of control over non-Indians because the state had jurisdiction. The court did say that the tribe could have jurisdiction if the its health and welfare were threatened.

In another case out of Euclid, Ohio, *Village of Euclid, Ohio v. Ambler Realty*, the village established a comprehensive zoning ordinance to control development. A lawsuit arose challenging the constitutionality of the ordinance. The Supreme Court upheld the ordinance, stating that it regulated land use for the benefit of all members of the village to protect its public safety, morals, and general welfare. This case established that local governments have the right to regulate land established for the benefit of local land use. Thus, grounded in tribal sovereignty, tribal governments enacted zoning laws within reservation boundaries, including trust land, to maintain and regulate land use.

The Brendale Case

Brendale is the combination of two lower court cases, involving two different areas on the Yakima reservation: one in the "closed area" and one in the "open" area. The Yakima reservation is in eastern Washington State. Eighty percent of its 1.3 million acres are held in trust by the United States and 20 percent are held in fee by both Indians and non-Indians. The "closed area" consists of primarily trust land, which is undeveloped and open only to members of the Yakima Nation. Most of the fee land is in the "open area" and open to everyone. The Yakima reservation is "checker-boarded" with non-Indian and Indian-owned land primarily in the "open area" but a small amount is also in the "closed area."

The first case involved a property owner named Brendale who was not a member of the Yakima Nation but was an American Indian who owned

land in the “closed area” and wanted to develop the land to sell it. He obtained a permit from Yakima County but not from the tribe. The second case involved a property owner named Wilkenson, who owned non-fee land within the open area of the Yakima Nation and who was granted a zoning permit from Yakima County. The Supreme Court combined the cases and had a complex finding dependent on whether the area was “closed” or “open.”

The Yakima Nation treaty of 1855 granted the tribe power to exclude non-Indians from tribal lands. Therefore, the Yakima could regulate the land in the “closed area” because it was only for the use of Yakima tribal members. On the flip side, the Yakima could not exclude non-Indians from the “open area” and, therefore, could not regulate that area’s land use.

Current demographics complicate the application of *Brendale*. Depending on the race of the landowner, a conflict arises when 77 percent of those who live within reservation boundaries do not self-identify as American Indian, or are identified as American Indian but are not members of the Yakima Nation. *Brendale v. Confederated Tribes of the Yakima Nation* highlights the impact that historical federal policy has on federal, state, and tribal governments today.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Yakima.

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Brooklyn Dodgers

Founded in 1883, the Brooklyn Dodgers (now the Los Angeles Dodgers) are one of the most storied professional sport franchises in American history. Noted for their mid-20th-century exploits both on and off the baseball diamond, the Brooklyn Dodgers were the quintessential sports franchise to epitomize equal rights. No other sports team has been so lauded for its front-office decisions, talent scouting, player selection, frugality, and community support during the postwar years than the Brooklyn Dodgers. They were symbolic of the changing face of American sport and society through their social integration and westward migration.

Much of the Dodgers’ success can be attributed to their administration and the shrewd business acumen of Branch Rickey, the part owner and general manager of the team in 1947. Although the Dodgers were somewhat successful prior to Rickey’s arrival, they became a national phenomenon under his leadership. Rickey’s prescient vision and stealth-like negotiations enabled him to build the organization into a perennial contender, facilitate social change, and create a sustainable national brand that has endured for over a half-century after the team relocated.

Brooklyn, the Borough

Referred to as the “side door” to the Statue of Liberty, Brooklyn was a heterogeneous amalgamation of clans, villages, and enclaves comprised of diverse ethnic groups (i.e., Italians, Irish, Germans, African Americans, and others). Census data indicate that more than a third of the borough’s population was Jewish in the mid-1940s.

The Dodgers’ organization was uniquely “un-Yankee-like” in that they cultivated a working-class fan base. The symbiotic communal relationship

between Brooklynites and the Dodgers was shaped during the 1950s because of the many players who lived among the fans and often used the same public transportation. Consequently, the Dodgers seemed to represent neighborhood- and community-related baseball. Brooklyn's ethnic diversity was instrumental in Rickey's "great experiment" in desegregation. He believed that the borough's diversity would facilitate his integration plan.

Social Integration and Midcentury Changes

The legendary success and seminal moments of the Brooklyn Dodgers franchise occurred after World War II. The team was the catalyst for social change in American sport and society at a time when a midcentury revolution and renaissance of sorts unfolded.

Rickey's successful integration of professional baseball, with the signing of African American Jackie Robinson in 1947, is viewed as his most salient career accomplishment. Often confused and misconstrued as a humanitarian social statement, the signing of Robinson and other elite Negro League baseball players was financially motivated. Rickey saw a reservoir of untapped black talent, and he was willing to negotiate and often exploit the vast resources. His talent scouting and signing of Negro League players enabled him to have four in uniform in 1950, when Major League Baseball had only nine African American players.

The Dodgers eventually signed 16 Negro League players and became black America's team. Due to the controversial social change that took place within the franchise, national tabloids condemned and vilified them for threatening baseball's purity and status quo, while others extolled the courage of the organization and sacrifices made by its players.

Prosperity, Disparity, and Nostalgic Lore

Rickey and Robinson's successful partnership helped galvanize the Dodger fandom, and paid substantial dividends at the gate. Unfortunately, municipal strife and political posturing around the location of a new stadium sent the franchise west.

A decade before the Dodgers' East Coast exodus, they had made more money than any other National League franchise. Their home game attendance reached a league record high of 1.8

million fans in 1947, partly due to Robinson's inaugural season. They even made more money than the Yankees from 1952 to 1956. In spite of the Dodgers' financial windfall and league success, they won but one World Series (1955) out of six attempts. Thus, the rallying cry in Brooklyn became "Wait till next year!" Unfortunately, there was no next year in 1957, as the team relocated to Los Angeles.

More than a half-century since their relocation, the Brooklyn Dodgers are still among the best-known sport franchises of all time, and maintain the most iconic image of any transplanted team in American sports history. Their name is so enduring that it rivals teams that have entered Major League Baseball by expansion over the years.

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See Also: Baseball and Ethnic Diversity; Negro Baseball Leagues; Sports and Ethnic Diversity.

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Brown Berets

The Brown Berets are a youth-led paramilitary organization of the Chicano civil rights movement founded in Los Angeles, California, in 1967,

and which exists in the present. Its goal has been to uphold the objectives of the Chicana/o movement in education, politics, socioeconomics, and self-definition or identity, and to also focus on particular local issues, like criminal justice and police brutality.

The Berets spread throughout the southwestern United States and into large urban areas of the east, Pacific Northwest and midwest. They have supported the work of not only other Chicano movement organizations, like the United Farm Workers (UFW), but also the work of other ethnic organizations, such as the Black Panther Party or the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or the Puerto Rican Young Lords. They have engaged in a number of movement events, but as with other civil rights organizations from the 1950s to the 1970s, were heavily targeted by infiltrators and provocateurs who distorted their image and work, and harmed them internally.

Beginnings

The Brown Berets were formed just prior to the 1968 East Los Angeles student walkouts (blow-outs) led by Carlos Montes and others involved in the Young Citizens for Community Action (YCCA), later changed to Young Chicanos for Community Action. The name of the organization originated from the beret and brown uniforms worn by both men and women soldiers and veterans. The Berets published a newspaper called *La Causa* and started their work supporting the anti-Vietnam War movement, challenging police brutality and educational inequality, and opening a free health clinic and offering free breakfasts. They opened a coffee house, the Piranya, in East Los Angeles, where they met and sponsored cultural programs.

They evolved ideologically from working civically, a strategy used by older-generation Mexican American organizations like the American GI Forum, to focusing on Chicana/o self-determination and nationalism, to international solidarity with global movements based in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. However, unlike other student movements founded at that time, like *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MEChA), the paramilitary structure of the Berets made it unique. It has an elaborate hierarchy of officers,

code of conduct, and disciplinary procedures. Marching, drills, salutes, and the manifestation of Chicana/o Power are part of the exercise of discipline and earning the trust of the community, as is respecting and caring for the uniform and those who wear it.

1970 Paramilitary Power and Disbandment

Like other Chicano movement organizations that rejected women or limited their participation, the Brown Berets—while rhetorically stressing the importance of gender equity as equally important to that of race or class—failed in practice to live up to its own rhetoric. Women Berets continually challenged their male colleagues, but faced unique challenges due to the structure of the organization and respect for the chain of command and senior officers.

In 1970, they assisted those in the Barrio Logan neighborhood of San Diego in seizing and occupying a piece of land beneath the Coronado Bridge that eventually became Chicano Park. In 1972, they planted a Mexican flag on Santa Catalina, claiming the island for all Chicanos and asserting a violation of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. By 1972, succumbing to heavy infiltration by the Los Angeles Police Department and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Brown Berets disbanded.

1990s Resurgence

In 1993, during a resurgence of the Chicano Movement, the Brown Berets were reconstituted under their original charter and they renewed their work in southwestern communities, in particular focusing on those in the criminal justice system. They participated in the 40th anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium and have been active fighting for immigration legislation and enforcement, particularly in Arizona and California.

Internal disputes have emerged since their reconstitution about who has legitimate claim and title to the legacy of the Brown Berets, and members remain rightfully suspicious of new members and their activities. Much as MEChA has attracted the attention and vitriol of racially and politically conservative groups, the Brown Berets have similarly experienced viral Internet attacks, mainly by those lacking a historical perspective and critical understanding of their work.

Unmasking Rumors and Urban Legends

The Brown Berets, much like the Black Panther Party, were infiltrated and documented by the FBI to a degree witnessed by few other Chicano movement organizations. Recent scholarship analyzing the FBI files and those of other agencies surrounding the Brown Berets has proven they were justifiably suspicious. By becoming a type of civilian police/military force, the organization directly challenged the legitimacy of its establishment counterparts. As such, infiltrators and provocateurs delegitimated the Brown Berets' work in the community by spreading rumors or urban legends about nonthreatening services its members performed, such as free pancake breakfasts and a health clinic.

As more documentation from the Berets' tumultuous period becomes available with the passage of time, some questions will be answered. Some information remains tightly controlled, such as the investigation into the death of Ruben Salazar. Salazar was a journalist killed in 1970 by a Los Angeles County Sheriff's deputy during a National Chicano Moratorium March against the Vietnam War. Other controlled information includes governmental resistance to the Chicano civil rights movement and the work of organizations like the Brown Berets.

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See Also: Aztlán; Chicano Moratorium; Chicano Movement; Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán; *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*; Young Lords.

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Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) struck a resounding blow against the legalized segregation of children along racial lines in the United States. Prior to *Brown*, in spite of 90 years of African American freedom from slavery, society in the southern states was divided strictly along black and white lines under the legal doctrine of "separate but equal." This doctrine, combined with prejudicial beliefs, contributed to a public education system in which black and white children attended separate schools throughout the south and in other parts of the country. The Supreme Court in *Brown* expressly held that separate schools are inherently unequal and violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees equal protection under the law for all persons regardless of their race.

Emancipation

European colonial powers in the 16th century began forcibly capturing men, women, and children along the western coast of Africa and selling them to Europeans in the Americas. In 1800, the U.S. census reported nearly 900,000 slaves in the United States, primarily in the southern states, as many northern states had abolished slavery. In 1857, the Supreme Court ruled in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that Scott, a former Missouri slave and free black man who sought to live as a free man in the slave state of Missouri, was not and could never be a U.S. citizen because he was black, and he had no right to bring a suit in a U.S. court. By 1860 there were close to 4 million slaves in the south, and the divisiveness of slavery set the nation on the edge of Civil War. In contrast, most Central and South American nations had abolished slavery.

During the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln on January 1, 1863, issued the Emancipation Proclamation, officially freeing all slaves in the rebellious territories. On January 31, 1865, Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, outlawing slavery in all U.S. states and territories. The Confederacy surrendered on

April 9, 1865. The Thirteenth Amendment was ratified by the required three-fourths of the states on December 6, 1865, and took effect. On July 9, 1868, the nation ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, providing citizenship to all people born in the United States and prohibiting state action that denied people the equal protection of the laws. These amendments in principle made many racially discriminatory practices illegal, but in reality did very little to change the quality of life of African Americans.

Separate but Equal

In 1892, Homer Plessy, a black civil rights activist who could pass for white, sat in a “whites only” train car and declared he was black. Arguing that separate cars for whites and blacks violated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, Plessy appealed his case to the Supreme Court. In 1896, the court announced the “separate but equal” doctrine—that separate facilities for blacks and whites do not violate the Constitution if they are equal. The “separate but equal” doctrine provided further justification for segregation. By 1900, a majority of elementary-age children in the United States attended a public school. However, throughout the southern states black children regularly were denied access to the growing number of public schools for white children. Southern state legislatures underfunded elementary schools and often provided no secondary education for black children. For instance, fewer than 5 percent of black high school-age children in Texas attended school in 1910.

In 1909, civil rights activists founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to fight for African American equality in all aspects of society. In 1930 the NAACP developed a legal division and hired attorney Charles Hamilton Houston, dean of Howard University Law School, to head the division. Houston’s strategy was to overturn the “separate but equal” doctrine by proving that separate facilities were not equal, and that states were not providing equal funding to schools for black and white students. He intended to force states to either build schools for black students that were comparable to white schools or to integrate white schools.

Houston began with the case of Donald Gaines Murray, a black man who was denied admission

to the University of Maryland Law School. In *Pearson v. Murray* (1935), Houston argued that under the equal protection clause Murray should be admitted to the law school because Maryland did not have a law school for black students. The court ordered the university to admit Murray, and the Maryland Court of Appeals affirmed the decision. *Murray* was followed by a line of civil rights cases from 1935 to 1950, won by Houston and the NAACP against colleges for failing to admit qualified African Americans.

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka

U.S. involvement in World War II (1941–45) brought new hope to many African Americans. Black soldiers demonstrated competence equal to whites and served with distinction in both the European and Pacific theaters of operation. They did so, nonetheless, in segregated military units, often with inferior equipment and training. Many African Americans took note that the United States was fighting against racist dictatorships and began to hope that attitudes were changing in the United States.

Latinos similarly hoped that white attitudes were changing. Although Latinos served in integrated units during World War II, their children typically attended segregated public schools across the southwestern United States, especially in Texas and California. In 1947, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously affirmed a decision that school segregation violated the equal protection rights of Latino children, though not on the basis of race but of social class. Latinos were not considered a protected ethnic or racial group.

By 1952, little had changed for black schoolchildren when *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* reached the Supreme Court. *Brown* originally was one of five cases the court agreed to hear to address a common legal question—whether the “separate but equal” doctrine should be permitted to continue segregating black and white schoolchildren. Houston’s protégé, Thurgood Marshall, was a key lawyer in *Brown*. Under Marshall’s guidance, the NAACP argued that “separate but equal” would never be equal. He maintained that even if the schools were exactly the same, segregation labels black children inferior, destroys their self-respect, denies their full democratic and social development, and ensures they will not learn as much as

others. The court was unable to reach a decision and asked to rehear arguments later in 1953, by which time President Dwight D. Eisenhower had appointed a new chief justice, Earl Warren.

Warren and several other justices believed it was essential to reach a unanimous decision—to overturn *Plessy* and the legal basis for school segregation, and to leave no basis for segregationists to resist. After rehearing the arguments in four of the cases—*Brown* (Kansas), *Briggs v. Elliott* (South Carolina), *Davis v. County School Board* (Virginia), and *Gebhart v. Belton* (Delaware)—the chief justice drafted the opinion, circulated it among the justices, and revised it until all justices could agree to its reasoning. The *Brown* decision was announced as a unanimous 9–0 ruling on May 17, 1954. The court found that:

... segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal, deprive[s] the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities. . . .

Moreover, the court held that “in the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal,” and violate the Fourteenth Amendment rights of black children to the equal protection of the laws.

Desegregation

The *Brown* decision acknowledged that school desegregation was going to be a complex task, and ordered the parties to prepare arguments in order to fashion appropriate remedies. The court revisited these arguments in 1955 with a decision known as *Brown II*, ruling that the local courts, under which the individual cases originally were decided, must enforce desegregation “with all deliberate speed.” Regrettably, the phrase “with all deliberate speed” offered no practical guidance or time line for integration, thus allowing school systems to resist integration through a variety of mechanisms for many years.

For instance, in Prince Edward County, Virginia (*Davis v. County School Board*), the school board closed the schools to avoid integrating them, and provided financial assistance to white children

to attend private schools. Other school systems made only token efforts to integrate, such as carefully selecting a few black children to attend white schools. In Charlotte, North Carolina, the school board implemented a plan that partially integrated some schools but left over half of all black students in 21 schools that were 99 percent black.

In 1957, the first nine black students enrolled at the all-white Little Rock Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. In compliance with *Brown*, the Little Rock Board of Education agreed to implement an integration plan by 1957. That fall, the Little Rock Nine (as they became known) were blocked from entering the school by jeering mobs. The Arkansas governor deployed the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the integration of the high school. However, President Eisenhower deployed a U.S. Army division and took federal control of the Arkansas National Guard. The U.S. Army provided the nine students with protection from mobs of segregationists throughout the year, although they still were subjected to verbal and physical threats inside the school. Two decades later, the Little Rock schools would be implementing new comprehensive desegregation plans, including busing, with the goal of finally achieving integration.

By 1964, only 2 percent of black children living in the Deep South (i.e., Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina) attended integrated schools. Both the absence of progress and the influence of *Brown*, however, did provide impetus to the growing civil rights movement. Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and sex in employment (e.g., hiring, promoting, firing), public accommodations (e.g., restaurants, doctor’s offices, shops), and in public education.

Thereafter, federal courts began delivering numerous decisions in support of desegregation. In 1965 and 1966, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held that school districts have an affirmative duty to integrate, to undo the harm segregation has caused, and to equalize educational opportunity. In 1968, the Supreme Court ruled that school boards cannot delay desegregation any further and must immediately begin integration (see *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*). Remarkably, by 1968 the rate of

integration of black students in southern public schools had risen to 30 percent.

In 1969, the Supreme Court approved of school boards using faculty ratios to ensure faculty integration. In 1970, the court upheld the principle that it did not matter whether harm to nonwhites was intentional; the mere presence of racial isolation created unequal education. In spite of these positive developments, many school districts continued to delay desegregation. Consequently, in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), the Supreme Court held that the busing of students would be an acceptable means of achieving racial desegregation, creating precedent and a framework for a busing desegregation strategy in many future decisions.

Beginning in 1970, several important decisions began to recognize that Latinos were a distinct ethnic group from whites, and they could not be counted as “other whites” to permit their segregation in Latino majority schools. Moreover, courts began to recognize Latinos as an identifiable minority ethnic group entitled to the same Fourteenth Amendment equal protections as African Americans under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (see *Keyes v. School District No. 1*). In 1971, the Fifth Circuit affirmed groundbreaking remedies to the existence of two highly segregated neighboring school districts (white and Latino) along the Texas border with Mexico. The court in *U.S. v. Texas* ordered consolidation of the two districts; the implementation of a comprehensive bilingual and bicultural educational program for all students, teachers, administrators, guidance counselors, and other staff; and cultural awareness training for school board members and community leaders. Never before had a court looked at the challenge of integration to require a multicultural solution.

The first major setback to desegregation was the Supreme Court’s 1974 decision in *Milliken v. Bradley*. The court determined that school districts in the Detroit metropolitan area were not required to bus students across district school lines in order to integrate the city. The court cited the importance of local district control, effectively preserving the predominantly white suburban schools from integration. In 1977, the court revisited *Milliken* to address other remedies for the educational deficits of African American children in Detroit. It affirmed a court order that the state of Michigan must assist

the Detroit school system in providing remedial reading and communication skills programs, in-service training for all teachers and administrators, and testing without cultural, racial, or ethnic bias.

By 1976, remarkably, 45 percent of black children living in the Deep South were attending integrated schools. However, in northeastern and midwestern schools, integration rates for black children ranged from only 27 to 30 percent.

Special Education

Brown had an unexpected impact on the rights of another historically excluded minority group: children with disabilities. Before the *Brown* decision, students with disabilities were educated in highly segregated environments, similar to African Americans, if they were educated at all. Advocates for disability rights in *PARC v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1972) and *Mills v. Board of Education of the District of Columbia* (1972) used the overturning of “separate but equal” to acquire equal educational rights for students with disabilities. Decisions in these cases ruled that schools must educate all students with disabilities and must allocate sufficient funds to do so. Congress then made these principles law by enacting the first federal civil rights laws protecting people with disabilities: the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA). Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act prohibits discrimination based on disability by entities receiving federal funding, and the IDEA ensures the rights of students with disabilities to receive a free, appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment.

In spite of *Brown* and these laws, African American and Latino children have long been overrepresented in special education programs, especially when eligibility for special education has been based in part on intelligence quotient (IQ) tests. Additionally, African American and Latino children are more likely than whites and other racial or ethnic groups to receive special education services in a segregated setting (i.e., without children who do not have disabilities). A significant factor in the misidentification of black and Latino children for special education services is the use of assessment tools that are normed largely on the responses of white children, the incorrect use or interpretation of assessment tools, and the overreliance upon IQ indicators for determining eligibility.



New York City Mayor Robert Wagner at a 1958 meeting with the Little Rock Nine who integrated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. Pictured are (front row, left to right) Minnijean Brown, Elizabeth Eckford, Carlotta Walls, Mayor Wagner, Thelma Mothershed, Gloria Ray, and (back row, left to right) Terrance Roberts, Ernest Green, Melba Pattilo, and Jefferson Thomas.

Resegregation

Resegregation has been on the rise in the United States since the 1980s. This trend is most evident in large cities where more African Americans and Latinos live in poverty than whites and are often less able to afford living in the suburbs than whites. In the largest urban school districts, African American and Latino students are steadily experiencing decreased enrollment in schools with white students. In 2005, 38 percent of African American students attended intensely segregated schools—that is, schools having 90 percent or more African American students. Similarly, 26 percent of Latino students attend intensely segregated schools. White children are the most isolated students: on average the white student attends a school with a 77 percent white enrollment; the black child, 52 percent black enrollment; the Latino child, 55 percent Latino enrollment. Dozens of school districts that were formerly under court desegregation orders are now experiencing increased segregation.

Additionally, in 2007 the Supreme Court heard two cases addressing open choice policies that enabled students to select their preferred school to attend within a district. To maintain levels

of integration, the districts used several factors such as race, place of residence, school capacity, and random chance in making enrollment selection decisions. The court applied strict scrutiny and ruled that the open choice plans violated the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause because they overrelied on race as a basis for enrollment decisions. These rulings are likely to permit further resegregation.

Conclusion

If *Brown* was meant to set in motion the complete integration of U.S. public education for all time, that legacy has not been realized. Beginning in the 1960s, many whites who could afford to do so moved to the suburbs, and this model remains evident in cities all over the United States today. More African American and Latino children live below the federal poverty line, live in single parent families, live in families that depend on federal financial assistance, attend poorly performing schools, and graduate from high school at lower rates than white children. Black, Latino, and white children frequently attend public schools with a majority of their peers being of their own race. While attitudes about race have improved

dramatically over the 60 intervening years since *Brown*, most children are sent to relatively segregated schools, not necessarily by choice, even though children need to learn how to live in a multicultural, increasingly interdependent world.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Constitutional Amendments; Desegregation/Integration; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

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Buffalo Soldiers

On July 28, 1866, an army reorganization law authorized two cavalry and four (later merged into two) infantry regiments comprised of black soldiers, but overseen by white officers. The 9th Cavalry was activated at Greenville, Louisiana,

on September 21, 1866, the same day that the 10th Cavalry was activated at Leavenworth, Kansas. Two infantry regiments were also activated that day. The army recruited former enslaved people, freedmen, and Civil War veterans. The men in these regiments became known as the "buffalo soldiers," a name given to them by the American Indians, connoting a high honor.

The name may have derived from the recruits' characteristic black, kinky hair, similar to that of the buffalo, an animal revered by the Plains Indians. The motto of the buffalo soldiers was, "Ready and Forward." Between 1867 and 1896, these infantry units fought in approximately 200 minor and major engagements.

The buffalo soldiers were under tough scrutiny, with each flaw magnified. The idea of black peacetime soldiers, even segregated, offended many whites, who believed that blacks were not sufficiently intelligent to soldier, especially as cavalry. The discipline and courage of the buffalo soldiers were exemplary. In an army noted for the prevalence of drunkenness, they were extraordinarily sober. The army also had a problem with desertion, with a third leaving before their enlistments were up, but black soldiers had the lowest desertion and court-martial rates in the army. There were also charges that blacks were undisciplined and cowardly under fire. The accusations persisted through the three decades that the black units served with distinction. Their Indian war service garnered 24 Medal of Honor citations.

Compensation and Equipment

There was no shortage of volunteers. Because black service was segregated, volunteers could not join white units but instead had to wait for someone to retire or die and create a vacancy in a black unit. The army was a new home, perhaps an adventure and a new life. Medical care was free. Enlistments were for at least five years at \$13 a month, plus uniforms, quarters, and meals. Barracks for new recruits were located inside cotton compresses (buildings where once cotton was "compressed" by machine into tight bales). Food included hash, beans, boiled beef, corn bread with now and then molasses, sweet potatoes, and coffee. Service was a chance for blacks, recently freed from plantation slavery and lacking skills or worldliness, to

improve themselves economically and socially. Each regiment's black chaplain taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Education meant respect and competency in a white world.

The 9th and 10th cavalries and the two infantry regiments received uniforms and equipment, but only after the white regiments had been allotted their supplies. Until around 1876, the buffalo soldiers wore Civil War-style uniforms, but after that they wore the Indian war uniforms that the other units had changed to around 1872. The buffalo soldiers also received the poorest horses. Because a horse was often the difference between life and death, recruits learned quickly to take better care of their mounts than they did of themselves.

Mutiny, Order, and Casualties

By February 1867, only 11 officers were assigned to the units. Waiting for the final officer complement, the troops became restless, surly, and unruly. Because they were untrained, led by officers prejudiced against them, unwelcome in Texas, and otherwise abused, they mutinied twice—first on the road to San Antonio and again in their San Antonio encampment. In the latter skirmish, an officer was killed, forcing another officer to shoot two of his own troops. Afterward, discipline was restored, and conditions stabilized as the soldiers received training and assignments.

That spring and summer, the cavalry moved to Forts Stockton and Davis in west Texas, their base for service in New Mexico and Arizona. The forts required total reconstruction, so the cavalry cut logs, made adobe bricks, and fortified the structures. For 24 years they served in the west, on the plains, along the Rio Grande, and in territories, including New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, Colorado, and the Dakotas. Their duties included guarding the mail and escorting coaches, cattle drives, surveyors, and railroad crews. Buffalo soldiers erected telegraph lines, built roads, and mapped and explored the territory. In October 1867, Corporal Emanuel Wright and Private E. T. Jones became the first buffalo soldier fatalities, ambushed on mail escort duty by the Kickapoo Indians. In December, the first full-scale battle took place against 900 Kickapoos, Lipans, Mexicans, and whites. The buffalo soldiers fought for three hours; they lost three men and killed 20 opponents.

The buffalo soldiers fought the Indians who often raided the area from safe bases in Mexico. They also fought outlaws. A major effort against Chief Victorio's band of Apaches finally succeeded in 1880, but it took another decade of effort by the 10th Cavalry before the other Apache bands were subdued. Meanwhile, the 9th Cavalry moved into Indian territory to handle whites who had illegally settled on Indian lands. The 10th relocated to Montana in 1892–96 to round up the Cree and deport them to Canada.

Other Wars

Having helped subdue the west, the 9th and 10th Cavalries went on to fight in the Spanish-American War in 1898 and in the Mexican campaign against Pancho Villa in 1916. The 10th Cavalry also served in the Philippine-American War that followed the Spanish-American War. Service with the buffalo soldiers launched many white officers on notable careers, the most notable being Lieutenant John H. "Black Jack" Pershing of the 10th Cavalry. George A. Custer was among the white officers who refused to lead black units, causing delays and shortages.

Blacks served in America's wars from the American Revolution, but their first large-scale deployment came during the Civil War, when 180,000 blacks served in the Union armies, with 33,380 dying in the war. In World War II the 2nd Cavalry Division (comprising the 9th, 10th, 27th, and 28th Regiments) was reactivated. It was segregated, received training and experience along the Mexican border, and then went to north Africa in 1944, where it was eventually deactivated and its units reassigned to service and port duty, a demoralizing end to the buffalo soldiers.

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See Also: Civil War, U.S.; Spanish-American War; World War I; World War II.

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Bulgarian Americans

Bulgaria is an eastern European country on the Black Sea, bordered by Romania, Serbia, Macedonia, Greece, and Turkey. A former empire and the cultural hub of Slavic civilization in the Middle Ages, it became part of the Ottoman Empire in the 14th century; it gained its independence shortly before the dissolution of that empire at the close of World War I.

After World War II, it became a Communist republic but transitioned into a capitalist democracy after 1989, concurrent with the fall of eastern European Communism. In the 2000 U.S. census, 92,841 people identified themselves as having Bulgarian ancestry, 55,849 of whom listed Bulgarian as their primary ancestry. Including the growth in the population since then, the 30,000 students residing in the country, and other resident aliens, the Bulgarian government in 2010 estimated there were close to 300,000 Bulgarians and Bulgarian Americans living in the United States. That figure includes temporary residents as well as citizens and long-term residents. Bulgarian students are one of the most populous foreign student groups in the United States; in eastern Europe, only Russia (with 20 times Bulgaria's population) sends more students to American colleges.

The United States is home to more people of Bulgarian descent than any country except Bulgaria itself and possibly Moldova and Spain (depending on the figures accepted for these countries). Bulgarian immigration to the United States began in the middle of the 19th century, when immigration from central, southern, and eastern Europe began to overtake immigration from western and northern Europe. Early Bulgarians converted to Protestantism (there was not yet any Bulgarian Orthodox Church presence). America's

educational opportunities were the primary motivation for the early Bulgarian immigrants. Interest in the United States was especially ignited in the late 19th century by *To Chicago and Back*, a travel memoir by Bulgarian author Aleko Konstantinov. Konstantinov had visited Paris in 1889 and Chicago in 1893 (for the World's Fair), and was the first Bulgarian author to write of his experiences in western Europe and the United States. Konstantinov's writing—both this book and his stories about the character Bay Ganyo, whom he first conceived while in Chicago—popularized travel among Bulgarians, as well as inspiring many Bulgarians to relocate to Chicago, which today continues to have the largest concentration of Bulgarian Americans.

Immigration Waves

The first major wave of immigration from Bulgaria came in 1903, during the political turmoil that followed Bulgaria's separation from the Ottoman Empire. These immigrants were usually poor, selling their livestock or land or obtaining a high-interest loan to fund the steamship trip across the Atlantic to New York, Canada, or Mexico. (The latter two destinations were chosen by immigrants who then illegally crossed the border into the United States to avoid American immigration restrictions.)

Immigration decreased in the 20th century, at first because of country-of-origin quotas imposed by new immigration laws, and later because of the essentially closed borders of the Communist state. Bulgarian immigrants during the Communist years were political refugees, generally well educated, often intellectuals who were oppressed for their conflicts with the communist regime.

When Communism collapsed, Bulgarian immigration to the United States increased sharply. Over one million Bulgarians left the country in the years immediately after the fall of Communism, creating a new Bulgarian diaspora across western Europe and North America, as well as Argentina and Brazil. Many applied to the American green card lottery system. Only Spain and Moldova, if the outside estimates are accepted, attracted more Bulgarian immigrants than the United States, with Ukraine trailing close behind. The religious needs of much of the Bulgarian diaspora are served by the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Diocese of the

United States of America, Canada, and Australia, which was founded before World War II but disrupted by Communism in the postwar decades.

St. John of Rila Church (Tsurkva Sveti Ivan Rilski), an Eastern Orthodox Church in Chicago's Portage Park neighborhood, serves the Chicago Bulgarian community both as a parish church and as a major social and cultural center. (A 10th-century Bulgarian hermit, John of Rila was revered as a saint while he was still alive and is the patron saint of Bulgaria.) The brick and limestone building is widely admired for its architecture and attracts many tourists for that reason. It was built in 1928 as the Peace Lutheran Church, but after the Lutheran congregation consolidated with other parishes, a Bulgarian Orthodox group purchased the church in 1996.

New York, Los Angeles, California, and Miami, Florida, also have large Bulgarian populations. Houston has the fastest-growing nonstudent Bulgarian population. Compared to the general American population, Bulgarian Americans are less educated (only 17 percent have completed college) and slightly less wealthy (with a 2000 census median household income of \$44,578). They have a high degree of English fluency. About 30,000 American residents speak Bulgarian at home. Most of them are recent immigrants, but some are the children of first-generation Bulgarian Americans and others are older Bulgarian Americans who have retained the use of Bulgarian in the home. For the most part, Bulgarian Americans have assimilated.

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See Also: Greek Americans; Macedonian Americans; Serbian Americans; Turkish Americans.

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Bureau of Indian Affairs

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), also known as the Office of Indian Affairs, is the U.S. government administrative unit that manages Indian policy and fulfills trust duties for American Indians, Indian tribes, and Alaska Natives. The 2010 U.S. census indicates 2.9 million persons, or 0.9 percent, were American Indians and Alaska Natives alone, and 5.2 million, or 1.7 percent, alone or if combined with one or more other races. These figures are increases of 18 percent and 27 percent over the 2000 census population figures of 2.5 million and 4.1 million persons, respectively. The largest population numbers were in the western and southern census regions of the country; the greatest proportion was in Anchorage, Alaska; the largest population place was New York. The U.S. government indicates there are more than 560 federally recognized American Indian tribes and Alaska Native villages, each with its own authority based on fundamental sovereignty.

From the late 1700s, the BIA has taken various forms. Original policy and trust responsibilities were placed with the Office of the Secretary of War by an official act in 1789. The Office of Indian Trade operated from 1806 to 1822. The formal Office of Indian Affairs was established on March 11, 1824; it began in the Department of War (1824–1849), was transferred to the Department of the Interior (1849–1947), and was renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs (1947–present).

Throughout most of its existence, the BIA was integrally involved in virtually all aspects of the lives of Native Americans. The BIA administered the health, welfare, education, employment, and, at times, even the physical location of tribes throughout the country. Millions of pages of BIA archival documents confirm this pervasive influence and include records such as treaties, ledgers, claims, litigations, surveys, journals, correspondence, and speeches.

Today, the BIA structure is organized into Offices of Indian Services, Justice Services, and Trust Services; field offices; and 12 regions that offer programs and initiatives that cover a wide variety of areas of responsibility. In general, the BIA promotes self-determination through an emphasis on decentralization and local control. On an annual basis, the BIA distributes federal

funding (\$2.4 billion in fiscal year 2008) directly, through contracts and grants, and through compact agreements with tribes. More specifically, the BIA supports educational services to about 48,000 students in more than two dozen day and residential schools, colleges, and universities throughout the country. It delivers social services, as well as law enforcement and detention services. It maintains specific infrastructure such as certain roads, bridges, dams, and irrigation systems. It manages approximately 56 million acres of land held in trust, as well as trust assets of those lands, including, for example, natural and mineral resources such as forests. Finally, it is involved in energy and economic development with specialized business and loan programs to Indian enterprises.

Public Opinion and Moving Forward

Public opinion about the BIA has varied. Historically, the BIA—and specifically its policy-making authority—was seen by some as a positive authority toward assimilation, by others as



The Bureau of Indian Affairs is responsible for the administration and management of over 55 million acres of land held in trust by the United States for Native Americans. Four separate offices serve 566 federally recognized tribes.

a mixed-results power of paternalism, and by still others as a deculturalizing force of theft and destruction against Native peoples and their sovereign rights and resources through countless unfulfilled treaty obligations. The diversity of views has continued in modern times. From 1996 to 2010, for example, the BIA was involved in *Cobell v. Norton*, a lawsuit relating to historical accounting practices and claims of mismanagement. The case took some unusual turns; in 2001, for example, while it was pending, the case severely restricted public access to current government information as the BIA was ordered to sever all computer and information technology connections with the Internet that contained or connected to personal Indian trust data. The case went through district and appellate courts, but Congress did not support the legal decisions and did not appropriate funds for a settlement until November 30, 2010 (Claims Resolution Act of 2010).

President Barack Obama signed the \$3.4 billion Cobell settlement on December 8, 2010; it provides funds for class member compensation, voluntary buy-back of fractionated land interests and consolidation of lands, and scholarships for vocational training and higher education. Since this development, the BIA drafted a consolidation plan, held various regional government-to-government consultations, and established a National Commission on Indian Trust Administration and Reform.

Today, the BIA continues to pursue its mission to improve the quality of life for, and to protect the trust assets of, American Indians, Indian tribes, and Alaska Natives.

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See Also: Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971); Alaska Purchase; American Indian Categorization (Essay); American Indian Movement; American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831); Creek Confederacy; Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); Great Sioux War; Hawai‘ians (Native); Indian Appropriation Acts; Indian Boarding Schools; Indian Child Welfare Act (1978); Indian Citizenship Act (1924); Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Indian Claims Commission; Indian Education Act (1992); Indian

Health Service; Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975); Indian Territory; Iroquois Confederacy; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Long Walk of the Navajo; National Congress of American Indians; Native American Languages Acts; Native Americans; Powhatan Confederacy; Sand Creek Massacre; Seminole Wars; Trail of Tears; Tribal Enrollment; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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says in the introduction to the book, “Americans who have always looked westward when reading about this period should read this book facing eastward.” This shift in historical perspective is enhanced throughout the text through Brown’s source material, the structure of the work, and his use of language, creating a work that continues to resonate with 21st-century readers.

Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee begins with an overview of the interactions between various Native American tribes and European settlers, starting with Columbus. Brown then explores events such as the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, Oglala Lakota Chief Red Cloud’s fight for the Powder River country, Custer’s intrusion into the Black Hills and the death of Crazy Horse, and the rise of the religion of the Ghost Dance. Key figures in this period of Native American history are also highlighted, including Donehogawa, the Seneca Iroquois man who was appointed by Ulysses S. Grant as the commissioner of Indian Affairs; the Modoc chief named Kintpuash, also known as Captain Jack; and Hunkpapa Lakota Chief Sitting Bull.

Sources, Style, and Structure

One of the most notable features of *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* is its use of a variety of source material, including congressional records, government reports, tribal council records, first-hand descriptions, and autobiographies. Brown’s use of these sources enabled him to provide a large number of direct quotations from Native American leaders and tribal members throughout the text. This inclusion of the actual words of many Native Americans is the primary way in which Brown establishes an alternate historical perspective throughout his work.

The structure and style of Brown’s history also contribute to the way that *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* depicts U.S. history from a Native American perspective. Brown begins each chapter with direct quotations from various tribal leaders and members that specifically relate to the subject of the chapter. Brown’s history then concludes with a quotation from Black Elk, which ends, “It was a beautiful dream . . . the nation’s hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.” Each chapter also begins with a list of both U.S. and world historical events

Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee

Dee Brown’s *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* is a history of the American West, as told from the perspective of Native Americans. The book covers the period of American history from 1860 to 1890, starting with the Civil War and the effects it had on Native American tribes, and extending until the massacre at Wounded Knee Creek on December 29, 1890. Brown’s book was published in 1970, during a period of increasing Native American activism, and this history was instrumental in raising awareness of how Native American tribes have been treated by the U.S. government. As Brown

that happened at the same time as the events in the chapter, providing a contextual framework for understanding the events of each chapter.

Brown's focus on the Native American perspective on history is also enhanced through his use of language. In many cases, Brown uses the names for people used by various tribes, rather than their given names. George Armstrong Custer, for example, is frequently referred to as Long Hair, particularly in the chapter "The War for the Black Hills." This stylistic device extends to other elements of the text as well; trains are "iron horses," the president of the United States is the "Great Father," and spring is "corn-planting time."

The title for Brown's book comes from Stephen Vincent Benét's poem "American Names." The final two lines of the poem read as follows:

I shall not be there. I shall rise and pass.
Bury my heart at Wounded Knee.

Although Benét's poem does not have anything to do with Native American history, the Wounded Knee Creek, located in South Dakota, plays a significant role in *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. It is both where Crazy Horse is buried and the site of the massacre of over 150 Miniconjou Lakota and Hunkpapa Lakota in 1890.

Reception

Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee was very well received upon its publication, spending over a year on the *New York Times* best seller list and receiving praise from Native American authors such as N. Scott Momaday. While generally seen by scholars as a text invaluable in drawing

attention to Native American history, Brown's work has been criticized by some for its lack of source material apart from direct quotations, as well as for the way it perpetuates the stereotype of the vanishing Indian.

In 2007, Brown's book was adapted into a television film directed by Yves Simoneau. While this HBO production draws heavily from the events described by Brown, it also features other events and characters, including Ohíye S'a, also known as Charles Eastman, a Santee Sioux physician, writer, and reformer. The film version of *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* won six Emmy Awards, including Outstanding Made for Television Movie.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); American Indian Movement; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Indian Territory; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Long Walk of the Navajo; Manifest Destiny; Native Americans; Sand Creek Massacre; Trail of Tears; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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C

Cabinet Secretaries

The cabinet of the United States is a body in the executive branch of the federal government consisting of the heads of the executive departments (Secretaries), plus other senior officers designated as cabinet-level positions.

Cabinet secretaries were first created as advisers to the president in specific designated areas (and other such advisers who are not considered cabinet-level in power or authority also exist), but as the federal government has grown in size and complexity, it has become equally significant that they administer the business of their department.

The attorney general, for instance, heads the Department of Justice and oversees a large number of federal law enforcement agencies as well as the federal government's involvement in federal legal cases (originally representing the government personally in Supreme Court cases, a task now delegated to attorneys within the Department of Justice). The secretary of state frequently negotiates international treaties and coordinates federal activity overseas, in addition to administering the State Department and serving as foreign policy adviser.

Like other key positions in government, secretaries and other cabinet-level officers are appointed by the president and confirmed by the

Senate, but they may be dismissed by the president at any time. Cabinet members are included in the presidential line of succession in order of the creation of their office, beginning with the secretaries of State, the Treasury, Defense, and the attorney general, the four cabinet officers that existed in George Washington's presidency.

Evolution of the Cabinet

The exact composition of the cabinet has developed over time, both expanding and reorganizing, since Washington's original four departments. Former cabinet-level officers include the directors of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), and the Office of National Drug Control Policy, as well as the postmaster general, whose Post Office Department was reorganized in 1971 as the U.S. Postal Service, an independent executive agency without cabinet rank.

The Navy and Air Force were formerly their own departments, until becoming combined with the Department of War in 1949 to form the modern Department of Defense. In the 21st century, the cabinet consists of the heads of the departments ("secretary" unless otherwise indicated) of State, Treasury, Defense, Justice (attorney general), Interior (created in 1849), Agriculture (created in 1862 and elevated to the cabinet in 1889),

Commerce (1913), Labor (1913), Health and Human Services (1953), Housing and Urban Development (1965), Transportation (1967), Energy (1977), Education (1979), Veterans Affairs (created in 1930, elevated to the cabinet in 1989), and Homeland Security (2002), as well as the cabinet-level positions of vice president, the White House chief of staff, the director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Trade Representative, the ambassador to the United Nations, the chairperson of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the administrator of the Small Business Administration.

Diversity in the Cabinet

A number of factors drive the diversity or lack thereof in the cabinet. Frequently, an ethnic group's "firsts" are discussed with reference to the period when they were first enfranchised. Although the right to vote is not required in order to serve in the cabinet, it generally marks the beginning of official political participation of a group. Members of a group are also more likely to be elected when they can depend on at least a portion of that group's votes—and the votes of senators are in turn necessary to confirm cabinet appointments. But Senate demographics are not a determining driver of cabinet demographics: there was only one female senator when the first female cabinet member was confirmed, for instance, and in the whole of history only 44 women have served in the Senate, nowhere near sufficient for the female senatorial vote to guarantee a confirmation.

Though President Bill Clinton (1993–2001) openly embraced diversity in government and spoke of his cabinet as one that should "look like America," **President Barack Obama's first cabinet** (2009–13) was the most diverse in history. It included two Hispanic Americans, Hilda Solis (Labor) and Ken Salazar (Interior); Japanese American, Eric Shinseki (Veterans Affairs); two Chinese Americans, Gary Locke (Commerce) and Steven Chu (Energy); African American Eric Holder (Attorney General); and Lebanese American Ray LaHood (Transportation). Chu was later succeeded by Portuguese American Ernest Moniz.

Foreign-Born Cabinet Members

Several early cabinet members were foreign born, a natural consequence of the country's youth. The first secretary of the treasury, **Founding Father Alexander Hamilton**, was appointed to the position by President Washington in 1789. He had been born on the island of Nevis, a British colony in the West Indies, before moving to the American colonies for his education in the early 1770s.

The first four presidents all had foreign-born cabinet members: Irish immigrant James McHenry served both Washington and John Adams as secretary of war, Swiss immigrant Albert Gallatin served Thomas Jefferson as secretary of the Treasury, and Scottish immigrant George Campbell served James Madison as secretary of the Treasury.

However, from that point on there were only three more foreign-born cabinet members in the 19th century, despite the large influx of immigrants in that time. This could be ascribed to xenophobia, to the greater entrenchment of native-born Americans in social and political networks, or to coincidence.

Because foreign-born cabinet members are generally not natural-born citizens (the exception being those born to American parents while abroad), they are not eligible to serve as president or to exercise the powers of the president under the terms of the Presidential Succession Act. In light of this, it is perhaps unusual that there have been not one but two foreign-born secretaries of state, ordinarily next in line for succession after the president and vice president: Richard Nixon's Henry Kissinger (Germany) and Clinton's Madeleine Albright (Czechoslovakia). In contrast with State, many departments have never been headed by a foreign-born secretary, including Defense, Energy, Education, Health and Human Services, Homeland Security, Justice, Transportation, and Veterans Affairs.

Though foreign-born cabinet members were included early on, cabinet membership remained largely dominated by men of western European ancestry for most of U.S. history. The first Polish American cabinet member, for instance, was John Gronouski, the U.S. postmaster general (then a cabinet-level position) from 1963 to 1965. Zbigniew Brzezinski served as national security



President Barack Obama and Vice President Joe Biden with the full cabinet in the White House on September 10, 2009. George Washington appointed only four men to the first cabinet: Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of War Henry Knox, and Attorney General Edmund Randolph. Today, the president is still responsible for nominating all cabinet members, at which time they are presented to the Senate for confirmation or rejection by a simple majority.

advisor to President Jimmy Carter (from 1977 to 1981) and was instrumental in the major foreign policy successes of that presidency, including the Camp David Accords, the normalization of U.S.-China relations, and the support of human rights activism in eastern Europe. But the national security advisor is not a Senate-confirmed position, and so lacks cabinet rank. When former vice presidential candidate Edmund Muskie was made secretary of State for the last six months of President Carter's term (May 1980–January 1981), he attained the highest office held by a Polish American.

Jewish American Members

Jewish Americans were included in federal elected office from the early 19th century, and

Judah Benjamin served as the attorney general and later secretary of state and war in the brief-lived Confederate government during the Civil War. A generation later, German-born Jewish American Oscar Straus was appointed secretary of Commerce and Labor in 1906 by President Theodore Roosevelt. In 1973, German-born Jewish American Henry Kissinger was appointed secretary of State (1973–77) by President Nixon, a position he served simultaneously with his work as the national security advisor (1969–1975).

African Americans in the Cabinet

Long before any African American had served in a cabinet position, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt sought to address the needs of African Americans in the 1930s.

Over the course of his first term, he appointed 45 blacks to various positions in the federal government, none of them senior level or requiring Senate confirmation (which would have been politically impossible to obtain).

The informal collective of these black voices in government was known as the Black Cabinet, or the Federal Council of Negro Affairs, and advised Roosevelt on social policy, often working closely with First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, in order to ensure better racial equity in the social programs adopted in the New Deal era.

President Lyndon Johnson had similar aims in mind when he formed the cabinet department of Housing and Urban Development in 1965, as part of his Great Society programs that mirrored and enhanced the New Deal in many ways but addressed race more explicitly.

The first African American in the cabinet was Robert C. Weaver, the secretary of Housing and Urban Development appointed by President Lyndon Johnson in 1966. In addition, he was followed by secretary of Transportation William Thaddeus Coleman (1975–77), secretary of Housing and Urban Development Patricia Roberts Harris (1977–79, later served as secretary of Health and Human Services 1979–81), Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Samuel Pierce (1981–89), Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Wade Sullivan (1989–93), secretary of Education Rod Paige (2001–05), and secretary of Housing and Urban Development Alphonso Jackson (2004–08).

Though President Obama's cabinet is diverse, it includes only one African American. President Clinton, by contrast, appointed the most African American cabinet members in history, including Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, Secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy, Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman, Secretary of Energy Hazel O'Leary, Secretary of Veterans Affairs Jesse Brown, Secretary of Veterans Affairs Togo West, and Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater.

The significance of this number is underscored by the fact that it represents nearly half of the 17 African Americans who have served as cabinet secretaries. The highest-ranking African Americans in federal office have both served as Secretary of State, appointed by George W. Bush: Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice.

Hispanic American Cabinet Members

The first Hispanic American cabinet secretary was not appointed until 1988, when President Ronald Reagan appointed Lauro Cavazos, Jr., secretary of Education. There have been a significant number of Hispanic Americans in the cabinet since, including Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, Jr. (1989–93), Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (1993–97), Secretary of Transportation Federico Pena (1993–97) who later served as secretary of Energy (1997–98), Ambassador to the United Nations Bill Richardson (1997–98) who later served as the secretary of Energy (1998–2001), Secretary of Commerce Carlos Gutierrez (2005–09), Attorney General Alberto Gonzales (2005–07), Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis (2009–13), and Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar (2009–13).

Asian American Representation

Japanese American Norman Mineta, the first Asian American cabinet member, served as secretary of Commerce from 2000 to 2001 before becoming secretary of Transportation from 2001 to 2006.

He was followed by Elaine Chao, the first Asian American woman in the cabinet, who served as secretary of Labor from 2001 to 2009; Gary Locke, the first Chinese American cabinet member, who served as secretary of Commerce from 2009 to 2011; Steven Chu, who served as secretary of Energy from 2009 to 2013; and Eric Shinseki, who has served as secretary of Veterans Affairs since 2009. There has not yet been a cabinet officer of south or southeast Asian ancestry, which is consistent with their overall low representation in elected office.

Arab, Greek, and Middle Eastern Members

The first Arab American in the cabinet was Donna Shalala (of Lebanese ancestry), who served as Secretary of Health and Human Services from 1993 to 2001. John Sununu, whose father's family immigrated to the United States from the Greek Orthodox community in Jerusalem and who has Lebanese ancestry, served from 1989 to 1991 as White House chief of staff, a cabinet-level position but not formally part of the cabinet. In George W. Bush's terms of office, he appointed Syrian American Mitch Daniels as director of the

Office of Management and Budget (2001–03) and Lebanese American Spencer Abraham as secretary of Energy (2001–05).

Women in the Cabinet

There have been 25 female cabinet members since the first, Frances Perkins, was appointed secretary of Labor by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933, 13 years after the Nineteenth Amendment granted women the right to vote (though nothing would have legally prohibited an appointment before that time). Over time, female secretaries have become increasingly common and have been appointed and confirmed by both parties with little controversy. Among currently existing departments, only Defense, Treasury, and Veterans Affairs have never had a female secretary.

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See Also: African Americans; Constitution, U.S.; Hispanic Americans; House of Representatives, Japanese Americans; U.S.; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Presidency, U.S.; Senate, U.S.

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Cajuns

For 75 years beginning in 1688, England and France engaged in a series of wars over the expansion of their overseas empires, a conflict that led to four confrontations in North America known collectively as the French and Indian War. After one of these conflicts, by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, France ceded to Great Britain territories in *Acadie* (modern Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay. Although the French residents were allowed to remain and to retain possession of any property they owned, over the next half-century many refused to sign oaths of allegiance to Britain while others openly joined pro-French militia units and aided the French forces in and around Fortress Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour.

When war again broke out, the British became increasingly concerned about the questionable allegiance of *les Acadiens*. The result was a decision to expel the French population of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, an event known as the Great Expulsion, or *le Grand Dérangement*. Between 1755 and 1763 some 11,500 Acadians were forcibly deported. In American history, this event formed the basis for Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's epic poem *Evangeline*.

Approximately 3,500 of those in the initial expulsion returned to France, but the rest were shipped to the United States. Many of these were resettled in rural communities in Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, but most soon moved to nearby urban areas where they formed distinctive French communities in cities like Baltimore, Maryland; Charleston, South Carolina; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In the second wave of expulsions, a sizable number who were destined for France elected to settle in Louisiana instead. The first group of about 200, led by Joseph Broussard, arrived in 1765. Others soon joined them, some lured from other French settlements in America by relatives and some coming from France or other French possessions in the Western Hemisphere, especially Saint-Domingue (modern Haiti) during and in the wake of the Haitian revolution.

They initially settled along the lower Mississippi River, and then spread west into the Atchafalaya Basin and what is today known as Acadiana. Generally known as "Cajuns," a corruption of the original French name *Acadiens*, by 2010 they numbered about 433,000 and lived primarily in the coastal areas of southern Louisiana, with another 56,000 in the adjoining areas of Texas to the west. They were accorded official U.S. government recognition as a discrete ethnic group following a Supreme Court decision in the case of *Roach v. Dresser Industries Valve and Instrument Division* in 1980.

Culture

Cajun culture forms a very distinct and influential element in the American mosaic. Cajuns are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, from which derives the traditional observance of *Mardi Gras* [Fat Tuesday] marking the beginning of Lent, a

40-day period of abstinence, fasting, and penitence leading up to Easter Sunday. Another old Catholic European tradition that survives among Cajuns is the Easter practice of *pâque-pâque* in which two people tap hardboiled eggs together with the winner being the one whose egg does not crack. A further custom that survives is the *coup de main* [lend a hand] in which neighbors assist one another in major tasks such as harvests and the construction of homes or barns.

Some of the best-known Cajun cultural contributions are in the fields of music and cuisine. Largely dominated by the fiddle and accordion, traditional Cajun music is sung in a unique Cajun dialect of French but it has also spread into the mainstream of American music. In 2007 a Grammy Award was added to recognize the best zydeco or Cajun music album. Zydeco is generally considered to be a combination of Cajun, blues, rhythm and blues, and African elements. In 2012, major annual zydeco and Cajun music festivals were being staged in places as diverse as California, Connecticut, Louisiana, New York, and Rhode Island.

Perhaps most famous is Cajun cuisine, whose French origins have been greatly influenced by Spanish, Creole, and other ethnic groups that also inhabit coastal Louisiana. Based largely on inexpensive local ingredients such as rice, okra, bell peppers, vegetables, grain, cornbread, duck, rabbit, pork, game birds, sugarcane, crawfish, and other seafood, a traditional meal would include three pots—one for the main dish, a second for a vegetable, and the third for rice, bread, or another grain dish.

Among the most popular dishes that can also be found in mainstream restaurants are gumbo, jambalaya, and étouffée. Gumbo is a heavy soup or stew with African and Native American influences that is based on a combination of rice and broth that is thickened with a roux to which is added chicken and andouille sausage or other ingredients to the individual's taste.

Jambalaya, also based on rice, was adapted from the Caribbean version of Spanish paella. It can include whatever meat or seafood ingredients are available, plus seasoning that usually includes celery, onion, bell pepper, chili pepper, and other spices. Created in the Louisiana bayous as a Cajun and Creole dish, étouffée is a mixture

of shellfish simmered in a roux-based broth and served over rice.

Other Cajun classics not as readily available outside more specialized establishments are boudin and cracklins. The first is made by grinding up leftover pork, mixing it with rice and various spices, and either cooking it as a sausage or deep frying it in little round balls. The second is prepared by frying pork skins into crunchy snack food.

In 1968, the Louisiana legislature created the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana to preserve and promote the French language and culture in the state.

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See Also: Canadian Americans; Creoles; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; French Americans; French and Indian War; French Canadian Americans

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the news spread rapidly throughout the United States, Mexico, Europe, and Asia, thousands converged on northern California within the next few years in hope of striking it rich. While few of these individuals achieved the wealth they so desired, their migration and settlement to this region set in motion the dynamics of shaping what is today one of the nation's largest and most culturally diverse cities (San Francisco) and the nation's largest state (California). The California Gold Rush of the late 1840s and 1850s profoundly shaped the course of local, state, and national history through the large influx of migrants from the eastern United States, as well as from other nations.

The ethnic and cultural diversity present in northern California in the mid-19th century in the wake of news of Marshall's discovery of gold foreshadowed the Golden State's future worldwide reputation; by the mid-to-late 20th and early 21st centuries California was considered a mecca of immigration, cultural diversity, and a place where people worldwide relocate to realize their dreams.

The legacy of the California Gold Rush is symbolized and commemorated in the name of San Francisco's NFL football team, the 49ers, who bear the popular nickname given to the migrants who relocated to the Bay Area in search of gold in the late 1840s and 1850s.

Historical Background

At the time of Marshall's discovery, California was a sparsely populated territory with a total non-Indian population estimated at 14,000. John Sutter, owner of the lumber mill where Marshall labored, wanted to keep Marshall's finding secret to prevent a flood of newcomers descending on the area. Despite Sutter's wishes, rumors of California as a gold-laden paradise soon spread to the East Coast and beyond.

A Chinese merchant from Canton named Chum Ming, who had been living in California at the time, quickly wrote a letter to a friend in his homeland that contained news of Marshall's find. Three Chinese immigrants who had just landed in San Francisco also sent letters to friends and relatives back home to announce the discovery of gold, setting the wheels of a major Chinese influx to California in motion.

California Gold Rush

On January 24, 1848, James Marshall discovered gold at Sutter's Mill near Coloma, California. As

Migration and Ethnic Relations

The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill sparked a major wave of migration from various countries into the present San Francisco Bay Area and to California in general. Immigrants from China constituted the largest foreign-born population group lured by the Gold Rush. By the end of the 1850s, approximately 60,000 Chinese immigrants had settled in California. In China, rumors of Gold Mountain (the mid-century Chinese nickname for the United States) lured a large number of migrants across the Pacific Ocean, although many Chinese did not originally intend to settle permanently in California.

Most Chinese newcomers came from the southeastern provinces Fujian, Guangdong, and Guangxi, where a series of natural disasters and warfare—including the Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion—served as additional push factors encouraging residents of these provinces to seek better fortunes in Gold Mountain. China's southeastern provinces already had a well-established tradition of sending migrants to other regions of Asia to find employment, which stimulated further motivation to migrate in search of gold. The large number of Chinese making the journey eastward provided a boon for American traders and steerage operators, who charged passengers a \$40 to \$50 fare for a one-way trip to California. Many of these ships departed from Hong Kong and Canton.

The Chinese were not alone in their quest for gold. An estimated 7,000 immigrants from Mexico made the journey northward, despite the fact that Mexico had recently lost possession of California to the United States under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War (1846–48).

Tens of thousands of other immigrants from Chile, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, and Turkey planted roots in California. Additionally, thousands of Anglos (non-Hispanic whites) of different ethno-national heritages relocated to California from the east coast. These American transplants from the eastern half of the country made the journey to the west coast either by sailing around the southern tip of Argentina toward California or by trekking across the rugged terrain in covered wagons via the California-Oregon trail. Whether by sea or by land, migrants

from the east coast faced a two- to six-month journey to California.

Prospectors searched for gold in the American, Sacramento, and San Joaquin Rivers and the Sierra Nevada Mountains using a variety of techniques. Those who lacked prior experience and better equipment often panned for gold in the rivers' waters using a sluice and screen, while others searched for placer (pronounced *plass-er*) gold near the earth's surface. Placer gold consists of gold flakes and stones. Those with more extensive mining experience preferred to mine for gold in the fields and foothills of the Sierra Nevada. The Chinese accounted for nearly one-quarter of all miners by the mid-1850s.

The rapid influx of newcomers to the West Coast in the wake of the Gold Rush transformed California seemingly overnight. San Francisco exploded from a tiny village of 1,000 inhabitants at the beginning of 1848 to a thriving city with more than 20,000 residents just two years later. In 1849 alone, more than 85,000 newcomers settled in California. The state's non-American Indian population boomed from just 14,000 in 1848 at the time of Mexican cession to 224,000 by 1852. The rapid surge in population expedited the process of statehood, as California gained formal entry into the union as the 31st state in 1850. However, the sudden population boom had negative ramifications.

As newcomers flooded into California with gold fever and new towns sprang into existence overnight, basic public services and the infrastructure remained nonexistent. Many new towns lacked police and fire departments, and that, coupled with hundreds or thousands of strangers living in proximity to one another, proved dangerous. Fires were a frequent occurrence and devastated numerous towns. Unsanitary conditions provided an additional concern. In many towns, contaminated drinking water led to sickness among a large portion of residents.

Approximately 1,500 residents of Sacramento perished in 1850 as a result of cholera. That same year, Sacramento also experienced floods and squatter riots. Pneumonia also took a toll on many gold seekers. Some historians estimate that of the original migrants to California in 1848 and 1849, approximately 30 percent succumbed to disease, violence, suicide, and other calamities.

As newcomers saw their dreams of finding gold unfulfilled after sacrificing everything they owned to make the trip to California, some took their own lives.

Unfortunately, the Gold Rush had some significant negative impacts on ethnic relations in California as well. The large, sudden influx of newcomers proved devastating for the Miwok, Maidu, and other indigenous Native American cultures of the local area, who found themselves unable to resist the immigrants who competed with them for their lands. An ethnic and class hierarchy soon emerged in California, as the state was inhabited by a heterogeneous population, with U.S.-born Anglos occupying the highest positions.

Immigrants from northern Italian provinces, many of whom came from a higher social class position than most other immigrants to California during the Gold Rush, became concentrated

as merchants in the fishing and agricultural industries within the Bay Area. Northern Italian immigrants also played a key role in the development of the Napa Valley wine industry. The social and economic experiences of migrants from northern Italy who settled in California in the 19th century contrast sharply with those of southern Italians. Primarily illiterate peasants from agrarian villages, southern Italians who settled in northeastern cities during the late 19th century were identified as an allegedly inferior racial group by the larger Anglo-Protestant society. Chinese, Mexicans, and Native Americans found themselves occupying the lowest rungs of the social hierarchy.

The Gold Rush produced a strong degree of anti-Chinese sentiment among Anglos, and in 1850 the newly established California state legislature implemented a monthly \$20 Foreign Miners Tax.



In 1851, Portsmouth Square in San Francisco, seen here, housed a restaurant, drug store, and print shop, among other establishments. Some profits from gold mining were spent locally to purchase food and supplies for the miners. They also went toward entertainment, including gambling, alcohol, and prostitutes. Local vendors, in turn, used the gold to purchase supplies from ships bringing goods into the state. The Gold Rush forever transformed San Francisco from a tiny village into an ever-growing city drawing more and more migrants.

The purpose of the tax was to discourage non-American miners, particularly the Chinese, from settling in California in the first place. The seeds of anti-Chinese resentment that had been planted in California throughout the 1850s escalated during the 1860s, as Anglos increasingly viewed the Chinese as unwanted foreigners who competed with them for jobs, spoke an unfamiliar language, wore unfamiliar clothing, and looked physically different from themselves.

Anti-Chinese nativism erupted into acts of violence in the 1870s, and in 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. The act marked the first instance in American history in which a specific nationality was barred from entering the United States.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Californios; Chinese Americans; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Native Americans.

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Proposition 209 asked California to dismantle any state affirmative action programs that it was conducting in any area, and Proposition 227 would require California schools to no longer provide bilingual education to non-English-speaking students. All three were approved by voters, although their effects were not necessarily what voters expected.

Background

Since 1911, Californians have been able to enact statutes, ordinances, and even constitutional amendments by means of the voter-created initiative, or to review measures initially passed by state or local legislatures using the voter-initiated referendum. Direct democracy in California also provides the electorate with the ability to recall elected officials. Supporters of direct democracy consider it the optimum way to express popular opinion. Opponents of the process aren't so sure. They have warned that its supporters might use it to deprive others of their civil liberties, and in some instances it has.

California has a record of people exercising white political hegemony, beginning with the agitation against Chinese immigrants in the 1850s and continuing through the internment of Japanese American citizens during World War II. The initiative and referendum process has allowed California voters to perpetuate this conduct, as evidenced in the repeal of the Rumford Fair Housing Act by referendum in 1964, a statute that had outlawed restrictive covenants against renting or selling to nonwhites. Historian Daniel HoSang calls this assault on multiculturalism by the California voter “political whiteness” that acts to perpetuate white privilege in campaigns that address racial liberalism in an increasingly multicultural and multi-ethnic society. Propositions 187, 209, and 227 each show how a majority white voting public has reacted to specific issues raised by a diverse and growing population in an increasingly multicultural California.

Proposition 187/Denying Services to Undocumented Immigrants

The debate over undocumented immigrants in California began during the mid-1980s as California's economy began to sour. Jobs, especially in the banking and aerospace industries, had shrunk

California Propositions 187, 209, and 227

During the 1990s, three ballot propositions that challenged the increasingly multicultural nature of California were put to the test. Proposition 187 (1994) prohibited California from providing services of any kind to undocumented immigrants,

because of cuts in defense spending, mergers and consolidations, and, with them, the tax base also diminished. Multifamily construction permits declined, while immigration from Latin America and Asia, fueled by political conflict in Central America and the Chinese takeover of Hong Kong, caused the state's population to grow by 25 percent. During the same period, the proportion of non-Hispanic whites fell from 71 percent to 59 percent. People who opposed the increasing multiculturalism of the state claimed that new immigrants took jobs away from U.S. citizens, that they cost the state money, and that they refused to learn the language.

By 1994, a coalition of immigration restrictionists, Republicans, and high-ranking immigration officials developed an initiative to eliminate spending state funds on undocumented immigrants. The initiative would prohibit the undocumented from attending public schools and colleges and using public health services. It established harsh penalties for document forgery and required all law enforcement officers to cooperate with federal and state agencies in reporting people suspected of being undocumented.

It required public schools to check the immigration status of all students and their parents or guardians every year, and to expel any student whose status could not be verified and made the same demands on the state's public colleges and universities. The initiative was given the formal title "Illegal Aliens. Ineligibility for Public Services, Verification and Reporting" and marketed as the "Save Our State" initiative. California's Republican governor, Pete Wilson, made it one of the centerpieces of his 1994 re-election campaign.

The clearest statements of supporters and opponents of initiatives and referenda in California are the materials they insert in the California Voter Guide that is distributed to each registered voter in the state. Proponents of 187, including the cochairs of the Save Our State Committee, referred to undocumented migrants in their voter guide statements as "ILLEGAL ALIENS" eight times and used the word "ILLEGALLY" six times. They claimed that welfare, medical, and educational benefits were the magnets that drew undocumented immigrants to California, and that opponents of the proposition were funded

by the organizations that provided services to those immigrants. Cutting off these benefits, they claimed, would cut the flow of immigrants into California and do the work politicians were unwilling to do. The initiative was supported by the Republican Party of California, and Governor Pete Wilson defended it in an ad campaign that distinguished between immigrants who came to this country the right way and immigrants who came the wrong way.

Opposition to Proposition 187

The rebuttal from the opponents of Proposition 187—including the California Parent-Teachers Association, California division of the American College of Emergency Medicine, and College of California Seniors—contended that the proposition was a badly drafted proposition that made a bad situation worse. Opponents of the measure included Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block, California Teachers' Association president D. A. "Del" Weber, and California Medical Association president Ralph R. Ocampo.

The opponents conceded that undocumented immigrants posed a problem for the state, but said the people who would be most impacted were the Border Patrol and employers who hired undocumented workers. They warned that passage of the proposition would put federal funds at risk. Supporters, including the Border Solution Tax Force, a group allied with the Federation for Immigration Reform (an organization that favors immigration restriction), called the argument nonsense promoted by the special interests who benefited from the failure of border enforcement.

The campaign against Proposition 187 was disorganized. Taxpayers Against 187, a centrist group allied with the ballot argument against the proposition and tried to make increased border enforcement the key argument against its passage, instead of appealing to issues of social justice. Other opponents found the attack on immigrants by people who opposed the proposition distasteful and launched a grassroots community-based campaign, Californians United Against 187. While Taxpayers Against 187 tried to keep Latino immigrants out of the opposition campaign, Californians United understood that the proposition provided an opportunity

for immigrants to get involved in politics. Thus, on October 16, 1994, an estimated 70,000 to 100,000 people marched from East Los Angeles to City Hall carrying Mexican flags. While this was an impressive show of strength, it confirmed conservatives' fears that this group had no rights in trying to force the issue.

The proposition passed by a 59–41 margin, and 89 percent who voted in the 1994 election voted on the proposition. Sixty-three percent of white voters (who comprised 81 percent of the electorate in November 1994) voted for it, while 77 percent of Latino voters (comprising 8 percent of the electorate) voted against it.

Proposition 187 was never fully enforced. Lawsuits contesting its constitutionality were filed shortly after the election results. In 1998, federal judge Mariana R. Pfaelzer placed a permanent injunction on all major parts of the law, concluding that only the federal government could pass laws regulating immigration. Governor Wilson announced his intention to take the case to the Supreme Court, but with the subsequent election of a Democratic governor, Gray Davis, who said he would not appeal the decision, Proposition 187 was effectively repealed.

Proposition 209/Ending Affirmative Action

The success of Proposition 187 gave many people the idea that any proposition that reined in services offered to minority groups would do well in California. Proposition 209 was the idea of two academics: Glenn Custred, a professor of anthropology at California State University, Hayward, and Thomas Wood, executive director of the California Association of Scholars, a conservative organization that opposes academic liberalism. The pair had become frustrated by attempts to diversify the curriculum and makeup of the faculty in the state's universities and drafted the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), which argued that public race- and gender-based affirmative action programs violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and thus should be ended.

Custred and Wood did not get the measure on the November 1996 ballot. But Governor Pete Wilson and Ward Connerly, an African American businessman and chairman of CCRI, whom Wilson had appointed to the University of California (UC) Board of Regents, persuaded the board to

pass a resolution ending affirmative action in the UC system. Connerly was very effective as the voice of CCRI, stating that Proposition 209 expressed a commitment to fairness, and led a picket in front of Pacific Gas and Electric in San Francisco when the company said it would oppose it.

The argument for the proposition was signed by Wilson, Connerly, and CCRI cochair Pamela A. Lewis. It framed the initiative in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, called affirmative action “reverse discrimination,” and said that affirmative action programs that enforced this reverse discrimination were costly and should be scrapped. It suggested the idea that women and minorities who needed special preference in hiring and in other areas in which affirmative programs existed was a myth, and asked voters to vote for fairness, not favoritism.

The argument against the proposition was signed by Fran Packard, president of the League of Women Voters of California; Maxine Blackwell, vice president, Congress of California Seniors, an affiliate of the National Council of Senior Citizens; and civil rights activist Rosa Parks. It described the initiative as one that would end equal opportunity programs and undo the strong protections in the state constitution against discrimination. It provided evidence that the California Council of Churches and General Colin Powell opposed the proposition, and suggested that what the supporters described as “fairness” was in fact a license to discriminate.

The supporters, including state Attorney General Daniel Lungren, state Senator Quentin L. Kopp, and San Diego law professor Gail L. Heriot, accused opponents of lying and suggested that a clause in the proposition that allowed consideration of gender if it was “bona fide” protected against unisex bathrooms. Opponents, represented by spokespersons of the United States YWCA, the California American Association of University Women, and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, reported that Newt Gingrich and Pat Buchanan, a noted xenophobe, supported the proposition, and that the meaning of the proposition was favoritism, not fairness.

Proposition 209 passed by a 55–45 margin, and, like Proposition 187, it was immediately challenged by a federal civil rights suit. A federal district court judge placed an injunction on it,

but in April 1997 the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court ruled it was constitutional and the Supreme Court refused to hear the case in November. The immediate impact was a sharp decline in the number of minority students accepted by the University of California system for the 1998 to 1999 academic year. In the decade since, graduation rates of African American and Latino/a students at University of California schools have increased substantially.

Proposition 227/Ending Bilingual Education

Proposition 227 had its roots in Proposition 187 and the 1994 gubernatorial campaign. Ron Unz, a software developer who ran against Pete Wilson in the 1994 gubernatorial race on an English-only platform and won 34 percent of the vote in the Republican primary. Unz was critical of the state's bilingual education programs, and, after the success of Proposition 209, he produced an initiative that would end these programs in favor of a year of English immersion and subsequent integration into classes conducted in English. He called the initiative "English for the Children," and, to sell it, described Latino parents and children as victims of bilingual education. In effect, he was launching an attack on multiculturalism, as language is one of the principal ways in which cultural heritage is maintained.

Unz insulated himself against this charge by enlisting the support of Latino/a educators who disagreed with the way bilingual education was working; some of these educators appeared as proponents of the ballot measure. The argument for the initiative, eventually titled "English Language in Public Schools," began with the premise that bilingual education in California had failed to teach children to read and write English. Because learning a new language gets harder as a child gets older, the proponents argued, they proposed that California schools require children be taught English in "sheltered immersion" classes as soon as they started school, although waivers could be given to children who would benefit more from another method. Bilingual education, they wrote, segregated children who did not speak English and prevented them from becoming successful members of society.

In their rebuttal, opponents observed that many bilingual education programs worked, that the initiative would create classrooms with first

through sixth graders together, and that funders of the initiative were right-wing zealots who had no business telling California teachers how to do their job. Opponents argued that passage of the initiative would impose an untested method of teaching English on every school district in the state. Of course children should learn English, they wrote, but school districts, in conjunction with parents, should decide what works best in their communities.

Supporters of the proposition, represented by Jaime Escalante, the math teacher portrayed in the movie *Stand and Deliver*, said that none of the opponents' arguments made sure that children would learn English.

Political whiteness once again prevailed. The initiative, which was on the 1998 primary ballot, was opposed by all four major gubernatorial candidates and by President Bill Clinton, and opponents of the initiative were able to link it to Proposition 187. The legislature, in fact, passed a more moderate bill that gave school districts more flexibility in phasing out bilingual education, but Governor Wilson, two weeks before the election, vetoed the bill and endorsed the proposition. In a low-turnout election, Proposition 227 won 61 percent of the vote, 22 points more than the "no" vote. White voters made up 69 percent of the electorate, and exit polls showed that 67 percent of them voted for this initiative.

Conclusion

On the strength of Proposition 209 ending affirmative action, Ward Connerly promoted a proposition that prohibited state and local government agencies from collecting data concerning race and ethnicity, the "Racial Privacy Initiative." The net effect of this proposition would have prevented the state from gathering statistics about housing discrimination. He filed the initiative with the secretary of state in February 2001, and a coalition of groups including the American Civil Liberties Union and the Mexican American Legal Defense Education Fund had already begun tracking it. These groups convinced the state to title the initiative "Classification by Race, Ethnicity, Color or National Origin" and formed the Coalition for an Informed California to fight what they labeled an attack on the enforcement of civil rights laws.

Voters defeated Connerly's proposition by a 28-point margin. Given a shift in party registration, due in part to the increase of Latino/a voters prompted by Proposition 187, it is unlikely that California would pass such an initiative today.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Bilingual Education; Civil Rights Acts; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Immigrants, Undocumented; Mexican Americans.

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subsequent federal and state cases, *Cabazon* arose out of enduring tensions between tribal, local, and state governments.

By the mid-1980s, the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians began operating high-stakes bingo and a card room without regard to California State and Riverside County laws. Under pressure from law enforcement and politicians, the Cabazon Band filed suit against Riverside County in federal court seeking a declaratory judgment that the county lacked authority to apply its gambling-related ordinances inside reservation territory. The state of California joined the case on behalf of the county, and the district court found in favor of the tribes, ruling that neither the state nor the county had authority to apply gambling-related laws within reservations. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the district court judgment in 1986, and the U.S. Supreme Court subsequently granted the state's petition for review. While those siding with tribal interests feared that the Supreme Court's willingness to review the case signaled an inclination to overturn in the state's favor, in 1987 the court released a 6–3 decision affirming lower court rulings that the county and the state had no authority to enforce their gambling-related laws on reservations.

Couching its position in relation to fears that Indian gaming would attract and foster organized crime, the state of California argued that Public Law 83-280 (commonly referred to as Public Law 280, or P.L. 280) authorizes states to regulate on-reservation activities. Passed in 1953, P.L. 280 expressly authorized six states (California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Wisconsin, and soon-to-be-admitted Alaska) to enforce criminal laws on (most) reservations within their borders. The statute also expressly grants to state courts adjudicatory jurisdiction over private civil claims. California argued that P.L. 280 additionally authorizes state regulatory power in public civil matters.

In considering (and ultimately rejecting) the state of California's appeal, the *Cabazon* majority relied on the interpretation of P.L. 280 put forth in *Bryan v. Itasca County* (1976). In *Bryan*, the court ruled that P.L. 280 grants criminal jurisdiction to states but that it does not grant civil regulatory jurisdiction. The task before the court in *Cabazon*, then, was to make a determination

California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians (1987)

Even though it stood as valid law for little more than a year, the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *California v. Cabazon* remains a momentous decision in federal Indian law. Cited in hundreds of



The Mashantucket Pequot Tribe's Foxwoods Resort Casino in Ledyard, Connecticut. The Cabazon decision in 1987 changed the world of Native American gaming. By 1996, 184 tribes were operating 281 gaming facilities spread across 24 states. As of 2007, Native American gaming had become a \$25 billion industry with over 360 tribal casinos in 28 states.

as to the character of California law regarding gambling—is it criminal or regulatory in nature? Citing previous lower-court decisions that the Supreme Court had tacitly affirmed by denying review (such as *Seminole Tribe v. Butterworth* and *Barona v. Duffy*), the *Cabazon* majority found that California laws regarding gambling are regulatory in nature. The court reasoned that the existence of provisions encouraging lottery gambling and charity bingo indicate that rather than being criminally prohibited, gambling is regulated (and even promoted) under California law. Because California law seeks to civilly regulate gambling rather than criminally prohibit it, P.L. 280 does not offer the state an avenue to apply gambling-related laws on Indian reservations.

While recognizing that the Supreme Court's ruling centrally privileged federal interests over those of states *and* tribes, American Indian nations greeted the decision enthusiastically. Many tribal leaders, advocates, and allies hoped that the ruling would put to rest growing controversies over state and federal roles in regulating Indian gaming, freeing tribes to pursue and self-regulate gaming ventures. These hopes were not to be fulfilled. The intense legislative aftermath of the case

would ultimately reflect key premises embraced by both the majority and minority opinions. The majority opinion reiterated the restrictive legal and political assertion that tribal sovereignty is always dependent on and subordinate to the federal government. Even while the *Cabazon* ruling finds that the U.S. Congress did not use P.L. 280 to authorize state jurisdiction over regulatory matters, it acknowledges that Congress has the authority to do so. The *Cabazon* decision intentionally leaves fully intact the plenary power of the U.S. Congress to wield authority over the affairs of Indian nations. Moreover, the first and final lines of the dissent explicitly called for Congress to deploy this plenary power to supervise Indian gaming.

In 1988 Congress responded to *Cabazon* by superseding it with the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA). This exceedingly complex law provides a statutory basis for Indian gaming and establishes a network of regulatory policies and procedures. Even while spawning hundreds of lawsuits and vexed political transformations, the IGRA has nevertheless provided Indian gaming with a modicum of stability and affirmed the authority of tribes to operate and self-regulate high-stakes

bingo enterprises. Provisions for casino-style gaming also stand at the core of the IGRA. These provisions require tribal and state governments to negotiate the regulatory conditions under which tribal casinos can operate games such as slot machines, blackjack, craps, and roulette.

Because the IGRA grants significant power regarding tribal affairs to state governments, some scholars and activists committed to both rigorous scholarly inquiry and tribal interests aggressively criticize the post-*Cabazon* era of federal Indian policy in which states are asserting more and more power over tribal affairs while the nation-to-nation relationships with the federal government erode. (The nation-to-nation relations between tribes and the federal government are founded on the inherent sovereignty of Indian nations, treaties, and the fiduciary responsibility of the federal government toward tribes.) Yet other commentators and stakeholders emphasize the extent to which the IGRA acknowledges the inherent sovereignty of tribes and welcomes the diplomatic pathways mandated by the act as opportunities for tribal nations and state governments to work outside federal restrictions in order to collaborate on behalf of tribal and local interests.

Because it gave birth to the IGRA, *California v. Cabazon* remains a fundamental landmark in the emergence of the \$26 billion-a-year Indian gaming industry. While this fiscal influx has only had direct daily impact on a small minority of American Indians, it has significantly empowered Native communities and institutions while fundamentally shifting mainstream (mis)understandings of American Indian people and their nations. *Cabazon* also serves as a turning point at which federal Indian policy in the United States embarked on its current new-federalist trajectory.

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See Also: Indian Casinos; Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); National Congress of American Indians; Native Americans; Supreme Court, U.S.

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Californios

Californio was a term used by Hispanic settlers of California to identify themselves before the annexation by the United States after the Mexican-American War (1846–48). This term appears to have emerged after Mexico gained independence from Spain (1821), as it best expressed the settlers’ regional identity and culture. It also refers to their descendants. Following the annexation, the Californios gradually lost their land, social influence, and political power. Although the numbers of the colonizers were small, their heritage in the state is of great importance.

Spanish Period

The Spanish settlement of California started in 1769 with the establishment of San Diego de Alcalá—the first of the 21 missions set up in California. Apart from the missions and four *presidios* (military forts) under Spanish rule, only three official civil *pueblos* (towns) were founded: present-day San José and Los Angeles, and the Villa de Branciforte (Santa Cruz). During the Spanish period relatively few land grants were given to individuals.

The society of colonial Mexico was hierarchically organized, with a division between the *gente de razón* [people of reason] (Catholic Spaniards) and the *gente sin razón* [people without reason] (non-Christian *Indios*). The pure [Spanish] blood [*limpieza de sangre*] was of much importance; however, many were, in fact, mestizo. Racial categories were relatively flexible and by the late 18th century “Spaniard” also included people of mixed blood born in the Americas. Apart from race, wealth was also one of the factors that defined social status. The wealthy kept apart from the *gente corriente* [working-class people].

Important elements of the Spanish culture in the then scarcely populated region were the Catholic faith, family loyalty, patriarchy, hospitality, community fiestas, folk music, and dances. Other customs included, for example, bullfights and horse racing. It was in this period that *vaqueros* [cattle herders on horseback] appeared in California. This pattern later spread and—adapted by the Anglos—evolved into the American cowboy.

The Mexican Period

Independence from Spain transformed California from a predominantly clerical province to a pastoral economy. The secularization process led to the redistribution of the mission lands, which passed largely into the hands of Californio families, while the wealthiest rancheros controlled vast lands. Ranchos prospered and cattle raising was vital.

Under Mexican rule, the existing social patterns remained largely unchanged. Although the Spanish racial *casta* system was abolished in 1824, Californio elites still maintained the racial-ethnic hierarchy, and intermarried within their group or with Anglo and European settlers in California. Family and patriarchy retained their important roles. Among the political Californio leaders who emerged in this period were, for example, Mariano Vallejo, José Antonio Carrillo, and the Pico brothers. By 1848, probably around 7,000 people considered themselves Californios.

After the Annexation

Annexation by the United States brought profound changes to California's legal and economic systems, while the Gold Rush changed its demographic and cultural profile. Whereas in 1848 Spanish-speaking people constituted approximately a half of the 15,000 inhabitants of the region, in 1850, when California acquired statehood, this population accounted for less than 20 percent. Many Californios themselves left their ranchos and headed toward the diggings, which also contributed to the gradual decline of the Californio community.

Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) the Spanish-speaking people who remained on the land could become U.S. citizens and were ensured the free enjoyment of their liberty and property. However, Californios soon faced various problems. First, by the 1890s they had lost most of the

land they had owned before the war because of the complicated procedures of verification of their land titles introduced by the American government (1851), or because of taxes and fees. Second, they quickly lost political power. Third, although the California Constitution of 1850 stated that all state laws were to be published in English and Spanish, the use of Spanish was soon restricted and laws were published only in English. Fourth, many Californios fell victim to the prejudices that emerged toward non-European immigrants and often faced racist attitudes such as those inherent in the Foreign Miner's Tax, the Sunday Law, the Greaser Law. Californio elites intended to maintain the status distinctions within the Spanish-speaking population to escape prejudice. Nevertheless, because of their (often multi) racial profile (for example, Pío Pico, the last Mexican governor of California, was of multiracial origin), their "whiteness" was sometimes questioned. This was also the case with some prominent figures such as Pablo de la Guerra, a delegate to the California Constitutional Convention of 1849.

By the end of the 19th century the old pastoral California began to disappear, also because of the natural disasters of the 1860s, which destroyed crops and ruined about three-fourths of the cattle holdings.

One of the most famous outlaws and legendary figures in American California was Joaquín Murrieta. Considered a bandit by the Anglos, he was seen as a revenge-driven hero by the Spanish-speaking population. Murrieta is cited as one possible source of inspiration for Johnston McCulley in creating the character of Zorro (1919). Murrieta later also became one of the figures invoked by the Chicano Movement and appeared, for example, on the first Chicano mural painted by Antonio Bernal (1968).

Spanish-Mexican Heritage

Today the most obvious and visible examples of Spanish heritage are the names of cities like San Francisco and Los Angeles, rivers, and mountain ranges. The recognizable Californio names still used in California include Vallejo, Castro, Bernal, Peralta, Yorba, Sepulveda. Spanish architecture is visible in town layouts, missions, and ranchos that constitute important remnants of the colonial past. Examples include San Diego Mission

and Rancho Petaluma. It is also interesting to note that the municipal lands of Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Jose are based on the Spanish grants to the pueblos.

Spanish and Mexican influence on California's municipal and state laws is also evident; the inclusion of community property in marriage in the California Constitution of 1850 is one example of the Spanish influence.

Californio traditions are still alive in the state. Such events as the Old Spanish Days fiesta in Santa Barbara (since 1924) contribute profoundly to California's multicultural society. The vaquero culture remains an important part of California's heritage and differs from that of Texas. Each year different aspects of this tradition are celebrated at various gatherings and shows throughout the state like the Vaquero Days Western Heritage Festival.

It is difficult to estimate the number of the descendants of Californios today. According to U.S. census data, in 2000, fewer than 300 people reported such ancestry. Despite their struggle for the preservation of the Californio culture, today the Hispanic culture in California is predominantly Mexican.

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See Also: Hispanic Americans; Spanish Land Grants; Spanish Missions.

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Call Northside 777

Call Northside 777 is a 1948 film noir production directed by Henry Hathaway, a veteran of silent movies who successfully transitioned to sound productions. Filmed in semi-documentary style, the movie featured James Stewart as a *Chicago Times* reporter named P. J. McNeal (based on the real-life reporter James McGuire) and Lee J. Cobb as his editor, Brian Kelly (in real life Karin Walsh).

The story begins when the reporter happens on a classified advertisement offering a large reward for information proving the innocence of a convicted murderer. Intrigued, McNeal discovers the ad was placed by a poor woman named Tillie Wiecek who scrubbed floors for years to earn enough money to try to exonerate the convict, who turns out to be her son Frank. The son, played by Richard Conte, has been in prison for 11 years, along with accomplice Tomek Zaleska, played on screen by George Tyne, after being convicted of the murder of a policeman during a speakeasy robbery in 1932. What McNeal sees first as an interesting human interest story quickly turns into the reporter's quest to determine whether Frank is innocent, as he and his mother steadfastly maintain.

The first Hollywood feature movie to be filmed on location in Chicago, the production includes views of the Merchandise Mart, Holy Trinity Parish, and other recognizable Chicago landmarks that lend authenticity to the documentary style. Stewart's portrayal of the crusading reporter depicts an era when journalists were seen more as representatives of the common people seeking truth than as part of the corporate structure that newspapers have become today.

The case appears to rest on whether a witness who identified Wiecek in a police lineup had seen him before and been influenced by police to identify him as the perpetrator. The reporter is eventually able to locate a newspaper photograph of the two together and gets a photographer to enlarge the date it was taken, proving the witness had seen Wiecek before. Technology of the day also plays an important part, with an extended portion of the film devoted to explaining how a lie detector works. The results, along with the enhanced photograph, are sent to the hearing board over the new "wire photo system," leading to the conviction being overturned.

Justice for All

The film's dialogue emphasizes the reporter's quest for justice, and stresses that only in America, where everyone is treated equally under law regardless of race, ethnicity, or social standing, could this type of justice occur. In overturning Wiecek's conviction, the film's dialogue states: "It's a big thing when a sovereign state admits an error. Remember this . . . There aren't many governments in the world that would do it." Yet, while these themes reflect the generally positive and trusting public view of American government in the years following World War II and the initial phases of the Cold War, the premise is also clearly at odds with the resistance McNeal encounters from police and other officials as he questions the verdict and attempts to prove Wiecek's innocence. Additionally, some of the methods the reporter uses—including impersonating a police official to gain access to confidential records—clearly violate American standards of civil rights and protections.

The Real-Life Case

The real case upon which the movie is based involved the convictions of two Polish Americans, Joseph Majczek (Frank Wiecek in the movie) and Theodore Marcinkiewicz (Tomek Zaleska), who were found guilty based largely on the testimony of one eyewitness. The convictions were upheld on appeal in *People v. Majczek* (and Majczek's mother did indeed scrub floors for years to raise money to offer a reward for evidence). Although the film identifies the Wieceks as Polish, there is little attempt to place the family or the story within actual events of the day.

In reality, a series of some 30 articles published in the *Chicago Times* over a 10-month period beginning on October 11, 1944, brought quick reaction from Chicago's large Polish American community. The Polish Alma Mater, Polish Roman Catholic Union, Polish Welfare Association, and several other organizations sent petitions asking that the case be reopened. Faced with wide public interest, the newspaper took the unprecedented step of hiring prominent attorney Walker Butler, who was also a member of the state Senate. Butler's contention was that the only evidence implicating Majczek and Marcinkiewicz was the testimony of the speakeasy owner, Vera Walush,

and that she had clearly changed her statement, most likely under pressure to avoid being prosecuted for operating an illegal speakeasy.

Following the reporter's investigations—which did *not* involve the fictitious newspaper photo dating—an appeal to the state pardon board resulted in Majczek's release from Stateville Prison in Joliet, Illinois, on August 15, 1945, with a full pardon based on innocence and signed by Governor Dwight Green. Marcinkiewicz was released in 1950. In recognition of its services to justice, the *Chicago Times* and its reporters received numerous awards. The newspaper declined Tillie Majczek's \$5,000 reward. The Illinois legislature later appropriated \$24,000 to compensate Majczek for wrongful conviction and \$35,000 for Marcinkiewicz.

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See Also: Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures; Polish Americans.

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Caló

First gaining prominence as part of the pachuco subculture of the 1940s, caló has since emerged as a notable linguistic feature in the communication styles and cultural identities of many urbanized Mexican Americans throughout the southwestern United States. Sometimes conflated with Spanglish, caló actually differs from Spanglish in some key respects. Whereas Spanglish refers to a simple

linguistic practice of code switching between English and Spanish when communicating statements and questions, caló features specific words and phrases that are unique to this particular dialect. In other words, caló features a specific lexicon, while Spanglish does not. Various styles of Spanglish exist throughout the United States, as a result of different ethnic populations of Spanish-speaking Latinos in different regions of the country (Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in the northeast and Cubans in southern Florida, for example), each of which features its own distinct style of Spanish. Although certain local discrepancies may be found, caló as a whole is a much more uniform linguistic practice across the southwest than is the Spanish language (and subsequently, Spanglish) throughout the nation. Caló is sometimes described as a highly developed form of in-group ethnic slang that incorporates Mexicanized English and Anglicized Spanish.

Historical Development and Key Features

The exact origins of caló among Mexican Americans are subject to debate among linguists, historians, and Chicano studies scholars. However, a prominent theory contends that the antecedents of contemporary caló originated among the gypsies of Spain [*los gitanos*], who developed their own form of slang by blending their native Romany with Castilian Spanish during the 19th century. This hybridized slang eventually made its way to Mexico City by the early years of the 20th century and subsequently reached the major border city of El Paso, Texas, as a result of immigration from Mexico City throughout the 1920s.

In El Paso, caló slang underwent a further hybridization as bilingual Tejano youth infused it with English influences. The primary speakers of this new caló were largely lower-income Mexican American males who came to be known as “pachucos.” Improved railroad lines connected Texas with California, and large numbers of pachucos relocated to Los Angeles throughout the 1930s. As these young men migrated to the West Coast, they brought their linguistic idiosyncrasies with them and firmly planted caló in the cultural landscape of southern California. In the barrios of East Los Angeles during the 1940s, pachucho lifestyle flourished as it became associated with bilingualism, caló, and the zoot suit. Other Mexican



George Lopez performs at the Kids Inaugural: We Are the Future concert in Washington, D.C., in 2009. Lopez has used caló on television in his ABC sitcom *George Lopez*.

American teenagers began to adopt these customs and mannerisms, including caló speech.

Some of the more common caló words and phrases include *Órale!* [Okay, or All right!], *qué Onda?* [What’s going on?], *simón* [yes], *chále* [no], *a toda madre* [everything is swell], and *vato* [guy/dude]. Male speakers of caló may use the term *carnal* to refer to their biological brother or very close friends to whom they feel a strong attachment. The female counterpart is *carnala*. Similarly, the terms *ése* and *ésa* are frequently used as informal labels for a man or woman, respectively. Another defining feature of caló is its tendency to replace the letter B with V in the word *varrio* (traditionally spelled *barrio* in Spanish). The term means neighborhood

but is popularly used to connote specifically an urban district with predominantly Mexican/Chicano residents; as such *varrio* remains one of the most common terms in poetry and literature produced in caló. Much like the rhyming verses that comprise the jive talk of African American street slang, caló also exhibits numerous phrases based on rhyme, including *Me entiendes, Mendez?* [Do you understand me?] and *Al rato, vato!* [Later, dude!] akin to “see you later, alligator!”

Caló in Popular Culture

Caló usage is heavily featured in several motion pictures depicting Mexican American/Chicano themes, such as *American Me* (1992), *Blood In Blood Out: Bound by Honor* (1993), *Born In East L.A.* (1987), *Mi Vida Loca* (1994), *My Family/Mi Familia* (1995), *Selena* (1995), *Stand and Deliver* (1988), *Walkout* (2006), and *Zoot Suit* (1981). In addition, Chicano comedian George Lopez uses caló words and phrases extensively throughout his stand-up routines, thus requiring audiences to have a certain degree of familiarity with caló to fully comprehend his punch lines. Lopez also incorporated caló into his television sitcom *George Lopez* and his late-night talk show, *Lopez Tonight*. Numerous Mexican American/Chicano rappers such as Kid Frost, Jae-P, Akwid, and Mr. Shadow also rely on caló to deliver rhymes to their fans. Kid Frost’s popular 1990 single “La Raza,” somewhat of a Chicano pride anthem, was included on the soundtrack to the 2004 video game *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas* and exposed caló to millions of younger generation non-Mexican gamers. Caló is also a central aspect of Chicano music and literature, as well as the lowrider subculture of the border states.

The rapid growth of Mexican American communities throughout the southwest, combined with the increased visibility of Mexican Americans/Chicanos in film, television, music, and comedy, ensures that caló will retain its social and linguistic significance for many years to come. As such, caló’s exposure is sure to reach ever-increasing numbers of Americans of non-Mexican descent as well as those who live outside the southwestern borderlands in the future.

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See Also: Chicanos; Language Usage in the United States; Mexican Americans; Spanglish.

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Cambodian Americans

The first Cambodian immigrants, numbering no more than a couple hundred, arrived in the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s; they were drawn by the promise of USAID-funded scholarships. Diplomatic tensions between Cambodia and the United States suspended connections between the countries for much of the 1960s. Immigration resumed in 1970, increasing as a result of a renewed U.S. relationship with Cambodia’s pro-Western leader, Lon Nol.

Civil war raged in Cambodia between 1970 and 1975, as Pol Pot and the communist Khmer Rouge opposed the U.S.-supported Lon Nol government. When Pol Pot entered the city of Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, he defeated Lon Nol and set into motion a series of reforms. As estimated by scholars, these actions resulted in the deaths of between 1 and 2 million Cambodians.

Between 1975 and 1979, the Khmer Rouge regulated every aspect of civil life: abolishing money, separating families, forbidding education and the expression of individuality, and instituting a pervasive culture of fear. In January 1979, the Vietnamese liberated Phnom Penh, bringing an end to the terror. This signaled a new beginning for massive numbers of Cambodian refugees who, with the help of the global community, relocated to countries such as Canada, Australia, France, and the United States.

Of the 1.8 million Cambodian immigrants to the United States, most notable are the 152,000 refugees of the late 1970s Khmer Rouge occupation.

Survivors of genocide, these individuals frame a Cambodian American experience intent on recovering what may have been lost during the Khmer Rouge occupation, and creating strong, healthy communities in their adoptive countries.

Cambodian Refugee Families

Cambodians who arrived in the United States in the 1980s lived through a series of political and sociocultural transformations, enduring decades of political instability, including the genocidal regime that ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979. Many who survived the Khmer Rouge fled to Thai-Cambodian-border refugee camps, where they stayed, on average, five to seven years. Later they resettled in the United States as refugees.

This sequence of events had a significant impact on Cambodian family systems. Between 1975 and 1979, the Khmer Rouge systematically abolished the family unit, which was considered a threat to their absolute control. Children were separated from parents. Husbands and wives were separated from one another. The Khmer Rouge tried to remove any parental influence like parental love, support, and discipline, so that the revolutionary organization could have complete control over children. Many survivors' stories and memoirs attest that the regime failed to destroy deep affection between family members, especially between parents and children. But the Khmer Rouge did succeed in creating a lasting impact on the integrity of the family through murder, forced separation, and instilling fear and distrust among people.

Today, Cambodian families in the United States are complex. A family may be comprised of individuals who, as children or adults, lived through the Khmer Rouge regime, fled to refugee camps, and resettled in the United States. The same household may include children born in refugee camps and children born in the United States. Almost all Cambodian families lost one or more family members. Although many reunited after the fall of the Khmer Rouge, some families were separated when they fled to refugee camps or resettled in the other countries. It is not uncommon for a Cambodian American family to have relatives resettled in France, Australia, or Canada, and some members still in Cambodia. Many Cambodians are still searching for family members with whom they lost contact more than 30 years ago.

Current Demographic Profile

The 2010 U.S. census estimates that 231,616 individuals identify their ethnicity solely as Cambodian. Additionally, 45,051 individuals identify as another ethnic group or groups, in addition to Cambodian, bringing the estimated total United States population to 267,667.

This number, up from 206,000 in 2000, indicates a nearly 25 percent rise in those who identify as Cambodian in combination with other groups. Though there is no way to identify as Cambodian American on a census form, the increase suggests the strengthening of such an identification, one arising from a perceived connection with both a country of heritage as well as the country of residence and/or birth.

Though Cambodian Americans reside in all 50 states, the largest population can be found in California, with a concentration in Long Beach, a city that boasts a vibrant mile-long business corridor as well as a Cambodian/Cambodian American population of over 100,000. Lowell, Massachusetts; Seattle, Washington; San Francisco, California; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Minneapolis, Minnesota; New York, New York; Dallas, Texas; and Chicago, Illinois are also home to significant Cambodian American communities.

Contemporary Cambodian American Culture

Cambodian American communities across the United States have established organizations and religious institutions (mainly Theravada Buddhist temples) to revive Cambodian culture and spiritual practices that had been forbidden to them. These community-based organizations, many of which started as mutual assistance associations, and religious institutions play significant roles in strengthening families and individuals of all ages by providing comprehensive social services and/or spiritual support.

After more than 30 years of silence, Cambodians who survived the Khmer Rouge regime have started telling their stories to their children and to the public. Cambodian community organizations have been instrumental in facilitating these significant dialogues between generations and between Cambodians and non-Cambodians. In collaboration with scholars and researchers, these organizations have been conducting oral history projects, some of which resulted in video testimonials

and a museum exhibition. Different forms of self-expression are encouraged.

Dialogue between survivors and their children is the first step toward breaking the generation gap that was created by the complexity of Cambodian American families and that has affected relationships between family members and their well-being. This is the first step toward healing for communities, families, and individuals.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Genocide; Hmong Americans; Laotian Americans; Refugees; Vietnamese Americans; Vietnam War.

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and Pinal Apache, almost entirely women and children, near Camp Grant, Arizona. The attackers and others argued that this action was justified by repeated Apache depredations. The massacre has sometimes been presented as simply another Anglo atrocity inflicted on Native Americans, but the diversity of the mob members suggests the complexities of conflict in at least some areas of the 19th-century West.

The Attack

Before the massacre, the Apache had surrendered at Camp Grant in accordance with army instructions. Having become prisoners of war, they had a right to expect military protection from attacks, and, having turned over their weapons to the troops, they could not defend themselves. The Apache were several miles away from the camp when attacked, however, so the garrison was unaware of the massacre until later the same day.

Some Apache were shot from a distance; however, most died as a result of injuries inflicted at close distance by their assailants. The attackers had to know that most of their victims were women and children and that the Apache, with few exceptions, were unresisting. A number of Apache children were seized, and most of them were retained by Mexican American families or sold into slavery in Mexico.

Responsibility for the massacre must be attributed to the Anglo community. In addition to providing some of the leaders of the mob, Anglos furnished weapons, ammunition, and food to the attackers. Many Anglos had pledged to participate in the attack, but few appeared when the mob gathered, perhaps because they thought that attacking the Apache would bring them into combat with the troops.

Western Reactions

The attackers and their supporters maintained that the massacre was entirely justified retaliation for Apache misdeeds and called their action a "raid" to prevent further Apache raids. The attack was portrayed as an act of desperation, because of the failure of the federal government to end Apache depredations. Undoubtedly, Arizona was a dangerous area in the 1870s. Apache raids were occurring, but the evidence suggests strongly that the Apache at Camp Grant had not been participants.

Camp Grant Massacre

On April 30, 1871, a mob consisting largely of Native Americans (O'odham, also known as Papagos) and Mexican Americans, with a few prominent Anglos, murdered more than 100 Aravaipa

In the west, particularly, Native Americans were viewed generally, at best, as encumbrances and, at worst, as savages who either the army or civilian volunteers should be allowed either to exterminate or, at least, to confine to reservations with the proviso that Anglos might change the dimensions of the reservations or even abolish the reservations, if such actions suited their purposes. Native Americans such as the O'odham who adapted fairly rapidly to Anglo pressure to become farmers were viewed somewhat more favorably than the Apache by the Anglos, but, in the long run, their treatment by the Anglos was little better than that experienced by the Apache.

The Trial

Criticism of the behavior of the attackers continued outside the southwest, and the federal government threatened to place the area under martial law unless the perpetrators were indicted and tried. Finally, in 1871, many attackers were tried at the territorial court in Tucson. The jury took less than a half-hour to reach a "not guilty" verdict, an outcome that was typical of what occurred at the time during legal proceedings against Native Americans, Mexican Americans, or Anglos who killed or mistreated Native Americans.

Subsequent Interpretations

Economic factors seem to have played a considerable role in the deliberations of the charges against the Anglo and Mexican American elites who instigated and, to a significant extent, led the massacre. Arizona and the rest of the southwest had attractive resources, but development was just beginning. The presence of Apache who preferred roaming freely to living a constricted life on a reservation might discourage more investment and immigration and thereby limit commerce. Moreover, Mexican Americans and O'odham had a long history of joint paramilitary action against the Apache. Conscious of the increasing Anglo economic, political, and demographic ascendancy, they may have wanted to conciliate the Anglos by differentiating themselves still further from the Apache by participating in a new attack on the Apache.

Recently, the dissemination of more factual information about the massacre, as opposed to legends, seems to have increased Anglo awareness

of the sordid and far-from-heroic nature of the attack. Memories of what occurred at Camp Grant remain robust among the Apache who, even today, must continue their struggles to retain their land and to win greater respect from other groups. By and large, present-day Chicano writers have skirted the subject of warfare between Mexican and Native Americans because they tend to minimize differences, including open conflict, between the two groups.

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See Also: Anglos; Apache; Mexican Americans; Native Americans; O'odham Tribes.

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Canadian Americans

Canada borders only water and the United States and is the Western Hemisphere's largest country. The border with the United States is, at more than 5,000 miles long, the world's lengthiest undefended border. Internal tensions between French- and English-speaking Canadians in particular have fueled immigration to the United States over a number of years, and especially in the 20th century.

Although there has always been a flow of people between Canada and the United States, reliable data have only been kept since the 1910 census of the United States and the 1911 census

of Canada. Migration is also somewhat seasonal: the Canadian American population swells in the winter months. States such as Florida and Arizona have strong seasonal populations of Canadians, which affects items such as media for Canadians in the United States. By 1990, almost 30 percent of Canadians in the United States were 65 and older, which lowers the average income level for the group.

Since the 1850s the number of Canadians emigrating to the United States has grown at a steady rate. The number of Canadians entering the United States was throughout the early and mid-20th century around four times that of U.S. citizens emigrating to Canada. Immigration levels peaked in the 1920s and dropped sharply after 1930, when the economic woes of the Great Depression meant less opportunity for immigrants. The numbers picked up again in the 1950s and 1960s, however, and the immigration stream flowed unstemmed until the United States modified its immigration laws in 1965. Canada followed suit in 1976. Numbers of immigrants from Canada to the United States dropped by 60 percent after these legal changes. Even so, there were in excess of 3.5 million Canadian immigrants (net) into the United States in the 20th century alone.

Once the immigration laws changed, so did the face of immigration in the United States as a whole. In the early 1960s nearly 12 percent of all immigrants to the United States originated from Canada; within the next two decades that percentage dropped to 2 percent. By the time the 1980 U.S. census was taken, nearly 65 percent of all immigrants who listed their country of origin as Canada had been in America more than 20 years. By the time of the 1990 census only 0.2 percent of Americans reported Canadian ancestry. (It is worth noting that the U.S. census does not include immigrants from Newfoundland or Nova Scotia, or Acadians and French Canadians in the “Canadian” category. These groups each have their own category.)

Regionally speaking, the highest numbers of Canadian Americans are in the northeastern United States, with more than 110,000 residing in Massachusetts and New York alone. California presents a notable exception to this trend as it is actually home to the largest number of Canadian Americans: more than 86,000.

Assimilation

Canadian Americans, especially English-language immigrants, enjoy a very high level of assimilation into American culture. Even French-speaking Canadians usually also speak English, and this lack of language barrier plays a major role in assimilation. The proximity of the two nations is also a factor that facilitates acculturation, since so many traditions are shared between the close neighbors. In fact, in excess of 80 percent of Canadian immigrants to the United States who entered before 1980 are now naturalized American citizens.

Canadian Americans also benefit from the proximity of their country and any loved ones or traditions they left behind as they migrated. Most of the population of Canada is in the south of the country, close to the United States. Canadian news and media are readily available in the United States, and visits to Canada are easy. Furthermore, there is little doubt that a more North American culture is also very important to Canadians, rendering much of their culture a “shared” one with Americans.

The differences that do exist between the United States and Canada are often ignored by Americans—if they are even aware of them. Examples of this include the American tendencies to call Canadian provinces “states” and make other, related errors in nomenclature.

On the other hand, many stereotypes of what it is to be Canadian also abound in the United States. Many Americans think Canadians all speak French or play ice hockey. Furthermore, media sources like *Saturday Night Live* and *Second City Television* have presented American audiences with stereotypical buffoons like Bob and Doug Mackenzie, leading Americans to envision all of Canada as speaking in a bizarre way as they guzzle beer.

Canadians celebrate many of the same holidays as do Americans. Canada celebrates Thanksgiving, albeit in October rather than November. Canadians also celebrate their own independence day on July 1, called Canada Day. There are many provincial holidays in Canada as well, so there is a great deal of variation in holiday traditions of Canadian Americans.

One major adjustment Canadian Americans must make is adaptation to the American health

care system. Canada is home to a public health care system that covers most medical needs in exchange for a special tax that citizens pay. For Canadians, health care costs in American feel very high.

English and French are the two state languages of Canada, and one or the other of these two is the first language for almost 85 percent of Canadians. Obviously, English-language Canadians have the easiest time immigrating to the United States. Notable numbers of French-speaking Canadians also emigrate, along with Inuit, Iroquois, and Tlingit tribal peoples.

Several interesting demographic trends among Canadians living in the United States have been noted. The marriage rate between Canadians and Canadian Americans is about the same, but the divorce rate among Canadian Americans is more than twice as high. There are also twice as many widowed Canadian Americans, but, as noted above, the average age of Canadian Americans is high due to retirement-related immigration patterns.

Educational institutions occur at about the same per capita rate in Canada and the United States. Canadian Americans tend to have higher educational attainment levels than do Canadians. This is related in part to the higher likelihood of Canadian Americans to be highly skilled professionals.

As of 2013 the most active churches in Canada were the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church. Canadian Americans are most likely to affiliate themselves with these churches. Of course, as a proud, multicultural country, Canada is also home to numerous other faiths that are also represented among immigrants to the United States.

The job history of Canadian Americans has been varied and shaped by the economic conditions they encountered both in the United States and back in Canada. There have, however, been two main trends. In the early years of the 20th century, the majority of Canadian immigrants worked in industrial jobs within the booming segment of American industry. The latter half of the 20th century, which coincided with tougher immigration laws, saw the majority of Canadian Americans working in highly skilled positions. In fact, as of 2013 there are disproportionately high

numbers of Canadian Americans among American specialty profession positions (like law or medicine) and managerial positions.

Very few Canadian Americans have become politically active in the United States. New Brunswick's Jerry Simpson is one notable exception. Populist Simpson served three terms in Congress at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Thanks in large part to the successful assimilation of so many Canadian Americans there are few known trends among Canadian Americans in the realms of military service and voting. Similarly, most Canadian Americans become removed from participation in Canadian politics. One partial exception is the tendency of French Canadian Americans to maintain a sense of identity that is based on their ties to Canada. This group tends to be well aware of political trends, especially in Quebec, that affect French Canadians. Finally, there is a strong Canadian participation and presence in national Canadian labor unions and international trade unions that are represented in both Canada and the United States.

Famous Canadian Americans

Famous Canadian Americans have impacted many areas of American culture. Economist John Kenneth Galbraith was born in Ontario in 1908. Galbraith's works are central to the study of economics in America, with his classic text *American Capitalism* (1952) on most reading lists in the area. Other notable academics include physicist Richard Taylor, surgeon and professor of orthopedic surgery John Emmett Hall, and psychiatrist and professor Charles Shagass.

There have been numerous Canadian Americans in film and television. In the industry's infancy in America, Canadian Americans Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks enjoyed major success and fame. Pickford's film *Coquette* earned her an Oscar. Fairbanks and Pickford together established United Artists with Charlie Chaplin and D. W. Griffith. Glenn Ford is one of the most famous Canadian Americans in the mid-20th century film industry. At around the same time as Ford, Lorne Greene became one of America's most famous and beloved television stars, as did Raymond Burr of *Perry Mason* renown.

More recent Canadian American names in film and television and on stage include Donald

Sutherland and his son Kiefer Sutherland, who have each also directed and produced, as well as Christopher Plummer, who has extensive Broadway credits in addition to his film career. Real-life couple Hume Cronyn and Jessica Tandy appeared on stage together many times and also graced the silver screen. Award-winning actress Colleen Dewhurst appeared in many theater productions. William Shatner, best known for playing Captain Kirk of *Star Trek* over the span of many years, was also born in Canada. Michael J. Fox, Alex Trebek, and Jason Priestly are also Canadian Americans.

Canadian Americans have heavily impacted American comedy. Dan Aykroyd, Phil Hartman, and Mike Myers began their comedy careers on the television show *Saturday Night Live* and went on to receive mass acclaim and loyal followings from Americans. Numerous other Canadian Americans had their first break on *Second City Television*, a Canadian program, including John Candy, Martin Short, Rick Moranis, Dave Thomas, Catherine O'Hara, Andrea Martin, and Eugene Levy. Other notable Canadian American comedians include Rich Little, Howie Mandel, and comedy troupe The Kids in the Hall.

Television anchorman Peter Jennings was born in Toronto and served as the lead anchor for ABC News from 1983 until his death in 2005. Robin MacNeil of the *MacNeil/Lehrer Report* and the *MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour* was born in Montreal, Canada. MacNeil also authored or coauthored five books.

Canadian American singer and songwriter Paul Anka spent 50 years on the *Billboard* charts from 1957 to 2007. He also boasts 15 gold records and at least 22 songwriting awards. Singer Joni Mitchell also hails from Canada as do Alanis Morissette, Celine Dion, and Justin Bieber.

Most Canadian American sports notables are unsurprisingly hockey players. Wayne Gretzky has won the National Hockey League scoring title and numerous other accolades. At the time of his retirement in 1999, he either held or shared 66 NHL records. Other well-known Canadian American hockey players include Brett Hull and Mark Messier.

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See Also: Anglos; Cajuns; English Americans; French Americans; French Canadian Americans.

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Canal Zone

The Panama Canal Zone was located within the borders of the Republic of Panama; the area that at one time made up the zone is now the territory of the Republic of Panama, including the canal itself. The unorganized U.S. territory existed from 1903 to 1999.

The zone was brought into existence to allow American interests to build a canal, and thus eliminate the need to sail around the South American coast when traveling from the North Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Like much of the rest of the world in the early 20th century, racism was a major problem in the Canal Zone during and after the primary construction project. Institutionalized racism existed through a system of gold rolls and silver rolls, in which workers were

classified and treated accordingly almost entirely on the basis of race.

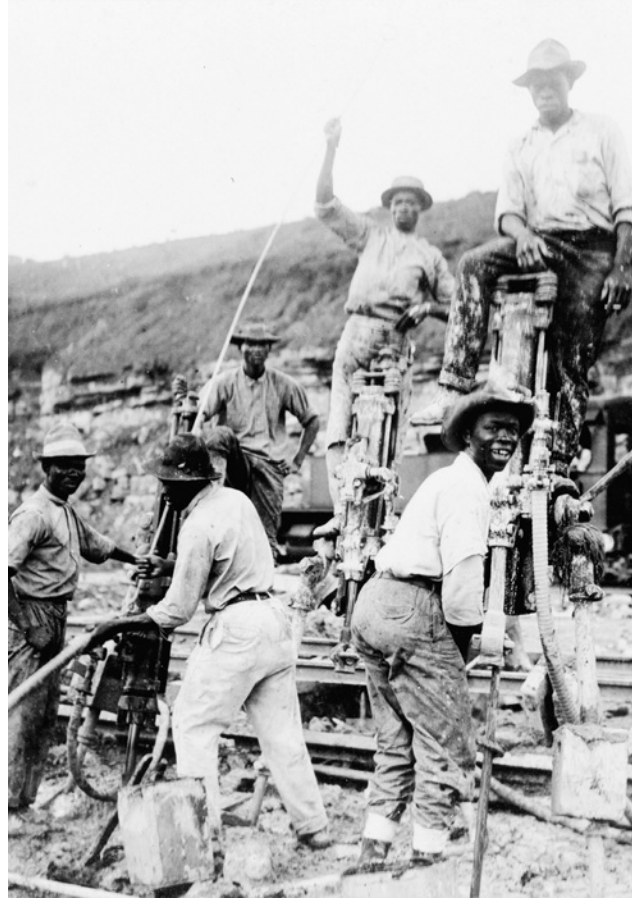
International Treaties and Development

Two key factors in the later part of the 1800s compelled the American government to pursue the creation of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. First, traffic through the region greatly increased due to Americans wishing to travel from the east coast to the west coast of the United States during the California Gold Rush. Second, the Spanish-American War (1898) added urgency to the need for an American-controlled canal because of a perceived need to transport troops, supplies, and battleships from one theater of war to another.

At the beginning of the 1900s, the Isthmus of Panama was controlled by Colombia, and for this reason a treaty was required for Americans to access the area. In 1902, the U.S. Congress ratified a treaty with Colombia to establish the Canal Zone. The Colombian government rejected this treaty and proposed a counteroffer for a more financially lucrative deal. This process angered the jingoistic President Theodore Roosevelt.

In 1903, revolution broke out in the Isthmus of Panama. With President Roosevelt's consent, the United States supported the rebels in this conflict. After the rebels won their independence, their fledgling government quickly negotiated a Canal Zone treaty with the United States. Many in the new Panamanian government took issue with the terms of the hastily constructed treaty. However, they were told if they did not sign, U.S. forces would be pulled out of the area, thus allowing Colombians to retake the region. The resulting Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty was approved by the Panamanian government on December 2, 1903. On February 26, 1904, Panama granted to the United States control of the zone.

In 1977, riots over U.S. control of the zone and accusations of American colonialism compelled President Jimmy Carter to renegotiate the terms of the Canal Zone treaty. Certain American interests did not want to give up control of the zone as granted by the 1903 treaty, claiming it would weaken the ability of U.S. military forces to respond to threats. Carter, however, believed that regional stability outweighed these concerns of a



Black laborers running tripod drills at the Upper Miraflores locks in the Panama Canal Zone in April 1910. The hierarchy between white and mostly nonwhite workers established at the beginning of construction persisted for decades.

vague military threat. Thus, the Torrijos-Carter Treaties of 1977 established the neutrality of the canal, disbanded the majority of American military presence in the zone, and established joint U.S.-Panamanian control of the zone. Additionally, the treaty put into place a timetable for the canal and Canal Zone to be handed over to the Panamanian government on December 31, 1999.

Institutionalized Racism and the Canal Zone

In the early days of the construction of the Panama Canal, the labor force was divided into two groups: gold roll workers and silver roll workers. The employees listed on the gold roll were paid using U.S. gold, because they were supposedly U.S. citizens and needed to be paid in the currency of their country. Similarly, the employees

whose names were listed on the silver roll were supposed to be local workers who were paid in the silver coins of the Colombian peso. With very few exceptions, American and northern European whites were placed on the gold roll, while blacks and southern European whites were placed on the silver roll. American blacks were generally not hired, thus keeping them off the gold roll; American whites interested in silver-roll laborer positions were discouraged from applying.

The racial overtones of this system intensified with time, and its relevance to the actual functioning of the zone diminished. By 1918, all workers in the zone were being paid in American currency, but discrimination based on gold and silver labels continued. At first, the possibility of promotion between the labels was possible, but this ceased as the system became more racist. Mirroring segregation in the American south, separate towns, quarters, schools, libraries, recreation facilities, transportation, restrooms, and drinking fountains were set up for gold and silver roll workers. Gold and silver classification also determined pay rates, vacations, and pensions.

While American blacks who were on the gold roll did enjoy better treatment than those on the silver roll, that was little comfort to most. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) did eventually call into question the practice of dividing the workforce by gold and silver rolls. It also questioned why African Americans were rarely given gold-roll jobs. Due to this pressure, the terms were dropped officially in the mid-1950s and signs making distinctions were taken down accordingly.

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See Also: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Panamanian Americans; Presidency, U.S.; Segregation.

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Cape Verdean Americans

A Cape Verdean American is an American whose ancestors were from Cape Verde or an immigrant from Cape Verde. A small but culturally distinct ethnic group in America, their history in the United States is unique.

The history, geography, and culture of the Republic of Cape Verde is key to understanding the Cape Verdean American of today. The Republic of Cape Verde is 320 miles off the coast of Senegal, which is on the west coast of Africa. The islands are plagued by recurring, cyclic droughts; each drought cycle lasts for more than a decade. Most of the land is unsuitable for grazing livestock and the country is mostly deforested, making major erosion of topsoil a central problem.

These various problems mean that migration has always been a major cultural factor, since many Cape Verdeans relocated for years at a time during droughts to find work. In the 1770s, famine was so severe that some Cape Verdeans sold themselves into slavery to leave the islands. Relentless famine again rocked the islands in the early 1830s and an estimated one-third of the population of Cape Verde perished during that time. In 1856 famine was so severe that the people of Boston and New York sent ships stocked with food to help the people of Cape Verde.

Cape Verdean American History and Culture

As far as recorded U.S. history goes, Cape Verdeans first settled as free people in mid-19th-century America near Boston. This is mostly because New England whaling ships often had Cape Verde on their routes. Many Cape Verdeans worked on



A family, including two boys 8 and 9 years of age, using wooden scoops to harvest cranberries in a bog near Wareham, Massachusetts, around September 1911. The family's Portuguese surname of Fernande suggests that they were of Cape Verdean origin. Many Cape Verdeans worked in the cranberry industry on Cape Cod in the early 20th century.

whaling ships until the industry declined in the early 20th century, ensuring that Cape Verdean Americans became known for crafts peculiar to whaling such as scrimshaw, wood carving, and ship building.

The cranberry industry in the United States is on the peninsula of Cape Cod in Massachusetts. The work is arduous and especially in the past required many workers to harvest in the cranberry bogs; many Cape Verdeans therefore settled in New England to join that industry and the whaling industry. These two migratory forces meant that the largest concentration of Cape Verdean Americans originally settled in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Cape Verdean Americans have always defied racial norms, which in the United States especially made for the perception of a maverick sensibility as a group culture. The island of Cape Verde had

a very diverse, mobile culture that defied the divisions into black or white culture that the United States had historically. Most Cape Verdeans are of mixed race. Originally, the islands were populated by the Portuguese, who then imported slaves from Africa, particularly from nearby Senegal. These groups mixed with Spanish and Italian sailors, Portuguese Jewish refugees, and various European, Chinese, American, and Brazilian settlers. This rich mix of cultures made for a much more varied *mestiço* ethnic identity.

Furthermore, Cape Verdean Americans have strong ties to their ancestral home. All Cape Verdean Americans are eligible for dual citizenship. Also, since so much of the immigration history of Cape Verdean Americans was tied to droughts and famines, the movement between countries has a cyclic feel for many Cape Verdean Americans.

Given this cultural background, it is hardly surprising that Cape Verdean Americans did not readily think of themselves as African Americans in the same way that the American descendants of slaves did. Furthermore, most Cape Verdean Americans were Roman Catholic and so found themselves worshipping with other immigrants—mostly white eastern Europeans. Like other Catholic immigrants, Cape Verdean Americans tended to have large families of at least five children.

In 1917, the U.S. Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1917, also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act. This stringent law forbade a record number of “undesirables” from entering the United States, including all immigrants over the age of sixteen who were illiterate; it was this condition that impacted Cape Verdeans most, and the act nearly brought immigration to a stop.

Eventually, as descendants of the original Cape Verdean Americans grew older and became involved in the American civil rights movement in the 1960s, they did come to identify with African Americans. Not unfamiliar with struggle, life on Cape Verde was challenging and a sort of pessimistic outlook permeates much of their oral culture, as well as their musical culture. Cape Verdean American music is replete with traditional, mournful ballads called *morna*. Lyrics to these ballads reflect the sadness of families separated by famines and immigration, and, of course, the forced uprooting and brutality of slavery. These themes translated to American culture, mainly in the blues and jazz genres.

Prominent Cape Verdean Americans

Cape Verdean Americans have come to influence U.S. politics. In 1998, Republican Cape Verdean American Vinny Macedo, the representative from Plymouth, was elected to the Massachusetts state legislature. Alfred J. Gomes was a prominent Cape Verdean American judge in Boston. Cape Verdean Americans have also strongly impacted the American arts. Anthony Barboza was a photographer whose work became world famous when published in *Time* and *National Geographic*. Joao de Lomba was a whaler and probably the best-known scrimshaw artist in America. The band Tavares was comprised of Cape Verdean Americans and their hit song “More Than a Woman” was featured in *Saturday Night Fever*. Jazz musicians

Horace Silva and Paul Gonsalves were also Cape Verdean Americans.

Cape Verdean Americans have influenced American sports. Cape Verdean American Dana Barros played basketball for the Boston Celtics. Wayne Fontes played football professionally and then went on to coach the Detroit Lions. And perhaps most famously, Henry Andrade competed in the 1992 Atlanta Olympic Games representing Cape Verde as a dual citizen.

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See Also: African Americans; Immigration Acts; Mixed-Race Americans; Portuguese Americans; Slave Trade.

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Caribbean Americans

Caribbean Americans constitute a diverse group in terms of their cultural, ethnic, and racial origin. They also have distinct socioeconomic characteristics. Large-scale immigration from the Caribbean is a fairly recent phenomenon; according to the 2010 U.S. census, as many as 75 percent of foreign-born immigrants entered the United States after 1980. However, the first immigrants, especially those from Cuba and the English and French West Indies, arrived before the 20th century.

It should be noted that people born in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands are native born to

the United States. As U.S. citizens they are, therefore, migrants rather than immigrants. According to the 2010 U.S. census the Puerto Rican–origin population of the United States (4.6 million) was higher than the total population of Puerto Rico (3.7 million).

Origins and Geographic Distribution

In 2010 the biggest Caribbean populations in the United States, with the exception of Puerto Ricans, were of Cuban and Dominican origin. In fact, Cubans and Dominicans were, respectively, the third- and the fifth-largest Hispanic/Latino communities after Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Salvadorans. In general, Hispanics/Latinos form the largest minority in the country, and in 2010 they constituted over 16 percent of the total U.S. population (50.5 million). The almost 1.8 million Cubans comprised 3.5 percent of Hispanics/Latinos, while Dominicans were at 2.8 percent (1.4 million). As for their areas of residence, both groups are highly concentrated: Cubans in the south (mainly in Florida), Dominicans in the northeast (mainly in New York). Most Puerto Ricans live in the northeast (mainly in New York, where the famous Spanish Harlem—also known as El Barrio—is located), and in the south (mainly in Florida).

In 2010 people who reported West Indian ancestry (except Hispanic groups) accounted for around 2.6 million. Jamaicans form the largest non-Hispanic Caribbean population, and their community is growing relatively quickly (965,000 in 2010 as compared to 435,000 in 1990). Trinidadians and Tobagonians are the second-largest group from the English-speaking Caribbean (197,000 in 2010). Generally, most West Indians have migrated to eastern states (mainly New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Florida). Brooklyn, New York, has the largest Afro-West Indian community in the United States, while Richmond Hill (Queens), New York, is the main community of Indo-West Indians.

Although Haitian remains a relatively small ancestry group, it almost doubled in size in 1990–2000. According to the American Community Survey, in 2010 it reached 881,000 people, two-thirds of whom lived in Florida and New York. Other French-speaking islands such as Martinique or Guadeloupe send few immigrants. The

Dutch West Indian origin community is also relatively small.

Immigration to the United States

Large-scale immigration from the Caribbean is a recent phenomenon. The primary motivations for migration have been economic opportunity (Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans, and West Indians), political reasons (Cubans, Dominicans, and Haitians), and family reunification. The time periods and the intensity of the 20th-century immigration have been influenced by a number of factors.

One of the key factors was U.S. immigration laws and policies. For example, because Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, their migration to the United States mainland has not been restricted, and the first significant wave (600,000) arrived from the mid-1940s until the mid-1960s. However, the 1920s immigration quotas, which applied to the European colonies in the Western Hemisphere, affected immigration from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago (both gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1962 but remain members of the commonwealth), and other colonies in the West Indies. Since 1965, when the quota system was abolished, immigration from the Caribbean has increased significantly; it also been aided by the preference system for relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents. The 1920s' quotas did not apply to independent nations in the Western Hemisphere. As a matter of fact, because of geographical proximity and economic links, in 1921–1930 at least 16,000 Cubans immigrated to the United States for either economic or political reasons, while in the 1940s and 1950s the total number climbed to over 100,000.

Dominican migration abroad was severely restricted under the regime of Rafael Trujillo (1930–61). A larger-scale migration started after his assassination in 1961, yet most Dominicans came to the United States after 1980. On the whole, in 1961–2001 the immigrants from the Dominican Republic comprised the most numerous group of arrivals from the Caribbean (over 850,000), with the exception of Puerto Ricans.

As for refugees, American policy toward Cubans was generally favorable until 1994, when the Clinton administration adopted the so-called dry foot–wet foot policy. The first two waves

following the revolution of 1959 were largely members of elites, the upper and upper-middle classes (1959–62), and family members of U.S. citizens and residents (1965–73). They were generally well received. The 1961 Cuban Refugee Program helped them accommodate to their new place of residence, and the 1966 Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act made it possible to apply for permanent resident status. In 1960–62 the United States also received over 14,000 unaccompanied Cuban children who entered the country under Operation Pedro Pan to escape political indoctrination and military service. The 125,000 people of the 1980 Mariel boatlift (from the lower classes, often of mixed racial characteristics, and including criminals and the mentally ill) were received with more reserve. Along with the arriving Haitians, they were categorized as entrant (status pending) but soon could regularize their status. The fourth wave, which came in the early 1990s and was known as the boat people, finally led to a change in the American policy toward Cuban immigrants.

As opposed to Cubans, Haitian boat people were discriminated against by subsequent U.S. administrations and had to struggle to receive permanent legal status. Since Haitians were not fleeing a Communist country, they were considered economic migrants rather than political refugees and, thus, were returned to Haiti. Eligible Haitians and Cubans could apply for an adjustment to permanent resident status under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. However, the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central Americans Relief Act of 1997 did not include Haitians among the undocumented eligible for permanent status. It was not until 1998 and enactment of the Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act that eligible Haitian refugees were given the opportunity to apply for lawful permanent residence status.

Acculturation

Generally, English-speaking Caribbean people benefit from the cultural and linguistic similarities between their countries of origin and the United States; therefore their acculturation and assimilation into American society is considered to be easier than that of Spanish- and French-speaking immigrants. Until recently, Jamaicans were

considered a model minority, while West Indian immigrants (an example of a brain drain) were often professionals, skilled workers, or clerks, some of whom graduated from colleges and universities in Canada, the United Kingdom, or the United States. Yet these communities have also faced some problems. Today, Jamaicans are likely to be seen as drug traffickers, whereas some Afro-West Indians, particularly in New York City, may be involved in the illegal numbers lottery, as well as the drug trade. Among the non-English-speaking communities, the Cuban is probably the most exceptional, largely because of its immigration history and development. Cubans are generally viewed as a successful group, with an important ethnic enclave in Miami.

Race and racial discrimination may pose a serious problem for some Caribbean Americans like Dominicans in their assimilation into American society. Still, it is Haitians who experience probably the most severe obstacles. Apart from racial discrimination, they often face other forms of prejudice, like being seen as HIV carriers. Young Haitians, especially those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, may reject Haitian identity. Many are often ambivalent about their roots and their language, *krèyol* (Haitian Creole).

Cultural, Ethnic, and Racial Origin

The basic reason for the cultural (and linguistic) diversity among Caribbean groups is the colonial cultural heritage. Many Caribbean islands passed through the hands of various colonial powers and often had a turbulent history. However, other groups also had their impact on Caribbean societies and cultures. The racial profile of many islands was shaped by large contingents of black African slaves, who in many cases quickly outnumbered the white colonists. Many islands also became home to immigrants from different parts of the world, whose contribution to their cultural, social, and religious life was often substantial. Cuba, for example, both before and after the Spanish-American War, attracted many immigrants from Europe, especially from Spain. It also drew immigrants from other regions like China, becoming the fourth country in Latin America, along with Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, to have received the largest numbers of newcomers at the turn of the 20th

century. Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, on the other hand, welcomed, in the postslavery era, thousands of Asian-Indian indentured workers to substitute for the freed black slaves. These immigrants significantly changed the racial and cultural structure of Trinidad and Tobago to the extent that today about 40 percent of its population report Asian Indian ancestry.

Caribbean Americans therefore manifest diverse racial characteristics. According to the 2010 U.S. census data, an overwhelming majority of Cubans (85 percent) and slightly over 50 percent of Puerto Ricans report as white. The Dominican community is more racially diverse: only one in three reports as white and almost one-half as some other race. Dominicans and Puerto Ricans are much more likely than other Hispanics/Latinos to report as black; however, the proportion in either group is relatively small (approximately one in 10). Because of their racial characteristics, Afro Hispanics are sometimes perceived as a possible bridge to a Hispanic–black alliance. The racial profile of the French- and English-speaking Caribbean is different, with the predominant race being black or mulatto.

Language

The general division of the Caribbean into four major European language areas (Spanish, English, French, and Dutch) does not fully reflect the linguistic diversity of the region. The Caribbean islands are also home to a number of dialects and Creole languages based on the languages of the colonizers (for example, *papiamentu*, *patois*), which are also brought to the United States by the arriving immigrants. Many of the Haitians, for example, speak (only) *kreyól*, while the Jamaicans are likely to use a kind of English *patois*, which may obstruct understanding.

Spanish-speaking communities in the United States manifest strong language vitality. The U.S. Census Bureau data show that in 2010 as many as 92 percent of Dominicans and 82 percent of Cubans (as well as 66 percent of Puerto Ricans) spoke a language other than English at home, compared to 20 percent of the total population. However, slightly over a majority in both groups (as well as more than eight in 10 Puerto Ricans) report speaking English proficiently. Many Hispanic/Latino-origin Americans use Spanglish.

The proportion of Haitians who spoke another language at home is also high (81 percent). In this community, language choice itself (Creole or French) reflects class divisions. *Kreyól* is associated with the lower classes, French with the upper and middle classes.

Religion

Although Christianity traditionally plays an important role in the Caribbean American community, a considerable number of Spanish-speaking immigrants (especially from Cuba) may also practice *santería* (a syncretic Afro-Christian religious cult). A large group of Haitians, in addition to being devout Christians, may practice *vodun* (voodoo). Because of the religious diversity of the Caribbean, the immigrants also bring other religions, such as Islam, various syncretic cults, or Rastafarianism, though the latter is relatively rarely practiced in the United States. Also, some of the Hindus in the United States have come from the Caribbean, especially Trinidad.

Social and Political Life

Many Caribbean Americans have made significant contributions through writing, thought, or action to the civil rights movement in the United States and the development of the black identity.

As early as 1896, Homer Plessy, of Haitian origin, was a litigant in the United States Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which unsuccessfully challenged racial discrimination. The New Orleans organization that was responsible for bringing the suit was also largely Haitian American.

Also of Caribbean origin were two notable Pan-Africanists at the beginning of the 20th century. Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican, was the founder and leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and promoted the back-to-Africa movement among black Americans. W. E. B. Du Bois, of Haitian origin, was a historian, sociologist, novelist, editor, civil rights activist, and a cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He is sometimes credited as the father of Pan-Africanism.

Arturo Alfonso Schomburg (Puerto Rico) was a historian, archivist, and bibliophile, who collected many books and other materials on black

history and culture. He also was a prominent figure in the Harlem Renaissance.

In the 1960s, Stokely Carmichael (Trinidad) was one of the influential leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a chief architect and spokesperson for the black power ideology and later the prime minister of the Black Panther Party. Carmichael also co-authored the book *Black Power* (1967) with Charles V. Hamilton; the concept of institutional racism was introduced in the book. Another important figure for the African American community was Malcolm X, whose mother was born in Grenada. In the 1960s many Puerto Ricans were involved in the student movements, while the Puerto Rican (Boricua) Movement became, similarly to the Chicano Movement, an expression of the group's identity and its struggle for dignity and civil rights reforms.

Also of Caribbean origin was Shirley Chisholm (Barbados), who became the first African American congresswoman (1969) and the first African American woman candidate for president (1972).

Today Caribbean Americans are also active in American social and political life; for example, Colin Powell (Jamaica) was the first African American to serve as secretary of state (2001–05), and Sonia Sotomayor (Puerto Rico) was the first Hispanic and the third female justice on the U.S. Supreme Court (in office since 2009).

Music, Art, Cinema, and Other Fields

Generations of Caribbean Americans have made their impact on American art, for example, the Cuban Ana Mendieta (who was among the children brought in during Operation Pedro Pan) or avant-garde Puerto Rican artists Rafael Ferrer and Raphael Montañez Ortiz. The latter was also active in the Puerto Rican movement and cofounded the Museo del Barrio in Spanish Harlem (1969). No less important is the contribution of Caribbean writers and poets, such as the Nuyorican Poets Café or Oscar Hijuelos (Cuba), who won a Pulitzer Prize for *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love* (1989), the first Latino to do so.

Such genres of music or forms of dance as, for example, mambo, bachata, merengue, or reggae were introduced to the American audience by Caribbean Americans, while Trinidadian Carnivals take place in such cities as, for example,

New York; Miami, Florida; Boston, Massachusetts; Baltimore, Maryland; and Washington, D.C. Jelly Roll Morton, of Haitian origin, and Puerto Rican Juan Tizol, as well as other musicians (also Cubans like Chano Pozo) contributed to the development of jazz. In the 1960s, Cuban and Puerto Rican migrants in New York City pioneered salsa (performed by such stars as Celia Cruz and Tito Puente), whereas in the early 1970s Caribbean people vastly contributed to the birth of the hip-hop culture in the Bronx (most importantly, the Jamaican-born DJ Kool Herc). Rap music, an element of hip-hop culture, was strongly influenced by Jamaican dub. A recent contribution to American musical life is the Puerto Rico-born reggaetón, which has gained much popularity among younger generations of not only Latino origin.

Other famous musicians and singers of Caribbean origin in the United States include Grammy winners Gloria Estefan (Cuba), Ricky Martin and Marc Anthony (Puerto Rico), Wyclef Jean (Haiti), and Jennifer Lopez (Puerto Rico).

Cubans and Puerto Ricans have played a role in the development of American Hispanic/Latino cinema. Filmmakers like Orlando Jiménez Leal and León Ichaso often focus on themes directly related to the group. Thus, for example, depending on the generation, Cuban filmmakers frequently work with the issues of the revolution, the traumas of exile, the lost home, assimilation, or ethnic identity.

The first African American actor to receive the Academy Award for Best Actor in a leading role was Sidney Poitier (Bahamas). Many other leading actors are also of Caribbean origin. To mention just a few, there are other Oscar winners like José Ferrer, Rita Moreno, and Benicio del Toro (all of Puerto Rican origin) and Mercedes Ruehl (of Cuban origin), and nominee Andy García (Cuba). As for fashion, Oscar de la Renta, a world-renowned fashion designer, is of Dominican origin.

Many Caribbean Americans have achieved fame through their prowess in sports; these include José Canseco (baseball, Cuba), Sammy Sosa (baseball, Dominican Republic), and Chi Chi Rodríguez (golf, Puerto Rico).

Citizenship

Since many Caribbean countries like the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago allow dual citizenship, some of the Caribbean

communities in the United States have benefited from this possibility and are more willing to naturalize. The U.S. Census Bureau data indicate, for example, that the proportion of naturalized U.S. citizens among Dominicans doubled in the last decade (from 25 percent in 2000 to almost 50 percent in 2010). Compared to Dominicans, Cubans, whose immigration history and relations with the United States have been very distinct, have experienced a smaller growth and rank at 56 percent (compared to 41 percent in 2000). Dual citizenship allows the immigrants embrace the new national identity, as well as enjoy the benefits of U.S. citizenship, without the need to break bonds with their country of origin. Also, thanks to the possibility of frequent travel back and forth as well as economic/business ties, some groups like Dominicans and Jamaicans have developed into important transnational communities. Dominican immigrants are also often engaged in home-country politics and may even have some influence on the political life at home.

It is interesting to note that race may have an impact on attitudes toward naturalization. Afro-West Indians, for example, are more reluctant to naturalize because of their experience of racism, whereas Indo-West Indians, who are generally viewed favorably, are more willing to become U.S. citizens.

Education, Economic Status, and Political Participation

Particular Caribbean American communities show considerable differences in terms of educational attainment. As far as Hispanic Caribbean Americans are concerned, for example, the American Community Survey data on education for 2006 to 2010 reveal that the proportion of Cubans with a bachelor's degree or higher (25 percent) was nearly as high as the average American (28 percent). Dominicans and Puerto Ricans ranked at about 15 percent. However, all three groups showed progress compared to 2000. As for the foreign-born population, the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau data on education show that fewer Caribbean people held a bachelor's degree (less than 20 percent) than an average foreign-born (27 percent).

Specific national groups may form ethnic niches in some sectors or small businesses. In New

York City, for example, Dominicans run bodegas (grocery stores), while many Haitians are taxi-cab owners and drivers. Jamaican women in the United States often work in health care (especially as nurses). Especially in New York, West Indians are to be found among the professional occupations such as lawyers, physicians, managers, or business people.

Some Caribbean groups have made notable advances in terms of their participation in the political life of the United States. Haitians have recently been elected to office in south Florida, and Dominicans and West Indians, for example, to the New York City Council. Because of their high geographical concentration, as of 2012, Cubans make up as much as 32 percent of eligible Latino voters in Florida (and only 5 percent nationwide).

Caribbean Americans form a relatively small multiethnic and multiracial community that has, however, had an important impact on American society and culture.

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See Also: Cuban Americans; Dominican Americans; Haitian Americans; Hispanic Americans; Jamaican Americans; Latinos; Nuyoricans; Puerto Ricans; Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans; West Indian Americans.

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Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Carlisle Indian Industrial School was a boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, established in 1879 to assimilate Native American children into the larger American society. Richard Pratt, the founder of Carlisle, believed that through education Native Americans could be taught to shed their supposedly inferior cultural heritage in order to adopt the supposedly superior cultural heritage of the Anglo-American population. Carlisle would later serve as a template for the creation of other boarding schools in the western United States established for the same purpose.

Pratt's vision for Indian education began during his career as an officer in the U.S. military, when he was put in charge of the transportation and detention of Native American prisoners of war captured in one of the army's western campaigns. Pratt experimented with teaching the prisoners English, as well as other skills, and was encouraged by their progress. In working with these prisoners, Pratt came to believe that education could provide the ultimate solution to the United States' "Indian problem," or what the country should do with its Native American population. Scientific theory at the time suggested that all cultures existed along a ladder, and that cultural groups must either advance up the ladder toward civilization or eventually become extinct. Pratt, and others like him, believed that Indians had to be forcefully advanced up the ladder quickly or risk being lost forever. He was convinced that education could assimilate Indian children into American society, then return them to their home communities to do the same for the other members of their tribes.

After briefly experimenting with educating Native American children at Hampton Institute (a school designed primarily for African American students), Pratt received permission to open a school of his own at some unused army barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Pratt recruited students from tribal communities all over the United States. Students attended Carlisle for a minimum of five years, completely isolated from their home communities. Cut off from the influences of home, students endured nothing less than an attempt at complete assimilation. In fact, a student's first experience at Carlisle was often a western-style haircut and the assignment of a military-like school uniform. They also received new English names, which school personnel used exclusively. Some scholars have referred to this acculturation process as a sort of cultural genocide. Indeed, Pratt's own motto was, "Kill the Indian, Save the Man."

Students spent half the day in the classroom and half in industrial training. Classroom instruction was conducted completely in English, and any use of students' native languages was strictly prohibited. During industrial training, students learned any of a variety of trades and skills from carpentry, harness-making, tailoring, blacksmithing, or other vocations for boys, to domestic science training for the girls. Though some students found uses for their industrial training after attending the school, most did not. Many of their specialized skills made no sense in the reservation life to which they returned, and very few students integrated successfully into the larger American workforce in ways that utilized their training.

But children were not exposed to American society and culture only through their classroom and industrial training. The most important aspect of a Carlisle education in Pratt's mind was the outing program that sent students to live with nearby American families during the summer. The outing program served as a sort of double apprenticeship—students honed their industrial trades with their host families, but also honed their understanding of American society and culture by living with them for several months at a time. Finally, Carlisle students, especially male students, gained exposure to American society and culture through participation in sports. Carlisle sports teams played teams from nearby schools and even

universities, competing with distinction. In fact, the talent of the football team garnered national recognition, with individuals such as Pop Warner and Jim Thorpe becoming household names.

Life at Carlisle was difficult for many students. For the most part, school personnel genuinely cared about the students under their care. However, in their ethnocentricity, they believed the best thing they could do for their students was to destroy every aspect of their Indian-ness. In addition, students faced frequent malnutrition, sometimes widespread illness, and severe punishment for running away. Some students never returned home, forever buried in the graveyard that still exists on the old Carlisle campus.

Those students who did return home often had a difficult time adjusting to life among their own people again, a fact that eventually caused reformers and government officials to question

the effectiveness of Pratt's educational model. Pratt's constant complaints about underfunding and lack of resources, combined with growing realizations about the ineffectiveness of his model to fully assimilate Indian children, caused him to lose favor with the same crowd of reformers and officials that had made him a bit of a national celebrity. Eventually, Pratt resigned as superintendent of the Carlisle Indian school in 1904, and the school closed in 1919.

Carlisle's legacy continued, however, in the several dozen off-reservation boarding schools built in the trans-Mississippi west, with Carlisle as their model. Though Carlisle closed after only 40 years of existence, similar boarding schools continued to function well into the latter part of the 20th century, though with changes to their educational philosophy. In fact, some of these schools are now owned by Native American tribes who



These Indian students were learning printing in the printing shop at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, sometime in the early 1910s. They typically spent half their day in a classroom and half their day learning trades. The students were also made to cut their hair and wear uniforms in an attempt to rid them of their Native American cultural heritage.

use the institutions to educate their own children, as well as the children of other tribes.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Indian Boarding Schools; Native Americans.

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Carmen Jones

Carmen Jones is a 1943 reinterpretation of Georges Bizet's opera *Carmen*. Librettist Oscar Hammerstein II adapted the opera for the musical theater and reset it in an African American community during World War II. After a successful run on Broadway, it was made into a film in 1954. In the title role, Dorothy Dandridge was nominated for the Academy Award for Best Actress, the first African American to be so honored. The 1991 West End production won numerous awards, including the Laurence Olivier Award for Best New Musical.

Reinterpreting a Classic

Hammerstein, who had written, produced, or directed more than 30 Broadway productions, including *Oklahoma!*, *Show Boat*, *The New Moon*, and *Very Warm for May*, had been interested in adapting *Carmen* to an African American context since the 1930s. Like his previous work on *Show Boat*, Hammerstein had intended for the musical to present African Americans in a sympathetic light, which was uncommon on Broadway at the time. Hammerstein, working with

orchestrator Robert Russell Bennett, made few alterations to Bizet's score. Although some classical music purists decried the jettisoning of recitative in favor of spoken dialogue, Hammerstein noted that most of that music was composed by Ernest Guiraud after Bizet's death; he argued that his version adhered to Bizet's original intentions. In addition, he remained faithful to the general outline and themes of Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy's original libretto, and the 1845 Prosper Mérimée novella that inspired it.

Carmen Jones tells the tragic story of its eponymous character, a parachute-maker at an army-run factory in a small North Carolina town. When she scuffles with a coworker, the sergeant orders a young corporal named Joe to escort her to the appropriate authorities in a neighboring town. On the trip, Carmen makes several attempts to seduce Joe. However, due to his engagement to his longtime girlfriend, Cindy Lou, he initially rebuffs Carmen's advances. When Joe finally succumbs to her charms, Carmen uses the opportunity to escape, which results in his being disciplined by the army.

Carmen later encounters a prizefighter named Husky Miller, who takes a liking to her. Her close friends, Frankie and Myrt, attempt to convince Carmen to join them in Chicago to watch Husky box. She does head to Chicago, but is accompanied by Joe, who recently has created more trouble for himself by striking his sergeant. After she tires of hiding out from the military police with Joe, she starts dating Husky, who lavishes her with gifts and money. Cindy Lou finds Joe in Chicago and implores him to return to her. He spurns her in favor of Carmen, who, in turn, rejects Joe for Husky. Devastated by her refusal, Joe stabs Carmen.

Because *Carmen Jones* required a full company of black actors with the classical training to sing Bizet's score, the show was considered a risky investment; finding a producer proved difficult. Eventually, Billy Rose signed on to produce, and enlisted talent scout and civil rights advocate John H. Hammond to assist with the casting. Most of the performers cast were not professional singers: Muriel Smith, who played Carmen, had been a salesclerk; Luther Saxon, who played Joe, worked in a shipyard; and Glenn Bryant, who played Husky, was a police officer. The original



Dorothy Dandridge became the first African American to be nominated for an Academy Award for Best Actress. This Hollywood gazebo honors multiethnic actresses, including Dandridge, Dolores del Rio, Anna May Wong, and Mae West.

production, which opened on December 2, 1943, played 502 performances at the Broadway Theatre. While the reviews were uniformly strong, some in the black community lamented what were perceived as the musical's negative representations of African Americans as promiscuous, violent, irresponsible, and materialistic.

Other Adaptations

In spite of being underwhelmed by the original Broadway production, director Otto Preminger secured the film rights in 1953. At the suggestion of the head of 20th Century Fox, Preminger

asked National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leader Walter White to review the script for objectionable material prior to the start of filming. Preminger's cast was comprised largely of actors with little professional experience at the time, including Harry Belafonte, Diahann Carroll, Pearl Bailey, Brock Peters, Olga James, Max Roach, and Dorothy Dandridge in the title role. Although most were singers, their voices were deemed inappropriate for the operatic score, and they were dubbed by studio singers. The reviews were mixed; there was praise for the actors, but many critics noted an incongruity in having the operatic score performed in the contemporary context. Despite this criticism, the film won the 1954 Golden Globe for Best Motion Picture—Musical or Comedy, and Dandridge was nominated for the Academy Award for Best Actress.

African American mezzo-soprano Grace Bumbry recorded the title role with a studio cast of British performers in 1962. Later in the decade, Bumbry would find great success playing the lead in *Carmen* with several prominent opera companies. As of 2012, *Carmen Jones* has been produced twice in the West End. The 1991 production starred Wilhelmenia Fernandez, Damon Evans, Gregg Baker, and Sharon Benson. A second production in 2007 reset the action in Cuba and featured Sherry Boone, Tsakane Valentine Maswaganyi, Andrew Clarke, and Rodney Clarke.

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See Also: Academy Awards; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Opera and Ethnic Diversity; *Show Boat*.

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Carpatho-Rusyn Americans

Carpatho-Rusyn Americans are Americans whose ancestors called Carpathian Rus their homeland. Carpathian Rus is not a sovereign nation but a region in the Carpathian Mountains near Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland. Although they are a distinct people, because they are stateless in a region in which borders change frequently, Carpatho-Rusyns have found themselves a minority in many different countries.

Immigration and History

As people without their own country, Carpatho-Rusyns have faced an ongoing battle for recognition and self-rule that was variably successful, depending on the larger political scene around them. They have called themselves “Rusyns” or “Rusnaks” traditionally, but the different ruling states they have lived under have called them many other names. This variability has also meant it is nearly impossible to know how many Carpatho-Rusyns there actually are in Europe with any accuracy, but best estimates indicate that there are probably 800,000 to one million.

Carpatho-Rusyn immigration to the United States started in the late 1870s and 1880s, and by the start of World War I, around 225,000 had arrived. This first wave of immigration was the largest influx of Carpatho-Rusyn and only approximately 30,000 have come since that time. It is difficult to ascertain their numbers because upon immigrating to the United States, Carpatho-Rusyn Americans tended to identify with whatever host country their family group came from rather than as Carpatho-Rusyn Americans.

At the time most Carpatho-Rusyn came to America, they were coming from small mountain villages and were used to engaging in agriculture, grazing livestock, and seasonal labor for other, more dominant groups. This was difficult to duplicate in the United States, however, and most Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants settled in the north-eastern and north central coal-mining areas, as well as urban areas in that region. In 1920, almost 80 percent of Carpatho-Rusyn Americans lived in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, and this trend mostly stayed in place. Carpatho-Rusyn

Americans never faced discrimination specific to their actual ethnic identity, although they were initially combined with laborers of eastern European origin. In essence this makes them an unrecognized ethnic minority.

Acculturation and Assimilation

Carpatho-Rusyn Americans assimilated into American society in three phases. Between 1880 and 1925 Carpatho-Rusyn Americans were culturally, socially, and linguistically isolated in the United States. Of course, they lacked proficiency in English, and when they immigrated, they were Byzantine Rite Catholics, also known as Greek Catholics (a church that didn't exist in the United States at that time). Greek Catholicism was extremely important in the day-to-day lives of Carpatho-Rusyns so this was a major loss for Carpatho-Rusyn Americans. Therefore, Carpatho-Rusyn Americans began their own churches and social/fraternal organizations to help provide financial and other support to community members. These organizations provided services that included schooling in the Carpatho-Rusyn language. So, as a result, in this first phase of acculturation the major trend was preservation of the traditional ways as much as circumstances allowed.

The next phase spanned 1925 to 1975 and during this time second-generation Carpatho-Rusyn Americans rejected traditional customs more and more. Youth groups that used English were started in the Carpatho-Rusyn American community and sports clubs that were most popular in the community were devoted to American sports. By the 1950s community media were nearly all English-language. Carpatho-Rusyn Americans made active efforts to assimilate and even the Byzantine Rite Catholic churches in the community rejected rituals that differed from the Roman Catholic Church. This was further supported by the European situation; the Iron Curtain effectively prevented much contact or travel between Carpatho-Rusyn Americans and Carpatho-Rusyns.

The third phase of Carpatho-Rusyn American life began in 1975 and lasts today. In this period the third generation of Carpatho-Rusyn Americans has tried to get back to their roots and engaged in ethnic recovery as did so many starting in the

1970s. The fall of communism opened up the homeland for travel and maintenance of social ties.

Family and Community Dynamics

In Europe, Carpatho-Rusyns had large families and agricultural homesteads. Arranged marriage was common but was abandoned by Carpatho-Rusyn Americans. Self-reliance was a valued concept and governmental assistance was shunned until the 1970s, when the industrial landscape changed enough that assistance was often needed by so many. Women have always been active in Carpatho-Rusyn American culture and maintained their own social and sports clubs. However, only since the 1960s have Carpatho-Rusyn American women been encouraged to seek education and pursue careers.

Carpatho-Rusyn Americans who came to the United States before World War I primarily worked in mining and the northeastern steel industry. Women were generally required to work outside the home because of economic need; at first Carpatho-Rusyn American women were limited to working as cleaners in offices or as in-home servants. Second-generation Carpatho-Rusyn American women were more likely to work in retail, manufacturing, or service-industry positions while their male counterparts worked as skilled and semiskilled workers. By the next generations, Carpatho-Rusyn Americans had moved somewhat to management and semiprofessional jobs.

Politics and Public Life

At least until World War I, Carpatho-Rusyns in Europe had no meaningful role in politics. As stateless minorities, they were ruled over and did not take part in work of government. Therefore, Carpatho-Rusyn Americans have rarely become elected officials in the United States.

In contrast, Carpatho-Rusyn Americans played in active role in European politics toward the close of World War I as they proposed locations for their homelands; eventually, it was in fact the Carpatho-Rusyn American suggestion of Czechoslovakia that was adopted at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Carpatho-Rusyn Americans also became active in the World Congress of Rusyns in 1991.

Undoubtedly, Andy Warhol was the most famous Carpatho-Rusyn American. His older

brothers, John and Paul Warhola, were instrumental in promoting the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage of Andy and his family after his death; that heritage is prominently featured in the Warhol Foundation and Pittsburgh's new Andy Warhol Museum. The Warhol Foundation also provided money and paintings for the Warhola Family Museum of Modern Art in Slovakia just miles from the birthplace of Andy Warhol's parents. Sandra Dee, the good girl of 1950s and 1960s movies, was also Carpatho-Rusyn American.

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See Also: Ethnicity; Identity Development; Polish Americans; Slovak Americans; Ukrainian Americans.

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Cart War

During the 1850s, the road that led westward from Indianola, a port city, to San Antonio and beyond to Chihuahua, Mexico, was heavily traveled by freight haulers transporting goods into the interior of Texas and Mexico. The Old Cart Road, so named for the ox carts the drivers used, became the setting for large-scale violence known as the Cart War. In July 1857, Anglo teamsters, angered by what they believed was unfair competition, attacked Mexican and Tejano (Texans of Mexican descent) carters, destroying carts and wounding or killing drivers. Hostilities continued until protests from the Mexican government to Lewis Cass, U.S. secretary of state, resulted in federal pressure on Texas to protect the Mexican carters. Texas appropriated funds for a special militia, and armed escorts ended the attacks by December 1857.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo marked the official end to the Mexican-American War in 1848, but isolated outbreaks of ethnic and racial hostilities between Mexicans and Texans continued. The hostilities were exacerbated by white anger over Mexican sympathy for slaves and by the rise of the Know-Nothings in Texas politics. Officially known as the Native American Party, the Know-Nothings were committed to stopping the influence of persons of foreign birth in economic and political affairs of the United States. Although the party emerged first in the east in 1853 in response to the influx of Catholics from Ireland and Germany in the 1840s and 1850s, by 1855, the Know-Nothings were challenging the Democrats in Texas, winning elections in Austin and Galveston.

Heightened racial tensions ignited Anglo teamsters' anger. Moving freight from Mexico and the Texas coast was a lucrative business in 1857. One expert estimates the total at \$2 million. One San Antonio newspaper credited the Tejano cart men, most of them with 10 to 12 teams of mules, with hauling double the freight in half the time at half the price charged by their Anglo, mostly German, competition, who were using five to six teams of oxen. One cart driver from Karnes County placed the number of carts owned by the Mexicans at 2,000. Hundreds of carts were traveling the route on any given day.

An early attack on Mexican carters occurred that same year near Seguin, but it was two years later when sustained violence began. Goliad was one site where masked gangs of Texans attacked the Mexican and Tejano cart men, destroying their carts and hanging some of the drivers from the town's hanging tree. Some accounts place the number of deaths as high as 75, although 21st-century historians question the accuracy of so high a number. Regardless of numbers, town authorities responded to the attacks with indifference. Karnes County was another chief site of the attacks. In a public meeting held in the county seat on December 4, 1857, the citizens of the county adopted a resolution that described the Mexican *carreteros* as an "intolerable nuisance" and charged the citizens of San Antonio to hire only Texans. Residents of Goliad and Karnes wrote letters to editors of local newspapers and to local and state leaders expressing their anger and prejudice.

Response

Not all Texans agreed with these attitudes. Political leaders, businessmen, and private citizens in San Antonio, for example, called on state government to protect the constitutional rights of Tejanos. Some calls for an end to the violence were more pragmatic, expressing concerns about disruptions to the flow of goods and higher prices and fears that the violence could spread to affect other groups not part of the white, Protestant mainstream. Even humanitarian pleas, however, reveal racism, as in a Corpus Christi newspaper that declared Mexicans deserving of the protection of civil authorities despite their low intelligence. Opposition to the attacks gained strength when Antonio Delgado, a San Antonio citizen who had fought for the United States at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, against the Spanish at the Battle of Medina, and in the Texas Revolution in 1835 and 1836, was gunned down.

Goliad residents, fearful that the state would revoke the county's charter because of the violence occurring within its borders, lynched several of the cart cutters from the same tree that had served to lynch carters earlier. Sentiments within the county toward the Mexican drivers remained unchanged, but the need to set priorities resulted in a change in action.

When news of the violence reached Mexico, the Mexican government responded quickly. On October 14, 1857, Manuel Robles y Pezuela, the Mexican minister in Washington, delivered Mexico's official protest to Secretary Cass. In turn, on November 11, Cass approached Texas governor, Elisha M. Pease, with the federal government's mandate that hostilities end. On November 30, Pease declared to the Texas state legislature that the endangerment of citizens "of Mexican origin" along the Old Cart Road made necessary special appropriations for a militia to stop the attacks.

Although not all Texans were pleased with armed escorts for Tejano carters, the legislature approved the funds within 72 hours with minimal opposition. The lynching of an unknown number of attackers in Goliad and the arrival of Pease's special militia of 75 Texas Rangers to act as escorts for the carts ended the Cart War in December 1857. The ethnic conflicts were not ended so easily. Some insist that they echo in the

21st century in continuing debates within the state over immigration policy.

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See Also: Anglos; Mexican Americans; Tejanos.

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Caucasians

Through multiple analyses of mitochondrial and nuclear DNA, as well as specific alleles and other polymorphic traits, biological anthropologists and geneticists have shown that biologically distinct racial groups or subspecies do not exist within the human species, *Homo sapiens*. Instead, racial categories are arbitrary, socially constructed, and culturally defined labels that vary between societies and have shifted in their terminologies and classification schemes over time. No clear-cut scientific consensus has ever delineated a precise number of human races, with some early-20th-century scholars and social observers proposing the existence of three races (Caucasoid, Negroid, Mongoloid), while others argued for the existence of five, nine, or several dozen racial groups.

The highly subjective nature of racial taxonomy, which is influenced by the establishment of arbitrary standards as racial boundaries, renders impossible any objective attempt of human racial classification. From the late 18th to the mid-20th century, racial theorists known as "lumpers" have proposed racial typologies consisting of a relatively small number of human races based largely along continental lines (European, African, Asian,

American Indian, etc), while "splitters" have simultaneously put forth more elaborate racial classification models that subdivided major continents into more specific, regional racial groupings (e.g., northern Europeans, central Europeans, southern Europeans).

Although human biological variation is real, attempts to pigeonhole such tremendous physical and genetic variation into a finite number of human categories is not. This is because much human phenotypic and genetic variation is continuous, or clinal, in nature and occurs over a series of gradations between neighboring indigenous populations, rather than manifesting itself in a few distinct, discrete types. As one such example, human skin color does not occur in just five, 15, or even 55 different shades. Rather, the range of human skin color, as a continuous trait, constitutes a spectrum from very light to very dark, with every possible hue, shade, and tone in between manifesting itself among various members of the species. Central Africans generally have darker skin pigmentation than north Africans, who in turn are generally darker than southern Europeans. Southern Europeans tend to be slightly darker than northern Europeans. In addition to skin color, other physical traits such as hair color, hair texture, height, nose shape, and eye color are also clinal traits.

Furthermore, genetic research reveals that of the total amount of genetic diversity found within the human species, approximately 88 to 92 percent exists *within* any continental region (Europe, Africa, Asia, etc.). Only 8 to 12 percent of the total amount of human genetic diversity is found *between* these continental regions that are often assumed to be the homelands of distinct racial groups. As such, significantly more genetic diversity is found within presumed racial groups than between such groups. In order for race to hold biological significance, the opposite must be true—more genetic discrepancies must exist between groups than within. Nevertheless, the belief in biological races remains a powerful idea in the United States, and issues of race constitute some of the most vexing and emotional social and political topics in the nation.

Demographics

Ever since the administration of the first census in 1790, whites have constituted the largest

racial group in American society. The term *Caucasian* is purely a social label, rather than a political or legal label, and the U.S. government does not classify or identify persons as “Caucasians.” Instead, the federal government uses the label *white* for official demographic record-keeping purposes; the government defines a white person as “a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, north Africa, and the Middle East.” Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Directive 15, implemented in 1977, established the official racial category “White” and the above definition.

Many Americans express surprise upon learning that the government officially classifies north Africans and Middle Easterners as white, thus illustrating that political and legal definitions of race do not necessarily correspond with popular social perceptions of race.

The 2010 census counted a total white population of 223,553,265 out of a total national population of 308,745,538. Whites account for 72.4 percent of the U.S. population. This statistic may appear to be misleading, however, due to the fact that the U.S. Census Bureau counts two ethnic categories of whites—Hispanic and non-Hispanic. Because Hispanics are officially considered an ethnic (rather than racial) group under OMB Directive 15, Hispanic persons are able to also identify their race as “white.” Fifty-three percent of Hispanic respondents selected “white” as their race in 2010.

Because so many Americans erroneously assume that Hispanics or Latinos are a distinct “racial” group separate from whites, the non-Hispanic white population count may provide a more realistic count of the nation’s white population, with regard to the popular social concept of whiteness as commonly understood by most Americans. Non-Hispanic whites accounted for 63.7 percent of the national population in 2010.

Non-Hispanic whites comprise 78.8 percent of the population in the midwest, the highest portion of any region of the country. By contrast, non-Hispanic whites account for 53.2 percent of the population of the western states, the lowest portion in the country. Maine and Vermont have the highest proportions of non-Hispanic white populations at 94.4 percent and 94.3 percent, respectively.

Origins of the Term *Caucasian*

The age of the Columbian Exchange throughout the 16th and 17th centuries exposed Western European explorers to the multiple geographic, floral, faunal, and cultural variations within the Americas, central and southern Africa, and eastern Asia. This period in history corresponds to the early years in the development of biology as a modern science, as well as the Enlightenment-era approach toward positivism and scientific classification of natural phenomena. Within this social matrix, Western rational thinkers contemplated the vast diversity of humanity, both physically and culturally, and attempted to categorize such diversity.

The Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus produced one of the earliest racial taxonomies that attempted to classify human beings into different “varieties” (races) in the 1758 edition of *Systema naturae* (Natural System). Linnaeus defined his varieties according to a combination of alleged physical, cultural, and personality characteristics. While asserting that all humans belonged to a singular species, Linnaeus identified five varieties of humanity: *ferus*, *afer*, *americanus*, *asiaticus*, and *europaeus*. His description of each variety read:

- *Ferus*: Four-footed, mute, hairy.
- *Americanus*: Red, choleric [angry], upright. Hair black, straight, thick; nostrils wide; face harsh; beard scanty; obstinate [stubborn]; content free. Paints himself with fine red lines. Ruled by habit.
- *Europaeus*: White, sanguine [cheerful], muscular. Hair yellow, brown, flowing; eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive. Covered with cloth vestments. Ruled by custom [or law].
- *Asiaticus*: Pale-yellow, melancholy, stiff. Hair black; eyes dark; severe, haughty, covetous. Covered with loose garments. Ruled by belief [or opinions].
- *Afer*: Black, phlegmatic [sluggish], relaxed. Hair black, frazzled; skin silky; nose flat; lips tumid [swollen]; crafty, indolent, negligent. Anoints himself with grease. Ruled by caprice [impulse].

Linnaeus’s taxonomy was highly influential in the social construction of race in the Western

world, and his different varieties reflect the contemporary racial categories used by the U.S. Census Bureau. The late biologist Stephen Jay Gould noted in his classic history of racial science *The Mismeasure of Man* that although Linnaeus's taxonomy invoked ethnocentric descriptions of the various racial groups, this classification system was based strictly on geographic regions rather than a hierarchical ranking of superiority and inferiority.

Gould points out that if Linnaeus attempted to posit Europeans (*europaeus*) as the superior race, he would have listed them first in his typology instead of positioning them below American Indians (*americanus*). Instead, Gould credits the late-18th-century to 19th-century German naturalist Johann F. Blumenbach with devising a hierarchical racial typology that was later invoked to justify white supremacy, as well as with originating the term *Caucasian* in reference to white persons.

Blumenbach coined the term *Caucasian* in the third edition of his influential treatise *De generis humani varietate nativae* (On the Natural Variety of Mankind), published in 1795. Blumenbach's typology consisted of five distinct races of humanity, including Caucasian (white), American (red or American Indian race), Mongolian (yellow or East Asian race), Malay (brown or Pacific Islander race), and Ethiopian (black or African race).

Blumenbach greatly admired Linnaeus, and the influence of Linnaeus's own taxonomy on that of Blumenbach is readily apparent. However, Blumenbach's classification scheme gave rise to the term *Caucasian*, and his 1795 definition of this term ascribes to this category of people two features that in the centuries afterward have been invoked by white supremacists to justify their racist beliefs: the alleged ultimate beauty of Caucasians and their alleged status as the original form of humankind, from which Asiatic and African populations drastically diverged. Blumenbach wrote:

Caucasian variety. I have taken the name of this variety from Mount Caucasus, both because its neighborhood, and especially its southern slope, produces the most beautiful race of men, and because . . . in that region, if anywhere, we ought with the greatest probability to place the autochthones [original forms] of mankind.

The Caucasus Mountains consist of two mountain ranges located between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. The Caucasus region consists of the southernmost points of present-day Russia, Chechnya, Armenia, Georgia, and parts of Turkey and Iran. Although Blumenbach was a committed antiracist and abolitionist who believed in the moral and mental equality of Africans and Europeans, his beauty-based definition of Caucasians and his conjecture that Caucasians were the original humans proved to be one of the most fateful long-term developments in the history of science. Stephen Jay Gould has remarked on Blumenbach's reworking of Linnaeus's racial taxonomy:

The shift from a geographic to a hierarchical ordering of human diversity marks a fateful transition in the history of Western science—for what, short of railroads and nuclear bombs, had more practical impact, in this case almost entirely negative, upon our collective lives and nationalities. Ironically, J. F. Blumenbach is the focus of this shift—for his five-race scheme became canonical, and he changed the geometry of human order from Linnaean cartography to linear ranking by putative worth.

From Ethnic Immigrants to White Americans

The emergence of whiteness as a significant social (as opposed to a biological) identity in American society dates to the 17th century when colonial British aristocrats invoked the idea of a common racial identity to quell any potential class-based insurrections among the propertyless and economically depressed English and other European settler masses. In particular, the ruling elites of the colonial era feared social unity between working-class European settlers and African indentured servants and slaves, as had occurred during Bacon's Rebellion. Since both groups occupied the lowest rungs of the social hierarchy ladder, they each stood to profit from the overthrow of the aristocratic classes throughout the colonies.

The Anglo-Protestant establishment began to promote to lower-class European immigrants an ideology that they were members of a superior and advantaged "white race," distinct from the "uncivilized" and "lesser" American Indian and African "racial" groups. The "one drop rule" of hypodescent that dictated racial classification

ensured that a child born to one black and one white parent was to be classified as black. By the end of the 1600s, marriage between whites and Africans or Indians had been outlawed in most colonies. A series of laws granted special rights and privileges to the newly defined “whites” that were denied to Africans and American Indians, such as the right to own firearms, the right to own livestock, and the right to whip Africans as a means of discipline, even if they did not own them. Gradually, commoners of English, Scottish, Welsh, Scots-Irish, German, and other European backgrounds came to perceive themselves as above Africans and American Indians within the colonial hierarchy, fellow “whites” with political elites, slaveholders, and propertied landowners.

W. E. B. Du Bois has termed this race-based identity among upper-class British aristocrats and lower-class European laborers the “psychological wages of whiteness” to highlight that white racial identity in American society is based on a lack of class consciousness. Bestowing an elite racial status upon the masses who hailed from nonelite class and family backgrounds enabled America’s aristocrats to fracture class consciousness among lower-class whites by substituting psychological wages for financial wages.

Although many Americans today refer to white persons of European ancestry as “Caucasians,” various Catholic and Jewish immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe were not initially accepted as white upon their early years of migration to the United States. Prominent examples include Irish Catholics of the mid-19th century, southern Italians and eastern European Jews of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and Hungarian immigrants during the early 20th century. Each of these groups encountered negative racialization as they entered the United States that manifested in extreme nativist rhetoric, efforts to curtail immigration, and popular discourses that characterized each group as posing a threat to the white “racial stock” of the United States.

Irish Catholic immigrants began to settle in the United States in large numbers during the 1830s and 1840s, driven out of Ireland by the devastation of the Great Potato Famine and attempts to escape persecution at the hands of the British in their homeland. Popular destinations for Irish migrants included the major port cities of Boston,

AMERICAN CITIZENS!
We appeal to you in all cultures. It is not time to part. Already the progress of our democratic institutions, like the foreign spirit in the Trojan horse of old, are within our gates. They are engaging themselves upon us, as the sons of Hecuba, and the Trojan women weal. They are an insidious sort of serpent and supremacy over us.

A PAPER ENTITLED THE



AMERICAN PATRIOT

<p>IN FAVOR OF</p> <p>The protection of American Mechanics against Foreign Pauper Labor.</p> <p>Foreigners having a residence in the country of 21 years before voting.</p> <p>Our present Free School System.</p> <p>Carrying out the laws of the State, as regards sending back Foreign Paupers and Criminals.</p>	<p>OPPOSED TO</p> <p>Papal Aggression & Roman Catholicism.</p> <p>Foreigners holding office.</p> <p>Raising Foreign Military Companies in the United States.</p> <p>Numerous and the Jesuits.</p> <p>To being taxed for the support of Foreign paupers millions of dollars yearly.</p> <p>To accept Foreign Orders in the U. S.</p>	<p>We are burdened with enormous taxes by foreigners. We are corrupted in the morals of our youth. We are interfered with in our government. We are forced into collisions with other nations. We are taunted with in our religion. We are injured in our labor. We are assailed in our freedom of speech.</p>
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The PATRIOT is Published by J. E. Farwell & Co., 32 Congress St., Boston.

This advertisement published in Boston in 1852 announced a new nativist newspaper with an anti-Catholic illustration targeting foreign immigrants, especially the Irish. Part of the text states, “They aim at nothing short of conquest and supremacy over us.”

New York City, and Philadelphia, as well as smaller cities and towns throughout the midwest. As the first Roman Catholic population to enter the nation in large numbers, the Irish encountered the first major wave of nativism in American history at the hands of Anglo-Saxon Protestants who initially regarded the Irish as both racially and religiously inferior. By the mid-1840s, American newspapers commonly portrayed the Irish negatively as drunken, violent, immoral, “subhuman,” and “apelike.” Following the publication of Charles Darwin’s *Origin of Species* (1859), Anglo-Protestant nativists depicted the Irish as the “missing link” between the English, Africans, and apes.

The Democratic Party played an important early role toward the “whitening” of the Irish in American society by hardening the social boundary between Irish immigrants and African Americans. Irish immigrants constituted a disproportionate number of Union soldiers during the Civil War, a conflict that the Irish generally saw as providing no benefit for them. The Democratic Party, itself opposed to the war, sought the votes of Irish immigrants by rewarding them with food, money, jobs, housing, and other services, thus establishing early political machines. In certain regions, particularly the south, the Democratic Party aggressively persuaded the Irish that if slavery ended, the newly freed blacks would compete with them for scarce jobs. This extension of

the “psychological wages of whiteness” to Irish immigrants exacerbated social tensions between Irish Americans and African Americans. Many Irish Americans became minstrel performers, mocking African Americans and portraying them as buffoons in an effort to demonstrate their own whiteness. Other important factors, such as the high rate of participation in labor unions during the early years of the Industrial Revolution and the transfer of nativist sentiments toward new immigrant groups, enabled the Irish to begin entering the mainstream of American society by the 1920s.

From the 1890s through the mid-1920s, millions of southern Italians, eastern European Jews, Hungarians, Greeks, Poles, and other immigrants from the “peripheral” regions of southern and eastern Europe settled in the United States, evoking racial concerns about the nation’s changing demographics among the Anglo-Saxon majority. These turn-of-the-century immigrants found themselves in a racial purgatory of sorts. The U.S. government generally defined them as “white,” while the Anglo-Protestant public generally considered them to be racially inferior “Mediterraneans,” “Hebrews,” “Hunkies,” and “Polacks” who deserved the discrimination and nativism they encountered from the racially superior “Nordics” (Anglo-Saxons).

Anthropologist and eugenicist Madison Grant, leader of the Immigration Restriction League, spearheaded the charge that “Nordics” risked being overrun by these immigrant “race bastards” who would interbreed with Anglo-Saxons and sire racial “horrors that will be beyond the power of future anthropologists to unravel.” Southern Italians and Hungarians were routinely described as being innately brutish and intellectually inferior, and the Mediterranean diets of Greek and Italian migrants were cited as proof of these populations’ alleged racial inferiority. Efforts to preserve Anglo-Saxon racial “purity” led to enactment of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act, signed by President Calvin Coolidge.

World War II and the Postwar Era

Historians and anthropologists credit World War II and the postwar economic boom as the most critical factors in bringing about the social transformation of southern and eastern European

immigrant groups from racially stigmatized “others” to full-fledged, undisputed American “whites.” During the war, the Americans All propaganda machine portrayed new immigrants and their children in a positive fashion, praising them for their heroism and patriotism on the battlefield. This contrasted sharply with how the media depicted immigrants during World War I, which viewed immigrants suspiciously and questioned their loyalties to American democratic principles. Anti-Nazi sentiments on the home front led to a reassessment of intra-European racism, with such ideologies falling out of favor with many Americans given the nature of the atrocities that anti-Semitic, anti-Polish, and anti-Roma attitudes had produced within Europe. The decade following the war saw the emergence of suburbs across the nation, and the combined influence of the automobile, home mortgage loans, free college educations for veterans through the G.I. Bill, and increased disposable incomes accrued during the postwar boom facilitated the relocation of millions of European Americans to the suburbs during the late 1940s and 1950s. Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban asserts:

The postwar G.I. Bill of Rights was probably the most massive affirmative action project in U.S. history. A college degree was no longer an upper-class privilege, as eight million white G.I.s took advantage of the program. White workingmen left the assembly line to become professional doctors and lawyers; this workforce was replaced by Latin[os] and African American[s] . . . African American G.I.s were almost completely shut out from the benefits of the G.I. Bill . . . Suburbanization, symbolized by Levittown outside of New York City, was hugely aided by cheap Federal Housing Authority loans, and blacks were closed out once again, creating “lily white” suburbs that remain mostly segregated to this day.

Within this sociohistorical context, the concept of race in American society underwent a significant metamorphosis. The old racial subdivisions of Europeans, previously categorized as “Nordics,” “Alpines,” “Mediterraneans,” etc., disappeared in favor of an all-inclusive, general category of whiteness. These old divisions and

boundary lines blurred as southern and eastern European immigrant groups fought alongside white Anglo-Saxon Protestants during the war, and then lived alongside them in the suburbs after the war. Equally important, this expanded redefinition of American whiteness was solidified by emphasizing that some groups were much more different from “whites” than were Slavs, Jews, or Sicilians from Anglo-Saxons or the Irish. While whiteness emerged as a significantly more inclusive social category after World War II, the racial boundaries between “white” and “nonwhite” remained steadfast. This phenomenon set the stage for racial conflicts between “white ethnics” and African Americans in cities such as Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, and others during the mid-to-late 20th century.

The whitening process that southern and eastern European ethnic groups underwent throughout the 19th and 20th centuries is obvious today. With the notable exception of “old money” Anglo-Protestant elites, most European Americans no longer oppose the idea of intraethnic marriage with persons of other European heritages. Indeed, most white Americans today are of mixed European heritages, themselves the products of unions between an Italian mother and a German-Irish father, for example. While the thought of a Scots-Irish woman dating a Polish or Hungarian man once generated considerable social opposition, such a reaction seems almost laughable in the 21st century. In fact, such cross-ethnic unions facilitated the spread of a generic “white” identity among Americans of European descent.

Whiteness Studies

Since the mid-1990s, a number of scholars have contributed to the emerging field of whiteness studies. Interdisciplinary in nature, whiteness studies encompass research from the academic fields of anthropology, history, psychology, and sociology. In general, whiteness studies focus on two major dimensions of the experiences of white persons in American society. The first dimension of whiteness studies examines the immigration histories and gradual incorporation of various European immigrant groups into the ever-expanding social boundaries of whiteness throughout the nation’s history. Major works in this area include Karen Brodtkin-Sachs’s *How Jews Became White Folks*

(1998); Noel Ignatiev’s *How the Irish Became White* (1999); Nell Irvin Painter’s *The History of White People* (2010); David Roediger’s *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (1991) and *Working Toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White—The Strange Journey From Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (2005); Peter Schrag’s *Not Fit for Our Society: Immigrants and Nativism in American History* (2010); and Audrey Smedley’s *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (1999).

The other dimension of whiteness studies investigates the nature of white racial identity/identities and the social meaning(s) that white persons attach to being white. Although this field of research is still in its infancy, several scholars have already published on these topics. Notable researchers include Bob Blauner, Ashley Doane, Ruth Frankenberg, Charles Gallagher, John Hartigan, and Pamela Perry.

Qualitative and quantitative research indicates that whiteness remains a hidden and invisible identity to many Americans, particularly whites themselves, because whiteness is so dominant and prevalent in society. Whiteness is the default, hegemonic norm in American society, and across American history to be white was to be considered “normal.” Even studies of race in American society have long focused on the experiences and identities of African Americans, Asian Americans, and other minority groups rather than examining whiteness itself. Sociologist Ashley Doane claims:

The emphasis by whites upon the racial “other” has gone hand in hand with the politically constructed role of whiteness as the “unexamined center” of American society. Because whites have historically controlled the major institutions of American society, they have been able to appropriate the social and cultural “mainstream” and make white understandings and practices normative.

Because whiteness was originally established during the colonial era as the definition of both “normal” and “American,” and because whiteness has been at the very heart of what is socially defined as “mainstream” in American society, many “Caucasians” throughout the United States

wholeheartedly believe that they “don’t have a culture.” Whiteness is commonly perceived as implying the lack of culture. Such thinking, while commonplace, is erroneous. All members of society have experienced a cultural upbringing and socialization experiences that influence the manner in which they live their daily lives, but as anthropologists point out, culture remains elusive to most people unless they are placed in an alien cultural environment for an extended period of time. Whiteness remains invisible and seemingly “culture-less” to the majority of “Caucasians” in American society precisely because it is an unmarked identity; whiteness is not clearly named and identified in the mass media and popular culture as is blackness, *Latinidad*, and other minority identities. Sociologist Ruth Frankenberg recognizes whiteness as a range of unmarked and unnamed cultural practices and identities, which are often labeled as “national” or “normal” instead.

Several scholars contend that while whiteness often remains an elusive and invisible identity for many white persons, whiteness becomes readily apparent and openly articulated when white persons perceive a threat to the “racial status quo” or sense that whiteness is under attack. White persons who fear that they are or will soon become a minority may angrily or defensively invoke the ideas of English-only laws, white student unions, and White History Month. As Frankenberg notes, “In times of perceived threat, the normative group may well attempt to reassert its normativity by reasserting elements of its cultural practices more explicitly and exclusively.” Along similar lines, sociologist Charles Gallagher contends that a more cognizant white racial identity and consciousness has developed among white Americans since the late 1980s in response to the nation’s rapidly shifting demographics and the identity politics movements of peoples of color during the post-civil rights era. Gallagher argues that a white identity politics movement, which constructs whiteness as a social disadvantage as a result of affirmative action and multiculturalism, has gained momentum in recent years. The recent election and reelection of President Barack Obama, bolstered by his overwhelming support among African American, Latino, and Asian American voters, has generated discourses within

certain circles of American society regarding the alleged “end of white America.”

White Privilege

White privilege refers to the “unearned and unacknowledged benefits conveyed by being white” in American society. These privileges range from the relatively minor to major determinants of life chances, and include phenomena such as the ability to purchase bandages in “flesh” color that matches one’s skin, never being seen as a representative or spokesperson for one’s entire racial group, not having to worry about being racially profiled while driving through an affluent neighborhood, and being able to grow one’s hair naturally without being considered “radical” or “militant.” Sociologist Pamela Perry and activists Tim Wise and Robert Jensen remain the nation’s most high-profile speakers on the subject of white privilege.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that privilege is always relative and never absolute. Various axes of social advantage and disadvantage intersect with one another in shaping a person’s overall life experiences. While whites may be socially privileged in terms of race vis-à-vis nonwhites, the social experiences of whites (and nonwhites) also are profoundly shaped by class, gender, sexuality, age, (dis)ability, and other variables. In other words, a person may experience privilege through one of these variables, while experiencing disadvantage through another variable.

White Supremacy

Although the idea of race is a socially constructed concept, white supremacists argue that biologically distinct human races exist. These races, according to white supremacists, are easily identifiable and differ in their innate intellectual capacities, personalities, and moralities. According to their logic, the “white race” constitutes the superior race in terms of intelligence, beauty, and moral worth. Notable white supremacist organizations in the United States include the Ku Klux Klan, the Neo-Nazis, and the Aryan Nations. Despite a shared belief in white racial superiority and hatred for nonwhites, white supremacists themselves disagree over the exact definition of whiteness and who, exactly, they



Various white supremacist groups can still be found throughout the United States. This photo, in which a member of the Ku Klux Klan watches a cross burning while sitting next to his young children, was taken in 1987 in Jackson County, Ohio.

consider to be white. Some regard all “Caucasians” (except Jews) as white. Others utilize a much more exclusionary concept of whiteness, reminiscent of Madison Grant’s racial diatribes of the early 20th century, and reserve their definition of whiteness to persons of northern European or “Nordic” ancestry.

Controversial Terminology

In recent years, several pundits and social observers have expressed objections to the usage of the term *Caucasians* in reference to white persons. The rationale for such objections varies, ranging from misleading and inaccurate connotations of the word to objections over the proliferation of political correctness in American society. Some

critics note the history of racism that the term *Caucasian* imbues, which derives from the hierarchical arrangement of racial groups throughout the history of Western racial taxonomies stemming from Blumenbach’s original designation of “Caucasians” as the allegedly most beautiful racial group.

Critics contend that referring to white persons today as Caucasians serves to legitimize this term and Blumenbach’s ethnocentric thinking imbued within this term, similar to the way that referring to white persons today as Aryans or Nordics would serve to legitimize Adolf Hitler’s or Madison Grant’s racialized ideologies because of the loaded sociohistorical implications of such terms. In this vein, *white* is perceived as a more neutral term than *Caucasian*.

On the other hand, others have argued that the practice of referring to white persons as Caucasians is a relatively recent development in American society since the 1980s and is an outgrowth of the increasing political correctness and identity politics. Those who articulate this position contend that the transition from “white” to “Caucasian” is akin to the switch from terms such as *black* and *Oriental* to *African American* and *Asian/Pacific Islander*, respectively. Under this logic, the term *Caucasian* is merely a euphemism rooted in hypersensitivity.

At the same time, other critics note that the overwhelming majority of white persons in the United States do not trace their ethnic heritage to the Caucasus Mountains region or to the Republic of Georgia or the former Soviet Union more generally. These critics assert that referring to white Americans as “Caucasians” is therefore highly inaccurate and as illogical as referring to Latinos collectively as “Mexicans” or to Asian Americans collectively as “Chinese.” Nevertheless, whether the result of political correctness, historical legacy, or the general concern and confusion that often surround discourses of race, the term *Caucasian* appears to be deeply entrenched within the American lexicon and will likely continue to be used by Americans of various racial and ethnic backgrounds as a designation for white persons for several years to come.

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See Also: Anglos; European Americans; Know-Nothing Movement; Nativism; Privilege; Race; Racism; WASPs (White Anglo Saxon Protestants); White Categorization (Essay); White Ethnics; White Supremacy; Whiteness Studies.

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Century of Dishonor, A

A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings With Some of the Indian Tribes by Helen Hunt Jackson is a work of nonfiction. Published in 1881, the book is brutally critical of federal policy toward Native Americans and of white–Native American relations generally.

The book is neither history nor political theory but rather an impassioned challenge to the United States to act morally and honorably in its dealings with Native Americans. Relying on extensive research, Jackson recounts stories of displacements, massacres, and broken treaties. *A Century of Dishonor* did not sell in record numbers, and it did not result in immediate improvement in Native American affairs. But it did make the public aware of cruelties and corruption, and it captured the attention of other reformers.

Before writing *A Century of Dishonor*, Jackson was already a prolific writer who had published children's stories, novels, essays, and poems. Ralph Waldo Emerson considered her superior to most American writers. In 1879, during a visit to Boston, Jackson attended a lecture by Chief Standing Bear, who traveled the country telling his story of the forced removal of the Ponca from their tribal land. Jackson was so emotionally stirred by the speech that she devoted herself to arousing public opinion on behalf of the unjust treatment of Native Americans. She circulated petitions, raised money for lawsuits, and wrote letters to newspapers and government officials, including Carl Schurz, secretary of the interior.

She also spent months researching mistreatment of Native Americans and specific instances of broken treaties. *A Century of Dishonor* was the product of that research. It included histories of seven tribes and a chapter on massacres of Native Americans by whites. She pointed out the long history of broken treaties and demanded that the U.S. government end “murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs” against the Indians. She was pleased when the Reverend Henry Benjamin Whipple, the Episcopal bishop of Minnesota and a longtime supporter of Indian rights, agreed to write the preface. All her earlier work had been published under pseudonyms, a common practice for women writers in the 19th century. In a bold move, she published *A Century of Dishonor* under her own name. She paid for copies of the book to be sent to each member of Congress. The special copies were bound in blood-red cloth. Embossed on the cover were words Benjamin Franklin penned in a letter to a member of Parliament on July 5, 1775: “Look upon your hands! They are stained with the blood of your relations.”

The book did not bring the response Jackson hoped. There were some positive reviews, and some humanitarians were outraged by the abuses Jackson had so carefully delineated, but for the most part, Congress and the American public were indifferent. But Jackson did not forsake the cause. In the fall of 1881, she visited California and became aware of the plight of the various tribes living around the former Spanish mission towns. Massive dispossessions by Americans had left only around 4,000 mission

Indians in southern California, where an estimated 15,000 had lived 30 years earlier. Once more Jackson was stirred to action. This time her work was noticed by Hiram Price, commissioner of Indian affairs, who recommended that Jackson be appointed an agent of the Department of Interior. She was assigned to investigate and make recommendations concerning the mission Indians. Her 56-page *Report on the Conditions and Needs of the Mission Indians of California*, completed in 1883, listed 11 recommendations, ranging from the purchase of new lands for reservations to the establishment of more Indian schools. Legislation that adopted most of these recommendations was introduced; it passed the Senate but died in the House of Representatives.

Still unbowed and inspired by the reception of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Jackson decided that fiction might accomplish what nonfiction had failed to do. In December 1893, she began writing *Ramona*, the story of a half-Indian, half-Spanish heroine and her ill-starred love for a mission Indian man. She finished it in less than three months, and it was published in November 1884. The novel sold 7,000 copies in the first three months after its publication, but Jackson died before the novel's full popularity was realized. The novel went through more than 300 printings and eventually inspired adaptations on the stage, on the screen, and in song, although it was the romance and not the politics that attracted its audience.

Less than a year after the publication of *Ramona*, Jackson died. Her plan to write a children's story on the cause to which she had devoted the final seven years of her life was never realized. Jackson expressed her pride in *Century of Dishonor* and *Ramona*, and her confidence that they would bear fruit. Her last letter was to President Grover Cleveland, asking him to read *A Century of Dishonor* and take action for which his predecessors had lacked the courage.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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César Chávez Day

César Chávez Day, created to recognize the legacy of one of the founders of the United Farm Workers of America, has been proposed as a federal holiday and is currently celebrated in some states. It is the first holiday to recognize the civil rights work of a specific U.S. labor leader. The holiday has met with resistance from antiunion activists, and has also been caught in a dispute over paid and unpaid workers' holidays and pitted against Martin Luther King, Jr. Day and Presidents Day.

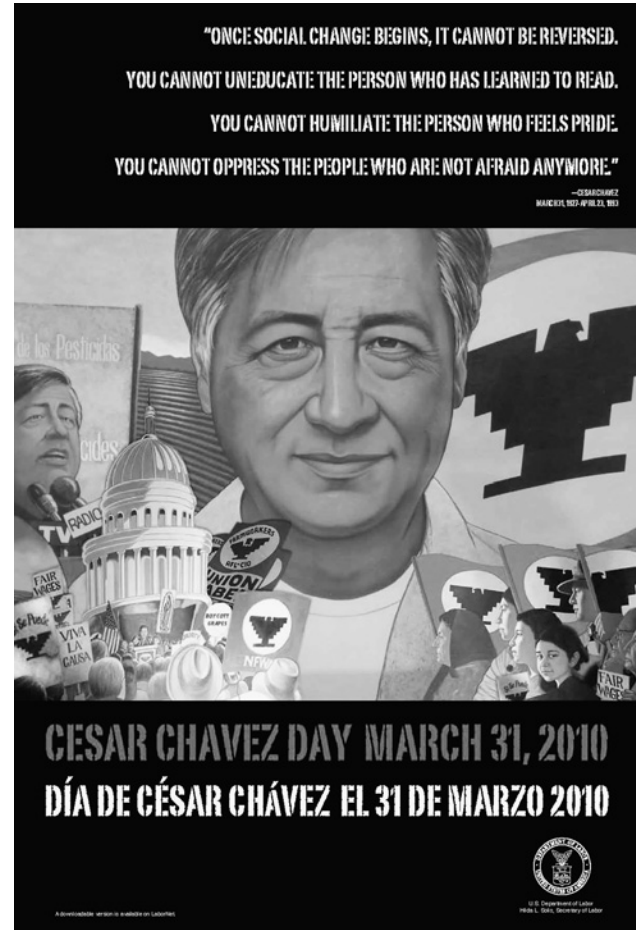
César Estrada Chávez was a first-generation American of Mexican descent born in Yuma, Arizona, on March 31, 1927. Like many Dust Bowl families who lost their farms during the Great Depression, the Chávez family moved to California to join the agricultural migrant stream. Chávez left school before graduation so he could go to work with his family, and he joined the U.S. Navy in 1946. He and his wife Helen moved to the Sal Si Puedes (Get Out If You Can) neighborhood in San Jose, California, where he worked for the Community Service Organization, as did the eventual cofounder of his union, Dolores Huerta. In 1962, Chávez cofounded the most successful and publicly recognized agricultural union in the United States: the United Farm Workers of America.

Chávez sacrificed personally to build the union and change agricultural labor law in the country. His speeches and actions promoted nonviolent organizing and public education as the means to

further justice for hard-working laborers. Chávez found strength in the words and strategies of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., with whom he is often compared. Chávez fasted on three occasions to publicize the plight of migrant farmworkers, and engaged in frequent *peregrinaciones* (pilgrimages or marches) to the California capital in Sacramento to change labor law. He also called on consumers to boycott table and wine grapes, later followed by campaigns to boycott other crops, arguing that consumers, like farmworkers, were victimized by the environmental risks of pesticides. After a lifetime of dedication to and success in his efforts, Chávez died near his childhood home in Arizona in 1993. He took a vow of poverty throughout his work, never earning more than \$6,000 a year. He did not own a home and left nothing to his family after his death. In 1994, President Bill Clinton posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Chávez.

In California, Senate Bill 984 passed both houses and was signed into law by Governor Gray Davis in 2000, making March 31, the date of Chávez's birth, César Chávez Day, an official holiday for state government and university employees. The law also created the César Chávez Day of Service and Learning Program, held each year on March 31, to promote and facilitate community service. On this day, state schools include instruction about Chávez in their kindergarten-through-12th-grade curriculum. The law provided money to enable the California Department of Education to create a model K–12 curriculum about Chávez. This mandated, annual standards-based curriculum has increased public awareness about Chávez, the United Farm Workers, food production, and working conditions. Following the passage of California's law, nine additional states (Arizona, Texas, Colorado, Illinois, Michigan, New Mexico, Utah, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island) enacted laws making César Chávez Day a commemorative or optional holiday, which may be requested and substituted for a different holiday in the same fiscal year.

The recognition of Chávez has been met with controversy and resistance. In 2006, Republican senators blocked a Democratic resolution acknowledging Chávez on his birthday. The following year, a César Chávez federal holiday bill



This poster produced by the U.S. Department of Labor celebrates César Chávez Day 2010. In 2011 President Barack Obama backed the addition of César Chávez Day as a federal holiday in a presidential proclamation.

was blocked again, this time when Senate Republicans introduced a rules change that prevented consideration of any bills that established commemorative days for an individual. In 2007, U.S. Rep. Joe Baca (D-CA) introduced a resolution to overturn the rules change in order to allow a federal bill to be introduced creating a Chávez holiday. In the four subsequent years, Republicans prevented similar resolutions from passing by failing to pass the resolution unanimously.

Community celebrations of Chávez have not always been positive occasions. In Chico, California, students for seven years commemorated the holiday by dressing as stereotypical Mexicans, and local bars offered drink specials in Chávez's name, a tradition that has received national attention.

In 2003, the U.S. Postal Service recognized Chávez with a postage stamp, adding to a movement to make César Chávez Day a national holiday. In 2008, a national holiday organization was founded in order to promote the holiday; this organization was cochaired by actors Martin Sheen and Edward James Olmos and musician Carlos Santana. That year, celebrations in over 30 states, many with no recognized holiday, were held.

In 2011, President Barack Obama issued a presidential proclamation supporting making César Chávez Day a federal holiday, to be held each March 31, an action Obama also endorsed while he was a presidential candidate in 2008. Other 2008 presidential candidates who endorsed the holiday were Bill Richardson, John Edwards, and Dennis Kucinich; notably absent was John McCain, who had opposed a bill for the Martin Luther King, Jr. Day federal holiday in 1983.

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See Also: History/Heritage Months; Migrant Workers; Teatro Campesino, El; United Farm Workers of America.

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Chaldean Americans

Chaldean Americans descended from the people of the northern Tigris-Euphrates Valley, which is located in present-day Iraq. Chaldeans represent less than 10 percent of Iraq's population although they make up the majority of Iraqi Americans. Most Iraqis are Muslim, but Chaldeans are Roman Catholic; Chaldean Americans are a very

religious community and take pride in their Christian culture. The mother tongue of Chaldeans is a form of Aramaic called simply Chaldean. At the outset of Chaldean immigration to the United States, Chaldean Americans only spoke Chaldean; in modern times most Chaldean Americans speak Arabic, which was mandatory in Iraqi schools. Chaldean Americans identify themselves as such and generally do not see themselves as part of Iraq or the Arab world.

The densest concentration of Chaldean Americans is in Detroit, Michigan; Chaldeans also live in Chicago, Illinois, and parts of California and Mexico. Chaldean Americans are not counted by the U.S. Census Bureau so population statistics are an estimate, but the Chaldean American community indicates that in the early 1940s there were fewer than 1,000 Chaldean Americans in Detroit, and by the early 1960s there were around 3,000. As immigration laws became more favorable for Chaldean Americans, more came to the United States, and by the mid-1980s there were approximately 45,000 Chaldean Americans in Detroit. Today 70,000 to 80,000 Chaldean Americans live in Detroit, and perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 live in California, mostly in San Jose and El Cajon.

History and Immigration

The first significant wave of Chaldean immigration into the United States was around 1910. Detroit was the target location for Chaldeans and Lebanese Christians as well (as well as other immigrant groups) in large part because of the work generated by the automobile industry. The impetus for this migration was to escape religious persecution by the Muslim majority. In a classic example of chain migration, more than 95 percent of Chaldean Americans in Detroit can trace their paths back to Telkaif, a poor, agrarian Christian village.

Immigration all but ceased during World War II as travel became more challenging, but recommenced at the close of the war; student visas increased immigration even more. Many Chaldean Americans came to the United States with student visas and married locally, which allowed them to remain. There was a steady immigration stream until the Gulf War started; this steady influx of Chaldeans has meant that assimilation has been slow.

Chaldean Americans born and raised in the United States are comfortable speaking English, attending mainstream schools, and generally pursuing an American lifestyle. Chaldeans who immigrated more recently are more likely than older-generation Chaldean Americans to have grown up in modern cities like Baghdad. Many Chaldean Americans have attended college. As the two groups of Chaldean Americans mix, they speak Arabic; Chaldean is not often spoken anymore.

To outsider Americans, Chaldean Americans often appear to be Arab Americans; however, this tends to insult Chaldean Americans. Muslim Arabs obviously have many religious differences. Chaldean Americans also tend to feel that their culture is less patriarchal and that women have more opportunities in their communities. One other reason for the tendency of Chaldean Americans to assert their own unique ethnic identity is simply that they can; in Detroit there is a substantial Chaldean American community so it is relatively easy for members of it to find others that share most aspects of life with them.

Grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, and siblings are considered to be just as much a part of the family for Chaldean Americans, and extended families often share meals and household duties. Chaldean Americans tend to keep to the traditional Catholic norm of having many children. Although Chaldean American families are not as large as they once were, they are still larger than the national average. Chaldean Americans follow endogamous patterns. When there are exogamous marriages, most often the “outsider” is brought into the community rather than the opposite. There is a strong expectation in Chaldean American communities that family preferences will be taken into consideration when spouses are chosen.

Chaldean Americans have frequently owned their own businesses, many of them grocery stores, and almost all of them family owned. In the 1980s, Chaldean American leaders estimated that there more than 1,000 Chaldean-owned grocery stores were in the Detroit area. There have at times been clashes between Chaldean Americans and African Americans in Detroit. Many Chaldean Americans run small family grocery stores in areas that big chain grocery stores find less profitable; these are generally in urban African American communities. African Americans have argued

that Chaldean American stores overcharge for their goods and refuse to hire anyone but Chaldean Americans. To some extent this is true, but mostly because small stores are forced to charge more than chains for a variety of reasons, and it makes more economic sense to hire employees within the family. In recent years this tension has resolved somewhat.

Religion

Religion is absolutely central to Chaldean American life. The first Chaldean Church in the United States, Mother of God, was opened in Detroit in 1947. In more recent times Mother of God moved and ascended to cathedral status. Now it is called Our Lady of Chaldeans Cathedral and is under the direction of the Chaldean diocese of the United States. Western Rite Catholic Churches serve the community when Chaldean churches are not available and many Chaldean American children attend Western Rite Catholic schools as Chaldean Rite does not offer education.

The Chaldean Church has been the community’s center since its inception. Even today it offers weddings, funerals, baptisms, and first Communion, and graduation ceremonies. The church also forms a variety of community groups, including youth groups, family groups, and men’s and women’s groups.

The Gulf War

The 1991 and 1992 Gulf War years were, predictably, some of the most momentous ever for Chaldean Americans (the largest concentration of Iraqi immigrants in the United States). Chaldean Americans were the subject of scrutiny from all sides; they were suspected of being national security risks and harassed by members of the public. Chaldean Americans, however, see themselves as dedicated Americans, and these experiences were disillusioning. Further trauma came from the relatives of Chaldean Americans who remained in Iraq being in constant peril; this problem is ongoing.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Iraqi Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Chan, Charlie

American writer Earl Derr Biggers (1884–1933) used the life of a Chinese Hawai‘ian Honolulu Police Department officer to create Charlie Chan, the fictional Chinese American detective featured in novels, films, comics, and radio programs. While fans saw Biggers’s character as a pop culture icon, he was criticized by Asian American scholars and artists for producing a stereotype that depicted the Asian American experience in patronizingly simplistic ways and through yellowface performances.

Redefining Asian Stereotypes

After learning about the accomplishments of Honolulu police officer Chang Apana (1871–1933), Biggers created the fictional character of Charlie Chan to help solve a murder mystery set in Waikiki in his novel *The House Without a Key* (1925). Biggers was inspired by Apana’s heritage and success as a detective to create an amiable Chinese character who would serve as a counterbalance to the predominant stereotype of Chinese people at the time: the sinister Yellow Peril threatening American values. Biggers envisioned Charlie Chan as a plump civil servant who spoke in accented fortune cookie statements and in so doing, recast orientalist fears by portraying a peaceful, asexual, and exotic stereotype of Chinese culture.

Biggers would pen five additional Charlie Chan novels: *The Chinese Parrot* (1926), *Behind That Curtain* (1928), *The Black Camel* (1929), *Charlie*

Chan Carries On (1930), and *Keeper of the Keys* (1932). The exoticism of Chan and the popularity of detective fiction encouraged the crossover of Biggers’s literary work to other entertainment industries, such as comics, radio, and television. The most successful crossover industry was motion pictures, beginning with the film adaptation of *The House Without a Key*. The novel was released in 1926 as a 10-chapter serial film bearing the same title.

Over 50 Charlie Chan films were made over the course of six decades, including films in languages other than English. Forty-seven of the films were made by Hollywood movie studios and released between 1926 and 1949. During this period, the Charlie Chan character was fleshed out and became a successful franchise and popular culture icon. However, none of the actors playing Charlie Chan were of Chinese descent, and all but three of the films featured non-Asian actors. The first three Chan films—*The House Without a Key*, *The Chinese Parrot* (1927), and *Behind That Curtain* (1929)—featured Japanese actors, George Kuwa and Kamiyama Sojin, and Korean actor E. L. Park. In *Charlie Chan Carries On* (1931), Swedish actor Warner Oland was cast to play Chan, and, intentional or not, began a practice of yellowface acting that became symbolic of the Chan franchise and continued with the casting of actors Sidney Toler (1938–47) and Roland Winters (1947–49).

Reconstructing a More Complex Experience

Although the notion of an amiable, entertaining, albeit inaccurate imagining of a Chinese American detective was meant to provide a positive representation of Chinese Americans, Charlie Chan nevertheless obscured the Chinese American experience with a prejudicial falseness, presenting Asian Americans as dutiful, foreign, passive, and one-dimensional. Indeed, the yellowface performances were seen by Asian Americans as an Asian version of the blackface minstrels that hid the real racism and violence against African Americans. Asian American artists and activists have since used Charlie Chan as a point of departure for critique and envisioning more complex representations of the Asian American experience. Filmmaker Wayne Wang produced the film *Chan Is Missing* (1982), which followed two Chinese American amateur sleuths in their search

for a missing friend. The film used the genre created by the Charlie Chan franchise as a metaphor for introducing a more complex depiction of the Asian American experience. Similarly, artist and activist Jessica Hagedorn published two anthologies, *Charlie Chan Is Dead* (1993) and *Charlie Chan Is Dead 2: At Home in the World* (2004), that used Charlie Chan as the foil for deeper understanding of the Asian American experience.

Efforts to revive the Charlie Chan franchise continue to this day, and while Charlie Chan is a part of American popular culture, the character remains a disputed figure for Asian Americans, and signals a critical call for a broader range of Asian representations.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Blackface; *Chan Is Missing*; Chinese Americans; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures.

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hallmark work in the history of American independent film. Directed, produced, and cowritten by Wang, *Chan Is Missing* features Asian American characters who question the stereotypical representation of Asians in U.S. popular culture. Produced on a budget of almost \$22,000, and shot on black-and-white 16mm film, the innovative 80-minute documentary-style *Chan Is Missing* joined a wave of clever, low-budget feature films that stood in contrast to the Hollywood blockbusters that characterized the 1980s. In 1995, *Chan Is Missing* was named to the National Film Registry, a list of films deemed "culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant."

Set in San Francisco's historic Chinatown, *Chan Is Missing* follows two Chinese American cab drivers, Jo (Wood Moy) and his nephew Steve (Marc Hayashi), as they search for Chan Hung, a friend who took \$4,000 that was loaned to him as part of an agreement to secure a cab license. As they pursue leads as to Chan's whereabouts, Jo and Steve meet a heterogeneous Asian American community living in Chinatown and across San Francisco. Every encounter with a Chan family member, acquaintance, or clue, however, raises more questions about Chan than provides answers about his location. All the clues, Jo and Steve realize, reveal Chan to be a complicated and contradictory figure. Was Chan a naïve immigrant who still needed to learn the lessons of America or was Chan a genius inventor? Was Chan duplicitous with his finances or was he honest and trustworthy? Was Chan an ashamed husband who failed to make enough money to support his family? Was Chan a dedicated political civil rights activist in the United States or was Chan a Chinese patriot who returned to China to build the country? Or was Chan from Taiwan, where he was disputing his family inheritance? Was Chan unchangingly "Chinese" in his customs or was he a cultural eccentric, revealed by his love of mariachi music? Jo ponders these questions when he and Steve end their search for Chan, never solving the mystery of the film.

In the context of Asian American representation, *Chan Is Missing* responds to the limiting stereotypes of Asian Americans popularized in American culture. The title and genre of the film *Chan Is Missing* refer to novelist Earl Derr Biggers's fictional character, Charlie Chan, the

Chan Is Missing

Wayne Wang's first feature film, *Chan Is Missing* (1981), is widely considered to be a groundbreaking film for Asian American cinema and a

Chinese American investigator who launched a detective mystery franchise that perpetuated myths about Chinese Americans and envisioned the Chinese American experience in yellowface. In place of the orientalist representations propagated by Charlie Chan and other stereotypes in popular circulation, such as the martial artist, model minority, dragon lady, or inscrutable foreigner, *Chan Is Missing* offers a complex Chinese American experience. The ambiguous and contradictory observations about Chan's identity, and the textures of a heterogeneous Chinese American community, encourage speculation about the nature of Chinese American identity and its representation.

Wang animates this narrative trajectory with documentary-style techniques and playful references to literary and cinematic conventions, such as the genre of film noir. The black-and-white film and the setting of San Francisco frame *Chan Is Missing* with the conventions of a film noir mystery. The pairing of the older Jo with the younger Steve mimics the pairing between Charlie Chan his Number One Son sidekick. While *Chan Is Missing* makes use of familiar conventions, relying on them to build the narrative, the film does not follow them. Instead, *Chan Is Missing* is a story without a protagonist, a narrative that ends without closure, a mystery in which clues lead to more riddles, and an Asian American tale without Asian American stereotypes.

The documentary-like style of *Chan Is Missing* further plays with genre conventions and stereotypes. Many of the scenes are shot on location with mobile 16mm film cameras. The dynamic movement and the grainy texture of the 16mm film adds realness to the scenes. Through this lens, Wang uses settings and other props to treat Chinese America as a hybrid experience. Shots of Chinatown are mixed with pieces of American pop culture, parts of the film are scored with Cantonese versions of well-known American pop songs, and Chinese American characters are knowledgeable about American popular culture.

Members of the San Francisco Chinese community and nonprofessional actors play themselves in the film, giving the film an unscripted, sometimes aimless feel with its awkward pauses in dialogue and random topics. Accented and non-accented English and both main Chinese

languages—Mandarin and Cantonese—are spoken in the film, further adding to its sense of reality. The documentary style gives dimension to the representations in the film, and by so doing, allows the characters to serve as real examples of Chinese American life.

The use of film for a complex and experimental exploration of the Asian American experience treats representation as an artistic and political act. *Chan Is Missing* was produced just over a decade removed from the civil rights activism that established the discipline of ethnic studies and the Asian American movement. As part of this journey, the film resonates with the developing sense of empowerment and cultural critique in the Asian American community, and its desire to change the cultural discourse of America. Wang's playful use of convention not only served as a narrative metaphor for his critique of stereotypes and Chinese American identity, but it also found appreciation as an alternate mode of storytelling. As a nonstudio Hollywood film—that is, an independent film produced without studio funds—*Chan Is Missing* had freedom to experiment with cinematic storytelling and richly envisioned Asian America as a site of imagination.

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See Also: Asian American Movement; Asian Americans; Chan, Charlie; Chinese Americans; Motion Pictures.

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Cherokee

According to the 2010 census, the Cherokee are the largest of the 565 federally recognized

American Indian tribal groups in the United States, with more than 800,000 individuals identifying themselves as Cherokee. They are also culturally diverse, with more than 65 percent of that population reporting multiple tribal and racial affiliations. Less than half of the population self-identified as Cherokee in the 2010 census are officially enrolled in one of the federally recognized tribes, reducing membership to 300,000. Nonetheless, this still makes them one of the largest groups.

The word *Cherokee* has several sources, including a Choctaw word meaning Cave People. After being adopted and used by Europeans, the Cherokee eventually embraced the name as well in the form of *Tsa'lagi'* or *Tsa'ragi'*. Traditionally, the Cherokee people refer to themselves as *ani'yûn'wiya'*, which means the Real People or the Principal People. At the time of European contact in 1540, the Cherokee occupied and utilized a vast area, approximately 40,000 square miles of land, in what is now Alabama, the Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Virginias, until relocated to present-day Oklahoma in 1835–39. Today, the Cherokee are comprised of three federally recognized tribes—the Cherokee Nation and the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians, both located in Oklahoma, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee, located on a reservation in North Carolina. In addition, there are also Cherokee bands like the Echota Cherokee Tribe in Alabama.

Sequoyah and Cherokee Literacy

Sequoyah (George Grist) was a pivotal figure in Cherokee history whose translation of the Cherokee language into an 85-symbol syllabary (a set of written symbols representing spoken syllables in the Cherokee language) contributed to the rapid spread of literacy among the Cherokee in 1821. The use and dissemination of the syllabary occurred during an important period in Cherokee history. Sequoyah's syllabary made written correspondence between the geographically separated Cherokee groups possible. It contributed to the survival of their language and the independence of the Cherokee people as a whole. As a result of Sequoyah's syllabary, parts of the Bible were translated into Cherokee and from 1827 to 1828, both the Cherokee constitution and the *Cherokee*



The forced relocation of several tribes from the southwestern United States after the Indian Removal Act of 1830 led to the deaths of an estimated 4,000 Cherokee. Known as the Trail of Tears, two of the routes are marked as National Historic Trails.

Phoenix, a weekly newspaper printed in Cherokee and English, were an important voice in the battle over removal.

Land Cessions, Removal, and the Trail of Tears

Between 1721 and 1835 numerous land cession agreements made with the British and the United States diminished Cherokee ancestral homelands. After the 1828 election of President Andrew Jackson, a supporter of removal, and the discovery of gold in Cherokee territory, Georgia aggressively campaigned to secure Cherokee land. Backed by the 1830 Indian Removal Act, which relocated eastern tribes to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), Georgia nullified Cherokee legal rights and extended state jurisdiction over their land. The Cherokee fought removal by pursuing their legal rights as an independent, sovereign state in court.

Despite two lawsuits filed by the Cherokee in the U.S. Supreme Court (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832)), the latter of which upheld Cherokee national sovereignty over their land, Georgia held its 1832 land lottery. Cherokee land was divided into lots distributed to Georgia citizens as lottery winners.

In 1835 John Ridge and a small group of Cherokee, known as the Treaty Party, signed the controversial Treaty of New Echota, which

provided for the cession of all Cherokee territory east of the Mississippi in exchange for financial compensation and land in present-day Oklahoma. Despite opposition to the treaty by the Ross Party, a larger group led by Chief John Ross and 15,000 Cherokee signatures denouncing the treaty as fraud, the U.S. Congress ratified it and gave the Cherokee two years to move. Supporters of the treaty voluntarily emigrated with relative ease between 1835 and 1838. The remaining majority were placed in internment camps, where many died from disease. Although accounts vary, at least one-quarter of the 20,000 Cherokee forcibly removed between 1838 and 1839, in what is known as the Trail of Tears, perished during the 1,500-mile long journey.

After removal, Ridge, his father, Major Ridge, and his cousin and former editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper, Elias Boudinot, were assassinated in 1839. In Oklahoma, the Cherokee lost more land under the Dawes Act (1887), which divided tribal-owned land into allotments awarded to individuals registered on the Dawes Roll. Remaining land was sold to non-Cherokees.

Cherokee Culture Today

Despite a difficult history, the Cherokee are at the forefront of linguistic, cultural, and economic revival. Today most Cherokee speak English, but approximately 20,000 still speak the Cherokee language. The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma's tribal education system consists of 144 elementary schools. The Eastern Band of Cherokee participated in the development of the 2005 Cherokee Language Revitalization Program and the establishment of the Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual, Inc., which is an artist cooperative founded in 1946 to preserve and promote Cherokee art. There are also numerous museums and heritage centers that uphold Cherokee history and culture.

The Cherokee have always been leaders in self-governance. The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma operates under a tripartite government with a tribal constitution, a district court, and judicial appeals tribunal. Approximately 70,000 residents live in a 7,000 square mile area that encompasses eight counties and portions of six more counties. The tribal government controls and manages tribal assets that range from 65,000 acres of land to the Cherokee Nation Entertainment

LLC, which engages in various business enterprises, including operating casinos, retail stores, golf courses, and hotels.

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See Also: *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831); Five Civilized Tribes; Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Territory; Native Americans; Trail of Tears.

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Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831)

Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (cited as 30 U.S. 1) is a case decided on March 18, 1831, by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Cherokee Nation petitioned the Supreme Court for a federal injunction against Georgia state laws that severely curtailed the nation's political, civil, and property rights. The court ruled that it did not possess original jurisdiction to hear the suit, as the Cherokee Nation was not a "foreign State" within the meaning of Article III of the U.S. Constitution, but rather a "domestic dependent nation" with a relationship to the United States akin to that of a ward to its guardian.

Prior to the arrival of European colonists, the Cherokee Indians inhabited North America's southeastern seaboard. However, by the late 18th century, the Cherokee had peacefully entered into treaties with the United States that relegated them to specified lands in northwest Georgia. While retaining significant independence, the Cherokee adopted many aspects of European culture and

civilization. Within the first quarter of the 19th century, they had adopted an agrarian lifestyle, embraced commerce, established a written language, enrolled children in American schools, and established a codified legal system

Tensions between the Cherokee and Georgians were exacerbated by the discovery of gold on Cherokee lands within Georgia. The state legislature enacted a series of laws on December 20, 1828, which declared Cherokee laws to be void, stripped the Cherokee of certain state rights, and anticipated the westward relocation of the Cherokee in accordance with federal policy. A Cherokee delegation departed for Washington, D.C., in order to demand federal enforcement of tribal rights. Though Republican congressmen supported the Cherokee claims, President Andrew Jackson approved of the extension of Georgian laws over the Cherokee. In May 1830, Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act, which provided federal funds to accomplish the relocation of Indians to lands west of the Mississippi River.

William Wirt, who had served as attorney general under Presidents James Monroe and John Quincy Adams, took the case on behalf of the Cherokee and, wishing to avoid the hostile forum of Georgian state courts, petitioned the Supreme Court for an injunction prohibiting the execution of Georgia state law against the Cherokee. In order for the Supreme Court to claim original jurisdiction (as opposed to appellate jurisdiction arising from lower-court decisions), Wirt was compelled to argue that the Cherokee constituted a foreign nation within the meaning of the Constitution.

Wirt maintained that the Cherokee constituted a sovereign and independent nation prior to the arrival of European colonists and that subsequent treaties confirmed their status as a foreign nation. Georgia's state legislature therefore had no jurisdiction over Indian lands, and any laws that attempted to assert such authority were null and void. Conversely, the state of Georgia contested the classification of the Cherokee Nation as a foreign state and insisted that the federal government had no authority to regulate the application of state law within Georgia.

Chief Justice John Marshall, delivering the opinion of the court, ruled that the Cherokee were indeed a state, but found that they were not a foreign state. Observing that the "condition of the

Indians in relation to the United States is perhaps unlike that of any other two people in existence," Marshall compared this relation to "that of a ward to his guardian" and concluded that the Indians were a "domestic dependent nation." Following a long recitation of the manners in which Indians acknowledged and depended upon American sovereignty over them, Marshall found that "the framers of our Constitution had not the Indian tribes in view when they opened the courts of the union to controversies between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states." As such, the court was found to lack original jurisdiction over the case and the request for injunctive relief was denied.

Justice William Johnson, as was his habit, wrote a fully concurring opinion that assented to Marshall's reasoning. Justice Henry Baldwin concurred with the majority's conclusion, but rejected Marshall's early assertion that the Indian tribes constituted sovereign states. Justice Smith Thompson, joined by Justice Joseph Story, dissented from the majority opinion, arguing that the Cherokee constituted a foreign state with standing to sue and that the requested injunction was an appropriate remedy to prevent further violations of treaty law by the laws of Georgia.

Effects

The ruling proved extremely consequential for the Cherokee, who ultimately failed to prevail against the Georgian and federal policies of relocation. By 1838, all Cherokee lands had been ceded to the United States and the entire Cherokee people were forcibly moved to detention facilities before being relocated to the territory of present-day Oklahoma. Approximately 4,000 Cherokee died of disease and exposure during the six-month, 1,000-mile winter march later known as the Trail of Tears.

In 1832, a year after *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court held that Georgia's laws affecting the Cherokee were unconstitutional in the case of *Worcester v. Georgia*. Though the opinion of the case—which holds that states generally lack jurisdiction over Indian lands, which fall within the federal government's sole authority—remains valid today, the decision had little practical effect on the plight of the Cherokee.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Cherokee; Indian Removal Act (1830); *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832).

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Cheyenne

A word of Lakota origin, *Cheyenne* means “red talkers” or “foreign talkers.” They call themselves *Tsitsistas*, for which one meaning is “people of a different speech.” Members of the Algonquian language group, the Cheyenne were originally a nation of farmers, but as they migrated, they became nomadic hunters and gatherers. In the 19th century, the tribe split into the Northern and Southern Cheyenne. According to the 2010 census, there are 11,375 Native Americans who self-identify solely as Cheyenne, and another 5,311 who are Cheyenne in combination with some other tribal identity. The Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana was established in 1884. Most Southern Cheyenne live in cities and towns of western Oklahoma.

Historians place Cheyenne first among the Algonquian-speaking tribes who may have come north from the lower Mississippi Valley. In the 16th and 17th centuries, they lived in permanent villages in the upper Mississippi Valley, in what is now northern and western Minnesota, where they grew corn, beans, and squash and fished and hunted game. By the 18th century, attacks by other tribes forced them to leave their home and migrate westward. They acquired horses from the Spanish and gradually combined farming with hunting buffalo. By the early 19th century, raids by the Sioux had forced them onto the Plains, where they ceased to plant crops and became buffalo hunters and fierce fighters. Building alliances first with the Arapaho and later with the Lakota, they lived primarily near the Black Hills and then in the upper Platte–Powder River area. About

this time, they absorbed the Sutaio tribe, another Algonquian group.

Around 1832, some bands of Cheyenne moved, lured by trade in Taos, New Mexico, and Bent’s Ford, Colorado. The move led to a tribal split into Northern and Southern Cheyenne. The Cheyenne were a party to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, an agreement between eight Indian nations and the United States that established territorial boundaries to end war among the tribes and guaranteed the safety of settlers on the Oregon Trail. It also recognized the Northern and Southern Cheyenne as distinct groups, thus making their split formal.

The Gold Rush of 1848 and the Homestead Act of 1862 brought more and more white settlers into Indian territories. The Southern Cheyenne—although they were being heavily pushed into leaving the region after the Pike’s Peak gold rush of 1859—under Chief Black Kettle compromised repeatedly in an effort to avoid war and retain their land in Colorado. But the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, when hundreds of Cheyenne and Arapaho were slaughtered at Sand Creek, Colorado, where they had been told to camp by the U.S. Army, left them with no choice but to cede their land to the state.

The Cheyenne divided once more. The greater number ended up on the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation, which was lost to white settlement in 1902. Some went north to the Powder River Country, and a few continued to fight with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Arapaho until 1875. The Northern Cheyenne had their own struggles with invaders seeking land and gold in violation of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty. After the Sand Creek Massacre, they joined the tribes who were at war. In 1876, the Northern Cheyenne were among the warriors who emerged victors at the Battle of Little Bighorn.

The Cheyenne and those fighting with them won that battle, but they lost the war. By the time Cheyenne Chief Dull Knife surrendered to the U.S. Army, many Cheyenne had died of starvation or exposure. After a long and difficult forced march to join the Southern Cheyenne, they arrived at the reservation in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) to find little food and unhealthy conditions. Two-thirds of the tribe fell ill, and many died. Dull Knife and a war chief, Little Wolf, escaped the

reservation with almost 400 Cheyenne, most of them women and children, all of them desperate, and many sick with malaria. Little Wolf's band headed northwest, surrendered to the U.S. Army on March 25, 1879, and was allowed to remain in Montana; Dull Knife's group eventually was imprisoned at Fort Robinson (Nebraska) when they refused to return to Oklahoma. A failed escape attempt left 64 dead and more than 70 were recaptured. Only six, including Dull Knife, escaped and joined Little Wolf.

Contemporary Cheyenne

The Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, approximately 444,000 acres with almost 100 percent tribal ownership, is located in southeastern Montana, about 40 miles east of the site of the Battle of Little Bighorn. In 2012, the tribe had approximately 10,050 enrolled tribal members, with about 4,939 residing on the reservation, slightly more than the 4,789 reported in the 2010 census. The Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes are a united, federally recognized group in western Oklahoma. Because intermarriage is common between members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, a population count of Southern Cheyenne is difficult. In 2003, of the 11,507 enrolled Cheyenne-Arapaho, about 8,000 self-identify as Cheyenne.

Unemployment and poverty rates are high among both groups. Among the Northern Cheyenne, unemployment ranges from 50 to 90 percent, with federal and tribal governments employing the greatest number. The Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes operate four casinos. Both Northern and Southern Cheyenne work to ensure their cultural survival. Dull Knife College, chartered in 1976, exists in part to pass on the Cheyenne way of life. In 2008, the college, with a grant from the Montana state legislature, published *We, the Northern Cheyenne People: Our Land, Our History, Our Culture*.

The Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma Culture and Heritage Program teaches traditional games and music along with the Cheyenne and Arapaho languages, horse care and riding, and buffalo management. The Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal College, chartered in 2006, offers degrees in Tribal Management and American Indian Studies. Both tribes boast members with remarkable

achievements. Ben Nighthorse Campbell represented Colorado in the U.S. House of Representatives (1987–93) and served as a U.S. senator (1993–2005). He serves as one of 44 members of the Council of Chiefs of the Northern Cheyenne. Walter Richard West, Jr., the founding director of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, is a citizen of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes in Oklahoma and a peace chief of the Southern Cheyenne.

Wylene Rholetter
Auburn University

See Also: Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Arapaho; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Native Americans; Sand Creek Massacre.

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Cheyenne Autumn

Cheyenne Autumn (1964) was directed by John Ford, whose earlier credits included classic westerns such as *Stagecoach* (1939) and *The Searchers* (1956). Inspired by Mari Sandoz's historical novel, the film focuses on an actual event. In 1878, approximately 300 Cheyenne Indians, led by Dull Knife and Little Wolf, escaped from a desolate Oklahoma reservation and embarked on an arduous 1,500-mile journey to their homelands on the northern Plains. Ford's film tells the story from the Native American perspective. Significantly, the film's approach to history, race, gender, and ethnicity, as well as its attacks on the establishment for supporting corruption and exploitation, foreshadowed the nuanced approaches that would be associated decades later with the New Western History.

The big-budget movie explains all the obstacles and hardships the Indians encountered along

the way. As the Cheyenne fight off the pursuing cavalry, they also have to cope with lack of food and water, punishing rain- and windstorms, and deadly blizzards, not to mention threats from bureaucrats, cowboys, townsfolk, and even internal dissension. On the verge of total defeat, the Indians are saved by a sympathetic cavalry officer (played by Richard Widmark) who secures help from Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz (Edward G. Robinson).

Cheyenne Autumn is a flawed but fascinating film. Self-conscious of its civil rights message, the narrative is plodding if not depressing. Even the climax that sees the Indians achieve their goal of a new reservation in the north winds up a pyrrhic victory. By then, many of the Indians have died and their heroic leaders go their separate ways after Little Wolf (played by Ricardo Montalban) kills Dull Knife's son for stealing his wife. Evidently sensing the futility of the tale, Ford tries to lighten it up with the addition of subplots. The result is an episodic film that does not hold together very well. For example, the Dodge City sequence (which features James Stewart as Wyatt Earp living in a veritable Sodom and Gomorrah of a town replete with ineffectual politicians, killer cowboys, and happy hookers) does not even seem like it belongs in the picture.

Ford's western does have its moments, though. It remains true to the basic outline of the Cheyenne's flight, although the director does embellish the tragedy with fictional characters and some contrived Indian customs. The film also features some spectacular visual shots, as well as the types of intriguing details that only Ford would think of including, such as smoke coming out of tepees, or the ubiquitous dust in the air and on soldiers' faces and uniforms.

Significance

More than just a story about the early frontier, *Cheyenne Autumn* provides fascinating glimpses of racial attitudes in 1960s America. It shows that the roots of racism run deep in America's past. One scene, for instance, depicts a racist cowboy who coldly guns down and scalps a starving Indian. Other scenes offer evidence of institutional racism, portraying callous politicians who ignore Indian rights and military officers who blindly obey orders to the detriment of helpless victims.



John Ford directed the epic film Cheyenne Autumn in 1964. Ford considered Cheyenne Autumn an elegy for Native Americans abused by the U.S. government and misrepresented in many of the 140 films Ford himself made over a 50-year career.

At the same time, *Cheyenne Autumn* captures the optimism of the era's civil rights movement as it underscores the notion that eventually "We Shall Overcome" racial problems. The main characters clearly are in step with the changing times. Widmark's humane military officer is determined to cut through red tape in order to protect Indian rights. The compassionate Quaker missionary (played by Carroll Baker) evokes the era's resolute civil rights workers and Peace Corps volunteers who worked side-by-side with those in need. And Robinson's reform-minded secretary of the interior could have stepped out of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society administration.

Cheyenne Autumn likewise picks up on changing attitudes toward ethnicity and gender. It offers sympathetic portrayals of white ethnics,

spotlighting principled Irish American and Polish American soldiers who are determined to respect Indian rights. It likewise depicts women in positive ways, reflecting the emergence of women in American society of the 1960s. Baker's missionary character, for example, is determined to advance the cause of Indian rights even if it means choosing career over marriage and personal well-being.

Cheyenne Autumn offers other insights about American life and thought of the 1960s. It reveals ambivalent attitudes toward social and cultural change. The Dodge City vignette, for instance, underscores concerns about the nation's growing consumer culture. Stewart's Wyatt Earp and other Dodge City residents are far more interested in money, gambling, drinking, and life's hedonistic pleasures than they are in American principles or enemy threats. The national media are likewise portrayed in a bad light. Greedy and unethical newspaper editors repeatedly lie about causes and results of the Cheyenne uprising merely to sell more papers.

Cheyenne Autumn was John Ford's last western. The famed director's flawed finale is hardly a great movie, yet even a mediocre Ford western reveals much about American history. The movie offers evidence of continuity and change in American society and culture. While the American West portrayed in *Cheyenne Autumn* was more inclusive of minorities, women, and white ethnics, it remained a land of hope, redemption, and opportunity.

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See Also: Cheyenne; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures; Native Americans.

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Chicano Moratorium

The National Chicano Moratorium in East Los Angeles, California, on August 29, 1970, was one of the largest anti-Vietnam War protests in the United States and the largest held by Chicanos. By the late 1960s, ethnic and working-class groups questioned their participation rates in the war, resisted the draft, and protested. One of the most significant legacies of the demonstration that day was the riot and the subsequent death of *Los Angeles Times* reporter and KMEX-TV news director Ruben Salazar. The Chicano Moratorium was part of the broader Chicano Movement challenging inequality and promoting civil rights, ethnic nationalism, economic and political self-determination, and artistic revolution.

Student and community activists Rosalio Munoz, Ernesto Vigil, Manuel Gomez, Lorenzo Campbell, and David Sanchez planned a series of actions against the war in Vietnam. Organizations such as the Crusade for Justice and the Brown Berets played central roles in August 29 and the execution of two earlier protests on December 20, 1969, and February 28, 1970, in Los Angeles.

Between 20,000 and 30,000 people of all ages and ethnic backgrounds marched and gathered in Laguna Park to enjoy performances and lunch on August 29. A theft at a local liquor store caused police to rush into the park in pursuit of the accused, using tear gas, clubs, and arrests to disperse the thousands in attendance. Marchers fled and sought refuge in local homes and businesses, while some tried to defend themselves or threw things at the police who charged into the park. The resulting stampede and panic hurt 61 people, destroyed and damaged 162 buildings worth over \$1 million, and caused the arrest of over 400 people. Most tragic was the death and martyring of two: Ruben Salazar and 15-year-old Brown Berets member Mark Ward.

After covering the day's events, Salazar relaxed at the nearby Silver Dollar Bar with two colleagues from KMEX-TV. Police who claimed a suspect was hiding in the bar fired a 10-inch tear gas projectile inside through the head of Salazar, killing him. Chicanos found the death of Salazar suspicious given his positive coverage of the February 1970 protest and his work on a series titled "What Progress in Thirty Years of Police

Community Relations?” This series followed his stories on the suspicious deaths of two Mexican nationals by Los Angeles and San Leandro police. The police had previously threatened Salazar for inciting the community with his coverage and he believed he was under their surveillance.

Salazar’s death and the acquittal of those responsible for it outraged the community. While some viewed this as the “death of the Chicano Movement,” others saw it as a call to action and memorialized Salazar in art and film. Moctesuma Esparza and David Garcia produced and directed *Requiem 29* about the event and won a bronze medal at the Atlanta International Film Festival in 1971. He was honored by the renaming of Laguna Park to Ruben F. Salazar Park. The U.S. Postal Service later recognized his contributions with a stamp in a series devoted to journalists in 2008. On August 29, 2010, a 40th Anniversary Chicano Moratorium event was held in Belvedere Park in East Los Angeles. It featured popular Chicana/o bands, a photo exhibit, and a nearby performance of a play about Salazar’s death.

Also 40 years after the death of Salazar, the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department released eight boxes of documents and photographs of its investigation to its Office of Independent Review, in part to determine if they could be released under a California Records or Freedom of Information Act request by a local journalist. In February 2011 the Office of Independent Review issued the first outside review of the incident in 40 years, which found a series of tactical errors led to the death of the journalist, not a conspiracy by local law enforcement. Witnesses and colleagues of Salazar were disappointed but not surprised by the outcome given it was a review of police documents generated by what they believed was a shoddy investigation at the time. The Sheriff’s Office subsequently decided to make a limited number of documents available to viewing by a select group of journalists and academics under direct surveillance of sheriff’s employees. Because many documents are still considered confidential and remain out of reach to historians and journalists, skepticism persists.

The struggle to access the records of the events of August 29, 1970, reflects a broader challenge to the surveillance of many individuals in the Chicano and Black Power movements by the Los

Angeles police and sheriff’s departments and the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). August 29 also represents the ongoing challenge academics face in recovering and analyzing the history of marginalized groups in a broader historical narrative about the American experience and what value those stories have to ethnic communities.

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See Also: Brown Berets; Chicano Movement; Chicanos; Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán; *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*; Vietnam War.

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Chicano Movement

The Chicano civil rights movement, also referred to as El Movimiento, had its roots in the evolution of organizing and challenges to inequality dating from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. El Movimiento ran roughly from the post–World War II period through the mid-1970s. Although some scholars find its origins in earlier or later dates or dispute whether it ever ended, the 1960s and 1970s provide a generally accepted time frame. The Chicano movement involved not only organizations and events, but also the ideology of nationalism and aesthetics of the Chicana/o Renaissance.

Background

While young people agitating for civil rights in the late 1960s thought they were unique, in fact struggles for over a century demonstrated that Chicana/o movement activists inherited a long tradition of social activism and political engagement. The 1960s were unique, however, in creating and emphasizing a unique Chicana/o national identity as separate from that of other ethnic groups in the United States. A number of events coalesced to make this the moment for change: the black civil rights and Black Power movements; the election of President John F. Kennedy and the succession of President Lyndon B. Johnson, protests against the war in Vietnam; the Great Society and War on Poverty programs of the 1960s, the lapse of the Bracero Program, a Chicano Renaissance among artists of various media; and increased numbers of Mexican American graduates from high schools and colleges.

Fundamental to El Movimiento was the notion of *Chicanismo*, or a unique national identity. Some movement activists were overtly separatists and rejected the tactics of previous generations of Mexican Americans who attempted to gain equality through assimilation, acculturation, or hybridization. Chicanas/os began referring to the southwestern United States as Aztlán, or the Chicano nation. Aztlán was the mythic homeland of the Mexican Aztecs and came to represent the land that was taken by the United States from Mexico at the end of the Mexican-American War (1846–48) under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). Leaders created a new sense of the American normative in which “brown was beautiful.”

Organizations

Major organizations of the Chicano movement ranged from labor and education to religious and professional, such as the United Farm Workers of America, founded by César Chávez and Dolores Huerta in Delano, California, in 1962; the Alianza Federal de Mercedes, the Federal Alliance of Land Grant, founded in New Mexico under Reies Lopez Tijerina in 1963; the Denver, Colorado, Crusade for Justice founded by Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales; and Partido de la Raza Unida, created from the Mexican American Youth Organization by José Ángel Gutiérrez in Crystal City, Texas, in 1970. The movement also included the

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), established in San Antonio in 1967, and a Chicana/o-liberation-theology-based organization out of Los Angeles called *Catolicos por la Raza* (CPLR), or Catholics for the Community. There were many other organizations across the country, but these are the most canonized within Chicano/a studies.

Key Events

A number of events highlighted the activism of the era and provided key documents to understanding the ideology and logic of the Chicano movement. In 1968, students in East Los Angeles, California, across south Texas, and throughout the southwest staged walkouts of educational institutions they found discriminatory and unequal, demanding greater voice in the content of the curriculum, the daily running of their schools, and the leadership they would follow. They converged at the Denver Youth Conference in March 1969, where they adopted El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, a manifesto about the new emerging identity of Chicanas/os.

Student, teacher, and community activists also met at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in April 1969, adopting a second plan, El Plan de Santa Barbara, a blueprint for educational and political access creating Chicana/o studies, the student organization *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MEChA), and the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) to facilitate college attendance. Some historians consider the apex of the Chicano movement to be the 1970 Chicano Moratorium anti-Vietnam War protest in Los Angeles, which resulted in the death of *Los Angeles Times* journalist Ruben Salazar. The moratorium drove home that the demand for equality in the United States sparked violent and even fatal responses.

Artistic Responses

The movement also incorporated a comprehensive artistic revolution supporting its ideology, organizations, leaders, and events. Two Chicana/o aesthetics that emerged were *rascuachismo* and *domesticana*, emphasizing the working-class roots and importance of family in the movement. Art moved from the street in the form of murals depicting epic Chicana/o narratives and poster art promoting events like United Farm Worker (UFW) marches, to the galleries,

which were targeted for inclusion by groups such as ASCO (a Chicano/a performance and conceptual art group). In music, Chicana/o performers crossed over into more mainstream genres like folk, rock, and country, and drew mainstream audiences back with them to their roots. Performers such as Joan Baez and Los Lobos played early shows for the United Farm Workers or Teatro Campesino, the theater troupe attached to the UFW. Literature flourished in all forms, with newspapers, publishing houses, and literary awards emerging to support writers. Finally, the more expensive media of television, documentary films, and mainstream Hollywood cinema began to reflect opposition to long-standing stereotypes of Latinas/os as bandits or lovers.

New Generation

A resurgence of Chicana/o nationalist organizing emerged in the 1990s after waning in the 1980s. The death of César Chávez; the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico; anti-immigrant legislation; and rollbacks to the gains of the 1960s and 1970s ignited a new generation of leaders and rededicated veterans of the movement to its original goals.

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See Also: Aztlán; Brown Berets; César Chávez Day; Chicano Moratorium; Chicanos; Civil Rights Movement; Ethnic Studies; Mexican Americans; Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán; *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*; Raza Unida, Partido de la; Teatro Campesino, El; United Farm Workers of America.

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Chicanos

The topic of ethnic identity is complex. The term *Chicano*, applied to individuals of Mexican origin, is no exception. One of the origins of the term *Chicano* is said to date back to the turbulent 1960s. College and high school students of that era looked for a positive reinforcement of their ethnic identity. The prior generation of the 1950s used the term *Mexican American* to identify with an assimilation approach.

Rejecting the prior form of identity on the grounds that it reinforced negative stereotypes, Chicanos embraced their Mexican indigenous cultural background. The term *Chicano* began to grow in popularity. Soon other members of the community, such as community organizers, used it as means to reinforce a positive view of being Mexican.

A small number of Chicano university professors used the term in the 1960s to identify with the growing student movement. Social activism during the 1960s was the norm, and it evolved into what Chicano historians would label the Chicano movement.

History of the Term

The most agreed-upon definition of the term *Chicano* refers largely to individuals who trace their origins to the southwest. The term *Chicano* also comes with some negative references, applied in the early 20th century to immigrant laborers from Mexico; the label implied a low or inferior form of worker. Despite this negative label, Mexican immigrant workers were desired by agricultural interests in the United States during that era, and were recruited to fill labor shortages in the southwest and midwest.

As recruiters in the United States were paid for each laborer they could secure, the recruitment effort became so intense that recruiters would literally snatch potential workers as they were crossing the border. Further recruitment took place in Mexico's interior. Not until the Great Depression did Mexican immigrant workers stop coming into the United States. By the 1930s, Mexicans and Mexican Americans were repatriated to Mexico.

The term also is said to have a reference to illegal forms of behavior known as chicanery, which

refers to individuals who engage in unlawful behavior. As a result, the term *Chicano* implied deviant behavior. In the 1940s, Chicanos were considered deviant by way of their anti-American behavior during World War II, with their wearing of zoot suits and open display of their flamboyant lifestyle while others were rationing food and other material goods. Chicanos became targeted for their chicanery behavior and were assaulted by G.I.s, resulting in the Zoot Suit Riots.

By the 1970s, the term *Hispanic*, employed by the U.S. government, attempted to hijack the popularity of the term *Chicano*. Under the Nixon administration, the term *Hispanic* began as a label for the growing Spanish-speaking population. In short, the term *Chicano* was being replaced in order to lump all Hispanics into one category.

Chicanos can be found throughout the United States, with political leanings toward progressive and liberal agendas. Chicano historian Rodolfo Acuña, in his book *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos in the United States* (used in most Chicano Studies courses) suggests that Chicanos are an occupied people, as Chicanos have been denied their rights through a prolonged struggle. Chicanos, once landowners, succumbed to violence or illegal methods of having their land stolen from them and found themselves as laborers. According to Acuña, the history of Chicanos is one of a people who have been denied their rights and opportunities in the United States.

By 1848, Chicanos were a part of the newly acquired southwest. Although still considered Mexicans after the war, it soon became evident that Mexicans would not be full U.S. citizens. As a result, Chicanos have used the southwest as a link to the origins of what was once their former land. One such method they employ is to use the name *Aztlán* for their former southwest. *Aztlán* refers to the place where the migrants began their journey south to Mexico City or Tenochtitlan. The term *Aztlán* has been perceived in some circles as a radical or revolutionary call for the return of the southwest to the Mexico.

However, Chicanos do not advocate the return of this former territory to Mexico; rather, Chicanos point out that the land has an ancestral heritage and a legacy of occupiers before it was seized by the United States. In short, Chicanos argue that

rather than being treated as second-class citizens, they should have full access to the same rights as other groups.

Social Change and Chicanos

Chicanos are an urban minority, which has added to their unique experience. Beginning in the 1940s, urban Chicanos began to take advantage of their working- and middle-class position. With the G.I. Bill, Chicanos were able to buy homes or attend college, and many ex-G.I.s returning from Europe and Asia after military service did attend college. However, their experience abroad as military combatants also raised their consciousness regarding the fight against fascism abroad, only to return to their segregated communities. Chicano historian Mario T. Garcia argued that their war experience was a changing point for Chicanos. A new sense of Americanism or pride led Chicanos to create organizations that challenged the status quo, setting the stage for the next generation that would forge the Chicano movement.

Most Chicano activism grew out of the turbulent 1960s social protests of that era. Social issues that Chicanos felt determined to challenge included the high dropout rate of Chicano high school students and the larger percentage of Chicanos who were sacrificing their lives in the Vietnam War. The War on Poverty also found a home among Chicanos, whose family histories traced a level of poverty throughout the southwest that politicians appeared to ignore. Chicanos also began to identify with the growing civil rights movement. By 1968, the high school protest called the Blowouts led to thousands of Chicano students walking out of their schools to protest their inferior education. The Blowouts in East Los Angeles would affect Chicanos from other southwest cities who used the walkout method at their schools. For Chicano activists, the Blowouts would be a signal of things to come.

By the 1960s, social protest and counterculture among American youth was ramped up, especially among college students. Protesting against the Vietnam War and civil rights, Chicanos were soon joining the student movement. Chicanos were dying at an alarming rate in the Vietnam War. The Chicano Moratorium, a Chicano anti-Vietnam War movement, would ultimately lead to the death of well-known Los Angeles reporter



The definition of Chicano is ambiguous and uncertain. The term was originally used as a label for the sons and daughters of Mexican migrants. For a Mexican child born in the United States, identifying as Chicano may represent the struggle of being accepted into the Anglo-dominated society of the United States, while maintaining a cultural sense developed as a Latino. Being Chicano has often been associated with negative ethnic stereotypes in mass media and the mainstream American consciousness.

and Chicano leader Ruben Salazar, who reported on various issues such as the killing of innocent Chicanos at the hands of local law officials. Salazar had been warned by the Los Angeles Police Department to tone down his reporting.

On August 29, 1970, Chicano activists gathered at a rally in East Los Angeles that attracted 20,000 to 30,000 anti-Vietnam War protesters. The peaceful gathering turned chaotic with the arrival of sheriff's deputies; the media later called the melee a Chicano riot. Despite the presence of women and children at the park, deputies began to physically disperse the crowd, and numerous Chicanos were beaten or tear-gassed. At the end of the rally, Salazar was killed when he was hit in the head by a tear-gas projectile that was shot into the Silver Dollar Bar. Salazar is remembered for his promotion of Chicano issues that were not covered by local media.

Chicanos were not just vying for the need to end the war; they were also asserting their rights to attend college and have more college classes that spoke to their interests, such as Chicano studies. Alongside the student protest was the work of César Chávez and Dolores Huerta, who fought for the rights of farm workers. Chicanos also identified with farm worker labor issues, as many of their ancestors had worked in the fields. The United Farm Workers movement, the struggle of laborers in the fields, also became part of the Chicano movement. Chicanas also saw their position within the Chicano movement relevant to their civil rights as women. Chicanas no longer wanted to see themselves as secondary players within the movement; they also wanted to be active leaders.

Chicanos also led the way to create the student organization called *Movimiento Educacional Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA)*. Established during the

1968 Plan de Santa Barbara, MEChA continues to have an impact on Chicano students in high schools and universities. As its philosophical mantra, MEChA expresses its desire to promote positive social change and ensure that Chicanos continue their education beyond high school. MEChA attracts Chicanos from around the country to its annual conference.

The La Raza Unida Party (LRUP), a third political party, was led by Chicanos in the 1970s. Although the group had a short history, it was responsible for the election of 15 seats in the Crystal City, Texas, council and school board races in 1970, including seven seats on the Board of Education.

Conclusion

Although not all people of Mexican origin called themselves Chicanos, it is important to their sense of ethnic identity, which can be partially attributed to their region of settlement. By the 1980s, scholars were documenting the initial migration of Chicanos to nontraditional areas of settlement, such as Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and North Carolina. While the Chicano experience was first seen within the southwest, midwest, and northwest, today Chicanos can be found throughout the rest of the United States.

Today, the term *Chicano* implies social activism within the Mexican community. Chicano organizations such as the National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) still meets annually to promote research on the Chicano experience in the United States. Both Chicanas and Chicanos have a research space to investigate issues such as identity, labor market inequality, history, and other areas of research. As 60 percent of the Latino population, Chicanos will continue to have a major impact on the future of the United States.

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See Also: Aztlán; Brown Berets; César Chávez Day; Chicano Moratorium; Chicano Movement; Civil Rights Movement; Ethnic Studies; Hispanic Americans; Mexican Americans; Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán; *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*; Zoot Suit Riots.

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Chickasaw

An important Muskogean tribe, the Chickasaw migrated eastward to what is now Mississippi, Kentucky, Alabama, and Tennessee before the first Europeans arrived in the area. Their lifestyle was largely agrarian, but they were also fierce fighters. Because of the latter trait, they were known as the “Spartans of the Lower Mississippi Valley.” They supported the British in the French and Indian War, an alliance that some historians believe proved significant in the British victory. Their ability to adapt to European culture made them one of the Five Civilized Tribes, a quality that did not spare them from forced relocation in the 19th century. Only their tenacity maintained their separate tribal identity in the Indian Territory. In 2012, the Chickasaw Nation is the 13th-largest federally recognized tribe in the United States. According to the 2010 U.S. census, there are 52,278 people who self-identify as wholly or partially Chickasaw. Among these is a distinguished array of citizens.

The Chickasaw chiefdom that Hernando de Soto found in 1540 was a complex social system with clearly defined social strata and a highly developed set of laws, religious practices, and military structure. He also found that the law of hospitality was part of Chickasaw culture, but when he attempted to force tribal chiefs into providing him 200 supply bearers and had his men execute two Chickasaw for stealing pigs, he discovered the chiefdom’s warlike nature as well. The Chickasaw retaliated with an attack from three directions, inflicting considerable damage before disappearing into the wilderness.

Later in the colonial period, the Chickasaw were among the few tribes of the lower Mississippi to ally themselves with the British rather than with the French. Some scholars attribute their choice to their animosity toward the Choctaw, who were French allies. The Choctaw and Chickasaw were closely tied by language and custom but they shared a mutual antipathy. Others think traders from the Carolinas tipped the balance in favor of the British. The Chickasaw attacked French travelers on the Mississippi and ignored French demands that they expel British traders and Natchez refugees whom the Chickasaw had urged to resist French encroachments on their territory. They defeated the French at Amalahta in 1736, at the Long House and other points. Nor was their ferocity limited to the French. The Choctaw were just first in a long list of neighboring tribes with whom they fought, including their former allies the Cherokee, whom they soundly defeated in 1769 at Chickasaw Old Fields.

As non-Indian settlement increased during the 1820s, some Chickasaw chose to migrate west of the Mississippi, but most remained on their tribal lands in the southeast. In 1829, Andrew Jackson, who from 1814 to 1824 had been a key figure in negotiating nine treaties that pushed the southern tribes off their ancestral lands and onto lands in the west farther removed from white settlements, was inaugurated president of the United States. Most of Alabama and parts of Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, and North Carolina were under government control.

One year after taking office, Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act giving him power to negotiate removal treaties with Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi. Although some tribes tried to resist, their efforts were futile. The Chickasaw signed a treaty in 1832 that obligated the United States to provide them with suitable land in the west. It was one more promise on which the federal government failed to deliver. The Chickasaw migrated to Indian Territory, what is now Oklahoma, in the winter of 1837–38. Although their “Trail of Tears” journey was less devastating than the journeys of the other “civilized tribes,” many died of cholera and food poisoning after they reached their new home. The Chickasaw signed the Treaty of Doaksville in 1837, in which they agreed to a lease of land

from the Choctaw for \$530,000 and representation on the Choctaw Council.

The transition took 15 years. The Chickasaw were outvoted on the Choctaw Council and fearful of losing their identity as a separate people. They were relentless in their campaign to be recognized as a separate tribe. Finally, a formal separation treaty was approved in Washington in 1855 and was ratified by both tribal councils and the U.S. Senate a year later.

The victory was temporary. The Curtis Act, adopted by Congress in 1898, ended tribal sovereignty, abolished tribal courts and the enforcement of tribal laws, and moved Chickasaw children from tribal schools to the public schools. It scheduled all tribal governments to terminate on March 4, 1906. For the next 75 years, the Chickasaw Nation ceased to exist. Although shifts in federal Indian policy restored self-determination earlier, it was not until 1983 that Chickasaw tribe members ratified a new constitution that had received approval from the U.S. government.

Language

Although the Chickasaw have struggled to preserve their culture since relocation, over time the Chickasaw language has reached the verge of extinction. The language that once served as a medium of commercial and tribal intercourse for all the tribes along the lower Mississippi in the 21st century has fewer than 120 speakers, all older than 55. The Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program was begun in 2007. Participation in community language classes, language camps and clubs, and self-study programs are all being utilized to preserve the language.

Contemporary Tribe

The Chickasaw Nation ranks as the fourth-largest tribe in Oklahoma, according to 2010 census data. Its political ties with other relocated southeast tribes have endured. In August 2011, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations cooperated in a lawsuit filed in U.S. District Court that claims tribal rights and regulatory authority over water in the historic territories of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations predate and supersede any water rights claimed by Oklahoma.

Meanwhile, the descendants of the Chickasaw who first maintained a delicate balance between

tribal identity and assimilation are adding luster to an illustrious history. Among the most celebrated are famed Chickasaw storyteller Te Ata Thompson Fisher (1895–1995), whose career as an actor and storyteller spanned over eight decades during which she performed for a president and a king; Commander John Herrington, who became the first Native American astronaut in the U.S. space program in 1996 and the first in space in 2002; Tessie “Lushanya” Mobley (1906–90), world renowned operatic soprano; and Kevin Washburn, approved assistant secretary for Indian Affairs by unanimous consent of the Senate in September 2012.

Wylene Rholetter
Auburn University

See Also: Choctaw; Five Civilized Tribes; Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Territory; Native Americans; Trail of Tears.

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Chief Diversity Officers

A chief diversity officer is an executive-level position responsible for overseeing the diversity and inclusivity strategy of an organization. The prevalence of the diversity officer has grown considerably in the 21st century. As recently as 2005, only 20 percent of Fortune 500 companies employed diversity officers; in 2012, about half did. The role differs slightly according to the sector of the organization. In the field of higher education, where diversity officers have been somewhat more common among elite schools, diversity officers generally possess a Ph.D. or the equivalent and may

have transitioned into the administrative role after a professorial career. In the business sector, the diversity officer is part of the organization’s human resources management team and usually rises through the ranks from that department. Because the role is relatively new, few people filling it have formal training in cultural diversity and have instead been successful in some other capacity in the organization.

Diversity and Inclusion Defined

Diversity is the coexistence of, and relationship between, multiple cultures, subcultures, and cultural backgrounds in a given place, as well as the coexistence of multiple ethnicities, religions, genders, sexual orientations, and other traits. While diversity was once seen as a temporary condition in U.S. society, a rough edge that would be smoothed out by the erosive action of assimilation and homogenization—the proverbial “melting pot”—today diversity is valued by contemporary culture. Rather than ignoring it or attempting to eradicate it, the choice is to celebrate and honor it. Inclusion is the conscious choice to involve members of an organization who are part of these diverse multiple cultures and backgrounds in order to create a working environment in which all members experience a sense of belonging, of being respected and valued, and of mutual commitment, which leads to everyone doing their best work.

Modern Chief Diversity Officers

A chief diversity officer’s work is accomplished through collaboration, especially with multiple sectors of the organization. Consensus- and relationship-building are key to the performance of the work, and collaboration must transpire across departments and roles responsible for hiring, leadership development and training, recruitment and retention, and strategic planning for diversity. This applies to areas that are specific to the nature of the organization; for example, the higher education sector would include student admissions, student government, the design of rules governing student behavior and conflict resolution, curriculum design, and the design of degree programs. Ideally, those who are responsible for these areas are actively engaged with the chief diversity officer rather than simply relegating him or her to the role of an adviser or consultant.

Larger organizations that are sufficiently committed to diversity will include chief diversity officers who provide leadership to the organization's diversity strategy but do not do all the work themselves. Instead, they may make the final decision or formulate a strategy that encompasses many departments and roles and set priorities while considering the input of those under them. There are many cases, however, in which a chief diversity officer has little access to an organization's senior leadership and is unable to create an organization-wide strategy.

In the higher education sector, the chief diversity officer often has other duties as well, and "chief diversity officer" may be one of their roles rather than their job title. For example, it is common for a dean, vice chancellor, vice president, or vice provost to take on the role of chief diversity officer in addition to their other administrative functions. In this case, they are the designated "face" of the university's diversity strategy, leading and coordinating meetings pertaining to diversity, overseeing elements related to the diversity strategy across multiple departments, and being responsible for public statements on the topic.

An increasing number of universities are creating a dedicated chief diversity role; for example, Harvard, Xavier, Miami, Marquette, the University of Virginia, and Washington State University have done so in the 21st century. A select few—Indiana University, the University of Washington, the University of Denver, Brown University, and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute—have had the role filled for some time. In some cases, the chief diversity officer has replaced the role of "vice president for minority affairs" created in the 1970s, during the push on many campuses to encourage the enrollment of nonwhites or address the concerns of nonwhite student groups.

The diversity officer differs from the minority affairs officer (or affirmative action officer) in a key, defining respect: his or her work is viewed as benefiting the entire student body and university, not just the special needs of a small group. Diversity is treated not as a special interest but as a resource contributing to organizational excellence. The diversity officer may be involved in developing new diversity-minded programs, writing grants for existing programs such as Asian American Studies or study abroad programs,

assisting in the efforts to establish overseas sister campuses or develop a diversity component for the university's general education requirement. A true chief diversity officer position considers diversity as the primary, not secondary or tertiary, concern, and is responsible for guiding enterprise-wide efforts at the conceptual level as well as the implementation level. While these duties may include affirmative action and equal opportunity concerns, they should not be defined by or limited to them, nor should they consider diversity only in terms of racial minority status or gender.

Bill Kte'pi
Independent Scholar

See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Age and Ethnic Diversity; Diversity and Inclusion; Diversity Training; *E Pluribus Unum*; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.

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Chilean Americans

Chile is a South American country, a narrow strip of land along the coast, bound by the Andes in the

east and the Pacific Ocean to the west. Once controlled by both the Inca Empire (in the north) and the Mapuche people (in the south), it was conquered by Spain in the colonial era before declaring its independence in 1818. Its northern territory was acquired in 19th-century wars with Bolivia and Peru. Chilean Americans are one of the smallest Hispanic groups in the country, though more Chilean expatriates live in the United States than in any other country except Argentina (which is home to more than half of them).

As of the 2010 U.S. census, there are 126,810 Chilean Americans. About half live in California (24,006), Florida (23,549), and the greater New York area (15,050 in New York, 8,100 in New Jersey); in addition, there are 6,282 Chilean Americans in Texas, 4,195 in Virginia, 4,146 in Maryland, 3,364 in Utah, 3,045 in Massachusetts, and 2,753 in Illinois. The largest metropolitan areas are the New York area; Miami–Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Los Angeles, Washington, D.C.; San Francisco, Boston, Houston, Chicago, Riverside, California; Orlando, Florida; Atlanta, Seattle, San Diego, Dallas–Fort Worth, Philadelphia, Salt Lake City, Utah; San Jose, California; Las Vegas, Tampa, Florida; and Phoenix.

Early Immigration

Prior to the late 20th century, there was no large sustained movement of Chilean immigration to the United States. Along with other South Americans, some Chileans came to California in 1849, drawn by the Gold Rush. Those who remained settled in San Francisco, Stockton, and Sacramento, pursuing craftsman trades or importing goods from Chile. Several San Francisco streets today are named for Chilean settlers, including Larkin, Ellis, Atherton, and Lick. A number of towns in northern California are named for Chilean places as well, including Santiago, Calera, and Valparaiso. Chilean communities were often called “Chilecito”—little Chile. South Americans working the gold fields tended to maintain separate camps, but as the Gold Rush subsided, Chileans assimilated quickly into the California culture, which was largely Spanish-fluent, Catholic, and easier for Chileans to integrate into than northeast Anglo-Protestant culture. Chilean Americans in the late 19th century, during the War of the Pacific, raised money through cultural

organizations to send back home to support the families of soldiers and other needy Chileans.

California bandit Joaquin Murrieta (1829–53), who was active in the Gold Rush years, may have been born in Chile or to a mother who had emigrated to Chile. Dime novels portrayed him as a Robin Hood–like figure who was subject to racism and violence by the Anglos of California, and Chilean poet Pablo Neruda focused on Murrieta’s possible Chilean heritage in his 1972 play *The Splendor and Death of Joaquin Murieta*. In the 1998 film *The Mask of Zorro*, Murrieta is portrayed as the brother of the lead character played by Antonio Banderas, and he is featured as a supporting character in Isabel Allende’s 1999 novel *Daughter of Fortune*. Allende, first cousin once removed to Salvador Allende (president of Chile from 1970 to 1973), was born in Peru where her father served as Chile’s ambassador, and later immigrated to the United States during the Pinochet regime, which succeeded her cousin’s presidency. Allende’s work, which at least overlaps with, if it cannot be placed entirely within, the genre of magical realism, often deals with themes of exile and liberty.

Post–World War II Immigration

After World War II, there was some movement of immigrants to the United States as Chile’s economy suffered and the American economy prospered in the 1950s. Though Chile today is one of the most stable nations in the Southern Hemisphere and leads Latin America in income and human development, from 1973 to 1990 it suffered under the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet. The first major wave of Chilean immigrants came to the United States during that regime and differed demographically from the larger, later wave of immigration. They were overwhelmingly well-educated or highly skilled at their professions, largely upper middle class, and usually fluent in English before their arrival in the United States.

A strong sense of community prevailed among these 1970s and 1980s immigrants, many of whom intended to leave Chile only temporarily while working on or anticipating the success of the cause of Chilean democracy. While the transition was easy for many, a significant number faced problems obtaining skilled work in the United States—they may have lacked professional certification

recognized in the United States or similar credentials that failed to “translate” from Chile. The turbulence of Chile could make it difficult to provide work references, and in some cases even to prove education credentials. Chilean immigrants during the Pinochet period founded the La Peña Cultural Center in 1975 in Berkeley, California, the largest cultural center for Chilean Americans.

The second wave of immigrants came after the country had begun to stabilize as free elections were reinstated. Though not possessing the professional experience of many of the first wavers, many of them still came from a middle-to-upper-class background, making the trip to the United States for an education possible. Less likely to already be fluent in English, these Chileans are likely to have settled in major cities because of the Spanish-speaking populations and the access to universities. Since 1990, Chilean immigration has remained at around 1,500 per year, declining since the Pinochet period, while South American groups like Colombians and Ecuadorians have increased their presence.

Chilean folk music remains popular in the Chilean American community, as does the tradition of the *peña*, a weekend gathering of music, joke-telling (the jokes are traditionally long and involved), and eating. Well-known Chilean Americans include actress Cote de Pablo of the TV series *NCIS*; *Sábado Gigante* host Don Francisco; Slayer vocalist-bassist Tom Araya; human rights activist Ariel Dorfman; *Lost* star Jorge Garcia; *Saturday Night Live* star Horatio Sanz; and cinematographer Claudio Miranda.

Bill Kte’pi
Independent Scholar

See Also: Argentine Americans; Bolivian Americans; Latinos; Peruvian Americans.

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Chinatowns

Chinatowns are urban enclaves of ethnic Chinese immigrants and their descendants. Although Chinatowns exist on six continents, they are particularly common in societies that have experienced a large volume of historic or contemporary immigration from China, such as the United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. The oldest Chinatown in the world, known as Binondo, is a distinct neighborhood in Manila that dates to 1521. Easily discernible by their pagodas, temples, imperial Chinese architecture, and numerous signs written in Chinese scripts, Chinatowns are vibrant and historic locations that symbolize the social, cultural, and political influence of the Chinese diaspora throughout the world.

Chinatowns in the United States

Chinatowns in the United States date to the mid-19th century, when Chinese immigrants began to settle in the western states. Discriminatory attitudes, manifested in anti-immigrant and white supremacist sentiments, fostered the emergence of designated Chinese quarters in various cities throughout the West Coast. Chinatowns provided members of this ethnic community with housing, employment opportunities, businesses that catered specifically to Chinese clientele, recreational outlets, and a sense of social and linguistic familiarity.

Some of the key recreational and business establishments found in Chinatowns, serving to meet the cultural preferences and needs of Chinese residents, include restaurants, teahouses, theaters, banks, pharmacies, hospitals, grocery stores, temples, churches, schools, and cemeteries. The oldest and best-known Chinatown in the United States is found in San Francisco. Sacramento and Stockton (California) also boasted Chinatowns by the mid-1850s. Other notable Chinatowns today exist in New York City; Los

Angeles; Philadelphia; Boston; Chicago; Seattle; Portland, Washington; and Washington, D.C.

Despite origins steeped in xenophobia, Chinatowns throughout the United States have become popular tourist destinations over the past 40 years, in addition to their important function as important centers for social and cultural life among Chinese Americans and, to a lesser extent, other Asian Americans. The transformation of Chinatowns from exclusionary ghettos to tourist meccas reflects the nation's transition toward a pluralistic society that today more readily welcomes cultural diversity.

Overview of Chinese Immigration

The emergence of Chinatowns across the United States is directly related to the historical experiences of Chinese immigrant communities. The Chinese were the first Asian immigrants to arrive in the United States in the mid-19th century, lured to California by the Gold Rush and employment opportunities in the burgeoning railroad industry. The first recorded Chinese immigrants entered the United States in 1848; over the next three decades nearly 100,000 others followed, with most entering through the port of San Francisco. More than 60,000 Chinese migrants had settled in California alone by the end of the 1850s.

The growing Chinese population on the West Coast during the 1860s and 1870s placed them in direct competition with the larger white/Anglo population, who often viewed the Chinese with suspicion and resentment. Anti-Chinese sentiments particularly stemmed from white fears that the Chinese would displace them in the job market, but an estimated one-third of settlers in the San Francisco Bay area during the Gold Rush were white southerners who brought their racialized worldviews with them. The Chinese quickly became viewed as antithetical to American identity due to their physical appearance, language and customs, manner of dress, and religion.

The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882, effectively banned all immigration from China (with certain exemptions for spouses and children of U.S. citizens), marking the first time in American history that a specific nationality was denied entry into the country. The law was not repealed until 1942, when China became a wartime ally against the Japanese; even then, however, an annual limit

of merely 105 immigrants from China was permitted. A confluence of factors that included restrictive immigration laws, an imbalanced gender ratio of Chinese immigrants (males outnumbered females by more than 20:1, giving rise to the description of Chinese Americans as a "Bachelor Society"), and high rates of return migration to China led to a dramatic reduction of this ethnic community in the early 20th century. The Chinese American population dwindled from approximately 107,500 in 1890 to no more than 62,000 by 1920.

The Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 rescinded discriminatory national origins quotas in U.S. immigration policy and opened the doors to millions of newcomers from Asia. Since the mid-1960s, immigration policy has centered around purposes of family reunification and granting preference to immigrants with entrepreneurial, scientific, or technological expertise in high demand by U.S. employers. Since the 1960s, the gender imbalance of the Chinese American population has stabilized.

Chinese migrants today comprise one of the largest groups of both legal and undocumented immigrants to the United States. The Chinese American community is quite heterogeneous, with the population consisting of persons from mainland China (the People's Republic of China), Taiwan, and Hong Kong, as well as ethnic Chinese who have migrated from various societies in southeast Asia. The contemporary Chinese American population is also highly diverse in terms of social class. Although approximately half of Chinese immigrants enter the United States already holding a bachelor's, master's, or doctoral degree, many working-class and non-college-educated Chinese have also arrived in recent years.

San Francisco

The first Chinatown established in the United States is located in the quadrant between California, Kearny, Mason, and Broadway Streets near downtown San Francisco. Chinatown's origins date to 1852, when approximately 20,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in San Francisco amid the Gold Rush. An estimated 3,000–4,000 Chinese took up residence in boarding houses, apartments, and tents around Portsmouth Plaza, San Francisco's first public square and civic center. The majority of these early Chinese migrants



A Chinese man looks out across the ruins of San Francisco's Chinatown after the earthquake of April 18, 1906. The community was first established as early as 1852, the date of the construction of the oldest Chinese temple in the United States.

were male Cantonese-speakers from China's Guangdong Province. Soon entrepreneurs opened shops, pharmacies and herbal medicinal establishments, teahouses, restaurants, opium dens, and other businesses that catered to the growing Chinese population in San Francisco. Originally referred to as "Little Canton," the neighborhood was nicknamed "Chinatown" by the San Francisco press in 1853.

Chinatown's population increased rapidly, with the U.S. census counting 2,700 residents in 1860. Approximately 20 percent of the inhabitants were female. By 1860 Chinatown featured more than 30 grocery stores, 15 medicinal shops, and 5 restaurants. Community leaders imported a theater building from China and relocated it in Chinatown; the theater was used as a venue to showcase the Chinese theatrical troupe, thus providing a recreational outlet for local residents. The oldest temple in the United States, the Tin

How Temple, was constructed in Chinatown in 1852. The earliest Chinese American publications date to the mid-1850s, when the bilingual newspapers *Golden Hills' News* and *The Oriental* hit the presses in 1854 and 1855, respectively. During the 1870s the first fully Chinese-language newspaper, *Tangfan Gongbao*, was published. The first Chinese laundry was established at the corner of Washington and DuPont Streets in 1851, and by the 1880s San Francisco featured 176 Chinese-operated laundries. Chinatown's population reached 12,000 in 1870 and approximately 30,000 by 1880.

Originally just 12 blocks in size, Chinatown soon became known throughout San Francisco for its brightly colored lanterns and Chinese calligraphy on storefronts. The neighborhood also harbored a reputation for illicit activities, including gambling halls, brothels, opium dens, and occasional violence. The low proportion of female residents in Chinatown made prostitution a lucrative business but also placed the neighborhood under continual police scrutiny and raised the concerns of city officials. White residents in other neighborhoods often condemned Chinatown as an eyesore, citing its overcrowded living quarters and alleged filthy and disease-ridden streets.

A major earthquake rocked San Francisco on April 18, 1906, leveling much of the city as a result of both the trembling earth and the subsequent fires that raged across much of the city. Chinatown was struck particularly hard by the fires, and the immigration records of city residents on file at City Hall perished amid the destruction. Ironically, the loss of official immigration records enabled Chinese migrants to claim that they had been born in the United States, thus making them American citizens by birth. This enabled the local Chinese populace to sponsor their wives, children, and relatives to legally migrate to the United States.

In the aftermath of the fire, San Francisco's city council attempted to relocate Chinatown to a different section of the city, due to its location on highly coveted land next to the city's financial district. However, Chinese businessman Look Tin Eli secured a loan from Hong Kong and convinced city officials to keep Chinatown in its original location. Look promised to reconstruct Chinatown with authentic-looking Chinese architecture

and landmarks, thereby turning the neighborhood into a major tourist attraction that would generate revenue for the city. In addition, China's imperial Qing government and private Chinese citizens offered financial support for the rebuilding efforts. The Qing Dynasty helped establish the Zhonghua School in San Francisco, a school for Chinatown's children that taught students the Chinese language as part of its curriculum. By the 1920s pagoda roofs and dragon-decorated lamp-posts had been added to the renovated Chinatown.

Although anti-Chinese prejudices did not disappear, the post-earthquake years witnessed a gradual increase in social incorporation of Chinatown's residents into American society. In 1915 the first Miss Chinatown beauty pageant was held, and during World War I the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association encouraged the local Chinese community to purchase U.S. war bonds to support the war effort. Chinatown's residents served in the armed forces during both world wars, but during World War II public sympathy toward the Chinese became much more amicable as Americans learned of the Japanese empire's invasion of Manchuria.

However, the communist revolution in mainland China (1949) and the emergence of the Cold War in the 1950s—highlighted by the Red Scare and McCarthyism—rekindled suspicions toward the sympathies and allegiances of Chinese Americans. San Francisco community organizations, such as the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association and the Chinese American Democratic Youth League, came under Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) surveillance, and a 1955 report issued to the State Department alleged that the majority of Chinatown's inhabitants were illegal aliens who harbored pro-communist loyalties.

Over the past 50 years the stigma associated with San Francisco's Chinatown has waned considerably, as the neighborhood has once again regained its status as a major tourist destination, attracting visitors from across the United States and around the world. Some experts contend that Chinatown today is a more popular tourist attraction in San Francisco than the Golden Gate Bridge. One of the biggest attractions is the Chinatown Gateway, located along Grant Street at the southern end of Chinatown. Also known as the Dragon Gate, the Chinatown Gateway was

designed in 1970 as a replica of the gates common to many Chinese villages. San Francisco's gate features sculptures of fish, dragons, and lions. Another major attraction is the Chinese New Year's festival, established in 1953 by H. K. Wong to cultivate a positive image of Chinese Americans to broader American society.

Shifting attitudes toward Chinatown are linked to the more diversified profile of Chinese immigrants who have settled in the United States since the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act, many of whom are highly educated professionals from middle-class and upper-middle-class backgrounds. Today, San Francisco's Chinese American population consists of immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and various parts of mainland China, which has transformed the predominance of ethnic Chinese from Guangdong in Chinatown a century ago. Approximately 20 percent of San Francisco's residents today are Chinese American, although the majority of recent immigrants have settled in San Francisco's Richmond and Sunset districts, rather than in Chinatown.

New York City

Not long after the establishment of San Francisco's Chinatown in the mid-19th century, another urbanized Chinese ethnic enclave emerged on the opposite coast in the Lower Manhattan section of New York City. By the early 1870s, a distinct Chinese community took root around Mott and Canal Streets; today New York's Chinatown consists of a two-square-mile radius loosely bounded by Jersey and East Hudson Streets to the north, Worth Street to the south, Elizabeth Street to the east, and Lafayette Street and Cleveland Place to the west.

Small numbers of Chinese traders and sailors ventured to New York City in the mid-18th century, but it wasn't until the late 19th century that a sizable Chinese community emerged in the Big Apple. Many, if not most, of the Chinese immigrants who settled in New York City during the 1860s and 1870s had relocated from the West Coast, where a confluence of factors—including rising anti-Chinese prejudice and discrimination, the completion of the transcontinental railroad, and diminished economic and job opportunities in the wake of the decline of the California Gold Rush—made life on the East Coast more appealing. As with San Francisco, New York's Chinese

quarter was populated almost exclusively by men between 20 and 50 years of age. Some estimates in the late 1800s place the ratio of Chinese men to women in New York City as high as 200:1. The low numbers of Chinese females prompted the emergence of prostitution within Chinatown, as well as compelling many Chinese men to marry women of other ethnic backgrounds. During the late 19th century, marriages between Chinese men and Irish women became fairly common in New York City.

Historians estimate that several hundred Chinese immigrants lived in New York City by the late 1860s and early 1870s. The 1900 U.S. census counted 6,321 Chinese within the city, but immigration restrictions, return migration, and a low female population (the 1900 census counted only 132 Chinese women in New York) reduced the population to 4,614 by 1910. As the Chinese female population of New York City increased over the next several decades, in part as a result of undocumented immigration, the overall population of Chinatown began to increase. In 1920 the Chinese population of New York City stood at 5,042, and by 1930 more than 8,400 Chinese resided in the city. The 1940 census revealed that the city's Chinese population had grown to 12,753. Changes in immigration laws during the 1940s, including the passage of the Magnuson Act in 1943 that repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act and the enactment of the War Brides Act in 1945, enabled growing numbers of Chinese women to enter the city and the nation as a whole.

Unlike many other ethnic enclaves in New York City during the early 20th century, Chinatown was largely self-sufficient, stemming from a proliferation of mutual aid societies, fraternal organizations (*tang* in Cantonese, but often called "tongs" in English), and numerous Chinese-owned-and-operated businesses that catered to co-ethnics.

One of the earliest Chinese enterprises in New York City was a popular restaurant started by Wing Sing on Doyers Street in the 1870s, which featured an all-Chinese staff that served American cuisine on bilingual Chinese-English menus to a mixed white-Chinese clientele. Other restaurants (serving American and "chop suey" dishes) and Chinese-owned businesses, including laundries, banks, grocery stores, temples, and theaters,

quickly followed to meet the needs of the community and to provide employment opportunities for residents. The city boasted 56 Chinese-owned laundries by 1876, and approximately 70 percent of Chinatown's male population worked in the city's restaurants and laundries by 1930. By the 1920s New York's Chinese community had effectively established its own food industry, as Chinese farmers growing vegetables on Long Island transported their produce to Chinatown restaurants and markets daily.

Despite the burgeoning success of Chinatown's enclave economy, local entrepreneurs often found themselves at odds with the New York Police Department. Many of these confrontations revolved around the city's "blue laws," which called for businesses to remain closed on Sundays in order to observe the Christian holy day. Such policies discriminated against the largely Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian Chinese community by commanding them to close their establishments on a day when they could otherwise remain open for business.

Similar to its counterpart in San Francisco, New York's Chinatown in the early 20th century elicited a reputation for nefarious activities, such as crime, drugs, gambling, and gang violence. Historian Mary Ting Yi Lui notes that

Places like [New York's] Chinatown, thought to be an enclave of vice and a danger to white womanhood, could not be ignored and social reformers . . . undertook campaigns to "cleanse" Chinatown through the organizing of religious missions and anti-vice crusades.

Robbery and vandalism of Chinese businesses were extremely common during the early decades of the 1900s, with the crimes committed by both fellow Chinese and non-Chinese perpetrators, and numerous insurance companies eventually refused to insure Chinese properties. Since its early years, organized crime syndicates in Chinatown have engaged in prostitution, gambling, drugs, extortion, and the smuggling of undocumented aliens.

During the early 1950s city officials outlined an urban renewal project titled the "China Village Plan" that proposed razing Chinatown's businesses and residential buildings to make way

for the construction of a high-rise housing project. This move prompted activism among community residents, who feared the destruction of Chinatown's historic core and its economy. Eventually, the project was defeated and Chinatown was left intact.

Demographic Change in New York

The liberalization of U.S. immigration policies dramatically affected the demographics of New York's Chinatown in a variety of ways. As with other cities, the influx of Chinese immigrants to New York City over the past 50 years has been extremely heterogeneous, with large numbers of Mandarin and Fujianese speakers taking up residence among the descendants of Cantonese-speaking Chinese immigrants from earlier generations. The end of the Vietnam War in the mid-1970s fostered a migration of ethnic Chinese refugees from southeast Asia. Furthermore, significant numbers of relatively higher-educated and more-affluent ethnic Chinese from Taiwan and Hong Kong have settled alongside large numbers of working-class and impoverished legal and undocumented migrants from mainland China. These dynamics have led to a distinction among some within the New York Chinatown community of "uptown Chinese" (highly educated elites from Taiwan) and "downtown Chinese" (less affluent migrants from the People's Republic of China and Indochina).

Since the 1960s New York's Chinatown has experienced a surge in population. By the late 1970s New York surpassed San Francisco as the city with the largest Chinatown. To this day, New York City remains the most popular destination for Chinese immigrants to the United States, and the city is home to the largest Chinese population in the Western Hemisphere. Chinatown's population more than doubled (from 32,831 to 69,324) from 1960 to 1970, and by 1980 the neighborhood was home to 124,372 residents. The 1990 census counted 238,919 inhabitants. This rapid population growth has resulted in the expansion of Chinatown's boundaries from its original seven-block radius in the mid-19th century to a 55-block area today that has encroached into neighboring Little Italy. Although it retains its historical and contemporary importance as the social and cultural hub of Chinese ethnic identity in New York



Located at the intersection of 10th and Arch Streets, the China Friendship Gate marks the entrance to Philadelphia's Chinatown. Established in the 1870s, the city's Chinatown was declared an official historical site in 2010.

City, Chinatown's population today also consists of growing numbers of Puerto Rican, Dominican, Vietnamese, Filipino, and Burmese residents.

Philadelphia

Philadelphia's importance as a major port city during the early years of the nation made it a point of contact and trade between the United States and China, and by 1839 Philadelphia was one of the few cities in the Western world that featured a museum dedicated to Chinese culture. Today Philadelphia is home to the only Chinatown in Pennsylvania. Although extremely historic in nature, Philadelphia's Chinatown has not generated the same degree of scholarly research as its counterparts in San Francisco and New York City. However, historians generally date the origin of Philadelphia's Chinatown to the establishment of Lee Fong's Laundromat at 913 Race Street in 1870. Philadelphia police arrested Fong and his associate, Lee Wang, in August 1882 on allegations that they were using their establishment to run an illegal gambling ring.

Religious institutions served as pillars of the Chinese community in Philadelphia from its early years. One of the most significant has been the Holy Redeemer Chinese Catholic Church and School, established in 1941. Holy Redeemer's activities have been twofold, serving the spiritual needs of the city's Catholic Chinese population

while also providing a basis of social support for Chinese immigrants. Other important Chinatown religious institutions include the Chinese Christian Church and Center (established in 1941) and the Chinese Gospel Church (1952). Since the 1950s, a number of secular community-oriented organizations have also taken root in Chinatown, including the Chinese Cultural and Community Center and the Greater Philadelphia Overseas Association.

As a city with a much smaller ethnic Chinese population than San Francisco or New York City, the vibrancy of Philadelphia's Chinatown has been bolstered, perhaps to a larger degree than those of other locales, by the involvement of other Asian American heritages in its social and political activities. Philadelphia is also home to smaller Korean, Indian, Cambodian, and Vietnamese communities. Chinatown features a number of community organizations that incorporate pan-Asian agendas, such as the Asian Arts Initiative, Asian Americans United, and the Asian American Women's Association.

Located adjacent to Center City (downtown), Philadelphia's Chinatown extends northward from Arch Street to the Vine Street Expressway and eastward from 13th Street to 8th Street. This location, near the Pennsylvania Convention Center and some of the highest real estate property values in Philadelphia, has made Chinatown the target of numerous attempts to evacuate its community and raze its buildings for development since the 1960s. In 1966, community activist Cecilia Moy Yep founded the Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation (PCDC) to protect the city's Chinatown landmarks from urban renewal efforts. The activism of the local Chinese community thwarted state and local attempts to build Philadelphia's Vine Street Expressway through Chinatown. In 1984 the PCDC led successful efforts to construct the China Friendship Gate at the intersection of 10th and Arch Streets, which was the first authentic gate in American society to be constructed by Chinese workers. In 2000, Mayor John Street proposed the construction of a new stadium for the Philadelphia Phillies in Chinatown, again sparking heated protests from the PCDC and the city's Chinese community. Eventually, the city opted to build Citizens Bank Park in South Philadelphia, but proposals to

build a casino in Chinatown also emerged in the early 2000s. This plan was also defeated.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission officially designated Philadelphia's Chinatown as a historical site on October 8, 2010. The consecration ceremony included a rendition of "God Bless America" sung by neighborhood schoolchildren and a performance by lion dancers, along with speeches delivered by local Chinese American leaders, Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter, and City Councilman Frank DiCicco, who represents Chinatown. Nutter praised Chinatown as a vital component of Philadelphia life:

The historical marker that we are dedicating today rests on a spot where Chinatown began. It is in the middle of a very vibrant community of homes and businesses and culture. A gateway for immigrants to settle here and other places in Philadelphia, a destination location for those who want to [have] a multicultural experience in our city, and a number of businesses that help support and drive the survival of this economy.

Approximately 2 percent of Chinese immigrants to the United States settle in Philadelphia annually, and the Chinese are currently Philadelphia's third-largest immigrant group. Increasingly, the city's Chinese community is becoming more geographically dispersed outside Chinatown, however, with significant populations taking up residence in northeast and South Philadelphia. Nevertheless, Chinatown remains a key focal point in the social consciousness and collective memory of the city's Chinese American community.

Future Outlook

Chinatowns collectively occupy a special place in the collective imagination of American ethnic history and the nation's contemporary multicultural identity, as evidenced by their serving as the settings for various motion pictures such as *Gremlins* (1984), *Big Trouble in Little China* (1986), *The Joy Luck Club* (1993), and *Rush Hour* (1996), among others. Martial arts icon Bruce Lee (1940–73) was born at the San Francisco Chinese Hospital in Chinatown. From coast to coast, Chinatowns remain major tourist draws, and continued

immigration from the Chinese diaspora ensures that Chinatowns will retain their social and cultural significance for many years to come.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Chinese Americans; Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882).

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Oakland and Los Angeles joined the organization and soon became the nucleus of the Grand Parlor, along with San Francisco. Shortly after, affiliates in Fresno and San Diego were added to the organization and CACA became a statewide organization in California. Over the years, many cities across the United States joined CACA, making it a national organization. The lodges in San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, San Diego, Fresno, Portland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Boston have their own officers and associates. In 1977, women were allowed to become members for the first time. Nancy Ann Gee was the first woman elected to the office of National Grand President at the CACA convention in Phoenix in 1997.

Purpose

The Chinese American Citizens Alliance works to promote equal rights and the general welfare of Chinese Americans. The Chinese American population numbers approximately 3.8 million people and makes up 26 percent of the Asian American population, according to the 2010 U.S. census. Chinese Americans are the largest ethnic group among Asian Americans, and they constitute 1.2 percent of the total U.S. population (including people with partial Chinese ancestry).

A number of organizations exist to promote the well-being of Chinese descendants, such as the USChina Peoples Friendship Association, the National Committee on United States–China Relations, and the Chinese Students and Scholars Association. These associations mainly deal with U.S.-China relationships and political policies, whereas CACA focuses its efforts primarily on Chinese Americans residing within the United States. CACA provides updates regarding events and legislation relevant to Chinese Americans through its Web site.

Achievements

CACA has systematically promoted the well-being of Chinese Americans by supporting community projects, including helping institute the San Francisco Chinatown Playground, Mei Lun Yuen housing project, Pin Yuen housing project, and the Chinese hospital. During the past century, CACA has helped challenge discriminatory laws and bills. In San Francisco, CACA worked with parents to change policies regarding the forced

Chinese American Citizens Alliance

The Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA) is a Chinese American nonprofit organization with no official political affiliations. It was founded in 1895 by Chun Dick in San Francisco. The stated mission of CACA is to help Chinese Americans fully enjoy the rights and privileges of American citizenship.

The CACA began with a group of Chinese Americans born and raised in the United States who were determined to change the way their Chinese ancestors were being treated. By 1912, Chinese Americans in other communities began to form local affiliates (called "lodges") of CACA. Lodges from

busing of Chinese American children. The organization also helped challenge the Immigration Act of 1924, which caused many American citizens to be separated from their wives because of strict quotas on Chinese immigration.

More recently, CACA has helped promote bills designed to enhance the well-being of Chinese Americans, and the association keeps the public informed of relevant policies being developed that affect Chinese Americans. CACA lobbied for the passage of U.S. House of Representatives Resolution 683, which expressed regret over discriminatory laws targeting Chinese Americans. The group condemns advertisements that use derogatory or demeaning stereotypes of Asian Americans. CACA also recognizes Asian American military service, and pays tribute to the American citizen soldiers of all ethnicities who lost their lives in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor during World War II.

Events

CACA hosts many events, including weekend socials, picnics, athletic tournaments, beauty contests, and fashion shows. Initially, these events were organized because Chinese Americans were excluded from social gatherings hosted by mainstream U.S. organizations. Regional lodges of CACA routinely organize activities within their own communities.

The organization currently hosts three major programs. The first is its Annual D.C. Team Visit, which aims to educate top officials and lawmakers about current issues critical to Chinese Americans, including immigration policies. The second is a national essay contest. Thousands of high school students throughout the United States have participated in the contest, which encourages an awareness of current local and world events among the students and is intended to foster their creative thinking and self-expression. The third event is the Youth Leadership Conference, which usually lasts for three days and aims to build a young Asian American student community, to develop students' communication and leadership skills, and to provide opportunities for them to make friends.

The Chinese Times

The alliance previously published a Chinese newspaper, *The Chinese Times*, founded in 1924 by Walter Lum, which was the official nationwide

newspaper of the organization for over 60 years. As Chinese Americans became more assimilated into American society, fewer needed to rely on a Chinese-language newspaper for information. By 1988, all of the alliance's interest in *The Chinese Times* was sold to independent buyers. CACA currently publishes a newsletter on its Web site called the *Alliance Connection*, which covers recent activities and accomplishments of different CACA lodges across the country.

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See Also: Chinatowns; Chinese Americans; Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association; Newspapers.

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Chinese Americans

Chinese Americans are the oldest and largest Asian ethnic group in the United States, consisting of fourth- and fifth-generation Americans of Chinese descent and recent immigrants. Chinese immigrants have been diverse in terms of languages spoken (Cantonese or Mandarin, for example) and points of origin (Hakka from southern China, secondary migrations from Hong Kong, and northern Chinese or indigenous Taiwanese). Chinese immigration and the place of Chinese Americans in the United States must be understood within the broader context of American economic development, as well as domestic and international politics.

U.S. Census Data

U.S. census data do not track the diversity of Chinese immigrants to America in terms of language, class, educational levels, and region. Most of that information derives from the research of contemporary historians and sociologists. Nonetheless, a snapshot using U.S. census data is important. The 2010 census reported that the three metropolitan areas with the largest Chinese American populations were greater New York with 682,265 people, the San Jose–San Francisco–Oakland combined statistical area with 592,865 people, and the greater Los Angeles combined statistical area with about 473,323 residents. New York is home to the highest Chinese population of any city, with 486,463 residents, while the Los Angeles County city of Monterey Park has the highest percentage of Chinese Americans of any municipality at 43.7 percent of its 24,758 population.

The 2010 census figures also showed that the 10 states with the largest Chinese American populations were California (1,253,100; 3.4 percent), New York (577,000; 3 percent), Texas (157,000; 0.6 percent), New Jersey (134,500; 1.5 percent), Massachusetts (123,000; 1.9 percent), Illinois (104,200; 0.8 percent), Washington (94,200; 1.4 percent), Pennsylvania (85,000; 0.7 percent), Maryland (69,400; 1.2 percent), and Virginia (59,800; 0.7 percent). Hawai‘i has the highest concentration of Chinese Americans at 4 percent, or 55,000 people.

Western Colonialism and the Decline of the Qing Dynasty

The Qing Dynasty (1644–1912) banned emigration for fear that supporters of the earlier Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) would establish overseas bases from which to continue their efforts to overthrow Qing control and restore the Ming. However, Qing decrees on emigration were largely ignored. The first Chinese presence in North America consisted of sailors and peddlers, who visited New York in 1830. By 1849, 325 Chinese were in the United States, with large-scale migrations beginning after the first and second Opium Wars (1842 and 1860, respectively), both of which resulted in the British wresting major concessions from the Qing Dynasty in the form of access to coastal ports, extraterritoriality, and most favored nation status. The Opium Wars allowed

Britain to begin to erode Chinese sovereignty, and British imperialism in Asia and the Pacific regions soon prompted similar efforts by other European nations and, in the latter half of the 19th century, the United States. The effectiveness of the Qing Dynasty at governing a population that had always considered them to be foreign (Manchu rather than Han) was further compromised in the 19th century by natural disasters, crop failures, and rebellions, the most significant being the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64), which eventually affected 17 provinces and took an estimated 20 million lives.

Nineteenth-Century Arrivals

American missionaries sent a small number of Chinese boys to the United States for schooling. From 1818 to 1825, five students stayed at the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut. In 1854, Yung Wing became the first Chinese graduate of Yale University. Meanwhile, Chinese sailors and merchantmen had been arriving in Mexico and had established a small community there during Spanish colonial rule over the Philippines (1565–1815) and the galleon trade between the Philippines and Mexico. Chinese sailors were also part of fur trader John Meares’s 1788 and 1789 expeditions from Canton to Vancouver Island. The Chinese diaspora in the Asia and Pacific regions includes most countries in Indochina (dating to the 16th century), Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and other Pacific Islands, and the Pacific Rim regions of Central and South America.

In the two decades prior to the 1868 Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China, Chinese migrants consisted of merchants, craftsmen, druggists, gamblers, and actors. Some Chinese came in response to the Gold Rush of 1848, although by the time they arrived, the best mines had already been staked or were depleted. Beginning in 1865, poorly educated Chinese were brought in to work on the western portion of the transcontinental railroad, an essential transportation and communications artery that fueled American industrialization and economic prowess in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. By 1869, when the transcontinental railroad was completed, 15,000 of the 17,000 workers on the western portion of the railroad had been Chinese.

Between 1851 and 1860, 40,400 arrived in the United States. From 1861 to 1871, 64,300 more arrived, mostly settling in California, with significant numbers also scattered in the southwest and other parts of the West Coast. Most of these arrivals came from six districts in southern China. Far fewer women were allowed into the country, and in 1872, they were banned from entering altogether. The Chinese were exploited for their work ethic and their willingness to work for low wages.

Anti-Chinese Sentiment and Agitation

By the 1840s, American missionaries had brought back tales of stereotypes of the Chinese as backward and heathen. By the mid-1840s, European colonial discourse had also figured the Middle Kingdom in its category of the alien Other, and Chinese territory and resources were seen as being ripe for conquest. Chinese in the United States drew increased misunderstanding because of their foreign customs, which were met with hostility and at times violence. As a result, they tended to keep to themselves, creating tight-knit communities based on common language, customs, and often kinship. These small communities kept to the outskirts of towns and away from white Americans and traveled in small groups in pursuit of jobs. Often, when confronted by white Americans, Chinese said very little, either because they could not speak English or because they believed that silence afforded them more safety. Their behavior was in turn interpreted as clanishness and an unwillingness to integrate with the larger community.

When the Chinese felt safe enough, they would cluster in one part of town, and many of these neighborhoods became known as Chinatowns. If the Chinese community was large enough, the members formed mutual aid societies or associations, called Six Companies or the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. These associations provided a sense of cohesiveness to the community of mostly bachelors and migrant workers, as well as practical assistance and a measure of protection. Not surprisingly, these organizations reinforced the image of the Chinese as secretive and resistant to assimilating into mainstream America.

Hostility toward the Chinese worsened whenever the economy went through difficult times,



This sculpture featuring anti-Chinese themes was made in New York in the late 1800s and is on display at the Smithsonian Museum of American History. It depicts a Chinese boy climbing toward white children who are protected by an American eagle.

such as the depression of the 1870s and 1880s, and the so-called Panic of 1893. As a push for anti-Chinese legislation began ramping up in the western states, the eastern part of the country was reacting against unprecedented numbers of what it termed “less desirable” European immigrants, namely those from eastern and southern Europe. However, the European influx did not lead to legislation banning those immigrants, and from 1882 to 1914, the United States admitted approximately 20 million European immigrants. The 1850s and 1860s also saw the rise of pseudoscientific theories of racial types, namely, the notion of a hierarchy of races in which “Asiatics” or “Mongoloids” were said to be genetically inferior to the Caucasian race. Moreover, it was argued that Asians were essentially

culturally incapable of assimilating into Western civilization.

Discriminatory Legislation

When Chinese communities started to coalesce in cities, local governments passed discriminatory ordinances. Chinese were not allowed to be in certain sections of town; taxes were levied based on the number of persons living together in a specific amount of square footage; laundry fees, poll taxes, and queue taxes were levied, just to name a few. Two particularly significant pieces of legislation were the Chinese Exclusion Act and a series of state Alien Land Laws.

The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited the entry of skilled and unskilled laborers for 10 years and the naturalization of Chinese immigrants. Teachers, merchants, scholars, and officials were allowed entry. In 1892 and again in 1902, the act was extended for another 10 years, and in 1904, it was extended indefinitely. The Scott Act of 1888 prohibited the reentry of Chinese with U.S. residency status after they had visited China (affecting 20,000 who were visiting China at the time the law was passed). After 1882, the Chinese met with increased incidents of mob violence, especially in the western states. By 1910, legislation at all levels of government and extrajudicial violence combined to drive the Chinese from the mainstream labor market. Many immigrants took up laundry work or worked in the restaurant trades or did domestic work for whites. In the 50 years after passage of the 1882 exclusion act, the Chinese population dropped from 105,465 to 74,954.

The Alien Land Laws originally had targeted the Chinese living outside major cities. The laws prohibited persons ineligible for U.S. citizenship from owning or leasing land. By the first part of the 20th century, however, with the retreat of the Chinese into the cities, Alien Land Laws impacted primarily the Japanese and south Asians, many of whom were farmers.

Chinese in Hawai'i

A few Chinese sailors were part of Captain James Cook's 1788 expedition to the Sandwich Islands, the name Cook gave to what would become Hawai'i. By the mid-19th century approximately 46,000 Chinese had arrived and were working

as contract laborers on sugar plantations owned by American businessmen. Although the Chinese found that getting free of indentured servitude was difficult, once done, most of the workers gradually moved to places like Honolulu to open their own shops or to find work. Intermarriage was common for Chinese men, since Chinese women were not allowed entry to the island. The men married Hawai'ian, Puerto Rican, Portuguese, Spanish, Japanese, Greek, and a small number of half-white women. According to 2010 census figures, residents of Hawai'i who self-identified as being of Chinese descent numbered 54,249, or 4.2 percent of the total state population. The largest Asian ethnic groups in Hawai'i are Filipino American at 176,596 and Japanese American at 172,400.

Chinatowns

The period between 1882 and 1943, the year the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, saw the establishment of Chinatowns in a few major cities and ethnic enclaves in smaller ones. The oldest Chinatown is in San Francisco, while the largest is in New York. The first generation of American-born Chinese was confronted with the racism of Anglo-Americans and segregated schools, drinking fountains, movie theaters, and other public spaces. In the first few decades of the 20th century, Chinese Americans who managed to complete college degrees could find jobs only in Chinatowns, working for Chinese-owned businesses or, in the case of the medical profession, their practice was restricted to Chinatown as well. Many of this younger generation had tenuous connections to or understanding of their parents' China and culture, yet this younger generation was prevented from integrating with Anglo-American society.

Evolving Ties to the Two Chinas

Although the Exclusion era, also known as the Silent Decades, restrained Chinese Americans, they nevertheless continued to pay attention to and, in limited ways, kept involved in the political turmoil in China—including continued foreign aggression, the fall of the Qing Dynasty and the end of China's imperial system, the 1911 Revolution, Japanese aggression and colonialism, and civil war leading up to World War II. For example,

in the late 19th century, the Baohuang hui set up 11 regional headquarters and 25 chapters in North America. This group advocated retaining China's imperial system, while Westernizing certain aspects of society. Later, Sun Yat-sen made multiple trips to Hawai'i and the United States to raise money to overthrow the Qing and make China into a democratic republic. The Japanese invasion and, later, the armed conflict between the republican Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under Mao Zedong led to similar fund-raising efforts in Chinese American communities, which were often split between supporters of the KMT and the CCP. The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor drastically changed American attitudes toward China and Chinese Americans: China became an ally. In 1943, after considerable lobbying efforts by various Chinese American groups, Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act. Chinese Americans enlisted in the military, found work in war-related industries, and work outside Chinatown.

The chaotic political situation in China between the KMT and CCP during and after World War II and leading up to the defeat of the KMT and the Communist takeover in 1949 was reflected in Chinese American communities across the United States. Political affiliation in these communities spanned the political spectrum. Homegrown unions tended to support China's CCP, which waged war against the Japanese invaders. By contrast, the KMT was perceived to be corrupt and saving its military to fight the CCP after the end of hostilities with Japan. The United States, alarmed at Soviet military muscle and the prospect of China falling into the hands of the CCP, supported the KMT. Chinese American support for the KMT ranged from lukewarm to enthusiastic, similarly in the case of the CCP.

Chinese Americans and the Cold War

In the Cold War years, Chinese Americans found themselves the target of American anti-Communist investigations, sometimes disguised as investigations into residency status or other violations. Left-leaning students, newspapers, and union leaders were particularly targeted. Ironically, the Red Scare and the chauvinistic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union enabled an influx of highly educated professionals,

scholars, and talented Chinese students into the country. Among this group were students and scholars, already in the United States at the time of the Communist takeover, who then applied for political asylum. Others fled China as refugees or came from Taiwan.

More such professionals entered the country as a result of the 1965 Immigration Act, which included a specific preferential quota for professionals, scientists, and artists. Statistics from the 1970 census showed that Chinese Americans had surpassed white Americans in the number of years of completed education and that only 25 percent were in menial labor. By contrast, in the 1930s, more than 60 percent of Chinese worked in menial jobs and only 1.5 percent had attained a college degree. The popular stereotyping of Chinese Americans as the model minority and as having achieved the American Dream derives from the rise in education and professional status during this period.

Asian American Movement

The Asian American movement was part of the 1960s and 1970s countercultural, anti-Vietnam War, African American-led civil rights, Native American and Chicano, and the second wave of feminist movements. The prosperity that Americans enjoyed after World War II also led to the rise of a new middleclass that was typically white and Protestant. The model American family lived in cultural uniformity, represented by numerous identical housing tracts built after World War II.

However, the seeming democratization of the means to achieving the American Dream was not evenly distributed among the races or genders. The United States was again fighting a foreign war, having only recently concluded with the war on the Korean Peninsula. The Deep South seethed; and America's youth, disillusioned with racism, sexism, and monochromatic suburbia, rebelled, seeking inspiration not from Adam Smith or Thomas Jefferson but from Lenin, Mao, Che, and Ho Chi Minh. Japanese Americans of the sansei, or third, generation wanted the truth about the internment, while the children of working-class Chinese Americans and the professional class realized that, after more than 100 years in America, ordinary Americans still refused to learn how to distinguish between the various Asian ethnicities:

Chinese, Japanese, Korean, south Asians, or Filipinos. Chinese Americans in the United States military talked about being called “gooks” by other G.I.s.; the existence of corporate and professional glass ceilings only confirmed the reality of ongoing American racism. And unlike their parents and earlier waves of immigrants, they were not willing to stay silent.

The student demonstrations and occupations at the University of California, Berkeley and San Francisco State University ushered in ethnic studies on American campuses across the country. This coalition was known as the Third World Liberation Front. Americans of Asian heritages understood that they had to build an intra-ethnic Asian community, a crucial aspect in forging a pan-ethnic identity, as well as build multiethnic and multiracial alliances. Even more moderate Asian Americans in this movement took the stance that assimilation into the American mainstream was no longer a desirable or realistic goal. An important step occurred when husband and wife Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee called for an Asian American alliance with the Black Panther Party and antiwar groups such as the Peace and Freedom Party. Ichioka is credited with coining the term *Asian American*. Various Americans of Asian descent came together as the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA).

The Asian American movement dissipated in the decade following the Vietnam War, a trend of other parts of the counterculture movement. Ethnic and Asian American Studies departments in universities became rapidly institutionalized, even as they struggled to survive budget cuts and remain relevant to students of the 1980s and beyond who were more interested in degrees in high-paying fields than in learning about class struggle or their ethnic identity. Asian American community organizers of the 1960s and 1970s also gradually became less relevant or absorbed by governmental programs that succeeded in ameliorating the worst effects of poverty and racism, but without eliminating the systemic roots of inequality and injustice.

Post-1990 Asian Americans

Immigration reform in 1990 brought even more highly educated and skilled professionals to the United States, many from Hong Kong or Taiwan.

Entrepreneurs willing to invest heavily in the country constituted a new category of immigrants or resident aliens. Many of the post-1990 Chinese migrants are ethnic Chinese from Vietnam or the Philippines. Many Chinese “legal aliens” continue to work in places like Hong Kong or Taiwan, while mainland Chinese form an increasingly high percentage of arrivals in the 21st century, either as students or entrepreneurs, shuttling back and forth between their bases in the United States and China or Hong Kong. Chinatowns have undergone changes that reflect new waves of arrivals from Indochina; some of the oldest Chinatowns have become home to Vietnamese, some of whom are ethnic Chinese. In Los Angeles, suburbs like Mission Viejo and Irvine have absorbed many of the Chinese American professional class, some first-generation immigrants, and others who are first- or second-generation American. Monterey Park, about 15 miles from downtown Los Angeles, was the first suburb to which working-class residents of Chinatown moved in the 1970s and 1980s. Since the 1990s, Chinese arriving from Hong Kong, Taiwan, or China often do not pass through any of the old Chinatowns but go directly into affluent neighborhoods, preferably near exclusive college preparatory high schools or prestigious universities.

However, this picture of more recent Chinese arrivals must be examined within the larger context of this very diverse ethnic population. It is difficult to gather accurate figures on the number of undocumented Chinese immigrants who succeed in entering the country. Highly publicized incidents, such as the 1993 *Golden Venture*, a 147-foot cargo ship that ran aground on the East Coast carrying 286 Chinese, indicate that significant numbers continue to arrive annually. This undocumented population often end up in indentured servitude in factories, low-paying service jobs, or the sex trade.

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See Also: Asian American Categorization (Essay); Asian American Movement; Asian Americans; Chinese American Citizens Alliance; Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Ethnic Studies; Yellow Peril.

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Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) emerged within the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although the CCBA was first established in San Francisco, it has a group of related organizations across the United States (e.g., CCBA of San Diego; CCBA of New York City). Historically, the CCBA was created to help resolve disputes among local Chinese immigrants, serve as an advocate for legal rights and community respect, and assist immigrants in adjustment to U.S. culture. Currently, CCBA organizations provide diverse services, such as health care, education, transportation, and cultural enrichment, to Chinese immigrants and/or individuals of Chinese descent. In addition, the CCBA works to build connections among Chinese communities and other U.S. communities. The CCBA also extends

humanitarian aid to groups and communities outside the United States.

History of the Association

During the 1800s, there were many Chinese individuals who lived in the San Francisco area. These immigrants were from distinct regions of China, with their own dialects, customs, and beliefs. District associations emerged, in which individuals from the same region could meet to retain their cultural heritage and assist each other in adaptation to U.S. life. Within their communities, these associations engaged in activities to help their members, including offering financial assistance and dispute resolution. They also worked with citizens outside their communities to foster respect for Chinese residents and workers and to build positive social relationships.

By the 1850s, there were six prominent regional associations: Hip Kat, Hop Wo, Ning Yuen, Sam Yup, See Yup, and Yueng Wo. In 1854, these groups merged to form a single association known as the Six Companies. This association was created in order to unify efforts to represent the interests of Chinese individuals. A seventh organization, Sue Hing Benevolent Association, emerged in the 1870s and later joined with the Six Companies. At this point, the name was changed to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA).

Since the first CCBA was formed in San Francisco, several other regional organizations were created. These organizations typically formed in urban areas (e.g., Boston, Seattle) to which large numbers of Chinese individuals migrated during the 19th and 20th centuries. CCBAs were established in cities such as Los Angeles in the 1880s, but were not founded in cities such as Washington, D.C., until the 1940s. Currently, there are CCBAs in a variety of states, such as California, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

Community Services of the CCBA

Although CCBA regional organizations vary in their history, governance, and services, they do share common principles. More specifically, these organizations focus on provision of educational, leisure, health, and social services; preservation of Chinese culture and customs; provision of

charitable aid and support; advocacy and facilitation of individuals' involvement with U.S. systems (e.g., employment, law, transportation); support of human dignity; and advancement of positive relationships between Chinese communities and other communities. These values highlight the benevolent intent of these associations. Similar to the early years of CCBAs, there is an effort to balance bicultural issues (e.g., retention of Chinese culture) with adaptation to U.S. life in the 21st century.

For example, several CCBAs offer instruction in Chinese languages (Mandarin, Cantonese); this instruction is available from early childhood through older adulthood. Although it might seem counterintuitive that older adults would need language instruction, it has been noted that some elders were never taught written language and speak a regional dialect that is not well understood by others. Thus, an argument has been made that even older adults need to share a common language. In addition, CCBAs commonly offer general instruction in American English. Some associations also offer training in specific skill areas. For example, the CCBA of Chicago provides a certified training program in food sanitation) for chefs and computer literacy courses. Beyond education, CCBAs provide health care (e.g., free clinics, exercise, meal services), legal advice, crime watch patrols, and recreational activities (e.g., dances, movies, books, opera, sports, Boy Scouts, girls' drill teams). The San Diego association runs an apartment building and recreational center for older adults.

Although these services might seem primarily internal to the Chinese community, CCBAs engage in diverse external activities that bridge to the broader U.S. community. Many associations note that they share in city events (e.g., parades, festivals) that honor several cultures and countries. The CCBA of Augusta, Georgia, formed a support group for bicultural families (U.S. parents who adopt children from China). In addition, associations participate in fund-raising activities for organizations and groups that serve other communities. For example, the CCBA of Portland has helped raise funds for a children's hospital and an art museum, while the CCBA of New York raised money to assist survivors of a Bangladeshi cyclone and Haitian earthquake.

Since the first CCBA was founded more than 150 years ago, multiple CCBA affiliates have been established across the United States. As families and communities change over time, these CCBAs have made adjustments. However, the core principles of the CCBA have provided continuity across generations.

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See Also: Chinatowns; Chinese American Citizens Alliance; Chinese Americans.

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Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which halted immigration from China for 10 years and barred the Chinese from U.S. citizenship, was the first legislation in U.S. history to restrict immigration by race or nationality. The act exempted travelers, teachers, students, merchants, and American-born Chinese from the overall exclusion. The law was the first to restrict immigration by an ethnic group, and the first of multiple legislative, executive, and judicial acts imposing what many scholars regard as racist limits, including exclusions or quotas for Japanese and all other Asians.

The Chinese Exclusion Act was a foretaste of the immigration restriction laws of the 1920s that eventuated in the National Origins Act of 1929, which capped immigration at 150,000 a year and excluded Asians entirely.

In response to the Gold Rush, Chinese came to California. By 1870 the population of California included 8.6 percent Chinese, and Chinese were a fourth of the workforce. The pull was the demand on the West Coast for workers in mining, timber, canning, and railroad construction. Additionally, the Chinese owners of laundries, restaurants, and small factories in the United States wanted Chinese workers. Construction of the Central Pacific railroad from 1864 to 1869 also depended on Chinese labor.

Almost from the time of their arrival, Chinese encountered discrimination in cities and mining camps. California enacted the Foreign Miners' Tax in 1850. Levies as high as \$20 a month targeted the small number of Chinese.

Still the Chinese came, pushed by events in China. Foreign and domestic wars and religious and political rebellions caused 30 million Chinese fatalities and a virtual collapse of the Chinese economy.

The Burlingame Treaty of 1868 allowed free immigration between China and the United States. By 1868 the west was home to 100,000 Chinese, but the United States wanted more Chinese workers and promised to protect Chinese citizens in America. Not long after the Burlingame Treaty, California went into a recession. Unemployed Californians looked to scapegoat the Chinese in their midst.

But the Chinese survived, persevered, and prospered, creating San Francisco's Chinatown governed by the Six Companies (Tongs) from the 1860s. Their difference and their prosperity provoked already-racist whites: the Chinese were heathen and seemed impossible to assimilate, so they had to be stopped. Anti-Chinese stereotypes were based on white superiority and an erroneous belief that the Chinese were stealing American jobs.

White unionists and newspapers fanned the flames of violence, and China was slow to respond, not establishing an embassy in Washington, D.C., and a consular office in San Francisco until 1878. By then, hundreds of Chinese cases were pending, 300 Chinese were in jail, and Congress was debating Chinese exclusion. The Chinese ambassador told the secretary of state that exclusion violated the Burlingame Treaty. President Rutherford Hayes vetoed the exclusion bill but sought

to renegotiate the Chinese treaty in 1880. The Angell Treaty authorized the United States to suspend, limit, and regulate Chinese immigration but not to prohibit it.

In 1882 Senator John F. Miller (R-CA) proposed a 20-year suspension of Chinese immigration, with deportation and imprisonment as penalties. He also sought to block federal and state naturalization. President Chester Arthur vetoed the bill due to the 20-year provision. Congress passed it with a 10-year ban, and Arthur signed it. Non-laborer Chinese who sought to come to the United States had to have a Chinese certificate of eligibility to emigrate and had to prove that they were not laborers.

The Chinese Exclusion Act excluded skilled and unskilled workers and miners. It also mandated that those who left the United States had to have a reentry certificate. State and federal courts could not grant citizenship to Chinese but could deport them.

Between 1882 and 1891 San Francisco's district court was the site of over 7,000 habeas corpus cases for Chinese men and women detained for lack of entry certificates. Anti-Chinese violence intensified. When China offered an open-ended suspension of immigration in return for an end to violence, the United States wanted 30 years. The Chinese offered a 20-year suspension, but neither side ratified the treaty.

Congress tightened exclusion. The United States in 1884 limited the rights of Chinese-descended persons, regardless of where they were born, to enter and leave the country. The Scott Act of 1888 blocked entry of Chinese with return certificates and established an immigrant detention facility on the Pacific Steamship Company wharf.

The Geary Act of 1892 extended exclusion for another decade, required Chinese aliens to have residence certificates on their persons at all times or risk deportation, and mandated that all resident Chinese apply for a certificate within a year. In 1902 the United States extended Chinese exclusion to all its territories and renewed Geary with no termination date.

Effects

Under exclusion, many merchants left their families in China. Merchants who returned to China

were authorized by federal law to register two children for immigration. This led to a market for fraudulent claims of relationship in order to immigrate. These “paper sons” risked deportation if they failed to convince the examiner that they were truly the children of the merchant’s family. In the 1950s, the United States amnestied paper families.

Chinese exclusion remained law until World War II. Chinese served with distinction in American units in World War I. In World War II China was an ally, and the United States allowed naturalization of Chinese servicemen and citizenship for the Chinese spouses of American G.I.s. In 1943 the Magnuson Act authorized only 105 Chinese immigrants a year.

The Immigration Act of 1965 revoked the national origins policy established by the 1920s laws, and finally the Chinese were allowed to immigrate, which they did in large numbers.

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See Also: Asiatic Exclusion League; California Gold Rush; Chinese Americans; Gentlemen’s Agreement (1907); Immigration Acts; Yellow Peril.

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Choctaw

Hundreds of years before Europeans landed on American soil, the Choctaw Indian Nation (*Chakchiuma*, *Chatot* or *Hacha hatek*, meaning “river people”) lived primarily in the southeastern United States, which included the Mississippi Valley and parts of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida. In 1830, these Native American farmers were forcibly moved by the federal government to southeastern Oklahoma. This became known as the Trail of Tears, the result of the Indian Removal Act, which authorized the U.S. government to negotiate with Native Americans in the southern states for their removal to federal territory west of the Mississippi in exchange for their homelands.

These Muskogean—as the group of Native Americans, which included the Choctaw, were called—were a matriarchal society. They have an interesting myth of origin. From 800 to 1500 C.E., their ancestors were located throughout the mideastern, southeastern, and eastern parts of the United States. This Mississippian culture is what Spanish explorer Juan Ponce de León encountered when he arrived in America. However, they were already diminishing in number. There is a big question about the origins of the mound-building society that preceded them. The secular version implies that these descendants of the pre-Columbian Hopewellian culture were traveling through forests with the remains of their dead. They stopped at a creek to rest during winter. One of the indentations on the mountain located near them, called *Nanih Waiya*, meaning “productive mountain” or “mother mound,” was considered sacred. When spring arrived, the well-rested tribal members had an abundance of food from the surrounding vegetation. They decided to make this encampment their permanent home, naming it *Nanih Waiya*, which today is known as Winston, Mississippi.

According to Hernando De Soto’s narratives, he may have been the first European to encounter the Choctaw. In 1540, he met the enormous Choctaw chieftain Tascalusa. Despite claiming he was a civilized Christian, De Soto attacked the tribe when they would not surrender their chief to be his enslaved servant. But the tribe did not go down without a fight, leaving the Spaniards with many casualties.

Gender Roles, Customs, and Lifestyle

Both genders of Choctaw had specific roles within the tribes. Women were farmers, took care of the children, and cooked. Men were hunters and engaged in war, if necessary, to protect their families. Horses (called “spirit dogs”), which had been introduced by the white man, were very important to the tribe’s hunting process. After the prey was hunted by the men, the women would go by horseback to track the catch, marking the trail with a twig. If the prey was deer, the woman would use a knife to dress it, then put it over her packsaddle to carry back to the village. She would leave some tobacco on the spot where the animal had lain as a sign of gratitude. Both men and women took part in oral storytelling, music, artwork and traditional medicine. Men were always chiefs, but that does not hold true today.

Their dress did not involve much adornment. The men wore breechcloths, and the women wore deerskin wraparound skirts. Though neither had much need to wear shirts, women would wear ponchos to stay warm. Both sexes wore moccasins. They eventually adopted European clothing, wearing full skirts and cloth jackets. They did not wear colorful headdresses, but both men and women wore their hair long. Some men would cut their hair in the Mohawk style, putting feathers on the fringes. The men painted their faces for festivals, lacrosse games, or battles, and often had tribal tattoos. One interesting practice was artificial head flattening. When a male child was born, a board was attached to his head to flatten it.

They lived in villages with solid, warm homes that were like log cabins. They were made of rivercane and plaster, with thatched roofs. Their villages usually had baseball fields with benches for spectators. If their towns were near a border outside their area, they would construct reinforced walls (*palisades*) for fortification. They were recognized as the preeminent agriculturalists of the southern tribes.

The Choctaw had great respect for their dead. They always appointed one member, who grew his nails long, to clean the bones of the dead before they were put into boxes in the bone-houses. Believers in spirits living on after death, they would surround graves with poles, which they looped with hoops and wreaths to aid the spirit of the deceased in his or her ascent from the burial ground.

Trail of Tears

By the 1830s, around the time Spanish missions started closing, the United States government was intent on removing Native Americans from the territory so that they could claim more land. In 1830, the Choctaw signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek; it was the largest transfer of land (11 million acres) between the United States and Native Americans that was not prompted by warfare. The Choctaw left in three phases, spanning the years 1831–33. Nearly 15,000 left the greenery of Mississippi for the dry plains of Oklahoma. Almost 2,500 died from disease during the somber trek.

About 4,000–6,000 had remained in Mississippi and became targets of severe racism, harassment, and bullying, and encountered many legal conflicts. They eventually were left, stripped of dignity, and slowly migrated westward. By 1930, as a result of the Indian Removal Act, only 1,665 Choctaw were left in Mississippi.

Choctaw Participation in the Civil War

During the American Civil War, the Choctaw primarily sided with the Confederacy. After agreeing to the U.S. government’s treaty with Choctaws and Chickasaws, battalions started forming in Indian territories. When the war reached its peak, Union officers captured Mississippi Choctaw and shipped them to New York. During and after



Choctaws served in the U.S. Army during World War I and became “code talkers,” who used their native language to avoid being understood by the Germans. Their communications helped win key battles during the war’s last big German offensives.

Reconstruction, the Choctaw, along with African Americans, faced the brunt of Jim Crow laws.

Contemporary Choctaw

Two Choctaw tribes exist today. The Mississippi Choctaw live on a reservation, which is land they control and that belongs to them. The Oklahoma members live on trust land, which is owned by the federal government. Each of the tribes has its own police, laws, and governments. Yet, they are also U.S. citizens, and as such must adhere to American laws, too. Today's elections of Choctaw chiefs are much like elections for senators or governors. They have blended their indigenous ways with colonial customs, which include adopting a more European form of dress and practicing the Judeo-Christian religion.

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See Also: Code Talkers; Indian Removal Act (1830); Native Americans; Trail of Tears.

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Cinco de Mayo

The Cinco de Mayo (5th of May) holiday has been celebrated in California since 1863 and has

subsequently spread to other states. Although Cinco de Mayo is sometimes conflated with Mexican Independence Day (September 16, 1810), the first Cinco de Mayo celebration commemorated the battle of Puebla (May 5, 1862), when the Mexican army temporarily defeated invading French troops. Later observations of Cinco de Mayo celebrated Mexican heritage, identity, culture, and pride.

Despite Cinco de Mayo being observed by people from diverse backgrounds, Mexican immigrants have been instrumental in planning and executing the celebrations. This has resulted in Cinco de Mayo becoming less about Puebla, and more about Mexican culture within the United States. Cinco de Mayo has frequently included U.S. and Mexican flags and memorialized U.S. historical figures of Mexican ancestry, like César E. Chávez, and Mexican historical figures, like Frida Kahlo. Cinco de Mayo has also come to represent the United States' and Mexico's joint history in defending freedom in North America.

Battle of the Puebla

While the United States, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, was immersed in its Civil War (1861–65), Mexico struggled to keep its sovereignty from Napoleon III of France. Mexico's troubles with France began in December 1857, when Mexican conservatives, seeking to reestablish elite privileges, revolted against a newly formed liberal government. To fund their war effort, conservatives borrowed money from Spain, Great Britain, and France. After three years of bloodshed, Benito Juárez (president of Mexico from 1858 to 1872) and his liberal army regained control of Mexico City, marking a short-lived peace in Mexico. Juárez inherited the conservative government's debt to Spain, Great Britain, and France. Lacking the capital to repay the loans, Juárez declared on July 17, 1861, the first battle of the U.S. Civil War—that he would suspend payments of foreign debt for two years.

In 1862, France, Spain, and England pressured Mexico by landing troops on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. After a few weeks, only France remained, and it became clear that Napoleon III had aspirations of conquest. Because the Mexican army had been routed by the United States in 1848, most Europeans believed that France's

elite army would swiftly defeat Mexican forces and easily take control. Therefore, the world was dumbfounded when the French clashed with local forces in Puebla on May 5, 1862, and the Mexicans won. However, French forces eventually captured Puebla, and Mexico City succumbed in 1863. Even though French troops occupied Mexico until 1867, the battle of Puebla created a sense of national pride and unity for Mexicans in Mexico and the United States alike. In May 1863, California became the first state to celebrate the Mexican victory at Puebla.

Mexican Immigration

The Gold Rush (1848–55) had attracted many Mexicans to California. These newcomers joined Californians of Mexican ancestry who came to California before 1847, when the region was still part of Mexico. These people followed the events of the War of French Intervention almost as closely as they did those of the U.S. Civil War. Moreover, Californians of Mexican ancestry and Mexican immigrants made a conscious effort to observe Cinco de Mayo because of its social implications. At the time of the battle of Puebla, Westerners believed that Mexico and the rest of Latin America lacked civilization and culture. Mexico's victory at Puebla provided people of Latin American ancestry with pride and suggested that perhaps Mexico and Latin America not as backward as critics thought.

Early-20th-century America saw another wave of Mexican immigrants searching for work and refuge from the Mexican Revolution (1910–30). These new immigrants began to outnumber Mexican Americans and Cinco de Mayo began to reflect their new perspectives and experiences. By the 1930s, third-generation Mexican Americans were participating in Cinco de Mayo celebrations organized by first-generation immigrants. This ensured that Cinco de Mayo celebrations in the United States were a reflection of Mexican culture, while maintaining roots in the United States. Cinco de Mayo has also been used by politicians to gain support from constituents who identify with Mexican heritage.

Politics, Culture, and Identity

During World War II, U.S. politicians used Cinco de Mayo as a way to obtain support for the war

effort from Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans by invoking the interrelated nature of the American Civil War and the War of the French Intervention and the pride and traditions of Mexican people in the United States and Mexico. This trend has continued into the 21st century. For example, in 2005 President George W. Bush held a Cinco de Mayo celebration in which he thanked Latinos serving in the U.S. armed forces in an attempt to gain Latino supporters for the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. In 1998, the U.S. Postal Service released a special edition Cinco de Mayo stamp portraying two *baile folklórico* (folkloric dancers). This stamp is a testament to Cinco de Mayo's importance to people of Mexican heritage, and the impact these people have had in the United States.

Thus, Cinco de Mayo, which began as a celebration of Mexican pride and a victory for democracy, has become a holiday dedicated to Mexican identity and the contributions Mexicans have made to U.S. culture and success. The tradition was not inherited from Mexico but originated in California in 1863, and shortly thereafter spread to other parts of the country. In the United States, Cinco de Mayo has little to do with Puebla, Napoleon III, or the war debt, but rather grants people of Mexican heritage an opportunity to celebrate Mexican culture and identity.

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See Also: Californios; Día de los Muertos; Mexican-American War; Mexican Americans; Mexican Revolution.

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Cisco Kid, The

The Cisco Kid—one of the most successful Hispanic heroes in American popular culture history—has been entertaining audiences for over a century. When Cisco first appeared in 1907 in O. Henry's short story, "The Caballero's Way," he was a dark outlaw who killed for fun. After appearing in a silent movie of the same name in 1914, Cisco gained fame and more likeable qualities when he was featured in the first sound western movie, *In Old Arizona* (1929). The revised character—played by Warner Baxter with gusto and a thick Mexican accent—is a charming bandit. He avoids violence, never harms the innocent, and is a champion of the common man.

Film, Radio, Books, and Music

The movie's phenomenal success led to a series of Cisco Kid films. Baxter reprised his role in 1931 and 1939. Cesar Romero starred as the Kid in six films between 1939 and 1941. Duncan Renaldo played Cisco in three movies in 1945 and then handed the reins to Gilbert Roland, who made six movies in 1946 and 1947. Renaldo then returned in three films released between 1948 and 1950.

Duncan Renaldo clinched his reputation as the most identifiable Cisco Kid by starring in a popular weekly television series from 1950 until 1956. The opening featured the dashing Cisco riding his painted pony alongside his sidekick, Pancho (played by Leo Carillo). Mexican-influenced music thundered in the background as an announcer proclaimed: "Here's adventure; here's romance; here's O. Henry's famous Robin Hood of the Old West—the Cisco Kid!"

Cisco became a multimedia star. A weekly radio show was broadcast between 1942 and 1956. Comic books were published in the 1940s and 1950s. A newspaper comic strip was syndicated between 1951 and 1967. Six graphic novels were issued after 2009. Popular music got into the act when Nick Lucas earned a hit record in 1929 with "My Tonia," a song from the first Cisco sound western. Later hits that referenced Cisco included War's "The Cisco Kid" (1973), Mark Lindsay's "Arizona" (1970), Deep Purple's "Hey Cisco" (1996), and Don Williams's "Pancho" (1998).

Ubiquitous pop culture allusions demonstrate that Cisco has become a cultural icon. Nash

Candelaria published a short-story collection titled *The Day the Cisco Kid Shot John Wayne* (1998). Characters who use "Cisco" and "Pancho" as nicknames can be found in Stephen King's "The Raft" (1982) and Michael Connelly's novels *The Brass Verdict* (2008) and *The Fifth Witness* (2011). Movies such as *Stand By Me* (1986), *Wild at Heart* (1990), and *Creepshow 2* (1987) alluded to the Cisco Kid, as did episodes of TV shows such as *Hill Street Blues* and *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*. The continuing appeal of O. Henry's hero even fueled a made-for-TV movie in 1994 that starred Jimmy Smits as Cisco and Cheech Marin as Pancho.

Changing Image

The changing images of the Cisco Kid in popular culture reflect corresponding changes in American society and culture. The brutal character introduced in O. Henry's 1907 short story, for example, reflects the era's negative stereotypes of Mexicans as banditos or buffoons and suggests that the dominant white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture was not yet ready for a Hispanic hero.

After 1929, Hollywood gave Cisco a makeover in keeping with the era's Latin lover image popularized by exotic film stars such as Rudolph Valentino. Cisco became an amiable rake, who loved wine, women, song, and loot (although not necessarily in that order). Perhaps to evade the movie industry's restrictions on interracial romance, most of the Cisco films of the 1930s and 1940s played down the Kid's ethnicity by describing him as half-Portuguese and half-Old Californian. During the conservative 1950s, Cisco was transformed again. Due to strict rules governing television programming, Cisco became a clean-cut role model who promoted traditional values and did not smoke, drink, or swear. Pancho, however, remained the stereotypical comic Mexican replete with broken English.

When American society changed dramatically in the 1960s and beyond, so did Cisco. The pop icon became a nostalgic symbol for aging baby boomers. He also provided the means to address social and cultural change. The Kid was referenced in songs about growing old (e.g., War's "The Cisco Kid"), losing friends (Don Williams's "Pancho"), new trends (Fat Larry's Band's "Hey Pancho, It's Disco"), and problems of Mexican

immigrants (Rage Against the Machine's "Without a Face").

Cisco's new image reflected the era's growing sensitivity toward minorities. Both Nash Candelaria's short-story collection *The Day the Cisco Kid Shot John Wayne* and Jimmy Smits's television movie *The Cisco Kid* demonstrated America's multiculturalism by the end of the 20th century. The Hispanic cowboy's continuing success was proof that freedom and equal opportunity existed not just in the mythic west but throughout the United States.

Cisco and his lovable sidekick Pancho would probably react to the significance of their century-long cultural odyssey the same way they always concluded episodes on radio and television. The Kid would laugh knowingly and say, "Oh Pancho," to which his friend would reply, "Oh, Ceesco." Then they would gallop off once again into the sunset in search of liberty and justice for all.

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See Also: Californios; Cowboy Culture and Ethnic Diversity; Hispanic Americans; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Latinos; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Mexican Americans; Motion Pictures.

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Citizenship

U.S. citizenship is a complex relationship between individuals and the state. It consists of protections that the state provides to citizens who, in turn, support and maintain the state. While U.S. citizenship was grounded in ideas about natural

rights and human equality, it has always been an unequal institution. Citizenship was originally extended to free Americans, not all of whom enjoyed equal access to the rights, protections, obligations, and opportunities that the designation offered. Since the 18th century, citizenship and its benefits have been withheld and extended based on national origin, race and ethnicity, gender, religious affiliation, sexuality, and wealth or affluence. Nevertheless, Americans—immigrants and citizens—have worked to equalize access to citizenship and the enjoyment of its benefits. This history of these actions has shaped modern, multicultural America.

Foundations of U.S. Citizenship

The U.S. Constitution, as well as the original state constitutions, defined the legal category of U.S. citizenship in the 1770s and 1780s. Citizenship was something originally offered by the states, but both state and federal law defined the rights, liberties, obligations, and opportunities that citizens enjoyed. These included social rights and liberties, such as free speech and religious liberty, political rights like voting and office holding, economic rights and freedoms such as property ownership and prohibitions on the seizure of property, opportunities to own land or attend public schools, and obligations, which included service in the military and on juries.

The status of "citizen" was extended to all members of the new United States, but only a select group of men enjoyed the full benefits of citizenship. Early Americans believed that only free men with property had sufficient liberty to lead, serve, and build the new republic. Other members of society were not entirely free; women presumably deferred to their husbands, wage-workers to their employers, and servants and enslaved people to their masters. Their seeming lack of complete liberty provided justification to suspend the full range of benefits granted to citizens. These divisions would have a long-lasting effect on unequal citizenship in the United States.

Citizenship in the 19th Century

The first significant change in U.S. citizenship came in the early 19th century through a grassroots effort. The movement for universal white manhood suffrage gradually succeeded in all

states, beginning with Delaware in 1792 and ending in North Carolina in 1854. The men behind these movements were wage earners who often did not own enough property to meet state voting qualifications. They reformed franchise laws by arguing that they had property in their labor and thus were sufficiently free to vote. They built this argument by contrasting themselves to unfree, enslaved laborers. They also contrasted their race with that of enslaved people, thus tapping into broader, popular changes in ideologies about racial difference. Revolutionary-era Americans had believed that the degraded state of enslaved people was due to the circumstances of their lives and could be improved with the guarantees of freedom and opportunities of citizenship. Increasingly, during the 19th century, Euro-Americans came to believe that racial differences were indicators of lesser and inherent characteristics, moral fiber, or mental capacity. This biological racism held that differences were immutable. When rallied in support of white manhood suffrage, this racial ideology justified the elevation of the civil status of white men and eroded that of free blacks. Thus, states that granted suffrage to white men often restricted voting for black men. By 1860, almost all African American men were disenfranchised.

Ideologies of racial difference continued to inform accessed citizenship and its benefits. The *Dred Scott* decision provides one of the most striking examples of the way biological racism redefined and restricted citizenship. Scott was an enslaved man who lived for a number of years in free territory. He used his residency to sue for freedom. In 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court denied Scott his freedom and asserted that he had no standing to sue since he was not a citizen. The court added that no person of African descent could be a U.S. citizen and none had any rights recognized by white society.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments

The far-reaching prohibition on African American citizenship and civil rights was one of the controversies at the heart of the Civil War and Reconstruction. After the United States ratified the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 and abolished slavery, Congress addressed the *Dred Scott* decision and its ban on African American citizenship.

Congress wrote the Fourteenth Amendment and states ratified it in 1868. This amendment confirmed U.S. citizenship for all Americans of African descent.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments significantly altered the Constitution, particularly in terms of who counted as citizens and what benefits they enjoyed. The Fourteenth clarified that all persons born in the United States enjoyed U.S. citizenship. It transitioned citizenship from a state-level institution to a national one, and, significantly, it committed the federal government to defending citizens, especially from state governments that might try to allocate justice or resources on a discriminatory basis. The Fifteenth Amendment reinforced this idea of equality by prohibiting states from using race to restrict voting rights

These amendments were the building blocks of the rights revolution that was the Reconstruction. Congress, the courts, black and white reformers, and freed people participated in the rebuilding of the Union and in the building of a new, biracial society. Many Euro-Americans still struggled with ideas about racial difference but joined nonwhite Americans in advocating greater civic equality. Reformers enjoyed certain successes in southern states where thousands of public and private schools offered the opportunity for education to freed children. Seven hundred thousand African American men registered to vote and turned out on election day. They elected the first black congressmen, including Mississippi's Senator Hiram Revels. Republican President Ulysses Grant also owed his 1868 victory to the support of African American voters.

Reconstruction had fierce supporters and opponents. Planters, Democrats, and others challenged multiracial government and worked to dismantle Reconstruction. They succeeded beginning in 1877 when Congress withdrew federal troops from the south. As a result, citizens, only official recourse to violence or intimidation was the federal courts. But these courts, including the Supreme Court, narrowly interpreted federal statutes and the new amendments. They preserved state authority to limit the civil rights of certain citizens.

Between 1873 and 1896, the Supreme Court rendered several important decisions that limited

the impact of Reconstruction. It said that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments applied only to rights defined in the Constitution or federal statutes. This allowed states to pass laws that could be implemented in discriminatory ways, such as in Kentucky, where the election inspector refused to accept a poll tax from a black voter and then denied him the vote. When the Supreme Court found actions like this constitutional, it opened the door to further discrimination and intimidation. The court struck down federal laws mandating integration in hotels, railroads, and other public facilities. In 1896, the court famously found segregation legal, saying that the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection provision applied only to political matters (*Plessy v. Ferguson*). Thus the court played an important role in ending Reconstruction and aiding the rise of Jim Crow segregation and discrimination.

As these court challenges demonstrate, the late 19th century was an era of social and political activism that altered the civil rights of many Americans. Despite the victories of conservatives, civil rights organizations remained active and provided a foundation upon which 20th-century groups built. These included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National American Women's Suffrage Association.

Women's rights groups experienced setbacks and successes. In 1875, the Supreme Court denied women citizens the right to vote, and, in 1873, it said that states could bar women from certain professions based solely on the fiction that biological sex set them apart from male professionals. Women's rights organizations succeeded in securing property and wage rights and custody rights for married women. They also secured workplace protections for women and child laborers at a time when many courts overturned similar laws. Victories and defeats served to define cultures of civic, social, and political activism among women of many backgrounds and also among African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos.

Immigration and Naturalization

During the first session of Congress in 1790, lawmakers established a framework for naturalization that permitted only "free white people" of good moral character to naturalize. To complete

the process, candidates had to reside in the United States for two years, apply for naturalization in federal court, and swear an oath to uphold the Constitution. Subsequent laws minimally altered these requirements. During the early and mid-19th century, millions of people, many from the British Isles, Ireland, and Germany, used these laws to become U.S. citizens.

The first significant change in U.S. naturalization laws occurred in 1870, when, during Reconstruction, lawmakers expanded the racial prerequisites for naturalization to include "persons of African descent." This only narrowly expanded access to U.S. citizenship and had a negligible effect on 19th-century immigration. In the late 19th century, immigration increased from southern and eastern Europe and from the Asian Pacific. Federal courts consistently denied naturalization to people who did not fit white or black racial categories, including Native Americans and Asian immigrants.

Because immigration is often the first step to naturalization, Americans have attempted to control and limit access to citizenship by regulating immigration to the United States. Before 1875, state governments regulated immigration. States designed immigration law to prevent the poor, shiftless, or free blacks from settling locally. This led, by the late 19th century, to a patchwork of immigration laws with myriad requirements. In 1875, the Supreme Court responded to this inconsistency by ruling that immigration was a federal matter and part of the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress.

Congress passed its first immigration exclusion law that year. The Page Act of 1875 barred all criminals and Chinese women from immigrating to the United States. This was the first federal law to ban a specific group of immigrants based on gender and nationality. Congress expanded bans in 1882, when it passed the first Chinese exclusion law and prohibited the immigration of laborers from China. Lawmakers reasoned that persons barred from naturalization should not immigrate. Chinese nationals, lawmakers and federal court judges agreed, were not white or black, so they could not naturalize as U.S. citizens.

Despite these obstacles, immigrants from Asia continued to forge a place for themselves in the United States and proved they did enjoy some

civil and social rights even if they were not citizens. In 1886, San Francisco resident Yick Wo challenged a city ordinance that virtually banned Chinese immigrants from operating laundry businesses. Drawing on the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court struck down the ordinance saying it did not provide equal protection to all residents. In this, the court confirmed that the new amendments applied in the same manner as other parts of the Constitution; namely, civil and social rights and liberties protected all residents of the United States, not just citizens. Moreover, the court later found the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of citizenship by birth was similarly guaranteed, despite racial prohibitions on naturalization. In this case, the court confirmed that the native-born child of Chinese immigrants became a citizen at birth.

Congress dramatically expanded immigration bans in 1924, when it passed the National Origins Quota law. The law carved up the world and set a maximum quota on each region and nation. This ban—and the quotas that enforced it—represented the success of biological racism, of movements like eugenics, and the institutionalization of so-called “race science” in government. The highest quotas were allocated to seemingly “white” nations like Great Britain and Germany, while the lowest quotas (of 100) were handed to supposedly “undesirable” groups, which included Slavs, Catholics, Jews and other Semitic peoples, as well as people from southern and eastern Europe, the Middle East and Maghreb, central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, the Asian Pacific, and Oceania. No part of the Americas was included in this immigration ban.

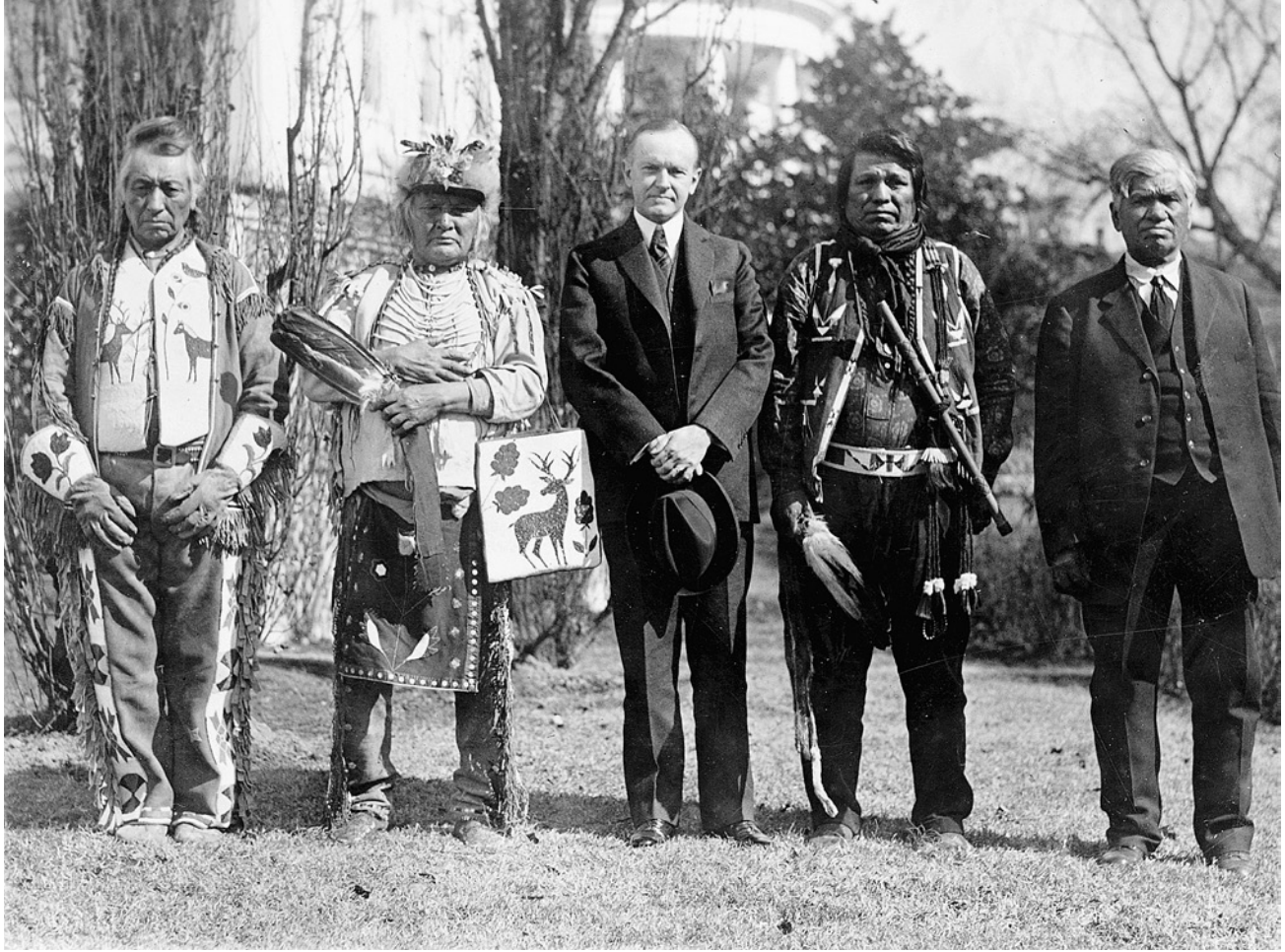
The first cracks in this imposing shield of prohibitions came during World War II. The United States rewarded its allies by repealing certain restrictions on naturalization, which, in turn, meant that lawmakers began to relax immigration bans. Chinese, Asian Indians, and Filipinos were the first groups to whom Congress extended naturalization rights. Racial requirements for naturalization were abandoned in 1952, but the race-based quota system was maintained. Moreover, this law established new obstacles for potential migrants who could be associated with Communism. For this reason, the 1952 law made naturalization harder to achieve by implementing tests

on candidates' understanding of English, American history, and government in order to establish a candidate's “favorable disposition” toward the United States.

In 1965, Congress began to dismantle the National Origins Quota system. The new law continued to limit and count immigrants but it placed a restriction on the total number of immigrants, not on their national origin. For the first time, immigration from the Americas fell under numeric limits, and this greatly reduced immigration from Mexico and Canada. This change in the law meant that many immigrants from the Americas now became “illegal” or “undocumented” residents, a stigma most often attached to Latinos. Lawmakers grappled with this change by reinforcing U.S. land borders and altering immigration and naturalization laws. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act offered amnesty and a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. Most recently, Congress has debated, but not passed, the DREAM Act, which would provide legal standing for undocumented immigrants who came to the U.S. as children.

New Americans/Citizens and Noncitizens

The geographic expansion of the United States also gradually expanded membership in the nation's body politic, though in a very uneven and inconsistent manner. The purchase of the Louisiana Territory, in 1803, marked the first time the United States extended blanket naturalization to residents of formerly foreign territory. This set a precedent that the United States followed with the Adams-Onís Treaty (purchase of Florida from Spain, 1819), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (ending the Mexican-American War, 1848), and the Gadsden Purchase (purchase of what is now Arizona and southwestern New Mexico, 1853). The Guadalupe Hidalgo treaty ceding Mexican territory to the United States was unusual in two respects. First, it extended citizenship to all residents, including Native Americans. Previously, the United States had recognized Native Americans as part of separate nations and did not grant them citizenship. Second, the naturalization of former Mexican citizens bypassed U.S. racial requirements for naturalization, and in so doing established a precedent that federal courts and the census have followed. Even though Euro-American



U.S. President Calvin Coolidge stands with members of the Osage Indian tribe after signing the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, which gave America's indigenous peoples full citizenship. The act granted citizenship to approximately 125,000 indigenous people in the United States. Others had already become citizens by other means, either by serving in the armed forces or giving up tribal affiliations.

judges often did not consider Mexican immigrants and other Latinos white, they granted naturalization based on the treaty's precedent of naturalization. For this reason, officials continue to the present day to count Latinos in the U.S. census in the "white" racial category.

When the United States expanded beyond the continent, it did not follow this precedent. The United States expanded its sovereignty but did not grant citizenship to the residents of the Alaska Purchase (1867), the Hawai'ian Islands (1898 and the islands ceded after the 1898 Spanish-American War), Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Instead, it classified residents as "noncitizen American nationals," who owed allegiance to the United States and lived under

its jurisdiction. Noncitizens were "nationalized" but not "naturalized." They enjoyed some of the civil and social rights and liberties of resident immigrants, but they lacked a "home country" that might defend or receive them. Moreover, those noncitizen Americans who did not fit the racial categories for naturalization were barred from citizenship. Lawmakers expanded this category of noncitizenship when the United States took control of American Samoa (1899), the Virgin Islands (1917), and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (1947). Beginning in 1891, the United States gradually extended citizenship to some residents of these territories, except for American Samoans, who remain noncitizen Americans, and to residents of places that

became independent, including the Philippines and the Pacific Islands.

The category of noncitizen Americans also included African Americans and most Native Americans. In the years following the *Dred Scott* decision and before ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, African Americans were Americans without citizenship. The trajectory of the civil standing of Native Americans was far more complex because the federal government recognized native nations as “domestic dependent nations” that exercise a sovereignty within and inferior to that of the United States. Most federal laws effecting citizenship, including the Fourteenth Amendment, made explicit exceptions for Native Americans, referred to as “Indians not taxed.”

In the late 19th century, under the Dawes Act, social reformers tried to break up native nations, assimilate Native Americans, and naturalize them as citizens. This process was uneven and largely unsuccessful because reformers, whose assumptions about Native Americans were steeped in biological racism, didn’t believe that prospective Indian citizens met the peculiar requirements for naturalization. Not until 1924, when Congress passed new legislation, did many Native Americans naturalize as citizens. This law standardized naturalization requirements, and U.S. citizenship did not impair Native American property and treaty rights within their nations.

Congress addressed the rights that Native Americans (and U.S. citizens) could enjoy within the sovereign jurisdiction of native nations when, in 1968, it passed the Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA). This law guaranteed certain fundamental rights including religious freedom, habeas corpus, and trial by jury. The Supreme Court later found that Indian national sovereignty curtailed some of the rights in the ICRA. This points to a larger ongoing controversy related to Native American citizenship. These U.S. citizens are exceptional in that they still enjoy—and struggle to enjoy—rights to natural resources or to land granted to their nations through treaties made with the U.S. government.

Modern Citizenship

Over the course of U.S. history, citizens have experienced perhaps the greatest equalization in their political rights, including voting and

office-holding. These matters remain points of controversy. Dramatic expansions in the right to vote have shifted the focus to *access* to voting. In 2006, Congress renewed provisions of the Voting Rights Act, extending federal oversight of elections in certain parts of the nation. In 1972, Americans expanded voting age of citizens to 18. Yet, voter turnout to major elections is rather low, at an average of 58 percent during this century. In the face of this seeming apathy, states, including Indiana, Arizona, Texas, and Ohio, altered their voting laws, requiring citizens to present identification at polling places before they could vote. These laws were aimed at preventing fraudulent voting, but civil rights groups argue that they prevent citizens from exercising the right to vote. Reconstruction long before demonstrated how access to voting can impact elections. Indeed, one of the highest voter turnouts was for the 2008 election when Americans elected the first African American president. This moment seemed to symbolize the success of civil rights movements and greater access to elected office. At the same time, women remain a distinct minority among elected representatives, despite accounting for half the U.S. citizen population. Meanwhile, 6 percent of Congress members are Latinos, but, according to the 2010 census, they constitute almost 17 percent of Americans. Elsewhere, the appointment of Tim Scott in 2012 made him the first African American since Reconstruction to represent a southern state in the U.S. Senate.

The 2010 census indicates that those U.S. citizens who have faced the greatest inequalities in accessing the benefits of citizenship or immigration and naturalization are becoming the majority of Americans. The historic nature of these inequalities and the challenges of overcoming them will continue to shape American society, culture, and politics in the 21st century.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; Census Data and Multicultural Research (Essay); Civil Rights Acts; Civil War, U.S.; Constitution, U.S.; Constitutional Amendments; Mexican Americans; Native Americans; Naturalization; Naturalization Acts; Reconstruction; Voting Rights Acts.

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Civil Rights Acts

When the United States was in its infancy, Congress passed several laws aimed at curtailing immigration and the rights immigrants and minorities would have in the new nation. Those acts, coupled with the institution of slavery, made the United States a republic that greatly favored white society. There were even early laws and also prejudices against non-Protestants, mainly Catholics. After the conclusion of the Civil War, the government set about to rectify some of these injustices, beginning in 1866 with the first of several

civil rights acts. There would be five in total over the course of 105 years, each seeking to improve upon the last and all dealing with the sober reality that many considered them to be mere scraps of paper that could and should be circumvented.

Civil Rights Act of 1866

When Abraham Lincoln signed the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, and when it went into effect on January 1, 1863, African Americans around the United States rejoiced. The “Day of Jubilee” had finally arrived, a day many thought they would never live to see. Unfortunately, this dream—and the rights many felt should go along with it—was denied to many African Americans through various tactics, and although Congress passed several civil rights acts in order to guarantee the freedom of the former slaves, many did not fully gain that freedom for a century. What is often overlooked is the fact that these civil rights acts did benefit other minorities within society, helping them gain citizenship or other rights previously denied them.

On December 18, 1865, the 30th state ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, once and for all legally abolishing slavery in the United States. Many knew this was merely the first step, but the reaction from the south exceeded what many in President Andrew Johnson’s administration expected. Around the same time, Congress decided to treat the former slaves as wards of the state by creating the Freedmen’s Bureau to provide government assistance to them and others in need in the war-ravaged south. For many reasons, one of which was lack of presidential support, the Freedmen’s Bureau was an overall failure, and though they were no longer slaves, many African Americans did not see a marked improvement in their daily lives.

During late 1865 and early 1866, every former Confederate state passed black codes, a series of laws that differed from state to state but that all took measures to return the former slaves to a status as close to slavery as possible, or slavery without the chains, as it was often called. Southern whites insisted that the codes were necessary to maintain law and order, but most northern congressmen, radical and moderate, saw them as an effort to oppress the newly freed members of society. In response to the black codes, as well as

to the growing instances of violence in the south, moderates in Congress joined with the radicals, who had always championed African American rights, to look for a solution to the problem and to bring equality to everyone. They decided that equality before the law was essential and that enforcement by the federal government was an option if the individual states did not comply. They also felt that each southern state must comply with these ideals before they were to be readmitted to the Union.

These ideas became the basis for the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which was, in turn, the groundwork for the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The act defined all people who were born in the United States as citizens and specified rights to which each of them were entitled, regardless of race or previous condition, meaning prior enslavement. These rights included but were not limited to the right to make contracts, sue in court, and serve on juries as well as the right to equal benefits to what the government called the security of person and property. Interestingly enough, many of these rights had been denied African Americans as a result of the black codes. This was the first time the federal government had defined the rights of citizens in the form of a law.

It was also announced to states that the federal government was superior in the age-old “states’ rights” debate. Unfortunately President Johnson did not support the act—in fact, he despised it. The act went against his belief in states’ rights as well as his inherent and deeply entrenched racism. In defiance, he vetoed the bill. Congress overrode his veto and passed the law regardless, marking the first time a major piece of legislation passed over a presidential veto.

Knowing there would be continued opposition, Republicans in Congress pushed for more, and this led to the creation and eventual passage of the Fourteenth Amendment. It was initially passed in May 1866 but not ratified by enough states until 1868. The subsequent midterm elections in 1866 became a showdown between those who supported the Fourteenth Amendment and the preceding Civil Rights Act and those like President Johnson who opposed it. Johnson, who was not running for reelection, toured the nation campaigning against the amendment and the act. The

outcome of the election was a Republican landslide and a huge defeat for the president.

In response to the president’s position, the Republicans in Congress passed, again over Johnson’s veto, the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which returned military occupation to the south, but, more importantly, made ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment and observance of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 a prerequisite for readmission for individual southern states. These acts and the Fourteenth Amendment initially led to improvements for African Americans living in the south, as the region entered a period of true interracial democracy. African American Republicans won statewide elections in several southern states, but at every step of the way they were challenged by white society, especially the growing influence and power of paramilitary terror groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. By the early 1870s, many in the north had grown tired of the south and all of its problems. In 1872 Congress passed the Amnesty Act, which restored the political rights of more than 100,000 former Confederate soldiers, officials, and white landowners and thus stripped African Americans and Republicans of their power and influence.

The End of Reconstruction

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was soon under attack by the newly elected, white-dominated, southern state governments, and when Reconstruction finally came to an end in 1877 and the last federal troops left the south, they took African American hopes and rights with them. Following the end of Reconstruction, one southern state after another quickly passed laws and wrote new constitutions with the aim of cementing African Americans’ status as second-class citizens. Eventually these laws, along with national laws and U.S. Supreme Court cases such as *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, solidified this status. The Supreme Court’s 8–1 decision in *Plessy* dealt with the separation of races in public transportation, specifically denying African Americans the right to sit in first-class compartments on trains; but, more importantly, the ruling opened the door for other avenues of segregation, which did not end until there was a complete separation of the races by the early 20th century. In explaining their ruling, the justices who comprised the majority stated the

Separate Car Act in Louisiana, the basis for the case, did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment and thus did not violate the Civil Rights Act of 1866. It also introduced the phrase and idea of “separate but equal,” allowing segregation on the grounds that equal facilities were to be afforded to both races.

Civil Rights Act of 1957

Though civil rights activists fought and won numerous battles during the first half of the 20th century, including the landmark, 9–0 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, which in 1954 reversed the “separate but equal” ruling of the 1896 court, it would not be until 1957 that Congress would pass another civil rights act. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court did not give a specific timetable for implementation of *Brown v. Board*, and, in a second ruling in 1955, known as *Brown II*, the high court ordered the integration of schools “with all deliberate speed.” Many Southern states took this to mean they could decide for themselves when to follow the order issued by Washington, and most dragged their collective feet. In 1956 in Congress, 102 southern senators and representatives rallied together to sign the “Southern Manifesto,” or Declaration of Constitutional Principles, as it was officially known, to counter the *Brown* decision and to use all lawful means to prevent its implementation.

In response to this defiant act, and with an eye toward his reelection campaign and the election of 1956, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had up to this point stayed out of the politics of civil rights claiming it was an issue for the states, together with Attorney General Herbert Brownell sent a civil rights bill to Congress in April 1956. The bill consisted of four parts. The first part created a bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights to study racial discrimination in the United States and recommend the need for any further legislation to Congress. The second section, or Title II, created a new assistant attorney general for civil rights and a new Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department. The third section, Title III, gave the attorney general the right and power to intervene in state civil rights cases and petition federal courts for help through what is known as injunctive relief. The last segment, Title IV, strengthened the power of the Justice Department by giving it

the right to seek help from federal courts in matters relating to voting rights. Title III was the most controversial because it allowed the Justice Department to intervene even when the victims themselves did not come forward out of fear of reprisals.

In July 1956 the House of Representatives passed the bill, but it was killed in the Senate, as many expected and feared. It never got out of committee because rabid segregationist and rampant racist James O. Eastland, senator from Mississippi, chaired the Judiciary Committee. After winning reelection in a landslide over Adlai Stevenson, Eisenhower once again submitted the bill to Congress in 1957. The reaction from southern senators was swift after the bill once again passed the House. The opposition was led by Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, who exclaimed that southern senators were ready to use every tool at their disposal to fight the bill. Russell added an amendment to the bill that would have made all of the bill’s provisions unenforceable, as it called for a trial by jury for those accused of violating a victim’s civil rights. Because juries in the south were all white, the law would not be enforced. After a lengthy debate, a compromise was reached, but on August 28 South Carolina Senator J. Strom Thurmond, who had run unsuccessfully for president in 1948 on the Dixiecrat, or State’s Rights Democrat, ticket, took the floor of the Senate and began a 24-hour-and-12-minute filibuster in a last-ditch effort to kill the bill. When he finished the next day, the Senate passed a watered-down version of the bill, 60–15.

Two months after the passage of the bill, President Eisenhower enforced it by sending members of the 101st Airborne Division of the U.S. Army to Little Rock, Arkansas, in order to protect the “Little Rock Nine,” a group of African American students who were being denied entry to Central High School by Governor Orval Faubus, the Arkansas National Guard, and scores of angry white students, parents, and citizens of Little Rock. In spite of these drastic measures, many knew that more needed to be done.

Civil Rights Act of 1964

In the spring and summer of 1963, violence reached a climax in Birmingham, Alabama, nicknamed Bombingham due to the fact that more than

a dozen bombs had been planted and detonated in African American neighborhoods in the city. The city's commissioner of public safety, a staunch segregationist named Eugene "Bull" Connor, had vowed to maintain a separation of the races, and when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and other local and national civil rights activists descended on the city, Connor struck back. As teenagers and elementary-aged students took to the streets to protest the city's racist laws, Connor ordered the fire department to use its high-powered fire hoses on the marchers. He then ordered the police forward to disperse the crowd with their attack dogs. The gruesome images seen around the world, along with the highly successful March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, where more than 200,000 marchers, black and white, congregated in front of the Lincoln Memorial, pushed President John F. Kennedy into action.

Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, had floated the idea of introducing a comprehensive civil rights bill before Congress: a bill that would finally enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment. The bill made the completion of sixth grade sufficient proof of literacy, meaning that southern states could no longer block African Americans at the polls with literacy tests. The bill also banned racial discrimination in public accommodations and afforded the attorney general the right to file school integration lawsuits. The bill also dealt with expanding and extending the Commission on Civil Rights and called for the creation of an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to monitor discrimination in government and civil jobs. The most powerful section, Title VI, gave the government the power to withhold federal funds from any local or state program that discriminated on the basis of race.

Seeing bills that had died on the Senate floor or not made it out of committee, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, former senator from Texas, urged Kennedy to tour the south to champion the bill, but the president did not heed Johnson's advice and instead held a series of talks at the White House. Unfortunately for the Kennedy brothers, they did not have enough votes to pass the bill in the Senate, specifically, the 67 votes needed to ensure that southern senators would not be able

to use the filibuster to kill the measure. New violence in Birmingham—the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church—led several liberals in Congress to vow to fight Kennedy's bill because they felt it did not go far enough. Pushed by congressmen and civil rights activists, and without Kennedy's knowledge, his administration decided to expand the scope and reach of the bill—including the expansion of Title II to include private businesses and organizations, not just public accommodations—and to add language that gave the attorney general more power to bring suit on behalf of private citizens.

This did not sit well with the president; nor did it sit well with House Republicans whose support he needed. In the end, the House Judiciary Committee rejected the new version of the bill but passed the original moderate version. The bill was then sent to the desk of Howard Smith, Democrat from Virginia. He received the bill at the end of October, and it was still on his desk when Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas on November 22, 1963.

When Vice President Johnson succeeded to the presidency, he set out to pass the civil rights bill, partly because he knew it was the right thing to do and partly because there was an election in 1964 and he felt he would need the support of the more liberal northern wing of the Democratic party. Johnson immediately began to reach out to African American civil rights activists, meeting with them both in person and by phone to discuss the best way to proceed. Johnson decided to use the recently assassinated president's beloved image and memory to persuade congressmen to his side. In a speech before Congress five days after Kennedy's death, Johnson said the best way to honor him would be to pass the civil rights bill.

Still, Johnson had to overcome major opposition, mostly in the form of Congressman Smith, who could kill any bill by refusing to send it to the floor for a vote. Smith knew if he could keep the bill in committee until midsummer, Congress would go into recess and the bill would be effectively shelved until after the November election. Johnson had an ace up his sleeve: he knew he could force the bill out of committee by a procedure known as a "discharge petition," which would highlight the fact that Smith would not even consent to a hearing or debate on the bill. A couple of weeks later Smith announced that he

would begin hearings on the bill in January, and at the end of the month, the House Rules Committee voted 11–4 to push the bill to the floor, where the House passed the bill 290–130.

Johnson knew the civil rights bill needed to make it through the Senate, and he called in every favor he had due to him—he used lobbyists and former colleagues in the Senate as well as civil rights activists to pressure and convince enough senators to vote for an end to the debate and a vote on the bill. As expected, Richard Russell began a filibuster on March 9, but this brought media attention and scrutiny and rallied more to Johnson's side. Finally, by June the president had enough votes to proceed, and despite a last-ditch filibuster by Robert Byrd of Virginia, who read the text of the English Magna Carta, 44 Democrats and 27 Republicans voted to bring the debate to a close. Nine days later the Senate passed the bill, which became known as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, by a vote of 73–27. The bill was then sent back to the House, which passed it 289–126.

Hundreds packed the East Room of the White House to witness Johnson sign the bill and hand the ceremonial pen to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The next month Johnson was nominated by the Democrats, and in November he defeated Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who had voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in one of the largest landslides in American political history to date. Johnson won 61 percent of the popular vote and 90 percent of the Electoral College. He also carried six of the former 11 Confederate states.

Civil Rights Acts of 1968 and 1971

After helping pass the landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968 into law amid chaos and turmoil. On April 4, 1968, King was assassinated as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee. The news sparked some of the worst riots the nation had seen to that point, and Johnson used the occasion to sign into law an act that was dear to King. This new civil rights bill



The photograph shows Republican senators and southern Democrats meeting to discuss amendments to the Civil Rights Bill on May 20, 1964. By June President Lyndon B. Johnson had enough votes to proceed, and although Robert Byrd of Virginia attempted a filibuster, 44 Democrats and 27 Republicans voted to end the debate. The Senate later passed the bill by a vote of 73–27.

provided for equal housing opportunities regardless of race, creed, or national origin, and included Title VIII, which was referred to as the Fair Housing Act, a follow-up to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This section was meant to finally cement and enforce provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The act expanded on the previous bill in that it also prohibited discrimination dealing with the sale, rental, and financing of housing based on race, religion, or national origin. The last of the major so-called civil rights acts was the Civil Rights Act of 1971, which expanded the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was ratified in 1870. This act clarified provisions of the 1965 law, making it easier for those denied the right to vote to redress their grievances.

While inequalities still exist today, the five major civil rights acts, the first of which was passed in the wake of the Civil War, have transformed American society. Each built upon the last, and while most were met with resistance, either in Congress or by other outside forces, the laws have helped pave the way for the United States to fulfill the dream that was set in motion when the Founding Fathers severed the ties with Great Britain and crafted the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Codes; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Civil Rights Movement; Constitutional Amendments; Desegregation/Integration; Freedmen's Bureau; Jim Crow Laws; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896); School Segregation; Voting Rights Acts.

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Civil Rights Movement

The modern civil rights movement refers to specific events of political and social protest against racial segregation and discrimination in America between 1954 and 1968.

African American Civil Rights Movement

Black churches were central to the movement's organization and leadership. Churches hosted mass meetings and freedom schools. Most of the movement's major leaders were ministers.

The modern civil rights movement began with the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, which overturned the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* "separate but equal" ruling for public education. The Supreme Court's historic, unanimous ruling failed to set a timeline or procedure for school integration. Local attempts to integrate schools had varying levels of success because segregationists, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), and white citizens' councils used vehicles of local control to resist integration. Some states even outlawed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and similar organizations. In some communities, lynchings occurred well into the 1950s and 1960s.

In 1955, the murder of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old African American boy from Chicago, made national headlines. Till was visiting family in Mississippi and said "Bye, baby" to Carolyn Bryant, a white cashier at a store in town. Bryant's husband Roy and brother-in-law allegedly kidnapped Till in the middle of the night, violently beat and murdered him, and dumped his body in the river. At trial, Roy Bryant and his brother-in-law were acquitted of all charges, though they later accepted a paid interview in which they confessed in graphic detail how they murdered Till.

Montgomery

In 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, the Women's Political Council organized against bus segregation. African American passengers were required to sit in the back of the bus and to stand if a white passenger needed the seat. Rosa Parks's December 1 arrest for refusing to relinquish her seat marked the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott, organized by the Women's Political Council. When the NAACP hesitated to get involved, local

ministers formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to direct the campaign. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a new minister in town and was elected to head the organization. King believed that nonviolence would effectively appeal to the conscience of American society. African Americans in Montgomery supported the boycott by staying off buses or donating cars or other resources. Citizens walked to work or participated in carpools, and taxis offered discounted fares. The boycott ended after 386 days, when the Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling in *Gayle v. Browder* (1956) that bus segregation was unconstitutional. Nevertheless, segregationists continued to resist integration with implied and actual violence. More than 20 cities took up Montgomery's cause to desegregate their local bus systems.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Montgomery launched King to national fame, and in 1957, he founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an organization of primarily African American Baptists, to coordinate civil rights activism. A few of the significant leaders within the SCLC were Ralph Abernathy, Andrew Young, Fred Shuttlesworth, Wyatt T. Walker, C. T. Vivian, Hosea Williams, James Bevel, Bayard Rustin, Stanley Levison, and Ella Baker.

Little Rock

In Little Rock, Arkansas, school officials drafted plans for integration, beginning with Central High School in 1957. White parents remained strongly opposed to integration. The school district selected 75 of 517 African American students to integrate the school, eventually narrowing it to nine. On the day of desegregation, National Guardsmen summoned by Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus blocked the doors so the "Little Rock Nine" could not enter. President Dwight Eisenhower's timing to send federal troops to support the integration of Central High School was significant because the United States had been condemning apartheid in South Africa. Racial tension and hierarchy within the United States would open America to moral critique for inconsistencies with its international political statements. A year after integration, state and federal authorities remained embattled over jurisdiction. Faubus

closed all of Little Rock's secondary schools, and white parents funded private, segregated schools or left the community. (Most private schools in the south founded between 1954 and the 1970s were founded in direct opposition to the integration of public education.)

The Student Movement

In February 1960, four students in Greensboro, North Carolina, sat in at a Woolworth's lunch counter. For college students nationwide, Greensboro was the spark that ignited dozens of sit-ins. Reverend James Lawson, a Vanderbilt divinity student, led student activists in Nashville, Tennessee. After incarceration for conscientious objection to the Korean War, Lawson studied nonviolent philosophy in India and led nonviolent workshops for student activists, training them to maintain an attitude of love for their persecutors. Nashville students launched a wide-scale demonstration movement.

In May 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized "Freedom Rides" to test the desegregation of interstate busing established through *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960). The interracial group of Freedom Riders would travel from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans over the course of two weeks, sitting together both on the bus and in the bus stops. At almost every stop, the riders faced verbal and physical abuse. Neither local nor national law enforcement protected the riders, and even Attorney General Robert Kennedy's associate who was sent to investigate the situation was attacked by segregationist mobs. President John Kennedy made token efforts to support civil rights work, but activists remained largely unprotected.

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

SCLC director Ella Baker arranged a meeting at Shaw University in April 1960 for the student protesters. Over 200 students attended the meeting, where both King and Lawson addressed the crowd. There, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was born. SNCC would engage in both direct action campaigns and voter registration canvassing, rallying to be multiracial and to be democratic. Headquartered in Atlanta, SNCC began projects in southwest Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and across the south. Friends

of SNCC groups in the north and west raised local awareness and support for SNCC's efforts in the south. SNCC workers gave the movement a revolutionary energy, flooding jails with their "jail, no bail" policy. Their efforts created local and national tension that applied sustained pressure on elected leaders to protect the civil rights of African Americans. The students found strong support from celebrities like Harry Belafonte, Sammy Davis, Jr., Sidney Poitier, and Dick Gregory.

Birmingham

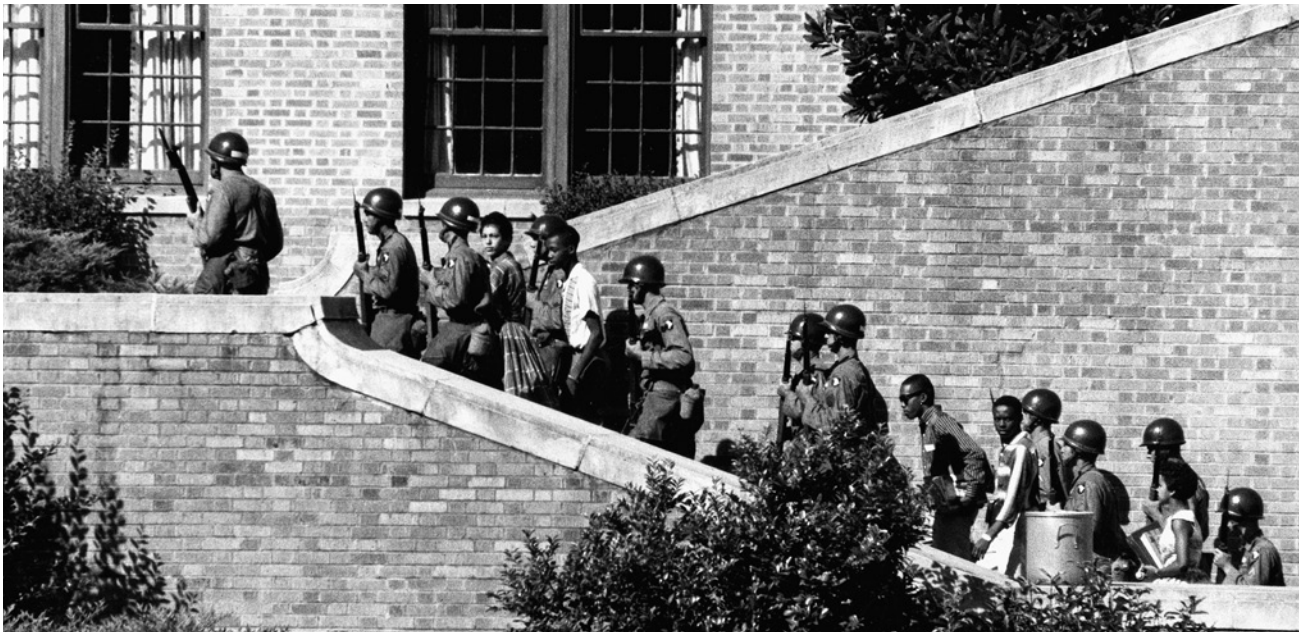
Fred Shuttlesworth, director of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, invited King to Birmingham. Project Confrontation would aim at disrupting the city's economy rather than its politicians. Police attacked the marchers—including women and children—with nightsticks, high-pressure water hoses, and police dogs. On Good Friday, 1963, King marched on city hall, knowing he would be arrested. Later that day, he drafted his "Letter From Birmingham Jail," outlining his commitment to nonviolence and projecting heightened tension if racial justice did not come quickly. With more than 3,000

demonstrators in jail, Birmingham felt the pressure. Merchants demanded that city leaders negotiate with civil rights leaders. The KKK took drastic action against movement leaders, including bombing homes and hotels, which incited President Kennedy to throw his support behind King.

The March on Washington

Civil rights leaders from the six major civil rights organizations—SCLC, SNCC, CORE, NAACP, National Urban League, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—pooled their efforts toward a national demonstration for civil rights. The August 28, 1963, March on Washington for Jobs and Justice gathered over 250,000 people of different races and faiths, where John Lewis delivered his famous "Which Side Is the Government On?" and King his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Two weeks later, Alabama Klansmen bombed the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, former headquarters of the Birmingham project, during Sunday morning activities. Four young girls were killed. In fact, between 1945 and 1965, more than 50 homes and churches had been bombed by segregationists, earning the city the nickname



In September 1957, the National Guard was called out in Little Rock, Arkansas, to escort nine African American students to class at Central High School. The students and their families had sued for the right to attend Central High and had been chosen because of their excellent grades. On the first day, only one of the nine students showed up. She was harassed by protesters, and police had to take her away in a patrol car for protection. Afterward, the students had to be escorted by military personnel.

“Bombingham.” National attention continued to mount in Alabama.

When President Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson continued executive support of the movement. In 1964, Johnson ushered in the Civil Rights Bill, which denied federal money to any organization, business, or school that discriminated based on race.

SNCC Expands

SNCC workers canvassed to register voters and ran freedom schools in Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama. They faced severe violence and intimidation tactics. In addition to the burning of crosses, bombing of homes and churches, and exploiting of economic hierarchies, civil rights leader Medgar Evers was assassinated in his driveway in front of his family, and Fannie Lou Hamer was brutally beaten in jail and involuntarily sterilized.

During the early 1960s, a dozen African countries gained national independence, and SNCC closely followed these developments, viewing their work as part of these global efforts for social justice and freedom throughout Central America and Africa. In fact, the SNCC slogan “One Man, One Vote” was taken directly from the Kenyan anticolonial struggle. Jim Forman frequently attended international anti-apartheid meetings and brought news of these developments to SNCC. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson made strident efforts to befriend the leaders of these newly independent African nations to prevent their potential alliance with the Soviet Union, but America’s racial segregation proved a sore spot to these negotiations.

In 1964, SNCC sent its top leaders to Africa, where they ran into former Nation of Islam spokesman Malcolm X. He spent a great deal of time talking with them about SNCC and sharing ideas about the philosophy of the movement. Many within the SNCC group who went to Africa described the importance of seeing independent African leadership of African nations, particularly the opportunities afforded to women.

Selma

Beginning in 1963, Bernard and Colia Lafayette led a civil rights campaign in Selma, Alabama, for SNCC. King arrived in February 1965 and used his arrest to sustain pressure against Sheriff Jim Clark’s

violation of civil rights. On February 18, during an evening march around the courthouse, local segregationists and state troopers violently attacked demonstrators and killed Jimmie Lee Jackson. In protest, demonstrators planned a 54-mile march from Selma to Montgomery, scheduled for March 7, 1965. That morning, as over 500 marchers left Brown Chapel, they reached the Edmund Pettis Bridge and found that state troopers had blocked the bridge, were armed with nightsticks and were dressed for combat. After a verbal warning not to march, the troopers charged at the marchers, trampling them with horses, gassing them with tear gas, and beating them with clubs and sticks. March 7, 1965, became known as Bloody Sunday.

This marked a turning point in the unity of the movement. SNCC became overly disappointed at King’s willingness to compromise with a federal judge who convinced him not to conduct the scheduled March 9 repeat march. When a northern white minister, James Reeb, who had come to Selma to support the march was murdered by a segregationist who was found not guilty, thousands of activists came to Selma to protest. The same federal judge who previously enjoined the March 9 demonstration permitted a March 21 demonstration involving over 3,000 marchers of mixed races and faiths.

The Selma march applied sufficient pressure to aid President Johnson’s passing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which removed literacy tests for voter registration and gave federal authorities enhanced authority to enforce civil rights related to voting.

Nonviolence and Black Nationalism

The year 1965 challenged the sustainability of the nonviolent approach. The sheer volume of white violence against civil rights demonstrators raised the urgency of self-defense. Many demonstrators consented to nonviolence but did not wholeheartedly believe in it. The February 1965 assassination of Malcolm X and the March 1965 Bloody Sunday struck a deep chord, and restraining retaliation was becoming increasingly difficult. Between 1964 and 1968, over 300 race riots broke out in cities across the country. King remained confident that nonviolent direct action could triumph even in the urban north, and the SCLC shifted its focus there, to economic disparity associated with racism.

Black Panthers

The 1966 “Meredith march,” led by James Meredith, the first African American to graduate from Ole Miss, lasted three days and was the last time SCLC and SNCC would walk together. Meredith was shot during the march, which exacerbated the already ripe tensions concerning the methods and leadership of the movement. Stokely Carmichael began shouting “Black Power!” and the crowd quickly joined him. King was escorted out of the march, and police attacked the marchers, much like in Selma.

In 1966, Carmichael, a Trinidad native raised in Harlem, became the leader of SNCC. Under his leadership, SNCC ousted its white members and moved toward Black Power. Malcolm X’s repeated messages for African Americans to stand up to white society had been heard, and militant activism became more mainstream, though never universal. Many communities, particularly in the urban north, reconnected with African heritage, culture, holidays, fashion, music, and art.

Black nationalism gained new momentum. SNCC leaders, including James Forman and H. Rap Brown, made bold public statements against racism, calling for drastic action against it. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panthers for Self-Defense in 1966. Black Panthers wore black leather jackets and military berets, and carried rifles to guard African American communities from police brutality. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) quickly targeted the Black Panthers as an imminent threat to national security, arresting nearly half of its members and killing 28.

Moderate and conservative civil rights organizations lamented the division within the movement, particularly the animosity that black militancy elicited from white society. The SCLC and the NAACP publicly criticized the inefficiency and danger of Black Power, labeling it antithetical to the purpose of the movement. One benefit to the new black left, however, was that less radical leaders, such as King, suddenly became favored alternatives to white politicians.

Radical King

Between 1966 and 1968, King increased his public critique of the Vietnam War. As the SCLC transitioned into the urban north, King became

increasingly aware of economic injustice within racism and viewed the high draft rates of African Americans as government-declared genocide on African American men. His controversial addresses emphasized his commitment to nonviolence and highlighted the controversial nature of American forces protecting the freedoms of others in spite of American racial and economic disparity. King’s radical statements turned many of his longtime supporters against him.

En route to the 1968 Poor People’s Campaign in Washington, D.C., King detoured to Memphis to assist James Lawson with a sanitation workers’ strike, protesting poor working conditions, unfair wages, and anti-union action. On April 4, 1968, King was assassinated at the Lorraine Motel by James Earl Ray. Riots erupted nationwide and lasted eight days.

Without a nationally recognized leader figure as King had been, the movement splintered. Local organizations and national organizations continued to campaign for racial equality, but the late 1960s marked the end of organized cooperation among them. New concerns of gender equality and economic justice entered the national dialogue. Additional gains for racial equality continued in Congress and the Supreme Court. And from 1965, affirmative action has contributed to greater equality for racial minorities and women in employment and education.

Latino Civil Rights Movement

The Chicano civil rights movement, also known as the Mexican American civil rights movement, began in the 1940s. Focusing on rights to property, education, civic participation, and fair representation in media and American culture, the Chicano movement raised awareness of racial prejudice against Latinos in America and fostered a greater sense of ethnic solidarity among Latinos.

“Chicano” originally functioned as a condescending moniker for children of Mexican migrants. Marginalized by Mexicans and Americans, Chicanos were reminded that they were neither fully Mexican nor fully American. Not until the 1960s was the name *Chicano* embraced as a statement of self-determination and cultural heritage.

Since the formation of the border between the United States and Mexico in 1848, prejudice

against Latinos in America has occurred publicly and privately. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), formed in 1929, was the first attempt at a cooperative Latin American organization for civil rights, and LULAC won an important victory for integrated education for Latino children in 1945. After World War II, a group of Mexican American veterans formed the American G.I. Forum (AGIF), led by Dr. Hector P. Garcia, and collaborated with other civil rights organizations that were disillusioned with the experience of fighting for freedoms abroad that they did not possess at home. The AGIF made national headlines for its publicity of World War II soldier Felix Longoria, killed in action and not permitted to have a funeral service in his hometown of Three Rivers, Texas.

The AGIF also campaigned for increasing registered Latino voters during the 1950s and 1960s. A variety of voter registration and political organizations formed throughout the 1950s and 1960s to represent the political voice of Latinos in America. In 1962, César Chávez cofounded the National Farm Workers Association, which used boycotts and strikes to press for fair wages and employment conditions for Latinos.

Confronting prejudice legally, the 1947 *Mendez v. Westminster* case found segregation of Hispanic children and restricting Latinos from jury service unconstitutional. The 1954 *Hernandez v. Texas* insisted that Latinos and other marginalized groups deserved equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. Resembling the NAACP, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, established in 1968, sought legal avenues for confronting racial prejudice against Latinos, as well as political activism and leadership training.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, a series of student walkouts across the country protested the curriculum of public education related to Latinos and the poor quality of education available to Latinos through the public school system. Protests occurred in Los Angeles, Denver, East Los Angeles, and Houston. University students also protested the dearth of courses on Latino culture and history.

The major student organizations of the Chicano Movement were the United Mexican American Students, Mexican American Youth

Association, and the Mexican American Youth Organization. In 1969, these organizations united as the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA). MEChA initially focused on education concerns, but broadened its scope to address political and social forms of discrimination as well.

The Chicano movement also strongly protested the Vietnam War because of the disproportionate drafting of Latinos and the negative effects of the war on Latino communities.

Puerto Rico became part of the United States in 1898. The United States extended services to Puerto Rico such as health care, postal service, a government structure, and public education, but kept the island as a commonwealth rather than a fully represented state. Many Puerto Ricans have migrated to the United States, where they have faced similar difficulties as other Latino immigrants. Puerto Rican activists have debated the relationship between the United States and its own government, advocating for both statehood and independence.

Within the Chicano civil rights movement, the Comisión Femeni Mexicana Nacional, founded in 1970, advocated specifically for issues affecting Latinas. For example, in *Madrigal v. Quilligan* (1975), the Comisión fought compulsory sterilization of Latinas and advocated bilingual consent forms during medical care to prevent Latinas who did not speak English from unknowingly consenting to sterilization. Mujerista Liberation Theology examines patriarchy within Latino culture and seeks the full equality of all people.

In the 21st century, the Chicano movement has focused on developing well-educated leaders to represent Latinos in American media to counter negative stereotypes of Latinos. Examples of widely respected Latino personalities include former New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, comedian George Lopez, and actress Sofia Vergara. The Chicano movement has also focused on communicating its values through the visual and performing arts, most notably through bright colors and expressionism.

Native American Civil Rights Movement

The original inhabitants of the Americas, the Native Americans have been seeking freedom from Western domination since the arrival of

Western explorers in the 15th century. As European settlers dominated the Americas, Native Americans were violently displaced to the margins of society. Since that time, Native Americans have pressed for equality.

Native Americans have regularly experienced discrimination in housing, education, civic participation, and religion. The National Indian Education Association, established in 1969, lobbies for educational equality for Native Americans. Additionally, many schools with mascots referencing Native Americans have changed their mascots to avoid discrimination against Native Americans.

Religion is one of the most significant aspects of Native American civil rights. European explorers imposed Christianity and Western ideas of domination on Native Americans, which had varying degrees of success. Numerous missionaries created isolated communities for Native American converts to Christianity, which contributed to the marginalization of Native Americans. In the early 20th century, the U.S. government funded several Christian efforts to evangelize Native Americans and increased its prosecution of Native American religious practices.

Native American religion differs by tribe, is both individual and corporate, and reflects a close spiritual connection with the land. Tribal religions often have unique creation accounts and a strong sense of fellowship with nature and ancestors. Many current Native American religious practices reflect syncretism between Christianity and tribal religion. Native Americans achieved religious liberty in 1978 with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, except for practices that involve restricted species and substances, particularly peyote.

Technically citizens of their tribes, which are titled “domestic dependent nations,” Native Americans faced severe discrimination. Previously restricted from travel off reservations, the 1924 granting of U.S. citizenship to Native Americans permitted free travel. The United States also heavily restricted what Native Americans could do on their land but did grant rights to hunting and fishing on their reservations, which created tension with non-Native American hunters who must follow government regulations for hunting areas and seasons. Certain tribes were granted suffrage in the 19th century, but most Native Americans received voting rights with the granting of

citizenship in 1924. A few states—Colorado, for example—continued to deny Native Americans suffrage until the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

In 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act was passed, guaranteeing the civil rights of Native Americans, particularly those in the Bill of Rights, property ownership, and travel. In 2012, the U.S. government recognized over 550 Native American tribes, each granted sovereignty over its own community.

Asian American Civil Rights Movement

After more than a century of discrimination by the U.S. government, including immigration restriction and internment camps, Asian Americans launched a civil rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s, pressing for political and religious equality. Nicknamed “Yellow Power,” the Asian American civil rights movement gained momentum near the end of the African American civil rights movement. Asian philosophers had played a key role in the Black Power movement, and a connection between Asian and African American civil rights seemed very natural. For example, Black Power advocates frequently cited Mao Zedong, and Black Panther Party founder Richard Aoki was Japanese American and a survivor of a World War II internment camp.

After the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, President Franklin Roosevelt ordered all Japanese Americans—more than 100,000—to be placed in internment, or concentration, camps for fear that some might still have loyalty to Japan. Many Japanese Americans assimilated into American culture to prove their patriotism, but the camps reinforced mainstream prejudice against Asian Americans.

As African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans shared their experiences with each other, they found solidarity in the racial injustice they had been facing. These groups demanded that universities offer coursework in their cultural histories. The movement for Asian American equality grew predominantly through universities, and by 1970, more than 70 such groups existed. These groups pressed for greater cultural appreciation for Asian heritage and political and social equality for Asian Americans.

Before the Vietnam War, Asian Americans tended to identify with particular ethnic groups

rather than as a unified racial group. During the war, Asian Americans faced prejudice regardless of their particular ethnicity. This shared experience of prejudice facilitated a sense of racial solidarity among Asian Americans.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Asian American activist groups pressed the federal government to acknowledge the wrongs committed against Asian Americans in the 20th century, particularly the internment camps during World War II. In 1976, President Gerald Ford signed a document that acknowledged wrongdoing in the internment. In 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act, which awarded \$20,000 in reparations to former inhabitants of the Asian American internment camps and formally apologized for the actions of the United States against Asian Americans.

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See Also: African Americans; American Indian Movement; Asian American Movement; Black Panther Party; Black Power Movement; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Chicano Movement; Civil Rights Acts; Commission on Civil Rights, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality; Desegregation/Integration; Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; Ku Klux Klan; March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896); Race Riots; School Desegregation; School Segregation; Segregation; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

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Civil War, U.S.

The American Civil War was of immediate importance to free and enslaved Africans. During the antebellum years, many of them worked tirelessly to promote the antislavery cause. Foremost among them was Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave whose riveting oratory was said to hold audiences spellbound. Douglass's autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, published in 1845, became a mainstay in the antislavery movement, while his newspaper, *The North Star*, was probably second in influence only to William Lloyd Garrison's celebrated *The Liberator*. One of the most militant African abolitionists was David Walker, who published *Walker's Appeal* in 1829, calling upon slaves to rise up and seize their own freedom by force if necessary. Henry Highland Garnet, another noted public speaker, was another who advocated direct political action by Africans to end slavery and obtain equal rights under the Constitution. Yet another advocate of direct action was Harriet Tubman, who became famous as a leader in the Underground Railroad movement to assist slaves in escaping to freedom in the north or in Canada. Sojourner Truth was active in the antislavery and women's rights movement and is best known for her famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech delivered at a women's rights convention in Ohio.

The slavery issue was also important to the tens of thousands of new immigrants who arrived in America during the antebellum years. During its first century of national existence, the two largest groups arriving on its shores came from Ireland and Germany. On the surface, these were quite different migrations. The Irish were predominantly poor, agricultural laborers, and a high percentage of them possessed little or no formal education. Their principal motive for migration was economic, including such prompts as the enclosure movement, which placed severe limitations on the public use of land, and the great famine. Because they were so poor, most settled initially in the eastern cities where they landed, taking the lowest-paying menial jobs and living in the least desirable overcrowded slums. German migration, on the other hand, reflected a much broader spectrum of society, including small farmers, factory workers, entrepreneurs, intellectuals, and literary

figures. More affluent when they arrived, many moved quickly west where they purchased their own land to settle down as independent farmers. Some carved out ethnic enclaves among the growing eastern municipalities, while others helped found distinctly German communities within emerging western cities like Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis.

Politically, the Irish immigrants were largely ambivalent toward the social issues of the day, including the antislavery movement, between 1820 and 1860. They were generally too poor for concerns beyond economic survival. In fact, if anything, the Irish preferred to leave slavery in place. Not that they supported it, but they feared that if it were eliminated the freed slaves would flood northern cities, competing with them for jobs, housing, and influence. They preferred the Democratic Party over the somewhat anti-immigrant stance of the Whigs and the later virulent antiforeign and anti-Catholic Know-Nothings. On the other hand, the German political émigrés of the late 1840s and 1850s not only embraced the liberal reform movements of the time but provided visible national leadership. They were ardent advocates of women's rights, education, and the antislavery crusade in which they numbered among its most strident supporters. When the Republican Party was formed in 1854 as a largely antislavery party, many were drawn to it, in contrast to the Democrats who generally fell somewhere between pro-slavery and compromise on the issue.

Among the more prominent German antislavery leaders were Karl Heinzen, editor of the radical *Deutsche Schnellpost*; Gustav Koerner, who helped craft the antislavery platform of the new Republican Party in the 1850s; early Republican activists Friedrich Hecker and Friedrich Hassauerek; and Carl Schurz, who gained a reputation for his antislavery rhetoric and became an intimate of Abraham Lincoln. The Poles Jan Tyssowski, Adam Gurowski, and Marie Zakrzewska were among the more outspoken abolitionists, as was the Norwegian Hans Christian Heg. Many of these Europeans were veterans of the democratic and nationalistic revolutions that swept Europe in the late 1840s; consequently, they were particularly interested in the cause of freedom, which they equated with the antislavery movement. Because the large majority of each of these groups settled in the free

north, they were able to speak out against slavery and in favor of the Union with little fear of overt retaliation. These European political exiles generally became active participants in the antislavery movement, and the German-language press in particular contained a large number of editors and journalists interested in promoting the cause. In 1860, there were 265 German-language newspapers published in the United States. All of them favored preserving the Union except three, and the latter were all published in the south.

Ethnic Participation in the Civil War

Determining ethnic participation in the Civil War has been the subject of much speculation and some widely divergent answers depending on whether one counts only immigrants, the second generation, or, for that matter, establishing whether an individual listed as, for example, "German" might actually be an ethnic Pole, Hungarian, or Czech. The most generally accepted estimates are that the Union army included some 516,000 immigrants comprising 23.4 percent of all Union soldiers. About 216,000 were Germans and 170,000 were Irish soldiers. Although not immigrants, 180,000 Africans constituted the second-largest group of ethnic participants in the Union army, behind the Germans and ahead of the Irish. Confederate records are less revealing, and there were much smaller immigrant communities in the south to begin with because most Europeans found jobs in northern industry or took advantage of the opportunities to purchase inexpensive land in the midwest.

With the largest ethnic presence in the war, Germans played a major role in both the eastern and western campaigns. Foremost among their leaders were Franz Sigel and Carl Schurz, two prominent Forty-Eighters who were also influential leaders in the German American community. Promoted to brigadier general because of his ethnic connections, Sigel fought well at the Battle of Pea Ridge, but was not as successful after moving east. His troops fought well in defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run, but he was routed at the Battle of New Market in the Shenandoah Valley in 1864, effectively ending his military career. Schurz, on the other hand, while also a political appointee, performed well as a division commander in the Army of the Potomac. Assigned to the Eleventh

Corps, about 40 percent of which was comprised of German Americans, he and his troops were saddled with a largely undeserved reputation for causing the Union defeat at Chancellorsville. Despite this, they performed well at Gettysburg and, after being transferred to the western theater in late 1863, gained praise for raising the Siege of Chattanooga and their prominent role in General William Tecumseh Sherman's campaigns through Georgia and the Carolinas. Numerous regiments that were raised from among predominantly German Americans earned praise during their service, including the 20th New York (sponsored by the local Turnverein), 26th Wisconsin, 45th New York, 32nd Indiana, 9th Ohio, and the 9th Wisconsin. Among other prominent German officers were Ludwig Blenker, Hubert Dilger, Friedrich Hecker, Peter Osterhaus, Alexander Schimmelfennig, Leopold von Gilsa, Adolf von Steinwehr, Max Weber, Godfrey Weitzel, and August Willich. Approximately 5,000 Germans served in the Confederate army, the most prominent probably being Heros von Borcke, who served for a time with General Jeb Stuart's cavalry.

Irish immigrants formed a large portion of the enlistments in the Union army, and spawned much Civil War lore, which exceeded even their proportion of participation. Although, as with other groups, Confederate records are not always accurate or available, there were also several prominent Southern leaders and regiments of Irish ancestry. In the Union army, Irish units abounded, but the most famous was the Irish Brigade led initially by Thomas Meagher and later by Patrick Kelly, Thomas S. Smyth, Richard Byrne, and Robert Nugent. The brigade gained fame for its very costly assault on the virtually impregnable Confederate position behind a stone wall at Fredericksburg, and was again bloodied at Antietam. Comprised of the 28th Massachusetts, 63rd New York, 69th New York, 88th New York, and 116th Pennsylvania, the brigade suffered over 4,000 killed and wounded during the war, a number exceeding the normal enlistment for an entire brigade at full strength. Other important Irish leaders in the north included Michael Corcoran, William Gamble, Stephen McGroarty, Robert Nugent, and James Shields. In the south, Patrick Cleburne was a prominent general of Irish ancestry, along with Joseph Finegan and Walter Lane, while among the

more prominent Irish regiments were the 6th Louisiana, 8th Alabama, 2nd Tennessee, 10th Tennessee, 24th Georgia, and Cobb's Legion.

Though fewer in number than the Germans and Irish, other European immigrant groups also made noteworthy contributions during the Civil War. Poles contributed three general officers—Wladimir Krzyzanowski, Joseph Kargé, and Albin Schoepf—along with the Union's "Polish Legion" (58th New York). Italians were represented by the multiethnic "Garibaldi Guard" (39th New York) under Colonel Frederick George D'Utassy. Scandinavians raised the flag under Colonel Hans Christian Heg, who was killed at Chickamauga where the regiment suffered 63 percent casualties. The French contributed the fashionable "zouave" uniforms that were adopted by several regiments, north and south, at the beginning of the war, with the most prominent officers of French descent being the south's General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard and Frenchman Camille Armand Jules Marie, Prince de Polignac. Scots raised the 79th New York "Highlanders," complete with kilts, bonnets, and bagpipes, under Colonel James Cameron.

Although the U.S. government did not actively recruit Africans into the armed forces until after the Emancipation Proclamation, the large number who served during the remainder of the conflict is testimony to their willingness to fight for their own freedom, often at the cost of being denied quarter and brutally murdered when captured. The first "black" regiment to be officially mustered into the army was the 1st Louisiana Native Guard, which entered service on August 27, 1862, to be followed shortly by several others collectively known as the Corps d'Afrique. Eventually, when the federal government began mustering segregated African regiments, with white officers and black enlisted men, they were numbered consecutively as "United States Colored Troops." By the end of the war, African troops populated 145 infantry regiments, seven cavalry regiments, 12 heavy artillery regiments, one light artillery regiment, and one engineer regiment. About 60 of these units saw active combat, while the rest were assigned largely as garrison troops. During the war they lost 143 officers and 2,751 men killed in action. No doubt the most famous of the units was the 54th Massachusetts, whose history was re-created in the popular movie *Glory*. Comprised mostly of free residents of the

north, it fought with notable courage in actions at James Island, Battery Wagner, and Olustee.

African regiments were prominent in the Union assault on Port Hudson (Louisiana) in May 1863, the Battle of Milliken's Bend (Louisiana) in June 1863, Olustee (Florida) in February 1864, Chaffin's Farm (Virginia) in September 1864, Honey Hill (South Carolina) in November 1864, the Nashville Campaign (Tennessee) in December 1864, and the Siege of Petersburg (Virginia). During the latter, two divisions of African troops took part in a doomed assault on the Confederate lines known as the Battle of the Crater at the end of July 1864, suffering heavy losses. In addition to combat losses, African soldiers also had to endure discriminatory treatment by Confederate officials. The south insisted on treating Africans captured in uniform as if they were engaging in slave insurrection, which, under southern law, was punishable by an automatic death sentence. The refusal of the south to accord African soldiers the same opportunities for exchange as other captives was one of the main causes of interruption in the prisoner exchange system. There were also instances—notably at Fort Pillow (Tennessee), Poison Springs (Arkansas), Simpsonville (Kentucky), the Crater (Virginia), and New Market Heights (Virginia), among other places—when African soldiers who attempted to surrender were murdered.

The Confederacy made a concerted effort to attract Native Americans to its cause, recruiting whole regiments of Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole under the command of General Stand Waite, a Cherokee who eventually became the last southern general officer to surrender at the end of the war. On the Union side, nearly 3,000 Native Americans joined the army, the most famous being Colonel Ely Parker, a Seneca who served as an aide to General Ulysses S. Grant and wrote out the surrender terms at Appomattox.

Though relatively small in terms of total population in 1860, Hispanics also took an active part in the Civil War. Given the location of most along the southern borderlands, they were almost immediately placed in a position of having to choose sides. Researcher John O'Donnel-Rosales estimates that up to 13,000 Hispanics served the Confederacy, with fewer probably in Union service because of their residential pattern. Among the Confederates, José Agustín Quintero played an important role



This unidentified African American soldier serving at Benton Barracks in Saint Louis, Missouri, was photographed wearing a Union uniform and holding a rifle and handgun in front of a painted backdrop sometime between 1863 and 1865.

in northern Mexico, maintaining critical supply lines into the Confederacy. Although most Hispanics in the south served in integrated regiments, recognizable groups were included in Manigault's South Carolina Battalion, the Spanish Guards from Mobile (Alabama), the Cazadores Españoles (Louisiana), the 1st Florida Cavalry, the 55th Alabama Infantry, the 6th Missouri Infantry, the Chalmette Infantry (Louisiana), and the Louisiana Zouave Battalion. Many Mexican Americans were also found in the ranks of the 2nd Mounted Rifles (Texas) and the 10th Texas Cavalry.

Among the Union forces, Julio P. Garesché du Rocher, of Cuban and French descent, designed fortifications defending Washington, D.C., at the beginning of the war and was later killed in action in the Battle of Stones River. Admiral David G. Farragut, the leading Union naval officer of the

war who was responsible for the capture of New Orleans, was of Hispanic heritage. Mexican Americans from Texas predominated in the 1st Texas Cavalry (Union) and some 4,000 men from New Mexico, mostly of Hispanic descent, mustered into the Union army. These included the 1st New Mexico Infantry under Colonel Rafael Chacón and the 2nd New Mexico Infantry under Colonel Miguel E. Pino. At the crucial Battle of Glorietta Pass near Santa Fe where a Confederate invasion was turned back, troops under Lt. Colonel Manuel Chávez of the New Mexico militia outflanked the Confederate force and destroyed its supply base, forcing the rebels to retreat back into Texas and saving New Mexico and Arizona for the Union.

Consequences of the Civil War

The most significant ethnic consequence of the Civil War was its impact on African Americans. As a direct result of the Union victory, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution made slavery illegal; the Fourteenth Amendment defined citizenship to include people born in the United States, a direct attempt to provide unequivocal citizenship to people of African descent who were denied this in the earlier *Dred Scott* decision; and the Fifteenth Amendment made it illegal to deny voting rights to people based on race, color, or their “previous condition of servitude.”

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was an attempt to protect the rights of African Americans, although the period of “Jim Crow” legislation provided the south with means to circumvent most of these attempted protections. The Civil War also led to the establishment of the Freedmen’s Bureau to assist ex-slaves, and to other initiatives, many only marginally successful, to provide for the education and legal protection of those of African descent. The war also spurred the first movement of Africans from the south to cities in the north, and to a lesser extent to the west in search of new opportunities.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; Armed Forces, U.S.; Constitutional Amendments; Emancipation; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); German Americans; Harpers

Ferry Raid; Irish Americans; Native Americans; Reconstruction; Slave Revolts; Slavery; Underground Railroad.

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Class and Ethnic Diversity

Though the United States lacks the traditional class system of countries like the United Kingdom, class as a factor dictating social and economic mobility, and emerging from largely economic factors, is certainly a very real thing. Class is complicated, of course, and there is a sort of vestigial aristocracy in the form of “old money” families (nearly exclusively white) whose opportunities and social class may exceed their actual wealth and incomes, especially relative to “new money.” Further, the

prestige of class markers varies somewhat from region to region; college ties to Tulane or Emory mean more in the south than in the north, as ties to Lehigh would mean more in the north than in the south, for reasons independent of those institutions' actual merits. Education, occupation, wealth, and income are all elements from which class emerges, and all of these things are very affected in the United States by one's race.

Some scholars have argued that class grows out of occupation, either directly—one's own occupation—or indirectly—one's parents' or forebears' occupation, as workers in a similar position develop similar lifestyles and ways of thinking, which in turn creates patterns that we call social class. Were this so, economic factors would be important mainly for their effect on mobility and insofar as some occupations are more highly paid than others. Key to the idea of class is that although it can be changed, it changes slowly, and one's own class provides at least the starting point for one's children.

Educational attainment, for instance, statistically affects not only income and wealth but the likelihood of one's children attaining a similar level of education. Asian Americans have the highest educational attainment in the United States, an accomplishment that factored heavily in their being termed a "model minority," and in many "positive stereotypes" about Asians in America. Nearly half of Asian Americans possess a college degree, compared to a third of non-Hispanic whites, about 17 percent of blacks, and about 11 percent of Hispanics.

Long-term economic studies have found that economic prosperity in the United States, especially long-term trends of prosperity, have correlated with increasing economic disparity: as upper-class and white incomes and wealth increase, the gap between them and lower-class and nonwhite incomes and wealth increases. The received narrative of American prosperity soaring in the generation after World War II, and of economic troubles in the 1970s and 1990s being brief exceptions to an overall arc of progress, is at heart a story about white Americans' success. The wealthier have become more and more wealthy, and the poor have been left further and further behind.

The white American household has twice as much median wealth as the Asian American

household, 15 times as much as the Hispanic American household, 22 times as much as the black American household, and while household net worth fell for all Americans from 2005 to 2010 thanks to the collapse of the housing market and the financial collapse, white household median net worth fell only 23 percent compared to 60 percent for each of the other three groups—despite the fact that white families are overwhelmingly more likely to be homeowners and were more directly impacted by the collapse of home values. While homeownership rates among blacks and Hispanics increased during the housing bubble, they did so on the strength of high-cost subprime loans. Asians, more likely than blacks and Hispanics to own their homes, were disproportionately affected by the housing market collapse as home values on the West Coast, where the Asian population is concentrated, fell the deepest.

Though improvements have been made, thanks in part to programs like Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, which extended and improved Roosevelt's New Deal and targeted vulnerable groups more specifically, the disparity between the class standing of whites and nonwhites in America remains severe. For instance, as a share of white family income, in the more than 60 years from 1947 to 2010, black family income rose from 51.1 percent to only 61 percent—an improvement, certainly, but a small one compared to the prosperity experienced by white Americans.

Despite the widespread belief in the United States of class mobility—the ability of the determined American to lift himself up by his bootstraps and climb to the next rung of the wealth ladder—in practice, only 3.6 percent of black children born to the bottom 25 percent of families by income ever make it to the top 25 percent, in contrast with 14.2 percent of white children born to the bottom fourth. In fact, a minority of white children born poor remain poor—about 32.3 percent—while nearly twice as many poor black children (62.9 percent) remain poor.

Ethnic Diversity and Income Quintiles

One of the common ways of discussing income groups in the United States is to divide households into quintiles, that is, groups representing one-fifth of American households, grouped according to income level, a method popularized by the *New*

York Times. The elite of the highest fifth—the 5 percent of American households with the highest incomes—are also sometimes discussed. According to a 2004 U.S. Census Bureau report, the U.S. breakdown was as follows:

- The lowest fifth was made up of 16.9 million white households, 4.5 million black households, 624,000 Asian households, and 3 million Hispanic households.
- The second fifth was made up of 18.4 million white households, 3.3 million black households, 593,000 Asian households, and 3.1 million Hispanic households.
- The middle fifth was made up of 19 million white households, 2.6 million black households, 786,000 Asian households, and 2.8 million Hispanic households.
- The fourth fifth was made up of 19.2 million white households, 2 million black households, 871,000 Asian households, and 1.9 million Hispanic households.
- The highest fifth was made up of 19.7 million white households, 1.2 million black households, 1.2 million Asian households, and 1.2 million Hispanic households.
- The top 5 percent was made up of 5 million white households, 236,000 black households, 366,000 Asian households, and 269,000 Hispanic households.

Relative to their share of the general population, whites are disproportionately represented in the three highest quintiles and underrepresented in the lowest quintile. Blacks are overrepresented in the two lowest quintiles and underrepresented in the two highest quintiles, and especially in the top 5 percent. Asians are overrepresented in the two highest quintiles, and underrepresented in the two lowest quintiles. Hispanics are overrepresented in the three lowest quintiles, and underrepresented in the two highest quintiles.

To express the data in another way: about 21 percent of American families with white heads of household are in the top quintile of income, about 30 percent of Asian-headed families; only 9 percent of blacks and 9 percent of Hispanics are. Similarly, while 18 percent of white families are in the lowest quintile of income, and 15 percent of Asians, 24 percent of Hispanic families and a

disproportionate 33 percent of black families are in the lowest quintile. Class and poverty remain very much tied to race in the United States.

In the 2010 census, 15.1 percent of the general population were found to be living in poverty (13.7 percent for working-age Americans, aged 18–64). While this included only 9.9 percent of non-Hispanic whites, it included 12.1 percent of Asians, 26.6 percent of Hispanics, and 27.4 percent of blacks. The disparity is similar when considering only children: while 21 percent of American children live in poverty, 46 percent of black children and 40 percent of Hispanic children live in poverty. Some 6.6 percent of Americans lived below half of the poverty line—primarily blacks and Hispanics. The greatest numbers of non-Hispanic whites living in extreme poverty lived in rural areas.

Economic Disparities by Race and Ethnicity

Though employer-provided health insurance and pension coverage have declined in general since 1979 to 2010, they remain benefits provided to a higher percentage of whites than nonwhites. In 2010, 48 percent of whites had employer-provided pension coverage (52 percent in 1979) and 58 percent had employer-provided health insurance (70 percent in 1979). By contrast, only 37 percent and 49 percent of blacks had pension and insurance coverage, respectively (46 percent and 63 percent in 1979), and only 24 percent and 36 percent of Hispanics did (63 percent and 60 percent in 1979). While all groups have suffered erosion of coverage, twice as many blacks lost pension coverage as whites. The disparity between non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics in employer-provided health insurance coverage has expanded the most in that period.

The majority of households with zero or negative wealth are nonwhite, despite white households remaining the majority of the population. In 2010, only 18.6 percent of such households were white, compared to 35.8 percent Hispanics and 33.9 percent blacks.

Whites are significantly more likely than nonwhites to own their homes. In 2011, 73.8 percent of whites owned homes, compared to 58 percent of Asians, 44.9 percent of blacks, and 46.9 percent of Hispanics. As home ownership rates have fluctuated, the disparity between whites and nonwhites has remained fairly steady.

In 2010, the median wealth of black families was only \$4,900—about 5 percent of the white family median wealth of \$97,000. Home ownership disparity accounts for a large part of this, because whites are overwhelmingly more likely to own their homes. American ethnic groups by median household income, according to the 2010 census are as follows:

- Indian: \$90,525
- South African: \$80,786
- Filipino: \$79,336
- Australian: \$74,341
- Taiwanese: \$73,596
- Russian: \$71,333
- Sri Lankan: \$67,683
- Chinese: \$67,332
- Austrian: \$66,460
- Japanese: \$65,573
- Israeli: \$64,639
- Swiss: \$63,172
- Luxembourgian: \$61,926
- Pakistani: \$61,926
- Indonesian: \$59,326
- German: \$58,617
- Arab: \$55,166
- “White”: \$55,012
- Laotian: \$54,618
- Dutch: \$53,985
- Vietnamese: \$53,579
- Korean: \$51,476
- Thai: \$50,787
- Cambodian: \$48,854
- Bangladeshi: \$48,711
- Hmong: \$46,666
- “American”: \$46,427
- Afghan: \$42,682
- Hispanic: \$40,914
- Mexican: \$40,040
- African: \$34,751

The Lost Decade

After the collapse of the speculative asset price bubble in Japan at the end of the 1980s, Japan experienced a prolonged period of stagnation that has since been called the Lost Decade, though it is sometimes characterized as lasting up to 20 years. In the 1980s, the enormity of the asset bubble caused land and stock prices to triple. The severity of the subsequent collapse was proportionate

to this artificial inflation of the bubble; within five years, the government had gone from a 2.4 percent budget surplus to a 4.3 percent budget deficit, and the collapse of asset values bankrupted many companies. The contraction of the economy led to a shortage of jobs, especially for those of early retirement age and those too young to have established seniority or competitive skills.

One of the social effects was a sudden generational shock wave, as Japanese youth faced significant-enough levels of unemployment to normalize the state of not working or of working only a small number of hours. There has been much speculation about the long-term effects as this generation becomes older and greets each coming decade with less work experience, fewer skills, less savings, and often deferred marriage or children than did previous generations.

Clearly, many of the economic conditions of the Lost Decade are echoed by the global financial crisis and its immediate antecedent in the 2006–08 collapse of the housing bubble in the United States. Officials and economists alike warned of the possibility of the United States’ experiencing a Lost Decade, and employment figures seem to demonstrate some of the effects on the youngest adult cohort, the hypothetical American Lost Decade generation. In most states, it is this age group that faced the greatest unemployment—very likely greater than is shown by unemployment statistics, since those take into account only those who are actively seeking work, and in a job-shortage situation, young people living with their parents will often simply stop looking for work or enter college as an alternative.

This hypothetical Lost Decade impacts Americans differently according to their socioeconomic background. One of the few growth areas since the financial collapse, for instance, has been the opening of law schools. Despite the shrinking job market for lawyers and the shrinking paychecks for entry-level legal industry jobs, the combination of which drastically reduces the financial value of a law degree, many young middle- and upper-class students have chosen law school as their remedy to a tough job market. The perception persists that a law degree is somehow an immunization against unemployment woes, and student loans for law students are plentiful. Because the operating costs of a law school are extremely low

relative to tuition costs—unlike medical school, the equipment cost is negligible—opening a law school is virtually a guaranteed income for a university system, and the excess revenue helps subsidize more expensive programs in the system.

Recovery from the Great Recession has also been unevenly distributed. From 2009 to 2011, average real family income grew by 1.7 percent, a modest recovery. However, those gains were realized almost entirely by the top 1 percent high-income families, overwhelmingly white, who saw their incomes increase 11.2 percent while the bottom 99 percent experienced a 0.4 percent decrease. This trend continued in 2012.

Since the onset of the Great Recession, blacks and Hispanics have experienced the worst effects, with income declining and unemployment rising at rates significantly greater than those experienced by whites. This fits a general pattern of economic disparity, and disparity of economic trends, in modern American history. From 1983 to 1989, for instance, black household wealth consistently declined, while white household wealth consistently rose, a trend that reversed from 1989 to 1992. From 1992 to 2010, black household wealth declined very slightly, ending just lower than it had been in 1983. In the same period, white household wealth rose steadily, especially from 1995 to 2001 and 2004 to 2007, before plummeting at the onset of the Great Recession. Even with that drop, in 2010 white household incomes were slightly higher than they had been in 1983.

Bill Kte'pi

Independent Scholar

See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Diversity and Inclusion; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.; Equity and Equality; Minority Business Development Agency; Occupational Patterns (Essay); Privilege; Socioeconomic Patterns (Essay).

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Classical Music and Ethnic Diversity

American classical music until the end of the 19th century largely adhered to the European tradition. Bohemian composer Antonín Dvořák, who came to the United States from 1892 to 1895 to head the National Conservatory of America, was the first to urge American composers to embrace ethnic elements in the formation of a national musical identity. Adapting musical materials from African American melodies in his symphony *From the New World*, Dvořák catalyzed the emergence of a unified American classical music. Rooted in the European tradition, this music amalgamated diverse ethnic sounds and influences, including those of Native American, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Celtic, Germanic, African, West Indian, Asian, and Jewish musics. The persistence of immigration to the United States has allowed composers of diverse ethnicities to play leading roles in the development of American classical music.

Native American Music

Native Americans created their songs spontaneously for religious and community ceremonies.

Classical composers of the Indianist movement in the 1880s began to carry out systematic adaptation of Native American music. Notable among these composers was Arthur Farwell, who founded the Wa-Wan Press in 1902. In its 11-year history, the press specialized in publishing Indianist compositions, including Farwell's *Impressions of the Wa-Wan Ceremony of the Omahas* for piano.

European Influence

Prior to the mid-19th century, masters of Anglo-Saxon descent in New England singing schools promoted Protestant hymns, psalmody, and liturgical music. Singing masters, chief among them William Billings, composed and published numerous collections of hymns, anthems, songs, and fuguig tunes. Influence of these compositions can be found in later orchestral works, notably William Schuman's *New England Triptychs* and Virgil Thomson's *Symphony on a Hymn Tune*. This style spread to the American south and continued to thrive into the 20th century as shape-note singing and gospel songs.

The Anglo-Celtic Appalachian tradition was introduced by Scottish and Irish settlers, who brought their ballads as they migrated to Appalachia and the Mississippi Valley after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The Anglo-Celtic folk style commingled with local popular songs and African American songs and evolved into the Appalachian style. Appalachian tunes provided musical material for later composers including Aaron Copland, who used the tune "Simple Gifts" as the theme in his 1944 ballet score *Appalachian Spring*.

German-speaking settlers in the 19th century supplied the bulk of performers and teachers in American music schools and orchestras. These settlers highly valued musical literacy, and established choral societies and instrumental ensembles such as the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the Philadelphia Orchestra, and the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston.

Jewish Influence

The wave of Jewish immigrants at the turn of the century spurred musical exchange with American classical music. Liturgical music was infused with western styles, instruments, tonalities, and harmonization in some communities; liturgical music found an audience as concert pieces. The

interaction is exemplified by the 38 commissions by Cantor David Putterman of New York's Park Avenue Synagogue, which were later compiled in the 1951 anthology *Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers*.

Among the most prominent American composers of Jewish descent are Arnold Schoenberg, Leonard Bernstein, and Steve Reich, each of them succeeded in drawing on their heritage in their western-style compositions. Among Schoenberg's serial works are his cantata *A Survivor From Warsaw* and the choral setting of *Mima'amakim*; Bernstein employed his own tonal language in his choral works *Chichester Psalms* and *Hashkiveinu*, as well as in *Symphony No. 3 (Kaddish)*; Reich applied minimalist techniques to cantillation in his Hebrew psalms setting *Tehillim*.

West African, West Indian, and Cajun Styles

Peoples of West African and West Indian descent brought to the United States as slaves had little contact with their native cultures and developed a unique song tradition as a result. Their call-and-response singing, in particular, resonated with the "lined-out hymnody" of the New England tradition, in which a leader articulates one line of song, which then is immediately repeated by the group. The synthesis of these two traditions gave rise to the religious spiritual. The migration of French settlers from Acadia to Louisiana brought about further intermingling of ethnic styles that later evolved into blues, ragtime, and jazz. Melodies and metric patterns of these musical forms have been adopted in all types of American music.

In his compositions for piano, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, a half-English, half-Creole native of New Orleans, was the first composer to integrate the African and West Indian styles with European pianistic techniques. Henry F. B. Gilbert introduced spirituals and ragtime into orchestral music, notably in *Comedy Overture on Negro Themes*, *Negro Rhapsody*, and *Dance in Place Congo*. Gilbert's outreach paved the way for the acceptance of African American composers, such as William Grant Still. George Gershwin, son of Russian Jewish immigrants, achieved great recognition for integrating ragtime, jazz, and Anglo-American art songs with Yiddish musical theater, as evident in *Rhapsody in Blue* and *An American in Paris*, and in the score of *Porgy and Bess*.

The rhythms of West African music entered the American classical repertory in the 1970s through Steve Reich's works, including *Drumming*, *Music for 18 Musicians* and *Different Trains*. By the late 20th century, in a new area of stylistic development, American minimalist and experimental classical music had incorporated the rhythms and meters of non-Western music.

Minstrelsy

The music of minstrel shows took African American songs and infused them with Anglo-Celtic elements. In the mid-1800s, Stephen Foster was the best-known composer of minstrel songs. Foster's prolific output and widespread popularity made a lasting imprint on American song and classical music, especially on composer Charles Ives. Ives drew musical quotations from Foster's melodies, as well as deploying ethnic vernacular tunes (including Protestant hymnody, German songs, and Scottish ballads), defamiliarizing and transforming these materials. Ives's ecriture is epitomized in his collection 119 Songs, as well as in the Concord Sonata for piano and Three Places in New England for orchestra.

Asian Influence

Asian musics entered the consciousness of American composers in the early 20th century. Henry Eichheim's *Oriental Impressions* was based on melodies he heard in travels to China, Japan, Korea, and Thailand. His two orchestral works, *Java* and *Bali*, include Javanese gamelan instruments. American impressionist composer Charles T. Griffes reflected the orientalism of the times in *The Pleasure-Dome of Kubla Khan* and in song settings for Chinese, Japanese, and Javanese texts.

Turning away from Western notions of individual expression, such as a composer's authorship and a musician's performance, John Cage made extensive use of Taoist aesthetics and divinatory methods in his compositions. For Cage, the holistic listening experience (including silence and environmental sounds) and random chance played central roles in determining the actual musical rendition. Cage also developed the "prepared piano," where various materials are inserted between strings to create a range of pitched percussive sounds evocative of south Asian and Indonesian music. Among his best-known compositions

are "Sonatas and Interludes," "Cartridge Music," and "4'33."

In 1998, Chinese American cellist Yo-Yo Ma founded the Silk Road Project to promote innovation in cross-cultural research and education. The organization has commissioned and performed numerous new works by composers of various ethnic origins.

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See Also: Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Gospel Music; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Opera and Ethnic Diversity.

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Clothing and Ethnic Diversity

Clothing is a visual cultural document. Contemporary American culture emphasizes visual blending rather than national heritage or ethnic group identification. Donning clothing is a normative act that both conceals and reveals; how one is dressed will be considered appropriate or inappropriate by viewers. Clothing aids in social interaction, signaling members of social groups. Specifically, how this process is articulated varies by culture and through time. For thousands of years artists drew pictures illustrating how Egyptian scribes dressed to denote their occupation. Hurons living near the Great Lakes used hair styles to distinguish themselves from the Erie or Seneca. French royalty reserved purple to denote their ascribed status. Samurai in Japan earned the right to wear

special sashes, and American businessmen in the early 20th century wore dark suits to denote their status as serious, middle-class professionals, as distinguished from laborers.

Age, gender, sexuality, occupation, geography, status and rank, religion or faith, culture, education, nationality, kinship, ascription, class, achieved status or rank, and ethnic heritage—all basic sociological variables—are signified in clothing, anchored by how it is worn and moves on the human body. Add to this situationally and temporally contextualized body adornment and it is easy to see that items of body art and sartorial accoutrement help individuals and social groups produce ensembles that sartorially mark who they are and who they want people to think they are. Clothing is a potent marker of identity.

Social and Ethnic Markers

Clothing ensembles are visible and rapidly seen symbols in the United States used to signal ethnic identity or heritage. They constitute cultural constructs, conjoined into a unified, imagined identity that labels a social group and asserts its members' heritage and right to claim that heritage. Clothing as a social marker offers individuals and social groups comfortable, convenient, and often unquestioned mental filters to make sense of the world's complexity and gives wearers a means to assert or claim distinctiveness. This is an important social feature for a society with a large heterogeneous population, like the United States or Canada, because it can call into question the basic social identity of the nation-state. To counter this potential divisiveness, most Americans separate unifying but gendered, basic everyday attire, which tends to be based on fashion rather than ethnicity from ethnic dress.

To wear ethnic clothing in America with its emphasis on blending in and not emphasizing national heritage or ethnic group identification in dress can engender ridicule and outright prejudice in many situations. Canada has a law that permits ethnic clothing in the workplace unless the occupation requires a particular uniform or the ethnic attire presents a safety hazard. Thus, a man who is a Sikh can wear a turban rather than the regulation police helmet in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, but not a robe. There is no such law in the United States, and ethnic attire

combined with physical appearance (race) has been used by security groups to identify potential threats; this is often referred to as ethnic profiling.

In contemporary America, people who are descendants of immigrants use heritage clothing on special occasions or for celebrations that mark a simplified ethnic ancestry that utilizes nationality and ethnic or linguistic group but more rarely village or regional origins. Thus one shows Polish heritage but not that of Krakow or Polnaz as regional variants. Usually what was worn by rural (nonelite) populations in the early to mid-19th century in the home country is now worn without subregional (i.e., village) or class markers.

Many immigrants tried to quickly blend into American populations, especially in urban areas, often by changing their clothing to that worn by Americans on a daily basis (if they could afford it) when they first arrived in the United States. Scholars have called this cultural authentication and the adopted styles are mixtures of the old and the new.

After two or three generations, however, their descendants like to reassert and proudly reaffirm their home country origins. The distinctive best attire from a source country has become an indicator of distinction from the general mass of Americans and what they wear on a daily basis. It is on special occasions (often celebratory or festive) and in certain types of situations that ethnic attire becomes a key symbol of both distinctiveness and community.

To wear ethnic dress at school or on a construction site or at the supermarket would be inappropriate. But at a folk festival, it is suitable to wear a German dirndl or a Japanese kimono as an identity marker; in this special space it is how wearers can claim an ascribed status and a right to express this heritage in public. Ethnic dress tends to also be worn on occasions that signal life cycle changes, passing from one social stage to another: weddings, graduations, and funerals come readily to mind. Ethnic attire (also called folk costume or peasant attire) functions like cultural property that labels an individual or a group distinctive and exclusive. They are citizens of the political nation-state, but wearers are unique citizens with claims to heritage from other places. This is marked verbally by a heritage designation and sometimes a hyphen before the word *American*.

They are German Americans, Greek Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans, and Croatian Americans while in heritage attire. The American is always constant in the equation.

Indigenous Native American Attire

Ethnic attire for indigenous groups reflects a respect for and reaffirmation of the cumulative experiences of ancestors. Native Americans wear attire to demonstrate that they are part of this continuum and will carry it into the future. This does mean that the attire itself is static. The continuum is constantly changing or adapting but still reflects environmental constraints, like fur-lined parkas in the Arctic for the Yupiaq or Inuit or cotton cloth in the desert southwest. In the past, native attire has been culturally specific and still is in some cases. For example, Navajo elders

wear distinctive attire in their daily lives—the velvet long-sleeved shirt and long full skirt. Younger Navajo reserve this attire for ceremonial or ritual events, public ceremonies with blessings, selling art to peoples from other cultures who like to see ethnically costumed artists as part of their buying experience, giving entertainment or dance performances, or participating in transnational beauty pageants, rodeos, and powwows.

In the United States, 60 percent of American Indians live in urban areas for extended periods of time and not on their home reservations, working in the same types of occupations, with the same dress expectations, as members of the general society. Blue jeans and T-shirts for students, ranchers, farmers, and construction workers rule the day. Professional men and women and elected officials wear business suits, dresses, short-sleeved cotton shirts, and khaki pants, as well as the latest



A sari can indicate a practitioner of Hinduism, while the burka or hijab head covering indicates an adherent of a Muslim sect. The sari is a strip of unstitched cloth draped over the body in various manners. The traditional sari was sold mainly to south Asian women in the United States until the 1970s, when its popularity grew along with the global growth of Indian fashion trends.

fashions obtained from upscale department stores or Native, New York, and Parisian haute couture, as long as it is suitable for the season.

Those working in professions requiring uniforms wear attire that is no different from their non-Native colleagues; Opata miners in Mexico wear hard hats, Navajo ranchers wear cowboy hats and boots, and O'odham or Maricopa tribal police are easily recognized by their blue uniforms, as are the Western Apache's famous firefighting contingent who wear protective clothing when battling wildfires in the western United States.

Elders living on reservations, particularly in isolated or remote regions, or in border towns tend to wear older styles of attire or housedresses, skirts and blouses, holding onto workable but outmoded or classic clothing traditions in the same manner as rural Euro-Americans or Mexican families living among or near indigenous groups. However, it is not unusual for Native individuals to wear adornment symbols, such as silver and turquoise jewelry, or hair styles (long and straight for both men and women or tied with head scarves, beaded barrettes or woven hair ties) to establish and emphasize through these easily recognizable visual cues their Native identity, which makes them distinct from the general population.

National Heritage, Culture, and Religion

Ethnic dressing for other national heritages is an established cultural and social practice in the United States and works in similar ways to clothing donned by Native Americans. Ethnic dress includes any attire, supplement, or modification to the body to cover and adorn oneself and provide readily understood visual clues about the ethnic heritage of the wearer. Ethnic dress can include fashion and traditional costume but these tend to be conservative, reflecting the historic attire of an ethnic group or nation as used on festive occasions in the home country.

Thus, the attire that a woman of Hungarian ancestry on Hungarian Day in Lorain, Ohio, near Cleveland consists of a full skirt with two rows of rickrack near the bottom hem, an embroidered short-sleeved blouse, a fitted vest, apron, and hair ribbons or a head scarf. In the past this attire would have been donned by any woman working at the 75-year-old fall harvest festival and reflected

the village or region of Hungary her ancestors emigrated from. Over time, these regional distinctions have been lost and the nationality has become homogenized and simplified, obscuring any ethnic, regional, or class variation that existed in Hungary. Today the attire tends to be reserved for those who perform traditional Hungarian dances minus the regional variation. Rather than a symbol of family or geographical district, it has become a symbol of national heritage. It is thus safe for the country and its national identity as a unified people with a single culture.

While ethnic attire tends to be conservative and preservationist, this does not mean that it is static. What is considered tradition and traditional is an evolving, adaptive concept in any society. Some cultures change faster than others; some cultures like change, others distrust it. While a core of bedrock tradition is always present, so is innovation, experimentation, diffusion or borrowing, modification, and ultimately, rejection or acceptance based on the needs and philosophies of the community over time. Tradition is adaptable and has been so since the beginning of each culture's creation.

This adaptability is seen in ethnic attire even when groups strive to freeze attire in time. For groups like the Amish, descendants of Swiss dissenters from the Anabaptist movement, and the Mennonites, plain, unadorned dress in subdued colors that was worn between 1750 and 1850 is now a symbol of exclusivity. Men wear black broadfall trousers with buttons (no zippers), short jackets fastened with hooks and eyes, solid-colored shirts and straw or felt hats. Women wear long one- or two-piece dresses with matching aprons and an 18th-century-style bonnet, black stockings and shoes. Amish attire will remain stable because it is worn as a marker of faith and a social boundary between the Amish and outsiders ("the English"). To don outsider clothing risks shunning; to add individualizing ornamentation—jewelry or patterned fabric—smacks of pride. Plain dress visualizes the tenets of faith.

Ethnic dress is combined with religious and caste symbols and it is these sartorial combinations that are seen in daily attire in contemporary America. Religious sartorial markers include black hats for Sephardic Jewish men or a yarmulke for Hasidic groups, *imama* or turbans for

Arabs, Hindi or Sikhs. These hats signify faith, visible markers that men adhere to the moral and behavioral rules of their religion. For some Arab Muslims, a man's head is the place of his honor, manhood, and dignity; to leave it uncovered is considered shameful. These headpieces can be combined with a piece of tribal or traditional attire. For example, Arab men in the Gulf region wear the traditional long, ankle-length *jillaba*, or *dishdasha*, *kaffiya*, and *agal*, along with a Western-style man's suit jacket and dress shoes.

Most American Muslims do not follow any dress code, nor do they feel it is obligatory. Women can be similarly marked; some religions require women to wear a head covering in daily life or while praying. A sari indicates a Hindu practitioner and the burka or hijab, an adherent or a Muslim sect. Hare Krishna members wear saffron robes all the time, while members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) must wear only white (a symbol of purity) when they are in the LDS temple. At other times, they wear fashionable attire. Orthodox Jews avoid wearing any fabric that is a mixture of linen and wool, a combination expressly forbidden in the Torah because it was sacred to the ancient Egyptians. The sartorial political considerations of 2,500 years ago continue to this day.

The nonverbal message hopefully conveyed by donning ethnic attire concentrates on reverence for national heritage, cultural pride, and distinction. It is a way for the descendants of migrants to the United States (or any other nation) to show respect for their ancestors, a desire to keep language and/or customs alive. For example, while Korean immigrants wear Western-style clothing for daily life, the bride dons a traditional *hanbok* for her wedding. These dresses tend to be passed down in families, if possible.

Recent political refugees, like the Hmong who left much of their clothing behind as they fled from southeast Asia, have created new courting and wedding dresses based on old silhouettes. New attire is also made, new materials used, slight alterations in design that eventually lead to major changes. Details and basic structure change but these changes are usually discussed by the entire group, accepted or rejected. Those that are seen as unaltered through time tend to be called "traditional."

Creating a Fashion/Political Statement

Time-honored ethnic dress has entered the world of fashion as urban or retro chic, bringing the nonmodern, traditional, or old into the realm of the rapidly changing new. Pull up the term on an Internet browser and you get hundreds of cyber-sites selling ethnic attire, especially Indian and African-based attire, that has been adjusted to conform to time-specific fashion.

The 1960s and early 1970s hippie attire was based on a blending of ethnic attire that was reinterpreted and given new meanings as countercultural. Another piece of headwear, the West African head wrap has become high fashion for many African Americans, as has the Ghanaian dashiki, a colorful, collarless man's shirt, made from kente cloth or a long sheath-style dress for women, both worn with an Afro or cornrow braids hairstyle. It is here that ethnic attire meets political statement and fights against discrimination and stereotypes.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Americanization; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Identity Development; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Muslim Americans; Native Americans; Passing/Covering; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Roles, Social and Cultural; *Zoot Suit*.

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Code Talkers

“Code talkers” are individuals tasked by the U.S. military to use their traditional languages as codes to disguise military radio and written transmissions. With the exception of Basque individuals, code talkers were frequently of American Indian descent. This unique application of traditional language represented a continuation of enduring warrior traditions in modern warfare. The United States owed much of its success in World War I, World War II, and later conflicts to the strength of codes based on indigenous languages and to the individuals who valiantly served in code talker capacities.

American Indians have a long, proud history of military service in the United States. This is commonly attributed to the warrior traditions of many indigenous cultures. While the warrior role involves much more than being a combatant, colonization processes (e.g., land rights disputes, massacres, economic woes, and intercultural friction) made war endeavors more frequent and intense. Warriors who previously provided for and protected villages and clans from traditional rivals now found themselves locked in perilous and asymmetrical battles with the skirmishers, infantry, cavalry, and artillery of a fledgling state. Until the 1900s, American Indian nations fought against or alongside the United States, depending on each individual nation’s alliances. When the United States joined the Allies during World War I, thousands of American Indians, who had not yet been granted citizenship, volunteered for service abroad.

World War I

It was World War I that saw the inception of code talker initiatives. All the Allies’ codes to date were repeatedly cracked, and their forces were desperate for a more effective means of shielding strategic intelligence. As legend has it, an American officer overheard two Choctaw soldiers speaking to each other. This eventually prompted an evaluation of the integrity of codes based on Native languages in the war zone.

World War I code talking programs included members of several tribal nations, including Choctaw, Comanche, Seminole, Meskwaki, Cherokee, Osage, Dakota, and Lakota. Two

types of code languages were developed: Type I and Type II. Type I code talking consists of an encoded language based upon a parent language (e.g., *wakaree’e*, Comanche for turtle, was code for *tank*). Type II involved the use of noncoded parent languages (i.e., direct translations of terms). These codes were incredibly successful and never broken. The valiant and crucial efforts of code talkers and multiple non-code talking American Indian enlistees contributed to the U.S. government’s recognizing all American Indians as citizens in 1920.

World War II

Though code talker programs based on several Native languages were used during World War I and World War II, the Navajo code talker program was the largest and best known. These members of the Navajo Nation enlisted in the Marine Corps (USMC) during World War II and spoke in code to send and receive messages in the battlefield and on warships. This Type I code is credited with aiding the Allies’ success in the Pacific theater. It was used to engage and confound the Japanese and was never broken or deciphered. The program remained classified until 1968 and did not become public knowledge until 1970.

Inspired by the success of American Indian-based codes in World War I, 29 Navajo men were recruited and trained in a first-ever all-Navajo platoon at Camp Pendleton near San Diego, California. These Marines were sent to Camp Elliot for basic communications training and to develop the code using the basics of word- and letter-substitution encryption methods. When a code talker received a message, the end result would be translated into unrelated Navajo words. However, only the first letter of the English equivalent was relevant for the code to be deciphered. For example, the Navajo word for “ant” would be spoken over the radio and the receiver would translate those words into English and combine the first letters of the subsequent words together. An entire coded transmission would take 20 seconds to relay battle maneuvers and tactics as opposed to machinery that took over 30 minutes to accomplish the same task. In August 1942, the USMC ordered that 200 more Navajo men be recruited into the program. The code was developed into a manual

(or codebook) for the recruits and had to be memorized entirely.

Code talkers were sent to engage the Japanese in Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Peleliu, Saipan, and Iwo Jima. Small groups of 13 to 16 Navajo Marines were assigned to various Marine divisions. Sometimes, fellow non-Navajo Marines mistook Navajos as enemy Japanese in disguise and treated them in a hostile manner. Despite occasional tension in the ranks, the code talkers received praise from commanders in the field for accuracy and swiftness in transmitting and receiving coded messages. At Iwo Jima, Major Howard Connor commented, "If it weren't for the Navajos, the Marines would never have taken Iwo Jima." Connor employed six Navajo code talkers to work during the first two days of the battle for Iwo Jima. Those six transmitted, received, and decoded over 800 messages with incredible accuracy. The Japanese, who were considered skilled code breakers, could decipher codes transmitted by the U.S. Army with ease but remained bewildered by the Navajo and were unable to decrypt the codes they used.

Because of the Type I structure of the Navajo code talker program, a fluent Navajo speaker would not be able to decipher a transmission without knowledge of the code manual. In May 1942, the Japanese had an opportunity to decipher the code when U.S. Army Sergeant Joe Kieyoomia was captured during the infamous Bataan Death March. Kieyoomia was Navajo and a fluent speaker, but he was not a code talker. He endured brutal torture and was forced to listen to and decipher some coded messages; however, Kieyoomia could not understand what the code talkers were saying. To him, the code was merely a string of random words in Navajo. He informed his captors that he was unable to translate/decipher the messages and they continued to hold him prisoner until his eventual escape following the bombing of Nagasaki.

Recognition

The Navajo code was so effective during the war in the Pacific that the military continued to use it in the Korean War and in the Vietnam War. It was not until 1968 that the code was declassified, and it was not until 1982 that the Navajo Marines were recognized for their service as Navajo code talkers by President Ronald Reagan. President

Reagan declared August 14 as "Navajo Code Talkers Day." In 2001 in Washington, D.C., President George W. Bush presented the Congressional Gold Medal to four surviving code talkers and to 24 posthumously.

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See Also: Armed Forces, U.S.; Cherokee; Choctaw; Comanche; Language Usage in the United States; Native Americans; Navajo; Osage; Seminole; World War I; World War II.

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Cofradía

Cofradías are lay religious institutions with their own charters and regulations, formed with the purpose of promoting charitable endeavors. After their inception in Europe, these fraternal institutions were reproduced across the oceans after the conquest of the Americas by Catholic nations.

In the early Middle Ages, religious confraternities formed by lay people arose in Europe in order to support church charitable institutions and to promote charity works and mutual aid. In many medieval cities, these confraternities became important institutions for the growing middle class as well as for the elite. Other important institutions arising at the time were the trade guilds; even though sometimes confraternities and trade guilds could form alliances, confraternities always maintained their religious purpose. It is important to note that initially, these lay associations functioned under the aegis of Church authorities.

In the late Middle Ages, Spanish society incorporated the confraternities—known in Spanish as *cofradías*—into a mixed form encompassing trade guild and religious confraternity, preserving the economic characteristics of the former and the sacred imperatives of the latter. In this manner, *cofradías* were able to serve their population in an ampler way. Uniquely equipped to face societal change and instability, as well as to bridge different demographics, *cofradías* became an important part of Spanish and, eventually, American society. Besides charity and community-building, *cofradías* provided—and continue to offer—opportunities for social networking, integration, and entertainment.

Cofradías in the Spanish Americas

Spanish colonization of the Americas—and the Portuguese conquest of Brazil—brought a massive influx of Catholic missionaries to the new colonies. *Cofradías* were soon organized in the new colonies, where they flourished among the Spanish, Creole, mestizo and indigenous populations, becoming a central institution in many villages and towns. Thus, the *cofradías* of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Spanish North America inevitably took a different character than their European counterparts. Of special interest to many contemporary historians and social scientists, for example, are the diasporic *cofradías* in Latin America initially formed by the enslaved Africans, and the hybrid Catholic and indigenous religious rituals adopted by many native-born *cofradías*. Indeed, although the majority of *cofradías* have always been linked to a particular church or saint, a few *cofradías* in the 18th and 19th centuries took on a unique character; such is the case of the *Cofradía de los Hermanos de la Costa*, a confraternity of pirates and buccaneers, which operated in the Caribbean and eschewed any religious or national allegiance, and those formed by escaped slaves (*cimarrones*).

Cofradías in the United States

Cofradías have appeared in the United States in regions with large immigrant populations, to serve as mutual aid societies and help with other community needs. Some confraternities are uniquely American while others have ties to their counterparts in their countries of origin. However, the Catholic religion is not the majority in the United States as it is in Latin America, and Protestant



Though *cofradías* were never widespread in the United States, some important U.S. confraternities exist, such as the Knights of Columbus. In 1917, the National Catholic War Council and the Knights of Columbus organized a national agency to coordinate the war effort of the American Catholic community.

cultures have not adopted the Catholic confraternity model. The lifestyle in the United States never proved fertile ground for the traditional *cofradía* model spreading as far and wide as in Latin America, so that it has remained a much smaller cultural phenomenon. Nevertheless, despite the dispersion effects of globalization, confraternities in the United States remain a notable institution in their communities.

The image of the *Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre* has a sanctuary in Miami and counts approximately 57,300 devotees. Its confraternity is one of the earliest religious organizations founded by Catholics in the United States. Its Miami chapter was restarted in 1968 by a group

of Cuban exiles and church officers led by Miami Archbishop Coleman Carroll and dedicated to an image of the Virgin of Charity brought from Cuba in the 1960s. The original confraternity, however, was created by the Cuban archdiocese in the 17th century to serve as a link between the Spanish colonizers in Cuba and Floridian Native Americans. This confraternity disappeared in the early 1600s when Florida was ceded to the British. In 2001, the confraternity was elevated to the status of arch-confraternity by Archbishop John Favalora. Since then, the image has become a cultural and identity focal point for Cuban Americans, has expanded to other U.S. cities, and has attracted a growing number of worshippers from Latin American communities and nations.

Some important confraternities in the United States with chapters across the nation are, among others, the Knights of Columbus, founded in 1882 by Father Michael J. McGiveney in New Haven, Connecticut, today with almost 2 million members, the largest Catholic confraternity worldwide; the Legion of Mary, founded in Ireland in 1921 by Catholic layman Frank Duff, today with a membership of 250,000 to 500,000 in each of the countries where it is established; and Santo Niño de Cebu, founded by Spanish conquerors in the city of Cebu, Philippines, in the early 16th century, today with chapters in the United States where it is worshipped by Catholic Filipinos and Filipino Americans. This icon shares followers with the images of Santo Niño de Atocha and the Infant Jesus of Prague, both of which have multicultural followings worldwide, including the United States.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Mutual Aid Societies; Mutualista; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Colombian Americans

With a population of approximately 908,000 in the United States as of 2010, Colombian Americans are the largest South American ethnic group and the sixth-largest Hispanic population in the United States. The group is defined as citizens of the United States who can trace their heritage back to Colombia, South America. Colombian Americans have had a significant cultural impact upon several urban areas and upon American culture generally.

History

The first Colombian immigrants in the United States probably arrived in the 1800s and were not concentrated in groups, working hard to assimilate. Like many Latino communities in the United States, however, they were not formally counted as a distinct group until the 1960s. The Colombian American community first made its cohesive presence known after World War I, mostly in the New York City area, particularly in Jackson Heights, Queens. At that time, Jackson Heights was a middle-class community close to Manhattan, and this influx of Colombians into the United States after World War I consisted largely of skilled professional people, such as nurses and other medical personnel, accountants, and office workers. Young people from relatively well-off families also stayed in the United States after attending college.

The number of Colombians migrating to the United States rose only slightly each year until the early 1950s, when the unrest of civil war coupled with a shift into urban areas increased the numbers of Colombian immigrants. By the early 1970s skilled and semiskilled workers made up

more of the population of Colombian Americans than did professionals.

Immigration and Social Turmoil

In the late 1970s, more and more Colombians relocated to Miami, probably in the wake of the large influx of Cubans, while the 1980s saw Colombian Americans migrate from urban centers to suburbs. The 1990s once again saw political turmoil erupt in Colombia, and the presence of more guerrillas there once again boosted the number of Colombians in the United States, particularly in California, although the Colombian American populations of New York City and Miami remained the largest in the country.

Many Colombian Americans experienced a language barrier as they lived under conditions that didn't offer many opportunities for gaining proficiency in English. Like other immigrants, Colombian Americans also felt the backlash of anti-immigrant fervor in the period of economic recession during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Popular concerns about drug-related crime also had a profound impact on Colombian Americans during this time, culminating after Manuel de Dios Unanue, editor of *El Diario/La Prensa* and critic of the Cali drug cartel, was murdered in 1992.

Culture

Colombia's population is very ethnically diverse, with mestizos making up the majority of the population, Afro-Colombians, and the rest consisting of indigenous Colombians and Colombians of European ancestry. In the early years of Colombian migration to the United States, the influx of immigrants consisted mostly of mestizos and those of European ancestry. In more recent waves of immigration, however, all Colombian ethnicities have been represented, so modern Colombian Americans are also from all Colombian ethnic groups.

Colombian Americans have thriving musical and culinary scenes in the United States. Popular Colombian musical styles include salsa and cumbia, and Colombian cuisine has contributed the empanada, sancocho, and arepas to American food culture. Soccer is wildly popular in Colombian American communities, and there are a number of Colombian American soccer stars in the United States, including Juan Agudelo, who

plays in New York and also for the national team. Colombian Americans are also well represented in Major League Baseball.

Colombian Americans tend to maintain strong cultural ties to Colombia. Many Colombian Americans endeavor to work within Latino social and professional networks while maintaining their distinct identity as Colombian Americans rather than some more generic Latino identity.

Contemporary Scene

Today Colombian Americans play a significant role in American culture. Entrepreneur María Elena Ibanez formed International High-Tech Marketing, a firm that sells computer equipment in more than 100 developing countries. The books of Nobel Prize-winner Gabriel García Márquez were among the first Latin American works widely read by an English-speaking audience. Actor and comedian John Leguizamo has achieved major success not only as an actor but also as a playwright. Many other successful Colombian Americans shape today's American culture.

Current populations of Colombian Americans are highest in south Florida, the New York area, Boston, Philadelphia, Houston, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C. The majority of Colombian Americans are proficient with English. Colombian Americans overall have higher marriage rates and lower unmarried fertility rates than other Latinos in America. The percentage of Colombian Americans living in poverty is lower than that of the general American population and significantly lower than that of Hispanics in the United States. Colombian Americans also have higher levels of education than the Hispanic American population overall. All of these factors as well as other census data show that today's Colombian American population is stable and thriving.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; California Propositions 187, 209, and 227; Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Mestizo.

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Color Purple, The

Alice Walker, who wrote the novel *The Color Purple*, belongs to the generation of the authors like Toni Morrison and Paula Marshall who galvanized African American literature in the 1980s and 1990s, foregrounding in their novels the themes related to African American women. *The Color Purple* (1982) is the first African American epistolary novel. The narrator, Celie, is a poor African American girl from the rural American south. She is raped by her stepfather and bears two children whom he takes away from her. Celie's letters to God are the only outlet for her misery, since her stepfather forbids her to speak about her abuse. Nettie, her younger sister, teaches her to read and write but their bond is severed when Albert, a brutish sharecropper and the man Celie was forced to marry, makes Nettie leave.

Nettie goes to Africa as a missionary with the couple who adopted Celie's children. Her letters about the African Olinka tribe, their religion, culture, and language, provide an important insight for Celie's community into their African heritage and constitute a broader anthropological framework of the novel. Colonization of Africa and destruction of the Olinka on the macrocosmic level parallel on a microcosmic level the oppression of the African American community in the American south in the first part of the 20th century. Both

sisters explore detrimental effects of the divisions among sexes, races, and classes in a patriarchal system. Celie witnesses numerous cases of oppression of African American women by the men in their community and by the white people, while Nettie describes oppression of women in Africa, particularly genital mutilation.

Celie manages to find strength thanks to the greatest influence in her life, Shug, a sultry female blues singer with whom she falls in love. Their lesbian relationship defies rules of the society and presents another form of female liberation. In the novel Celie functions as a catalyst, inspiring change in other characters. She becomes a successful businesswoman, sewing pants whose size symbolically fits all.

Purple as Metaphor

The novel examines the role of religion as patriarchal oppression of women. Celie develops a broader, more pantheistic view of religion and worships beauty in the world of which the color purple is the main metaphor in the novel. She rejects the idea that God can be defined on the basis of gender and skin color. The breakthrough in each relationship in the novel happens when a person accepts both the masculine and feminine parts of his or her personality.

Walker created a matrilineal paradigm in the novel, relying on African American female heritage. Female characters go through three phases Walker considered crucial in the liberation of women: from being physically and psychologically oppressed, to being torn by contrary instincts and struggles between roles imposed by the community and the need to realize their potential, to finally attaining freedom and unleashing that creativity by relying on the experience of their female predecessors. The female characters all represent different responses of women to their oppression. It is only through mutual sustenance and building of a female network that they manage to arrive at self-definition.

Stereotypes, Motherhood, and Tradition

Walker exposes negative stereotypes of African American women, such as mammy, tragic mulatta, and wanton black woman and conjurer, labels that had imprisoned them for centuries. By showing their baselessness, she offers instead positive

images of strong, African American women who encourage each other to overcome their traumas.

Walker explores different forms and definitions of motherhood, from adoption and surrogate motherhood to nurturing and imposed motherhood. She explores its positive and negative aspects and the role of mothers in African and American societies. She also focuses on the importance of matrilineage, since the novel traces transmission of oral heritage and culture through women. Walker drew inspiration from African American women writers, such as Rebecca Johnson and Zora Neale Hurston, and claimed them as her predecessors. The central place of language in the novel illustrates its role in the creativity of African American women as storytellers based on oral tradition. Walker wanted to preserve the way of speaking of her female ancestors, particularly African American vernacular, and transmit it to younger generations of African Americans. Thus, Celie's change is evident in her letters, as her language becomes more complex and reflects her newfound freedom and spiritual growth.

The novel contains elements of pastoral romance and patchwork. Patchwork enables Walker to juxtapose different materials and perspectives. She subverts established literary forms as epistolary, Victorian novel, and spiritual autobiography, placing them in African American female literary tradition and showing limits of the traditional forms to represent experiences of African American women. In comparison, she offers alternative modes of writing that include plurality of voices. Patchwork is also a metaphor for matrilineal tradition because it represents domestic work of women based on their creative transformation of everyday materials.

Pulitzer, Movie, and Musical

The Color Purple received the Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award for fiction in 1983. A film based on the novel was directed in 1985 by Steven Spielberg and starred Whoopi Goldberg, Danny Glover, Margaret Avery, and Oprah Winfrey. Although the film was praised for the performances, musical score, and cinematography, it was also criticized for stereotypical portrayal of African Americans, particularly men, and avoidance of the theme of homosexuality. Walker herself expressed dissatisfaction with the screenplay

and caricaturing of African Americans. She was particularly critical of the ending, which she felt gave more agency to Celie's brutal husband Albert than to Celie.

The Color Purple musical opened on Broadway in 2005 and later toured the United States. It won one Tony and three Theater World awards. The novel is required reading in many courses on African American and American literature in colleges throughout the world.

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See Also: African American Vernacular English; African Americans; *Beloved*; Black Codes; Colorism; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Colorism

Colorism refers to a form of skin tone bias that generally favors light skin over dark skin. Commonly connected to race, colorism is based on a social hierarchy in which the level of acceptance of an individual is derived from the social meanings attributed to skin color. Research has linked colorism to lower marriage rates, inferior education, lower salaries, fewer job prospects, and longer prison terms for darker-skinned individuals.

Colorism is typically viewed as a form of intraracial prejudice and discrimination; however, colorism is more than an intraracial phenomenon.

Members of racial/ethnic groups as well as some outside racial/ethnic groups use skin tone coupled with other Eurocentric beauty ideals to assess an individual's worth.

The History of Colorism

Novelist Alice Walker is credited for having coined the term *colorism* in 1982; however, colorism has existed for centuries and can be traced back to the early days of institutional slavery in the United States. European colonialism created a system of white supremacy and racist ideology that supported the enslavement and oppression of Africans. Differences in skin tone positioned whites at the top and blacks at the bottom.

Rooted in slavery, colorism is particularly prominent among African Americans. During the era of legalized slavery in the United States, it was common for white male slave owners to engage in sexual intercourse with black female slaves. The light-skinned offspring were the tell-tale signs of these unions that produced individuals with both African and European ancestry. The terms *mulatto*, *quadroon*, and *octoroon* were created to identify a person with one-half, one-fourth, and one-eighth African ancestry, respectively.

Slave owners did not acknowledge their mixed-race children as kinfolk officially; however, they awarded them privileges that dark-skinned slaves did not have. Typically, white plantation owners assigned dark-skinned slaves outside chores and/or the most physically demanding jobs in the fields, while they gave light-skinned slaves domestic chores in and around the house or gave them more esteemed positions than their darker counterparts. Therefore, light skin was viewed as an asset among the slave community.

White plantation owners' preferential treatment of light-skinned black slaves created an internalized social hierarchy and division among slaves, signifying that one is superior to the other based on biological differences in skin color. This established mind-set among black slaves continued after emancipation and is still pervasive among blacks in the United States today.

Outside the United States, colorism may be related to class more than to white supremacy. Though European colonialism has left its mark globally, colorism is believed to predate European

contact in various Asian countries. In such cases, the notion of white skin superiority may stem from the fact that people of the highest social classes had lighter skin than those of the lowest social classes. Working classes had darker skin due to the fact that they became suntanned as they labored outside daily. Upper classes had lighter complexions because they did not have to exert themselves in the sun daily. Consequently, dark skin was associated with the lower classes and light skin with the aristocrats. In contemporary Asian societies a preference for lighter skin remains prevalent. This partiality may be a result of past history and cultural influences of Western societies.

Among African Americans

There is a distinct correlation between skin color and social class affiliation among African Americans. Colorism, as a system of social stratification, reinforces the notion that privilege is contingent upon skin color, where lighter skin equates to higher social standing and darker skin equates to lower social standing. For example, black people created "blue vein societies," "brown paper bag tests," and "the bleaching syndrome." These skin color-based evaluations, created and used by blacks themselves, perpetuated social privileges for light-skinned blacks and helped perpetuate the notion of colorism for the general public.

Blue vein societies, created by light-skinned black people, considered themselves higher up the social ladder than those with darker skin tones. Blue vein societies' superiority stemmed from the fact that their skin was so light that their blue veins were visible. Blue vein societies discriminated against darker-skinned black people to the extent that they were refused membership if their skin tone was not light enough for their blue veins to show.

The "brown paper bag" was considered the center marker of blackness that distinguished "light skin" from "dark skin" on a continuum from black to white. For lighter-skin circles, the paper bag was a symbol of exclusion and exclusiveness.

African Americans employed the brown paper bag test as the criterion for admission at various social events, social clubs, churches, and black fraternities and sororities. If an individual's skin color was not equal to or lighter than a brown

paper bag, the group denied that person admission. Moreover, early on, prestigious Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) based admissions on skin color by requiring applicants to submit a photograph in order to be considered for admission.

Skin bleaching is the practice of using chemical substances to lighten skin tone, oftentimes in an effort to emulate a European standard of beauty. Skin bleaching is a manifestation of conflicting circumstances in which those with darker skin internalize light skin and other mainstream cultural ideals as the point of reference for full assimilation into the dominant culture.

The dominant group has the most access to power, wealth, and prestige. Those who achieve success in these areas have lighter skin and can more easily blend in or assimilate into the dominant culture. Through socialization they internalize and adopt dominant cultural ideals and views of beauty: that the lighter one is the better one.

Light skin is so coveted that skin-lightening cosmetics remain a booming business with sales continuing to rise around the globe, including in the United States, Asia, India, and other countries. The fact that skin-bleaching products have persisted for decades signifies the enduring legacy of colorism.

Colorism and the Media

The media play an important role in how light skin and dark skin are perceived. Advertising and/or film industries continue to perpetuate the white beauty ideal.

Blacks who have light skin and more physical features (e.g., nose shape, eye color, lip size, hair texture, etc.) that align with Eurocentric ancestry rather than African ancestry tend to enjoy greater professional success. For example, film producers hire lighter-skinned African Americans more frequently, television producers choose lighter-skinned cast members, and magazine editors choose models with European features.

The first black woman to be crowned Miss America in 1984 had very light skin and other physical features close in proximity to Eurocentric standards. Black people who are featured in prominent magazines are disproportionately light skinned. Likewise, light-skinned women are over-represented as models in beauty product ads in

popular black magazines. Light skin preference is also seen in the fact that the most successful black actresses have light skin, or that those who make it to the top in the music industry have light skin. Light skin bias is also prevalent in the news media as light-skinned anchors dominate major networks.

On the other hand, darker-skinned African American men are stereotyped or represented disproportionately in the media as being violent and menacing. Because dark skin in the media equates to misconduct, crime, incivility, violence, lack of intelligence, and poverty, the general public has preconceived notions about darker-skinned men.

Colorism Around the Globe

Colorism occurs most notably among African Americans in the United States; however, skin-tone stratification is a global phenomenon seen in every racial/ethnic group where there is skin tone variation, including Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Arab world.

In Latin America (particularly, South America), light-skinned people are privileged over those who have dark skin. Skin color among the races is significant in Brazil. Due to the transatlantic slave trade, Brazil is home to the largest population of African descendents outside Africa. Individuals who have lighter skin typically experience greater social mobility. Light skin is considered to be more attractive as most entertainers, actors, and actresses have European features (e.g., light or pale skin, straight hair, light eyes, and narrow protruding nose).

Light skin represents power in Mexico and Brazil. In general, light skin is symbolic of wealth and a high social status. Those with dark skin tend to be among the poorest and most disenfranchised. A dark-skinned person is most likely to experience discrimination in Brazil.

Individuals residing in south Asia viewed light skin as more beautiful than dark skin. In British India, for example, a light-skinned complexion corresponded to a higher social status. Therefore, those individuals with lighter skin tones enjoyed more privileges and opportunities than their darker counterparts. Anglo-Indians with European features tended to be more affluent and upwardly mobile, enjoying privileges in both education and employment. Darker-skinned

individuals experienced social and economic disadvantage in most European-organized colonies.

In east Asia, light skin preference is common. In ancient China and Japan, for example, pale skin preference can be traced back to ancient art that depicted women and goddesses with fair complexions. Skin-whitening products are common among east Asians, particularly in Hong Kong, the Philippines, South Korea, and Malaysia.

Skin bleaching among women is popular in Senegal and other west African countries. In Liberia, descendants of African American settlers partly defined social class by elevating those with lighter skin above those with darker skin. The first Americo-Liberian presidents had lighter skin, due to the fact that they had substantial proportions of European ancestry.

Mixed-race populations in South Africa were given more social privileges than unmixed indigenous African groups. During the apartheid era, the government classified South Africans into four main racial groups, by law: blacks, whites, Coloureds, and Indians. There were advantages afforded based on racial classifications. For example, Coloureds (those who possessed ancestry from Europe) did not have to carry identity documents that were designed to restrict the movements of nonwhites. The Griqua, another indigenous African group, had to carry the identity documents.

In Angola, mixed-race Portuguese who are descendants of indigenous Angolans and white Europeans are the elite in the country. Though small in number, they exercise disproportionate influence and control in the government.

Racial mixing was a common occurrence in the Arab world. Mixed-race children from white fathers and dark mothers brought about their own light-skinned hierarchy. Like the classification of Coloured in the former apartheid South Africa, mixed-race mulatto in Arab societies were a higher class than native Africans or Indians.

Conclusion

The meaning of skin color has changed over time. In the mid-20th century exceptions to light skin preference began to appear in Western culture. Tanned skin that used to be associated with the working/lower class became fashionable. Though a preference for lighter skin still prevails today,

many people in the United States regard tanned skin as healthier and more attractive than pale skin. Pale skin is associated with indoor office work while tanned skin is associated with good health and leisure activities that accompany wealth and a higher social status.

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See Also: Black Power Movement; Mixed-Race Americans; Mulatto; Passing/Covering; Pigmentocracy; Race; Racism.

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Columbus Day

Columbus Day is a holiday celebrated annually on the second Monday in October in the United States, and on October 12 elsewhere, including Spain, Latin America, and other New World countries. The holiday is named after Genoese explorer Christopher Columbus, who arrived by ship in the present day Bahamas on October 12, 1492. In all, Columbus completed four voyages across the Atlantic Ocean and is credited with the "discovery" of the American continents, according to European perspectives, that eventually led to settlement and colonization. In Latin American countries, the holiday is sometimes referred to as Día de la Raza (Day of the Race) and celebrates the Spanish heritage of the Latin American peoples. Columbus Day has become an increasingly controversial holiday in recent years as more focus has been placed on the brutal treatment of indigenous populations and the enforced colonization of the New World by European conquerors. In

response, some locales have refused to participate in Columbus Day celebrations or have replaced such festivities with other events commemorating native peoples.

Columbus's first voyage was carried out in an effort to reach Asia through a western passage. After departing from Spain in 1492, Columbus and his crew landed on an island in the Bahamas. His subsequent three voyages took him to other coastal locations of the American continents. Columbus remained convinced he had reached Asia, and it wasn't until the end of the century, with the voyages of explorer Amerigo Vespucci, for whom the continents are named, that the land was deemed the New World.

Becoming a National Holiday

Columbus Day was first celebrated in New York in 1792, the 300th anniversary of Columbus's fated voyage, primarily as an ethnic holiday for Italian Americans. It did not become celebrated as a nationwide holiday until the 1860s in the United States. In 1866, an annual sharpshooting contest in New York incorporated festivities honoring Columbus. This initial celebration expanded to a parade and carnival by 1869. That same year, Italians in San Francisco celebrated "Discovery Day." As of 1876, numerous large U.S. cities, including Philadelphia and Boston, held events promoting recognition of Columbus, which became annual traditions.

After a failed attempt at canonizing Columbus, Italian Americans and the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic fraternity, among other groups, succeeded in gathering support for Columbus Day as a national holiday. Congress approved the new holiday, declaring that it would be celebrated in 1892, 400 years after Columbus sighted land. The Columbus Day celebrations of 1892 were rather elaborate. A large statue of Columbus was erected in New York on Columbus Avenue, and the Columbian Exposition the following year at the Chicago World's Fair boasted replicas of his three ships. President Benjamin Harrison encouraged children in schools across the country to acknowledge the holiday in classrooms.

Colorado became the first state to recognize the holiday in 1905. By 1910, 15 states observed Columbus Day, and this number increased to 34 by 1938. Due to calendar shifts and the placement

of Sundays in October in 1892, the first Columbus Day was set as October 21, but this had changed back to October 12 by 1910. In 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed a bill declaring Columbus Day would fall on the second Monday of October. Despite being observed in an increasing number of states, Columbus Day did not become an official national holiday until 1971.

Opposition

Although the Columbus Day of the 19th century was apparently well received on a national level, it was not free from criticism. Early opponents of the celebration argued that the holiday meant the spread of Catholicism. Suffragettes critiqued the attention given to Columbus's discovery, while the fight for the advancement of women's rights went largely ignored.

Further, some Columbus Day events coexisted with blatant discrimination against African Americans and American Indians, who were portrayed as "the conquered" in the 1893 Columbian Exposition. More recently, arguments against Columbus Day have included the holiday's failure to recognize the inhumane treatment of indigenous populations by settlers. For instance, Columbus enslaved the Taino people of Hispaniola, decimating the native population within 40 years, as well as introducing wide-scale poverty, enslavement, and disease.

While these critiques remain central to the discourse on Columbus Day, the holiday is still celebrated in most U.S. states. However, several states do not recognize Columbus Day. For example, Hawai'i acknowledges Discoverers' Day, which celebrates the arrival of Polynesian settlers to the islands, and South Dakota celebrates Native American Day. In 2002, Venezuela renamed the holiday *Día de la Resistencia Indígena* ("Day of Indigenous Resistance") to recognize native peoples. Several cities in the United States, including San Francisco and New York, continue their holiday traditions established in the late 19th century. In many cases, however, the celebration has become less about Columbus and more a celebration of Italian American heritage.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; Ethnic Studies; Italian Americans; Native Americans.

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Comanche

Cultural and linguistic similarities lead anthropologists to conclude that the Comanche were originally part of the Northern Shoshones. Originally hunters and gatherers, they may have begun as a mountain tribe who roamed the Great Basin region of the western United States. History did not record when and how the Comanche first acquired horses, but sometime during the late 17th century, they became horse masters. From that time on, the horse defined the Comanche way of life. They became a nomadic people, buffalo hunters whose horsemanship was legendary. Horses also made them powerful warriors and astute traders. It wasn't until the Red River War of 1874 depleted their mounts that they were defeated.

For more than eight decades, Comanche culture was little more than a memory. Then, buoyed by a wave of Indian nationalism in the 1960s, the Comanche began to work to rebuild their society. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2010, there were 12,284 people who claim Comanche as their sole ethnic identity.

The first recorded reference to the Comanche comes in 1706 from the colonial Spanish government in Santa Fe that had been informed by allies in Taos Pueblo that the Ute and the Comanche were about to attack. Twenty years later, accounts of fierce slave raiders who were at war with all nations began to multiply. The southern migration gave the tribe access not only to horses but also to a more abundant supply of buffalo and to French trade goods, including firearms, through barter with the Wichita Indians on the Red River.

It was only after their arrival on the southern Plains that the tribe acquired the name by which they are known. They called themselves Nermer-nuh, or "the People." It was the Spaniards who called them Comanche, a word derived from the Ute word *Komántcia*, meaning "enemy," or, literally, "anyone who wants to fight me all the time." Fighting clearly worked for the tribe. An area of the south Plains that included a substantial portion of north, central, and west Texas, soon became Comanche country, or Comanchería. Bands, or family groups, of Comanche ranged from the mountains of New Mexico to what is now western Oklahoma and north to the Arkansas River.

From their acquisition of horses until the forces of the United States proved strong enough to separate them from their horses, the Comanche remained a nomadic people. The buffalo they hunted supplied not only food but all they needed to sustain their lifestyle. The tepee constructed of tanned buffalo hides provided them with portable shelter. Buffalo robes protected them from the cold. They bartered buffalo products, along with horses and captives, for manufactured items and foodstuffs. But not even the buffalo were more important than their horses. Children were taught to ride when they were very young, and women as well as men were exceptionally skilled riders. Horses allowed them to follow the buffalo herds and gave them an advantage when hunting or making war.

Confronted with the formidable power of the Comanche, the Spanish tried to negotiate a peace agreement. Various attempts failed until the Spanish-Comanche Treaty of 1785, a document that the Comanche honored, with only minor violations, until the end of the century. When the Spanish became unable to supply gifts and trade goods, the Comanche raided Spanish settlements for horses to barter to traders entering Texas from the United States. Eager to acquire the horses, Americans traded goods that included arms and ammunition.

Comanche dominance seemed little affected by changes in government. They had built their power under the Spanish, continued it under the Mexicans, and defended it ferociously under the Texans. With the Mexican Colonization Law of 1824, settlers from the United States entered

the area in droves. The mutually beneficial trade relationship that had existed between the Anglo-Americans and the Comanche deteriorated when the new arrivals directed covetous attention to Comanche hunting grounds. Comanche raids on frontier settlements from San Antonio to northern Mexico were common. In May 1836, at Fort Parker, a settlement of some 34 persons near the Navasota River, the Comanche and their Kiowa allies attacked the blockhouse, killed several settlers, and took five hostages. One of the hostages was 9-year-old Cynthia Ann Parker, who lived with the Comanche for 24 years. Parker married a Comanche chief and became the mother of Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief.

Texas joined the Union in 1845, and the U.S. government took charge of Texas Indian affairs. Peace efforts were interspersed with outbreaks of violence. There was no room for negotiation

between the white settlers' hunger for land and the Comanche will to protect their hunting grounds. Reservations proved a failure both because of the many bands of Comanche and because the Comanche refused to be contained.

In 1874, the Red River War began. Its purpose was to force all Comanche onto a reservation. A surprise attack on a Comanche camp in Palo Duro Canyon destroyed their horse herd. Few Indians were killed, but so few mounts survived and supplies were so low that they could not survive the winter on the Plains. Reservation life threatened the essence of Comanche culture, and the end of the reservation in 1901 brought new problems. Individual Comanche lost their allotted land to poor judgment, weak finances, and fraud. Many left the area to find work elsewhere, a trend that increased during World War II and the years afterward.



This photograph by Edward Curtis shows six Native American leaders on horseback in ceremonial dress around 1900. Chief Quanah Parker of the Comanche appears without headdress at center; to the right of him is Geronimo of the Chiricahua Apache tribe. The others were from the Piegan, Ute, Brulé Sioux, and Oglala Sioux tribes. Parker, who is considered the last great Comanche chief, died in 1911.

In the 1960s, Native Americans became more aggressive in pursuing their civil rights. Court action was taken to protect or recover tribal lands, the American Indian Movement was founded, and the Comanche seceded from the intertribal body that had served as their government since passage of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936. They established their own government and began to reclaim their heritage.

The Comanche Nation is now headquartered in Lawton, Oklahoma. In 1995 the Comanche had an enrolled tribal population of 9,722 scattered across the United States. In 2010, 23,330 people self-identified as Comanche wholly or in combination with another tribe. Tribal gatherings celebrate Comanche history, culture, and kinship ties.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; Apache; Native Americans; Red River War; Shoshone.

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Commission on Civil Rights, U.S.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was created in 1957 after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Continuing to this day, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights currently consists of eight members; four members are selected by the president and four by Congress. The president designates

the chair and vice chair. While the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) conducts much of the federal civil rights enforcement, the Commission on Civil Rights remains an independent agency dedicated to gathering information and improving the administration of civil rights legislation.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has a checkered history. After a groundbreaking early era it became a locus for conflict with the presidency, such as the Reagan administration's attempts to reshape civil rights policy and the executive branch. Throughout the decades, it has struggled to retain independence and to exercise influence. At certain points, the continued existence of the commission has been in doubt. However, the commission has survived and recently conducted hearings in an emerging area of policy debate: state-level immigration restriction legislation directed at undocumented immigrants. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights represents a fascinating example of the trajectory of civil rights politics and policy over the past half-century.

Origins and Mission

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is distinctive because it was formed as a result of congressional legislation: the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The first civil rights legislation passed since Reconstruction, the legislation was signed into law by President Dwight Eisenhower. The Commission on Civil Rights was given the duty to investigate allegations that people were being denied their right to vote on the basis of color, race, religion, and national origin. In addition, the law charged the commission with gathering information regarding equal protection violations and working with the federal government regarding civil rights policies. The commission lacked enforcement power but could subpoena people to appear at hearings. Six part-time commissioners were to be appointed by the president. To assist the commissioners, the legislation called for a staff director and a small staff.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 represented a congressional breakthrough that built on nearly two decades of the exercise of executive power. The first federal civil rights agency, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC), was formed in 1941 when President

Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802. The agency ended in 1946 but Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower continued to use executive authority since congressional action was impossible. As attempts to pass federal civil rights legislation began to increase in frequency during the 1940s, southern Democrats working with western and midwestern Republicans successfully blocked the legislation. Both Harry Truman and Eisenhower made efforts to pass modest civil rights legislation. The October 1957 standoff at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, had Governor Orville Faubus leading the charge against integration. The ensuing crisis and international attention forced President Eisenhower and the Democratic Congress to act and overcome the opposition of southern segregationists in Congress.

Early Activities

When the United States Commission on Civil Rights was created, the EEOC did not yet exist and much of civil rights legislation and enforcement was limited to the state level. Staffing the commission and appointing commissioners proved to be a challenge. Members were not initially appointed to fixed terms, a practice that would develop problems in future years. President Eisenhower initially appointed five white men and one African American man to serve on the commission.

The first chair of the commission was John Hannah, who as assistant secretary of defense had worked on integrating the military during a career that also saw a long tenure at Michigan State University. The African American appointee was Ernest Wilkins, a moderate lawyer from Chicago who was serving as assistant secretary of labor. An appointee who represented the views of the south was also selected. Father Ted Hesburgh, the young president of Notre Dame University and a figure who would have a strong influence on civil rights and immigration policy for the next several decades, was also appointed.

Dealing with few resources and no enforcement authority, the commission worked within institutional constraints to accomplish its mission. One method utilized was the State Advisory Committees appointed to observe conditions. State Advisory Committees were possible even

in many states of the former Confederacy; only in Mississippi and South Carolina were committees not formed. The State Advisory Committees, or SACs, continue to be an important part of the commission's work to this day.

The commission was initially formed for only two years. In September 1959 Congress passed the first two-year extension of the work the commission was doing. Future reauthorizations often were for similarly short periods of time. Gaining attention and resources while maintaining independence is an enduring theme of the commission's history.

The Eisenhower administration inaugurated one of the enduring themes in the history of the commission: inattention and conflict with the executive branch. Commissioners had to be confirmed by the Senate Judiciary Committee, dominated at that time by its chairman, Mississippi Senator James Eastland. That created limits in terms of who could be appointed.

During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations the commission conducted a great many investigations regarding the lack of voting and civil rights in a south where many were fighting to retain segregation and the disenfranchisement of African Americans. In addition, commissioners assisted in having measures such as the 1965 Voting Rights Act adopted. By the end of the 1960s, the commission was monitoring civil rights efforts at the federal level and continuing to navigate the increasingly difficult terrain of civil rights politics and policy.

New Challenges

After the passage of civil rights legislation in the 1960s, the increasingly contentious issues of busing and desegregation became the focus of the commission's work. In addition, the 1969 election of Richard Nixon began a move toward more conservative civil rights policies at the federal level. Throughout the country federal judges began ordering busing in specific communities, counties, and municipalities. Students were bused to schools throughout a particular jurisdiction in order to desegregate school systems. Busing was a highly contentious policy, leading to violence in cities such as Boston. The commission both criticized the slow pace of federal desegregation policy and made statements supportive of busing.

Father Ted Hesburgh, one of the founding commissioners, was asked by President Nixon to resign in late 1972. Hesburgh was seen as too outspoken, and Arthur Flemming was nominated by Nixon in 1973 to serve as the new chair of the commission. During this era groups such as Native Americans and Mexican Americans began to gain greater attention from the commission. Each racial and ethnic group impacted has unique needs and challenges, and the commission has worked to explore the circumstances of many traditionally marginalized groups.

Mary Frances Berry was appointed to the commission by President Jimmy Carter in 1980. Berry, who would later serve as chair of the commission, became one of the most prominent commissioners and often became the center for controversies that would emerge. In filling a commission seat with Berry and others designed to appeal to Democratic constituencies, Carter was seeking to fortify his credentials during a difficult reelection campaign.

The Reagan Years and the 1980s

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 shifted federal expectations regarding civil rights. While Reagan often denounced racism and discrimination and did not appear to harbor racist views, many civil rights leaders were concerned about his attitude toward civil rights enforcement. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights had consistently supported policies such as affirmative action and the Equal Rights Amendment, which were opposed by Reagan and many of his appointees.

Just as Reagan sought to change the federal judiciary through conservative appointees, his administration extended those changes to the Commission on Civil Rights. In November 1981, Clarence Pendleton, a black conservative Republican, was selected as the new chair. Pendleton was previously head of the San Diego Urban League and joined former Republican National Committee chairperson Mary Louise Smith as Reagan's first appointees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Initially these changes did not produce much of an impact. Smith was a moderate Republican appointed as Republican National Committee chair in the 1970s by Gerald Ford and she voted with the other commission members in several 5–1 votes. The Reagan administration began to receive criticism for attempting to seriously

curtail the independence of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

After attempting to replace Berry and Commissioners Blandina Cardenas Ramirez and Rabbi Murray Saltzman, the Reagan administration's plans to influence the commission ended up backfiring. The three replacement nominations were not considered by the Senate and the three existing appointees remained in office. In 1983 the Reagan administration once again attempted to replace the three commissioners in an effort to weaken the independence of the commission.

A compromise was worked out that allowed the commission to survive while reconfiguring its appointment structure. The number of commissioners would be expanded from six to eight. Of those, four would be appointed by the president, two by the House of Representatives, and two by the Senate. Rather than being subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, commissioners would serve six-year terms. Removal could occur only for cause. The changes helped reinforce the independence of the commission and put it in a position to serve as watchdog. However, a lack of resources and the outspoken comments of certain commissioners continued to be a burden for the commission.

By the end of the 1980s the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights suffered from bad publicity, reduced funding, and a lack of credibility among civil rights groups. In 1989 debates emerged regarding whether the commission should even be reauthorized. However, in 1989 a five-year reauthorization was approved and the work of the commission continued, albeit with limited resources.

In 1989 President George H. W. Bush appointed Arthur Fletcher, an African American Republican who implemented affirmative action programs during the Nixon administration, to the commission. The first Bush administration toed a fine line between seeking to support civil rights and maintaining the support of the conservative Republican base. Bush's veto of civil rights legislation in 1990 and 1991 and subsequent signing of legislation shows the difficulties and paradoxes of his politics and policies. One accomplishment during this era was the 1990 passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act, based in part on a report from the commission recommending the legislation.

Mary Frances Berry, who had criticized Republican presidents, their policies, and their appointees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, was confirmed as chair of the commission in 1993. Berry, who had been the center of controversy during the 1980s, continued to use her position to vigorously argue her views. The Bill Clinton years saw conflict between progressives such as Berry on the commission and the pragmatic moderation of the Clinton presidency. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was most recently reauthorized in 1994 with the passage of the Civil Rights Commission Amendments Act of 1994. Passed by a Democratic Congress and signed into law by President Clinton, the law assured the continued existence of the commission.

New Challenges

George W. Bush assumed the presidency in 2001 with a promise to be a compassionate conservative. He appointed a more diverse administration than any previous Republican president and sought the support of African American leaders for his faith-based initiatives. However, like President Reagan, he sought to shift the commission toward a more conservative direction. One move was the replacement of Mary Frances Berry as chair of the commission with Albert Reynolds, a prominent African American conservative. Once again Berry was the center of controversy over the commission's independence.

The election in 2008 of Barack Obama, the first African American president, created a new opportunity for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. President Obama appointed Martin Castro, the chair of the commission as of 2012, and Roberta Achtenberg. Achtenberg, an open lesbian long active in Democratic politics, represents a possible opportunity to expand the reach of the commission to issues of sexual orientation. President Obama's appointees represent the diverse possibility of the current needs of the commission.

The Commission Today

The organizational structure of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is currently led by the eight commissioners nominated by the president and confirmed by the U.S. Senate. The Office of the Staff Director provides the overall leadership of the agency. The commission has six regional

offices and offices to support counsel, evaluation, management, congressional affairs, and public affairs.

After over a half-century of existence, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has continued to become involved in emerging civil rights concerns. In August 2012 the commission held hearings in Birmingham, Alabama, regarding state-level immigration restriction legislation. Many of the over 10 million undocumented immigrants in the United States are Latinos. The focus on undocumented immigrants illustrates one of the enduring themes in the work of the commission: the expansion of interest and efforts to groups beyond the African Americans who were first impacted by the commission.

Conclusion

Five and a half decades after its establishment, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights continues to fulfill an expanded mission. Ideological conflicts and attempts by presidents such as Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush have often hampered the work of the commission. Like many federal agencies, the commission has struggled with issues of resources and independence. As long as systematic discrimination persists, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will most likely continue in the future to reflect the conflicts over politics and policy regarding traditionally marginalized groups.

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See Also: Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.; Executive Order 8802 (1941); House of Representatives, U.S.; Immigrants, Undocumented; Presidency, U.S.; Senate, U.S.

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Compensatory Education

The civil rights movement of the 1960s focused a tremendous amount of attention on the education of poor children, as well as their levels of attainment compared with other groups. In response to the perceived low levels of educational achievement, a slew of compensatory education programs were initiated to help children of color, the disabled, students from low socioeconomic status (SES) households, and English language learners. Coupled with this move to provide compensatory education was an increased interest in multicultural education. Although compensatory education programs have achieved some level of success, some offerings have been criticized as inefficient and ineffective. As the scrutiny of all education initiatives has increased since the advent of the No Child Left Behind legislation, compensatory education programs will no doubt continue to be analyzed, appraised, and assessed.

Background

Since the 1960s, the federal government has taken a leading role in devising and promulgating programs designed to promote equality of opportunity. In the wake of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, (347 U.S. 483, 1954), which determined that separate educational facilities for white and black children were inherently unequal, politicians, teachers, parents, and school administrators were aware of the many disparities among public schools. As the majority of children attended neighborhood schools, and as neighborhoods often reflected the racial discrimination still present in American society, solutions were sought that would provide a better educational experience for low-income students.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty and since 1965 has served as the single biggest program for U.S. schools. Title I, which currently accounts for nearly \$15 billion in funding, was intended as a means to close the fiscal gaps between low- and high-revenue schools within a given state. Although at times Title I funding has seemed

endangered, it has been renewed every five years since implementation of the program in 1965.

Programs

Title I funding was soon joined by other compensatory education programs. All of these compensatory education programs were designed to assist "at-risk" children, although how this was defined varied depending upon the program at hand. Programs such as Head Start, designed to assist low-income, traditionally underserved, or language-minority children, seek to provide services and interventions that will help at-risk children to reach their full potential.

In 1975, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA) strengthened protections for children with disabilities in an effort to ensure that students with special needs receive a free and appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment. The EAHCA was later reauthorized and strengthened as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). Students with an identified disability in one of the following areas qualify for special education services under IDEA:

- Autism
- Behavior disorders
- Deafness/blindness
- Developmental delays
- Emotionally disturbed
- Hearing impairments
- Intellectual impairments (formerly mental retardation)
- Multiple disabilities
- Orthopedic or physical impairments
- Other health impairments (such as attention deficit hyperactivity disorder)
- Specific learning disabilities
- Speech and language disabilities
- Traumatic brain injuries
- Visual impairments

Once a child has been determined to have a disability, a meeting of various school personnel is held to determine an individual education program (IEP) for the child. Depending on the disability, the IEP may focus on compensatory education, provided through either a special day class, a pull-out program, or in-class services.

Bilingual education is defined by the U.S. Department of Education (DoE) as an education program for children with limited English proficiency. Although bilingual education entails a variety of services, certain parts of a bilingual program are also compensatory in nature. Bilingual education first was addressed by legislation on a federal level through the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (BEA, or Title VII of ESEA), which established voluntary programs for school districts promoting ways of educating minority-language students. The U.S. Supreme Court determined in *Lau v. Nichols* (414 U.S. 563, 1974) that school districts must provide English language instruction to students whose primary language is not English as failure to do so would deny the children of their rights under § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination based upon race, color, or national origin.

Coupled with the passage of the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, the BEA was amended in 1974 to emphasize that bilingual education must provide children instruction in English *and* in their native language, thereby maintaining the children's native language and culture while also allowing them to progress through the educational system. In 1978, additional amendments by Congress emphasized that English-speaking children could enroll in bilingual programs, expanded the number of English language learners (ELLs) that the program could serve, and stressed that native language instruction was to be temporary. Further amendments in 1984 and 1988, as well as a reauthorization of the BEA in 1994, increased the flexibility of programming that schools could offer, expanded funding to state agencies to support bilingual education, and set up preferences for those programs that developed proficiency in two or more languages.

With the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2001, however, the BEA was rewritten and renamed the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act. As the new name indicates, post-NCLB increased emphasis on achievement, especially as measured by standardized testing. Although the federal government still provides funds to support compensatory education that is part of bilingual

education programs, the total pool of money available to these programs is less than half what it was before NCLB.

NCLB, which replaced ESEA, initially enjoyed tremendous bipartisan support. Its passage saw a tremendous increase in the funding provided to K–12 schools, with the \$42.2 billion provided in 2001 increasing to \$55.7 billion by 2004. While the total funding for compensatory education greatly increased, however, the degree of latitude given to state departments of education and local school districts regarding the types of compensatory education used was greatly diminished by NCLB. Nonnative English speakers had to be assessed using English tests after three years of native-language assessments, and only certain reading programs could be used. NCLB required school districts to track the academic achievement of traditionally underserved groups, including children from low socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds, English language learners, students with disabilities, and members of major racial and ethnic subgroups. All of these groups were to make adequate yearly progress (AYP) as measured by performance on standardized tests or the school districts would suffer a variety of penalties, including decreased funding, loss of autonomy, replacement of teachers and/or administration, or permitting students to transfer to other schools.

Trials and Triumphs

From the initial flood of funding in the 1960s, compensatory education has received a variety of responses from researchers, teachers, administrators, and policy groups. Many of the differences in response are due to a lack of consensus on how best to serve needy students. While most constituencies enjoy the increased government largesse that compensatory education programs provide, different groups have differing priorities regarding how these funds should be spent.

On the one hand, traditionalists have often seen the major purpose of compensatory education as a closing of the gaps between majority and multicultural groups. As a result, traditionalists have favored directing funding to poor school districts where the money can be used to fund systems that are perpetually in need. Reformers, on the other hand, have tended to view compensatory education as a means to assist students



A bilingual class of immigrant Chinese students from Hong Kong and Taiwan in New York City in 1964. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (BEA) established voluntary programs for school districts promoting ways of educating minority-language students. In 1974 the BEA was amended to state that bilingual education must provide children instruction in both English and their native language.

and clients who have great needs. For this reason, reformers often prefer that compensatory education take place outside the traditional services and programs provided by school districts and instead advocate a separate set of services tailored to student needs. Because reformers have tended to carry the day regarding compensatory education programs, the focus has for the most part been on new programs especially designed for students from low SES backgrounds.

From the beginning, federally funded compensatory education programs were supposed to supplement, rather than supplant, education services the recipients would have received through state and local programs and expenditures. Funding for compensatory education was intended to be spent on “disadvantaged” children, and the hope

was that focusing additional resources on needy students would permit them to break the cycle of poverty. Unfortunately, evaluations of Title I programs conducted throughout the 1970s suggested that many school districts were diverting compensatory education funds away from the most needy students and instead using the monies to benefit other groups. For this reason, many Title I programs began to structure services as out-of-the-classroom experiences to ensure that the funds would be spent on the most needy children.

Although some initiatives, such as reading laboratories, achieved gains in performance, others, such as ill-defined “enrichment” services, were less successful. While not all compensatory education initiatives were successful, the existence of these programs worked to solidify the belief

that the government was responsible for trying to help the neediest children. Such initiatives also increased the expectations of traditionally underserved groups, such as students from low SES backgrounds, children of color, and ELLs, to expect more from education and to envision themselves as part of the system.

Compensatory education often seemed conflicted regarding who were the intended beneficiaries of its programs. Certainly needy children were the focus of many programs, but in many cases so too were their parents and other community members. The Head Start program, for example, was intended from the beginning to provide both an enriched preschool experience for children of poverty and employment opportunities for their mothers and other women from the communities in which they were located. While many compensatory education programs were similar in nature throughout the nation until the early 1980s, the administration of Ronald Reagan sought both to reduce the level of federal spending on education and to return more control of programming to state and local authorities. As a result, half of Title I funding was made available to states as competitive block grants, which each state spent as it considered best. While this increased the diversity of programs funded, it also made comparisons of results difficult.

During the 1990s, further reforms reduced the threshold level for schools to qualify for Title I funds to a 50 percent poverty rate, down from 75 percent. Reading/language arts and mathematics standards were implemented, in part to help authorities determine the effectiveness of given programs. Local authorities were also given additional control over funding, a change that permitted DoE officials to waive federal requirements that interfered with school improvements. Since the passage of NCLB, the concentration on improving children's performance in reading/language arts and mathematics has continued, but the DoE has exerted increasing levels of control over how funds may be spent, reducing state and local district autonomy to a degree many have protested.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Desegregation/Integration; Educational Achievement; Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965 and Reauthorizations); Head Start; Multicultural Education; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages; Special Education.

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Congress of Racial Equality

The Congress of Racial Equality was organized in Chicago in 1942 by George Houser and James L. Farmer, Jr., Methodist seminary students and staff members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation's Chicago office, with James R. Robinson and Bernice Fisher. CORE formally organized the following year under its present name with chapters in several midwestern cities. By 1947 CORE had 13 local affiliates, challenging segregation in restaurants, swimming pools, parks, and barber shops in the north with sit-ins, picketing, and other nonviolent tactics. Farmer, national chairman from 1942 to 1944, later recalled: "CORE from its early days was oriented towards the techniques of nonviolent direct action to show the world that nonviolence can solve social problems." Houser summed up their generally successful campaigns in *Erasing the Color Line*, published in 1945.

Farmer and Houser initially proposed their plan for an interracial organization committed to nonviolence to A. J. Muste and other leaders

of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), an international organization of religious pacifists. Through FOR's work on historically black campuses in the late 1930s, its leaders recognized that race relations were a major American problem and decided to nurture an autonomous CORE, cosponsoring its activities and paying its bills. Houser ran CORE as its unsalaried executive secretary from the Cleveland FOR office from 1944 and later shared that role with Bayard Rustin in the New York office of FOR.

The Freedom Rides and Other Bold Actions

In 1947 Houser organized the Journey of Reconciliation, a joint project of FOR and CORE, to test a Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation on interstate buses and in bus terminals by sending an interracial group by bus from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans, Louisiana. Houser and Rustin

were among 13 "Freedom Riders" who met with no serious opposition until they reached North Carolina, where they canceled the trip. The same year CORE began an annual summer Washington Interracial Workshop, where college students gained hands-on experience in nonviolent efforts to eliminate segregation in the nation's capital, sitting in at drug store lunch counters and demonstrating at theaters, park playgrounds, and pools.

By 1954, the year of the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and of the beginning of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, CORE and its local affiliates had achieved a great deal in eliminating racial barriers in some communities in the north. Some in FOR thought CORE had become too radical and confrontational, while others in CORE wanted it to take radical stands on issues unconnected with race. FOR determined to end financial and staff support for CORE, so



Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) members carry picket signs outside Columbia University in New York City in support of employee demands for union representation in 1964. CORE volunteers were recruited on many college campuses from 1962 to 1964, and Brooklyn CORE sought to prevent access to the 1964 New York World's Fair on its opening day unless executives agreed to hire more minorities.

CORE had to reorganize. Houser stepped down but continued on an ad hoc national action committee with James and Lula Farmer, James Robinson, LeRoy Carter, and James Peck in 1954–57. FOR sent Houser on an extended African trip from April through October 1954, followed by a nationwide speaking tour in 1955. He left FOR and CORE to work on ending apartheid in South Africa. In another reorganization in 1957, Robinson became executive secretary and the National Action Committee was given official status.

After the successful Montgomery Bus Boycott, CORE, so far an exclusively northern organization, began organizing in the south. CORE worked closely with Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) he founded in 1957 and he joined CORE's advisory council. CORE also had close ties to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as CORE began a drive for southern chapters. James McCain developed a string of CORE chapters in South Carolina. Wyatt T. Walker built chapters in Norfolk and other Virginia cities.

Anna Holden, who led the Nashville chapter, focused on public school desegregation. CORE published her pamphlet, *A First Step Toward School Integration*, in 1958. On CORE's National Action Committee, Holden stressed nonviolent action to achieve goals. She later led Ann Arbor, Michigan, CORE members in campaigns to end discrimination in housing, employment, and education. CORE chapters in Miami and Tallahassee, Florida, also focused on ending segregation. James McCain and other southern organizers favored an emphasis on voter registration drives.

When four college students sat at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, McCain and Gordon Carey of CORE made sure their bold action became a national movement. Student members of Tallahassee CORE were among the first to hold their own sit-in. CORE chapters in the north picketed Woolworth's and Kresge's stores in support.

Farmer returned to the leadership of CORE as national director early in 1961. One of his first actions was to sponsor a second Journey of Reconciliation. Once again 13 CORE members would board either a Greyhound or Trailways bus in Washington and travel to New Orleans on

a Freedom Ride. Farmer was to have ridden with them, but he left the bus at Atlanta to attend his father's funeral. The Greyhound bus was attacked and set on fire near Anniston, Alabama. Passengers on the other were brutally assaulted when their bus pulled into the Trailways station in Birmingham. Farmer, under great pressure, called off the Freedom Ride, but Diane Nash, a Fisk student who had just organized a Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) there, insisted it continue. CORE and SNCC members volunteered for more Freedom Rides.

Voter registration drives increased in 1962–64 with CORE volunteers recruited on many college campuses to staff Freedom Schools during Mississippi Freedom Summer. James Cheney, Andrew Goodwin, and Michael Schwerner, who were murdered near Philadelphia, Mississippi, in 1964 were CORE members. Northern chapters meanwhile mounted nonviolent campaigns to bring change to their communities. They tackled economic as well as social issues with some successes, often stirring up controversy within the organization as well as with the public, as in a proposal by Brooklyn CORE to prevent access to the 1964 New York World's Fair on its opening day unless the fair executives agreed to hire more minorities.

The rise of Black Power and dissatisfaction with nonviolence splintered CORE. Farmer was forced out in 1966 and Floyd McKissick took CORE in a more militant direction. Roy Innis succeeded him in 1968 and continues as national director, promoting conservative and libertarian issues. CORE maintains a New York office, but there are no local chapters.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Freedom Riders; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

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Multicultural
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A Multimedia Encyclopedia

Volume 2

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Congressional Black Caucus

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) was founded in 1972 by 13 African American members of the U.S. House of Representatives. Initially called the Democratic Select Committee, the CBC is the self-proclaimed voice of the voiceless and the “conscience” of the U.S. Congress. Historically, the CBC has comprised members of the House of Representatives from minority-majority congressional districts, with a majority of African American and Democratic voters. The membership has grown from its initial 13 to 43 as of the 112th Congress in 2011.

Emergence of the CBC serves as a significant historical marker in the acquisition of unprecedented political power for African Americans at the federal level of government. The CBC, like other caucuses in Congress, is a vehicle to amass votes for a shared agenda that benefits a group of constituents. In distinction from other caucuses, the CBC membership and constituents are people who sojourned from slavery to freedom, from being treated as second-class citizens without the right to vote to over 10,000 elected officials, including three U.S. senators and the 44th president of the United States, Barack Hussein Obama, Jr., elected in 2008 and re-elected in 2012.

Historical Context

The story of the Congressional Black Caucus is a subset of the story of people of African descent in America. The odyssey of black, colored, Negro, and African American folk in the United States has been a journey that spanned over 500 years. It began with the arrival of sub-Saharan Africans. The odyssey continued with a Virginia tobacco planter’s well-documented account of the arrival of “20 odd negroes” who came to Jamestown, Virginia, via Cape Comfort in August 1619 as indentured servants. The wave of slave ships brought scores of Africans to America as the progenitors of the “Negro, colored, black and African American” people who would inhabit the Americas.

Originally with no political rights by law, African Americans used nonelectoral political tools to obtain full citizenship, with rights guaranteed

by the U.S. Constitution. Methods for attaining these rights included organized work stoppages, political speech making, coalition building, revolt, protest, appeals to the international community during the abolitionist movement, and fighting on both sides of the U.S. Civil War. The end of the war brought an end to slavery and the rise of federally protected and states-based rights to the franchise.

The first African Americans to serve in the U.S. Congress arrived during Reconstruction, served from 1865 to 1901, and were all southern Republicans. One of two U.S. senators and 10 of the 21 congressmen were formerly enslaved. The first “colored” U.S. senator and six congressmen came as a result of the end of slavery, and represented former slave-holding states. Hiram Rhodes Revels served as senator from Mississippi. Robert Carlos De Large, Robert Brown Elliott, and Richard Harvey Cain were the three representatives from South Carolina. Benjamin Sterling Turner was from Alabama. The number of African Americans in Congress grew from zero in 1864 to two senators, and 21 representatives having served by 1901.

The 1877 Compromise, also known as the Great Betrayal, an informal, unwritten deal by Rutherford B. Hayes, resulted in a political pact between the southern legislative delegation and the presidential hopeful to pull back federal troops from the south in exchange for electoral college votes and, ultimately, the presidency. In response African Americans, over the ensuing decades, sometimes in coalition with progressives, launched civic and benevolence organizations, black political conventions, court cases, the civil rights movement, the Black Power movement, and lobbyist efforts aimed at presidents and members of Congress. Throughout that time, voting rights have served as a holy grail of political goals. Through its obtainment black elected officials were possible on the local, state, and federal levels of government. The Congressional Black Caucus was possible, in large measure, because of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson, a Democrat.

After a marked absence, African Americans returned to Congress in 1929, with the election of Oscar DePriest of Illinois. It took until 1971 to reach 10 elected African American representatives, and they became the original organizers

of the caucus. As 2.2 percent of the members of Congress, they spoke for 22.6 million blacks, 11 percent of the American population.

Founding Members

After Reconstruction African American members entered Congress initially through northern congressional districts, not southern states. The trend continued in the 20th century with Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., a Democrat from Harlem, New York, who also was a full-time pastor; Charles Diggs, a Democrat, who, like his predecessor Oscar DePriest, came from Chicago, Illinois; Louis Stokes, a Democrat from Cleveland, Ohio; and John Conyers, a Democrat from Detroit, Michigan. The CBC was founded during the 92nd Congress (1971–73). Founding members include Shirley Chisholm (D-New York), William L. Clay (D-Missouri), George W. Collins (D-Illinois), John Conyers (D-Michigan), Ronald Dellums (D-California), Charles Diggs (D-Michigan), Augustus F. Hawkins (D-California), Ralph Metcalfe (D-Illinois), Parren Mitchell (D-Maryland), Robert Nix (D-Pennsylvania), Charles B. Rangel (D-New York), Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), and Washington, D.C., delegate Walter Fauntroy.

Establishing a Charitable Foundation

In 1976, members of the CBC established the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation (CBCF), a nonprofit, nonpartisan, public policy research and educational institute to enhance black involvement in the political process. The first official meeting of the foundation was held on September 30, 1976.

CBCF's influence extends to African American intellectuals and others focused on policy and legislative issues. Each September, thousands of elected officials, industry leaders, celebrities, media, emerging leaders, and everyday Americans come to Washington, D.C., for the organization's Annual Legislative Conference. The conference features participation by the CBC and includes dozens of policy forums, general sessions, exhibits, a job fair, book signings, and vast networking opportunities.

In addition, CBCF produces district-level forums throughout the country to explore public policy concerns, promote public health care and financial empowerment, and solicit opinions and

recommendations of local citizens. CBCF and its volunteers through the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses also sponsor an annual scholarship classic that raises hundreds of thousands of dollars for educational and training opportunities for college students.

Four Decades of Accomplishments

President Richard Nixon and the CBC had a strained relationship. In 1970, the Democratic Select Committee (the predecessor to the CBC) requested a conference with Nixon but was denied. In 1972, the Democratic Select Committee became the CBC, boycotted Nixon's State of the Union address, and was subsequently invited to a meeting with the president where its members went over a list of demands. That was also the first year of the CBC Annual Legislative Caucus dinner. Actor Ossie Davis was the keynote speaker and delivered the "It's Not the Man, It's the Plan" speech. The CBC began sponsoring national conferences on topics such as health, education, business, media, and politics. During that time, Shirley Chisholm, a CBC founder, ran as the first African American female candidate for the U.S. presidency. At the March 1972 National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, Chisholm failed to receive the full support of CBC members. In 1978, CBC members met with Jimmy Carter to discuss the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which established the federal government's responsibility to ensure full employment for U.S. citizens. When it was signed into law in October, Carter credited the CBC for its role in the advocacy for its passage.

The 1980s were a period of consolidated power and effectiveness for the CBC. The CBC achieved Legislative Service Organization (LSO) status, referring to a group organized to pursue common legislative goals. The House Committee on Administration prohibited LSO's from receiving outside funding, but the members were allowed to establish tax exempt foundations to carry out research and other activities. Congressman Conyers employed Rosa Parks in his congressional office in Detroit after the Montgomery Bus Boycott. He also sponsored legislation calling for a national holiday for the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr, immediately after his assassination in 1968. Fifteen years later, in 1983, President

Ronald Reagan signed into law the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday. Before announcing his candidacy for president in 1984, the Reverend Jesse Jackson met with a coalition of black elected officials in Chicago, including CBC Members, to gain their support for his campaign. Ultimately, half of the CBC members supported the campaign, and the other half did not.

Also during the 1980, CBS's years of lobbying, protesting, and advocating for an end to anti-apartheid paid off. In 1985 William Gray III, a black Democratic congressman from Louisiana and chairman of the Budget Committee, introduced a bill that prohibited loans and new investment in South Africa and enforced sanctions on imports and exports with the nation. A year later, the CBC cosponsored the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which passed into law.

This bill called for sanctions against South Africa and stated preconditions for lifting the sanctions, including the release of all political prisoners. Among these political prisoners was Nelson Mandela. President Ronald Reagan attempted to veto the bill but was overridden. The override marked the first time in the 20th century that a president had a foreign policy veto overridden. Mandela was freed from a South African jail.

The 1990s proved to be a tipping point for the CBC's aspirations to effectively impact national dialogue in the quest for jobs and justice. The 1992 election of President William Jefferson Clinton fostered a functional working relationship between the White House and the CBC. The effort to cut social programs was met with resistance and mutual compromise. Welfare to Work legislation was passed into law. In 1995, the Republican majority in the House led by Speaker Newt Gingrich abolished all LSOs. Republican Congressman Pat Roberts of Kansas was among several GOP members who campaigned against the public subsidization of caucuses. All caucuses were forced to move out of congressional office space and become congressional member organizations or private corporations.

Clinton's reelection provided another four years of a functional relationship between the CBC and the White House, and a plethora of African American cabinet-level secretaries that increased CBC access. Alexis Herman served as secretary

of labor, Hazel O'Leary as secretary of energy, Togo West as secretary of Veterans Affairs, Rodney Slater as secretary of transportation, and Dr. Joycelyn Elders as surgeon general.

Introducing legislation into Congress has been a tool of the CBC, particularly when the interests of their constituents are immediately threatened. After Hurricane Katrina, all 42 House members of the CBC introduced the Hurricane Katrina Recovery, Reclamation, Restoration, Reconstruction, and Reunion Act of 2005. The bill was designed to provide for the recovery of the Gulf Coast region and for the reunion of families devastated by the storm. The same year, CBC members met with President George W. Bush to discuss the renewal of the Voting Rights Act and its amendments, which were set to expire in 2007. Shortly thereafter, CBC members cosponsored the Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King Voting Rights Act Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 2006.

In 2006, the election of Illinois Senator Barack Obama provided the CBC with help in the U.S. Senate. The short-lived support was increased with his 2008 presidential election. Members of the caucus campaigned for the president in their congressional districts in the 2008 and 2012 presidential election cycles. From 2006 to 2013, CBC members met with Obama on a plethora of issues and legislation, including support for the landmark Affordable [Health] Care Act of 2010; the 2012 modifications on the National Mall, including the unveiling of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., statue; and the erection of the Smithsonian African American Museum of History and Culture, slated for completion in 2015. Members of the CBC also critiqued the increased use of drones in U.S. military operations. Throughout the meetings with Obama, the caucus affirmed its motto: "We have no permanent friends, we have no permanent enemies, we have just permanent interests!"

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See Also: African Americans; Congressional Hispanic Caucus; House of Representatives, U.S.; Martin Luther King, Jr. Day; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Reconstruction; Senate, U.S.; Voting Rights Acts.

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Congressional Hispanic Caucus

The Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC) is made up of the Democratic members of Congress of Hispanic descent. The CHC goal is to voice and advance, through the legislative process, issues affecting Hispanics and Latinos in the United States, Puerto Rico, and U.S. territories.

In 1978, the CHC created the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute (CHCI). The institute offers a wide range of programs and activities to support the educational and professional aspirations of Hispanic youth, from high school through graduate school and into their careers. CHCI programs serve more than 1,500 young Latinos annually.

With Latinos expected to comprise one-quarter of the population by 2030, the CHC promises to be a critical vehicle in shaping the lives of Latinos and the future of the nation.

Foundation of the Caucus

The Congressional Hispanic Caucus was founded in December 1976 as a legislative service organization of the House of Representatives. The five founding members were Hispanic congressmen Herman Badillo (New York), Baltasar Corrada del Río (Puerto Rico), Kika de la Garza (Texas), Henry B. Gonzalez (Texas), and Edward Roybal (California). The founders' idea was to work in conjunction with other groups, both inside and



Representative Nydia Velázquez of New York with three other members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus in 2009, the year she became chair of the caucus. Representative Velázquez was also the first Puerto Rican woman elected to Congress.

outside Congress, to strengthen federal commitment to Hispanics and heighten community's awareness of the operation and function of the American political system.

A few years after its formation, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus became organized as a congressional member organization, governed under House rules. The CHC aims to address national and international issues and their impact on the Hispanic community. The function of the caucus is to serve as a forum for the Hispanic congressional members to coalesce around a collective legislative agenda.

To best address their diverse concerns, members work in smaller task forces that draw on their expertise to develop legislation within each area of concern. The executive activity of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus is organized into eight task forces: agriculture and rural community, civil

rights; diversity, economy and workforce, education; health care, housing and financial services, and immigration and international relations. Each task force is composed of two or three members. The only exception is the immigration task force, which includes all members because of its importance.

Legislative Priorities

CHC legislative priorities cover all areas that have a direct impact on the Hispanic or Latino community. According to an October 2010 report by the Pew Hispanic Center, Hispanics rank education, jobs, and health care as their top concerns. Immigration ranks as the fourth most important issue. The Congressional Hispanic Caucus actively supported President Barack Obama's health care reform and celebrated it as a victory for all Americans, including the 16 million uninsured Hispanics. Access to health care has been a long-standing concern to the Hispanic community, as Latinos are far less likely to get preventive services but have a greater chance than whites of being diagnosed with diseases like diabetes. The benefits of the health care reform will have a huge impact on the Latino community. Nearly 750,000 young Latinos have been able to get coverage through their parents' plans and by 2014, when the reforms are fully implemented, 9 million more uninsured Latinos will be eligible for coverage.

Immigration is the next most important issue for the CHC and has become a polarizing subject nationwide, and one that has been an intrinsic part of the fabric of American society. Since 2006, the United States has accepted more legal immigrants as permanent residents than any other country in the world. That same year, an NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll revealed that the U.S. public was equally divided on whether immigration helps or hurts the country. However, a recent Pew Research Center study suggests that the issue will remain at the forefront of the American political agenda for many years to come.

One of the CHC's main efforts is to push for comprehensive immigration reform not seen in the country since the early 1980s. Hispanic congressmen have championed solutions to legalizing the nation's estimated 11 million to 18 million illegal immigrants. A secondary purpose of the House Congressional Hispanic Caucus is to expand its

membership by electing more Hispanics to congress. An expanded Hispanic caucus would gain enhanced prominence as a voting block and lead to more effective representation of America's Hispanics. Although officially founded as a bipartisan organization, the CHC is currently comprised entirely of Democrats. The Republican members left in the late 1990s over policy differences and, in 2003, formed their own group, the Congressional Hispanic Conference.

Battle for the Latino Vote

The split of Republican members from the CHC is also a consequence of the historic battle for the Latino vote. Throughout the years, Hispanics have always leaned toward the Democrats. In every presidential contest since 1992, Republicans have won at minimum about a quarter of the Latino vote, while Democrats have won at least half. Up for the grabs in most years have been the remaining 25 percent. But the Latino vote is a voter bloc in name only. There is a common ancestral language that binds nationalities, family histories, and geographic allegiances. Local differences matter, but so do those things that distinguish Latinos from other ethnic groups. While support for the Democratic Party among Hispanics has remained strong, some Hispanic leaders have criticized the party for not doing enough to help Hispanic candidates advance to the party's highest elected offices.

The main divider between Hispanics and Republicans centers around the differing views and perceived harsh rhetoric on illegal immigration. Eighty-one percent of Latinos believe that unauthorized immigrants should not be deported, while most of the Republicans encourage tightening the immigration system. GOP members also support efforts to enforce deportation laws, while welcoming immigrants who enter America through legal avenues.

In any presidential election, Latinos' increasing voting power is going to be a decisive factor because of their increasing presence in key battleground states. Their growth is not homogeneous around the nation. In 2008, Nevada counted a 13.5 percent Hispanic population; Arizona had 18.3 percent; Colorado, 12.6 percent; Florida, 14.5 percent; North Carolina, 2.1 percent; and Virginia, 2.3 percent. Four years later, those states

accounted for 15.1 percent, 19.2 percent, 13.7 percent, 15.9 percent, 2.9 percent, and 3.7 percent, respectively.

Obama's second term in the White House was largely secured by record numbers of votes from ethnic minorities, while his popularity among whites plummeted, according to exit polls. Hispanics, the fastest-growing demographic in the United States, accounted for 10 percent of all voters in the election. Of these, 71 percent voted for Obama, up from 67 percent in 2008. In a sign that Republicans are failing to win over this increasingly influential ethnic group, the polls show that GOP candidate Mitt Romney won just 27 per cent of the Hispanic vote. Hispanic voters were possibly alienated by Romney's tough stance on immigration in the primary election, calling for "self-deportation" and making life difficult for undocumented immigrants. During his campaign, Romney said that if he were elected he would also veto the DREAM Act, Obama's 2010 bill aimed at helping undocumented youth. By comparison, Obama garnered support for his June decision to allow young immigrants to stay in the country.

The trend toward presidential candidates losing the Hispanic vote can be seen even earlier than the recent election. In 2004, for example, George W. Bush won 44 percent of Hispanic votes. Four years later, that figure plummeted to 31 percent for Republican contender John McCain.

Historic Numbers

The 2012 congressional elections also provided fresh blood for the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, increasing its membership from 20 in the 112th Congress to 25 the 113th. In general, for Latinos across the country, the 2012 election symbolized much more than two candidates contending for presidential office. It marked the potential for change and new leadership, emphasized by the record number of Latinos who won the seats in both the House and the Senate.

Forty-nine Latino candidates—16 Republicans, 32 Democrats, and one without party affiliation—ran for office, making history as the largest number of Latino candidates to run for Congress. A record-setting 31 Latinos now sit in the 113th U.S. Congress. Three of them—Ted Cruz (R-Texas), Marco Rubio (R-Florida), and Robert

Menendez (D-New Jersey)—joined the Senate, while 28 headed to the House of Representatives. The new Latino representatives lean heavily to the left, with 23 of them hailing from the Democratic Party. The Hispanic milestone came as Latinos bumped up their share of the electorate to 10 percent, making the country's largest minority an increasingly important demographic for politicians.

Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute

A successful endeavor of CHC is the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, whose mission is to develop the next generation of Latino leaders by promoting higher education and providing career development. It was founded in 1978 by a small group of Hispanic congressional members with the vision of bringing the promise of the American Dream to the next generation of Latinos. CHCI programs serve more than 1,500 young Latinos annually. Many are the first in their family to go to college, and the majority come from families with annual incomes below \$30,000.

CHCI's model of educational services and leadership development consists of promoting college readiness, supporting college attainment, and providing direct access to the most powerful network of Latino leadership. CHCI runs three internship sessions a year that offer Latino college students job opportunities in congressional offices on Capitol Hill, as well as an opportunity to participate in CHCI's leadership and professional training program.

CHCI also provides nine-month fellowships to Latinos who have completed college and to those who have finished their graduate studies, working in congressional offices and federal agencies in Washington, D.C., focusing on public policy in areas critical to U.S. competitive positions. These intensive, weekly education sessions include interaction with national government and private-sector leaders around public policy challenges. CHCI also organizes programs each year that give more than 1,200 high school students access to the tools, resources, role models, and motivation they need to go on to college. The institute awards more than \$375,000 in college scholarships annually to Latino students with financial need. It also offers an online Education Center for young Latinos, which has been

visited by more than one million people a year who have downloaded about 600,000 education publications.

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See Also: Congressional Hispanic Conference; Hispanic Americans; House of Representatives, U.S.; Latinos; Senate, U.S.

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Congressional Hispanic Conference

The Congressional Hispanic Conference (CHC) is a Republican-dominated coalition in the U.S. Congress. The CHC was founded in 2003 with the stated objective of promoting policy outcomes of relevance to Americans of Hispanic or Latino and Portuguese descent. The Congressional Hispanic Conference should not be confused with the older Congressional Hispanic Caucus, a similar organization dominated by the Democratic Party. In 2003, conference members also formed the Congressional Hispanic Leadership Institute (CHLI), a public outreach arm equivalent to its Democratic counterpart's Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute.

In the beginning, the two groups were in fact one bipartisan organization. But in the mid- to late 1990s, Republican members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus—Mexican American Henry Bonilla of Texas and Cuban Americans Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart of Florida—resigned in protest over the caucus's support for improved relations with Cuba. While

Ros-Lehtinen remained active in the caucus's public outreach arm, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus has since been comprised solely of Democrats.

Forming a Republican Coalition

In 2002, feeling there was significant need for another Hispanic congressional group, newly elected Florida Representative Mario Diaz-Balart began to organize a coalition for Hispanic Republicans to counter what they perceived as Democratic dominance over Hispanic political affairs. On March 17, 2003, in an open letter published in the *Wall Street Journal*, Diaz-Balart announced the formation of the Congressional Hispanic Conference.

Another impetus in forming the conference centered on the debate surrounding the appointment of conservative lawyer Miguel Estrada to the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals. Diaz-Balart decried what he perceived as Hispanic Democratic efforts to frustrate the nomination of Estrada, a selection seen by some at the time as a possible fast track to the U.S. Supreme Court. Joining Diaz-Balart in the new group were his brother Lincoln, as well as Bonilla, Ros-Lehtinen, and newly elected colleague Devin Nunes, a California congressman of Portuguese descent.

Two more Portuguese American congressmen, Richard Pombo of California and Patrick Toomey of Pennsylvania, soon joined the conference. Like its Democratic counterpart, the conference also allows members from the Senate. Mel Martinez, the first Cuban American U.S. senator, joined the group right after his 2004 election. The conference is also open to non-Hispanic "associate" members who represent districts with significant Hispanic populations or generally approve of the conference's public policy goals.

Creating a Cohesive Legislative Agenda

The Congressional Hispanic Conference seeks to emphasize both national and international issues that have a significant impact on Hispanic communities in the United States. The Congressional Hispanic Conference is intended as a forum for congressional members to collaborate in the creation of a cohesive legislative agenda. The CHC's priorities include support of the war against terrorism, the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas

(FTAA), tax relief to families and the over 2 million Hispanic- and Portuguese-owned small businesses, and support for faith-based initiatives. The CHC emphasizes that small businesses play a vital role in the American economy and have been responsible for the creation of 64 percent of all new jobs in the past 15 years. The CHC aims to foster small businesses and supports an environment in which they can create jobs and grow the economy.

Another CHC goal focuses on reduction of public spending. According to the CHC, by keeping Americans' taxes low and decreasing government regulations, Congress can create an environment for the private sector to thrive.

Trade is considered by the CHC as a crucial part of the U.S. economy, and the conference takes the stand that the government should enlarge the nation's trading opportunities through expanded free trade across Latin America. According to the CHC, eliminating tariffs and other barriers through free trade agreements will expand trading opportunities and help create jobs at home.

Like its Democratic counterpart, the Republican Congressional Hispanic Conference supports immigration reform but from a more conservative viewpoint, arguing that the government's priority is to secure its borders for the sake of national security and economic prosperity.

The CHC considers children's education to be fundamental to the nation's future. However, the organization is critical of the federal government's role and states that education policy should be made by state and local officials.

Charitable Arm Looks to the Future

Related to the CHC is the Congressional Hispanic Leadership Institute (CHLI), founded by Republican congressional members to advance the Hispanic community's economic progress with a focus on social responsibility and global competitiveness. It is dedicated to fostering a broad awareness of the diversity of thought, heritage, and views of Americans of Hispanic and Portuguese descent. CHLI has focused its efforts on developing and strengthening tomorrow's leaders and has funded close to \$1 million in educational programs.

CHLI supports Hispanic youth and young professionals through two programs: CHLI Global

Leaders Internship and Fellowship Program and CHLI Future Leaders Conference.

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See Also: Congressional Hispanic Caucus; Estadounidismos; Hispanic Americans; House of Representatives, U.S.; Latinos; Senate, U.S.

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Constitution, U.S.

The U.S. Constitution provides the basic structure of the federal government. It separates the legislative (congressional), executive (presidential), and judicial (court) powers. It corrects the major flaw of the previous basic law, found in the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union (1781–89), primarily by asserting the fundamental supremacy of federal over state law in places where they conflict.

The Constitution originally consisted of only seven articles, formally defining the scope and means of federal powers. By its own text, the Constitution can be amended by congressional action, with consent of three-fourths of state legislatures, or by national convention. Hence, some provisions in the original articles have since been struck down by the 27 constitutional amendments. The first 10 of these amendments were promised from the time of the convention as a way to induce the states to ratification. They were passed by the first Congress and are collectively known as the Bill of Rights.

Fifty-five delegates from 12 colonies (the 13th, Rhode Island, declined to participate) negotiated and drafted the Constitution over the course of four months in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787. The majority of the delegates were prominent politicians who had served in the recent Revolutionary War, commanding Continental army forces, or in the Continental Congress. Nearly all members were wealthy; all were white males; and all but two identified themselves as Protestant Christians, from seven denominations (the other two described themselves as Catholic). Twenty-five of these delegates owned enslaved workers.

The U.S. Constitution has a mixed record with regard to pluralism and minority rights. Constitutionally, the federal government has the right to delimit citizenship, mandate federal voting eligibility, define religious freedom, and count ethnic and religious populations in the mandated decennial census. All of these provisions ensured a central role for the Constitution in forging as well as bridging political cleavages based on race and culture. The original Constitution also included provisions that upheld the institution of race-based chattel slavery in the United States. Slavery, the status of Native Americans, the evolving constitutional idea of citizenship, the religion clauses of the First Amendment, and contemporary debates over hate speech comprise the most prominent examples of the Constitution's longstanding role in regulating American pluralism.

Native Americans

Most Native Americans were not defined as citizens by the original Constitution, and only became definitively classified as such with passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. Originally, Article 1, Section 2 of the Constitution specifically excluded "Indians not taxed" from being counted for purposes of determining congressional representation. The theory among the delegates was that most Native American communities were legally, if not also physically, outside the boundaries of the national sphere. The presence of significant numbers of Native Americans within "white" settlements did little to alter this assumption.

At the same time, the Constitution gave Congress the power to regulate commerce "with

foreign nations, among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." Hence, the Indian commerce clause has been broadly interpreted as implying not only some level of tribal sovereignty, but a sovereignty different from that of either the states or foreign governments. Significant jurisprudence followed from this constitutional distinction, tending to define Native American tribes as political communities that were separate from, but not independent of, the state and national governments. The common, though controversial, classification of tribes as "dependent domestic nations" has arisen from this distinction.

Since the 1970s, historians have debated what impact Native American ideas had on the framing of the Constitution. By then, prominent Iroquois members had been promulgating the idea for many decades that the Iroquois Confederacy's Constitution served as a model in the crafting of the U.S. Constitution. Proponents argue that the Iroquois "Great Law of Peace," which predated the U.S. Constitution by hundreds of years, provided a model on the American continent of confederated governance with virtual representatives who voted on behalf of their tribal constituents. Despite considerable skepticism among constitutional scholars, who emphasize the differences in structure and formal rules between Iroquois practice and the Western Lockean liberal tradition, the Great Law of Peace has attained widespread acceptance in the popular imagination as a constitutional influence. A 1988 congressional resolution formally recognized the impact of Iroquois confederation ideas on the founding generation.

The enormous impact of Native American presence on the framers has been less controversial. Because they lived in close proximity to Native Americans, had prior careers as Indian treaty negotiators, and because Native Americans constituted the primary threat to westward expansion, the delegates had ample cause to consider Indian tribal politics relevant to the formation of a strong central government. Claiming federal supremacy in Indian affairs was the Constitution's way of attempting to prevent states from pursuing inconsistent Indian policies that might lead to conflict among the states, or to an inadvertent national war. And claiming the right to quell domestic insurrections in the climate of ongoing

Indian conflict was another way of suggesting that Native Americans had a liminal status in the U.S. political sphere—they were, to the extent that this clause referred to Native American uprisings, “domestic,” but not citizens.

Slavery

Many major debates at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 divided delegates over the problem of slavery, though the problem took a number of surprising forms. Few northern states had completely banned slavery at that time, but the institution was more prevalent in the tobacco, rice, and, later, the cotton-growing regions of the south. Compromises among regional interests therefore necessarily required compromises over slavery. Because several of these compromises have had long-standing effects on matters far removed from their roots in the regional debate over slavery, they have collectively given rise to a debate among constitutional scholars over whether the original Constitution was fundamentally “pro-slavery.”

The word *slavery* can be found only once in the original language of the Constitution; “other persons,” or “Person[s] held to Service or Labour in one State” were terms that mollified delegates who disdained references to enslavement in their founding document. Nonetheless, five provisions in the original Constitution dealt with slavery directly. Two of these, both in Article 1, present the infamous “three-fifths” clauses, by which slaves were to be counted as three-fifths of a person for representation and taxation purposes. The three-fifths clauses ensured that the slave population, despite being disenfranchised, contributed to the level of white southern representation in Congress without excessively increasing the level of taxes that the state would owe to the federal government. Another provision in Article 1 barred Congress from banning the international slave trade before 1808; a fourth provision, in Article 5, prohibited amending the provisions to do with slavery that were found in Article I until that same year. The fifth constitutional provision for slavery, in Article 4, Section 2, required states to uphold a fugitive enslaved person’s status as a slave; that is, enslaved people could not be emancipated merely by escaping across state lines.

Many other parts of the Constitution gave indirect support to slavery. The domestic

insurrections clause in Article 1, Section 8, gave Congress the power to “suppress insurrections,” referring to slave rebellions that were widely feared among white Americans. Another provision, in Article 1, Section 8, simply asserted absolute federal control over the national capital, at a time when the apportionment of representation in the Senate ensured for decades that slave states had the power to maintain slavery and the slave trade in Washington, D.C. By the same token, the requirement in Article 5 that any constitutional amendment must have three-fourths support among state legislatures guaranteed that slave states would retain the power to block any anti-slavery amendment that the Congress passed.

The delegates at the convention were aware of the role of slavery in shaping their Constitution. For example, Constitutional delegate Rufus King noted that the prohibition on federal taxes of exports was intended as a way to protect the slave economy from being indirectly taxed by protecting the major exports that enslaved people produced. In part, because the northern states’ shipping interests also benefited from the tax exemptions, King’s objection gained little traction at the convention.

Many constitutional provisions became flashpoints of contention in the decades of controversy that followed, particularly after the 1830s, as the northerners’ perception of their economic benefit from southern slavery declined. At a rally on July 4, 1854, in Framingham, Massachusetts, abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison famously set fire to a copy of the Constitution and decried it as a “covenant with death” and an “agreement with hell.” Until shortly before the southern states seceded in 1860 to 1861, Garrison was a proponent of northern secession to break that “covenant” because he believed it to be irredeemably pro-slavery.

The Constitution was central to the buildup to the Civil War, from the infamous *Dred Scott* decision by which the Supreme Court interpreted the Constitution as meaning black people could not have standing in court since they were not U.S. citizens to the raging debates about the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act, which required citizens of free states to comply with the return of slaves who fled slave territory. The Constitution

was unable, either symbolically or in judicial interpretation, to quell these disputes, which culminated in the Civil War.

At the end of the war, three amendments eradicated the explicit slavery provisions from the Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment formally abolished the practice of slavery in the United States. The Fourteenth Amendment, among its provisions, reversed the *Dred Scott* ruling and expanded citizenship beyond its racial basis. The Fifteenth Amendment provided for voting rights regardless of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” But many of those provisions that were, originally, indirect by-products of the system of slavery remained in effect.

Race, Citizenship, and Suffrage

The original Constitution said little about qualifications for U.S. citizenship. The document merely imposed citizenship qualifications for Congress and stricter citizenship standards for the presidency, and gave Congress the authority “to establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization.” The first Congress established that rule in 1790, on a racial basis. Adding some residency restrictions and the requirement to take an oath, they decreed that citizenship would belong to all free white persons who had migrated to the United States.

Property restrictions that prevented white male citizens from voting were, for the most part, gradually dropped in the three decades following ratification. In many states, partial black suffrage was achieved in the same period; New York, for example, passed a law in 1811 that made voting legal for a “black or mulatto” man who could document that he was free, though that documentation could be difficult to provide. In general, however, Congress used the Constitution to ensure white citizenship rather than prohibit black or any other form of racial or ethnic citizenship. In the antebellum period, widely differing state and local practices meant that racially exclusive citizenship was normal, but neither uniform nor universal across localities or the system.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments excluded race as a determinant of citizenship and voting rights in constitutional theory, but late 19th and early 20th century Jim Crow laws



A painting by Junius Brutus Stearns depicts George Washington signing the Constitution at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The first 10 amendments are known as the Bill of Rights; a total of 27 amendments have been added.

used grandfather clauses, literacy tests, and poll taxes to keep de facto racial barriers in place. These barriers disproportionately affected Italian, Jewish, Chinese, and eastern European immigrants, among others, although they were mainly intended to discriminate against African Americans at the polls. The Supreme Court repeatedly found “separate but equal” segregation provisions and voting restriction policies to be constitutional until the opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education* expanded the constitutional meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment’s protection clause. Along with the civil and voting rights reforms of the 1960s, which relied on expansive interpretations of Congress’s constitutional powers under the commerce clause, *Brown* went a long way toward neutralizing the racial differences in voting and suffrage that previous courts had believed the Constitution allowed.

National Language

The U.S. Constitution does not establish an official national language, nor has any act of Congress since ratification. Multilinguality was widely considered at the time of the nation’s founding as a sign of a quality education, an education many of the delegates had received. Moreover, the United States contained sizeable linguistic minority

groups. In the first census, the largest of such groups were German speakers, who constituted about 10 percent of the population.

Though the status and quantity of new immigrants to the United States changed considerably over time, curricula taught entirely in non-English languages continued to be relatively common in public schools well into the Progressive Era of the early 20th century. Immigrants to the United States have conventionally learned English in the first or second generations after entering the country.

Since the 1980s, however, a majority of states have passed “official English” laws, and a movement to establish English as the national language either by federal statute or by amending the Constitution has been an object of cultural controversy. “Official English” advocates see monolinguality as a tool for promoting social cohesion and reducing the costs associated with translating official materials. Their critics (who sometimes call the movement “English-only”) believe that a single official national language would erode the cultural benefits of language diversity, undermine free speech guarantees, and erase the country’s polyglot history. At the federal level, English remains the “preferred language” for official communication.

Religious Pluralism

The Constitution—unlike the Declaration of Independence—includes no reference to a divine or supernatural being. Religion in the United States is regulated primarily by the First Amendment, which guarantees that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” The “no establishment” guarantee was intended to prevent the formation of an exclusive state church (like the Church of England), whereas the “free exercise” clause ensured that the practices of religious minorities would be allowed. At the time, the provision ensured that states, such as Pennsylvania, with its legislature’s Quaker majority, and Maryland, with a large Catholic population, wouldn’t be threatened by national unification.

In practice, legal scholars have often seen the “establishment clause” and “free exercise” as being in conflict. It can be difficult for the state to make provisions that allow religious practitioners

to freely practice their faiths—like allotting Muslim federal employees space for daily prayers, or granting churches tax-exempt status—without, in some sense “establishing” a state support of religion. In *Abington Township v. Schempp* (1963), the Supreme Court considered a case to determine whether a mandatory prayer in a public school was constitutional. The court ultimately decided that, to be constitutional, laws must have a generally secular purpose and their primary effect must not be to establish religion. These “secular purpose” and “primary effect” rules also pertain to religious displays on public grounds. Jurisprudence tests the state’s neutrality and separateness.

Individually and in concert, the goals of First Amendment religious freedom—that no particular religion is preferred, that religious people are not unduly burdened by the state, and that religious belief in general does not unduly affect the state’s secular purposes—have been difficult to maintain. Religious observances and spectacles in public places like town squares, public schools, and prisons remain ongoing indicators of the ambiguity of constitutional meaning with respect to freedom of religion.

Hate Speech

Hate speech is typically defined as rhetoric or symbolic gestures that malign on the basis of some aspect of a person’s identity, including race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or nationality. In the United States, hate speech is protected under the free speech clause of the First Amendment. By judicial interpretation, it becomes illegal only where it provides an incitement to violence, or, in other words, rises to the level of “fighting words”; even then, the violence must imminently follow from the incitement in order to qualify.

Many universities’ “speech codes” and corporate antidiscrimination policies have been or would be found unconstitutional under this controversial constitutional interpretation. Ongoing campus debates around the status of hate speech are among the most visible edifice of the Constitution’s present role in managing race relations in the United States.

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See Also: Abolition; African Americans; Bill of Rights; Constitutional Amendments; *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1857); Fugitive Slave Acts (1793 and 1850); Hate Speech; Language Usage in the United States; Native Americans; Official English Movement; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Slavery; Supreme Court, U.S.

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Constitutional Amendments

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution were originally intended to grant former enslaved African Americans basic rights of freedom, including citizenship and the right to vote.

Since the time of their ratification, however, and with the rapid growth of immigration of people from diverse parts of the non-Western European world, the interpretation of these rights has been expanded and contracted by the U.S. Supreme Court and by federal and state legislatures in ways that have had deep effects on all people of color in the United States and, to a lesser extent, on the dominant white culture.

These amendments have been known as the Civil War (1861–65) amendments or the Reconstruction amendments. Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment in January 1865, and it was ratified in December of that year. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868, and the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870.

The Thirteenth Amendment

The Thirteenth Amendment states that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist anywhere in the United States. President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, as the nation approached its third year in the bloody war. However, this act did not immediately free all enslaved persons, as its target was to free those enslaved in the confederate states and in territories rebelling against the union. Furthermore, without any means of enforcing the proclamation, the act had little to no effect until the end of the war, with the surrender of Confederate General Robert E. Lee in April 1865, and Union General Gordon Granger's regiment subsequently crushing resistance in Texas on June 19. Granger then declared all slaves to be free. This declaration, two and a half years after the original proclamation by President Abraham Lincoln, formed the basis of the amendment—and the Juneteenth celebration in African American culture.

The Fourteenth Amendment

The Fourteenth Amendment states that persons born in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they reside. In addition, no state may make or enforce any law to decrease the privileges and immunities of U.S. citizens, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2 of the amendment calculates apportionment for representation in Congress. But the basis of representation can be decreased if any males in that state are denied the right to vote, except if the denial is due to participation in rebellion or other crime. Section 3 denies continuing membership as a federal or state representative to anyone who participates in rebellion against the United States or gives "aid and comfort" to enemies. Section 4 states that the U.S. public debt

shall not be questioned, including debts incurred in suppressing rebellion against the United States. But claims incurred in rebellion, including claims for the loss of or emancipation of any slave, are null and void.

The Fifteenth Amendment

The Fifteenth Amendment states that any citizen's right to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This amendment directly superseded state laws that had banned black people from voting. In 1870, Congress enacted the Enforcement Act of 1870, which contained criminal penalties for hampering the right of black people to vote, and the Force Act of 1871, providing for federal election oversight.

Enforcement of the Amendments

Each of the three amendments concludes with a section providing for Congress to enforce the amendment via appropriate legislation.

While the language of these amendments appears simple and clear, ever since their ratification, much debate, lawsuits, U.S. Supreme Court opinions, and federal and state legislation have occurred over definition of words and phrases in the amendments, such as “person,” “citizen,” “life,” “liberty,” “property,” “privileges and immunities,” “aid and comfort” to enemies, and even “servitude” versus “slavery.” Furthermore, the perceived lack of enforcement of the amendments has even spurred calls for reparations to African Americans for slavery as being a necessary response in the face of constant resistance to or lack of enforcement.

Jim Crow Laws

Legal challenges to Jim Crow laws began in the late 19th century in an attempt to enforce the rights of African Americans, which Congress was not doing as required by the three amendments. From the 1880s into the mid-20th century, the states of Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia continued to enforce segregation—despite the three amendments—through use of local state and city laws, which came to be known as Jim Crow laws. The laws got their name from a derogatory minstrel show character who dressed in blackface to make buffoons of African Americans.

One of the earliest challenges to enforce rights guaranteed by the amendments came in 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In a landmark ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of state laws regarding segregation in public facilities under the “separate but equal” doctrine.

Challenges to the amendments persisted. A case that would become a precursor to *Brown v. Board of Education*—which held that separate was not equal—came in 1938 in *Missouri ex. rel. Gaines v. Canada*. In it, African American student Lloyd Gaines sued after being denied admission to the University of Missouri law school because of his race. In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a Missouri judge's ruling that the state had to either build a law school at the state's historically black Lincoln University equal to that at the University of Missouri or admit Gaines to the state university's law school.

Who Is a “Person” Under the Fourteenth Amendment?

The original intent of the Fourteenth Amendment was to extend to formerly enslaved black males specific rights already assumed to belong to white males, especially that of “personhood.” In *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad* (1886), the U.S. Supreme Court ruling granted constitutionally protected personhood to a corporation for the first time. Although the question of the personhood of a corporation was not before the court, Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite remarked right before argument began that the court would not be hearing any argument about whether or not the equal protection clause applied to corporations, as everyone agreed that it did. The court reporter, whose headnotes are supposed to give a summary of the court's decision, wrote down that the defendant corporations were persons under Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment and thus entitled to equal protection rights, therefore putting the justice's oral remark into law, a beginning to almost two centuries of controversy.

Since the ratification of this amendment, additional Supreme Court rulings relating to the Fourteenth Amendment have involved the expansion of the rights of corporations than have involved the rights of African Americans.

In *Ozawa v. United States* in 1922 the court held that Takao Ozawa, a Japanese man, could

not become a naturalized U.S. citizen because he was neither white nor of African descent by birth as required by the 1906 Naturalization Act. Ozawa argued that Japanese people were included in the definition of “white.” The court maintained that only Caucasians could be white.

In *United States. v. Bhagat Singh Thind* in 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court held that Thind, an Indian Sikh, was not able to be a U.S. citizen since he was not a white person as the definition was commonly understood.

Brown v. Board of Education

Up to the time of the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, an important feature of Jim Crow laws was that black children could not attend public schools that white children attended. Most of the schools attended by black children were inferior in quality of instruction and physical facilities to those attended by white children. This reality violated the separate but equal doctrine put in place by the *Plessy* decision.

The court put aside whether the writers of the Fourteenth Amendment had the segregation of schools in mind at the time its writing. They based their decision on whether segregated schools prevent black schoolchildren from enjoying equal education opportunities under the law under the Constitution. The court decided they did not.

A decade later, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, banning discrimination of all kinds based on race, color, religion, or national origin. But even with the passage of this act, the three amendments still needed more action by Congress and the president to ensure the chances and reliability of their enforcement, especially when it came to access to education.

The Right to Vote

At the time of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, only white male property owners could vote. The Fifteenth Amendment expanded that right to black males. It was not until ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, after decades of struggle, that the right was expanded to females. But that was only the beginning.

In July 2012, reports came out that the state of Ohio had a long-standing problem with noncounting of provisional ballots and that disqualification was not the voters’ fault. Blame for the problem

was placed on a confusing mix of state laws, administrative directives, court rulings on voting procedures, and errors by voters and poll workers.

Also in 2012, Pennsylvania passed a new voter-ID law requiring that residents show identification every time they vote and only a valid photo ID is acceptable, meaning that it must have an expiration date and the date cannot have expired. Reports indicated that such new voter ID laws are confusing to voters, many voters don’t even know of the new rules, and they disproportionately affect people of color.

The state of Florida in 2008 and also in 2012 engaged in purging of voters from the rolls, which it called “citizenship list maintenance practices.” The U.S. Justice Department claimed such practice violated the Voting Rights Act. Other states showed increasing interest in developing some kind of system to check voter rolls in the face of widely publicized partisan calls from politicians to eliminate voter fraud.

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See Also: Bill of Rights; Civil Rights Acts; Constitution, U.S.; Voting Rights Acts.

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Constructivism, Intercultural

Constructivism is an epistemological position commonly found in communication theory, cultural anthropology, developmental psychology, and learning theory. It holds that knowledge and

experience of the world is constructed, not discovered. Constructivism is the primary perspective of intercultural communication, which seeks to coordinate meaning and action across cultures. The idea of constructivism is important to multicultural and intercultural contexts because it supports cultural adaptation, the practical alternative to assimilation. Without constructivist theory, it is difficult to imagine how cultural groups can coexist other than segregating from each other or one assimilating to the other. Constructivism allows a third alternative, which is bicultural adaptation. The following paragraphs trace the paradigmatic roots of constructivism and show how it informs the intercultural adaptation strategy.

Paradigms

Paradigms are comprehensive sets of assumptions that guide scientific theory. While the concept of paradigms originated in the physical sciences, the idea is also useful in understanding changes in social science, including intercultural communication theory. The three major paradigms in physics are Newtonian, Einsteinian, and quantum. Their translations into social science (usually with a significant time lag) are termed positivist, relativist, and constructivist.

Like Newtonian physics, positivism assumes that there is a single absolute reality that can be described, predicted, and controlled by an objective observer. The idea of “culture” in a positivist paradigm is something like “civilization,” a position that lies at the top of a pyramid of human beings. Below civilized people are barbarians—people who have the potential to be civilized, but who need the help of colonization or nation building to join the upper ranks. Below barbarians are subhuman savages who can be exploited for their labor without concern for elevating them to higher levels. This idea drives a kind of “social Darwinism” that thrived in the 18th and 19th centuries and has found new favor in some forms of libertarian capitalism. In this view, a few talented people who are more “fit” than others will appropriately rise to the top and enjoy the richest fruits of civilization, while less fit people populate the lower ranks and make do with more modest tastes of culture.

At around the turn of 19th to the 20th century, Albert Einstein introduced the idea of relativism into physics in a move that is now considered a

paradigm shift. The absolute reality of Newton gave way to a relativistic universe where the position and perspective of the observer was intrinsic to how reality was apprehended. In social science, this view became the basis of systems theory, where events always needed to be understood in context. An important context for events was culture, and the notion of cultural relativity successfully challenged the pyramidal model of civilization. In the new paradigm’s view, cultures represented more or less autonomous worldviews that could not be evaluated according to a single absolute standard of civilization. Instead, each culture needed to be understood in its own context; Hopi Indian culture—its worldview and its products—represented just as much a sophisticated civilization as French culture or Chinese culture.

While (ideally) cultural relativism freed the myriad ways of being in the world from the hierarchical judgments of social Darwinism, colonialism, and imperialism, it also separated cultures from any single, objective base of meaning that could be used for communication. Cultural relativism does not suggest how people of different cultural contexts might understand one another, short of becoming resocialized in the different cultural context. But global business, international education, and a host of other activities in multicultural societies and the global village depend on successful short-term communication among different cultural groups. This need for intercultural communication could only be addressed from a different paradigm.

The quantum paradigm in physics was established more or less concurrently with the Einsteinian paradigm, but it has come more slowly into social science as constructivism. While some concepts of constructivist epistemology certainly predated quantum physics, that paradigm articulated the idea that observers are intrinsically involved not only in the viewing of reality but also in the construction of reality itself. In other words, observers cannot be separated from that which they observe—they coevolve each other. This idea is key to how constructivism supported the development of intercultural communication.

Intercultural Communication

The idea of coevolution was applied to understanding culture by the constructivist sociologists

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. In their seminal text *The Social Construction of Reality* they defined the circular process whereby people are born into a society filled with institutions that focus their attention on certain constructions of reality, which are internalized through socialization to become the cultural worldview, which in turn is externalized through role behavior that supports the continuing existence of the institutions. Thus culture is constantly being re-created by people acting out their experience of the cultural institutions they were born into. Rather than being an absolute thing like civilization in the positivist paradigm, or even a relativist thing like a cultural system, culture in this constructivist view is not a thing at all. It is a process of being, and, when employed as a description, it is simply a way of observing human behavior.

In using the idea of constructed culture, intercultural communication is able to address several limitations of cultural positivism and relativism. Considering culture as a process of being avoids the essentialization and reification of culture that occurs in a positivist paradigm, positions that contribute to ethnocentrism and negative stereotyping. In this view, culture is not like a submerged iceberg waiting to smash into unsuspecting sojourners; it is simply the way groups of people habitually understand one another. We can learn those habits or not, but in either case we need not be threatened by the simple existence of alternative ways of being in the world.

The idea of culture as a process also avoids the romanticizing and exotifying of cultures that sometimes occurs in a relativist paradigm, positions associated with simplification and positive stereotyping. By virtue of their existence, all ways of being are viable. We may prefer one way of being over another, and we may even believe that a particular process is a better way for people to organize themselves. But the responsibility is with us, the observers, to be making such a judgment—superiority or inferiority does not exist in culture itself.

We are both the perceivers and the creators of cultural boundaries. This allows us to define and participate in multiple cultural groupings simultaneously, generating a “multilayered cultural identity.” Thus, a person can simultaneously be a member of a national group such as U.S. American, an

ethnic heritage group such as African American, a generational group such as millennial, and a sexual orientation group such as heterosexual. We may feel affiliated with those groups, or we may be ascribed membership in them by other observers, or we may both participate in and be observed to participate in the groups. Sorting through the complex layers of cultural identity is one of the tasks facing all of us in a multicultural society, and a constructivist definition of culture allows us to do so more intentionally.

Intercultural communication employs the idea of “constructed etic categories” to provide a means of comparing cultures without recourse to an objective standard like “civilization.” The term *etic* refers to the cross-cultural applicability of the categories. Typical etic categories are those of language use, nonverbal behavior, communication style, cognitive style, and cultural values. Each of these categories allows us to perceive certain cultural differences, for example, variations in greeting rituals, eye contact, verbal directness, abstractness, or individualism/collectivism. These differences lie in a constructivist paradigm, which means that they do not have an a priori existence in the cultures being described. For instance, people within a culture do not typically perceive themselves as engaging in greeting rituals; they are just communicating with one another. But by differentiating this particular behavior, an observer is able to contrast it to that of other cultures in a way that allows for possible misunderstanding to be identified and for possible adaptations to be considered. Note that people can be observers of their own cultures, in which case it generates “cultural self-awareness.”

Finally, constructivism provides an authentic way to adapt to other cultures. In a positivist paradigm, there is only civilization, those that have it, and those that might get more of it through acculturation. In a relativist paradigm, there are only cultural contexts, and to change context demands that the old one be rejected as part of assimilating to the new one.

But in a constructivist paradigm, it is possible to expand one’s worldview to encompass both a primary socialization and one or more alternative ways of being of the world, that is, to develop a bi- or multicultural identity. On the way to doing so, people attain various levels of expertise in



At this ceremony performed at Dover Air Force Base in Delaware, U.S. Air Force leaders observed a Native American ritual performed by members of the Nanticoke and Lenape Tribes during the Air Force's celebration of Native American Heritage Month in November 2009. Participants experienced the ritual—and its alternative perspective—by gathering in a circle to give thanks and by accepting pieces of prayer sage given with the intent to bring peace to “the country, the military, and Mother Earth.”

perceiving cultural differences, generating alternative worldview elements, and experiencing the world in alternative ways.

A foundational idea in constructivism is that of “experience.” Because reality is coevolving with our perception of it, we do not have experience simply by being in the vicinity of events when they occur. Rather, our experience is a function of how we perceive (discriminate, construe) those events. In cross-cultural terms, this means that a U.S. American does not have a French experience simply by being in France; rather, he or she is likely having an American experience in the vicinity of French events. Similarly, a European American does not have a minority experience simply by being the only white person in a group of blacks; he or she is really having a dominant-culture experience in a minority situation. And certainly a man does not have a woman's experience

simply by living with one; men are having their own experience in the vicinity of women. This doesn't mean that it is impossible to have an alternative cultural experience; it just means that we must perceive the world in an alternative way to have that kind of experience.

The process of reorganizing our perception of the world to enable an alternative experience is called “empathy.” Empathy allows us to intentionally shift our perspective toward that of another culture and eventually toward that of another person in that cultural context. By allowing ourselves to have an embodied experience of the world through the alternative perspective, we temporarily expand our worldview to include that alternative way of being. When we enact the alternative experience in our behavior, we are adapting (not assimilating, not acculturating) to the other culture. At any moment we can choose

to enact our primary cultural experience. In the process of constructivist empathy, we do not lose ourselves; we gain authentic alternative selves.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Americanization; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Cultural Competence; Culture Shock; Discourse; Emotional Intelligence; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Identity Development; Intercultural Communication; Intercultural Competence; Intercultural Education; Interculturalism; Perspectivism; Relativism.

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Cooper v. Aaron (1958)

Cooper v. Aaron (1958) was the Supreme Court ruling to put into effect the decisions in *Brown v. Board of Education*—the landmark cases that held that racially segregated public schools were inherently unequal and therefore denied black students the equal protection rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The two decisions in 1954 and 1955, referred to as *Brown I* and *Brown II*, respectively, ordered the states to desegregate the schools. However, *Brown I* did not specify guidelines on how to proceed, and *Brown II* included a mandate only to begin desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

In Arkansas, the Little Rock School Board presented a six-year plan to integrate its schools. In May 1955, the board indicated it would start integration in the fall of 1957, with a small number of black students attending Central High School. In the fall of 1960, the board stated that desegregation of junior high schools would begin. A date for integration of the state's elementary schools was not even incorporated in the scheme.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Intervenes

After observing what it perceived as the Little Rock School Board's inadequate desegregation plan, the Little Rock chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) decided to sue. However, before a suit could be filed, black parents had to try to register their children at white schools. In January 1956, parents' attempts at registering were denied by school officials. The following month, the NAACP, representing 33 African American students, filed *Aaron v. Cooper* (reversed by the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit and affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court as *Cooper v. Aaron*) in the U.S. Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, compelling immediate integration. Lawyers, including Thurgood Marshall, represented the students. The students were listed alphabetically, putting John Aaron's name first on the plaintiffs' list. The defendants were William G. Cooper, president of Little Rock's school board; the school district's secretary; the superintendent of schools; and the state's school districts.

At trial, on August 15, 1956, NAACP lawyers failed to convince the court that there were serious problems with the board's desegregation plan. Judge John E. Miller found that the plan did not violate *Brown*. The NAACP appealed the decision to the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which upheld the lower court's decision.

Little Rock Nine

In the fall of 1957, nine black children, who became known as the Little Rock Nine, prepared to enroll at Central High School. On September 2, in the face of growing hostility from the white community, the Little Rock Nine tried to enter the school grounds. Ignoring the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown*, Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus used

armed guards to intimidate and stop the children. On September 20, federal Judge Ronald N. Davies filed an order against Governor Faubus, and Faubus withdrew the guards, but a violent mob continued to prevent the children from entering the school. On September 25, President Dwight Eisenhower ordered the National Guard to stand watch for the rest of the school year. Despite harassment from many white students, the Little Rock Nine survived the school term.

NAACP Gears for Battle Again

In the beginning of February 1958, with the departure of one of the nine students, the school board sought to delay its desegregation plan and amended its petition to set the postponement date for January 1961. The board pointed out that the reason to delay was the strong public resistance to desegregation. On June 3, 1958, the NAACP dusted off *Cooper v. Aaron* and once again defended its position in district court. On June 20, the court issued a ruling that supported and endorsed the board's delay in implementing its desegregation plan. This time, the plaintiffs, rather than appealing to the Eighth Circuit, went directly to the Supreme Court, but the justices refused to consider the appeal before the Eighth Circuit had heard it. On August 4, the Eighth Circuit heard the argument and reversed the district court's ruling. The school board appealed the decision.

The Supreme Court convened a special session to hear the case and on September 29 issued a unanimous opinion ordering the school to continue with its desegregation plan. Thus, *Cooper v. Aaron* marked the first major test in *Brown v. Board of Education* to desegregate the school. In a series of cases that followed, the Supreme Court handed down one decree after another, authorizing schools to desegregate.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Civil Rights Movement; Little Rock School Desegregation; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; School Desegregation; School Segregation; Supreme Court, U.S.

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Cooperative/ Collaborative Learning

Cooperative learning is a teaching strategy that uses small groups within the classroom to teach the course concepts. Each group member is responsible for learning the material, as well as teaching it to another student. Assignments are worked through until each student understands and completes them.

Collaborative learning, on the other hand, is the umbrella term describing the many forms of group learning, including both collaborative and cooperative strategies. In other words, cooperative learning is a type of collaborative learning.

Cooperative/collaborative learning has been shown to be effective across cultural groups, including African Americans, Hispanics, and Vietnamese. Research shows that Lao, Cambodian, and Vietnamese students favor group learning irrespective of gender or academic achievement. Further, group learning has been shown to be particularly effective with secondary students of diverse backgrounds.

Results imply that teachers who work with diverse populations could benefit from incorporating cooperative and collaborative learning

methods. These strategies are applicable on the university, secondary or elementary school levels.

African Americans

The research of University of Austin mathematics professor Uri Treisman done in the late 1980s at University of California, Berkeley, focused on finding a program that would help minorities succeed in math and science. In a study comparing the retention rates of African American students over a five-year period, the retention rate was higher for those involved in collaborative group learning (65 percent) than for those who were not (41 percent). Similarly, cooperative learning has also been found to have a positive effect on the learning of African Americans. A meta-analysis study analyzing 122 individual studies concluded that cooperative learning was much more effective than traditional learning for African American students. One study in particular assessed the learning of African American middle school students. Results showed these students made more progress with cooperative learning than with traditional learning, even to the point of closing the gap between them and white students.

Findings also reveal that cooperative learning is a well-researched approach that might provide a venue in which African Americans and Caucasian groups could move beyond the existing stereotypes to see each other as equals within the classroom setting.

Findings tentatively show that cooperative learning increases the self-esteem of group members. Prejudice is linked to low self-esteem. Consequently, when one's self-esteem increases, the prejudice level decreases, and one might come to accept a person of a different cultural group. Finally, results showed that students who participate in cooperative learning activities are more likely to name students of other races as their best friends or close friends.

Hispanics

Research conducted by the Center for Research Education, Diversity, and Excellence, whose focus is on improving education of students challenged by barriers of language, culture, and poverty, suggests that cooperative/collaborative learning are effective research-based methods for teaching Hispanic students. Conclusions from

their research show that Hispanic students benefit from:

- A setting where students have defined roles, and proceed to accomplish tasks
- A setting where students work together to learn concepts
- A setting where students debate, discuss, and defend their ideas; this act improves their verbal skills
- A setting where the learning is student-centered and focused on interdependence among the students and the teachers
- A setting where students develop social skills and relate to other ethnic groups better because they learn to clarify, assist, and challenge the ideas of other group members
- Cooperative learning, helping students become proficient in English, by providing them with opportunities to integrate reading, writing, pronunciation, and listening skills
- Collaborative learning in small groups

Ethnic Group Friendships and Interactions

Findings of Spencer Kagan and Robert Slavin, leading researchers on cooperative learning, have shown that the method has a positive effect on friendships among different ethnic groups. Findings also reveal that the attitude of participants improved toward students of different ethnic groups, and even toward students who were not a part of the same group.

As part of the research on ethnic groups interactions, findings of research conducted by Sabine Oishi revealed that the Team Assisted Individualization (TAI) activity had positive effects on ethnic group interactions, inside and outside the classroom. The TAI activity combines group instruction with individually paced instruction. Developed by Robert Slavin, TAI is a cooperative learning approach developed to teach mathematics to elementary and secondary students.

Other studies, such as those by Sharan Studies of Group Investigation, also link cooperative learning to improved group relations. Those studies were conducted in Israel and involved analyzing friendships between Europeans of Jewish descent and Middle Easterners of Jewish

descent. Findings revealed that cooperative learning improved relations between the two ethnic groups. Spencer Kagan's work focused on the most widely used methods in cooperative learning. His work tested and refined the most successful methods, including "think-pair-share," a three-step interview process, involving round-robin brainstorming.

Criticisms of Collaborative Learning

Critics have raised several objections to cooperative learning theory. One of the most frequent refers to the fact that cooperative learning can be too complicated. In other words, through elaborate instruction and assigning of specific group roles, teachers sometimes make cooperative learning more difficult than it needs to be. For many critics, it seems obvious that cooperative learning is not reflective of how true collaboration works in the real world.

In a group setting, it is too perfect. Further, with cooperative learning, there is the danger of becoming overly dependent on group learning and not being able to translate that experience to another setting. The following problems may occur with group members: there is a tendency for some group members to do all of the work, while others do nothing; there is the tendency for group members to compete against one another, both within and outside the group setting; and the group as a whole may get off task or become "rowdy."

A serious dilemma for some critics is that "cooperative" may be equated to "groupthink," a term used to describe an irrational decision-making process that occurs in cohesive in-groups in which members hastily attempt to reach a unanimous decision without considering alternative courses of action. Similar to cooperative learning, one of the criticisms of collaborative learning is that it also incites groupthink while creating a culture of conformity in which members may be hesitant to challenge others. Although a consensus is reached, the decisions adhere to those more forceful members of the group while ignoring the voices of the less powerful or marginalized.

Conclusion

A preponderance of evidence shows that cooperative/collaborative learning is a research-based

practice that can be used across cultural groups, including African American, Hispanic, and Asian students. Further, group learning, in general, seems to be effective for students of diverse backgrounds. It has a positive effect on friendships. Findings also imply that cooperative/collaborative learning can be responsive to the needs of English-as-a-second-language students, who often face a double challenge of learning an academic subject while also become English proficient.

Moreover, teachers who teach diverse populations could benefit from incorporating cooperative learning strategies into their classes. The teaching strategy could be used with students of varying ability levels. Cooperative learning may be an effective teaching method for ethnic groups from collective cultures, as well as African Americans and Hispanics.

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See Also: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; English as a Second Language Education; English-Language Learners; Intercultural Education; Intergroup Education; Special Education.

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Coptic Christian Americans

The Coptic Orthodox Church traces its founding to St. Mark, the apostle and evangelist who brought Christianity to Egypt in the 1st century after the birth of Jesus. The cultural heritage of the ancient church survives today in the liturgical services and the language. The Copts are part of the family of Eastern Orthodox churches that includes the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches. The first significant group of Coptic Christians in the United States included students who came for graduate study or professional training and persons who fled Egypt after the revolution of 1952. By 1962, there were enough Copts in America for Pope Kyrillos to place them under the pastoral care of the bishop. Less than a decade later, four Coptic churches were established in North America. Over the next 40 years, the Coptic Orthodox Church became the second-largest Orthodox Church in America. In 2011, after President Hosni Mubarak's resignation and the installation of a conservative Islamic government, thousands more Copts immigrated to the United States from Egypt.

The Egyptian revolution of 1952 brought nationalization and agricultural reform that resulted in wealthy Copts losing much of their property and physical assaults on Copts becoming common. As a result, tens of thousands fled Egypt in the 1950s, the greatest number immigrating to North America, Great Britain, and Australia. In 1962, Pope Kyrillos VI ordained Makary al-Syriani, who had attended graduate school in the United States, as Bishop Samuel for Social and Ecumenical Services, including the pastoral care of the Copts in Europe, America, and Australia. Bishop Samuel paid frequent visits to the United States and Canada, administering sacraments in host churches of other denominations or in the homes of Coptic families.

After Egypt's 1967 defeat in the Arab-Israeli war, the number of Copts immigrating increased again. Approximately 15,000 Egyptians immigrated to the United States from 1967 to 1977. By 1970, four Coptic Orthodox churches had been established in North America, including St. Mark in Jersey City, New Jersey, the first Coptic



St. Mark Coptic Orthodox Church, shown in the photo above, was built in Bellaire, Texas, in 1977. The largest population of Copts living outside Egypt is in Canada and the United States. The U.S. population alone numbers approximately 200,000.

church in the United States. The years following showed a steady flow of Copts entering the country, many of them through Lebanon, under the auspices of the World Council of Churches, the Catholic Missionary Services, and other organizations. By 1989, there were 41 Coptic churches in the United States, and the number of Copts was estimated between 160,000 and 180,000.

The Coptic population had grown sufficiently by 1995 for the single Archdiocese of the United States to be divided into six dioceses, with the heaviest concentration of the 200 worshipping communities in New York, New Jersey, and California. As Copts moved into new areas, they borrowed or bought unused churches from other denominations, frequently at a nominal cost and sometimes without payment. In places with a population too small to have their own church, a Coptic priest from a nearby church held mass at regular intervals. As the congregations grew and became more affluent, they adapted these churches or built new ones to reflect their own architectural and religious traditions. The 2010 U.S. Census Bureau statistics placed the number of Coptic churches at 100 with 300,000 members.

Emigration of Coptic Christians from Egypt increased steadily in the year following the ousting of Mubarak as violence against Coptic churches and individuals escalated. Some estimates place

the number of Christians fleeing the oppression as high as 100,000. Even those who argue that the actual number is lower acknowledge that concern over Coptic emigration is legitimate. In 2012, reports placed the number of Copts living in the United States at approximately 400,000, or 71 percent of Coptic Christians outside Egypt.

The U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Office of Immigration Statistics reported in May 2012 that the number of Egyptians granted asylum in 2011 almost doubled the number a year earlier. The report does not include the number of Coptic Christians among the total for Egypt, but anecdotal evidence from lawyers working with Copts on asylum cases and leaders of local Coptic churches suggests that the number is substantial. One American expert in Coptic studies expressed fears that the number was likely to rise even higher as persecution intensified in the aftermath of the anti-Islamic film *Innocence of Muslims*, which provoked outbursts of violence in North Africa and the Middle East. Nakoula Basseley Nakoula, a Coptic Christian who lives in the Los Angeles area, was reported to be the film's director. Coptic Christians in the United States were quick to distance themselves from the film; many expressed concern for Egyptian Copts who are vulnerable to the violence.

Immigration to the United States may bring Coptic Christians a greater sense of personal safety for themselves and their families, but it brings its own challenges. Assimilation into American society and intermarriage makes maintaining a strong communal identity more difficult. There is already pressure within the church to compromise on the observance of Christmas, presently observed on January 7. A greater push concerns the language used because many American-born Copts speak neither Coptic nor Arabic. In April 2012, St. Timothy & St. Athanasius Church in Arlington, Virginia, opened its doors under the leadership of Anthony Messeh, the first American-born Coptic priest, who conducted the service in English.

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See Also: Egyptian Americans; Lebanese Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Corrido

The corrido is a narrative ballad, traditionally without refrain, which tells the story of an important event or person. It emerged as a popular vehicle of communication in the southwest of what is now the United States during the Texas independence movement of the 1830s. It survived until the present in its historic form but has expanded from its custom of being based on a true story. The form now includes dance corridos and fictionalized corridos, such as the controversial *narcocorrido* of the U.S.-Mexico border region. Other names for the corrido include *tragedia* (tragedy), *homenaje* (homage), or *moraleja* (moral tale), depending on the story being told; corridos to John F. Kennedy after his death were titled corridos, homenajes, and tragedias. The corrido is one of the best documented and analyzed forms of Chicana/o popular culture, literature, and history.

The word *corrido* originates from the Spanish verb *correr*, meaning to run or to flow. One theory of the song's origin is that it descends from the Spanish romance tradition and was brought to Mexico during Spain's 300-year colonial rule. Prior to World War II, the singer of the ballad, the *corridista*, presented information as a first-person witness to the event being narrated. The typical corrido had no chorus, thus its name, and its structure is a common four-line stanza, eight syllables per line. As the focus of the corrido was the story, the instrumentation was simple and

repetitive so the singer could focus on the lengthy narrative, involving one or two singers and a guitar or accordion. Often the corridista presented key information about the event within the first two stanzas and incorporated dialogue into the song to reinforce the illusion he was there. When performed live, audiences used *gritos*, or yells, to show their approval. When recorded, corridos initially captured two sides of a 78 RPM record.

After World War II and the development of amplification, corridos also developed into fictional and dance varieties. These were shortened to one side of a 45 RPM record, occasionally included a refrain, and more women served as corridistas. They presented women's stories in a more positive light than had characterized the genre for the previous century.

One series of fictionalized corridos about La Camelia, a drug-running woman, featured morals that suggested that running drugs led to bad outcomes, but also simultaneously demonized women as the downfall of men. Esteban Jordan created La Camelia in 1975, and she was so popular a literary figure she was picked up by Ramon Ayala y los Bravos del Norte in their 1977 *Contrabando y Traicion*. After several other songs about La Camelia in which she escaped at the end of the song so she could appear in another singer's corrido like a telenovela, two movies were made featuring this character.

Function

The corrido serves many important functions in the Chicana/o community. First, it acts as a newsreel, capturing important events, people, and socioeconomic conditions. It serves as oral history, preserving and making accessible the stories of ethnic Americans with uneven literacy rates who were often overlooked by archives, libraries, or museums. The peak of the corrido during the Mexican Revolution (1910–17) reflected the need for information as revolutionaries attacked railroads, telegraph, and newspapers, communications owned by and symbolizing foreign investors, particularly Americans.

The conflict with Anglo-Americans after 1836 featured prominently in corridos, particularly in Texas. The telling of stories about Mexican American resistance in the face of rampant inequality and hostility in what was once their

native land was an oral manifestation of the social banditry that punctuated the late 1800s. It not only captured resistance but *was* resistance. Corridos also offered a vehicle to promote social action and provide social commentary. As Mexican Americans became more politically active in the post–World War II era, corridos emerged that promoted voting and supported a particular candidate for office, such as John F. Kennedy or Henry Cisneros. The corridista also provided personal support for a candidate, a lyrical endorsement that signified the importance of the person and paid him/her homage—and simultaneously educated those who found poll and literacy taxes and a lack of ethnic candidates to present little incentive to vote.

More recently, controversial narcocorridos extol the exploits of one drug lord or another for profit or safety and reflect a radical reversal of messages about the drug trade from the corridos about La Camelia. Tragically, Ramon Ayala, a three-time Grammy winner who condemned drug running in corridos in the 1970s, was arrested in 2009 for performing at a private home raided by the Mexican navy as belonging to an accused drug runner. Ayala characterized his arrest as a terrible mistake and it did little to diminish his following, but it demonstrates the radical deviation from the corrido's socially conscious tradition.

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See Also: Art and Ethnic Diversity; Chicanos; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Folklórico; Mexican Americans; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Tejanos.

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Cosby Show, The

Starring Bill Cosby, *The Cosby Show* is a television situation comedy that aired on NBC between September 20, 1984, and April 30, 1992. During its eight seasons, the show centered on the day-to-day events of the Huxtable family in Brooklyn Heights, New York. Featuring an affluent African American family, the show raised various questions about appropriate portrayals of African Americans on television. It was a show about the American Dream. The Huxtable family concerned itself with few issues and concerns that most families, both black and nonblack, had to worry about. The family's fundamental value was love. Race did not matter. It was an affluent and upwardly mobile family. Its audiences seem to have considered the show a 30-minute escape from reality and a way to experience temporary utopia.

The show is considered one of the most popular programs of the 1980s. It was based on Bill Cosby's stand-up comedy. Television critics argue that *The Cosby Show* opened a door to two genres of television programs. On the one hand, it enabled shows about African Americans to be more acceptable in the American television industry. Programs such as *In Living Color* and *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* appeared during the succeeding period. On the other hand, it popularized shows on family life, frequently a not-so-eventful life of a family. *Home Improvement* and *Everybody Loves Raymond* fall into this category. Of the eight seasons it was on air, *The Cosby Show* was ranked number one by the Nielsen ratings for five consecutive years.

The show's protagonist is Bill Cosby acting in the role of Cliff Huxtable, the father of the family. He is an obstetrician, married to his wife, Claire. Claire is an attorney. They have five children: Sondra (age 18), Denise (15), Theodore (13), Vanessa (11), and Rudy (5). Although many of the family events and issues the show captured were comical and uneventful, the show also discussed many of the current topics, including teenage pregnancy, dyslexia, drug use, parenting, and others. However, it is notable that the show is characterized by its lack of struggles. Although many African American families in the 1980s continued to suffer from poverty, lack of housing, racism, and other forms of dispossession, the Huxtable family was



Bill Cosby in February 2011. Cosby began his career as a stand-up comic, landing his first acting role in 1960. He later starred in *The Cosby Show*, which reached number one in the Nielsen ratings for five straight years and aired for eight seasons.

distanced from them. For example, when Theo's notebook accidentally falls off the kitchen table to reveal his possession of marijuana, Theo explains to his parents that it does not belong to him, and they believe him. Still not convinced that his parents trust him fully, Theo goes on to bring his friend to whom the marijuana belongs. Situations such as this illustrate that the Huxtables are an exceptional family whom social malaise does not concern.

Furthermore, the show rarely discusses the matter of race. For a program whose cast and characters were predominantly African American, this was a rarity. Most other similar shows, such as *The Jeffersons*, mention race very frequently. When *The Cosby Show* refers to American racial politics, it is often in relation to the civil rights movement. The show underscores the values of artistic works by African Americans such as James

Brown, Miles Davis, Stevie Wonder, Michael Jackson, Duke Ellington, Dizzy Gillespie, and others. One of the few examples of the show referring to African American racial politics includes the picture of Martin Luther King, Jr., in Sondra's bedroom and King's "I Have a Dream" speech appearing on the television in the family's living room. Although critics agree that these are relatively implicit signs of the show giving recognition to the struggles of civil rights and African American leaders for the affluent lifestyle that the family is leading, the show also seems to underestimate the reality of racial dynamics in the country.

Cliff Huxtable's occupation as an obstetrician has a particular meaning. American history has clearly shown that African Americans have long been considered as hypersexual beings whose sexual desire and urge could not be contained. When a black slave and a white slave owner were involved in a consensual copulation, black hypersexuality was to be blamed, even though historical documents clearly show that white males frequently coerced a sexual relationship. As Michel Foucault argued, medicalizing sexuality was an effective means to contain African American sexuality. By turning Cliff Huxtable into an obstetrician, he and his sexuality were medicalized. Therefore, it was safe for him to discuss sexuality and to live within a female-dominated household, especially in the eyes of white audiences in the 1980s.

The show won numerous awards, including an Emmy in 1985, a Golden Globe in 1985, and the NAACP Image Award in 1988. *TV Guide* in 2002 ranked the show as the 28th-greatest TV show of all time. Similarly, the magazine ranked Cliff Huxtable as the greatest "TV Dad" of all time. In addition to these awards, the second half of the 2000s saw DVD releases of the show, serving as a sign of the show's continuing popularity even in the 2010s.

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See Also: African Americans; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Television.

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Costa Rican Americans

Costa Rican Americans constitute one of the smallest Hispanic immigrant communities in the United States, with 126,418 people of Costa Rican descent living in the country, according to the 2010 U.S. Census. Despite its small size, this group experienced a significant population increase in the past decade, growing 84 percent from the 68,588 people who identified themselves as Costa Rican in the 2000 census. The largest concentration of Costa Rican Americans is found in the New York–New Jersey region.

Migration of Costa Ricans to the United States has been documented since the 1930s. Most of the early immigrants came for business reasons or to attend school. According to census figures, the Costa Rican community grew slowly, accounting for only 5,400 individuals in 1960. Since then, the number of Costa Rican Americans grew at a faster pace, reaching 16,700 in 1970 and 29,600 in 1980, only to decrease to 22,300 in 1990.

Unlike immigration from Mexico and most of Central America, Costa Rican immigration is unique because it has occurred more as a constant trickle rather than through several distinct waves. Also, because of the relative political stability and economic prosperity attained by Costa Rica during most of the 20th century, Costa Ricans coming to the United States have not fled as refugees or as a result of political oppression or extreme economic circumstances. The relatively small population of Costa Rica (4.5 million in 2010) is another factor that helps explain the historically low number of people migrating from this nation to the United States. An additional distinction is that most Costa Ricans who stay illegally in the United States have entered the country legally with some form of nonimmigrant visa, which is not the case of most Mexican and other Central American immigrants.

Around the mid-1980s, conditions changed in Costa Rica that resulted in a different migration pattern to the United States. The decline of international coffee prices, paired with the adverse impact of structural adjustment policies on the agricultural sector, led to the impoverishment of rural communities whose economies heavily depended on farming. People from the Los Santos and Pérez Zeledón regions, in particular, began leaving the country to support their families and to try to secure a better economic future. Further deterioration of Costa Rica's welfare state and austerity measures imposed during the past 20 years have contributed to this migration drive. These new Costa Rican immigrants are typically employed in the food service, agriculture, landscaping, and construction industries. And since most of them are undocumented, census figures are widely considered an undercount of this population. Costa Rican consulates estimate that there are at least 220,000 undocumented Costa Ricans in the United States, which is far more than the official census count for all Costa Ricans in the country.

The majority of Costa Rican Americans live in large metropolitan cities. According to the 2010 census, the New York–northern New Jersey–Long Island area is home to the largest population of Costa Ricans. Other significant communities have been established in Miami; Los Angeles; Washington, D.C.; Houston; Dallas; Chicago; and the Charlotte area. Since there are relatively fewer Costa Rican Americans than other Hispanic groups in the United States, they normally do not form traditional ethnic communities, or *barrios*, as is usually the case with Mexican Americans or Puerto Rican Americans. However, Costa Rican Americans have managed to create some culturally differentiated spaces in their communities, including grocery stores with favorite food fare from the homeland and restaurants serving traditional dishes (pork tamales wrapped in banana leaves, and the rice-and-beans breakfast known as *gallo pinto* among them). Civic committees in various Costa Rican American communities also help preserve a sense of “home away from home,” celebrating popular holidays such as Independence Day (September 15) or organizing soccer tournaments.

Culturally, Costa Ricans tend to identify themselves as white rather than Hispanic, blending in

with the general English-speaking population or forming working and friendly relationships with other Latinos. As a result, they have acculturated at a faster rate than those immigrants who reside in large ethnic enclaves. Despite their generalized cultural blending and acculturation, Costa Rican Americans keep close ties with their homeland, traveling back and forth often. Also, their rates of naturalization are low compared to those of immigrants from other countries, as many Costa Ricans prefer to return to their country of origin after a period of residence in the United States. For example, between 1996 and 2005, only 14,514 Costa Rican-born immigrants became U.S. citizens.

According to census data, Costa Ricans in the United States obtain higher levels of education compared with many other Latin American immigrant groups, with more than 50 percent of them having some form of college education. Their median family income is just slightly lower than that of the overall population. Just like in their homeland, Costa Rican Americans are predominantly Catholic. The August 2 celebration of Costa Rica's patron saint, the Virgin of Los Angeles, has been transplanted to the United States, becoming an important religious and cultural event.

Prominent Costa Rican Americans

The most famous Costa Rican American is physicist and National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) astronaut Franklin Chang-Díaz (1950–). He was the first naturalized U.S. citizen to become an astronaut and the third Latin American in space; he shares the world record for the most spaceflights (seven expeditions). His daughter, Sonia Chang-Díaz (1978–), was the first Latina elected to the Massachusetts Senate in 2008. Other notable Costa Rican Americans include writer and scholar Rima de Vallbona (1931–), actress Madeleine Stowe (1958–), CNN en Español anchor Glenda Umaña (1961–), and dancer/actor Harry Shum, Jr. (1982–).

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Hispanic Americans; Marianismo; Soccer and Ethnic Diversity.

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Cotton Club

One of the most iconic places in New York, the Cotton Club was a jazz supper club that featured popular black artists performing for white patrons, including wealthy celebrities, literary luminaries, and political figures. During its heyday in the Jazz Age and Prohibition era, the Cotton Club launched the careers of Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway, Sammy Davis, Jr., and Lena Horne.

Club De Luxe

Jack Johnson first opened the club in 1920 under the name Club De Luxe. Johnson had risen to prominence years before as the first African American to win a world heavyweight boxing championship, a distinction he held from 1908 to 1915. He was one of America's first celebrity athletes, leading a life marked by unparalleled successes and tabloid-worthy scandals; *Great White Hope*, the 1967 play and its 1970 film adaptation, both starring James Earl Jones and Jane Alexander, is based on his life. By the time Johnson opened Club De Luxe, he was a hero in the black community for winning the so-called Fight of the Century, appearing in several films and radio shows, endorsing several popular products, and recording an album for Ajax Records. Club De Luxe was located in a busy area in central Harlem, at West 142nd Street and Lenox Avenue, only a block from where the famed Savoy Ballroom, a popular Harlem dance venue, would open in 1926.

In 1922, Johnson sold Club De Luxe to Owen "Owney" Madden, an Irish-born organized crime figure who had been recently paroled after serving nine years for the murder of rival gangster, Little Patsy Doyle. Madden reopened the club in 1923 as the Cotton Club. Madden

lived lavishly, romantically linked to a number of women, and allegedly connected to even more killings. He had joined the Hell's Kitchen street gang, the Gophers, in his early teenage years, and developed a reputation as a dangerous and violent criminal. With Prohibition, which had been in effect in the United States since 1919, Madden saw an opportunity to use the Cotton Club to sell his bootleg beer. The police discovered the bootlegging business, and the Cotton Club was shuttered for a brief period in 1925.

Along with his business partners, William "Big Bill" Dwyer and George Jean "Big Frenchy" De Mange, Madden owned more than 20 New York nightclubs in the 1920s and 1930s. Before the end of the decade, Madden and his cronies even managed to gain partial ownership of the Stork Club, Manhattan's most exclusive supper club.

The Cotton Club Revues

The Cotton Club's real attractions were its African American club acts. White patrons were willing to make the long trek uptown to Harlem to see the most famous black singers, dancers, and instrumentalists in show business performing at the club. Among regular performers were Billie Holiday, Ella Fitzgerald, Ethel Waters (where she introduced the standard "Stormy Weather" in 1933), the Dandridge Sisters (featuring a teenage Dorothy Dandridge), Count Basie, Louis Armstrong, Dizzy Gillespie, Adelaide Hall, the Will Mastin Trio (which included Sammy Davis, Jr.), Nat "King" Cole, and the Nicholas Brothers. At age 16, Lena Horne made her professional debut in the chorus; she was later promoted to a featured soloist.

Madden hired Fletcher Henderson's orchestra as the house band in 1923. Fletcher Henderson was a prolific composer, musician, and bandleader who arranged music for the orchestras of Benny Goodman, Isham Jones, and Teddy Hill. Although his orchestra was not especially well known outside Harlem, his music was foundational in the development of swing and big band sounds.

In 1927, Duke Ellington's orchestra replaced Henderson. In addition to being a bandleader, Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington was a gifted pianist and composer. During his 50-year career, he composed over 1,000 songs, including jazz, classical, gospel, and show tunes. Acknowledging the breadth of his influences, he referred to

his compositions as “American music” rather than jazz. For his contributions to the American songbook, Ellington was awarded a posthumous Pulitzer Prize in 1999. During his four-year tenure as orchestra leader at the Cotton Club, Ellington wrote over 100 compositions, including “Mood Indigo,” “Rockin’ in Rhythm,” “Black and Tan Fantasy,” and “East St. Louis Toodle-Oo,” many of which were broadcast nationally on NBC radio.

Cab Calloway’s orchestra replaced Ellington’s band. In addition to working with his orchestra, which included Dizzy Gillespie, Danny Barker, and Leon “Chu” Berry, Calloway was also a noted jazz singer, helping popularize scat singing. Over the course of his career, he appeared on Broadway (*Hello, Dolly!* with Pearl Bailey), film (*Stormy Weather* with Lena Horne), and opera (*Porgy and Bess* with Leontyne Price). Calloway’s revue, *Brown Sugar*, played at the Cotton Club through 1934.

The Jimmie Lunceford Orchestra was the next house band. Lunceford, a jazz alto saxophonist and bandleader, led an orchestra that integrated vaudeville-style comedy into its performances. Despite their comic antics, Lunceford’s band was as well regarded as Henderson’s, Ellington’s, or Calloway’s ensembles. The Jimmie Lunceford Orchestra remained at the club until it began an extensive European tour in 1937.

Racial Politics at the Cotton Club

The Cotton Club’s aesthetics were contoured by the racial politics of the time. The revues and décor of the Cotton Club consistently employed jungle and plantation themes. Only light-complexioned African Americans above 5’6” and under 21 years of age were cast as chorines.

There are apocryphal stories that indicate that the Cotton Club instituted “paper bag” policies that limited participation in the chorus line to women whose complexions were at least as light as a brown paper bag. Eventually, the Cotton Club’s whites-only policy—which forbade entry to any patrons who were not white—was eased after Ellington expressed his longtime unhappiness with it.

Last Days of the Cotton Club

Madden moved the Cotton Club in 1936 to midtown Manhattan, just north of Times Square, on

the top floor of a building at West 48th Street and Seventh Avenue. The location had housed the Ubangi Club the year before, and the Palais Royal from 1900 to 1935.

Madden took advantage of the prime location to attract larger audiences by producing lavish Broadway revues at the nightclub. Songs were contributed by Harold Arlen, Donald Heywood, Jimmy McHugh, and Dorothy Fields. The Cotton Club closed permanently in 1940, replaced by Lou Walters’s Latin Quarter in 1942. In 1978, a new incarnation of the Cotton Club opened on West 125th Street in Harlem; it featured chorus line, tap-dancing, jazz vocalist, and swing orchestra acts inspired by those who played at the original Cotton Club.

The Cotton Club on Broadway

The Cotton Club has served as the setting for a number of Broadway musical revues: the Tony and Emmy Award-winning *Ain’t Misbehavin’* (1978), developed by Richard Maltby, Jr., around songs associated with Thomas “Fats” Waller and starring Nell Carter, André De Shields, Charlaire Woodard, Ken Page, and Armelia McQueen; Julianne Boyd’s *Eubie!* (1978), which featured songs by Blake and Sissle, choreography by LeTang, and starred Gregory Hines, Maurice Hines, Alaina Reed, and Jenifer Lewis; Rosetta LeNoire’s *Bubbling Brown Sugar* (1976), with songs by Eubie Blake, Cab Calloway, Billie Holiday, W. C. Handy, Avon Long, Thomas “Fats” Waller, Noble Sissle, and Bert Williams, and starring Avon Long, Josephine Premice, Vivian Reed, Ethel Beatty, Joseph Attles, and Cecila Norfleet; and Donald McKayle’s Tony Award-winning *Sophisticated Ladies* (1981), with songs by Duke Ellington and featuring Gregory Hines, Judith Jamison, Phyllis Hyman, Priscilla Baskerville, Hinton Battle, Valarie Pettiford, Gregg Burge, Pauletta Washington, Mercer Ellington, Mercedes Ellington, and Maurice Hines.

More recently, *Cotton Club Parade*, a musical revue based on Duke Ellington’s act at the Cotton Club, played separate engagements off-Broadway at New York City Center in 2011 and 2012, with a cast including Amber Riley, Adriane Lenox, Brandon Victor Dixon, Kyra Da Costa, Christopher Jackson, Carmen Ruby Floyd, La Tanya Hall, and Karine Plantadit, and a band led by



Jazz musician and Cotton Club orchestra leader Duke Ellington at his piano in 1954. During his 50-year career, he composed over 1,000 songs in a variety of genres, writing more than 100 of them during his time at the Cotton Club.

Grammy Award– and Pulitzer Prize–winning jazz musician Wynton Marsalis.

The Cotton Club's Legacy

The Cotton Club, a 1984 motion picture cowritten and directed by Francis Ford Coppola, dramatizes the rivalry between organized crime figures in the Harlem numbers racket. The film, which starred Richard Gere, Diane Lane, and Gregory Hines, with a stellar supporting cast that included Laurence Fishburne, Maurice Hines, Lonette McKee, Novella Nelson, Fred Gwynne, Gwen Verdon, Larry Marshall, and Giancarlo Esposito, was well received by critics and received two Golden Globe and two Academy Award nominations. Broadway choreographer Henry LeTang, who had wanted to join the male chorus line at the Cotton Club in

his youth, staged the film's dance sequences. The movie accurately depicted the Cotton Club as a hub for celebrity clientele, with James Cagney, Charlie Chaplin, Fanny Brice, Gloria Swanson, Joan Blondell, and Ted Husing all portrayed on screen. In addition, James Haskins's 1977 picture book, titled *The Cotton Club*, highlighted the nightclub's connections to organized crime and bootlegging.

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See Also: Boxing and Ethnic Diversity; Colorism; Harlem Renaissance; Jazz and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Pigmentocracy; *Stormy Weather*.

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Counseling and Therapy, Multicultural

The notion of culture has been historically defined by anthropologists as a set of beliefs, values, morals, customs, and institutions that people inherit through interaction in a particular social environment. Important characteristics include language, signs, symbols, events and celebrations, shared values, views of mental illness, and the role of social status. More recent definitions include beliefs and practices that are influenced by the dynamics of social conflict, power, and migration experiences.

In therapeutic settings, a counselor's knowledge and understanding of the variations of cultural diversity in client populations is crucial for building strong therapeutic alliances and ensuring integrity through the therapy process. A mental

health therapist who understands cultural elements and subsequently devises helpful treatment plans that match the cultural lifestyles or experiences of his or her diverse clients is considered to be practicing in a culturally competent frame (i.e., cultural competence). Although not always necessary, it is likely advantageous for the client and therapist to share common values, attitudes, norms, patterns of communication, and language. If, however, the therapist is not of the same cultural background as the client, a therapeutic alliance could still be formed by the therapist assuming a stance of “not knowing,” whereby the client is the expert and educates the therapist on the client’s culture, including practices and belief systems.

A therapist must keep in mind that each individual’s experience is unique, and groups are not homogenous, as there are often many within-group differences in any cultural group. For example, under the broad category of Asian American, there are 40 ethnic groups, each with unique linguistic, cultural, and religious backgrounds and immigration history. A similar phenomenon occurs in groups that fall under the umbrella designations of Latino American or Hispanic American.

Language and Culture

Language and culture (in the broadest sense) are often considered the central components of culturally competent mental health services. In fact, the various mental health professional associations in the United States (e.g., psychology, psychiatry, social work, counseling, marriage and family therapy) all emphasize the provision of culturally sensitive services as part of their code of ethics. For many ethnic or minority clients, having no English or limited English-speaking skills, as well as holding treatment expectations based on traditional worldviews rather than Euro-American-centric views typically held by a therapist, can contribute to poor treatment outcomes and underutilization of mental health services.

There seem to be several links between culture and the underutilization of mental health services in the United States. Statistics show that ethnic groups and minorities are underrepresented in therapeutic caseloads, and about half of them drop out of treatment after the first visit, compared to 30

percent of whites. Sociocultural factors, such as a client’s lack of awareness of available services, lack of transportation, inconvenient geographic location of mental health centers, and lack of health insurance (or inadequate insurance) contribute to low utilization rates. In short, these are issues that relate to health care disparities and marginalization of minority groups in the United States.

Additionally, low acculturation or adaptation to the host culture or majority group is associated with lower rates of mental health service utilization. Many members of minority and/or ethnic groups turn to helpers who are not mental health therapists or counselors. For example, studies have demonstrated that Mexican Americans often consult with family physicians, ministers/priests, chiropractors, and traditional folk healers, such as herbalists or curanderos, rather than psychotherapists. These types of healers are often sought because they share the worldview of their clients, make diagnoses that seem appropriate to that worldview, and use treatments that coincide with the clients’ belief systems. In this population, as in many other diverse groups, mental health problems are often attributed to physical and/or supernatural/spiritual causes, rather than psychological causes. For many individuals, mental health problems and treatment are often associated with stigma and shame. Furthermore, many of the existing psychotherapeutic approaches are not culturally sensitive in that they do not take into account many of the values often associated with Latino populations, including the importance of family (*familismo*), hospitality or relationship building (*personalismo*), respect for generational hierarchies and professionals (*respeto*), and the maintenance of traditional gender roles.

The literature also describes “acculturative stress” as the stress that is often faced by minority immigrant groups and involves the associated difficulties in transitioning to the host culture. The challenges depend on many factors, including age at the time of immigration (i.e., younger people find it easier to adapt to a new culture), socioeconomic status (lower income groups report greater perceptions of prejudice by the dominant culture), and perceived acceptance by the majority culture, as well as the degree of family and community support. Thus, immigrant groups can be vulnerable to psychological distress, and part

of providing competent multicultural therapy is the acknowledgement of these difficulties, as well as the incorporation of the internal and external resources that these clients bring with them.

Ethnic Identity

“Ethnic identity development” is closely tied to acculturation, where the former refers to how individuals negotiate their association and attitudes toward their own group and the latter describes not only the adaptation to a new culture but also the individual changes or transformations that result from contact with the host culture. Studies involving Asian Americans have shown that individuals who hold a positive ethnic identity report greater psychological well-being and self-esteem than those who do not. Ethnic identity also has implications for help-seeking behaviors, explanatory theories of mental illness, and what is considered culturally appropriate treatment.

Asian Americans in general uphold certain cultural values, such as family honor, the importance of ancestral legacy, and the belief in the harmony of mind-body-spirit connection, whereas mental health issues are often somaticized and treated either with “alternative medicine” (e.g., herbs, acupuncture) or by a physician, rather than a mental health provider. For both Asian Americans and Latino Americans, culturally adapted, evidence-based therapies (i.e., therapies that are empirically validated) are emerging within the fields of psychotherapy as promising interventions that are more tailored to fit the ideologies held by ethnically diverse groups.

Worldviews

Clyde Kluckhohn, an American anthropologist in the early 1950s, proposed categories for understanding the concept of worldviews, defined as a group’s beliefs and value orientations about human nature and social relationships (individualistic versus collectivistic), orientation to time, action (doing versus being), and man’s relationship to nature and the cosmos, among others. For instance, Western theories of counseling are based on the premise of autonomy, independence, and individualism, whereas family and community relationships are viewed as secondary. Families, communities, and religion or spirituality, and the interdependence of all of these facets are in many

diverse cultures the foundation for healing and ameliorating suffering. Additionally, the collectivistic perspective held by immigrants from areas such as Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, south Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, to name a few, assume the notion that the welfare of the family, clan, and nation is emphasized over individual needs and well-being.

For instance, African Americans, in general, tend to be a spiritual and religious people. Clergy are often a natural source of help. Black church congregations, regardless of denomination, serve as communities that provide both protective factors against stress and sources of support during times of hardship. But what is most important to consider, beyond the notion of participation in organized religion, is the inherent spiritual and communal perspective to the African American worldview that is tied to African origins (later influenced by colonialism and Christianity). This group makes sense of the world in holistic terms and engages in spiritual and/or religious practices that can include dance, prayer, scripture reading, and music (e.g., gospel), and considers fellow congregants or community members as “brothers and sisters.”

Although the terms spirituality and religion are used interchangeably, spirituality is often defined in the literature as a relationship with whatever is considered divine that fosters human meaning and purpose in life and has an effect on an individual’s relationship to self, others, nature, and God or a higher power; whereas religion is often thought to flow from spirituality in institutionalized forms.

The worldviews of African Americans also include the impact of institutional racism and oppression. Experts have noted that the 300-year history of mandatory migration and hostile enslavement, combined with continued acts of discrimination and oppression by members of the dominant culture within American society, have left many African Americans with the collective mindset of hopelessness, ill will, trauma, and a mistrust for people outside their racial group, particularly in a counseling environment. African Americans tend to see themselves within the context of kinship and in relationship to all other members of this very expansive “family” that serves as a source of support.

When African Americans enter mainstream mental health services, it is with some trepidation; some common challenges include establishing rapport in an interethnic situation, as well as the tendency for mental health therapists to pathologize members of this group. For example, there has been a tendency in the United States to overdiagnose schizophrenia and underdiagnose affective or mood disorders among African Americans, and these errors could be related to therapist misinterpretation of the hallucinatory signs and symptoms which sometimes can accompany severe depression in this group. This “misinterpretation” is disproportionately seen when comparing African American clients with white clients, and the difference has speculatively been attributed to the hastiness of non-African American therapists to view psychotic symptoms in African Americans as somehow “worse” than those seen among their Caucasian counterparts. Although the American Psychiatric Association acknowledges differences in symptom presentations among diverse cultures, this has nevertheless been an area of debate and contention as misdiagnosing continues to occur with deleterious consequences.

Native Americans and other indigenous groups have also suffered from generational and historical racial oppression and have the highest rates of various health-related problems. These groups include some among the poorest people in the United States and their members tend to die at younger ages than those in the general population. Although there are many different tribes that espouse diverse belief systems, the dominant mainstream approaches to health and mental health have lacked an appreciation for models of disease that incorporate the biosocial-spiritual worldviews held by members of these groups. Once again, a consideration for the importance of family and the respect for nature, elders, ancestors, and the relevance of ritual, symbol, and traditions in daily living need to be part of culturally competent diagnostic assessment and treatment.

Another example of worldviews can be taken from Arab American immigrants, who represent 22 countries from Asia and Africa, with many characteristics of the Near and Far East. Acculturation plays a significant role for Arab Americans in therapy. Language barriers are an issue because there are differences between communication

styles and dialects depending on where an individual is from, his or her socioeconomic status, level of education, and migration experiences. A special emphasis placed on complex communication styles, for example, the articulation of suffering and pain in one’s native language may elicit a greater emotional response and complexity than the expression of the same suffering in the acquired language (i.e., English). Losing this meaning in therapy may result in a lack of relational cohesion between the therapist and the client, especially if the client feels the therapist does not understand the weight and importance of what was communicated, even when through the use of interpreters.

Researchers have also observed a great degree of variance in the construction of the notion of mental illness, with a variety of explanatory models around the world that utilize culture-specific verbal expressions of psychological distress that need to be better understood. Even the concept of psychotherapy is a socially constructed notion derived from a Euro-American framework that is foreign to many other cultures. Furthermore, some theorists have argued that psychology as a discipline reflects the ideology of Euro-American (white) superiority and domination, whereas conventional approaches (i.e., talking therapies) are thought to withstand the rigor of scientific inquiry, and traditional healing or spiritual practices are often considered primitive and illegitimate. Spiritual emergencies, encounters, or experiences (i.e., instances in which people report hearing voices or seeing auras) are viewed in the West as abnormal, and thus counseling reinforces the norms and values of society.

Religion

Religion (Christian or Muslim) is knit into the fabric of Arab American culture and must be taken into consideration when working with this population. In the Islamic world, mental health manifests in the unblemished belief in Allah as the Ultimate Maker and Doer, hence any deviation leads to disintegration and disruption of inner harmony. Mental or emotional distress in the observant Muslim community is generally understood as stemming from either a moral transgression or the result of divine will. Thus faith-based practices, such as fasting,

repentance, and recitation of the Koran are considered the treatment of choice. There are no dichotomies, such as mind-body, but rather the American Arab worldviews incorporate a balance of all aspects of being, including soul, spirit, mind, heart, psyche, and body. Studies have indicated that for Muslim Arab Americans religiosity may be a stronger predictor of mental health than any particular acculturation strategy. American Arabs considering therapy, in general, find psychiatric and psychological interventions stigmatizing, especially for women, as this could damage their marital prospects, increase the likelihood of separation or divorce, and be used by a their Muslim husband as leverage for obtaining a second wife.

As in many other ethnic cultures, it is best to incorporate family, religion, and historical background into therapy, as well as to consider the impact of discrimination this group has faced in the United States, especially in light of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The current sociopolitical climate and heightened media attention have fed into American fear and anger toward Islamic groups or what is better understood as the religious terror by extremists. Negative stereotypes of Muslim American Arabs and the experience of covert and/or overt acts of racism toward this group could render them vulnerable to mental health problems and further discrimination in mental health settings.

Recommendations for Multicultural Counseling

The ultimate goal is to promote mental health services that are compatible with individuals from diverse cultures. Such approaches include location of the agency in the client's community; provision of referral to services for social, economic, legal, and medical problems; use of family members or kinship networks in the therapy process; referral to clergy and the use of traditional or alternative healers in the treatment process; and client involvement in determining and evaluating services (as well as language-matched mental health providers). Many experts recommend that counselors shift away from models that base their approaches on client deficits, and instead celebrate and embrace the unique characteristics of each minority cultural group while

simultaneously recognizing the qualities and strengths of all individuals. They also recommend that therapists recognize the cultural connections between mind-body-spirit and use multiple tools to explore and diagnose psychiatric illnesses that could manifest in psychosomatic forms.

Holistic, multicultural models of treatment could successfully value the clients in a way that welcomes them into a collaborative relationship with the therapist and would take into account all cultural aspects that aid in psychiatric healing. A critical aspect in the therapeutic process is providing ample opportunities for minority clients to explore and discuss their racial and ethnic identities, including the experience of discrimination, trauma, and grief. Therefore, therapists must strive to remain flexible in both their thinking and use of alternative modalities when working with people from diverse cultures, while also examining their own biases, and display humility in their counseling approach. Additionally, counselors should understand the historical context and the contemporary realities their clients face.

Various experts espouse that a multicultural model for competent therapy should consider the interactive processes of a combination of factors, such as clients' help-seeking attitudes; the current U.S. political climate with regard to a particular ethnic group; client demographic variables; within-group differences; clients' ethnic identity and degree of acculturation; the role of family; gender issues; clients' mental health needs; and the intersectionality and interplay of the therapist-client characteristics, values, and beliefs. However, ultimately, it is very difficult to prescribe an ethnic or culturally specific intervention, mostly because of within-group differences and lack of homogeneity in any one group. Therapeutic success may be more related to counselor credibility (i.e., based on a client's perception of a therapist's effectiveness and trustworthiness) and the notion of giving (i.e., the client's perception of receiving a "gift" from the therapist in offering immediate benefit through empathic listening).

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See Also: Cross-Cultural Psychology; Cultural Competence; Diversity Training; Health Beliefs and Practices; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Intercultural Competence.

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Coverture Laws

The British common law doctrine of marital unity, or the notion that husband and wife were one in marriage, shaped a range of coverture laws that determined married women's status in the British colonies and in the United States. Coverture perpetuated men's control of property and authority as head of household. In concert with anti-miscegenation laws, laws defining slavery, and laws dispossessing Native Americans of land, coverture laws guaranteed that only white men were fully entitled to marriage's financial and inheritance rights. While most vestiges of coverture have vanished from U.S. law, its legacies continue to shape immigration law in ways that favor husbands and privilege heterosexual married relationships.

In the British colonies, when a woman married she lost her civil identity and became "covered" under that of her husband. Sir William Blackstone wrote in the 18th-century commentaries that codified British common law, "The very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband." With no legal identity of her own, she could not make contracts such as wills, buy and sell property, or decide whether or to whom children would be apprenticed. Her husband became owner of her personal property, and while a wife retained title to land she brought to a marriage, her husband managed it.

Most single women, regarded as *femme sole*, remained under the tutelage of fathers with their property held in trust until they married—at which time it passed to husbands. Some widows and, by the 19th century, Irish Catholic nuns, amassed wealth individually or collectively. Spanish and French colonies upheld the authority of fathers but adopted community property practices rather than coverture.

Coverture obligated wives to render domestic services. Even marital rape and domestic abuse (chastisement) were condoned under coverture.

The logic of coverture determined women's political status. When revolutionary leaders carefully maintained coverture, it followed that women would not have the right to vote since they had no public voice separate from that of their husbands.

Native American societies were not ordered by coverture. Iroquois and Cherokee society, for

example, followed a matrilineal pattern in which lineage and land passed through the line of the mother. Policies such as the Dawes Act of 1887, which offered U.S. citizenship to individual Native Americans who accepted allotments carved out of reservation lands, undermined women's authority. The act turned native men into private landholders, farmers, and heads-of-households. This pathway to citizenship followed the logic of coverture.

While single women could receive allotments, married heads of household received larger ones, and then the property belonged to the husband. Women's path to citizenship was vague; only allottees—and thus predominantly male heads of households—were designated citizens. In 1888, Congress legislated that native women became citizens if they married white male citizens, thus becoming citizens through coverture.

African American women and men were denied the inheritance rights that coverture provided whites. Slaves were subject to laws stating that the child's condition followed the line of the mother. Slave marriages had no legal standing, making the children of enslaved women illegitimate with no rights to property or their father's name. A white slave owner might father several enslaved children and profit from their sale; he need not worry that they had any rights of inheritance. Slaves were legally forbidden from property ownership.

Legal Challenges

Coverture laws faced their first legal challenges in the mid-19th century, when states such as Mississippi and New York passed laws allowing women property rights and custody of their children. Male legislators sought to ensure that sons-in-law would not squander estates—which often included slaves—which fathers passed to daughters. Women's rights to their wages followed. Immigrant daughters, however, continued the custom of turning pay envelopes over to male heads of household into the 20th century. Most 19th- and early-20th-century immigrant women from Europe and Asia came from societies that were structured along similar patriarchal models in which women attended to domestic responsibilities and deferred to male heads of household. In the U.S., immigrant women worked for wages to sustain family economies.

The presumption that women were secondary or temporary wage earners followed from coverture and resulted in low wages and job segregation for women. The low wages then guaranteed that most women would marry for economic security and come under the authority of a husband.

Coverture laws extended to citizenship rights in which women's racial, ethnic, or national identity was subsumed under their husbands'. Coverture laws overlapped with anti-miscegenation laws that forbade marriages to white people across racial lines. In 1855, Congress decreed that any foreign woman would become a U.S. citizen if she married a male U.S. citizen and if she herself were eligible for naturalization. Such women circumvented normal naturalization proceedings.

In immigrant families, when the husband naturalized, his wife's status automatically followed. Similarly, children born abroad of citizen fathers, but not of citizen mothers, were deemed U.S. citizens. Since Congress had not specified how courts should deal with women who married foreign men, courts dealt with these cases unevenly. Often American women who married foreign men lost their U.S. citizenship, a practice that became law in the 1907 Expatriation Act. Such provisions left some women stateless because they might not qualify for citizenship in their husbands' countries.

In 1909, when the white daughter of the archdeacon of San Francisco's Grace Cathedral, Gladys Emery, married Japanese Gunjiro Aoki, she lost her citizenship although their five children were citizens by virtue of their birth on U.S. soil. In 1933, only after Gunjiro's death, could Gladys successfully apply to have her citizenship restored.

Coverture and Immigration Law

In 1922 Congress provided some redress to women with the Cable Act, which stated that the right to become a naturalized citizen would not be limited due to sex or a woman's marital status, and U.S. women who married foreign citizens could retain their citizenship so long as they married men who were eligible for naturalization. By the 1920s, Asian immigrants were still ineligible for naturalization. Thus, the law meant U.S. women—especially Asian American women who were likely to marry Asian men—lost their citizenship if they did so. Whiteness remained a

crucial category that, through coverture laws, set boundaries limiting full citizenship.

Coverture also influenced family reunification preferences in U.S. immigration law. Even under the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which forbade entry by Chinese laborers, wives of scholars and merchants could continue to join their husbands since their status was defined by their husbands'. Immigration policies have regularly been loosened to admit the foreign-born wives of U.S. military men stationed overseas. Still, because coverture fostered the idea and conditions that made women dependent upon men, it also led to the detention of women at U.S. entry points where women were deemed "likely to be a public charge" without a male sponsor.

Today U.S. family reunification clauses are gender-neutral, but spouse-based immigration is still predominantly female and limited to heterosexual unions. Women from developing countries have a better chance of entering the United States through spousal or parenting relationships than they do if they are waiting for work visas. Moreover, the statutes continue to promote the idea of marital unity when they give the U.S. resident or citizen, who is more likely to be male, control over initiating the process to establish legal residency.

In 1994, Congress recognized that immigrant women were vulnerable to abuse when their husbands held control over their immigration status and included language in the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) to protect them. Although the protections were weaker than women's advocates hoped, subsequent VAWA revisions have strengthened battered noncitizen women's ability to establish residency separate from their husbands. Same-sex spouses and women married to undocumented immigrants remain unprotected under VAWA.

In 1992, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* acknowledged, "Women do not lose their constitutionally protected liberty when they marry." Coverture's legacies lasted long into the 20th century in the denial of the right of married women to serve on juries and the refusal of lending agencies to offer credit, and even into the 21st century, as seen in spouse-based immigration policies.

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See Also: Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Citizenship; Dawes Act (1887); Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity.

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Cowboy Culture and Ethnic Diversity

Cowboy culture exists in many places throughout the world. It originated in the Americas as a livelihood for men on horseback to tend cattle. This article describes the formation of cowboy culture in the United States and Mexico over a broad time period. Cowboy culture started with Spain's colonization of what is now Mexico and the southwestern United States. Christopher Columbus's second trip to the Americas imported all sorts of livestock, including horses and cattle. After the conquest of Mexico (1521), wealthy Spaniards established *haciendas* to raise cattle on an open range. Overtime, smaller haciendas cropped up. These were called *ranchos*, the precursors of family-owned and -operated ranches.

Haciendas were modeled after Spanish manors. A wealthy landowner (*patrón*) ruled over peasants

(*peónes*) of Indian, African, or *mestizo* (mixed Indian-Spanish) origins. They were bound for life to the *patrón* and were forced to tend cattle without horses. This was difficult. Cows were restless, bulls temperamental; both wandered about, causing confusion about the cattle's ownership and making catching and branding them impossible.

Vaqueros

Peónes, now *vaqueros* (cowmen), solved the problems. They asked for and were given horses to round up cattle, brand them, and drive them to markets. They soon became independent vaqueros, able to ride away to work on other haciendas. And many did, emancipating *peónes*, free to work for a salary. On haciendas and ranchos, vaqueros honed their craft and developed requisite tools, such as the saddle (*silla*), leather or hemp rope (*laso*), and lariat (*la reata*, or twirling of rope) designed to catch cattle.

Seasonally, vaqueros traversed the open range to brand and drive their cattle to market. Vaqueros called this event *rodear* (roundup.) Spare time during roundup was spent in contests pertaining to ranch work, such as roping calves, riding untamed horses (*broncos*), and so forth. In the 19th century, Anglo-Americans dubbed the roundup games "rodeo," an Anglicized pronunciation of *rodear*.

Colonization via ranching expanded to central Mexico, then took major leaps to what now is the southwestern United States. The expeditions, usually led by a wealthy Spaniard to establish a hacienda and a Catholic priest to form a mission, took cattle ranching and Christianity from central Mexico to near Santa Fé, New Mexico (1598), then over time to Nacogdoches, Texas; Tucson, Arizona; and as far north as San Francisco, California. By 1776, cattle ranches with vaqueros existed throughout the southwest. These colonization expeditions introduced horses to the Plains Indians, who quickly became adept horsemen, significantly changing their way of life.

Buckaroos and Cowboys

Americans commenced migration to the southwest after 1820 when it was under Mexican rule. They admired what they saw—full-blown ranching with skillful vaqueros on horseback handling cattle. Texas folklorist J. Frank Dobie placed the birth of the English-speaking cowboy in the

brasada (brush) country of southern Texas, covering a large open range from Brownsville on the south to San Antonio on the north. These horsemen called themselves "buckaroos," an Anglicized pronunciation of "vaqueros," rather than "cowboys," a name they adopted later.

The word *cowboy* was first used during the American Revolutionary War. British Loyalists coined it as an epithet about the young men who rode their horses over the crops of British loyalists, who saw cowboys as rebels trampling the British army's food supply. Revolutionary colonists had an opposite view: cowboys were free spirits, fighting for the cause of liberty.

After the Civil War, American ranchers thrived as immigration increased dramatically, including former Confederate soldiers and freed African slaves. By the peak of cowboy culture in the 1870s, its ethnic mix included young men of English, Welsh, Irish, Scottish, German, Czech, Mexican, Indian, Cajun, and African roots. The former slaves found the cowboy occupation open to them and developed a respectable reputation as working cowboys and rodeo performers. During this era, the term *cowboy* replaced the term *buckaroo* to connote frontier virtues of self-reliance and bravery in the face of danger.

Cattle Trails

A system of cattle drives was devised to herd cattle over hundreds of miles of open range to railheads, thence to eastern markets. By the 1870s, many cattle trails existed, such as the Chisholm Trail. It ran through Texas, through Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), and into Kansas to railheads in such towns as Dodge City and Abilene, Kansas. Via the trails, thousands of Texas longhorns flooded into midwestern cow towns, were loaded onto trains, and shipped east for sale and processing as tallow, leather, and meat, stimulating the growth of stockyards and tanneries in cities such as Kansas City and Omaha.

Cattle on the long trail were arranged in a cone-like shape, the tip being the herd's leading end. The trail boss, the cattle rancher or his appointee, led the herd. Behind him was the "coosie" (from Spanish *cocinero* for cook) with a "chuck" (cook) wagon stocked to prepare food for the cowboys. To the trail's right, a wrangler (*caverango*) tended surplus horses (*remuda*) to be rotated during the



After the U.S. Civil War, former soldiers and others came west seeking work. These included a significant number of freed slaves hoping to escape the high level of discrimination in the eastern states. These groups joined with the Mexicans and American Indians working in the west and increased the already diverse range of ethnicities among American cowboys. The photo shows a modern rodeo, the name for which came from the original Spanish *vaquero's* term *rodear*, meaning roundup.

drive. Two cowboys rode “point” at the herd’s head, one at each side of the herd; two rode “swing” farther back; two rode “flank”; and three or more rode “drag” at the end of the herd, wearing bandanas over their mouths and noses for protection from trail dust.

Culture and Rodeos

Although life was difficult and lonely on the range, cowboys entertained themselves with rodeos, songs, and dances. Songs like “Streets of Laredo” and “Cowboy’s Prayer” borrowed melodies from English and Irish sailor tunes; dances imitated the Irish jig, the German polka, and the Mexican *corrido*, a line dance now known as the Cotton-Eyed Joe. Musical instruments also reflected an ethnic mix: guitar (Spanish), fiddle (Scots-Irish), and accordion (Czech).

In the 20th century, individual family ranching replaced the hacienda system and became mechanized, but the horsemanship associated with it remained, spawning rodeos as a sport. In the United States and Canada, the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association and the Women’s Professional Rodeo Association regulate professional rodeos, comprising the following events:

- *Calf roping*: Cowboy ropes a running calf around the neck, his horse stops, sets back on the rope while cowboy runs to calf, throws it on the ground, and ties three feet together.
- *Team roping*: Two cowboys chase steer. One cowboy lassos its horns, the other its hind legs. Both then pull the steer till it falls down.

- *Bull wrestling*, aka *bull dogging*: Cowboy rides beside bull, jumps from his horse, takes bull's horns, and wrestle bull to the ground.
- *Bareback bronc riding*: Cowboy attempts to ride bucking bronco with only a girth-rope to hold onto.
- *Saddle bronc riding*: Same as bareback bronc riding, except horse is saddled, and rein is attached to horse's halter.
- *Bull riding*: Like bronc riding, except cowboy attempts to ride full-grown bulls.
- *Barrel racing*: This is a timed race for women. Riders gallop around a clover-leaf pattern of barrels, making agile turns without knocking the barrels over.

In Mexico, the rodeo developed into a distinctive style, *charro*, referring to a horseman from Mexico's central-western regions. The terms *ranchero* and *vaquero* are similar—*gaucho* in Argentina—but *charro* differs in unique ways, as seen in the *coleadero y charreada*, a unique kind of rodeo, the national sport of Mexico regulated by the Federación Mexicana de Charrería. It is an amateur sport with 10 events:

- *Cala de caballo*: Charro demonstrates horse's ability cantering, galloping, slide stopping, etc.
- *Piales en lienzo*: Charro throws a lariat, lets the horse run through the loop, catching it by its hind legs.
- *Coleadero*: Charro rides alongside bull, wraps its tail around his right leg, and tries to trip the bull as he rides past it.
- *Jineteo de toro*: Charro rides a bull holding the girth-rope until bull stops. Charro must not be thrown; must dismount and remove the girth-rope.
- *Terna en el ruedo*: Three charros attempt to rope a bull, one by the neck, one by the legs, third ties its feet together, all within six minutes.
- *Jineteo de yegua*: Charro rides bareback on wild mare (bronco), may hold girth-rope with two hands, legs held horizontal to the ground.
- *Manganas a pie*: Charros on horseback chase a horse while charro on foot tries

to rope horse by front legs, causing it to fall and roll over.

- *Manganas a caballo*: Same as Manganas a pie, except charro is on horseback.
- *El Paso de la muerte*: Charro rides beside loose, bareback bronco, leaps onto it, and rides it till it stops bucking.
- *Escaramuza*: Teams of women perform precision equestrian events riding sidesaddle.

Rodeos are manifestations of cowboy culture found in the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and parts of Europe. Because rodeo performers compete in the execution of traditional ranch work and wear the attire of their respective cultures, they embody a living history of the ethnic diversity of cowboy culture.

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See Also: *Cisco Kid, The*; Corrido; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Mexican Americans; Spanish Land Grants; Spanish Missions; Tejanos.

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Creek Confederacy

The Creek Confederacy is the name given to a loose political, economic, and military alliance forged largely during the height of the American colonial era, a confederacy made up of remnants of several disparate Native American tribes that had lived in present-day southeastern Georgia but dominated by the powerful Muscogee (or Creek) tribe.

Since before 1500, the Muscogee had thrived in the American southeast—their ancestors had been engineers, mound builders, creating, among many spectacular monuments, the striking flat-pyramid structures at the Etowah Mounds in northern Georgia. Beginning in the mid-1600s, however, the Muscogee realized the practical benefits of creating alliances with other agrarian fragment-nations—the combined pressures from hostile invading tribes from the north, most notably the Cherokee, and the emerging intrusion of European colonials had encouraged the Creeks to center this confederacy along the broad Ocmulgee River (what European settlers called the Creek), which ran for more than 250 miles through the heart of the swampy woodlands of Piedmont Georgia. In doing so, the Creek Nation pioneered a political and economic alliance that would become a sophisticated community organization to rival those forged by the Mayans and the Incas and in many ways would suggest the colonists' later conception of towns, counties, and states.

The Creek Confederacy centered on the construction and maintenance of tightly organized and often fenced-in settlements, separated sometimes by miles of open country. Each settlement preserved the language and culture of its dominant tribe. The tribes in the Creek Confederacy were agrarian and thus sought permanent rooted settlements. They built the architecturally sophisticated long house, or lodges, or individual huts with thatched roofs and wood shingles for siding and chimneys for heating and cooking to support long-term inhabitation.

The settlement, or *italwa*, served as a kind of county seat for numerous satellite villages. At the center of each *italwa* was a community plaza that gave the settlement its organizing core. It was used for religious rituals, most notably an annual ceremony celebrating the corn crop, and for annual sporting events that brought to town athletes from the outlying villages to compete in feats of strength and speed. In addition, the plaza was used as a market for the exchange of crops from the outlying areas. At the hub of this community plaza was a round open-aired building (the geometric shape reflecting the tribal belief in the sacred inclusiveness suggested by the circle), a public building that served as a kind of town hall where the settlement's chiefs and elders met.

Organization

Politically, the settlements of the Creek Confederacy were each a sophisticated hierarchy of shared power—a chief, the dominant authority and final word on decisions involving the welfare and evolution of the settlement, most importantly, military concerns and questions about the defense of the settlement; the assistant chief, who delegated responsibilities at the direction of the chief and facilitated the day-to-day operations of the settlement; and a chief speaker, who acted as liaison, bringing to the settlement's most powerful figures the concerns of those who lived there.

The structured government ensured that each settlement maintained its political autonomy; thus the confederacy was a loosely knit political entity and one able to grow and evolve as new groups of wandering tribes, many of them victims of European aggression, their homes lost, joined (typical settlement populations ranged from 400 to 600 citizens before breaking off into their own settlement) or as long-standing member tribes withdrew to pursue better farming conditions farther south and west. But any new settlement (at its height the Confederacy consisted of more than 50 such settlements) remained tied to the original *italwa* in a political, military, and economic alliance that suggests the contemporary idea of a state, particularly as over the 18th century the Creek Confederacy itself became more agricultural and the settlements came to spread out for miles to allow for farming and livestock grazing.

Removal

Eventually, of course, long after European settlements no longer competed with the far-flung Creek Confederacy for arable land, the U.S. government enacted a series of protocols designed to relocate the Creek Nation entirely, removing them from the southeast and the long-cherished lands of their ancestors to the so-called Indian Territory in distant Oklahoma. Between 1836 and 1838, the U.S. government forcibly relocated more than 20,000 members of the Creek Confederacy to six million acres in south-central Oklahoma along the Arkansas border. There, the remnant Creeks reestablished the political and economic superstructure of the Confederacy and its settlements thrived once again in the years leading up to the Civil War. The war, however, proved far more problematic.

Allegiances among the Creek Confederacy were split between the Union and the Confederacy, and in Reconstruction plans designed to punish the Creeks (slavery had long been part of its agrarian life), the Creeks lost more than half of their government reservation land. The old Creek Confederacy model gave way to a simpler political model of representative government.

Historically, the Creek Confederacy was a visionary exercise in decentralized urban planning that not only helped evolve the inhospitable rural south into political and economic efficiency but recognized as well that the common needs of a united, if disparate people outweighed any individual vested interests. In creating a template for a flexible government that encouraged individual settlement identity while pursuing a sense of a joint enterprise, the Creek Confederacy defended as well the cultural integrity of the Creek Nation against the slow incursion first by European settlers and eventually by the far reach of the new American government.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Territory; Iroquois Confederacy; Muscogee (Muscogee); Native Americans; Trail of Tears.

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Creoles

The term *Creole* throughout history has referred to many different cultures and ethnicities. In the most general sense, Creole refers to locally born people with foreign ancestry. In the United

States, it can be applied to people of all races, but most often to those who share a French background but were born in the American colony, as opposed to Europe. Traditionally, the word *Creole* has been used to describe descendants of French settlers in Louisiana.

The definition was later broadened to include those of Spanish descent in the Louisiana area, to distinguish them from immigrants and later include those of African descent born in Louisiana. Today, French Creole indicates a person with European history, while Louisiana Creole describes people of mixed race.

The term was first developed to distinguish those born in Louisiana from new arrivals, particularly immigrants from Africa. Over time, the language evolved, and black Creoles created a French and West African hybrid language called Creole French or Louisiana Creole French. Although the language is not typically spoken any more, phrases and words are still used. The Creole population also represents a sociopolitical group, whose culture shows a variety of native customs.

Creole society generally comprises whites who were Creoles, Americans, inhabitants of European origin, free blacks, and enslaved people. But those of African descent who were free did not share the same rights and freedoms as whites. However, immigrants to the Louisiana region during the 19th century of German, Irish, or Spanish descent were also considered Creoles, and they merged with the predominantly French culture.

It is important to note that Creole culture is distinctly different from Cajun people. While Cajuns also descended from French-speaking refugees in the 1700s, their Acadian background, rural lifestyle, and French-Cajun language sets them apart.

Birth of New Orleans

New Orleans was founded in 1718 by the Mississippi Company, a corporation that held a business monopoly in the French colonies of North America and the West Indies. The Chitimacha, a Native American tribe, originally inhabited the land. The city took its name from the Regent of France Philippe d'Orléans, Duke of Orléans.

What began as a French colony was given to the Spanish empire in 1763, as a stipulation in the Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolutionary War against Great Britain. New Orleans'

proximity to the ocean had made it a strategic location to import military equipment during the war. For a brief time, from 1801 to 1803, the colony reverted to French until the United States acquired it as part of the Louisiana Purchase.

During those years, an influx of Anglo-Americans from New England and the south, along with Africans, Germans, and the Irish began arriving in the territory. The land had a unique presence. French Creoles, those born in Louisiana but of French heritage, clashed with traditional Americans and with a free class of mixed-race people. The French language was most commonly spoken. Very briefly, English was declared the official language by Louisiana's first governor, W. C. C. Claiborne, but it later reverted to French after New Orleans locals rioted over the forced changes.

The mixed-race population of New Orleans and Louisiana continued to grow with the onset of the Haitian Revolution in 1804. The revolution occurred on the French colony of Saint-Domingue (present-day Dominican Republic) in the Caribbean and created the first republic (Haiti) led by blacks. As a result, however, many whites and free blacks sought refuge in Louisiana. Because the people of Louisiana felt so passionate about preserving the French language, they welcomed the refugees. An overwhelming 90 percent of the refugees came to Louisiana, doubling the French-speaking population. The immigration brought 2,731 whites, 3,102 free persons of African descent, and 3,226 enslaved persons of African descent.

The caste system of slavery was very much embedded in the south since its inception in the 18th century. In the early 1700s, many slaves were offered freedom for military service, heroic duty, or, in some cases, if they could prove Indian heritage because Indian slavery was prohibited. As time wore on, however, the emancipation of these individuals became rare. A 1763 census of lower Louisiana cited only 82 free persons of color, although that number grew dramatically as the century progressed, rising to 1,701 in 1788 and 18,467 by 1860. This growth was matched by a rising economic status. Prominent free people of color became successful musicians and writers, including Armand Lanusse, Louis Charles Roudanez, and Basile Bares.

Their rise in ranks did not last long, however. A binary racial society had evolved between the whites and blacks—both free and those enslaved. While the Civil War offered an opportunity for emancipation of enslaved blacks, it also meant anxiety for free people of color because the United States would not recognize a three-tiered society (white, black [freed or enslaved], and Creole).

After the Civil War, many experienced the same impoverished state that enslaved people had experienced before the war. Those were who free persons of color, however, had the advantage of an education and could advance themselves. Many became part of the civil rights movement or moved to France to pursue careers. Tensions grew between the Afro-Creole and white Creole segments within the society. Those free people of color who were able to advance clashed with the whites as they often assumed leadership positions in Louisiana's government.

Evolution of the Language

The Creole language developed as a pidgin language, that is a language that develops between two or more groups of people who do not share a common language. In the instance of Creole, it developed from European and French-based languages of the Caribbean islands. Over time, this simplified common language became the primary language of the community, replacing the former languages and becoming officially known as Creole. As with many languages, different variations emerged. Roughly 10 million to 15 million people around the world speak a Creole-based language. The Creole dialect usually consists of a predominance of French or Spanish vernacular with grammatical elements of the native language.

The Gullah language is a Creole-based English spoken mainly by African American populations in the east central coastal United States, including North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and northeast Florida. Other spin-offs of the Creole dialect include Jamaican Creole, Sranan, Krio, and other coastal areas of West Africa.

Creole Home and Culture

In the 19th century, Creoles maintained a patriarchal home life, in which the father was dominant. Generally speaking, Creoles had large homes and large families. During this time, the white male

population was greatly outnumbered by the white females. For this reason, it became quite common for white males to exploit their enslaved female servants and take them as mistresses or common-law wives. The children they had together, children of mixed race referred to as mulatto, were often granted freedom. This led to the growing population of free blacks and mixed-race men and women. Men would offer money, education, apprenticeships, and, moreover, freedom to these women and their children.

Creoles were predominantly Catholic and heavily influenced by the French colonial era. Traditional upper-class Creole families, who were quite often white, generally took fencing lessons, went horseback riding, and played polo. “Coming out” parties were common for young women who were expected to marry by the age of 25. Often held at the popular Theatre d’Orleans, these debuts marked the start of a young girl’s search for a husband. Prior to marriage, a dowry was negotiated to protect a family’s future.

Not to be confused with Cajun, Creole cuisine is a unique style of cooking that involves chopped celery, bell peppers, and onions. The food is a combination of styles from French, Spanish, African, Native American, and Caribbean influences. One popular Creole dish is gumbo, a stew with seafood, sausage, or chicken. Gumbo stems from the traditional French dish *bouillabaisse*, although it adds ingredients native to New Orleans. The name *gumbo* derived from the French word for okra. It contains the “Holy Trinity” of ingredients: celery, bell peppers, and onions, and is served over rice. It’s traditionally seasoned with saffron and other aromatic herbs. Jambalaya is another popular Louisiana Creole dish, which combines ingredients similar to gumbo, including seafood, chicken, sausage, rice, and tomatoes. It can be tomato based, giving it a red color, which is the traditional Creole jambalaya. The Cajun jambalaya omits the tomato, which gives it a brown color.

A unique music style attributed to Creoles also developed out of the Louisiana bayous. Called zydeco, it came into being in the early 1900s in and around southwest Louisiana and combines the styles of swamp pop, blues, jazz, and Cajun music and rhythms. The washboard is an instrument commonly found in this music.

Americanization

“Americanization” of the New Orleans region began in earnest in the late 1800s and has continued to erode the Creole culture and identity. Since the end of the 1800s, with the influx of Anglo Americans to Louisiana, the French language in New Orleans has been fading and become less important due to the influx of English-speaking residents. Today, the language is dying out in the areas surrounding New Orleans; however, there are many families who speak it and are determined to keep it alive. The U.S. census in 2010 estimated that 250,000 people in Louisiana speak French in their homes. Louisiana French and Louisiana Creole are most commonly spoken in rural areas. In Louisiana and surrounding regions, Creole is rarely spoken in administrative and educational settings because of a stigma attached to the language’s association with slavery and social inferiority. Many celebrities are of Creole descent, including Beyoncé, Angelina Jolie, Johnny Depp, and Ice T. In popular culture, the Nickelodeon television show *Gullah Gullah Island*, which aired in 1994, was the first show to feature a Gullah family, whose members speak a Creolized language and live in the coastal regions of the eastern United States. Despite outside influence, New Orleans has established itself as one of the most picturesque and unique cities in the United States. Though the Creole language may be on the decline, its French-Creole culture is still a rich part of the city’s history.

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See Also: Cajuns; Caribbean Americans; Cuisine and Ethnic Diversity; Cultural Competence; Culture; Food; French Americans; Language Usage in the United States; National Association for Bilingual Education.

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Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity

Criminalization and punishment have always been racialized affairs in the United States. The specificity of this racialization, however, has shifted widely in concert with shifts in the larger racial order. For example, whereas 99 percent of people incarcerated in Alabama in 1864 were white, 85 percent were black by 1888. Most recently, the prison boom—the fivefold increase in the use of incarceration that happened during the last quarter of the 20th century—increased the salience of racial disparities by increasing the reach of the criminal-legal net. Historically, criminalization has served to marginalize and contain Asians, Native Americans, and white ethnics. In its current incarnation, criminalization disproportionately targets blacks and Latinos. In all periods, this criminalizing of racialized minorities is not something that happens only to individuals but to communities as well.

The History of Racialization in Criminalizing and Punishing

Slave codes. Before emancipation, slave owners were legally free to punish their slaves for any offense without intervention from the judiciary. This meant that punishment of blacks was generally inflicted on the body and that a conviction—or any legal process—was not necessary as a precursor to punishment. Slave codes stipulated that blacks were subject to some punishments to which whites were not. For example, in Virginia, it was typical for slaves who ran away to be sentenced to castration or hobbling, while no such status or crime existed for whites, and there was no crime for which whites could be sentenced to either of these punishments. On the

rare occasions when blacks were tried for their offenses—generally slaves whose alleged offenses affected the larger (white) community and free blacks—they were often subject to separate legal codes, especially in the south.

Black codes. While the term *black codes* most often refers to penal codes enacted in former Confederate states in the wake of the Civil War, they existed both before the Civil War and in Union states. Boston’s black codes included a curfew that applied only to Native Americans and blacks as early as 1703. The Illinois black code of 1853, one of the harshest in the nation at the time, extended a complete prohibition against black immigration into the state.

All former Confederate states enacted black codes immediately after the Civil War, in 1865. These codes granted blacks certain rights—such as legalized marriage, ownership of property, and limited access to the courts—while denying them the rights to testify against whites, to serve on juries or in state militias, or to vote. Some also declared that those who failed to sign yearly labor contracts could be arrested and hired out to white landowners. Several states limited the occupations open to blacks and barred them from acquiring land, and others provided that judges could assign black children to work for their former owners without the consent of their parents. These codes also criminalized blacks’ possession of weapons, use of “foul language” near white women, and being outdoors past newly enacted curfews. Even for behaviors that were criminalized for both blacks and whites, prescribed penalties were lighter for whites than for blacks. Virginia, for example, decreed imprisonment for whites but death for blacks convicted of a variety of felonies, from buying or receiving a stolen horse to rape. In addition, blacks were tried in separate courts without juries, comprised of county justices and sometimes slave-owning assessors. Because these codes stipulated incarceration as a punishment for misdemeanors for the first time in U.S. history, they resulted in the building of the first county jails.

After winning large majorities in the 1866 elections, the Republicans placed the south under military rule. This began the era referred to as Reconstruction. They held new elections in which blacks and poor whites could vote; both groups

were newly enfranchised. The new governments repealed all the black codes. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 ensured that the black codes could not be reinstated. A contemporary division of legal codes that shares structural resonance can be found in the intersection of criminal and immigration law: noncitizens accused of criminal behavior are subject to a different set of laws than are citizens accused of criminal behavior.

Convict lease. Although black codes were struck down by the Supreme Court during Reconstruction, new methods of racializing criminalization sprouted up in the period following the Compromise of 1877, the beginning of the period southern whites named Redemption. Throughout the former Confederacy, states and counties began erecting the system we now refer to as convict lease. This system, in which convicted individuals were leased to local plantation owners, mining



Processing a gang-related arrest by U.S. Marshals in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on May 4, 2011. In 2009 African American males constituted 39.4 percent of the prison population, despite accounting for only 13.6 percent of the national population.

companies, and other businesses, was achieved through the deadly combination of the criminalization of everyday life and fee systems. This system succeeded in criminalizing much of black behavior and thus in permanently flipping the racialization of criminalization and punishment in the south.

Before emancipation, Alabama prisons were 99 percent white; by 1888, 85 percent of people incarcerated in Alabama state prisons and 95 percent of those incarcerated in Alabama county jails were black. States and counties criminalized vagrancy, curfew violations, and many other vaguely defined and, in any case, common behaviors. For example, in Alabama, one could be charged with vagrancy if your employer claimed you were a “stubborn or refractory servant,” “a servant who loiters,” or “a servant who refuses to comply with a contract for a term of service,” in other words, who quits. Regardless of the reason for this charge, conviction would result in being fined up to \$50 (over \$1,000 in 2012 U.S. dollars) or incarcerated for six months. These strict new vagrancy laws were color-blind in language but were applied almost exclusively to blacks. Another new crime was participation in deadfalls, or buying and selling goods after sunset—a practice most blacks engaged in since they needed to work their fields during the day.

Once blacks were brought into the criminal legal system, they were charged fees for nearly every moment of criminal processing and made to work off the fees through forced labor. However, prisoners did not labor for the state; rather, they were leased to private individuals and businesses. Alabama had the most profitable prisons with nearly all black prisoners leased to large mining companies. Unlike during slavery, laborers were not owned and thus not valued, even as property; when someone died of the intense labor and wretched conditions, the state simply sent a replacement. As a result, in some county mines, one out of every three leased prisoners died in a given year. Shockingly, the convict lease system stayed in place until 1928.

Criminalization techniques and land grabs. Techniques developed for crime control were also used to facilitate the privatization of Native American land under the Dawes Act. This act, adopted by Congress in 1887, authorized the president to

survey tribal land and divide it into allotments for individual Indians. Once this had been accomplished, dactyloscopy, a method of studying fingerprints to establish identity, was used by the commissioner of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior to document payment on land deeds. When individuals missed payments, their land was confiscated and sold to whites for little money.

Contemporary Criminalization and Punishment, 1970 to the Present

After remaining conspicuously stable for nearly 100 years, the number of people under criminal legal control increased nearly fivefold during the last quarter of the 20th century and by another 13 percent during the next decade. During this “prison boom,” racial and ethnic disparities in criminalization and punishment remained high and intensified. Today, prisons and jails in the United States house nearly 2 million people. Blacks are more than six times, Native Americans more than five times, and Latinos more than twice as likely as whites to be in jail or prison on any given day. Asians’ imprisonment rates are similar to whites; however, this obscures differences among Asians wherein some Asians of particular national backgrounds, Laotians for example, are incarcerated at rates that are higher than other Asians.

Wars on drugs (and sex work). Drug arrests have more than tripled over the past four decades, from just over 450,000 in 1975 at the beginning of the War on Drugs to more than one and half million in 2011. While antidrug legislation was passed throughout the 20th century, the modern-day War on Drugs has its roots in the Richard Nixon administration’s War on Crime, a hard-line reaction to the youth and countercultural movements of the late 1960s. The War on Crime morphed into the contemporary War on Drugs under Ronald Reagan in response, at least on the surface, to the introduction of crack cocaine and the concomitant violence in the new, unstable, and highly profitable black market. Since that time, the government has pursued an aggressive policy of criminalization focused primarily on arresting and jailing substance users, while putting minimal efforts into harm reduction practices, like needle exchange and safe injections sites, or treatment.

Increases in the number of people imprisoned for drug crimes accounted for 20 percent of the increase in state prisoners and 61 percent of the increase in federal prisoners between 1990 and 1999. The effects of the government’s punitive measures are not evenly distributed among the population. According to one study that examined the sources of racial disparity in Seattle’s drug-delivery arrests, not only do police focus overwhelmingly on crack cocaine, the one drug whose delivery is primarily controlled by blacks, but black arrests outnumber white arrests in methamphetamine, ecstasy, powdered cocaine, and heroin—drugs whose delivery is primarily undertaken by white dealers. Racial disparities are further exacerbated by police concentration on traditionally black-controlled outdoor markets.

Less visible than the war on drug, in large part because no politicized war has been declared, the criminalization of sex work has followed a trajectory similar to the criminalization of drugs, with an entrenched system of racialized enforcement that focuses primarily on people of color while ignoring similar crimes committed by whites. New laws, such as Illinois’ “End Demand” legislation, further criminalize sex workers and their customers who would otherwise have no reason for contact with the criminal legal system. Further, when policing sex workers, police focus almost exclusively on street-level prostitution, the one sector of the sex-work market occupied primarily by nonwhites and women and men of low socio-economic status, while ignoring indoor forms of sex work like brothels and escort services that are more likely to include white sex workers.

Moreover, research finds that police routinely assume that women of color, and especially trans*—including transgender, transsexual, and gender-nonconforming—women of color, are sex workers; this assumption increases women of color’s contact with the police and, thus, their likelihood of being arrested and convicted of an offense. Criminalization of drugs and sex work creates its own harms, specifically the racialized criminalization of black women and Latinas and increased violence due to the creation of unstable, profitable, black markets.

Policing. Beginning in the late 1980s, police in many cities adopted new, ever more invasive

policies and practices legitimated by the concept of broken windows policing, which contends that crime is encouraged by the signaling effects of disorder and vandalism. Advocates of this system cite the fact that aggressive misdemeanor arrest policies in New York City occurred during the same time as the drop in crime during the 1990s; however, this crime drop happened in cities across the country regardless of policing style and was largely attributable to the economic boom and concomitant low unemployment.

Street crime units and paramilitary, or S.W.A.T., units were introduced hand in hand with broken windows policing, justified by a similar logic of crime deterrence and swift retribution. New York's Street Crime Unit gained notoriety for the killing of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed immigrant at whom police fired 41 shots. The Street Crime Unit was responsible for the death of many other unarmed men—including Anthony Baez, a young man from the Bronx killed by an illegal police chokehold—almost all of whom were young men of color. After Diallo's death, New York's Street Crime Unit was disbanded.

S.W.A.T. teams are equipped to conduct drug raids with militaristic weapons and tactics. They are deployed almost exclusively in black and Latino neighborhoods and are connected with numerous injuries and deaths of unarmed suspects. In 2003 Alberta Spruill, a 57-year-old Harlem woman, suffered from a fatal cardiac arrest resulting from a standard no-knock, S.W.A.T. entry procedure that entailed entry preceded by a flash-bang grenade and abrupt entry. Following Spruill's death, many victims and witnesses came forth and disclosed their experiences to the city of New York, detailing traumatic encounters of indiscriminate verbal abuse and physical violence at the hands of S.W.A.T. units. Unfortunately, deaths of unarmed individuals from S.W.A.T. operations have continued. In 2010, Detroit police fired a flash grenade through the front window of a street-floor apartment, burst in, and fired a shot killing seven-year-old Aiyana Mo'Nay Stanley Jones. The suspect they were looking for was in the apartment upstairs.

Legal changes. Defendants with the same legal characteristics do not always receive the same criminal legal outcomes. Moreover, even if every defendant with the same legal characteristics

received the same sentence, only a small decrease in racial disparities would occur. This is because criminality is race salient. White people, for example, disproportionately engage in tax fraud, embezzlement, insider trading, and many other types of white-collar crime. Although these crimes cost more money per capita than all street crime combined, sentences for these crimes are, on average, less severe than sentences for even nonviolent street crime. Black people are disproportionately arrested for street crime—violent and nonviolent. Thus, in addition to sentencing disparities that arise during criminal processing, some disparities are built into criminal codes. Even though some people arrested for white-collar crime are black and some people arrested for street crime are white, the laws do not classify on the basis of race and so are distinct from the separate codes for blacks and whites that were in place before emancipation.

Mandatory terms and sentencing enhancements, for example, are thoroughly, albeit implicitly, racialized and gendered. Mandatory terms increase penalties for crimes, such as drug crimes, for which black people are disproportionately likely to be arrested. Moreover, because they ignore level of culpability and primary care responsibility while heavily rewarding prosecutorial assistance, giving information to prosecutors that will aid them in other cases, they are unduly hard on women. Criminal legal officials do not like mandatory terms and thus circumvent them regularly; hence, when they are applied, it necessarily means the person sentenced under these policies receives a longer sentence than do many others who engaged in the same behavior.

Sentencing enhancements, on the other hand, add terms of imprisonment onto a base sentence for behaviors or characteristics that are generally noncriminal in their own right. Moreover, while the base crime needs to be either proven "beyond a reasonable doubt" or pled to, sentencing enhancements are added for any behavior or characteristic for which there is a "preponderance of evidence," a much lighter burden of proof. As with mandatory terms, sentencing enhancements target behaviors (such as engaging in criminal behavior in or near certain public spaces, including public housing or schools) or characteristics (such as having a prior conviction) that are deeply race salient. As with mandatory terms, sentencing

enhancements disproportionately impact women by ignoring levels of culpability and primary care responsibility while heavily rewarding prosecutorial assistance, which women—precisely because they are generally less culpable—are frequently unable to give. While there was some hope that *United States v. Booker* (2005) would render enhancements unconstitutional, its reach has been considerably less broad.

Sentencing guidelines, which establish both minimum and maximum sentences for offenses and precise measures for the influence of mitigating and aggravating factors, are often derided for having produced mass racialized incarceration—with the help of mandatory terms and sentencing enhancements—during the last quarter of the 20th century. However, guidelines vary in their form, content, and authority. While it is true that sentencing guidelines that mandate harsh punishments, sanction and necessitate deep disparities, and leave no room for judicial discretion have been part of the fuel that has fed mass racialized incarceration, all sentencing guidelines are not equally guilty.

Minnesota's sentencing guidelines, adopted in the late 1970s, have been the most successful in holding mass racialized incarceration at bay. The guidelines are associated with an 18 percent reduction in racial disparities in convicted people's likelihoods of being sentenced to incarceration and a 60 percent reduction in racial disparities in sentence lengths. Minnesota's guidelines have also been somewhat successful at minimizing punishments, or at least in making it difficult for legislators to increase punishments, by insisting that legislators can only increase the sentence associated with a particular offense if they simultaneously decrease the sentence for other crimes, thus maintaining an even rate of incarceration.

Criminalization as a method of immigration control has a long history. For example, while Chinese workers were welcomed during the 1850 to 1870 labor shortage, following the 1870s recession, anti-Chinese xenophobia developed into organized hate. In 1904 and 1905, police in Boston and New York conducted warrantless raids in which hundreds of Chinese people were arrested for not having papers. This approach, the use of criminalization as immigration control, has been rationalized by laws enacted in the last quarter

century. In particular, since 1996, immigration law has increasingly turned to criminalization as a tool of enforcement and legitimation.

The 1996 passages of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) connect “illegal immigration” to contemporary crime control. Specifically, IIRIRA reclassified a number of minor felonies to aggravated felonies for immigrants only, such as driving under the influence (DUI), shoplifting, and minor drug charges, and mandates deportation for immigrants convicted of these criminalized behaviors. IIRIRA also stripped immigrants of judicial review; as a result, a customary and constitutional recourse was no longer available to adequately contest deportation. Finally, section 287(g) of IIRIRA empowered local police officers to enforce immigration law, exponentially expanding the reach of the state. Enacted in the same year, AEDPA coupled concerns about terrorism with concerns about crimes committed by “illegal” immigrants. AEDPA requires the mandatory detention of noncitizens convicted of a wide range of offenses, including minor drug offenses, and limits the power of federal judges to grant relief under habeas corpus. The AEDPA increased funding to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) dramatically, making it the largest federal law enforcement agency at the time. Together, the laws invested unprecedented authority to hunt and deport immigrants considered a threat to America.

Finally, the U.S. PATRIOT Act expanded the powers of the Department of Justice and the INS for dealing with immigrants, particularly immigrants who “pose a threat to national security.” While many of these laws were first used to target Arab and Muslim immigrants, they are now overwhelmingly applied to Latino immigrants. The combined effect of these laws is simple: immigration law now uses the criminalization as one of its main paths of enforcement; in fact, 55 percent of people “removed” by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in 2012 had been convicted of a crime.

Since the passage of these laws, the number of detention beds have grown exponentially, border patrol has been beefed up, worksite raids and other covert immigration stings have been launched repeatedly, and yearly deportation of immigrants

has more than tripled. In 1998, two years after the passage of IIRIRA, more than 106,000 immigrants were deported, which the INS estimated as 52 percent more than in 1997. Fifteen years later, in 2012, the United States deported 409,849 immigrants. In addition, nearly 429,000 immigrants are detained in 2011 and roughly 33,000 immigrants are incarcerated in detention centers on any given day—and the numbers are still rising steeply each year. Making the link between criminalization and deportation clear, more than 60 percent of the 380,000 immigrants detained in 2009 were turned over to ICE by local and state police through the Criminal Alien Program, which identifies potential “illegal immigrants” in local jails.

Pretrial processing. Over a quarter of the individuals incarcerated in the United States are being held in local jails and over half of these individuals are being held pending trial. Blacks and Latinos are overrepresented among those held pretrial. This disparity is generated by a combination of factors. First, many characteristics that are correlated with race and ethnicity, like residential stability and employment status, have been codified as legal factors that criminal legal officials are supposed to consider when making pretrial decisions. Second, there is strong evidence that racial and ethnic stereotypes influence criminal processing at this stage. Finally, because black and Latino people have fewer financial networks and resources, they are less likely to be able to post bail when it is required for release. Besides being a significant and detrimental experience in itself, pretrial incarceration also impacts later processing decisions. People who are held pretrial are both more likely to be sentenced to incarceration than those who are released pretrial and, when sentenced to incarceration, are given longer sentences than those who were released pretrial. Thus, disparities in pretrial incarceration are significant both in themselves and due to their contribution to disparities in later criminal legal outcomes.

Pretrial diversions are the practice by criminal legal officials of channeling out of the criminal process classes of offenders who, as a consequence of their probable and assumed guilt, could theoretically be handled by the criminal process. Further, while the proportion of felony defendants who receive pretrial diversions is small, it is not

negligible. Police arrest nearly 14 million people each year, over one million of whom prosecutors charge with felonies. Roughly 60 percent of these defendants are convicted, almost exclusively through guilty pleas. Through these convictions, defendants either join the ranks of or reaffirm their membership among this permanent underclass.

However, nearly 8 percent of people who police arrest and charge with felonies are singled out by prosecutors for pretrial diversions. Because defendants' charges are dropped so long as they complete the diversion program, pretrial diversions channel defendants out of the criminal legal system. This allows defendants a chance to avoid both the stigma and the concomitant material consequences of a criminal record. As such, the racial disparities that exist in legally similar defendants' odds of receiving pretrial diversion are likely to breed racial disparities in the broad array of social and economic outcomes associated with felony convictions, including employment, income, family stability, and mental health. While research in this area is scant, the research that does exist finds that prosecutors are more likely to grant pretrial diversions to whites than to legally similar blacks or Latinos.

Sentencing (prosecutorial and judicially controlled decisions). With the enactment of sentencing guidelines, the decision to press charges and charge setting become the most important determinants of punishment in the post-arrest criminal legal process. Prosecutors control both of these decisions. Under traditional criminal codes, prosecutors often convince defendants to exchange guilty pleas for a recommended sentence at the bottom of the permitted range. However, moves to determinate sentencing, and to sentencing guidelines in particular, have narrowed sentence ranges so much that this offer often no longer provides sufficient incentive with which to extract a guilty plea. Faced with this situation, prosecutors instead offer to drop a defendant's charge from the most serious arrest charge to a less serious charge, often helping the defendant avoid mandatory terms or sentencing enhancements in the process. This practice is called charge bargaining and the result, pleading to an offense less serious than the most serious arrest charge, is referred to as receiving a charge reduction.

Black and Latino people are more likely to be sentenced to incarceration than white offenders with the same legal characteristics, especially among individuals charged with drug crimes. While fewer studies examine Native Americans' sentencing decisions, those studies that do find Native Americans are also more likely to be sentenced to incarceration than are legally similar whites. In contrast, among offenders sentenced to incarceration, the length of the sentence is almost completely determined by legal characteristics. Whereas judges have wide discretion when deciding whether or not to incarcerate an individual convicted of a crime, sentencing ranges are often "recommended" if not mandated, leaving judges little room to adjust sentences for a given offense.

Race affects sentencing decisions most in counties where the percent black and economic inequality are both low. Finally, while most large studies find that young unemployed black men receive the least beneficial sentencing outcomes, qualitative accounts point to another damning intersection of race and gender. Transgender women of color, who are often excluded from employment and housing opportunities and who face intense police scrutiny, according to the limited data available, receive more punitive criminal legal outcomes—including bail outcomes, plea bargains, sentences, and revocation decisions—than do members of any other group.

Release and revocation. Incarcerated individuals are often released from prison after serving a portion, rather than the entirety, of their sentence. In some states, release is determined by parole boards; in other states, release is calculated using a formula that considers the original sentence, "good behavior," and other quantifiable traits. In states with parole release, black offenders serve longer portions of their sentences before being released than do white offenders. This may be due to the influence of traits such as family instability and unemployment, both correlated with race, in parole decisions. Once released, parolees—those adults conditionally released to community supervision after serving a prison term, whether by parole board decision or by mandatory conditional release—are subject to being returned to jail or prison for rule violations or other offenses. Black people are more likely to have their release

revoked due to a technical violation, like failing to keep a job or returning home after their established curfew, than are either white or Latino people; of federal parolees, 20 percent of Latinos, 21 percent of whites, and 34 percent of blacks had their paroles revoked for such violations in 2003.

Collateral consequences. Native Americans, blacks, and Latinos are substantially overrepresented among the more than eight million people living in the United States who have been convicted of felonies. These convictions function as legitimate stigmas that exclude people from employment, lower formerly convicted people's incomes, when they do find work, throughout their lifetimes, and decrease the quality of their family lives. People who have been convicted of felonies are locked out of a plethora of welfare programs: denied access to public housing, barred from receiving educational grants, and, in some states, even denied food stamps. In many states, individuals who have been convicted of felonies are stripped of the most basic right of citizenship, the right to vote. Racial disparities in felony convictions, therefore, help produce and maintain racial disparities in employment, income, education, housing, health, family stability, and a host of other outcomes. In other words, felony convictions operate to create a permanent underclass of people who have lost nearly all civil rights. The racialization of criminalizing and punishing ensures that this underclass is disproportionately black and brown.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Asian Americans; Black Codes; Civil Rights Acts; Dawes Act (1887); Deportation (Repatriation); Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Fourteenth Amendment; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Law and Ethnic Diversity; White Ethnics.

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Critical Pedagogy

Rooted in classical Marxist theory, critical pedagogy has its foundation in early-20th-century German Jewish theorists, a group of radical leftist thinkers who founded the Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute for Social Research) in Germany. Their ideas were considered a threat to extreme Nazi ideology in World War II Germany, and a number of critical theorists fled to the United States because of the rising persecution of Jews.

Upon conclusion of World War II, the school was reestablished in Frankfurt, Hesse, in Germany and the critical tradition became known as the Frankfurt school. Frankfurt school theorists were united in their critique of capitalism and its negative impact on society, primarily focusing on the effects of the free market’s domination of the economy and the world’s social structure. Although influenced by classical Marxism, they depart from Marxists in their understanding of freedom and emancipation. Theorist Peter McLaren points out that critical pedagogues often differ in their ideas, beliefs, and theoretical framework. However, they

are united in their objectives that call for them to empower the powerless and uplift their less fortunate brethren, challenging the inequalities and inequities in public schools.

Schooling and Culture

Critical pedagogues define culture as specific ways that certain social groups live out, express, and interpret their life circumstances and social situation. Culture has to do with how certain groups make sense of the world and how their values, beliefs, and practices reflect their worldview. One of the primary aims of critical pedagogues is to critically examine the dominant culture in the United States and its influence on American public schools. They argue that schools are currently sites that privilege and advance the ideas and ideals of the dominant culture, thus perpetuating the status quo and disenfranchising those who fall outside that norm. Students who do not possess the cultural capital of the middle and upper classes and do not fit into the prevailing culture’s model of success typically do not perform well in schools.

Certain forms of social life are legitimized and others are not. In fact, many students of low socioeconomic status are viewed as deviant, as they lack the proper sociocultural capital to be successful. Public schools introduce and indoctrinate students into the inequities and inequalities that exist in the world. These youth often do not realize that the system can be challenged because they are steeped in the dominant culture and view it as a commonsense way of reading the world. In other words, they view the oppression as the way things are supposed to be. Schools have made inequality into a type of common sense for the public in that they rationalize structures of classism, racism, and sexism, creating classroom environments centered on capitalist notions coupled with competition and ethnocentrism.

Challenging the Dominant Culture

Critical theorists further break down the notion of culture into three main categories: dominant culture, subordinate culture, and subculture. Dominant culture is defined as the practices and norms advanced by the cultural group that has ideological, sociological, economic, and political control of society. Any group or culture that is not a part of

the dominant culture is considered to be a member of a subordinate culture. Critical pedagogues then in turn define subcultures as any subset of either the dominant or subordinate culture. An example of this would be the hip-hop subculture, as it has its own language, style of dress, musical genre, and distinct ideas that challenge the status quo. Another example is the working-class subculture, generally a part of the larger subordinate culture. Working-class people are noted for challenging the status quo of the dominant cultural group. In public schools, children of the working class often have trouble adjusting to the middle-class values and curriculum put forth by the school system.

Everyday cultural practices of the working class and certain ethnic and religious groups are often viewed as deviant. This fact often results in many poor African American young men receiving more disciplinary actions in schools than their white middle-class counterparts. Critical theorists argue that this can be attributed to the black youth's lack of cultural capital and ability to adopt the practices and beliefs of middle-class white society. In other words, they are often not versed in the practices that will help them be successful in mainstream society. Subcultures challenge the cultural norms of dominant society. Critical theorists also argue that the dominant culture never has full control of society but is always in opposition with the subordinate groups and is further trying to suppress them.

Critical Multiculturalism

McLaren has also called for a "critical multiculturalism," a combination of critical pedagogy and multicultural education. McLaren attacks as "conservative multiculturalism" the idea of the "melting pot" and more broadly the agenda of constructing a dominant mainstream culture that absorbs or obfuscates subordinate cultures and subcultures, such as by undermining bilingual education or stigmatizing nonstandard English dialects. In this view, the implied stance of conservative multiculturalism is that the United States has a multicultural past from which a monocultural present has emerged. He is equally dismissive of "liberal multiculturalism," which focuses on providing social and educational opportunities but is unconcerned with or denies the relevance of cultural differences; and of "left-liberal

multiculturalism," which tends to essentialize cultural differences while ignoring the situatedness of those differences. Critical multiculturalism is McLaren's neo-Marxist proposal to understand race, class, ethnicity, and gender in the context of social struggles over signs and meanings, while rejecting essentialism and deconstructing the dominant culture of conservative multiculturalism.

Also known as a critical theory of education or the new sociology of education, critical theory deconstructs the American school system's ideology and the learning process students undergo in public schools. This deconstruction has been a key element of multicultural education in America, as the traditional narrative of American history as that of Christian whites and their manifest destiny is challenged by the examination of the history of women, immigrants, and the Native Americans and Mexican settlers who were displaced or disenfranchised by American expansion.

Critical pedagogy analyzes schools from a political, historical, economic, and sociological perspective. It is an educational movement that aims to empower students, leading them into becoming conscious of their freedom. It challenges hegemony and authoritarian structures within public schools that inhibit a healthy transformative process of learning and education. Hegemony is when subordinate cultures allow the dominant culture to exert domination over them not by force but through consent. Hegemonic forces advance the dominant worldviews in society that are imposed on people without their knowledge, but they simultaneously give consent to their oppressors.

Critical pedagogy intersects with multicultural education at the realization that educating a multicultural America requires a transformation of ideology and a curriculum that better reflects that America. Multiculturalism is understood not as a simple statement about the country's "melting pot" but as a dynamic system of social, historical, economic, and cultural relationships among the cultures and groups making up the United States. Critical pedagogues challenge the dominant culture's ideology in these educational environments and examine the social construction of knowledge, the relationship of power and knowledge, and the notion of hidden curriculum.

Critical pedagogy overlaps with and draws from postcolonial studies, which examine history

and present-day society in the aftermath of colonialism and imperialism. Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States*, for instance, is one of the better-known texts of critical pedagogy. In its focus on early European explorers as exploiters and on the relationship between elites and common people, it is also a key postcolonial work; since its publication in 1980 it has made a deep impact on the inclusion of postcolonial studies in high school and college curriculums. The rise of multiculturalism in the education industry has required history texts that present American history accordingly, rather than as a predominantly white narrative. Social sciences such as economics and political science are especially impacted by challenges to hegemonic structures in education.

The concerns of critical pedagogy are mirrored by what is sometimes called antiracist mathematics. The difference in mathematics performance by different race groups can be explained by the sociocultural context in which mathematics education transpires. Antiracist mathematics consists of antibias curriculums that counter that cultural bias. How this is done, and what is meant by that bias, varies from theorist to theorist. Some seek only a way to correct the performance deficit of blacks and other nonwhite students in standardized tests.

Others challenge the preference in school curriculums for Western mathematics while appropriating ideas introduced by Muslim and Persian sources. The approach sometimes called ethnomathematics would, in contrast, discuss the mathematical knowledge of non-European civilizations. Education reformers have also called for a wider variety of cultural origins of names used in story problems and other textbook narratives in order to better engage students.

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See Also: Anti-Racist Education; Critical Race Theory; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Multicultural Education.

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Critical Race Theory

Over the past two decades, critical race theory (CRT) has changed how society and culture, especially within the context of education, the legal system, and other institutions, are analyzed in the United States and in other nations. Much like multicultural education, CRT examines some of the foundations laid as a result of the intergroup education movement to make schools places where prejudice and discrimination are examined and minimized or prevented. CRT has become a basic tool for those studying multiculturalism, especially with regard to how law, power, and race interact and shape power structures and marginalize people of color. Originally based upon tools used in critical legal studies (CLS), CRT emerged as its own field and takes a multidisciplinary approach to examinations of society and culture. CRT uses aspects of a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, ethnic studies, history, law, philosophy, sociology, and women's and gender studies. It has been used to examine a variety of institutions and structures,

including education, medicine, public health, and urban planning.

Background

In the aftermath of the initial burst of change that sprang from the civil rights movement of the 1960s, a movement of like-thinking scholars, many of them scholars of color, began arguing that law and power could not be separated and indeed must be examined in conjunction to gain a true understanding of legal policies and procedures. This led to an examination of how race and racial power are constructed and represented in American culture. As many of the initial scholars who examined these issues were from law schools, the movement initially concentrated upon the deep structure of categories and tensions at play in legal texts. Adopting methods used in other disciplines, such as structuralism in linguistics or deconstruction in philosophy, the field of critical legal studies (CLS) developed to explore how best to examine intuitive and formal ways of reasoning, to make these explicit, and to determine both their meaning and relative merit.

In many ways, the roots of CLS can be traced to American legal realism, a school of political philosophy that emerged in the early 20th century to challenge classical legal thought. Unlike the traditional belief that legal institutions made available an autonomous and self-executing system of law untainted by politics, proponents of American legal realism embraced the moral, political, and social conflicts that comprise the legal field. Indeed, the American legal realism movement insisted that the legal system was anything but neutral, apolitical, and impartial. This greatly influenced other schools of thought related to social theory. The Frankfurt school, for example, centered on the beliefs of neo-Marxists, who disagreed with the dogma embraced by traditional communist parties and traditional capitalism and sought an alternative explanation of social development. CLS borrowed the process of looking at many issues through the lens of “enforced opposites,” such as control and freedom, objective and subjective, and private and public. Such binary pairs force the examination of both the meaning and the relative value of each of the constructs.

CLS has not produced a single, monolithic narrative but instead has generated a series of common

themes that permeate the literature. Adherents of the CLS school assert that wealth protects individuals and organizations against the demands of the poor and those in subordinate positions, such as women, the disabled, ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgendered individuals, and the like. Second, CLS explores how legal documents, such as statutes and case law, do not alone determine the outcome of legal disputes but asserts that outside influences place significant constraints upon judges and juries. Third, CLS embraces the concept that all law is politics and that many statutes and legal decisions focus on constructing and maintaining a certain type of social order. Fourth, CLS forces an examination of many of the law’s central assumptions, suggesting that individual petitioners lack full agency but instead act or fail to act because of certain economic, political, or social constraints as they remain tied to class, communities, gender, race, and other life conditions. Finally, CLS sometimes maintains that the law produces a series of rules that are inherently contradictory, based on the opposition between the preference for strict rules that protect individuals and the need for broad standards that provide flexibility. All of these themes have influenced CRT.

Evolution of CRT

CRT research can differ dramatically from author to author. CRT’s objects, arguments, accents, and emphases differ greatly depending upon the perspectives and experiences of the scholars who conduct a particular study or write a certain essay. Despite these differences, all CRT remains solidly committed to the development of two common themes. First, CRT scholarship seeks to understand how the regime of white supremacy and the subordination of people of color have come to occur in the United States and how this supremacy and subordination have been maintained. To better understand this, CRT explores the relationship between professed ideals such as “equality” or “liberty” and the social structure that exists. Second, proponents of CRT are not seeking to merely better understand the connection between society and racial power but to affirmatively change it so that a world more focused upon social justice exists. Those involved in CRT scholarship share a moral dedication to human

liberation and social justice. Although the specific directions in which to proceed and the steps that need to be taken may vary, the concrete expression of engaged scholarship does not.

CLS had sought to examine how issues of class might make a particular legal system unjust. CRT scholars, on the other hand, were more likely to be persons of color and believed that the CLS focus on class ignored race and the many harms racism caused institutions, individuals, and society. CRT scholars maintain that social reality is constructed through narrative and that much of the focus of research should be focused upon creating exchanges where these narratives may be discerned and understood. Narrative thus becomes the compound agent that embraces the interdisciplinary approach. From a variety of narratives, CRT scholars begin by defining certain components that are used to analyze race and racism in society and culture.

First, CRT scholars understand that “race” is not a fixed term, but is instead a socially constructed phenomenon. As a socially constructed phenomenon, race has political implications for members of both the accepted and the marginalized groups. CRT asserts that race has no biological determinants, but that, instead, race and racism stem from a complex set of relationships that develop from a complex self-reinforcing process that is subject to macroforces and microforces. Social and political struggles work as macroforces to influence society how understands race and racism. For individuals, these same influences operate as microforces that affect daily decisions and interactions. Although race has no biological basis, it is indeed “real” insofar that it affects the experiences of people of color with regard to class, gender, and racial hierarchies.

Second, legal scholar Derrick Bell created the term *interest convergence* to emphasize that policies that seek to achieve racial equality are likely to be enacted only when they are advantageous to mainstream white society. Bell observed in his work that within the United States, the implementation of laws and policies supporting integration and civil rights for African Americans occurred only beginning in the 1950s. Bell posited that this change was predicated upon the United States’ dual campaigns against Communism in Europe and supporting independence for

colonies elsewhere throughout the globe. Television depictions of protests, beatings, and other acts of intimidation by whites toward blacks in the United States were detrimental to the nation’s positions opposing Communism and colonialism. As a result, laws and policies began to change as a result of the interest convergence in favor of more racial equality.

Third, CRT uses narrative in a central way to better gain understanding of the experiences and processes of many communities of color. Traditional scholarship has traditionally ignored the experiences of communities of color, and CRT seeks to make these comprehensible to a wider audience. Indeed, given CRT’s focus on the interaction between race, class, and gender with culture and society, lucid narrative often provides better insights than abstract theories and studies that confuse or misinterpret findings. To encourage comprehensible understanding of these experiences, CRT focuses on the narrative of members of communities of color.

Key Applications

CRT scholars are much more aggressive in their pursuit of social justice and societal transformation when compared to liberalism’s more measured approach to change, which concentrates on color “blindness” as a goal. As a result, CRT advocates favor a race-conscious approach to transformation and place great emphasis on political organizing. The emphasis on storytelling and counter-storytelling is based on the perceived importance of using narrative to delve into experiences of racial oppression and to illuminate appreciation of events. As a result of these factors, CRT has been used frequently in examinations of hate crimes and hate speech. While most assessments of legislation designed to prevent hate crimes and hate speech focus on concepts of free speech and equal protection, CRT scholars focus instead on the history of hate crimes and racist speech, their context, and the actual injuries that such acts cause.

Similarly, the tools of CRT, as well as the predisposition of most CRT scholars, have led to a spotlight on affirmative action, both theoretically and in practical situations. CRT has coined the term *white privilege* to define the variety of social advantages, benefits, and courtesies that inure to

members of the dominant race. Within the context of hiring or admission situations, CRT scholars maintain that to use traditional metrics such as test scores, grades, and other accomplishments is to ignore a multitude of past oppressions that have been borne by people because of their class, gender, or race. CRT also emphasizes that the interaction of various factors—race, class, gender, national origin, sexual orientation—combine to play out in various forms of oppression. As a result, the needs of an Asian female differ from those of an African American male and these needs may well have to be promoted differently.

For the most part, CRT scholars adopt an existentialist philosophy, whereby the experience of a category (race or gender) may be reduced to the experience of one subgroup (black women or Latinas). In essence, this means that all oppressed people share the commonality of oppression, although since oppression varies by category, different aims and strategies will be more appropriate for different groups. Institutionalized racism is comprised of the policies, practices, procedures, norms, and structures that result in different levels of access to goods, opportunities, and services as a result of race, class, or gender. As a result, institutionalized racism is often legalized and represents an inherited disadvantage to members of oppressed groups. More radical adherents of CRT have advocated cultural nationalism or separatism, arguing that even small acts of racism act like water dripping on a rock and serve to devastate oppressed communities. Over time, the victims of oppression begin to internalize the ideology that they are inferior and that whites and white culture are superior. For that reason, CRT scholars sometimes argue that “reparations” is a better term for monies provided to the oppressed than “welfare” or “foreign aid.” Recently, CRT scholars have begun working in the field of psychology, examining unconscious bias in order to explore discrimination in the workplace and the effects of discrimination.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Anti-Racist Education; Compensatory Education; Critical

Pedagogy; Ethnic Studies; Intercultural Education; Intergroup Education; Race, Social Construction of.

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Croatian Americans

Croatian Americans are descended from the Croats, a Slavic people. There are major Croat populations in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (where, along with Bosniaks and Serbs, they are one of the country’s three constituent peoples). Early migration as well as large-scale migration in the 15th century during the Ottoman Empire’s incursions into Croatia led to long-established Croat communities in Serbia (Croatian is the official language of the province of Vojvodina), Montenegro, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania, Austria, Italy, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. There is also a large Croat diaspora created by more recent immigration, especially from the dawn of the 20th century, when Croats left for North and South America for economic opportunities; the middle of the 20th century, when Croats fled the new Communist regime; and in the 1990s, when refugees fled the Yugoslav wars. The wars began in 1991 when Croatia declared its independence from the former Socialist Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia, prompting war with its Serb minority and the Yugoslav People's Army. More than half a million Croats were displaced during the wars.

The United States has the largest population of Croatians outside of their native land: 420,763 in a 2007 survey, a decrease from the 1990s' peak as many immigrants returned home after the end of the Yugoslav Wars. This number does not reflect the Croatian heritage of many of the Americans identifying as Austrian, Bosnian, Yugoslav, Slav, or Dalmatian. Most Croatian Americans are Catholic, though there are sizable Protestant, Eastern Orthodox, Muslim, and Jewish groups.

The largest Croatian American populations are found in Pennsylvania (50,350), Illinois (43,613), Ohio (41,812), California (29,071), New York (23,650), Wisconsin (16,202), Missouri (8,941), and Indiana (8,433). Croatians are fairly well distributed throughout the country.

The earliest Croatians to come to the United States likely arrived before the Revolutionary period. There has been some recent scholarship suggesting the possibility of Dalmatian contact with the New World before Columbus, one of many different theories about Columbian predecessors to contact the New World; the theory has not received widespread support. But the Dalmatians were adept sailors and were certainly present in the United States in that role early in the nation's history. More sustained immigration from Croatia began toward the end of the 19th century, as immigration from the region in general became more common, with immigrants—usually young men without families—coming to America in search of work. The Industrial Revolution offered numerous opportunities for laborers on the railroads, in the mines, and in factory towns. The farms of the midwest and the factories of northern cities became home to most of these immigrants, though only a minority settled permanently; the rest returned home once they had earned enough money. In California, the oyster farming industry was established by Croatian Americans. The oldest restaurant in California, San Francisco's Tadich Grill, was founded by Croatian Americans in 1849 and remains Croatian owned today.

The descendants of those who stayed settled throughout the country. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, part of the motivation for



The Tadich Grill in San Francisco, founded in 1849 by Croatians, is the oldest restaurant in the state. There was significant Croatian immigration from the late 1890s and early 1900s.

the institution of free public education throughout the country was cultural assimilation: the “melting pot” of the United States was powered by public schooling, which taught English, civics, and American history to the children of immigrants, reducing the odds of immigration populations remaining self-contained enclaves. Croats were especially prominent in the mining and forestry industries as they expanded in the early 20th century, and the Croatian American population figures in Minnesota and Wisconsin are likely drastically underestimated as many Croatian American descendants from this period have assimilated so completely they no longer identify as such, or identify more broadly as Slav. Later immigrants, especially from the 1960s on, were more likely to settle in large cities where there was more access to affordable housing, education, and employment opportunities. Political and religious freedoms were frequent motivations.

Croatian American culture is strong, maintained by cultural centers and fraternal organizations and a number of Croatian Catholic churches. The Croatian Fraternal Union was founded in 1894 in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, and since 1904 has published a biweekly newspaper. It maintains over 100 lodges in the United States and several dozen in Canada. The Croatian Catholic Union publishes the *Nasa Nada* newspaper. There is also an independent weekly newspaper for Croatian American news, the *Croatian American Times*, published in Douglaston, New York, and distributed nationally. The bilingual newspaper has a circulation of 5,000.

Between 1880 and 1940, some 3,000 Croatian American organizations were founded, though most of these served a specific geographical area, and have dissolved as it has become easier for national and regional organizations to operate. Organizations were devoted to education, political organization, furthering Croatian business interests, supporting the needy back in Croatia, preserving and celebrating Croatian culture, and athletics, among other focuses. Like many ethnic fraternal organizations, Croatian fraternal organizations often offered their members insurance; in part this made up for the lack of an extended family such as more established American families might have to rely on in times of need or tragedy.

Croatian Americans have found success in sports (Roger Maris, Nick Saban, Bill Belichick, Fred Couples), entertainment (Jenna Elfman, Judah Friedlander, Denise Richards, Scott Bakula, John Malkovich), and politics (John Kasich, Dennis Kucinich).

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See Also: Austrian Americans; Czech Americans; Serbian Americans; Slovak Americans.

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Cross-Cultural Psychology

The field of psychology typically is simplified as the study of human behavior. However, further definitions delineate the field as the examination and application of an understanding of mental processes and human behavior. Within the field there are also many specialized disciplines. One field, with momentum impacting many fields of inquiry, is cross-cultural psychology. Cross-cultural psychology continues the rich traditions of its umbrella discipline of psychology, applying the scientific method and clinical applications to diverse cultural and ethnic conditions. Essentially, cross-cultural psychology is specifically the study of the acquirement and presentation of human emotions, thoughts, and behaviors in light of how they are both universal and different across cultures.

In the expanding field of psychology, there exist many theories on universal human growth and development in terms of physiological as well as behavioral and mental processes. Cross-cultural psychology, in particular, has identified the existence of universal principles of basic human growth and development processes while identifying variation in how these processes are exhibited. For example, cultural differences in the development of thoughts, behaviors, and emotions all influence and create variances in processes such as how one makes decisions. Other variations include how one views the world and how it operates, where one fits into society, occupational and educational attainment, what is considered normal and abnormal, where one fits in with the family and what role each plays according to gender norms (including masculinity and femininity), age norms (treatment of the elderly and their role), relationship dynamics (including attachment styles), marriage norms, identity of the self and personal meaning, how one conducts social interactions and communication styles,

definitions of beauty and appearance, and perspectives on authority.

Consequently, a major objective of cross-cultural psychology is to examine and understand human behaviors and mental processes through specific cultures and their worldviews while looking for potential universal occurrences. However, as mentioned, within any one culture there is great variance in behaviors, emotions, and cognitions due to these cultural influences. Examination attempts to avoid looking at other cultures only through the worldview of the researcher's culture. Too often traditional approaches examining the psychological aspects of other cultures have taken an ethnocentric approach (judging other cultures through the values of one's own culture), not a multicultural approach that attempts to understand diverse cultures through the members of other cultures.

Two Lenses

In cross-cultural psychology, ethnic and cultural examination is often done through one of two specific lenses. The first involves looking at how specific cultures differ from each other. For example, researchers may choose to look at discipline of children across cultures. To do this, researchers must first develop a solid operational definition of what defines discipline and what defines children. This is vital, as some cultures define childhood primarily by age while others define childhood by the passing of rituals or even physical development. After the researchers first define each construct (e.g., discipline and children) they can then move forward to examine how cultures display differences. This lens is often referred to as "between cultures." A disadvantage to this approach, however, is that often the dominant culture may still be viewed as "normal," while oppressed, marginalized, or minority cultures may be viewed as the "different" culture. Cross-cultural inquiry attempts to remove such value-based examination and instead observe and record what happens without bias.

Cross-cultural psychologists also often adopt a second lens of inquiry. This approach attempts to reveal what are similarities, universal observations that occur across various cultures. This lens looks for commonalities and consistencies that occur across cultures. Cross-cultural psychology

has indeed been successful in finding some common, universal constructs across cultures. For example, sadness is a universal emotion found across all contemporary cultures. Additionally, toddlers and children across ethnicities and cultures are able to recognize faces that display this universal emotion. Sadness as a human emotion and experience occurs across all genders, ethnicities, societies, and subcultures. Where variation does occur, for example, is in the manifestation of grief, a human behavior. The expressions of the underlying emotions of grief, such as sadness, are displayed in many different ways across cultures through differences in such behaviors as public versus private mourning and funeral rituals.

A Scientific Study

Cross-cultural psychology adheres to empirical study and examination. The focus of behavior analysis is conducted in methodological approaches that draw upon research methods from psychological methods. Natural observation, surveys, and psychological assessments are some of the common means of inquiry. However, many of the foci of study, such as personality or intelligence, involve constructs that are very difficult to operationally define and this becomes important in understanding the various factors that comprise diverse cultures. Cross-cultural psychology first attempts to understand basic human emotions and behaviors across ethnicities and cultures, and researchers also attempt to look at many other complex behaviors of cultures as well. For example, family relationships, eating patterns, parenting styles, and even the expression of psychological distress continue to be examined.

Cross-cultural psychologists and researchers consider that within any culture there are a myriad of differences within the culture and a vast number of subcultures. This requires an acceptance that cultures differ internally within themselves. For example, within any larger culture there are variations based on age, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, and gender, just to highlight a few. It is commonly found that variation within an ethnic or cultural group is greater than the assumptions many nonmembers hold. When researchers and laypersons fail to adopt such an understanding there are the all-too-common consequences of overgeneralizations, biases, and even

prejudices of ethnic and diverse cultures. Unfortunately, outside of cross-cultural psychology and related fields, it is common in historical analyses of cultures to forgo looking deep enough within a culture to see the rich differences that occur.

Related Fields and Applications

Many fields are now incorporating concepts from cross-cultural psychology. Consequently, to say these concepts are unique to cross-cultural psychology would be incorrect. Theoretical studies in fields such as business, leadership theory, anthropology, and political science are all incorporating knowledge and adding to the domain of multicultural research and cross-cultural psychology. For example, in the study of effective business and management practice, it is almost a uniform practice to have businesses understanding and engaging ethnic and cultural diversity in order to be effective. It was once considered “enough” in such fields to be aware and understand that differences do occur in various cultures. However, this has been taken to a new level. Now the goal is often to incorporate and embrace the differences brought to the workplace by understanding that variation in ethnicity and culture may be utilized to increase the strengths, ideals, and practices brought to the workplace to the benefit of the company. Fields such as education, leadership development, and communications are also looking at how diversity brings strengths to their arenas. This encourages organizations of all types to admit and encourage the various abilities, strengths, and perspectives that various cultures and subcultures may offer, thus providing for a great number of skills and perceptions.

Cross-Cultural Psychology and Mental Health

The importance of cross-cultural psychology is also being embraced by contemporary psychologists, counselors, psychiatrists, and others in the field of mental health. The expression of mental health disorders, psychopathology, and, ultimately, what is “abnormal” is understood to differ greatly across cultures and subcultures. In the application of the fields of mental health, the conversation is often focused on psychopathology. This is typically identified by an individual’s ability to carry out everyday activities

and relationships in an adaptive and functional manner that is safe, healthy, and beneficial to the self and others. Essentially, diagnosis of psychopathology requires defining what thoughts, behaviors, and emotions are indeed normal and abnormal—this is essential to the diagnosis and treatment of psychopathology. The traditional Western concept of abnormality may not be in alignment with what is considered acceptable or normal in other cultures. In particular, the process of assimilation and acculturation has a notable influence on behavioral and mental processes and the functionality of a minority culture within a different majority culture. Therefore, a thorough understanding of psychology in terms of other cultures is imperative for accurate assessment of abnormality, diagnosis, and treatment.

As with all other scientific disciplines, the basis for and growth of a field should be accurate and scholarly research. Therefore, research that informs fields of mental health must utilize and create culturally relevant variables in research that can accurately measure the constructs that are under study, such as personality behavior, measures of intelligence, milestones of proper childhood development, and self esteem, all of which can differ from culture to culture. In terms of diagnosis, Western descriptions of disorders are primarily categorized by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV-TR). Diagnoses, such as schizophrenia, have the potential to inaccurately label an individual as disordered when in fact the exhibited behaviors are typical of a culture’s religious activities and rituals, as opposed to being behaviors that are abnormal. For example, common or even enduring experiences such as visions and dream states could be identified as “abnormal” by majority or Western culture when in some cultures they are a typical, desired component of religious practices. In addition, another paramount cultural variable that should inform the mental health field is collectivism and individualism.

The expression of this as variations across cultures elicits various thoughts, behaviors, and emotions in response to an array of situations. For example, collectivism is a perspective in which the well-being and function of systems ranging from the family to larger institutions such as government is focused on the group rather than on the individual. Therefore, decisions and resulting

behaviors are informed by the benefit of the whole rather than a single individual, while in other cultures individualism and independence are thought to be of great importance to mental health.

Conclusion

In summary, traditional psychology emerged in Western society founded upon ideals, constructs, and beliefs seeped in these traditions. Cross-cultural psychology embraces the fact that this limits and focuses research and application. Consequently, even when psychological concepts are applied to non-Western societies, the constructs as defined are typical of Western origin. This is the challenge of cross-cultural psychology. Such challenges exasperated by the universal human need for and creation of categories to describe people have often created a sense of “us” versus “them” when surveying other cultures. This basic human cognitive process is beneficial for helping people understand the world they live in but can result in interactions between and among different cultures negatively affected by way of the development of stereotypes, bias, and prejudice. Therefore, not embracing cultural ideals, constructs, and beliefs can potentially affect researchers and outcomes, impacting how diverse individuals and cultures are treated by leaders, teachers, mental health providers, and others in general.

However, through studying cultural differences and similarities, cross-cultural psychologists are gaining a better understanding of complex behaviors across cultures, even finding universal behaviors and mental process experienced by all. This allows for a deeper understanding of the complex and rich expressions of behaviors and mental process as they occur across cultures.

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See Also: Counseling and Therapy, Multicultural; Culture; Ethnic Studies; Ethnicity; Ethnocentrism/ Xenophobia; Family and Ethnic Diversity; Gender/ Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Racism; Stereotypes/ Generalizations.

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Crow

The Crow are a Siouan tribe who in the mid-16th century lived in southeastern Manitoba. Historically related to the Hidatsa, the tribe began migrating westward, eventually meeting the Mandan people and settling near them along the Missouri River in what is now North Dakota. Perhaps as early as 1735, they acquired horses and became buffalo hunters. The tribe still maintains a small herd of buffalo. The nomadic ways of the Apsáalooke, as the tribe refer to themselves, brought them into conflict with other tribes, most notably the Blackfeet and the Lakota (Sioux). Heavy losses led the Apsáalooke to side with the U.S. Army in the Plains wars of the 1860s and 1870s.

White men called the tribe “Crow,” probably because of a misinterpretation of Apsáalooke, which means “children of a large-beaked bird.” In 1868, the Crow agreed to move to a reservation, beginning a series of moves and ever-increasing loss of land area. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that 5,322 American Indians lived on the Crow Reservation and Off Reservation Trust Land in 2010, compared to 4,724 in 1990 and 3,954 in 1980. Tribal records of membership put their number at approximately 11,000 in 2012; 7,900 reside on the Crow Indian Reservation. Unlike many Native American tribes who are

struggling to preserve their language, 85 percent of the tribe speak Crow as their first language.

When the Crow began their westward migration, they moved with the Hidatsa tribe. Archaeological, linguistic, and oral history fail to agree about when the tribes separated, but the Apsáalooke became a separate tribe. Sometime between the mid-17th century and the early 18th century, they also became nomadic. The tribe itself became divided into the Mountain Crow, who settled north of the Yellowstone River in the Rocky Mountains, and the River Crow, who settled farther south along the Bighorn, Powder, and Wind River valleys. Their new lifestyle revolved around the buffalo and the horse. The buffalo provided food, fuel, tools, clothing, and tepee covers. Well over a century after the vanishing of the great herds of buffalo, the Crow still maintain a small herd, and on rare occasions, buffalo meat is served at the feast following a Sun Dance or for some other celebration. The horse provided transportation, entertainment, and increasingly a means of trade. The Crow established themselves as the middlemen, trading horses, bows, and clothing decorated in the quill work for which they were famous to the Plains village tribes for guns and metal goods, which they traded in turn to the Shoshone in Idaho.

Losses in battle and disease posed a real threat not only to the survival of a clan but to the entire tribe. Greatly outnumbered by their enemies and suffering hundreds of deaths from smallpox, the Crow were in danger of extinction. Between 1830 and 1870, non-Indian observers questioned the tribe's ability to survive. One account placed the number of families at 800 in early days but found them reduced to 460 by 1862. It may have been such losses that prompted the Crow to aid the U.S. military. In 1865, they assisted the U.S. military in protecting travelers on the Bozeman Trail, named for John Bozeman, who used the trail as a shorter route to the Montana gold fields. More than a decade later, they were still serving as scouts for the military. In 1876, Crow scouts were primarily responsible for preventing a more serious defeat of General George Crook at the Rosebud Battle with the Lakota and Cheyenne.

Such assistance brought them few concessions in the long term. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 granted the Crow Nation 38 million acres. A second Fort Laramie Treaty (1868) reduced

the grant to 8 million acres. In 1872, the tribe was moved to a new reservation, Rosebud River, near present-day Absarokee, Montana. Congress reduced Crow land again in 1882, and the same year congressional action provided the Northern Pacific Railroad with 5,084 acres of Crow land, for which \$25,000 was provided in compensation—to be spent for the Crow at the discretion of the secretary of the interior. In 1884, the Crow were moved once more to a reservation near Billings, Montana. Cessation of Crow land continued through 1904 when the reservation was reduced to its present size of 2.3 million acres.

The land continues to serve as the basis of Crow economy in the 21st century. Not only is it used to support livestock operations, but the nonrenewable resources are vast and varied with potential for oil and methane gas. In May 2005, the tribe secured a minerals lease agreement with Golden Arrow Energy of Wyoming to begin production on 7,680 acres south of Crow Agency.

The language as well as the land provide the present-day Crow with a living link to their past. Although the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) placed the Crow language on an endangered list in 2012, 85 percent of Crow speak the language. Most are bilingual, with English as the language of daily discourse. Traditional culture within the Crow community preserves the language through the traditional clan system and religious ceremonies. The cultural vitality of the Crow can also be seen in Chichaxxaasuaa, the Crow Fair that claims to be the largest family reunion in the world. Over 10,000 of the Crow people gather on the banks of the historic Little Bighorn River to celebrate through displays and events that link them to their ancient traditions.

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See Also: Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); Native Americans; Sioux.

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Cuban American National Foundation

Founded in 1981 by Raúl Masvidal, Carlos Salmon, and Jorge Más Canosa, the nonprofit Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) is the largest and most politically influential Cuban exile organization in the United States. Más Canosa fled Cuba for Florida in 1960 and took part in the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961, and the Cuban exile has been an ardent critic of communism and the Castro regime ever since. Although its national headquarters is located in Miami, home of the largest Cuban American community in the United States, CANF also has offices in Chicago, Los Angeles, Tampa, Jacksonville, New Orleans, and San Juan (Puerto Rico). Since 2007, CANF has been chaired by Jorge Más Santos (Más Canosa’s son), and former U.S. Marine Francisco Hernández has served as president.

The organization’s agenda includes bringing about the removal of Fidel Castro from power, ending communism in Cuba, and steering Cuba toward democracy and capitalism. According to its Web site, CANF also aims to “advance human rights in Cuba, educate public opinion on the plight of the Cuban people, dispel prejudice and intolerance against Cubans in exile and promote Cuban culture and creative achievements.” Since its founding the CANF has operated as a major lobbying organization, seeking to influence U.S. foreign policy toward Cuba. Many consider CANF to be the most effective and politically influential Latino advocacy group in the United States.

Major Activities

Throughout the 1980s, CANF promoted a hard-line anti-Castro, anticommunist stance that

mirrored the strong opposition toward communism espoused by then-president Ronald Reagan. Claiming to be the voice of the Cuban American community, CANF successfully lobbied Reagan to establish Radio Martí in 1983. The first Radio Martí broadcast aired on May 20, 1985. Modeled on Radio Free Europe, Radio Martí consists of Spanish-language radio broadcasts laced with anticommunism programming that is transmitted directly from the United States to Cuba. CANF achieved another major success in 1990 when it helped establish TV Martí, which transmitted anti-Castro televised programming to Cuba. During the 1990s, CANF founded its own radio station, *La Voz de la Fundación* (The Voice of the Foundation), to transmit anti-Castro broadcasts into the Caribbean island nation.

Also during the 1980s, CANF expressed strong support for the Reagan administration’s policy of extending assistance to the Contras of Nicaragua in their fight against the leftist Sandinista regime. As the Nicaraguan struggle against communism resonated with numerous Cuban American exiles, Reagan sought to use CANF to court Cuban voters into the Republican Party. Given the importance of the Cuban voting bloc in Florida as well as Florida’s electoral significance in presidential elections, Republican recruitment of Cuban voters has had a profound impact on American political history.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked the official end of the Cold War. Nevertheless, the fiery and outspoken leadership of Jorge Más Canosa enabled CANF to convince elected officials of both major political parties to maintain the trade embargo against Cuba and to eschew diplomatic talks with the Castro regime in the era of post-Cold War geopolitics. Más Canosa met with political figures from around the world throughout the 1990s to cultivate international support for his anti-Castro agenda, including Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Argentine President Carlos Saúl Menem.

CANF helped lead relief efforts in the wake of Hurricane Andrew’s destruction across southern Florida in August 1992 by donating money, food, and clothing to aid victims. The organization also provided resettlement assistance to Cuban refugees, a move that endeared CANF to many members of the larger Cuban American community and even drew praise from non-Cubans.

Criticism

CANF, along with its tactics and activities, has not been without criticism. Critics have bemoaned Más Canosa's proclivity to claim that his organization reflects the viewpoints of the larger Cuban American community. Although CANF denies that it advocates the use of violence or terrorism to achieve its political objectives, allegations persist that the organization has supported incidents of violence against Cuban enterprises and government institutions. Critics have also spoken out against the alleged fanaticism and zeal with which CANF promotes its anti-Castro agenda, which some claim has exacerbated negative sentiments toward Cuban Americans among non-Cubans. Such was the case during the aftermath of the Élian González saga in 2000, following the Bill Clinton administration's decision to return the 6-year-old González to his father in Cuba rather than to grant custody over González to his extended family in Florida. This decision resulted in widespread protests and civil disobedience among Cuban Americans in Florida, which evoked counterprotests by Anglo and African Americans. Prior to his death in 1997, Más Canosa openly criticized various public officials who did not support CANF's objectives.

Since the late 1990s, CANF has lost a significant degree of its once-formidable political influence. Más Canosa's death profoundly affected the organization, as his son has adopted a more moderate tactical approach toward CANF's activities. Más Santos has expressed support for a peaceful transition to democracy and capitalism in Cuba and also has led the organization to become more involved in humanitarian causes on the island and in Florida.

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See Also: Bay of Pigs Invasion; Cuban Americans; Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act (1966); Latinos; Mariel Boatlift; Mutual Aid Societies.

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Cuban Americans

Cuban Americans constitute the fifth-largest Latino ethnic heritage in the United States, after persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Salvadoran, and Dominican ancestry. The 2010 U.S. Census counted 1,785,547 Cuban Americans, accounting for 3.5 percent of total U.S. Latino population. Similar to the overall Latino population, the Cuban American population is rapidly growing, as the 2010 census documented a 44 percent growth in this community since the 2000 census. Although the vast majority of Cuban Americans live in the southern United States, particularly Florida, ethnic Cuban communities also exist in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as well as other states.

Early Migration and Settlement

By the end of the 19th century, Cuban communities had been established in New York City, Key West, Tampa, and New Orleans. Tampa and Key West quickly became major centers of Cuban cigar production in the United States, with numerous cigar factories in both cities that employed thousands of workers. The migration of Cubans continued during the early decades of the 20th century, with an estimated 25,000 Cuban migrants settling in the nation during the 1920s and 1930s.

More than 25,000 Cubans entered the United States in the 1940s, followed by nearly 80,000 during the 1950s. Employment opportunities in the shoe and leather industries attracted many Cubans during this time, while professional baseball teams began seeking talented players from Cuba. Cuban Americans gained a national face during the 1950s with the dawn of the television age and the popularity of *I Love Lucy*. The classic comedy program starred Anglo comedienne Lucille Ball alongside her real-life husband, Cuban-born Desi Arnaz, in the two lead roles.

Fleeing Castro's Communism

The largest waves of Cubans to the United States occurred after Fidel Castro's overthrow of Fulgenio Batista on January 1, 1959. Once in power, Castro established the Caribbean island as a communist dictatorship backed by the Soviet Union. These developments set in motion the dynamics of Cuban migration to American shores over the

past half century. During the height of the Cold War, the early waves of Cuban refugees fleeing the Castro regime in the 1960s were generally welcomed by Americans and extended benefits, including financial and nonfinancial assistance, by the federal government that eased their transition to life in the United States.

The first wave of Cuban refugees included former officials and administrators from the deposed Batista regime, followed by a larger influx of upper-middle-class and highly educated professionals with entrepreneurial or technical skills, such as merchants, bankers, businesspeople, engineers, physicians, attorneys, teachers, and professors. A third wave of refugees, many of whom already had relatives in the United States, entered the country between 1965 and the late 1970s.

The vast majority of post-1959 Cubans entering the United States chose to settle in southern Florida, particularly within the Miami metropolitan region. Located only 90 miles from Cuba across the Florida Straits, Miami shared a sunny tropical climate identical to the refugees' homeland. Miami's proximity to Cuba also allowed exiles to retain a strong sense of Cuban identity, as many people during the early years of the Cuban influx aspired to return to Cuba once Castro had been removed from power.

To facilitate the entrance of Cubans, President Dwight D. Eisenhower created the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami in 1960 and allocated \$1 million in federal funds to assist refugees with the resettlement process. President John F. Kennedy expanded this resettlement assistance with federal programs that helped Cuban refugees find employment, obtain job recertification to enable professionals to resume their careers in the United States, and provide refugees with access to health care, education, and food.

A fourth major influx of Cubans during the spring of 1980 shifted public perceptions of the Cuban American community. This influx, known as the Mariel Boatlift, began when Fidel Castro eased restrictions on Cubans wishing to leave the island by opening his nation's ports and permitting those who did not support his regime to freely depart Cuba with the stipulation that they would never be allowed to return. This move resulted in 125,000 refugees, a significant portion of whom were darker-complexioned

Afro-Cubans and from the island's lower-income and working classes (in contrast to the relatively lighter-complexioned and European-descended Cubans who formed the majority of earlier refugees), settling in the United States within a matter of weeks.

The overwhelming majority of *marielitos* took up residence in the Miami area, which evoked a degree of backlash among some within the city's Anglo and African American communities who opposed the shifting demographics and growing Cuban cultural influence in southern Florida. In November 1980, voters approved a referendum that declared English the official language of Dade County (this ordinance was eventually repealed in 1993). The referendum was highly influential as similar initiatives and legislation quickly spread to other regions of the country, making Miami the birthplace of the English-as-the-Official-Language movement in the United States.

The Cuban American population of southern Florida has grown rapidly. By 1980, Dade County, Florida, had become home to nearly 600,000 first- and second-generation Cuban Americans. More than 900 Cuban-owned businesses had been established in Miami by 1967, a number that increased exponentially to more than 8,000 by 1980. By 2012, more than one-third of all businesses in Miami were Cuban-owned, and the city's transformation into a major international center of commerce and banking, combined with its strong Latino cultural influences and bilingual flavor, had earned Miami the designation "the capital of Latin America." Outside Florida, significant Cuban American communities exist in New York City, Los Angeles, and the New Jersey cities of West New York and Union City. More than one million persons of Cuban ancestry lived in the United States by 1993.

A growing number of Cuban Americans have won election to public office since the 1980s, giving the community a voice in local and national political affairs. For example, Xavier Suarez won election as mayor of Miami in 1985. Suarez's mayoral tenure was succeeded by Joe Carollo and Manny Diaz, each refugees from Cuba, in 1989 and 1991. At the federal level, the Cuban American vote helped elect Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1989 and 1992, respectively.

A Distinct Latino Community

The nation's fifth-largest Latino population, Cuban Americans on the whole exhibit several social and cultural characteristics that distinguish them from other Latino populations. Mexican immigrants have had a long and turbulent relationship with the U.S. government, finding themselves in high demand during periods of labor shortages and subject to mass deportations during times of economic hardship. On the other hand, Cuban refugees were received warmly by the U.S. government for their rejection of the communist regime imposed by Castro. Cuban Americans have the highest per capita income levels of all Latino nationalities in the United States, a trend that reflects the large influx of Cuban professionals and moneyed elites who relocated to American shores after Castro's rise to power.

The political preferences of Cuban Americans also stand apart from that of other Latino populations. Whereas Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans are primarily affiliated with the Democratic Party, Cuban Americans have historically supported Republican candidates in local, state, and federal elections. The tendency for Cuban Americans to favor the Republican Party derives from several factors, including the higher rate of small business ownership among members of this ethnic community relative to other Latino groups, and the perception that the Republican Party has maintained a stronger anticommunist position than the Democratic Party. President John F. Kennedy's failure to remove Castro from power during the failed Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 alienated many within the exile community, and anti-Democratic sentiments manifested again in 2000 when the Bill Clinton administration decided to return six-year-old Cuban national Élian González, who had been rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard at sea, to the custody of his father in Cuba instead of his relatives in the United States.

Staunch Cuban American support for the Republican Party may be starting to wane, however. Political scientists noted that in recent presidential elections, the Cuban bloc in Florida has split its votes, helping President Bill Clinton carry Florida in his reelection campaign in 1996 and enabling Barack Obama to narrowly win Florida in 2008. A generation gap in party allegiance

appears at play, with older Cuban Americans holding more conservative and Republican-leaning voting preferences, while members of the younger generation who have no recollection of pre-Castro life in Cuba and have spent their entire lives raised in the United States are more likely to support the Democratic Party.

Notable Cuban Americans

As the size and sociopolitical influence of the Cuban American community has grown substantially in recent decades, so has the presence and visibility of Cuban American political figures and celebrities. President George W. Bush appointed Mel Martinez, a child refugee who came to the United States in 1962 during Operation Pedro Pan, as secretary of housing and urban development in 2001. Florida voters elected Martinez to the U.S. Senate in 2004. Floridians also elected Marco Rubio, whose parents migrated to the United States during the Batista regime, their U.S. Senator in 2010. Bob Menendez, also the son of parents who fled Batista, served as a U.S. congressman from New Jersey from 1993 to 2006 before becoming a U.S. senator.

Pitbull (born Armando Pérez) is one of the leading hip-hop and Latin pop recording artists; he captured the 2012 Billboard Music Award for Top Radio Song with his multiplatinum single "Give Me Everything." Other famous Cuban American musicians include Gloria Estefan, her husband Emilio Estefan, Jon Secada, and Celia Cruz. Gloria and Emilio first achieved acclaim as part of the band Miami Sound Machine in the 1980s, and Gloria has since launched a successful solo career that has earned her seven Grammy Awards. She was also awarded the Ellis Island Congressional Medal of Honor in 1993, the nation's highest award for a naturalized civilian citizen. Celia Cruz, perhaps the most famous salsa performer of all time, helped expose millions of Americans to this genre of Latin music throughout her lengthy singing career that spanned 50 years. Cruz defected to the United States upon Castro's assumption of power in 1959 and often performed with Puerto Rican salsa stars, such as Tito Puente and Willie Colón.

While salsa enthusiasts danced to Cruz's music, Andy García, whose family fled the Castro regime in 1962, has thrilled moviegoers with his acting talents since the mid-1980s. García has starred in

such critically acclaimed films as *The Untouchables*, *Stand and Deliver*, *The Godfather Part III*, and *Ocean's Eleven*, in addition to producing and directing *The Lost City*, which recounts life in Cuba before and after Castro's rise to power. Garcia's performance in *The Godfather Part III* earned him an Academy Award nomination for Best Supporting Actor. José Canseco, a Havana native whose family also relocated to southern Florida during his childhood was one of Major League Baseball's most feared power hitters during the 1980s and 1990s, and helped the Oakland Athletics reach three consecutive World Series from 1988 to 1990. Prominent Cuban American actresses of recent years include Eva Mendes, Cameron Diaz, and Rosario Dawson. Dawson has been active in voter registration efforts designed to increase Latinos' participation in the electoral process.

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See Also: Bay of Pigs Invasion; Cuban American National Foundation; Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act (1966); Latinos; Mariel Boatlift; Official English Movement; Refugees.

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and the airlift that followed it. On November 2, 1966, President Lyndon Johnson signed the bill that granted special status to Cuban immigrants, authorizing the attorney general to grant permanent resident status to any Cuban who had been granted admission or parole into the United States after January 1, 1959, when Fidel Castro forced the resignation and flight of Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista. Persons being granted permanent resident status must also have been physically present in the United States for two years. The law removed the necessity for Cubans who had entered the United States after Castro's victory to apply for political asylum in order to remain legally in the United States. This special status for Cuban immigrants remained unchanged until another crisis in 1994 pushed the administration of President Bill Clinton to adjust U.S. policy.

Castro, in effect, extended an invitation to Cubans in the United States to transport family members still in Cuba to the United States in 1965 when he opened the port of Camarioca in northern Cuba to boats arriving to evacuate relatives. The port remained open from October 10 to November 15. During the five weeks the boatlift lasted, 5,000 Cubans made the trip. In December, the so-called Freedom Flights began. Over the next eight years, about 250,000 Cubans arrived in the United States on these flights. It was in the context of these events that the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 was enacted.

The Cuban refugees who had entered the United States via the boatlift or the airlift were not automatically granted lawful permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act. Applying for permanent residence required an immigrant to leave the United States to secure an immigrant visa at a U.S. consular office abroad and then reenter as a permanent resident. Clearly such a practice was impractical for the enormous numbers of Cuban refugees. In addition to providing refuge to Cubans who were oppressed in their own country, the Cuban Adjustment Act (CAA) eased the administrative burden for both the immigrants and immigration offices and allowed for the integration of the Cuban exiles into the American workforce. Although not part of the public rationale for adopting the legislation, the CAA was also an important move in the ideological war against communism. For almost

Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act (1966)

The Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 was the response of Congress to the Camarioca boatlift

30 years, the CAA offered open-ended permanent residence to all Cubans who made it to the United States.

In summer 1994, Castro once again gave Cubans unrestricted leave to immigrate to the United States. The sudden influx of 25,000 Cubans arriving on rafts of all descriptions brought the total of Cuban immigrants for the year to 40,000. The Clinton administration responded by prohibiting the entrance of the raft refugees until an agreement could be reached with the Cuban government. In the interim, they were housed at Guantanamo Bay along with refugees from Haiti.

On September 9, 1994, Cuba and the United States signed a joint communiqué in which the two countries agreed that the United States would not allow Cubans rescued at sea to enter the United States, that the open-door policy of the ACC granting parole to all Cubans who reached the United States would end, and that the United States would issue a minimum of 20,000 immigrant visas annually through the Interest Section in Havana. Less than a year later, the Clinton administration issued the U.S.-Cuba Joint Statement on Migration. Among other provisions, it allowed for the parole of most of the Cubans detained at Guantanamo Bay into the United States.

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See Also: Bay of Pigs Invasion; Boat People; Cuban Americans; Mariel Boatlift.

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Cuisine and Ethnic Diversity

Ethnicity comprises group cultural factors such as nationality, ancestry, language, traditions, and beliefs. Ethnic groups across America use their cultural foods to maintain their identity within the larger culture. “Cuisine” refers to a style of cooking that reflects ethnic or regional influences. Most foods and cooking techniques considered “American” had their origin with the Native American cuisines and those brought by immigrants, beginning with the first European colonists. Multicultural America continues to offer a diversity of ethnic cuisines from around the world.

Different cultures developed within various ecological environments and used foods locally available. Cooking techniques were developed that allowed the local ingredients to be combined into edible forms. As populations moved, they adapted and adjusted their traditional recipes to use indigenous ingredients. And as ethnic groups immigrated, many began to share and incorporate other ethnic foods and cooking techniques into their own diets. For example, pizza first appeared in the United States with Italian immigrants in the 19th century.

Different ethnic groups continued to prepare their foods, but sometimes the original ingredients were not available in their new settings. And, just as the immigrant groups became Americanized, so did ethnic foods prepared with American ingredients. In many circumstances, ethnic neighborhoods survived because of cultural institutions such as churches and food suppliers. With the advent of the Internet and modern food storage and transportation, original ingredients for ethnic foods, previously not available beyond the country of origin, can be found in any part of the world. In neighborhoods with large ethnic populations, even “American” stores carry products to meet the needs of local groups. For example, a grocery chain might stock spices and foods from the Middle East in its New York stores, while its Miami stores carry items for Cuban cuisine. American recipes from their earliest history represent “fusion” cuisine, combining elements of many different culinary traditions.

Religion is also an element of culture and many religious groups have certain dietary laws. Observant Jews (kosher) and Muslims (halal) follow dietary regulations from scripture. Some Buddhists and Hindus are vegetarians, following religious principles of nonviolence toward animals. Other religious groups have certain food requirements for certain holidays or observances, such as Catholics not eating fish on Fridays. For many years, public schools throughout the United States served fish sticks for lunch on that day. As various religious groups entered the United States, they brought their food needs with them, influencing public institutions such as schools, prisons, and hospitals. As with other ethnic groups, they have developed some unique fusion cuisines, such as kosher Chinese, prepared without pork or shellfish, staples in traditional Chinese cooking.

Native American Cuisine

Before the arrival of colonists from European nations, the Native American population of North America represented multiple and diverse cultures that used locally available plants and animals in their diets. Using various fishing methods and gathering techniques, they utilized the multitude of saltwater and freshwater fish, mollusks, and shellfish available in the oceans, lakes, and rivers.

Early Native Americans commonly used grilling and spit roasting for local bird and wildlife meats. In the northwestern United States, whale, seal, and walrus also provided food sources. Root vegetables were often placed in the fire next to hot rocks to cook. Since Native American pottery could not be placed over a fire, heated rocks were placed in pots filled with water to boil vegetables and meats. In the southwestern United States, they created adobe ovens to bake breads, while in other parts of the country pits were dug into which were placed heated rocks to bake or steam foods. Seaweed or cornhusks could be placed on top to insulate and maintain the heat. This method of pit cooking is found worldwide and forms the basis of the traditional clambake in the United States. Drying techniques were also developed to preserve foods, and cooking techniques such as stewing were developed to prepare the dried ingredients.

Colonial American Cuisine

When the colonists arrived in America, they attempted to prepare their traditional European foods while combining traditional Native American recipes, cooking methods, and ingredients. The settlers brought livestock (cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, and fowl) from Europe to provide meat, eggs, and milk for dairy products. The colonists planted crops using seeds they brought, some of which survived in the American climate and soil. They also began to hunt native animals (deer, bear, buffalo, rabbit, and wild turkey) while cultivating native plants such as corn to incorporate into their European and hybrid Native American recipes. Iron pots, brought from Europe, allowed traditional stewing techniques.

European wheat did not do well in the cold New England colonies and was replaced by native corn as a grain to produce bread-like products and porridge. In the southern colonies, the growing season was longer in the more temperate climate and a wider variety of produce was available. Rice, cabbage, string beans, and potatoes became dietary standards. Rice may have arrived in America by way of Dutch merchants sailing from Madagascar and arriving in South Carolina, where the grain grew well.

Later, French dishes further influenced the development of ethnic cuisine in the United States. Cajun cuisine emerged through French-speaking immigrants, who were deported by the British from Canada to Louisiana territories. A Cajun meal, using locally available ingredients, typically consists of a three-pot meal containing the main dish, a second with rice and spicy sausage or fish, and a third of vegetables.

Creole cuisine, also indigenous to Louisiana, is a blend of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Native American, and African influences, as well as general southern cuisine. The term *Creole* was used by the early French settlers to identify individuals of French and Spanish descent born in Louisiana, as opposed to those born in the Old World. While similar in some ways to Cajun cooking, Creole cuisine used more traditional European cooking techniques and adapted them to the locally available foods. Cajun cooking is more rustic, whereas Creole cuisine evolved in the homes of well-to-do aristocrats like the plantation owners of the southern colonies and

Caribbean islands or those who imitated their lifestyles.

Immigration and Ethnic Cuisine

The patterns of immigration to the United States have increased the ethnic diversity of American cuisine. Each period brought distinct national groups, races, and ethnicities to the United States. The first wave of immigrants came primarily from Great Britain and northern Europe. The early 20th century brought individuals from southern and eastern Europe, and after 1965 immigrants arrived from Asia and Latin America. While the Jewish population in the United States dates back to the early colonies, large-scale immigration of Jews from Germany occurred in the 19th century. At the beginning of the 20th century, eastern European Jews immigrated and established their community in New York City. Many other Jewish refugees arrived from Europe after World War II, and others arrived from the Soviet Union after 1970. These waves of immigration brought more ethnic cuisines to the U.S. menu.

Many of the foods and cooking styles brought by these immigrants have become part of the American cuisine. It would be impossible to identify all of the foods brought to the United States by immigrant populations. While some might be enjoyed across the country and are presumed “American,” others may be identified with regional cuisines. Hamburgers and hot dogs, originally foods eaten by German immigrants, have become identified as American foods. Apple pies had been eaten in Europe long before the colonization of the Americas, yet “as American as apple pie” is a saying in the United States, meaning “typically American.” And while we identify spaghetti and meatballs with Italian cuisine, it is uniquely American, as it is more likely that Italians would serve a meat sauce with other types of pasta. While many cultures have a variety of fermented milk products, yogurt is identified primarily with Greek cuisine and millions of Americans eat it every day. Kielbasa, identified by most as Polish, is marketed throughout the United States by major food companies, while the Polish origin



Soul food can be traced back to Africa—rice, sorghum, and okra were all common elements of west African cuisine. A plate filled with soul food that is now considered mainstream American, such as fried chicken and macaroni and cheese. Also on the plate are collard greens and deep-fried okra, part of a group of foods that remain uniquely “soul food” and include chitterlings, hoppin’ john, butter beans, mustard greens, hoe cakes, fried catfish, and custard pie.

of kasha (buckwheat groats), a popular cereal, is probably unknown to most Americans.

Some types of ethnic cuisine in the United States are related to historic events. The first significant immigration of Chinese individuals began with the California Gold Rush and continued with the building of the transcontinental railroad. The Chinese were tolerated as a cheap source of labor. Following the Civil War, many blamed them for the depressed economy, resulting in the Chinese Exclusion Act, which placed a ban on Chinese immigration to the United States and denied citizenship to those already in the United States. Since they were no longer able to come to the United States, many Chinese men went to Cuba to work in the sugar fields. After the Cuban revolution, many Chinese Cubans immigrated to the United States, bringing with them their unique fusion Cuban-Chinese cuisine. Knowing history explains the development of this particular ethnic cuisine.

Regional Cuisine

In the United States, there are many regional cuisines, which developed based on the availability of different foods, trade routes, varying climates, cooking traditions, and cultural differences. The same foods can be cooked in different ways depending on regional preferences. Salmon is available in both the Atlantic northeast and Pacific northwest regions of the United States. In the northwest it may be smoked in an oven on a cedar plank, similar to how it was cooked by the Native Americans of the region, while in the northeast it is more likely to be grilled or poached, a technique dating back to the Romans. Another method of preparing salmon uses traditional Scandinavian pickling techniques, with a solution of salts, spices, and sugar. The result is *lox*, a uniquely ethnic Jewish dish in the United States often served on a bagel with cream cheese. Other popular brined fish such as sable, sturgeon, whitefish, and herring are available in delicatessens and fish stores throughout New York City. Today, modern food packaging and refrigeration make such fish specialties available throughout the United States.

There is much regional diversity in cooking across the United States. Regional styles are influenced by Native American and immigrant patterns, naturally available foods, and traditions. Regional cooking in the United States is identified

by the part of the country (southern, southwestern, New England, etc.) or by major cities (Philadelphia cheese steak, Chicago-style pizza, Boston baked beans, Manhattan clam chowder, etc.). For example, in the United States there is southern cooking, which, while available throughout the United States, encompasses the traditional dishes of the southern states. A southern meal might consist of fried chicken, field (or black-eyed) peas, greens (such as collard or mustard), mashed potatoes, cornbread or corn pone, sweet tea, and a dessert, usually a pie or a cobbler. Southern cuisine also favors a full breakfast as compared to a light or continental breakfast.

Barbeque is uniquely identified as American, but truly represents an amalgam of cultures as they arrived in America and integrated the local foodstuffs with dishes of immigrants' countries of origin. Barbeque in regional southern cooking does not refer to hot dogs and hamburgers on the grill but rather to slow-cooked and smoked meat. Its earliest history dates to the slow drying of sliced, spiced meat over a low, smoky fire, a widespread practice in the Caribbean at the time of the first Spanish explorers. Early European colonists, observing Native American grilling, started basting the meat with liquids to keep it from drying while cooking.

African slaves from the Caribbean brought New World peppers, especially red peppers, when they were sold to southern plantation owners. The basting recipes began to combine butter, vinegar, peppers, and spices, resulting in the invention of barbeque sauce. German and French immigrants brought mustard, which became incorporated into the sauces. At the end of the 19th century, German-style coleslaw was added to the meal. Tomatoes, thought poisonous by early colonists, were later eaten and included in barbeque. By the 1800s, recipes for tomato ketchup appeared in American cookbooks. In Texas, German settlers developed barbecue sausage and brisket. Today, American barbeque reflects many regional preferences in the selections of sauces, rubs, smoking techniques, and meats.

Ethnic Foods and Ethnic Identity

The term *ethnic food* is ambiguous. We tend to have a good idea of the foods considered "American" versus those labeled "ethnic." Yet these

are not two discrete categories but are instead a continuum of food selections. As already noted, many American favorite foods have their origins in other cultures or represent fusions of different ethnic foods into the American diet. The newer a cultural group is to the United States, the more likely its food will retain its traditional roots and be considered “ethnic” by others.

Traditional ethnic recipes not only remind people how to cook but also pass on the history and culture that food can represent. Many traditional ethnic dishes are associated with rituals, holidays, or celebrations, which provide the opportunity to maintain ethnic identity. Holidays allow younger members of the cultural group to learn and practice their cultural heritage. Traditional recipes also allow food to develop into a complex cultural product in harmony with unique climates and traditions. Despite the cultural origins of many of our favorite foods, some of them are now American. Foods associated with exotic locales like Thailand or Ethiopia are clearly ethnic to many Americans. Americanized versions of ethnic cuisines may not resemble traditional ethnic cooking. For example, frogs’ legs are a very popular ingredient in some regions of China but are unlikely to be offered in an American Chinese restaurant.

Is Soul Food Ethnic?

Another type of American cuisine that has distinctly regional and ethnic roots is “soul food,” which has its origins in American slavery. African American slaves were farmers, cattle raisers, and fishermen who introduced several foods such as black-eyed peas, okra, sweet sorghum, turnips, and melons. Often these homeland foods were cultivated and used only by the slaves, eventually finding their way into the American diet. Slaves created their own recipes utilizing the leftovers and scraps of the undesired meats from their masters’ kitchens with some of their African crops grown for their own use. The recipes were shared among families and passed down through generations from memory.

After the emancipation of the slaves, many, who were excellent cooks, began working in homes, restaurants, and cafés throughout the United States, bringing this Afro-American cuisine to other regions of the country. In the 1960s this southern style of cooking by African American

cooks was renamed “soul food” to honor those who created and maintained this uniquely American cuisine. Today, some dishes that originally were part of this tradition have crossed into mainstream American cooking, such as macaroni and cheese, fried chicken, mashed potatoes, and meatloaf. Others remain uniquely soul food, such as chitterlings, hoppin’ john, butter beans, collard or mustard greens, hoe cakes, fried catfish, and custard pie. Many African Americans still eat soul food today, although it is generally reserved for holiday meals and special occasions.

Unfortunately, traditional soul food recipes are not healthy as a dietary mainstay because of the high levels of fats, sugars, and starches. Obesity combined with heart disease, high blood pressure, and diabetes is a serious health risk within the African American community. Modern efforts have focused on creating heart-healthy versions of traditional recipes. The risks of southern and soul food cooking were highlighted by the news that Paula Dean, the “Queen of Southern Cooking,” has type 2 diabetes. She teamed up with a company making the diabetes drug that she takes to create healthier versions of traditional recipes.

Conclusion

American cuisine reflects the history and multicultural composition of the people who immigrated to and settled this country. Beginning with Native Americans, Americans have adapted local foods and cooking techniques with those brought from other parts of the world. Some indigenous North American foods, such as sweet potatoes, were carried by Spanish and Portuguese traders to the Philippines, the East Indies, and then on to India and China. This process continues today with fusions of new cuisines with more traditional ones. Modern refrigeration and food packaging allows ethnic cuisines to be transported around the globe. An emphasis on healthy eating has challenged cooks to create newer, healthier versions of traditional foods.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Food; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Cultural Competence

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Minority Health, defines cultural competence as a set of "congruent behaviors, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency, or among professionals that enables effective work in cross-cultural situations." Culture may refer to a shared pattern of human behavior that includes things such as language, customs, and religious affiliation among a group of people that is passed down from one generation to the next. Competence may be conceptualized as the ability to function effectively and optimally as an individual or organization within the cultural context of the target population. Cultural competence, therefore, refers to the capacity of an individual or organization to communicate and interact effectively with people of similar and dissimilar cultures.

Cultural competence is a critical component in ensuring quality and sufficient care for people of diverse ethnic/racial backgrounds. As society becomes more diverse, contact with individuals of differing cultural backgrounds is increasingly common. Developing ways to gain cultural competence has become an important goal for a wide range of industries, including human resources, nonprofit organizations, and government agencies whose employees work

with individuals from diverse cultural or ethnic backgrounds. A lack of cultural competence may result in an increase in conflict and a failure to deliver services. Although cultural competence is important across a wide variety of contexts, health care agencies, businesses, and educational institutions have been particularly interested in developing and applying the principles of cultural competence.

Culture and the Need for Cultural Competence

Cultures vary significantly from each other in terms of customs, beliefs, and lifestyles. These cultural differences affect people's expectations and behaviors when interacting with each other. For instance, perceptions of constructs such as time differ greatly between cultures. People from cultures with a sequential view of time prefer to have detailed agendas that are followed throughout the day. Being late to appointments may be considered unprofessional and disrespectful. People from cultures with a synchronic view of time tend to have a more flexible perception of time. They believe that rigid deadlines are unnecessary and that showing up after an agreed-upon time is acceptable. A culturally competent individual or organization would recognize these different orientations toward time and may institute policies and protocols that prevent conflicts from emerging. In addition, effective and culturally sensitive programs for handling conflict would be developed using cultural competence as its theoretical framework.

To systematically identify factors that differ across cultures, researcher Geert Hofstede conducted a study of over 40 countries with the assistance of the IBM company. He identified five dimensions that vary across cultures: (1) relations between people, namely whether people emphasize the group (collectivist) versus the individual (individualistic); (2) power distance, which is the extent to which people accept that power and influence is distributed equally among members of the society; (3) uncertainty avoidance, which is the extent to which people feel comfortable or uncomfortable in unstructured situations; (4) masculinity versus femininity, or the extent to which gender roles are highly distinct from each other, in that men are expected to be tough, assertive,

and focused on material success, whereas women are expected to be more tender, modest, and caring about quality of life—in contrast, more egalitarian societies may have more overlap between gender roles; and (5) short-term versus long-term orientation, which refers to the extent to which people expect immediate rewards for their efforts versus accepting delayed gratification.

Creating Cultural Competence

How do we measure if a person or organization demonstrates cultural competence? How do we improve cultural competence? Tools for measuring cultural competence have varied according to the specific context. One example is taken from Diversity Training University International, where four key components were identified to achieving cultural competence. The components are as follows:

1. **Awareness:** A general cognizance of one's own beliefs or biases toward people from diverse backgrounds.
2. **Attitudes:** The positive or negative ways in which a person perceives people of diverse backgrounds.
3. **Knowledge:** The amount of informational facts one has regarding other cultures, including customs, norms, religion, beliefs, and habits.
4. **Skills:** How well a person deals with people coming from a different culture, and whether he or she will treat that person with an understanding attitude or express biases or even prejudice.

Training programs in educational settings may assist teachers in enhancing the way they interact with students from diverse cultural backgrounds. Teachers may become more sensitive to students who were raised with different expectations regarding the appropriateness of talking during class, disagreeing with arguments made by other students, and what constitutes appropriate deference to authority. Corporations and small businesses may train employees to become more sensitive and aware of ways in which culture can shape attitudes about teamwork, who should receive credit for projects, and the importance of team versus individual goals. The health care

industry represents one of the most substantial areas where cultural competence has become a point of emphasis.

Cultural Competence and Health Care

Medical professionals and organizations serve patients from all walks of life, routinely interacting with people from all socioeconomic brackets, with differing languages and cultures. One major concern for health care practitioners may be the potential barriers people face in receiving care because of their cultural background. The National Center for Cultural Competence at Georgetown University has provided several examples of how a lack of cultural competence may disrupt care, beginning with interactions with receptionists in medical facilities. Patients may feel stigmatized, which may reduce willingness to interact with the medical community and can make receiving care more difficult. The following are some examples of how cultural incompetence may affect the quality of health care one receives:

1. Ms. Z is an African American mother of a child with special health care needs. Cultural stereotypes may portray Ms. Z as impoverished and influence a receptionist to immediately ask for her Medicaid card. In contrast, Ms. T is a middle-class white woman, but has a child on Medicaid because of a state waiver program. She may face challenges in receiving adequate care, such as the staff changing their attitudes and becoming cold and rude once she takes out her Medicaid card.
2. Ms. Y speaks little English and finds it very difficult to locate and communicate with staff to make appointments or to understand doctor instructions.
3. Ms. X is an immigrant from Sri Lanka. Ms. X has an Anglo name, Grace Williams. She is surprised when she is told to sit back down and wait her turn after the clerk at the front desk calls out "Grace Williams." The clerk assumed that a woman with an ethnically Sri Lankan appearance could not have an Anglo name. Ms. X may now feel alienated and marginalized as a result.

There are several different types of barriers that may arise when a health care organization is not culturally competent. These barrier types may be categorized as organizational barriers, structural barriers, and clinical barriers.

Organizational barriers include a lack of culturally diverse personnel in the workforce and leadership of health care organizations. For example, African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans make up 28 percent of the U.S. population, but only 16 percent of public health faculty, 17 percent of city and county health officers, and 2 percent of individuals with senior leadership roles in health care management. Only 5 percent of U.S. physicians are African American and only 4 percent are Hispanic. One concern with the lack of representation in the health care industry is that policies, procedures, and delivery systems may not be appropriate for underrepresented populations because caregivers who are members of underrepresented populations are more likely than their Euro-American counterparts to organize health delivery systems to meet the needs of minority populations. For example, Spanish-speaking patients tend to report more satisfaction with health care when their health care provider is Spanish-speaking. African American patients report more satisfaction with care when their physician employs a participatory and inclusive style of decision making.

Structural barriers refer to bureaucratic or systemic challenges in properly accessing health care. These problems are exacerbated for members of underrepresented groups, who may not have access to proper interpreter services or culturally sensitive or linguistically appropriate health education materials. For example, compared to English-speaking patients, Spanish-speaking patients discharged from the emergency room are less likely to understand their diagnoses, prescribed medications, special instructions, or plans for follow-up care.

They may also be less willing to return if they have a problem and are less satisfied with their provider-patient relationship. Patients who are members of underrepresented groups are two to three times more likely than Euro-American patients to report major problems accessing specialty care, and are one and a half to two times more likely to not have a regular doctor.

Clinical barriers arise from the interactions between health care providers and the patient or the patient's family. Providers may receive medical training that conflicts with the belief systems of the patients. Some patients may have significantly different beliefs than providers. Provider/patient beliefs may differ in regard to the use of home remedies or treatments that are common in other cultures, the link between body and mind, and levels of trust in doctors and the health care system. People from diverse cultures may also use different metaphors or examples to communicate their symptoms. This may lead to misdiagnosis or confusion over the proper diagnosis.

For example, a Chinese patient may say that he has "fire going on" when he gets inflammation in his mouth. The Western doctor may prescribe medication, but the Chinese patient may expect a traditional herbal medicine to "put out the fire." Additionally, there are various conditions that are known as "culture-bound conditions" because they only seem to appear in specific cultures. *Susto* is a condition found specifically within Latin America, where people have the frightening experience of feeling as though their soul is attempting to escape from their body, leading to a wide range of psychological or physiological symptoms. Health professionals need to have knowledge about these conditions and try to solve them in a way that is acceptable to both the patient's original culture and the host culture. Enhancing cultural competence in communication between patient and provider may decrease the likelihood that individuals experience discrimination and may increase the likelihood that patients receive the proper treatment for their symptoms.

Many researchers, professionals, and patients have addressed these barriers in asking for the development of culturally competent treatment. This includes reducing organizational barriers by increasing the number of members of underrepresented groups in the health professional workforce and leadership. Structural barriers can be reduced by introducing innovations in health care systems designed to facilitate communication between providers and patients and making health promotion materials more accessible to individuals from diverse backgrounds. Interventions to clinical barriers can include promoting

education initiatives that equip health care professionals with knowledge and skills to serve diverse populations.

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See Also: Ethnicity; Intercultural Competence; Intercultural Education; Interculturalism; Minority Group/Majority; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching

An enduring problem confronting the American educational system is how to ensure that all students, particularly racial/ethnic minority students, achieve academic success. Culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is an approach whereby teachers acknowledge the home, community, and culture of each student and integrate

those values and experiences into curricular content and school environment. CRP recognizes that the "lived experiences" of marginalized groups are significant and are what allows them to make meaning of the world. The approach also acknowledges deficiencies in many traditional curricula that primarily convey the ideology of the dominant culture. CRP's goals are for every student to achieve academic success, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness, and for every student to become empowered to create and construct meaning in order to succeed in the larger community.

Although the 2010 census documents that 74.8 percent of adults are white, racial/ethnic minority children from birth to age 17 comprise nearly 45 percent of the population. In the 20 largest U.S. school districts, students of color range between 53 percent and 97 percent of the public school population. Given that more than 80 percent of today's K–12 educators are white, adopting culturally responsive pedagogy is a vital praxis toward bridging cultural differences.

Culturally responsive pedagogy includes a curriculum organized around sharing ideas, active student involvement, high expectations, community collaboration, and questioning "truth" in society and in long-established methodologies. This academically rigorous student-centered curriculum has its roots in established educational methods termed equity pedagogy, sociocultural teaching and multicultural or social justice education. This model of nonjudgmental, inclusive teaching, borrows from many multicultural, antiracist education scholars of the past 30 years. James A. Banks has traditionally advocated transformative teaching that includes a movement away from a Eurocentric curriculum, with a goal of equity pedagogy.

In Geneva Gay's *Culturally Responsive Teaching*, she passionately calls for teachers to recognize, honor, and incorporate students' personal experiences into lessons and teaching strategies. Gay, through her instructive style of storytelling, explains culturally responsive teaching as a dynamic and interactive process. Through narratives, educators learn to become more engaged with their students' cultural connections as they model ways to incorporate what is significant in students' lives into academic achievement.

Educator Sonia Nieto defines education in a sociopolitical context with multicultural social justice principles infused throughout the curriculum. Pedagogical theorist and teacher Gloria Ladson-Billings, however, coined the terms *culturally relevant teaching* in 1987 and *culturally relevant pedagogy* in 1994 to delineate when the three interrelated tenets of student success, cultural competence, and critical sociopolitical consciousness are achieved through teaching that honors connections between home, community, and school cultures that are committed to collective as well as individual empowerment.

Culturally relevant teaching ensures that ethnically diverse students' learning is relevant to them. Gay, however, acknowledges a preference for the term *culturally responsive pedagogy* because it represents a compilation of ideas from a larger variety of scholars. The term is often used to describe the collective philosophy practiced in culturally relevant teaching. It is aligned with the goal of reversing the achievement trends of students of color through an intentional pedagogy of power-sharing through teaching modes that cultivate both academic success and cultural identity through student empowerment. Students' experiences are a core element of the curriculum within a shared teacher/student practice. Culturally relevant teaching describes the praxis, or the doing and living of the lessons of culturally responsive pedagogy.

Bridging the Achievement Gap

A major concern of educators has been how to address the achievement gap between white and black/ethnic students. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), the largest nationally representative and continuing assessment of what America's students know and can do in various subject areas, has repeatedly reported notable academic differences between white students and their black and Hispanic counterparts. Black students lag significantly behind whites on national assessments of mathematics and reading in grades four, eight, and 12 and are three times as likely to drop out of school as white children. Asian/Pacific Islanders score at or above white averages, and Hispanic and American Indian students trail white students in the most recent NAEP data.

The Comprehensive School Reform program began in 1998 and was signed into law in 2002

under Title I, Part F of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This produced the national No Child Left Behind (NCLB) initiative that mandates that schools show evidence of meeting the needs of all students. Particularly, the political lens has focused on children labeled "at risk" and minority. This restructuring process has predominantly authorized two different but equally authoritarian curricular models to improve scores. Each method has a teacher-directed, scripted, standardized curriculum, and test-based concentration. It is externally administered and essentially follows a business model of school reform. The implication is that schools with scores that do not rise, analogous to businesses that show losses, are subject to closing. Although schools have questioned how this prescribed curriculum demonstrates relevance for their diverse student populations, they nonetheless have complied with the required programs and testing.

NAEP scores of performance by race have been studied for decades. The achievement gap originally narrowed during the 1970s. Many educators believe that improvements by students of color were directly connected to schools initiating multicultural programs, bilingual education, and acknowledgment of diverse students' needs. But the political tides of subsequent years favored standards-based reforms, eventually resulting in NCLB mandates in most districts.

Researchers were pleased with early NCLB data but discovered that slight increases in reading and math scores for minority students quickly declined under rigorous investigation. Traditional rote teaching of a curriculum having no connection to the cultural and linguistic needs of students has not proven to meet the intended objectives of No Child Left Behind, as evidenced by recent NAEP results. Problems such as poverty, disproportionate placement of students of color in special education classes, and low teacher expectations of minority students obviously added to the achievement gap. Critics maintain that while implementation of NCLB has focused attention on the principle that every child deserves the best education, it questions whether standardized curricula, emphasizing low-level knowledge and skills easily measured on norm-referenced tests, do more than mask continuing inequities in the education of minority students.

Culturally responsive pedagogy addresses these factors by shifting focus from students' underperformance to how schools and curricula fail students. Intentional inclusion of students' backgrounds, home, and culture in a CRP curriculum becomes a direct demonstration of the distinction between difference and deficiency. Numerous studies have illustrated the success of culturally responsive pedagogy, although most report qualitative findings. Advocates recognize that quantitative research must increase and be more definitive. School districts, however, have witnessed benefits of CRP that cannot be measured by looking exclusively at students' test-score performance. Rather, the outcomes of culturally relevant pedagogy extend far beyond what might be measured on a standardized exam and show promise as a gap-narrowing alternative.

Principal Themes

The literature on CRP by such scholars as Gloria Ladson-Billings, Geneva Gay, Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, Sonia Nieto, Gary Howard, and others demonstrates parallels among their approaches to culturally responsive pedagogy. In 2008, 45 classroom-based studies of CRP practice denoted 12 specific actions that differentiate culturally responsive pedagogy from traditional models, while other education scholars have delineated more than 30 essential components derived from the aforementioned sociocultural approaches.

Fundamentally, culturally responsive pedagogy is distinguishable by five significant principles: (1) whole child teaching emphasis, (2) excellence through equity, (3) acknowledgment of students' and teachers' identities, (4) importance of student-teacher relationships, and (5) the integral connections of home, school, and community.

"Whole child emphasis" underscores that the cultural knowledge students bring to school must also be acknowledged, explored, and integrated into the curriculum. It observes developmental appropriateness of lessons for students of color that may differ from the majority population due to previous educational experiences or lack thereof. Influences from initial cultural socialization within the family and community affect how students receive and respond to what is meaningful to them. Teachers' knowledge and translation of different cultural communications styles can

avert misinterpretations of behavior or perceived demonstrations of disrespect. Although teachers maintain standards and practice within the requirements of the prescribed curriculum, they teach to and through strengths of their students. By incorporating students' interests, cultural information, and learning preferences, teachers validate and affirm students as they connect learning to their lives and environment.

The second CRP theme of "equity" is different from equality in that it acknowledges that students have specific needs requiring differentiation from "one size fits all" models. Color-blindness is antithetical to equity. Treating students equitably, teachers note their differences and affirm them as cultural assets. Teachers learn to realize that race is a significant factor and to address various disparities through differentiated instruction that honors individual talents and needs. Excellence is expected, as culturally relevant teachers provide scaffolds between what students already know and what they need to learn. Relevant teaching requires knowledge about how people learn and how different people learn differently. Teachers employ counter-storytelling as a critique of the mainstream master narrative, actively implement multiple ways of constructing knowledge, and ensure that content is inclusive of all cultures represented in their classrooms. Rigorous standards and high expectations of each student are embedded in their attitudes and lessons.

The third theme asks that culturally relevant teachers be attuned to their students' identities and to critically examine their own sociocultural identities. Such self-acknowledgment creates a cultural consciousness that helps teachers form authentic relationships with students. Success of CRP is often related to how willing teachers are to acknowledge their culture, which shapes their values, beliefs, ideas about family, historical perspectives, and communication styles, and to understand their own identity's impact on their practices in the classroom. Teachers' cognizance of themselves as political beings is important because schools are social systems that often afford greater status to some and dissimilar access to power to others. This is resolved by consistent efforts to reduce the gap between the cultures of students and the unexamined norms of non-CRP teachers and curricula. Culturally relevant teachers realize

that many racial/ethnic minority students view themselves and the world differently than white students, which requires teaching strategies that enable students to appreciate the significance of their identities, voices, and histories.

Theme four, the student–teacher relationship, is critical in promoting student learning. Although typically beneficial when the ethnicity, race, or culture of the teacher matches that of the students, current demographics deem this pairing improbable. Culturally relevant teachers, regardless of race, are successful facilitators of student learning through authentic relationships, community involvement, and creation of a positive classroom atmosphere. They envision their teaching as art rather than a set of skills, consider themselves an important part of their students’ lives, demonstrate deep respect for students as intellectuals and full human beings, and provide caring interpersonal relationships that are fluid, equitable, and extend beyond the classroom.

Culturally relevant teachers maintain reciprocal teacher-student relationships where student knowledge is continuously re-created and shared in the classroom and students are partly responsible for each other’s academic success. Teachers have a repertoire of differing representations for given concepts or procedures, discuss their pedagogical choices with their students, and essentially implement multiple ways of constructing knowledge.

The fifth principle recognizes that the home and community cultivate all students before they enter school. Culturally relevant teachers are aware of the integral connections and importance of home-school-community collaborations with regard to learning outcomes and enlisting support. They know that the world exists within relationships and that it is contingent upon relationships. Because influences from early cultural experiences in the family shape students’ perceptions and expectations, teachers expand their classrooms through outreach to the family and entire community. Home visitations and involvement in activities beyond classroom walls demonstrate that the teachers value family and community as vital partners in the education process.

Current Outlook

The U.S. education system is in flux. Many educators believe that adopting practices of culturally

responsive pedagogy can assuage inequities in the education of diverse students, compared to externally mandated, standardized curricula. Administrators find themselves weighing pressures to raise test scores through standardized measurements or incorporate multiple forms of evaluations of excellence.

More than a set of principles involving equity, community, and student-centered curriculum, CRP involves a mind-set that permeates teachers’ every decision regarding integration of the whole child and education for each child. For widespread implementation, culturally responsive pedagogy requires proof of rigorous assessment and ongoing published research that systematically documents its impact on student learning and verifies success of its principal goal of academic success and cultural competency for ethnically diverse students.

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See Also: Cooperative/Collaborative Learning; Critical Pedagogy; Critical Race Theory; Equity and Equality; Multicultural Education.

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Culture

The notion of culture as a term of reference or explanatory medium is and has been a developmental concept “always in the making.” In American anthropology, two major early figures—Franz Boas from Columbia University and Alfred Kroeber from Berkeley—were significant in its early reiteration: Boas for his work on “configurations” and outlines of ideas, practices, and features, not the least of which was language, which a society maintained in “traditional” practices, and Kroeber for the idea that culture was superorganic and had little to do with individuals but determined the practices and behaviors of groups. The difference between the two was that Boas’s ideas were largely framed as timeless entities while Kroeber’s ideas paid great attention to history and change of the “super-organic” features over time and context.

Both stressed that culture was associated with discrete groups, each bounded by the outlines of ideas and meanings and practices that made each group different. Thus whole identities were associated with specific groups, which made cross-cultural comparisons possible. This concept influenced generations of anthropologists, and public discourse through the 1950s with few exceptions basically followed a type of Boasian or Kroeberian design. Thus discreteness of whole peoples was emphasized with different traits, languages, practices, rituals, ways of making a living, and political rules and interests. This point of view became very pervasive and in different variations of the same premise—even without the use of the label “culture”—came to be used (for example, in Africa, India, Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East) as the *raison d’être* for colonial rule and maintaining categories of persons in place with very particular group designations like “tribe,” the Maya, or the Kwakiutl.

Such separateness made for easy stereotypes and, in a nutshell, populations—in spite of their internal variability, differences, and complexity—were often turned into nonconnected, isolated, bounded, and timeless “cultures” or “societies.” In addition, a major emphasis of these early concepts was that these were integrated and functioned like clockwork with politics, social relations, ideological systems, economy, ritual,

and religion all contributing in some manner to sustaining traditional values and meanings over historical time. At the same time, these were interlocking, providing the platforms from whence future generations were enculturated to take their defined places and spaces.

But in the fifties and through the present, the recognition that human populations were not isolated wholes but were in reality, even in antiquity, interdependent and connected resulted in the shifting of premises of “culture” to “cultures” in which many populations—certainly from the ancient past to the present—in reality were connected by economy, trade, invasions, polities of various sizes, migrations, and population movements due to natural disasters like earthquakes and floods.

Thus these much more complex renditions of “cultures” in which economic, political, cultural, and social links and connections from regional to transnational to world systems of relations were emphasized became more normative, especially in the period following Vietnam. Thus new studies often included ecological changes that affected where humans lived and how they managed daily survival culturally by adopting new ways of thinking and meaning as well as by adapting to changing physical circumstances and relating to different populations that they encountered.

Postmodern Approaches

Two other important influences also added to new ways of considering “cultural systems” and complexity of human beings, not only about how they organized meanings, but also about how these meanings were distributed among individuals and the central questions involved. But how do we know what others think when they are thinking culturally? This provided impetus for the second influence from sociology, psychology, and economics—greater attention to more rigorous techniques and methods in addition to observations and interviews so that more attention was paid to the technical means by which people think and do in order to elicit information without the ever-present influence of the anthropologist.

However, such tasks, although scientifically cast, were heavily criticized as being narrowly uncreative. So an opposite position was developed of what could be termed “postmodern approaches” and the “political economy” view in which persons

were unbounded by experience. Moreover, in these approaches, the transnational and global world did not permit viewing cultural systems of human populations as somehow only “local” so those of a postmodern bent and political economy assumptions emphasized the local in the global network of links of meaning, identity, and “place” in a much broader cultural perspective. Scholars who were more economically and historically oriented sought to find links of articulation between the way in which power relations were distributed in complex webs of connections between local cultural systems and global and transnational processes of production, distribution, and accumulation whose meanings were often accepted but also often reconfigured by groups and individuals. Thus, from the kind of superdeterminism of early cultural studies arose a different sort of cultural analysis in which persons were agents and movers and made changes to the impositions of meaning as well as the aftermath of inequality.

At the same time, however, there has continued to be some interest in the manner in which such diversity is organized and/or shared so that human beings cannot simply be looked upon as using their cultural repertoires in a random and unpredictable manner. Yet, this position is itself a problem, particularly concerning those urban and migratory situations in which populations are forced to move in myriad cultural contexts having little to do with their original cultural upbringing about what is normative, “usual,” and expected. It may be the case, however, that human beings are so malleable in their ability to learn quickly, adapt and innovate, and create approaches, responses, and techniques of cultural meanings and behaviors that there may be little to limit the development of layers of cultural understandings used at will, discarded when no longer functioning, and that serve as the template of a process in which persons “learn to learn.” That is, each time a new, unfamiliar, or non-normative situation arises, new and seemingly more complex understandings emerge with an increased capacity to deal with greater complexity of understandings. Thus a multiplicity of cultural capacities are emphasized rather than single cultural identities based on the nation or religion, or participation only in local versions of culture without considering the interaction with transborder and transnational processes.

There are two other themes that are strongly emphasized in the present: first, the role of gender and class in the manner in which meanings, identity, and behavior are “distributed”; and second, and as important, that cultural systems are seldom frozen or cemented in one place. For the former, one of the major issues is the expectations regarding a host of cultural issues, including confusing biology for gender identity and behavior, with the former functioning as a human reproductive capacity and with the latter defined by power relations in political and economic settings and cultural scripts inherited or promulgated in different settings.

These are influenced by local, national, and transnational attitudes, expectations, and values repeated and emphasized in religious, educational, and political institutions. Gender, from a contemporary cultural perspective, is not a “given” based on biology or sexuality but strongly influenced by prevailing contexts and cultural scripts promulgated by institutional means and, certainly, class positions and relations of power.

The thematic arising from understanding that globalization, migration, transborder economic processes, and different populations meeting physically in the same space and place cannot but introduce new processes of interaction, learning, and adaptation so that cultural systems over time can hardly be considered “original” or defined by specific cultural behaviors that “belong” only to one group or another. While there are great pressures from national states to adhere to cultural scripts of “citizenship,” these are only one important but not singular script of learning, and when diverse cultural populations interact, then “cultural bumping” will be the norm rather than the exception. Thus a young female Ph.D.—one of whose parents is Irish and the other Colombian but who was raised in Mexican-influenced San Antonio, Texas, and who visits her Colombian relatives in Colombia while simultaneously being married to a non-Latino professional—provides us a glimpse into the complexity of cultural layers into which their own child will be exposed.

Thus, in the present, the notion of “culture” cannot be regarded as a singular type of concept but, rather, itself has emerged and evolved to encompass the great diversity of human expectations, global and local interactions, the meeting

of already diverse populations with other diverse populations in the same place and space, and, last but not least, an understanding of the almost inexhaustible malleability of the human capacity to make, develop, and create new versions of cultures, nonnormative expectations, and, as creative agents, to introduce layered and learned experiences, values, and beliefs of what we have traditionally considered as “culture.”

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See Also: Cultural Competence; Culture Shock; Intercultural Competence; Interculturalism.

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Culture Shock

Culture shock is a sense of loss and disorientation that occurs when our deeper values are challenged by a new culture where adaptation is required. This conflict in values frequently generates feelings of tension and anxiety due to the loss of familiar cultural cues, and a sense of inefficacy when we cannot succeed at tasks we once mastered. Symptoms of culture shock may be both physical and psychological, resembling typical stress responses we may have had before, in our own culture.

It is significant to recognize that culture shock relates not only to the loss of the frame of reference we have comfortably used but also to the defensiveness that this loss stimulates. It is not only not knowing what to do, but also a case of being unable to do what we have always done well before. This cognitive inconsistency often propels us to defend the worldview that has previously been so effective, only intensifying the sense of alienation.

Culture shock is a term that has been bandied about for decades in many sectors of cultural interaction, including international education, the military, business, nongovernmental organizations, refugee and immigrant services, and even in domestic diversity contexts. In its most basic sense, it refers to the experience we have when we encounter unexpected differences, and when we find ourselves perplexed or even intimidated by unusual expectations. This occurs most obviously when we enter a new country, a new region, or a new community, whether as a sojourner, a traveler, an immigrant, a refugee, or a minority. Any place that presents us with a powerful new worldview, that requires us to adapt, in which our sense of “how things are” is challenged, can foster a culture shock—sometimes called transition shock—reaction.

The “Dis-ease” of Culture Shock

At one time, culture shock was considered a negative consequence of culture contact, with some suggesting that it was a sign of mental instability. That orientation to culture shock was debunked in the late 1960s when large groups of certifiably sane young Peace Corps volunteers arrived in villages throughout the world and promptly experienced the stress of something they were told was culture shock. The fact that volunteers were carefully screened, substantially assessed, and still seemed to react to their new cultural isolation suggested to many observers that it was not merely the hopelessly neurotic voyager who found sojourning challenging. While culture shock may be dis-ease, it is not a disease.

Stage Models of Culture Shock

During the 1960s and 1970s, many writers attempted to develop stage theories about culture shock, describing various symptoms and attitude transformations that occurred sequentially.

A number of them described a U-curve model, moving from the high point of arrival through the low point of culture shock and ascending in anticipation of the return home. A few authors added a second curve, sometimes called the W-curve, creating a similar dip upon arrival home, when the individual may experience reentry shock, often described as the more distressing of the two reactions.

Most of the stage theories described the early phase after arrival to a new culture as a pleasant state of curiosity and anticipation when hosts require little of the visitor, and the visitor in turn knows little of the culture. As an outsider, the individual may not even recognize problems as they occur and therefore feels no need to resolve them. People may experience “culture surprise,” which occurs when they first arrive in an unfamiliar culture and begin observing superficial differences. The surprise relates to what they see, such as observing religious rituals, touching behaviors, or even different toilets.

When individuals finally try to accomplish a task in the new culture, “culture stress” may occur, a case of stimulus overload as they recognize their own limits in the new environment. Examples of typical cultural stresses include hearing comments about themselves, trying to get their shoes repaired, or even doing grocery shopping. As sojourners watch five-year-olds accomplish what they themselves can’t, confidence plummets, identity is questioned, and the setting is ripe for the in-depth culture shock experience.

As people make an effort to integrate into the host culture, they may discover that at the deepest value level, serious conflicts exist between the new environment and their home culture. These may involve religious values, social justice issues, privacy concerns, or whatever the person holds most dear. It is this level of conflict that engenders the more potent culture shock reaction, sometimes called the bottom of the U-curve. Not only is there a sense of loss and disorientation, but the context often requires an adaptation that challenges the sojourner’s strongest values.

Eventually, through building intercultural competence and reframing their worldview, efforts at integration often lead to a state of satisfaction in the new culture, sometimes called “adaptation” or returning to the top of the U-curve.

Not all researchers have supported stage theories of culture shock due to the limited empirical evidence for this rather elusive construct. For instance, some writers suggest that far from a pleasant arrival, many visitors enter a stage of discomfort immediately upon disembarking. While the U-curve concept offers a tidy model for thinking about the transition process, culture contact is rarely that clear-cut. However, U- or W-curve models have survived because they are often intuitively attractive to many travelers who read their own responses into the model.

Causes of Culture Shock

While all transition experiences are fraught with the potential for stress and anxiety, culture shock is particularly well suited to challenge the sojourner’s sense of well-being. There are numerous conceptual frameworks for examining the causes of culture shock.

First, the grief literature on loss and change suggests that during a time of loss, people fall back to a conservative impulse, seeking to protect that which they value from the impact of the new circumstance. For instance, the roles people play in their own cultures may be drastically altered in the new environment. A mother may be away from her children; an executive may be powerless; a friend may leave her social network behind. Each must adapt to their new roles rather than attempt to cling to their old roles in the new context, and this is difficult.

Second, situational and personal variables affect the intensity of the intercultural experience. Michael Paige notes 10 factors that increase the psychological impact of intercultural experience: cultural differences, ethnocentrism, language differences, cultural immersion, cultural isolation, prior intercultural experience, expectations, visibility and invisibility, status differences, and power and control.

Third, stimulus overload or underload may contribute to the culture shock response. Many actions that could be taken for granted in the home country, whether brushing one’s teeth or reading the daily paper online, become challenging in the new environment. It seems that everything is alien and represents a new approach to formerly familiar routines, which can become exhausting.

Symptoms of Culture Shock

Symptoms of culture shock can be both physical and psychological. Physical symptoms may include headaches, stomach aches, dizziness, rashes, nausea, irritability, insomnia, or excessive sleepiness; psychological symptoms may include mild depression, uneasiness, loneliness, withdrawal, mistrust, irritability, aggression, resentment, fear, crying, and complaining. Worries develop about aspects of the new environment: “Is the food safe?” “Are they cheating me?” “Is this prejudice against my group?” Not understanding whether to flee or flex, the sojourner may develop negative attitudes toward the new community and retreat to a more familiar group.

Managing Culture Shock

Many writers suggest the obvious: that knowing it is normal to experience culture shock, and what it feels like, provide an excellent start for managing it. Practicing familiar stress reduction techniques also helps. However, there are several less intuitive approaches to lessening the impact of culture shock. First, developing intercultural competence is the core to successful adaptation. Intercultural competence is a set of cognitive, affective, and behavioral characteristics and skills that support effective and appropriate interactions in a variety of intercultural contexts. The personal attributes of empathy, tolerance of ambiguity, curiosity, cognitive complexity, and nonevaluativeness have been recognized as central to intercultural competence.

Second, in the face of massive life changes, the transition literature cautions that the person should hold something steady. If the sojourner is changing language, culture, environment, job, and relationships, it is useful to maintain a thread from the past to achieve some continuity as the individual weaves a future in a new culture. Whether that thread is a hobby, a relationship, or something else the person values, research has suggested that maintaining that interest in the new culture increases satisfaction. Sometimes selecting a new interest can serve the same function.

Third, Mick Vande Berg’s recent research has noted that there may be optimal amounts of time to spend with members of the host culture (from 51 to 75 percent) and appropriate amounts to spend with fellow sojourners. It is not as simple as

total immersion; it is not as elementary as avoiding your own group. A balance of time with the person’s cultural cohort can allow for processing learning about the new culture and reestablishing a support network.

Fourth, sojourners who have an opportunity to help recently arrived outsiders learn how to function in the new culture may be surprised to recognize how much they have already learned. The experience can help restore a sense of agency that may have been lost in their own transition.

Finally, it is important to view the onset of culture shock as the onset of a learning edge, knowing that something is profoundly different and that this represents a challenging and rewarding learning opportunity.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Intercultural Communication; Intercultural Competence; Intergroup Contact Theory.

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Curandero

A *curandero* is a male shaman or healer who practices Latino folk medicine, *curanderismo*. (A

female practitioner is called *curandera*; for the purposes of this article the two terms are interchanged.) Hispanic cultures in the United States and elsewhere have a strong tradition of folk medicine. Curanderos and other practitioners of folk healing are respected, influential members of Latino communities and have a variety of skills.

In many traditional cultures, including Hispanic American cultures, there is a general belief that many illnesses are caused by not only physical factors but also spiritual ones. A range of ideas contribute to this belief system, including the idea that physical roots of a health problem such as an infection can be tied to spiritual and supernatural forces.

For example, a physical infection might be influenced by God or evil forces, including witchcraft (*brujeria*) or even Satan. Curanderas are, in a sense, intervening in spiritual matters between spiritual forces and their patients and assisting the patients in healing themselves.

Curanderos are equipped to handle both the physical and spiritual aspects of health issues and therefore are very important to some Latino communities.

The presence of botanicas, stores where herbal and religious healing elements are sold, is one good indicator that the local culture holds traditional healing beliefs and curanderas in high regard. (This is not to say that, for example, Western pharmacies would not also play an important role in the community; rather, in communities that use curanderos a multitiered approach to illness and health, including both Western and traditional methods, is often adopted.) The details of a community's curanderismo are closely tied to the specific region of Latin or South America from which the community members originate.

Certain symptoms within a culture are special signifiers and perceived in unique ways; these are culture-bound syndromes. An example of this is the "evil eye," *mal ojo*. A successful healer of the evil eye, whether she is a curandera or an M.D., will recognize both the cultural implications of the malady (in which children exhibit fever, crying, and vomiting as a result of spiritual issues) and the physical ones.

In other words, the healer will address the main danger—dehydration—and also the spiritual needs of the patient and family. Most curanderas

are well aware of their limits and many refer patients to Western medical professionals as needed. And, along these lines, the wise M.D. who treats people from more traditional Hispanic communities will endeavor to be sensitive to the role of folk medicine in the lives of her patients and will ask them what they feel the causes of the malady might be and what they have done to treat it. Furthermore, families might consult both an M.D. and a curandero, and pick, choose, and combine which methods they use from each consultation. This exchange of healing methods should highlight the ways curanderos impact American society as a whole. The research area of cultural influences on medical issues is steadily growing in our culture; see, for example, studies on the influence of folk medicine on pain management in cancer patients.

A curandero is known for his knowledge of a broad range of folk medical cures and his spiritual power; he works on each of the material, spiritual, and mental levels. The knowledge and skill of the curandero not only is seen by the community as something acquired with practice but also is a blessing that only some receive. There is therefore very little conflict between church practices and the work of curanderas as the two are seen to be connected and symbiotic.

The curandero may focus on herbal remedies, food-based cures, or other areas. As in more traditional Western practices of medicine, curanderas often have specialties. A curandera who is more of a midwife might be called a *partera*, although she is still a healer, a curandera. The curandero who specializes in massage is called a *sobadoro*. And the curandero who focuses on herbal cures is called a *yerbero*. Each of these specialties shares the holistic approach of the curandero and avoids treating a specific symptom, instead looking at the person as a whole and trying to discern what changes that person might need to effect to experience both greater health and happiness. The curandera's practice is usually handed down in part and mentoring is extremely important to the survival of the healing practice.

Without question, Latino folk medicine and the role of the curandero remain an important part of Hispanic American culture as well as American culture as a whole. Especially as we move forward in implementing public health

systems in the United States, the cultural impact of curanderismo will need to be assessed and the lessons of the healing practice of the curandero implemented to achieve full buy-in from Latino communities.

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See Also: Age and Ethnic Diversity; Hispanic Americans; Medicine and Ethnic Diversity; Shaman.

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subsequent standards movement, which became prominent in the 1990s, slowed much of this work. However, as the U.S. population continues to diversify, the need for a well-planned and well-taught integrated curriculum is increasingly important.

Historical Context

Roots of today's efforts to integrate content by and about historically marginalized groups can be traced back at least a century. Early work in ethnic studies, led primarily by African American scholars such as W. E. B. Du Bois, began in the latter part of the 1800s. Their writings about historical experiences of African Americans were used in schools that African American communities established for their own children. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, scholars such as Carter G. Woodson actively promoted study of African American history and life through venues such as research, establishment of publications like the *Journal of Negro History*, and establishment of Negro History Week (which later became African American History Month).

Intergroup education was developed after World War II, primarily by white progressive educators and social scientists to improve relationships among diverse racial/ethnic and religious groups. Activities in schools focused on cultivation of democratic attitudes, prejudice reduction by teaching about diverse groups, development of cross-racial relationships and communication, and work in communities to address social problems.

In the wake of the civil rights movement and school desegregation in the 1960s and 1970s, students, educators, and parents drew on these historical antecedents in their demands for curriculum change. African American parents and educators, joined later by Mexican American, Puerto Rican, American Indian, and Asian American parents and educators, were deeply concerned that their children were being sent to schools that taught an all-white curriculum and in which the teachers and white students were ignorant of communities of color. Community members and students began to pressure schools and universities to create curriculum that teaches ethnic minority group histories and cultures. Beginning with San Francisco State University in 1968, ethnic studies

Curricular Integration

Curricular integration refers to integration of knowledge about and by historically marginalized groups into the school or university curriculum. Although there has been a long history of efforts to integrate African Americans, in particular, into curriculum, work on curricular integration became most visible during the decades following the civil rights movement. The



An elementary school class studies botanical specimens at the United States Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1901. By the 1970s and 1980s, textbooks were published for elementary and secondary schools drew on scholarship about ethnicity and involved local communities in helping create curriculum drawing on community knowledge and history. This curricular integration also included African American literature text in high schools.

spread rapidly across the country. Although student demands were most pronounced at the university level, there were also demands by secondary school students for a relevant curriculum, such as the Chicano student walkouts in Los Angeles in 1968.

Ethnic studies and women's studies at the university level became very important to curricular integration by providing a vibrant context for ethnic and women's studies research. Many scholars became involved in archival work of piecing together histories of marginalized groups, and reinterpreting the disciplines from specific groups' perspectives. For example, African American literary theorists compiled literature written by African Americans, then began to theorize about literature from the vantage point of this body of work. Women scientists began to compile biographies of

women in math and science, as well as analyses of how traditional math and science curricula fail to encourage girls.

In elementary and secondary schools, textbooks became a flash point of concern, as numerous analyses documented omissions and stereotypes of racial and ethnic minorities, as well as of women. During the 1970s and early 1980s, textbook publishers attempted to address these concerns, mainly by adding pictures of and references to previously omitted groups, and removing stereotypic and offensive material.

Also during the 1970s and 1980s, many teaching resources by and about racial and ethnic minority groups, and women and sexism, were created and made available to teachers nationwide. Some of these compiled activities teachers could use in the classroom to promote integration

of students and prompt discussion about cross-group differences and similarities. Children's literature by and about racial and ethnic minority groups flourished as parents, teachers and school librarians sought out material that reflected a wider array of experiences and voices. Magazines and journals for educators were launched, such as *Winds of Change*, published by the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, that features indigenous science.

A few textbooks were published for elementary and secondary schools based on ethnic studies scholarship, such as an African American literature text for use in high schools. In addition, projects involved local communities in helping create curriculum drawing on community knowledge and history, such as in American Indian schools. Establishment of disability studies and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) studies broadened the work in curricular integration.

In schools, however, while teachers attempted to integrate knowledge about marginalized groups into their curriculum, they often did so fairly superficially, adding heroes, holidays, or a few cultural contributions. It requires some study of the scholarship of a group to know what is missing and worth adding, and to identify key concepts that do not immediately fit into traditional curriculum.

For example, colonization is a key concept to understanding the historical experiences and current issues of Filipino Americans. But since mainstream curricula do not examine the United States as a colonial power in any depth, it may not occur to a teacher to examine the impact of U.S. colonization of the Philippines without studying Filipino American history.

Curricular Integration

Beginning in the 1990s, as national concern shifted toward establishing curriculum standards and systems of accountability, with few exceptions, efforts to make texts and other curricula multicultural gradually subsided. Many educators, particularly those who were white, assumed that publishers had taken care of most forms of bias. Professional development in schools shifted from helping teachers work with diverse student populations (including integrating the curriculum) to

introducing teachers to standardized curriculum packages they were expected to follow.

At the same time, rapid diversification of student populations, chronic underachievement of racial and ethnic minority students, and ongoing work of many teachers, teacher educators, and professional organizations, such as the National Association for Multicultural Education, continued to draw attention to gaps between standardized curricula and the intellectual knowledge of historically marginalized groups.

Systematic analyses of textbooks continued to find that, while content related to African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans had been added, deeper patterns and narratives that reflect Euro-American experiences and worldviews, and that have traditionally structured K–12 textbooks, particularly in history and social studies, remained intact.

For example, while most U.S. history texts begin African American history with slavery, African American scholars argued that starting with pre-Columbian African civilizations provides a much richer basis for understanding African American history and culture and for analyzing the devastating impact of slavery. While most U.S. history texts added a few pages about pre-Columbian American Indians, American Indian scholars and educators pointed out that Indians tended to disappear as the texts unfolded—replicating the idea of vanishing Indians while ignoring important historical and current issues such as treaties and land rights.

Many scholars and teachers pointed out that as racial and ethnic minority children proceed through school, their growing awareness of the irrelevance of the curriculum to their backgrounds disengages them, and they increasingly find school “boring.” When tested on mastery of a curriculum that students experience as boring and irrelevant, they achieve below their potential.

By the 1990s and 2000s, a body of evidence showed that subject matter curriculum designed and taught from an ethnic studies perspective engages racial and ethnic minority students, who then learn more and achieve at higher levels. For example, in Alaska, math educators, anthropologists, and elders from Yup'ik Native communities collaborated in developing a course called Math in a Cultural Context.

Curriculum units for elementary schools connect National Standards for the Teaching of Mathematics with historic and contemporary Yup'ik cultural knowledge. A unit on geometry works with Yup'ik textile and clothing designs that make use of geometric patterns; a unit on counting and measuring works with collection of local berries. Studies that assessed student learning according to the Alaska math achievement tests found that Native students in classrooms using knowledge learned from Math in a Cultural Context made more progress than students in classrooms not using it.

How to integrate multiple groups into curriculum is even more challenging than designing curriculum from the vantage of one historically marginalized group. A useful process is to begin with a core concept in one's subject matter curriculum, then research that concept through the scholarship in ethnic studies, disability studies, and/or women's studies, focusing on one or two groups. By delving deeply into this knowledge in relationship to one's own curriculum, teachers can then see how to rework that core concept in a way that reflects multiple perspectives and experiences.

For example, a teacher trying to integrate a literature unit on fantasy might become familiar with magical realism in Latin American literature, which is related but not identical to fantasy. The teacher can then make well-chosen selections from both related genres, creating a unit that allows students to explore literature from different cultural traditions. Or, consider a teacher figuring out how to teach about colonization of American Indians in a way that represents perspectives of both the European colonizers and Americans Indians.

To address this challenge, one teacher constructed a unit in which American Indians brought Europeans to trial for misusing natural resources, using the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace of the Iroquis Indians. By playing different roles in the trial, students explored contrasting perspectives about the issue. An intellectual benefit of a curriculum that integrates multiple perspectives is that it promotes cognitive growth. Students who experience such a curriculum have been found to develop higher levels of critical thinking and better communication skills

than students who experience curricula designed around one perspective.

Into the Future

The continued demographic diversification of the United States, and particularly that of the school-age population, suggests the need for curricular integration will continue to grow. Despite hindrances, such as the standardization of curricula, lack of teacher preparation, and political challenges, students will demand a relevant curriculum as they have in the past. Additionally, it is important that young people learn to grapple with issues of racism, poverty, and exclusion, and that they learn to work with those who differ from themselves. Evidence from research in higher education shows that students' attitudes about diversity improve and they develop more complex thinking when they engage in ethnic studies or women's studies curricula that teach directly about systems of oppression and human difference, particularly when this learning is coupled with cross-group interaction. Ultimately, this is kind of learning benefits everyone.

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See Also: Anti-Racist Education; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Ethnic Studies; Multicultural Education: Textbook Treatment of Ethnic Groups.

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Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto

Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto was written by Standing Rock Sioux activist, scholar, and attorney Vine Deloria, Jr. Prior to publication, Deloria served as the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians (1964–67), which he left to study law at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

Vine Deloria

Experienced and knowledgeable about the radically changing world of post–World War II American Indians, Deloria writes insightfully in his book about popular American Indian stereotypes, the anthropologists who “studied” them, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) that inadequately served their needs. He also took on the challenging topics of Indian humor and the exigencies of Indian leadership. There was even a chapter comparing the Red Power and civil rights movements, explaining why most Indians chose to not participate in the latter.

In *Custer*, Deloria organizes his critiques around institutions that he claims have done the most to oppress and misrepresent American Indians, despite their own claims to the contrary. Specifically, Deloria focuses on religion (such as Christian missionaries), higher learning (including university-trained anthropologists), and the federal government (particularly the Bureau of Indian Affairs).

Deloria furthered his analyses of these and other related institutions in *The Metaphysics of Modern Existence* (1979), deepening his reflections on religion in America; and in *American Indians, American Justice* (1983), which he coauthored with Clifford M. Lytle and which focused on American Indians’ troubling relationship with the U.S. Supreme Court.

Custer initiates its discourse with an account of the supposed “transparency” of “Indian people.” “People can tell just by looking at us what we want, what should be done to help us, how we feel, and what a ‘real’ Indian is really like.” The pervasiveness of these assumptions, Deloria avers,



Vine Deloria, Jr., (1933–2005) was one of the most recognized and respected Native American leaders. Deloria wrote or edited more than 20 books.

has even informed the development of federal Indian law and policy. Stereotypes of primitive, savage Indians abound in laws and treaties passed and ratified by the United States. He gives special attention to the BIA’s harmful and misguided policy of termination, which sought to end the federal government’s responsibilities to American Indians. While initially limited to a handful of tribes, the early 1950s policy measure generated an uproar across the nation.

Anthropologists and Missionaries

One of the most cited and influential chapters in *Custer* is devoted to “Anthropologists and Other Friends.” Deloria recounts summers when an annual migration “heads into Indian country.” Emerging from every nook and cranny, “they” appear “as if responding to some primeval fertility rite, and flock to the reservations.” The “they” about whom Deloria speaks are all manner of anthropologists, be they social, historical, political, or economic, who in Deloria’s estimation care more about corroborating their theories and publishing in peer-reviewed journals, not to mention obtaining tenure and grants, than helping the people they are supposedly “studying.”

Christian missionaries and BIA employees do not fare much better, as Deloria demonstrates the presumptuousness with which church and state

have taken turns at violating their own stated principles in the name of “Christianizing” and “civilizing” the people who are ostensibly under their care. Deloria even takes time to reflect on the relationship between American Indians and the hippie and corporate communities, both of which are sources for insightful and surprising comparisons. *Custer* concludes with chapters on Indian leadership and a new vision for the BIA.

W. Roger Buffalohead lauded the book as a “witty, provocative, and sometimes crotchety interpretation of the past and current state of affairs of American Indians.” James E. Officer, referring to himself as a “friend,” appreciated Deloria’s humor in otherwise serious topics: “Many of Deloria’s comments about anthropologists are laced with sarcasm and a Twain-like flair for burlesque.” Alfonso Ortiz offered an even more enthusiastic review, proclaiming *Custer* as “the most ambitious and most successful overview of contemporary American Indian affairs and aspirations” he “had ever read.”

Critics and Admirers

Custer was not without its critics, some of whom were also admirers. Officer, for example, while appreciating Deloria’s witty critique of anthropology, observed: “[Deloria’s] humor, which often creeps unexpectedly into otherwise serious passages, may leave the reader uncertain as to whether the author means what he is saying or only ‘funning.’” Buffalohead, in turn, anticipated backlash: “Those on whom Deloria has ‘counted coup’ will label the charges unfair, intemperate, irrational, and, perhaps, even ‘racist.’” Generating both outrage and enthusiasm, *Custer* asserted its place as a milestone in American Indian thought. More specifically, Deloria was a prominent figure in an impressive lineage of Lakota/Dakota writers and activists, including Charles A. Eastman, Zitkala-Sa, George Sword, Luther Standing Bear, and Ella Deloria. Deloria’s work has also done much to shape the political and philosophical agenda of American Indian/Native American studies.

In addition to *We Talk, You Listen* (1970), *God Is Red* (1973), and *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* (1974), Deloria created a tetralogy that has formed the foundation for much of the critical discourse in American Indian scholarly and activists circles.

Legacy

Deloria’s most lasting legacy is the meaningful role he played in shaping the dialogue on self-determination, which was later articulated in the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act and the 1978 statement on American Indian Religious Freedom. More recently, *Custer* can be credited with inaugurating a vital discourse on American Indian politics that is being furthered by scholars following in Deloria’s footsteps, namely David E Wilkins, Robert Williams, and Taiaiake Alfred.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); American Indian Movement; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Bureau of Indian Affairs; *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*; National Congress of American Indians; Native Americans; Sioux; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Customs and Border Protection, U.S.

United States Customs and Border Protection (CBP) is a federal law enforcement agency within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), created in 2003 as part of the reorganization



U.S. Border Patrol Agents of the Sector Response Team (SRT) search an apartment building room by room in downtown New Orleans, September 19, 2005. SRT is the Border Patrol version of a SWAT Team and operates at the sector level. Legislation enacted after 9/11 substantially increased the border patrol's budget and manpower, making it one of the largest law enforcement agencies in the country.

of federal agencies after DHS's creation in November 2002. Headquartered in the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center in Washington, D.C., a federal building housing both public- and private-sector offices for the purposes of advancing trade, it is responsible for preventing entrance into the United States of terrorist individuals, groups, or resources.

CBP is in charge of formulating and enforcing regulations on international trade, customs, and immigration; it also carries out border-security duties, such as those pertaining to the international trade of narcotics or stolen or otherwise illegal goods, and the threat to American agriculture posed by foreign biological elements, including invasive species, plant and animal diseases, and crop-destroying pests. Many of its duties complement those of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), a DHS agency formed at the same time. The key distinction is that while both agencies are charged

with immigration and customs enforcement, CBP's highest priority is terrorism prevention, and its immigration concerns are aimed mainly at the security of the nation's physical borders, whereas ICE's purview is broader.

CBP absorbed much of the U.S. Customs Service (Customs) when it was created, with the remaining elements transferred to ICE. Customs was one of the oldest federal agencies, established on July 31, 1789, as the fifth act of the brand-new Congress, for the purposes of collecting the duties on imported goods authorized by the July 4, 1789, Tariff Act. Customs agents were originally called customs collectors and were assigned to a particular port of entry or other geographic jurisdiction. Apart from a number of minor excise taxes—notably on whiskey and rum, tobacco and snuff, and refined sugar—most federal revenue until the Civil War was provided by the tariffs collected by Customs. Sources such as federal income, estate, and gift tax were not added until

the 20th century, when the expanded duties of the government necessitated expanded revenues.

Though primarily a revenue collection agency, Customs's need to inspect arriving goods in order to correctly assess a tariff made it the most logical agency to be assigned further duties of preventing the introduction into the country of illegal goods, whether as freight or carried by passengers entering the country. Such goods included inherently illegal goods such as drugs, stolen or counterfeit or pirated goods, and illegal forms of pornography; goods that were not declared as required by law, such as weapons or large sums of cash; and goods rendered illegal because of special conditions, such as those produced in countries against which the United States was enforcing an embargo, for example, Cuba. Once assigned this duty, Customs transitioned into a more active law enforcement agency, pursuing investigations in conjunction with the Border Patrol and other federal agencies.

Agency Formation

Unlike Customs, the U.S. Border Patrol was not disestablished upon the creation of CBP but rather was assumed into it. It was formed in 1924, originally as an agency of the Labor Department, in order to patrol the United States' land borders with Mexico and Canada to prevent illegal entry. (Sea patrols in the Gulf of Mexico were added in 1927.) The Border Patrol had been preceded by several earlier attempts at manned border security in the 20th century, which had been aimed mainly at preventing the entrance of Chinese immigrants, who had been banned from the country by the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. It is notable that, despite the presence of a patrol on the U.S.-Canada border, border patrols originated from the desire to restrict immigration according to race and ethnicity.

The Border Patrol doubled in size in 1940 and was transferred to the Department of Justice as an agency of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and again expanded its operations after the Cuban Revolution led in the early 1960s to one of the United States' nearest neighbors becoming one of the countries with which it had the most hostile relations. Around the same time, the importance of the country's land borders in preventing illegal immigration began to diminish,

and the Border Patrol engaged more often in "interior enforcement" (immigration enforcement and investigation in the country's interior rather than at its borders). Air travel became cheaper, global prosperity increased, and the world population became more mobile, increasing the number of ways in which the country became permeable.

While 1960s legislation liberalized immigration law and removed country-of-origin restrictions, the use of significant resources to patrol the border, especially when most of those resources are devoted to the southern border shared with Mexico, has the effect of targeting undocumented immigrants approaching from the south, which includes not only Mexicans but Central and South Americans passing through Mexico en route to the United States. This in turn has contributed to the perception of the "illegal immigration problem" as a "Mexican immigration problem," especially in states with large Mexican American communities and histories of friction between the Hispanic and Anglo communities, such as Texas, California, and Arizona. It is in these states that immigration is so frequently a politicized and hotly debated topic.

In the 1980s, the national illegal immigration strategy shifted toward the idea that American prosperity provided the motivation for illegal immigration and that efforts to control it needed to be formulated accordingly. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act targeted employers who hired undocumented immigrants, leading to increases of the Border Patrol's interior enforcement and greater resources at its interior checkpoints, as well as its involvement in the employer sanction program, which conducted I-9 audits of businesses to ensure no undocumented immigrants were employed.

The 1994 ballot initiative Proposition 187 in the state of California greatly increased immigration enforcement in that state, as 21st-century legislation later did in Arizona. In what was intended to be a blueprint for federal legislation but was later found unconstitutional by a federal court, Proposition 187 denied benefits to undocumented immigrants—again driven by the idea of American prosperity as the motive behind illegal immigration—while enhancing screening and profiling procedures in order to catch

undocumented immigrants, and increasing the criminal penalties of crimes associated with illegal immigration, such as the forging of identification and immigration documents.

Twentieth-First-Century Shifts

As the 20th century came to a close, the Border Patrol's focus was shifted away from the interior again, and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and resulting creation of the Department of Homeland Security re-established border security as the Border Patrol's—and more generally, CBP's—primary concern. Border Patrol agents retain federal arrest authority nationwide, however.

While the Border Patrol consisted of less than 5,000 agents in the 1990s, and attrition spiked after 9/11 as agents requested transfers to the Federal Air Marshals, subsequent legislation substantially increased the Border Patrol's budget and manpower, making CBP one of the largest law enforcement agencies in the country. (In comparison, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 2012 employed 13,913 special agents, while the DEA employed fewer than 5,000.)

Today, the Border Patrol employs over 20,000 agents, about 80 percent of whom are tasked with patrolling the U.S.-Mexico border, with most of the remainder patrolling the U.S.-Canada border and several hundred tasked with coastal patrols of Florida and Puerto Rico. The Border Patrol is concerned mainly with the entrance of undocumented immigrants, but it is also responsible for the prevention of terrorists entering the country and has become very active in efforts aimed at illegal drug trafficking, especially as the Mexican drug war involves so much of the U.S. border region. The current national strategy of the Border Patrol was defined in 2005 as consisting of five primary objectives: the apprehension of terrorists and terrorist resources upon their entrance into the United States; illegal immigration enforcement measures that deter illegal immigration attempts; the apprehension and deterrence of drug trafficking, human trafficking, and the smuggling of contraband; electronic surveillance of the country's borders, and other "smart border" technologies; and crime reduction and harm mitigation in border communities.

The Border Patrol's duties are organized into 20 sectors: the Ramney Sector consisting of the

Caribbean territories outside the continental United States; the Blaine (Washington, Oregon, Alaska), Spokane (Washington, Idaho, Montana), Havre (Montana), Grand Forks (North Dakota), Detroit (Michigan), Buffalo (New York), Swanton (Vermont), and Houlton (Maine) sectors along the U.S.-Canada border; and the San Diego (California), El Centro (California), Yuma (Arizona), Tucson (Arizona), El Paso (Texas and New Mexico), Marfa (Texas), Del Rio (Texas), Rio Grande Valley (Texas), Laredo (Texas), New Orleans (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida), and Miami (Florida) sectors along the southern border. Each sector is headed by a sector chief.

In addition to physically patrolling the border, the Border Patrol maintains electronic surveillance of strategic border locations, some fixed and others changing in accordance with current strategy and needs. Human resources are allocated according to the Border Patrol's three-layer strategy of line watch, roving patrols, and checkpoints. Line-watch operations consist of the monitoring of the border by electronic and human means, not only for the entrance of humans and vehicles, but for signs of changes to the natural terrain, which indicate the presence or recent passage thereof. Line-watch activities include traffic checks; transportation checks of commercial and charter passenger vehicles like buses, trains, and aircraft; city patrols; and the Border Patrol's intelligence and antismuggling activities.

Roving patrols consist of units of Border Patrol agents who patrol a given area of the border much like a police officer assigned to a beat. Some of these agents are mounted on horseback, as was the original Border Patrol, while others patrol in vehicles. Horse, bicycle, and snowmobile patrols continue to be relied upon because they can patrol areas difficult or impossible for vehicles to access, which represent strategic points of ingress for undocumented immigrants and drug traffickers. Marine patrols include both coastal and inland waterways, drawing on a fleet of 130 vehicles dispatched to 16 marine sectors. Patrol agents are usually equipped with night vision goggles, binoculars, and other means of detecting movement and activity. Surveillance drones are used for air patrols.

Checkpoints are stations, about half of which are permanent, set up on major highways within

100 miles of the border, at which Border Patrol agents inspect vehicles for signs of immigration or smuggling violations. Checkpoints are especially useful in that the Supreme Court has held that agents working at checkpoints have greater discretion than roving patrols have, including the authority to stop vehicles for questioning without the presence of any suspicion and to select such vehicles for more thorough inspection if suspicious activity is detected. Roving patrols, in contrast, have to have a reasonable suspicion of the presence of undocumented immigrants or contraband in order to stop a vehicle. In addition to the 33 permanent checkpoints that operate at specific locations, the Border Patrol operates between 30 and 40 tactical checkpoints, which consist of temporary facilities set up to operate in a given location for one to 14 days (legally, they must relocate after 14 days). Tactical checkpoints are often migrated through a circuit of specific locations, due to the finite number of strategically

significant highway locations that have sufficient shoulder space to operate a checkpoint without building a permanent structure.

When the Border Patrol was reorganized as part of CBP, former interior checkpoints, some of them significant, were closed. Other facilities were closed or turned over to other agencies, usually ICE. The entire Livermore Sector, consisting of Border Patrol stations in northern California, was also closed, in 2004.

The 2006 Secure Fence Act (SFA) was a major piece of immigration legislation, succeeding the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. Much of the advanced infrastructure the Border Patrol relies upon for electronic surveillance of the border was authorized by the SFA. The SFA also authorized the construction of 700 miles of physical fence, wall, or other barrier along the U.S.-Mexico border, representing about 35 percent of the total length of the border but concentrated in the



Agents and officers from U.S. Customs and Border Protection helping a man out of a river in June 2006. The organization's 20,000 agents patrol 8,000 miles of international borders with both Mexico and Canada, in addition to the coastal waters of Florida and Puerto Rico.

southwest portion of the border where the most illegal immigration traffic occurs. The fence has been constructed in stages, though its expansion was halted by order of President Barack Obama in 2010 and funding used instead to improve existing border infrastructure.

The SFA has been subject to numerous controversies, including the incursion of the fence onto tribal lands and the waiving of more than 30 environmental laws and regulations in regard to the fence's construction, which leads to significant impacts on local wildlife habitats.

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See Also: Immigration, Illegal; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.

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Cypriot Americans

Cypriots are perhaps one of the smallest ethnic immigrant groups to settle in the United States. Today Cypriot Americans comprise both Greek- and Turkish-speaking communities. Both groups take extensive pride in their American identity as well as their respective Greek and Turkish ancestries. Most common languages spoken by Cypriot Americans are English, Cypriot-Greek, Cypriot-Turkish, Arabic, and Armenian. Today nearly 80 percent of the people of Cyprus identify as Greek Cypriots. The second-largest ethnic group is comprised of Turkish Cypriots. Most Cypriot Americans live in large metropolitan areas. In 2010, 118 Cypriots became American citizens. The largest Cypriot American community currently lives in New York City. Other cities with significant concentrations of Cypriot Americans include Boston, Chicago, Detroit,

Baltimore, and Tarpon Springs. New York State is home to the largest Cypriot American community with more than 2,500 Cypriot Americans. According to the 2000 U.S. census, there are nearly 7,700 Cypriot Americans living in the United States.

Cypriot immigration to the United States was a result of political and economic instability in Cyprus. Cyprus, an island country in the eastern Mediterranean, had been historically settled and/or occupied by Phoenicians, Greeks, Venetians, Ottomans, and the British Empire. According to some sources, Cypriots began immigrating to the United States as early as the 19th century when the island of Cyprus was under Ottoman rule. Although official census on Cypriot immigration to the United States does not begin until 1955, Cyprus reports that significant immigration to the United States occurred as early as the 1930s.

According to the U.S. census, a large numbers of Cypriots immigrated to the United States between 1955 and 1979. These were times of major political and economic uncertainty in Cyprus. The late 1950s marked the end of colonial rule in Cyprus and the establishment of an independent Cypriot government. The decade that followed brought about a major economic recession in Cyprus. In the late 1970s there was a final surge of Cypriot immigration resulting from geopolitical tensions between Greece and Turkey, which ultimately divided the island between the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the Republic of Cyprus. During these years, many Cypriots emigrated to Greece, the United Kingdom, Australia, Turkey, and the United States.

After immigrating to the United States many Cypriot Americans integrated within the dominant Greek- or Turkish-speaking communities. Thus, many Cypriot Americans today identify as being Greek Americans or Turkish Americans rather than Cypriot Americans. This phenomenon, as well as early government classifications of Cypriots as Greek, Turkish, or Middle Eastern, skewed official U.S. records on immigration from Cyprus.

Customs and Religious Beliefs

Many Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots follow similar customs. However, most Greek-Cypriot Americans are members of the Cypriot Orthodox

Church, while Turkish-Cypriot Americans tend to be followers of Sunni Islam. Some Cypriot Americans identify as being Greek Orthodox, Maronite Christians, and Armenian Christian. Orthodox Cypriots practice similar religious traditions observed by other Orthodox Christians. These include observing Christian holidays, celebrating saint's days, and fasting during Lent. Muslim Cypriots, although not strict Muslims, practice many of the same religious traditions followed by other Muslims around the world. These include Eid, Ashura Day, and fasting during Ramadan.

Cypriot Organizations

Today several religious as well as secular Cypriot American organizations are active in promoting a Cypriot American identity as well as in building relations between Cyprus and the United States. Some of these organizations include Cyprus-U.S. Chamber of Commerce; Cyprians of New Jersey; the Cyprus Trade Center (CTC); United Cypriots of Southern California, Los Angeles, and San Diego; and the Cyprus Society of Greater Philadelphia. The State University of New York, Albany, is also the home of the Institute of Cypriot Studies, which deals with topics ranging from ancient Cypriot archaeology to contemporary topics such as political and economic development in Cyprus.

Notable Cypriot Americans

Through hard work and a strong belief in education and family, many Cypriot Americans have gained prominence in the United States in business, education, entertainments, government, and philanthropy. Some famous Cypriot Americans are Philip Christopher, business executive and community activist; C. L. Max Nikias, president of the University of Southern California; Symeon C. Symeonides, dean of Willamette University School of Law; Hal Ozsan, actor; Charlie Crist, 44th governor of Florida; and Eugene Rossides, government official and community activist.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Armenian Americans; Greek Americans; Muslim Americans; Turkish Americans.

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Czech Americans

Czechs are a Slavic ethnic group, descended from tribes who inhabited Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia—the historic Czech lands that today are part of the Czech Republic. Many Czechs have partial German ancestry due to widespread German immigration in the Middle Ages. Part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, the Czech lands then became part of the independent nation of Czechoslovakia. One of many central European nations to become a Communist country in the aftermath of World War II (except during the Prague Spring, a brief period of democracy in the late 1960s), Czechoslovakia peacefully split into the separate states of Slovakia and the Czech Republic in 1993, after the fall of European Communism in the early 1990s.

Czech Americans include many of those whose ancestors identified as Bohemian, Silesian, or Moravian Americans, as well as many who were classified simply as Slavic, or less commonly Austrian or Austro-Hungarian, by immigration officials. Czech immigration to the United States was extensive in the 19th century, and by century's end, Chicago had the world's third-largest Czech

population (after Prague and Vienna in the Austro-Hungarian Empire). Much of this period of immigration coincided, perhaps paradoxically, with the rise of romantic nationalism among the Czech people. A century-long quest to restore the historic rights of the Czech lands under Habsburg (Austrian) rule had failed; even the minor concessions granted in the late 18th century were rescinded. Czech language and culture suffered a dilution under the Germanization of the Austrian Empire, and the rise of romantic nationalism inspired many Czechs to reclaim their heritage; abroad in the New World, they could more freely celebrate that heritage and language, in a country becoming known for the opportunities it offered to immigrants.

Though it was sparse until 1848, Czech immigration began much earlier than the 19th century. In fact, the first English colonists in the New World included Joachim Gans, a metallurgist and mining expert whom Sir Walter Raleigh recruited to settle in the ill-fated colony of Roanoke, Virginia, in 1585. Gans was also the first Jewish person in North America. He was not the last Czech among the pre-Revolutionary



A Czech American doctor sits with his young daughter in New York's Central Park in 1942. Many 20th-century Czech immigrants were professionals, journalists, or students fleeing from Nazi persecution in the 1930s and 1940s.

settlers; Bohemians were prominent in the colonial days, including the wealthy Philipse family of New Amsterdam and the 17th-century explorer Augustine Herman, first lord of Bohemia Manor, who created the first maps of the Delaware Bay and Chesapeake Bay regions. Herman's descendants have included Richard Bassett, a signer of the U.S. Constitution, and four Delaware senators: James Asheton Bayard, Richard Henry Bayard, Thomas Francis Bayard, Sr., and Thomas Francis Bayard, Jr. Bayard Sr. also served as secretary of state.

Sustained Czech immigration began in 1848 after a failed revolution, and even those Czechs who returned home after a few years when it was safer to do so spread the word of America, and attracted further immigration. While many immigrant groups settled primarily in New York City or nearby northeast cities because of the proximity to their arrival point at Ellis Island, Czechs clustered around Chicago, which in the 19th century was the hub of American railways.

By the end of the 1850s there were 10,000 Czech Americans. Most had arrived in family groups, unlike the common trend of young men immigrating alone to secure work and sending for their families later or marrying local girls. By the turn of the century, American-born Czech Americans outnumbered first-generation Czech immigrants, 199,939 to 156,640. New immigration restrictions exacerbated this. In the 20th century, many of the Czechs admitted to the United States were professionals, journalists, or students—refugees first from Nazi persecution in the 1930s and 1940s, and later from the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia. Many Czech immigrants Americanized their names, either choosing a new name that was phonemically similar or translating the meaning of their surname into English.

Prominent Czech Americans

Famous Czech Americans include Ray Kroc, the son of Bohemian immigrants, who turned McDonald's into a nationwide franchise; the Moravian-born Charles Louis Fleischmann, who popularized packaged yeast and founded the Fleischmann Yeast Company; Henry and Richard Bloch, founders of the H&R Bloch tax preparation company; former Secretary of State

Madeleine Albright; President George W. Bush (who has Czech ancestry on his mother's side) and his 2004 election opponent U.S. Senator John Kerry; former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger; and three justices of the Supreme Court: Louis Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, and current Chief Justice John Roberts.

Composer Jerome Kern, who wrote "The Way You Look Tonight," was Czech American, as is film and *Miami Vice* theme music composer Jan Hammer. Major Czech American filmmakers include movie stars Kim Novak, Karl Malden, and Sissy Spacek; directors Milos Forman and Jim Jarmusch; and the Karate Kid's William Zabka. In the sciences, two of the Apollo astronauts, Jim Lovell and Eugene Cernan, were Czech American, as were Karl Landsteiner, the physician who developed the modern system of blood type classification, Institute of Advanced Study founder Abraham Flexner, economist Joseph Schumpeter,

and Nobel laureates Thomas Cech, Carl Cori, and Gerty Cori.

Bill Kte'pi
Independent Scholar

See Also: Austrian Americans; Croatian Americans; Hungarian Americans; Slovak Americans; World War II.

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D

Dance and Ethnic Diversity

Dance, which involves the rhythmic movement of the body, exists in nearly every culture on Earth. Whether performed with music or not, dance is utilized as a form of communication, self-expression, ritual, competition, or artistic performance. Some forms of dance comprise movements without any specific significance assigned to them; others involve a complex symbology of movements and gestures, relating ideas and information or interpreting events and emotions. A hallmark of dance in the United States has been the intermingling of multiple cultural traditions.

Ballet

Originating in the 15th-century European royal courts, ballet only became widely popular in the United States in the early 20th century, when Michel Folkiné of the Ballets Russes brought his unique, historically accurate, and expressively dramatic form of classical dance to New York City. As with classical music and theater, dancers of color were grossly underrepresented in the earliest decades of American ballet.

Since the 1950s, ballet has diversified considerably. Sono Osato, of Japanese and European descent, began dancing with the Ballets Russes

and the American Ballet Theatre in the 1930s before moving on to an award-winning career on Broadway, television, and film in the 1940s and 1950s. Early in Osato's career, she faced so much racism that she was unable to perform in most of the western parts of the United States. Maria Tallchief, whose father was a chief in the Osage Nation, became the first prima ballerina of the New York City Ballet in 1947. Janet Collins was one of the first black ballerinas of note, becoming the first African American performer hired full-time by the Metropolitan Opera in 1951.

As a teenager, she had been hired by the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo in 1932, but their desire for her to perform in whiteface caused her to resign before ever setting foot on stage. In 1955's *Western Symphony*, Arthur Mitchell became the first African American dancer in the New York City Ballet; the following year, he became a principal dancer with the company. He founded the nation's first African American classical ballet company and training school, the Dance Theatre of Harlem, in 1969.

In 1990, Lauren Anderson became the first black woman to become a principal dancer at a major ballet company, the Houston Ballet. Misty Copeland, who became the first African American woman soloist at the American Ballet Theatre in 2007, often has been described as the Jackie Robinson of classical dance. Fernando Bujones,



Two street dancers perform at the URBANOS dance contest in Distrito Federal, Brazil, July 10, 2010. Street dance, often improvisational and interactive, evolved outside the typical dance studio. It formed a cultural expression in open spaces such as parks, schoolyards, raves, and, of course, the streets.

Angel Correia, Michael DePrince, Goh Choo San, Jermel Johnson, Alex Ko, Zack Tang, Danny Tidwell, and Rodney Yee all have had noteworthy careers in ballet.

African American Dance

African American dance first emerged in the mid-Atlantic region of Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland during the early years of chattel slavery. Cultural exchange in America among slaves from different geographic regions of west and central Africa produced a syncretic dance vocabulary. African choreographic elements, including improvisation, isolation, and individualism, were interpolated into 17th- and 18th-century European dances practiced in America. Friendly competition among dancers always has been an aspect of African American dance.

Katherine Dunham was a pioneer in the field of ethnochoreology, or anthropological research in dance, whose scholarship and choreography led to increased interest in African diasporic dance. Trinidadian American choreographer Pearl Primus, who studied at Hunter College and New York University, worked to legitimize the study and presentation of African and Afro-Caribbean dance among American audiences in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Her work was a seamless melding of African diasporic, balletic, and modern dance techniques.

Alvin Ailey, the African American dancer and choreographer credited with popularizing concert dance among the black community, developed a choreographic style that borrowed from a wide range of dance forms, according to whichever one suited the emotional moment. He allowed his dancers—whether trained in ballet, modern dance, or jazz—to interpret his choreography according to their personal styles. *Revelations* (1960), his signature choreographic work that interpreted the African American experience through spirituals and jazz music, is believed to be the best-known modern performance.

An amalgam of the Juba dance, Irish step dancing, and English Lancashire clog dancing, tap dance has been a staple African American dance form since at least the middle of the 19th century. Tap also is considered to be a form of music, in that the dance involves making syncopated, percussive sounds with metal slabs on the bottom of the dancers' shoes. There are two arms of tap dance: rhythm, or jazz tap, which highlights the more musical elements of the dance form; and show tap, the flashy dance style that is associated with big-budget Broadway musicals, like *42nd Street*, *Jelly's Last Jam*, and *Anything Goes*. Influential tappers include Steve Condos, Gregory Hines, Savion Glover, Chloe Arnold, Brenda Bufalino, and Sutton Foster.

Modern Dance

Modern dance emerged in the early 20th century as something of an apostasy from what some American practitioners viewed as the formality, punctiliousness, and affection of classical ballet. At that time, modern dance was performed in bare feet and without the customary costumes of tulle and tights. Early pioneers were influenced in their

choreography and technique by Native American dance, jazz, and other early-20th-century popular music, south and east Asian culture and religion, nature, Classical Greek art and mythology, and the choreography of Japanese dancer Sada Yacco.

In his distinguished career, modern dance pioneer Michio Ito choreographed for motion pictures, Broadway revues, and major opera houses. Trained in both opera and dance, he collaborated with a wide array of influential artists, including William Butler Yeats, Ezra Pound, and Isamu Noguchi. In 1943, Ito chose to repatriate to Japan rather than be sent to an internment camp. He was later hired to choreograph for the American Occupation administration in Japan.

Radical Dance

From modern dance came the radical dance movement of the 1930s and 1940s. Impelled by the rise of fascism in Europe, as well as the worldwide Depression, dancers and choreographers sought to raise awareness of social issues through dance. American choreographer José Limón, who was born in Culiacán, Mexico, and raised in southern California, was a central figure in the radical dance movement, and his choreographic techniques remain broadly influential. In 1946, he founded the José Limón Dance Company, which toured internationally and inaugurated the New York Shakespeare Festival in 1962. He developed his signature work, *The Moor's Pavane*, inspired by William Shakespeare's *Othello*, in 1949.

Jazz Dance

Jazz dance, which dates back to New Orleans in World War I, used to refer to any of the popular social dances of African Americans, as its moves were based on African and Afro-Caribbean forms. As with jazz music, jazz-inspired dances, including tap and swing dance, have prominent improvisational characteristics. After World War II, a new form of jazz, called modern jazz dance, emerged. Developed by choreographers like Bob Fosse, Jerome Robbins, Michael Kidd, and Jack Cole, and utilizing specially trained dancers, this style revolutionized Broadway dance. A wide array of performers, including pop star Michael Jackson, jazz choreographer Gus Giordano, and Jennifer Lisette López, innovator of the Caribbean-fusion

form known as Afrogroove, have shaped this style of dance.

Swing dance first appeared during the 1920s and remained hugely popular through the 1950s. It is a social dance that emerged from the swing variant of jazz music; its syncopated rhythms have their roots in west African music. The most common versions of swing dance include the Lindy hop, push-and-whip, boogie-woogie, Balboa, St. Louis shag, imperial swing, and jive, which have been played by big bands like Cab Calloway and His Orchestra, Chick Webb and His Orchestra, the Toshiko Akiyoshi-Lew Tabackin Big Band, and Brian Setzer Orchestra. Swing dancers of note include Nathalie Gomez, Yuval Hod, and Frankie Manning.

Latin Dance

Tango has been popular in the United States since the 1910s, after it was imported from the Río de la Plata region of the Uruguay-Argentine border. Its basic positions based on an embrace, tango always has had a romantic association. It has its roots in southern European partner dance and *candombe* religious ceremonies from the Bantu peoples of central, eastern, and southern Africa. The influence of tango can be seen in choreography for pairs figure skating, gymnastics, and synchronized swimming.

Salsa dates back to Cuba in the 1920s, and has its roots in the Afro-Cuban rumba. By the last few decades of the 20th century, salsa was danced throughout North and South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. An informal dance, it is commonly practiced in nightclubs, restaurants, and parties, with other types of dance moves incorporated frequently. Traditional salsa music is sustained by a simple five-note rhythm by the clave. Upon its arrival in New York, salsa was influenced by other Latin dances, especially rumba and mambo.

Merengue, a close partner dance with a quick tempo, is an import from the Dominican Republic. It was the national dance of the island during the Rafael Trujillo era. Although it was brought to the United States in the early 1900s, it did not become widely popular until the 1960s. Cultural exchange between Dominican Americans, African Americans, and Puerto Ricans in New York City has caused the merengue to be associated with

hip-hop, rhythm and blues (R&B), reggaeton, and mambo music, rather than the accordion-based combos with which it was connected originally. Along with several other Latin dances, such as salsa, mambo, cha-cha-cha, and rumba, merengue is common in competitive ballroom dance.

Street Dance

Street dance refers to any number of informal dances that are regular parts of cultural expression among various groups; in many ways, street dance can be considered a contemporary folk dance. People engage in street dance in a variety of public and private spaces, including homes, nightclubs, parties, and raves. Commercialized versions of street dance are a regular part of music videos and televised dance shows, such as *The Grind*, *Soul Train*, *American Bandstand*, and *Hullabaloo*. Among the best-known street dances are dancehall, reggaeton, soca, the Bankhead Bounce, the Dougie, krumping, the Percolator, waacking, air guitar, headbanging, moshing, lambada, glowsticking, industrial dance, jumpstyle, and punta.

Voguing, a stylized dance form that first appeared in elaborate competitions attended by gay and transgendered black and Latino men in 1960s Harlem, went mainstream after being featured in Madonna's popular 1990 song, "Vogue." The dance takes its name from the high fashion magazine *Vogue*; dancers assume quick sequences of model-like poses, showcasing their creativity, dexterity, flexibility, precision, and grace. Willi Ninja, widely considered to be the most influential practitioner, integrated Asian-influenced choreography into voguing in the 1980s and 1990s.

B-boying, more commonly known as breakdancing, is an umbrella term for a number of street dances, including breaking, popping, locking, the robot, and the electric boogaloo, that evolved conterminously with hip-hop music and graffiti. B-boying dates back to the New York City neighborhood of the South Bronx in the 1970s; its earliest practitioners were black and Latino teenagers who created the dances by creatively merging Brazilian *capoeira*, Arabic street dance, kung fu moves, and James Brown's choreography. Although most of its earliest innovators were b-boys, b-girls have also had a strong presence in the dance form.

Other Dance Forms

Hula is a traditional Hawai'ian dance with its roots in Polynesian folk dances brought to the island by the original Polynesian settlers who arrived sometime between 300 and 800 C.E. The dance dramatizes the lyrics of the song or chant that it accompanies. While there are numerous hand motions, there is a much smaller suite of movements for the lower body. Upon contact with Westerners in the 19th century, the hula changed considerably, including the addition of Christian content, and a change in instrumentation from gourd drums and split bamboo sticks to ukuleles and steel guitars. Belly dance originated in western Asian and the Middle East. Despite its name, belly dance most prominently features movements of the hips. Belly dance was brought to the United States in the late 19th century, where it created a frenzy for its unseemliness at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, the World's Columbian Exposition.

Bhangra is a diasporic Punjabi dance brought to the United States by Indian immigrants in the 1990s. It typically is danced to various genres of popular music and is comprised of Punjabi and Western dance styles, including R&B, hip-hop, and rock. Since the 2000s, it has been especially popular as a competition among college dance teams. The Persian dance practiced by Iranian immigrants to the United States represents a wide range of diasporic dances. Known as *raghs* or *gher dadan* in Persian, it is typically performed in a compound meter, with high levels of improvisation, and a distinctive combination of hip undulations, facial expressions, and hand motions. Samoan dance is practiced primarily in the enclaves of Samoan immigration in the United States, specifically, Hawai'i and California. Tauluga, which means "to jump" in Samoan, and sasa, a synchronized slap-dance performed by groups, combine with hip-hop dance to comprise contemporary Samoan dance in America.

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See Also: Ghost Dance; Hawai'ians (Native); Hip-Hop; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Powwow.

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Dances With Wolves

Dances With Wolves is a 1990 film about European American encounters with American Indians. First Lieutenant John Dunbar, a young Union army officer in the U.S. Civil War, requests a post on the frontier, befriends the Lakota Sioux, and becomes one of their group. Reprising America's Manifest Destiny foundation story, the film is significant for revising the Hollywood western, advancing the subgenre of the revisionist western, and influencing Indian self-representation.

The film won seven Academy Awards: Best Picture, Director, Adapted Screenplay, Film Editing, Cinematography, Sound, and Original Score. In 2007, the Library of Congress added it to the National Film Registry. Coproducer, director, and star Kevin Costner adapted the film from Michael Blake's 1988 novel and screenplay of the same name. Its budget was almost \$22 million, and it grossed \$424 million in U.S. and foreign sales.

Reviving the Western

The first western to win Best Picture since *Cimarron* in 1931, *Dances With Wolves* revived the genre by using its conventions innovatively. To evoke the frontier's lost grandeur, thousands of buffalo on South Dakota's vast plains preface a spectacular (unprecedented in film) buffalo hunt. Using a domestic herd and foam and fiberglass buffalo, Indians from 10 tribes learned to shoot bows and (rubber-tipped) arrows, while galloping bareback among fast-moving buffalo, to capture the likes of a buffalo hunt not seen since the 19th century.

Adhering to Eurocentric assumptions that whites would reject an Indian protagonist and all audiences could identify with a white male,

the film also reemploys the white male protagonist convention to update the western with late-20th-century ideas. The army sends Dunbar to the 1863 Dakota frontier under the mistaken assumption that he wants to be an Indian fighter. Instead, he wants to see the wilderness before it is gone, and he rejects the policy that Indians need to be eliminated. Rather than represent the attitudes of a Civil War officer, Dunbar is an environmentalist, he respects animals (interacting with and naming a wolf Two Socks as the Lakota rename him Dances With Wolves), and he considers the Lakota a nature-loving, oppressed minority.

The white hero out-Indians the Indians. Dunbar rescues the Lakota-adopted white woman, discovers buffalo to hunt, is successful in his first hunt, rescues a youth from a charging buffalo, and saves the Lakota by supplying rifles against a Pawnee attack. Seeming to embody the idea of white male superiority, far from being superior, Dunbar is often the butt of humor. After encountering the Lakota medicine man Kicking Bird (Graham Greene), Dunbar faints. Trying to stop the Lakota from stealing his horse, Dunbar instead knocks himself out by running into his doorjamb. As he pantomimes a buffalo and grinds coffee, the Lakota see him as ridiculous. And Dunbar himself decides—while witnessing fields of buffalo carcasses left to rot by white hunters who only wanted tongues and hides—against the supposed superiority of the white man.

The film reuses the Hostile Savage Indian stereotype (of merciless, motiveless killers of innocent white settlers). Pawnee first kill Timmons (who brings Dunbar to the frontier). In flashback, Pawnee kill Euro-American settlers, including the parents of Christine/Stand With a Fist (Mary McDonnell). To problematize the stereotype, the film gives the Pawnee motives, showing them reluctantly following a leader (Wes Studi) who kills Timmons as yet another white man blatantly intruding on Indian land. At film's end, Pawnee scouts help soldiers track Dunbar, reduced to serving Manifest Destiny to survive.

Revising the Noble Savage stereotype (of white-friendly primitives in harmony with nature but doomed by Euro-American civilization) is the major means by which the film revives the

western. Rather than primitives, the Lakota are like Dunbar. He and Kicking Bird are eager to know and make peace with each other, and he and Wind in His Hair (Rodney Grant) each think the other inferior, until they become friends. Cultural exchanges—including Wind in His Hair trading his bone breastplate for Dunbar's army jacket, and Dunbar and Kicking Bird conversing in each other's language—envision lives of peaceful accommodation. The film includes an intertitle of the vanishing “noble savage”:

. . . their homes destroyed, their buffalo gone, the last band of free Sioux submitted to white authority at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. The great horse culture of the Plains was gone and the American frontier was soon to pass into history.

But rather than end with a sense of vanishing Indians as the inevitable result of encroaching civilization, Dunbar and Christine leave the Lakota to convince the nation that Manifest Destiny is a badly mistaken and certainly not inevitable policy.

A Revisionist Western

Dances With Wolves crosses into and advances the evolution of the Revisionist western as Dunbar adopts Lakota culture as superior to his own and the film depicts the Lakota as fully realized human beings. Kicking Bird and his wife Black Shawl (Tantoo Cardinal) converse as equals and, as Kicking Bird startles himself in bed by rolling onto a child's misplaced toy, the film reveals everyday Lakota life as familiar family life.

The film dismisses staples of the western. Rather than actors in redface, only Indians play Indians. Rather than English, the Lakota characters speak Lakota and the Pawnee speak Pawnee. Subtitles confirm English as dominant, but as only one of the country's functioning languages. Rather than the U.S. Cavalry saving Dunbar, soldiers attack him for turning Indian and the Lakota save him. As soldiers kill Dunbar's horse, kill Two Socks in target practice, use Dunbar's journal as toilet paper, taunt and beat him, and arrest him for treason, the film challenges the frontier as the supposed defining line between Euro-American civilization and Indian savagery.

Indian Response

In Chris Eyre's 1998 film *Smoke Signals*, its two contemporary West Coast (Coeur d'Alene) Indian protagonists discuss *Dances With Wolves* to emphasize that American Indians have not vanished and are as culturally diverse as America itself.

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See Also: *Cheyenne Autumn*; Great Plains Tribes; *Last of the Mohicans, The*; *Little Big Man*; Manifest Destiny; Native Americans; Pocahontas; Sioux; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Danish Americans

Denmark's colonization of the Americas began with the arrival of the Danish West Indies Company to the Virgin Islands in the 1660s. A small trickle of Danes continued their migration to the North American continent, where the Dutch colony of New Netherlands and the religious haven of Pennsylvania also housed early Danish contingents. The onset of Danish mass migration to the United States dates to the middle of the 19th century, however. With over 4,000 arrivals, 1869 constituted an early peak year, but it was not until 1882 that the 10,000 immigrant mark was passed for the first time. Immigration stabilized at a somewhat lower level during the following decades, until World War I and the subsequent immigration restrictions, which ultimately curtailed the Danish yearly quota to 1,181, brought the era of large-scale immigration from Denmark to an end.

Altogether, 340,000 Danes were registered as immigrants to the United States in the period from 1820 to 1950. While this number puts Denmark in the top 20 countries of origin for the period, it lies far below its Norwegian and Swedish equivalents. As the Scandinavian country situated closest to the European center, Denmark industrialized earlier than its northern neighbors, and its fertile plains offered better agricultural conditions than the Scandinavian peninsula. As a consequence, the country was able to absorb a larger percentage of its population growth. Return migration was low, by contrast, even if the 9 percent rate calculated for 1908 to 1914 is not considered fully representative for the overall period.

Economic Motivations

The vast majority of Danes left their country for economic reasons. In the earlier phases it was primarily the allure of affordable farmland, but toward the end of the 1800s, migration shifted to the cities. Yet from the very beginning there were also political and religious influences. In the late 1800s, German-ruled Schleswig experienced a substantial emigration of discontented Danish-speakers. At the same time, Mormon proselytization was uncommonly successful in Denmark, and the almost 17,000 Danes who left for Utah between 1850 and 1904 made Denmark the second-largest country of origin for Mormon immigrants.

Once they had arrived in their new country, Danish immigrants dispersed more evenly than their Scandinavian neighbors. With almost 18,000 Danish-born residents out of a national total of 182,000, Iowa contained the largest contingent of Danish immigrants in 1910, but Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Nebraska followed closely after, as did larger coastal states such as California and New York. Danes seldom reached the critical mass necessary to exercise decisive influence on entire states or at least larger regions. Only in individual settlements, most commonly located in western Iowa but spreading as far as California's Santa Ynez Valley, were Danish immigrants able to establish themselves as local majorities.

These settlement patterns furthered integration into American society. As early as 1910, 43 percent of second-generation Danish Americans had one non-Danish parent, among them primarily native-born Americans, Germans, and other

Scandinavians. Today, only 6 percent of Danish Americans report having a spouse from the same ancestry group. In respect to language, the assimilation process progressed just as rapidly, with the number of Danish-speakers declining from a high of 187,000 in 1920 to 85,000 in 1960 and below 30,000 in 2005. The once far-spread Danish ecclesiastical infrastructure, primarily rooted in the Lutheran tradition, has largely merged into larger American entities. The over 100 secular ethnic associations have survived to a greater extent, with fraternal orders such as the Danish Brotherhood dating back to 1882 and newer organizations such as the Danish American Chamber of Commerce and the Danish American Heritage Association still being founded in the 1970s.

On a more modest level, Danish immigration continued beyond World War II, with approximately 1,000 yearly arrivals throughout much of the 1950s and 1960s. These totals further declined thereafter, so that only 16,885 Danes were admitted as legal immigrants to the United States between 1971 and 2002. The destination of these immigrants had shifted as well: among the Danish citizens receiving permanent resident permits in the United States between 2005 and 2007, more than a fifth lived in California, distantly followed by New York and Florida. Even more important for the changing regional distribution of Danish Americans, however, were internal migration and demographic divergences. With 200,000 Californians reporting Danish ancestry in 2000, their home state now contains the largest absolute number of Danish Americans, whereas Utah has the highest relative share with more than 6 percent of the state's overall population.

Because of their small numbers, Danish Americans had to succeed as individuals rather than as representatives of an ethnic constituency. This was true for early Danish American politicians such as Nebraska Governor Frederick V. Peterson as well as Danish descendants such as Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen. It was equally true for journalist Jacob Riis and sculptor Gutzon Borglum, the creator of the Mount Rushmore monument. Yet even today, individual Danish immigrants and their children continue to carve out successful careers in the United States, as exemplified by musician Lars Ulrich as well as actresses Scarlett Johansson and Connie Nielsen.

In the 2010 U.S. Census, almost 1.4 million Americans list full or partial Danish ancestry. Like most Americans, they now live predominantly in metropolitan areas, even if their rural component still exceeds the national average. More than 95 percent are born in the United States and speak only English in their homes. With superior high school and college graduation rates, it is not surprising that their median household income of \$60,734 exceeds the national average by approximately 20 percent. By whatever standard applied, the descendants of Danish immigrants have fully arrived in the United States.

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See Also: Norwegian Americans; Scandinavian Americans; Swedish Americans.

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disparate groups tended to have in common was a set of culturally based assumptions about property—how it should be held, what should be done with it—and about the nature of civilized society. Whether friends of the Indian or foes, the act benefited the non-Indian population by forcing Native individuals into a restricted form of private land ownership, while freeing up millions of acres of once collectively (tribally) controlled lands to non-Indian settlement.

From 1883 to 1916, Indian rights advocates and reformers were invited to meet annually at the Mohonk Mountain House resort hotel of Indian Commissioner Albert Smiley (and his twin brother Alfred) on the shores of Lake Mohonk, New York. The annual proceedings of this multi-day event, Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, provide an inside look into an array of Euro-American concerns over what was widely referred to as “the Indian problem.” With some notable exceptions, white Americans accepted the Eurocentric position that American Indians would be better off if they adopted “white ways,” marked particularly by modes of dress, language (English), religion (Christian), and ownership of private property.

The Dawes Act’s underlying purpose—touted by President Theodore Roosevelt some years after its passage—was to destroy tribal governance and the collectivist nature of Native societies. In his first annual message to Congress as president, Roosevelt referred to the act as “a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass.” Although for many decades the General Allotment Act was considered a benign but failed form of paternalism, there is now wide consensus among scholars—especially those guided by the 2007 passage of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples—that the act perpetrated cultural genocide among indigenous Americans.

In the decades prior to passage of the Dawes Act, thousands of acres had already been allotted to citizens of indigenous American nations, often under specific treaty provisions. However, between 1887 and 1934 (when the allotting provision of the Dawes Act was repealed under the Indian Reorganization Act), millions of acres of indigenous homelands—lands already identified as such in hundreds of treaties with the United States—were surveyed and allotted in 40-, 80-, and

Dawes Act (1887)

The centerpiece of the Dawes, or General Allotment, Act of 1887 was its provision to allot lands “in severalty”—that is, under individual ownership—to American Indians, and eventually to impose U.S. citizenship on them. The act met with widespread approval among Euro-Americans and widespread disapproval among the indigenous peoples upon whom it was imposed. Named after its author, Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, the act was the culmination of various groups’ efforts to advocate both for and against an Indian rights agenda. What these

160-acre parcels to individual “allottees,” and the tens of millions of acres of “surplus lands” ceded or sold to make way for white homesteaders.

Federal Trust Provision

Adding to the perception that the Dawes Act was a form of benign paternalism was its original imposition of a 25-year period during which individually owned Indian lands, and any money earned from them, would be held in trust by the U.S. secretary of the interior. The federal trust provision also rendered allotted lands untaxable by state and federal governments, and inalienable (unsellable) by the allottee. This trust period was supposed to allow its Indian beneficiaries time to learn how to farm, ranch, or otherwise turn their labor into money, and thus to be able to fend for themselves in modern, capitalist society. Instead, most allotments that remained in

Native ownership were eventually leased out to whites, undermining the original “civilizing” purpose of the act and creating a massive administrative apparatus within the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs devoted to the management of the Federal Indian Trust (both land and money). Many other allotments passed out of indigenous ownership altogether as often economically desperate allottees sold their lands or lost them through the intended and unintended consequences of the act and its amendments. Because of the rapid land loss, the trust provision of the act was extended indefinitely and remains today a central feature of the federal-Indian/tribal relationship.

Amendments to the Act

Apart from wholesale and deliberate destruction of indigenous collectivist forms of land tenure and governance, amendments to the act further undermined Native Americans’ ability to hold onto their lands once allotted. For instance, the Act of May 27, 1902—also known as the Dead Indian Act—and the Burke Act of 1906 each created pathways by which indigenous homelands could pass smoothly into nonindigenous ownership. The Dead Indian Act made it easier for heirs of deceased allottees to sell their inheritance. The Burke Act authorized the U.S. secretary of the interior to determine the “competency” of Native individuals to manage their own affairs. Once they were determined competent, the secretary could remove the trust restrictions on the individual’s allotment—with or without the allottee’s knowledge—thus rendering the land taxable and able to be sold. Having little cultural knowledge of such transactions, many Native people lost their allotments through tax foreclosure, or sold them under conditions of economic desperation and despair.


Consequences of the Act

All told, the Dawes Act and its amendments facilitated the passing of more than 90 million acres out of indigenous ownership and tenure and enabled what is considered the largest legalized land grab in American history. In many ways, the act and its structural and cultural legacies help account for the ongoing economic problems faced by the citizens and governments of American indigenous nations. Greater than 60 percent of American Indian landholdings in 1887 went out of Native ownership

INDIAN LAND FOR SALE

GET A HOME
OF
YOUR OWN

EASY PAYMENTS



PERFECT TITLE

POSSESSION
WITHIN
THIRTY DAYS

FINE LANDS IN THE WEST

IRRIGATED IRRIGABLE GRAZING AGRICULTURAL DRY FARMING

IN 1910 THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR SOLD UNDER SEALED BIDS ALLOTTED INDIAN LAND AS FOLLOWS:

Location	Acres	Average Price per Acre	Location	Acres	Average Price per Acre
Colorado	5,211.21	\$7.27	Oklahoma	34,664.00	\$19.14
Idaho	17,013.00	24.85	Oregon	1,020.00	15.43
Kansas	1,684.50	33.45	South Dakota	120,445.00	16.53
Montana	11,034.00	9.86	Washington	4,879.00	41.37
Nebraska	5,641.00	36.65	Wisconsin	1,069.00	17.00
North Dakota	22,610.70	9.93	Wyoming	865.00	20.64

FOR THE YEAR 1911 IT IS ESTIMATED THAT **350,000 ACRES** WILL BE OFFERED FOR SALE

For information as to the character of the land write for booklet, "INDIAN LANDS FOR SALE," to the Superintendent U. S. Indian School at any one of the following places:

CALIFORNIA: Hoega, Inyo, Kern, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Yuba.	MINNESOTA: Douglas.	NORTH DAKOTA: Fort Totten, Fort Yates, Grand Forks, Cavalier, Carrington, Devils Lake, Minot, Wapakoneta, Winton.	OKLAHOMA: Bartlesville, Muskogee, Okmulgee, Pottawatomie, Tulsa, Wagon Mound.	SOUTH DAKOTA: Cheyenne Agency, Crow Creek, Greenwood, Lower Brule, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Sisseton.	WASHINGTON: Fort Simcoe, Fort Spokane, Tule, Tulley, Wapato, Wia.
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WALTER L. FISHER,
Secretary of the Interior.

ROBERT G. VALENTINE,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

A Yankton Sioux named Not Afraid of Pawnee Indian is pictured in this 1911 poster offering “Indian Land for Sale.” The Dawes Act opened Native American land to white settlers, ending the Indians’ communal hold of property and their tribal placement.

in fewer than two generations; and greater than 80 percent of the land's value was lost, as much of what remains in Native ownership is arid and (with some exceptions) of little agricultural value. Although the act's central allotting provision was repealed in 1934, the problems it engendered persist, including jurisdictional issues created by non-Indian ownership of lands inside reservations, and political and economic challenges associated with inheritance provisions that re-create a version of the tragedy of the commons among heirs of the original allottees.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Federal Indian Trust; Homestead Act (1862); Indian Appropriation Acts; Indian Claims Commission; Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Indian Territory; Reservations, Native American.

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Declaration of Independence

As an iconic emblem of liberty, the Declaration of Independence has stood for nearly a quarter-century as an exemplar of the rights of people to elect self-governance in the face of tyranny. The

document has also perplexed and puzzled those who wonder at how a group could espouse “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” while not only ignoring the issue of slavery, but owning enslaved people themselves. Serving as an inspiration for many who advocated the rights of the oppressed, the Declaration of Independence continues to motivate and encourage those who work for the rights of marginalized people.

Background

In July 1776, the 13 colonies had been at war with Great Britain for over a year. Since the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763, Britain had been looking for ways to reduce debts incurred as a result of that war and the other ancillary costs associated with governing the colonies. As a result, the British parliament had passed a series of statutes designed to increase revenue, including the Stamp Act of 1765 and the Townshend Acts of 1767. Whereas the Stamp Act, which required printed materials to be produced on stamped paper, had proven unpopular, the Townshend Acts were especially unpopular. The Townshend Acts were intended in part to be punitive, as a way of punishing New York for failure to comply with the earlier Quartering Act (that outlined locations and conditions in which British soldiers were to find room and board in the American colonies), and asserted that Britain had the right to tax the colonies. A great many acts of resistance occurred as a result of taxes imposed by Townshend Acts, including actions that led to the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party. The British held that because Parliament was the supreme authority in the nation, anything that body did was constitutional. This included the right to assess taxes, especially those used to cover expenses generated by the individuals being taxed.

Members of the Continental Congress who met in Philadelphia in July 1776 had different views regarding taxation. Since the colonists did not have the ability to elect members of Parliament, some argued that this body had no authority over the colonies. American political theorists, such as Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson, maintained that Parliament served only as the legislative body

of Great Britain, and that the colonies, with their own legislatures, had the right to self-governance, which the British were trying to abrogate. Patriots such as John Adams had argued for independence from Britain as early as February 1776. Problems existed for those favoring independence insofar as the delegations to the Continental Congress only possessed authority consistent with their instructions from each colony's legislature—as advocates for independence grew more vocal, they had these instructions revised to give the Congress increased authority. John Adams had drafted a “preamble” advocating suppression of authority of the Crown. On June 11, 1776, Congress appointed a Committee of Five, comprised of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert R. Livingston, Roger Sherman, and Thomas Jefferson, to draft a declaration of the colonies' independence from Britain. At Adams's urging, Jefferson agreed to draft the document.

Drafting and Ratification

Over the course of 17 days, Jefferson drafted the Declaration, received comments from others, and presented it to the Congress on Friday, June 28, 1776. Debate began and continued over the weekend. On July 1, a preliminary vote was taken on whether to declare independence, a vote that passed 9–2 with two abstentions. Congress declared the colonies' sovereign status on July 2, and a second reading of the Declaration was conducted. Two passages of Jefferson's draft were rejected after a third reading the following day. The first rejected passage involved language critical of the English people. The second involved a repudiation of the slave trade and of slavery itself. The debate regarding the efficacy and moral impropriety of slavery was probably necessary to ensure the votes for passage for the Declaration, but dramatically changed its tenor and tone.

In his initial draft, Jefferson had included a paragraph in the Declaration asserting that Britain had forced slavery on the American colonies. This language was removed during the course of a two-day revision process, both to curry favor with British residents friendly to the revolution and to placate the southern colonies. During this period of revision, approximately 25 percent of the Declaration was deleted and numerous wording changes were made. These changes were

completed by the adjournment of Congress on July 3, 1776, and a formal vote was conducted the following morning. The document was then returned to the Committee of Five, which made the required edits and handed the Declaration over to John Dunlap, a printer. By July 5, he had printed approximately 200 copies, known as “Dunlap broadsides,” which were dispatched across the colonies for public dissemination.

Influence

The Declaration of Independence proved to be powerful and influential, both in an immediate sense to those involved in the Revolutionary War and historically to others interested in the rights of individuals. John Hancock, who served as president of the Continental Congress, had a Dunlap broadside delivered to George Washington, commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. Washington had the Declaration read aloud to his troops on July 9, 1776. Washington believed the Declaration was useful in motivating his troops and a useful recruiting tool to inspire others to join the army. Around the colonies, readings of the Declaration of Independence inspired crowds to destroy statues of King George III, deface signs indicating British authority, and to become more passionate regarding the patriots' cause. When copies of the Declaration were transported to Europe, its dissemination proved equally galvanizing. In Britain the Declaration was published in the newspapers, and in France, Switzerland, and Bavaria it was translated into French and German. Although Spanish authorities banned circulation of the Declaration, it was soon available in Spain and many of its colonies, including Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela.

Those opposed to slavery also used the Declaration of Independence to challenge that institution. Writing on behalf of the British, pamphleteers, Thomas Hutchinson and John Lind denounced the Declaration's signers for failing to extend “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” to enslaved people, and the “all men are created equal” language was used to suggest patriots' hypocrisy. The Declaration also inspired many enslaved blacks, thousands of whom left plantations and farms to cross the British lines. During the closing days of the Revolutionary War, the British evacuated thousands of African American troops, who had

fought with the Crown, to England, Jamaica, or Nova Scotia. Additionally, approximately 5,000 black troops, or 5 percent, of the Continental army consisted of African Americans.

After the Revolutionary War ended, interest in the Declaration of Independence waned in the United States, but the document remained influential abroad and was referenced during the French Revolution that began in 1789. Other former colonies copied parts of the Declaration in their own declarations of independence, including Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Hungary, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, and Peru. After having fallen out of fashion, interest in the Declaration of Independence experienced a revival in the United States in the 1820s, and biographies of many Founding fathers were issued. Abolitionists found the Declaration's language supported their opposition to slavery. During discussions leading up to the Missouri Compromise, questions often arose regarding whether newly admitted states should allow slavery. Abolitionists often quoted portions of the Declaration to support their assertion that the founding fathers opposed slavery. Those in favor of slavery, however, asserted that since the Declaration of Independence was not referenced in the U.S. Constitution, it had no bearing on the matter.

The Declaration helped shape Abraham Lincoln's views toward slavery, as evidenced by shifts that occurred in his beliefs that are demonstrated by speeches he gave in the early 1850s and during the Lincoln-Douglas senatorial debates of 1858. Lincoln believed the Declaration represented beliefs of the patriots at their most eloquent and altruistic, and he believed they expected slavery to fade away over time. Lincoln asserted that expansions of slavery, such as those allowed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act, served as a refutation of the principles undergirding the Revolution. Stephen Douglas, Lincoln's opponent during the 1858 debates, believed that "all men" as referenced in the Declaration referred only to whites. While some observers believe Douglas's interpretation to have been more historically correct, Lincoln made the Declaration of Independence a living document, one that changed over time to meet changing understandings of equality, liberty, and freedom. During his Gettysburg Address, Lincoln paid homage to the Declaration through his statement that "Four score and seven

years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Early supporters of women's suffrage also referenced the Declaration of Independence, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Martha White, and others titling their demands for equality a Declaration of Sentiments when presented at the inaugural Women's Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The Declaration of Independence has continued to influence the thoughts and actions of those speaking for multicultural groups that have frequently been marginalized or dispossessed.

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See Also: Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; American Anti-Slavery Society; American Revolution; Civil War, U.S.; Constitution, U.S.; Constitutional Amendments; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854); Missouri Compromise (1820); *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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Deer Hunter, The

The Deer Hunter is a Hollywood film directed by the Italian American director Michael Cimino. It received the Academy Award for Best Picture after its release in 1978. Along with *Coming Home* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979), *The Deer Hunter* was one of three major films pertaining

to the Vietnam War and released in the aftermath of U.S. involvement in the conflict. It was made at the end of the 1970s period of the “New Hollywood” cinema, during which filmmakers challenged the classical storytelling principles of moviemaking.

Rusyn Americans During the Vietnam War

The Deer Hunter dramatizes the life of a small Rusyn American community from Clairton, Pennsylvania, as it struggles to cope with the effects of the Vietnam War. The film begins by introducing a group of male friends who work at a steel factory outside Pittsburgh. The film’s protagonist is Michael (Robert De Niro), a Western-type hero who combines great inner strength with a controlling personality. An avid hunter, Michael discloses his tendency to play God through his “one-shot” philosophy for killing deer. Nick (Christopher Walken) presents a counterbalancing force by reminding his best friend of his domineering ways. At the start of the film, the two men prepare for their departure for Vietnam along with Steven (John Savage), a younger friend who is to be married in a farewell celebration.

The Deer Hunter intertwines the war front and the home front through an alternating ABABA format (where A is Clairton and B is Vietnam). The vitality of the working-class community revolves around the steel mill, a Russian Orthodox church, a bar where the male characters bond, the mom-and-pop market that employs Nick’s girlfriend Linda (Meryl Streep), and the mountains where the men go deer hunting. In scenes depicting Steven’s wedding celebration, the *mise-en-scène* highlights regional immigrant traditions while also attesting to the characters’ assimilation into the U.S. mainstream. Although the men and women sing and dance in accordance with eastern European traditions, a giant banner stating “Serving God and Country Proudly” honors the three men set to fight for their country. Nick professes his unconditional love for this Clairton enclave by making Michael promise never to leave him behind in Vietnam.

Cimino depicts a tight-knit ethnic community but also points to systemic problems within it. For instance, Linda’s alcoholic father beats her at the start of the film. Steven’s wife-to-be is pregnant with another man’s child. The chaos of

the wedding party at the American Legion hall brings to light chronic problems of homophobia, machismo, infidelity, spousal abuse, and alcoholism. During a hunting trip, Michael nearly comes to blows with his friend Stan (John Cazale) over a pair of boots.

The Deer Hunter mostly omits the dramatic battle sequences that were a staple of the Hollywood war film. In Vietnam, the men are immediately pitted against their North Vietnamese captors inside a POW camp. To pass the time, the Vietcong compel prisoners to play Russian roulette while the men gamble on the outcome. The scene combines gritty sets, intense close-ups, shot/reverse shot eyeline match editing, and disruptive sound effects to create what is the best-known part of the film. Given its cruel Asian villains, some critics have called Cimino’s unvaried depiction racist. The film remains concerned with the effects of Vietnam on the national psyche, seeing the Vietnamese as props rather than reflecting the complexity of the struggle itself.

Against all odds, Michael and Nick blast their way out of captivity during a head-to-head matchup. As U.S. helicopters come to rescue the three men, however, Steven breaks his legs and the friends get separated. The sound of gunfire at a Russian roulette ring soon seduces Nick, who is visibly shell-shocked and unable to find fulfillment by sleeping with a Vietnamese prostitute. The film then returns to the home front, as Michael comes back a war hero but feels a deep gulf between himself and his community. Linda’s attempts to connect with him—as a friend and, later, as a lover—prove futile. Lonely and distraught, Michael almost kills Stan, and himself, with a loaded revolver during a second hunting trip. Michael then seeks out Steven and brings him back home after he finds out that his friend (now a wheelchair-bound amputee) is living in isolation in a U.S. veterans’ hospital. Michael also discovers that Nick has gone AWOL and that he is likely sustaining himself by competing in a Russian roulette ring in Saigon.

Michael returns to Vietnam just as Saigon is falling. In the hope of saving Nick from self-destruction, he pays a French go-between to secure a match between himself and his friend. Nick, who is traumatized and in a drug haze, does not remember him. In a final recognition, Nick

repeats the phrase “one shot” and shoots himself in the head before dying in Michael’s arms.

The film enacts a final homecoming. *The Deer Hunter* begins with a wedding and ends with a wake. The scene takes place in a bar in which the community gathers for a final meal to remember Nick. The men and women sing “God Bless America” as a defense mechanism to cope with their loss and/or as a genuine statement—however complex—of heartland patriotism.

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See Also: Academy Awards; Carpatho-Rusyn Americans; Vietnam War; Vietnamese Americans.

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Defiant Ones, The

The Defiant Ones, a film directed by Stanley Kramer and released in 1958, is the story of two convicts who have escaped a southern chain gang and face physical challenges. This fast-paced, suspenseful film was made at a critical time in the civil rights movement, and what would otherwise be a straightforward action-adventure is complicated by the fact that one convict is white—John “Joker” Jackson (actor Tony Curtis)—and the other is black—Noah Cullen (Sidney Poitier).

From the outset, Kramer throws down the gauntlet to those who believe they can rule by fear and discrimination. Although the recent Red Scare years had resulted in the blacklisting of several hundred Hollywood personnel, in *The Defiant Ones*, Kramer himself was defiant. In the opening credits, two men playing small parts as truck drivers have their faces appear directly

above the names of screenwriters Nedrick Young and Harold Jacob Smith. These were the men’s own names, with one twist: Nedrick Young was the blacklisted Nathan E. Douglas, but he and Smith received the 1958 Academy Award for best screenplay written directly for the screen.

This theme of resistance is taken forward through the film’s technique and narrative. Beginning on a rainy night as a truck comes into view, the soundtrack plays a voice singing the lament, “Long gone. Twenty long years on a chain gang.” As the drivers complain of the noise, viewers realize the song is coming from the truck, and cutting to its interior, viewers see that the prisoners, all white except one, are being transported. It is the African American prisoner Cullen who is singing, and his shackled partner Joker retorts, “You heard what the man said, nigger, now shut up.” But Cullen is practicing the only form of resistance at that moment available to him; just like slaves controlling the working day by slowing down their singing in the fields, he is using his voice to retain freedom within his captivity.

Soon after, the truck crashes and Cullen and Joker escape. From then on the film intersperses chase scenes with quieter moments that explore not just the current impacts of volatile race relations within the United States but, more profoundly, the economic and cultural structures that created and perpetuate racism and class inequalities.

As they try to break their chains, each man has a particular goal. For Joker, it is to become Charlie Potatoes, a big shot who drives a Cadillac, wears expensive clothes, and has a beautiful woman on his arm. When he tires of trying to break the chains with a rock, he tells Cullen to take over. Cullen channels his sarcastic “yessir” into his own desperate quest for “no more ‘yessir boss.’” Each man is seeking not just to break his metal chains but also the chains society places on the disadvantaged: race for Cullen but, equally, his economic position for Joker.

Joker hates the word *thanks*. It reminds him of his years parking cars for hotel patrons when the louder he said “thanks,” the bigger the tip he received. He dreams now of being a patron himself. But when Cullen asks if he, too, could go in that hotel and is told, “yes, through the back door, so long as you’ve got a pail and mop,” Cullen retorts that Joker could go “through the front door just

long enough to collect your tip,” thus underscoring Joker’s lowly place in the class hierarchy.

If it is economics that creates inequality, *The Defiant Ones* explores the cultural forces that effect its perpetuation. Cullen objects to being called “boy,” and especially “nigger.” Joker tells him, “That’s the way it is and you’re stuck with it,” even likening their situation in society to “them swamp animals.” But Joker recognizes race and class inequalities are constructed and then naturalized through structures such as language: “You breathe it in when you’re born and you spit it out from then on.” Religion also plays its part in the naturalization of constructed inequalities as Cullen remembers going to church with no shoes but having to say “thank you, Lord” nonetheless. Evidently, he also hates to say “thanks.”

Through these discussions, and the loyalty they must practice to survive, the two men work through their prejudices. At the backwoods farm house of a lonely abandoned young wife, they break their shackles and each has a chance to escape, Joker with the woman and Cullen by train going north. But each sacrifices this opportunity to stay with their new friend, and surely the most powerful image of the film is when their hands momentarily meet as Cullen tries to pull Joker aboard the train. In the closing frames, Joker rues that they are both now “mashed potatoes,” but reflecting on their emotional journey, Cullen tells him they are “doing all right.” Despite their imminent recapture, their triumph over prejudice is their real escape.

In 1986, the film was remade for television starring Robert Urich and Carl Weathers.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Movement; *In the Heat of the Night*.

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Deliverance

Deliverance is a 1972 Hollywood film by British director John Boorman. Southern author James Dickey adapted his own best-selling 1970 novel into the screenplay. To convey a gritty realism, *Deliverance* was shot on location in Georgia’s Appalachia and was filmed in sequence using color desaturation. The film stems from the 1970s period of the “New Hollywood” cinema, during which filmmakers challenged the classical techniques of studio moviemaking. Its depiction of the south remains one of the most important in film history.

The Plot

The action/adventure plotline of *Deliverance* pits civilized man against an endangered, but savage, nature. The film begins by introducing four male friends from Atlanta. At a backwoods gas station, the men inquire about hiring some locals to drive their vehicles to Aintry at the end of the Cahulawassee River, which the friends plan to navigate during a weekend canoeing retreat. The film’s main protagonists are Lewis (Burt Reynolds), a muscle-bound survivalist who suggests the trip and seeks deliverance from the city to get back in touch with his primal side, and the cerebral Ed (Jon Voight), who is attracted to Lewis’s frontier spirit despite his own comfortable suburban lifestyle. Bobby (Ned Beatty), an overweight jokester, and Drew (Ronnie Cox), a cultured man who plays the guitar, round out the quartet. As a frame for the principal narrative, Boorman includes several shots of the damming of the Cahulawassee, which is being done to provide electrical power to Atlanta. Lewis condemns this modernization of Appalachia as a “rape” of nature.

At first, the men experience tension with the locals, who suspect the strangers of being in cahoots with the electrical company. In turn, the urban dwellers display condescension toward the poor farming community, particularly Bobby, who

makes fun of one person and scoffs at the “genetic deficiencies” of another. In an episode that sets the tone for urban versus rural, Drew plays a bluegrass tune with a mentally disabled boy sitting on a porch strumming a banjo. Created as a shot/reverse-shot sequence that alternates between the players trying to outdo each other, this “dueling banjos” competition—which the boy wins—is one of the film’s most iconic scenes.

Culture Clash

The action in *Deliverance* extends over four days. On day one, the friends navigate a series of rapids and encounter an immense and unspoiled wilderness that makes them feel like the early explorers of America. On day two, however, they experience the more malevolent side of nature. As Ed and Bobby paddle on ahead, they come upon two mountain men whose inbred appearance conforms to southern “redneck” stereotypes. The encounter quickly turns violent. At gunpoint, the locals tie Ed to a tree and force Bobby to remove his clothing. In the most infamous scene of the film, one of the men savagely sodomizes Bobby while beating him and forcing him to “squeal like a pig.” Through a combination of rapid editing cuts, close-ups, and the sound of faux hog squeals, Boorman depicts the mountain man raping Bobby as if to punish him for his earlier indiscretions and for his complicity in the city’s own “rape” of nature.

As the second perpetrator prepares to sexually assault Ed, Lewis surprises Bobby’s rapist by shooting him through the back with his bow and arrow. His companion escapes and the four men quickly begin discussing what to do with the corpse. A standoff ensues between Lewis (who wants to bury the dead) and Drew (who wants to abide by the law). The men eventually agree to conceal the body illegally. While fleeing the scene, a distraught Drew becomes dizzy and falls into the river just as the two canoes get caught up in a waterfall and collapse into a gorge. After gathering their senses, the men look in vain for Drew, who they believe was shot from a cliff by the escaped perpetrator. In addition, Lewis has suffered a broken leg and the mild-mannered Ed must now transform himself into the lead survivalist of the group. He scales a rock wall in search of Drew’s killer, who he fears has surrounded them and will hunt the men like animals.

On day three, Ed awakens to find an armed man hovering near the cliff’s edge. Overcoming his inability to slay a deer earlier in the film, Ed shoots and kills his target with a bow and arrow. He transports the body back down the gorge for further inspection, but the men remain unsure if it belongs to the assailant from the day before. After finding Drew’s mangled corpse downriver and sinking it with rocks (the same as the body of Ed’s victim), the men paddle successfully into Ainttry, where they fabricate an official story about their ordeal.

The film ends on day four as the police challenge the inconsistencies in the survivors’ account (and in connection with a local missing person). With no hard evidence to detain them, the county sheriff instructs the men to leave and never return. The final scene shows Ed at home with his wife and son. That night, he awakens from a nightmare in which a bloated hand resurfaces from the Cahulawassee. While reinstated into civilization, Ed is marked indelibly with a traumatic awareness of the underlying conflict between culture and nature.

Public Afterlife

Deliverance has greatly impacted the public image of Appalachia. While the film criticizes urban development, its depiction of the Georgia community as dirty, poor, backward, ignorant, and animal-like nevertheless has cemented the “redneck” stereotype in popular culture. Unflattering references to Appalachians abound in *Deliverance* and have become part of an American cultural lexicon that remains largely unquestioned: They include mental retardation, incestuous relations (a kinship that supersedes civilized law), and the subhuman existence of survivalists in the wild. This depiction has led to subsequent—and mostly less complex—representations that have reinforced the image of the degenerate “hillbilly” in the cinema.

Among these films are those belonging to the horror subgenre known as “hixploitation.” Following the pattern of culture shock established in film history by *Deliverance*, these movies feature urban protagonists who go on vacation only to be abducted by rural whites who rape, torture, and/or murder them (especially beautiful modern women). The filmmakers’ sympathies are most

always with city dwellers who, having left civilization behind, now struggle against a barbarian clan of “rednecks.” The acclaimed U.S. director Quentin Tarantino even references the rape scene in *Deliverance*, and hixploitation more generally, in his 1994 film *Pulp Fiction*. More recently, reality television shows that put the wild antics of southern families on display—from the making of moonshine to mudwrestling—are carrying the clichés into the 21st century.

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See Also: Appalachians; Culture Shock; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures.

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Deportation (Repatriation)

Deportation is the involuntary relocation of an individual to their country of origin and citizenship. The United States expresses its sovereignty through decisions about citizenship and residency. It exercises a federal right to deport noncitizens, even long-term permanent residents.

Historically, deportation began as a method of external border control through ejection of those who did not legally enter and pass inspection. The development of numerical quotas to limit immigration and the use of deportation has been primarily politically and economically motivated. For example, the United States has viewed communism and other dissident political beliefs as threatening and potential grounds for removal. The American economy is characterized by economic fluctuations associated with scapegoating and targeting of immigrants for deportation.

History

Since the United States was formed in 1776, the nation has been through 40 economic recessions/panics, including two major depressions: the Depression of 1920 to 1921 and the Great Depression of 1929 to 1937. Economic problems do not directly drive the formation and refinement of immigration law, but negative public opinion and immigrant scapegoating in times of economic duress have made deportation a putative means of addressing the “immigration problem.” Historically, deportation has been used to control the race and nationality, political beliefs, criminality, and possible public welfare consequences of accepting individuals and groups. In the 20th century, in response to social pressures, the U.S. deportation bureaucracy has developed an additional purpose, which law professor Daniel Kanstroom views as a mechanism of post-entry social control of immigration. In the 21st century, the immigration status of undocumented aliens, including permanent resident aliens, has been increasingly subject to criminalization. Beyond the civil offense of unlawful first-time entry, the commission of specified criminal offenses is becoming a major ground for deportation.

In North America, the use of deportation to shape a colonial population began with a mid-18th-century British political decision to deport Acadians, a French population, after they took control of Nova Scotia. Many Acadians came to the United States, among other destinations. The decade of the 1790s was marked by a three-year economic downturn (the Panic of 1797–99). Responding to public concern about the economy and allowing more people to immigrate, including Acadians, the U.S. Congress passed the Alien Enemies Act in 1798, which specified that “all natives, citizens, denizens or subjects of a hostile nation . . . shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed, as alien enemies.” The 1798 Alien Friends Act broadened the president’s authority to expel noncitizens perceived to endanger peace and safety or to have engaged in treasonable activity in the United States. The Alien Enemies Act and the Alien Friends Act established many of the basic principles of deportation.

There was no requirement that an order of removal be based on a specific finding; any burden of proof, including that of citizenship, was



Part of a group of 171 illegal aliens wave good-bye to the Statue of Liberty from the U.S. Coast Guard cutter that took them from Ellis Island in New York to the Home Lines ship Argentina in Hoboken, New Jersey, for deportation. At the early part of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the 1951 Internal Security Act allowed for retroactive deportation of noncitizens politically affiliated with organizations that were considered a threat to public security, including the Communist Party.

the alien's responsibility upon receiving a removal order. All aliens were required to have a government permit. Anyone returning to the United States after removal was subject to criminal prosecution and permanent exclusion from attaining U.S. citizenship. Subsequent to passage of these laws, many French left the United States, some returning to postrevolutionary France.

Chinese Exclusion Act: The "Undesirables"

In the mid-19th century, the arrival of Chinese laborers willing to work for low wages on the West Coast produced social tension with native-born workers. The national economic stress

of the Panic of 1873 and the Long Depression prompted passage of the 1875 Page Act, which banned "undesirables" from entering the country. The law classified as "undesirable" people coming from Asia as forced laborers, women engaging in prostitution, and those considered convicts in their own countries. Next came the recession of 1882 to 1885, prompting passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. It barred Chinese immigration for 10 years and authorized deportation of convicts, "idiots," "lunatics," and individuals who were considered unable to support themselves. This was the first federal immigration law and it established precedent for federal control

of immigration. The disposition to deport people after years of presence in the country was a move beyond border control to one of post-entry social control through deportation.

At this time, the concept of race became a criterion for structuring the deportation system. Nativistic hostility and scapegoating of Chinese laborers led to the 1882 Geary (Chinese Exclusion) Act. All Chinese immigration was banned for 10 years and deportation of Chinese immigrants present without permission was authorized. Chinese noncitizen laborers were required to register or face removal. A challenge to the Geary Act resulted in a Supreme Court decision that equated the right of a nation to prevent entry of a foreign population with a nation's right to remove foreigners from its interior.

From 1893 to 1897, recession was coupled with concerns that immigrants were connected to crime. In the early 20th century this concern began to be expressed in federal legislation. In 1907, a statute was passed to deport alien women engaged in acts of prostitution within three years of entry. In 1910, this statute was amended to remove the time limit, making it a form of post-entry social control through deportation. The recession of 1913 to 1914 was followed by federal efforts to contain immigrant crime.

The 1917 Immigration Act authorized post-entry deportation of individuals who had committed a crime of moral turpitude within five years of arrival. This law created a list of legal permanent resident aliens subject to deportation, and removed time limits for deportation in certain cases. Criminal criteria for deportation included (1) length of sentence (a sign of a crime's severity), (2) the vaguely defined "moral turpitude" criteria, and (3) the time limit of five years after entry except for the most serious crimes. Individuals sentenced for more than two crimes were subject to deportation regardless of how long they had been in the United States. The 1917 immigration law provided for recognition of pardons as a defense against removal and allowed immigration judges to override sentencing with a recommendation against deportation. Later, deportation came to be connected with the 1919 National Prohibition Enforcement Act and was used as a method of containing liquor-related crime. In addition, the 1922 Narcotics Deportation Act required

removal of any immigrant convicted of importing opium or cocaine.

Concern about political dissidence ran parallel to concerns about a connection between immigrants and crime. A 1903 law prohibited entry of persons individually opposed to organized governments or any member of an organization opposed to organized government. This law, used to target anarchists and labor union leaders, provided the basis for ideological post-entry social control.

The 1917 Espionage Act and the 1918 Sedition Act expanded the categories of political dissidents to be excluded or deported. With the onset of World War I, in 1917, "enemy aliens" were interned for acts of political disloyalty.

Postwar economic fluctuation, including increased unemployment, inflation, strikes by a radicalized labor movement, and the emerging threat of a Bolshevik Russia led to a Red Scare. A series of bombings included a 1919 explosion at the home of Attorney General Mitchell Palmer. J. Edgar Hoover, then head of the General Intelligence Division of the Bureau of Investigation, sought to identify radicals and claimed that the majority were aliens. In the so-called Palmer Raids of 1919, a mass roundup of radicals based on 6,000 warrants resulted in an estimated 4,000 arrests. The Red Scare of 1919 was a mass deportation effort in which raids were used to round up, detain, and deport political activists and labor organizers deemed to be communist sympathizers. Russian immigrants and labor sympathizers Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were both deported in an effort to break labor unions. These raids continued into the 1920s, and, in many cases, deportation occurred without legal counsel or the overview of a federal court.

Emergency Quotas

A post-World War I recession and the depression of 1920 to 1921 was followed by the 1921 Emergency Quota Act, which began to limit immigrant entry based on quotas from the 1910 U.S. Census, restricting entry from southern and southeastern Europe. Soon after came the 1923 to 1924 recession, followed by the 1924 Immigration Act, which renewed quotas on the southern and southeastern European populations. A numerical quota was not placed on Western Hemisphere countries

or on Mexican immigrants and sojourners. The 1924 Immigration Act eliminated statutes of limitations for overstayers and illegal entrants, making them permanently subject to removal.

A deportation bureaucracy began to develop for deportation of aliens lacking proper documents. Immigration control became a matter of enforcing the borders and finding undocumented individuals in the interior. Use of deportation laws, previously very limited, began to grow. For example, in 1920, 2,762 illegal aliens were deported; in 1925, the number rose to 9,495, and in 1929, 38,796. The head tax—a literacy test and fee for a visa—were ignored by many Western Hemisphere entrants, making them subject to deportation. By 1929, immigration criteria began to have disparate impact on Mexicans, who, according to experts, became the “iconic illegal aliens.”

Great Depression and Mexican Deportation

The Great Depression began in a climate of a war on crime related to the failure of Prohibition, nativism, and the availability of enforcement instruments, such as the Bureau of Immigration and Border Patrol. The federal government sought to “repatriate” Mexicans to their country of origin, distinguishing this removal from standard deportation practice. During this time, the repatriation action targeted Mexicans in the southwestern United States for removal, and the resultant sweep forced many individuals, families, and even citizen children back to Mexico. An estimated 415,000 Mexicans were sent back to their homeland during these years. America’s economic troubles and lack of employment discouraged Mexican nationals from coming to the United States. The rationale for deportation Mexicans was the fear that if they stayed they might become a public charge. Chief sweeps were made primarily in Texas, California, Arizona, Colorado, and in midwestern communities in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana.

Mexicans were under pressure to repatriate themselves voluntarily by welfare officials. Many were deported for lack of a visa. In turn, the Mexican federal and state governments were said to be offering land to returnees.

The Mexican repatriation was greatly facilitated by the participation of local governments

eager to ease school budgets and reduce the welfare rolls. In the case of Los Angeles, federal agents cooperated with police and local authorities, eventually deporting seven Mexicans out of every 10 removed. Los Angeles had a county repatriation program with repatriation trains. This was initially paid for with federal funds, but after Franklin D. Roosevelt’s election and change in funding for relief, the necessity to use county funds reduced departures sponsored by county welfare officials.

The 1940s Recession and Communist Threat

The recession of 1948 to 1949 occurred at the beginning of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. The 1951 Internal Security Act provided for retroactive deportation of noncitizen members of the Communist Party and those politically affiliated with organizations considered to threaten public security. The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act again reduced the criteria for and degree of judicial review necessary before deportation, while establishing statutes of limitation. The recession of 1960–61 preceded the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which eliminated national origin quotas but restricted Western Hemisphere immigration to quotas for the first time, increasing the potential for unauthorized entry.

The 1950s and Operation Wetback

Agricultural grower demand for Mexican workers during the postwar 1940s led to unauthorized crossings in an attempt to be part of the U.S.-Mexico Bracero program, which imported Mexican fieldworkers. A targeted deportation in the 1950s, however, was unrelated to economic cycles of boom and bust.

Although the United States continued to enjoy postwar prosperity in the 1950s, ethnic antagonism toward the increased presence of undocumented Mexican immigrants led to the U.S. Border Patrol’s 1954 “Operation Wetback” program. Concentrated in the southwest, including California, Arizona, and Texas, over 1,000 Border Patrol officers seized tens of thousands of undocumented Mexican workers from agricultural fields and Mexican neighborhoods, which led to allegations of ethnic harassment of citizens. Additional thousands of Mexicans returned voluntarily to avoid deportation.

Illegal Immigrants in the 1980s

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act ended pressures on eligible undocumented immigrants subject to deportation through a legalization program. Nevertheless, this period marked an increased criminalization of illegal (undocumented) immigration. From 1988 to 1992, a recessionary period marked the beginning of adoption of more specific criminal offense criteria for deportation. The 1988 Anti-Drug Abuse Act designated drug trafficking and nonviolent drug offenses, such as possession, aggravated felonies for which permanent resident aliens could be deported after serving time in prison.

The 1990 to 1991 recession was marked by the passage of the 1990 Immigration Act, which expanded aggravated felonies to include violent offenses and money laundering. Relief from deportation was withheld if individuals were of “poor moral character.” The 1994 Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act increased penalties for unauthorized reentry after deportation, while the 1994 Immigration and Technical Correction Act made property crimes of fraud, burglary, and theft aggravated felonies. Criminalization continued with the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Death Penalty Act. It expanded the legal category of aggravated felonies, requiring deportation of legal permanent residents. The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act provided for both expansion of criminal criteria for removal and retroactivity.

Aftermath of 9/11

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York brought on a recession and social control measures, which had a major impact on both citizens and non-citizens. The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 greatly expanded the powers of the attorney general and restructured the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the U.S. Border Patrol. They became subunits of the new Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The major DHS organizational components responsible for removal and deportation are the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) division, active in the interior, and the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (USCBP) division. After September 11, 2001, the U.S. War on Terror conducted an unprecedented

roundup of individuals targeted on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, and religion. Many immigrants with Middle Eastern and Islamic backgrounds who had overstayed visas or violated other aspects of immigration law were detained and deported.

President Barack Obama was elected after the start of the so-called Great Recession in 2008, which has been characterized by a slow economic recovery. During Obama’s first term in office, ICE has detained and deported record numbers of undocumented and permanent resident alien immigrants. By comparison, in 2003, 211,098 persons were deported. After ICE was formed, those figures jumped to 319,382 in 2007, 359,795 in 2008, 395,165 in 2009, 387,242 in 2010, and 396,906 in 2011.

Criticism of the USCBP and ICE has focused on removal of noncitizens for visa violations rather than criminal activity. From 2001 to 2011, there was a progressive increase in deportations, but visa violators with no criminal record were the main category of individuals removed. In fiscal 2011, ICE indicated that 55 percent (216,698 deportees) had committed felonies or misdemeanors. The total included 1,119 noncitizens convicted of homicide; 5,848 convicted of sexual offenses; 35,927 noncitizens convicted of driving while intoxicated; and 44,653 convicted of drug-related crimes. The vast majority of deportees have not had access to legal representation, received limited judicial review, and were given expedited removal without consideration of extenuating circumstances, such as minor children.

This unprecedented wave of deportation was reduced after 2011, when Obama authorized low-priority immigration offenders be allowed to remain in the United States and be given a work permit.

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See Also: Chinese Americans; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Customs and Border Protection, U.S.; Great Depression; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Immigration Acts; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.;

Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; Mexican Americans; Repatriation Program.

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Desegregation/Integration

During much of the history of the United States, Caucasians and members descended from other ethnic groups, such as African Americans, Asians, Latinos, and Native Americans/Indians, were segregated, either by law or custom. This often caused these individuals to live in separate neighborhoods, attend different schools, use distinct commercial and professional services, and stay apart from the other groups in many ways. Beginning during the first half of the 20th century, desegregation and integration became important and related goals of the American civil rights movement. A variety of court decisions, coupled with legislative action, have worked to level barriers to association, thereby creating more equal opportunities regardless of race.

Desegregation is sometimes referred to as chiefly legal in context, while integration is largely a social matter. The term *desegregation* generally is used to refer to the disestablishment of laws and regulations forcing the separation of two or more races. The term *integration* includes desegregation, but also consists of actions undertaken toward leveling barriers to association, including steps to create equal opportunities and a more inclusive culture drawing on diverse traditions. As

the multicultural population of the United States has grown, dealing with the legacy of segregation by creating more opportunities for individuals from all backgrounds to connect, collaborate, and cooperate has become a priority for politicians, lawmakers, and policy specialists.

Background

In the aftermath of the American Civil War, Congress proposed, and the states ratified, three amendments to the Constitution to remedy some of the underlying inequities that had not been resolved by the military conflict. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, sometimes referred to as the “Reconstruction amendments,” sought to rebut some of the discrimination that had been acknowledged since the decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1857), which held that people of African descent who had been brought to the United States in slavery, and their descendents, were not citizens and were not protected by the Constitution.

The Thirteenth Amendment, which was proposed and ratified in 1865, abolished slavery and involuntary servitude. The Fourteenth Amendment, proposed in 1866 and ratified in 1868, contained a citizenship clause that overturned the *Dred Scott* decision, extending citizenship to all born in the United States, and also included equal protection and due process clauses that required all states to provide equal protection under law to all citizens and defined safeguards necessary to protect these rights. The Fifteenth Amendment, proposed in 1869 and ratified in 1870, prohibited any governmental entity from denying citizens the right to vote based on their race, color, or previous condition of servitude. While these constitutional amendments in theory extended equal rights to all citizens, including African Americans, in practice this was not the case, with the situation being especially difficult in the former slave states.

Despite the protections and rights afforded all citizens by the Reconstruction amendments, authorities in the southern states soon began to pass legislation and to enact policies and procedures that segregated blacks and whites. The U.S. Supreme Court, in the matter of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), held that state laws requiring separate but equal accommodations for African Americans and Caucasians on trains

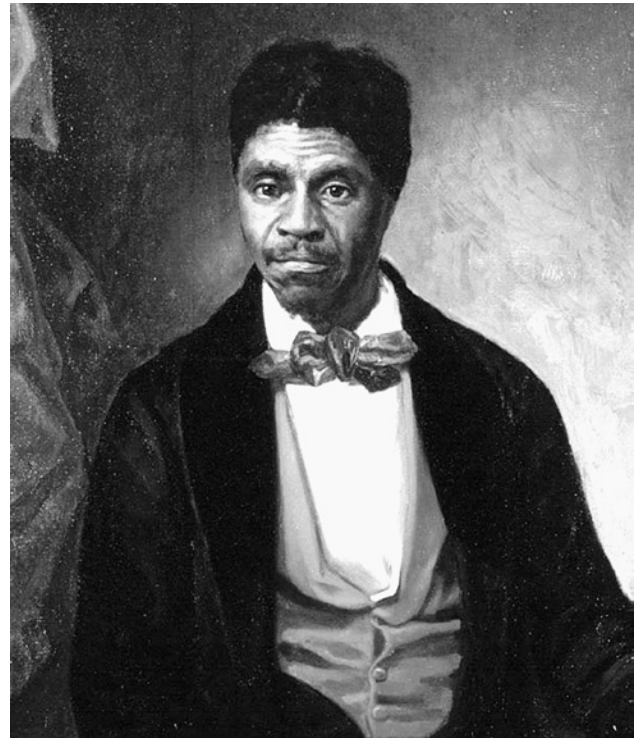
via different railroad cars were constitutional. In *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U.S. 45 (1908), the Supreme Court upheld a statute that barred a private institution from teaching black and white students in an integrated setting. The combination of the *Dred Scott* and *Berea College* rulings emboldened many legislatures, especially those in the south, to pass a variety of laws that restricted African Americans from a variety of activities.

Legislation that mandated segregation was generally known as “Jim Crow laws,” named after a blackface character made popular by Thomas Dartmouth Rice in the 19th century. Segregation of the races occurred in schools, restaurants, hospitals, the military, public transportation, and in public facilities. Segregation also existed in the northern states, but unlike that imposed by the southern Jim Crow laws, it was more frequently the result of custom and private agreements. For example, in the northern states real estate covenants often restricted sellers from contracting with buyers from certain racial and ethnic groups, and bank lending practices and discriminatory employment meant de facto segregation for practices of many African Americans.

Issues of desegregation and integration also affected Asians, Latinos, and American Indian tribes. During the 19th century, for example, Chinese workers were used to help build the transcontinental railroad, but they were not permitted to become naturalized citizens. Indeed, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 banned all Chinese immigration into the United States for a decade. Severe restrictions on Asians’ freedom to come to the United States existed through the 1960s. Latinos also faced immigration restrictions for much of the United States’ history, especially after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which limited the number of Latino immigrants to a proportion similar to that present in the nation at that time. Discrimination in housing, whether de jure or de facto, led many Latino children to be educated in segregated schools. American Indian tribes were faced with the taking of their land, which occurred throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, but especially as a consequence of the Indian Appropriations Acts of 1851 and 1871. After having their land taken, many American Indians were forced to live on reservations that were far from other resources and facilities.

Economic and Educational Consequences

Segregation caused tremendous harm to members of multicultural groups beyond the exclusion from equal participation in public life. Faced with few options for economic betterment in the south, millions of African Americans began what is now known as the Great Migration. Beginning in 1910, a 20-year period saw 1.6 million African Americans move from the rural south to manufacturing regions in the northeast and midwest. This is sometimes referred to as the First Great Migration in areas that saw cities, such as Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Kansas City, New York, Omaha, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, experience a dramatic increase in their African American populations. The north offered blacks better schools, economic opportunities, and less segregation than were possible in the south. Despite this, African Americans still faced discrimination, often from European immigrants



*Dred Scott was an African American slave who unsuccessfully sued for his freedom in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), which was based on his status as a slave who was a resident in free states. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled against him based on his inability to claim citizenship—and therefore bring suit in a federal court—because his African ancestry disqualified him.*

and other groups that felt economically insecure. Although laws seldom dictated this, most African Americans lived in neighborhoods that were segregated from other groups. This led to the growth in newspapers, shops, professional services, churches, and other activities aimed at and controlled by blacks. These endeavors often created a group of economic, political, social, and spiritual leaders from within the African American community.

Education was important to many African Americans, and normal schools and colleges worked to prepare teachers to work with the black community. In the 50 years after the end of the Civil War, most African Americans became literate, and black teachers often inspired students to obtain additional education. After the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Indian Appropriations Acts, many Asians and Native Americans faced grave consequences. Many Asians already living lawfully in the United States were deported, although for a while they enjoyed some success in appealing such actions in federal court. After 1894, however, Congress passed a law forbidding such relief. Many American Indians were taken from their families and enrolled in boarding schools, where they did receive schooling, although this action focused largely on forcing Native American children to renounce their language and culture.

Segregation also affected Hispanic Americans. Discrimination and xenophobia worked to create a situation where Latinos frequently felt unwelcome and occasionally were victims of acts of hatred and racial animosity. Though many Latinos had lived in what is now the southwestern United States before the Mexican-American War of 1848, many immigrated to Arizona, California, New Mexico, Texas, and other states after that date. By the 1930s, over three million Americans of Hispanic descent lived in the United States. Economic difficulties caused by the Great Depression, however, caused problems for many Latinos. Forced to live in segregated communities, Latinos often had to live in substandard housing and were offered only poverty-level wages. More than 12,000 Latinos were deported from Los Angeles to Mexico during the 1930s, despite many of them being U.S. citizens. "Redlining," a term devised by sociologist John McKnight, was

also used to prevent those living in particular, often racially determined neighborhoods from obtaining certain products and services. Banks, real estate agencies, insurance companies, and others refused to provide their services to individuals living in certain neighborhoods. These neighborhoods were overwhelmingly comprised of African Americans, Asians, Latinos, and other multicultural groups.

Early Initiatives to End Segregation

Defenders of segregation often claimed that members of various multicultural groups needed to be excluded from Caucasian society for their own protection, the theory being that this practice spared blacks from feelings of adverse sentiments and negative opinions. Such conditions continued until the advent of World War II. A. Philip Randolph, who had founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first predominantly African American union, pressed the federal government to take a leadership role in combating segregation. As a result of Randolph's efforts, in 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order prohibiting racial discrimination by companies in the defense industry supplying weapons and other materiel to the armed forces. This was the first federal action to promote equal opportunity and to forbid employment discrimination. During World War II, many African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and others were drafted into the armed forces, and served honorably in a variety of sites around the globe. Upon these veterans' return to the United States, many were unwilling to once again accept the restrictions of discriminatory laws. As a result, many veterans began to press for changes that would reduce segregation. In response to lobbying by Randolph and others, in 1948 President Harry S. Truman issued another executive order abolishing racial segregation in the armed forces. This action resulted in the dismantling of all-black units in the armed services, and integration of the troops was essentially complete by 1954.

Efforts to end segregation and to promote integration were not limited to the military. In 1943, singer and actor Paul Robeson addressed the Major League Baseball team owners at their annual winter meeting. Robeson beseeched the owners to end segregation and stated that they

had an obligation as stewards of the national pastime to promote integration. On April 15, 1947, African American Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier, starting a game for the Brooklyn Dodgers at first base. Robinson had a stellar season and was named Rookie of the Year. This opened the door for other players of color, and most other teams soon integrated. Robinson proved to be an iconic figure for many African Americans and starred in films, comic books, and advertisements. Before 1948, restrictive covenants permitted sellers to refuse to convey real estate unless the buyer pledged not to sell to certain groups. Restrictive covenants were used in many areas of the United States to prevent Jews, Italians, Latinos, African Americans, Asians, and other multicultural groups from moving into certain neighborhoods. Although the U.S. Supreme Court determined in 1948 that the courts could not enforce such covenants, their use persisted for decades afterward.

Civil Rights Movement

Based upon the gains seen in the military and Major League Baseball, certain organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), used the judicial system to make attacks on the Jim Crow system, racial discrimination, and segregation. After the Scottsboro Boys had been arrested for fighting with some white men on a train, they were convicted of raping two white women on the same train. Partnering with the International Labor Defense (ILD), the NAACP gained a reputation as a defender of the civil rights of African Americans. During the 1930s, the NAACP also became a leading opponent of lynching, which was still common in the south. As a result of these activities, the NAACP's membership soared in the early 1940s, growing from 50,000 to 450,000. This increase in membership permitted the expansion of the NAACP's legal department, which began to consider ways to attack laws mandating segregation.

Led by Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP legal department became involved in a campaign to reverse the separate but equal principle reached in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Despairing at obtaining relief in state legislatures, the NAACP decided to challenge segregation on the grounds that segregated facilities were separate but not equal. In

1950, Marshall and the NAACP took up a series of cases that challenged school segregation. Two types of segregation exist: de jure and de facto. De jure segregation represents that which is mandated by law, while de facto segregation occurs as a result of human behavior and custom. In the case that ultimately became known as *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court held in a unanimous opinion that state laws establishing separate schools for African American children violated the Constitution. *Brown v. Board of Education* abolished de jure segregation and paved the way for integration. While the ruling eliminated the legal justification for segregation, many state and local governments resisted the ramifications of the *Brown* case.

Although resistance to the *Brown* decision was strong, momentum grew to end segregation. Building on the success in *Brown*, many leaders from a variety of traditionally underrepresented groups continued to campaign against segregation in a variety of other settings, such as in commercial establishments, on public transportation, or as it pertained to the use of public facilities. Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., for example, was the leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association. The Montgomery Improvement Association was a consortium of African American ministers and community leaders who sought to end segregation in that Alabama city. After Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to yield her seat to a white passenger, King helped organize the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The Montgomery Bus Boycott lasted for over a year and resulted in the near bankruptcy of the municipal bus company. The boycott continued until segregation on Alabama's mass transit systems was ended by the U.S. district court decision in *Browder v. Gayle*, 142 F. Supp. 707 (1956). At the conclusion of the boycott, King, Parks, and others involved, such as Ralph Abernathy, formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to continue efforts at desegregation on a national basis.

In California, the Community Service Organization (CSO) was formed to address racism directed against Latinos and the discrimination they experienced. Although many immigrants from Mexico and other Spanish-speaking countries had worked in the southwestern United

States for decades, they had often faced segregation and other consequences from racism. The CSO worked during the 1950s to file lawsuits halting desegregation, increase voter registration among Latinos, offer citizenship classes, and push for political change. CSO initiatives launched the careers of many influential Latino activists, including César Chávez (founder of the United Farm Workers union), Congressman Edward Roybal (first Latino elected to Congress), and Hector Tarango (attorney who won the first U.S. desegregation case).

This change in attitudes culminated in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed major forms of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, religion, or national origin. The act also ended disparate voting registration requirements. The passage of this legislation, coupled with the Fair Housing Act of 1968, effectively meant desegregation was a reality, as those who objected to behavior that resulted in segregation could challenge it in court. As the number of Latinos in the United States increased after 1965, some school districts attempted to exclude the children of undocumented workers. Although popular with certain segments of the population, such actions were ultimately challenged in the courts. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), declared a Texas statute that prohibited state aid being used to educate the children of undocumented workers unconstitutional on grounds that it constituted discrimination based on immigration status. Despite this ruling, however, during the 1990s many state and local governments prohibited undocumented college students the right to use in-state tuition rates or other forms of financial assistance granted other residents.

Integration

While desegregation was the legal remedy to segregation, integration was and is a more amorphous concept that refers to the elimination of barriers between groups, the availability of equal opportunity, and the creation of a culture that draws upon a variety of diverse traditions. Because integration is a social concept, consensus as to what constitutes this is more difficult to obtain. Integration can occur only after desegregation happens, and a variety of American

institutions have struggled to become integrated since the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

In a nation such as the United States, with a long history of de jure segregation, the mere ending of laws and practices that mandated separation of different races was not enough to ensure integration. Most children in the United States attend neighborhood schools, that is, the school that is located the nearest to their place of residence. Because many Americans live in neighborhoods that, as a result of laws or custom, are segregated, this results in segregated schools regardless of laws mandating desegregation. As a result, a variety of ways have been explored to better integrate schools and other organizations, albeit with mixed results.

Private and public schools, colleges, and universities that draw students from a broader geographic area can use affirmative action policies, scholarships, and other tools to recruit a more diverse and integrated student body. Affirmative action policies are those that take a variety of factors into account in order to obtain a student body, workforce, or other group that better reflects the diverse nature of the general population. Affirmative action is usually warranted as a result of past segregation. Although often effective, affirmative action is often unpopular with members of the majority population, who sometimes challenge affirmative action policies in court, alleging reverse discrimination. Another response to a lack of integration in public schools has been the use of forced busing, although this was more popular during the 1970s and 1980s than it is today. Some forced busing programs are initiated by a school district's administrators who are seeking to create a more diverse student body than that which would exist if schools relied on neighborhood children only. Other busing plans have been ordered by courts as a way to remedy past segregation.

In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1972), the U.S. Supreme Court considered whether busing was a remedy to deal with the effects of segregation. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, a school district in North Carolina, had segregated students by race until desegregation was ordered by a court in 1963. In the years following desegregation, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools failed to become integrated

because housing patterns in the region resulted in segregated schools if children were left in their neighborhood establishment. After a challenge from the NAACP, the U.S. District Court for the Western District of North Carolina determined that a desegregation plan was necessary to obtain integration.

To that end, the district court ordered that elementary schools serving predominantly black and white students be paired and grouped, and a number of students would be bused so that individual schools' racial composition more accurately mirrored that of the district as a whole. Although busing was used in many regions, it proved highly unpopular, with many white parents withdrawing their children from public schools or moving to avoid it.

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See Also: Abolitionist Movement; Acculturation/Assimilation; Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; African Americans; Baseball and Ethnic Diversity; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Civil Rights Movement; Constitutional Amendments; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Higher Education; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Little Rock School Desegregation; Multicultural Education; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896); Segregation.

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Desilu Productions

Desilu Productions was a television and film production studio cofounded in 1950 by husband-and-wife team Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball. The studio is best known for hit television productions like *I Love Lucy*, *The Untouchables*, *Star Trek*, and *Mission Impossible*. Arnaz's business acumen, vision, and innovation built the couple's Desilu empire. They owned Desilu until their divorce in 1960 when Arnaz sold his shares to Ball, who became the first female president of a major studio. Ball sold Desilu in 1967, which still operates today as CBS Television.

Desilu Productions is closely connected to and reflective of the careers, marriage, and divorce of Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball. The couple met while filming *Too Many Girls* in 1940 and were married on November 30, 1940. Ball was an established movie actor in Hollywood known as the “queen of B-movies,” while Arnaz was an established musician, band leader, and actor, whose acting career was hindered by his Cuban accent. During the first year of their marriage, they were apart with busy careers, which led them to form Desilu Productions to handle their business affairs and appearances on stage, screen, and radio.

I Love Lucy

It is impossible to separate Desilu Productions from the success of *I Love Lucy*. Desilu and *I Love Lucy* finally gave the Arnazes the opportunity to work together, which they longed to do. *I Love Lucy* debuted on October 15, 1951. American audiences and the new genre of television embraced the comedy of *I Love Lucy*—her hijinks and how they played off her on-camera Cuban husband, Ricky Ricardo, and their neighbors Fred and Ethel Mertz. Arnaz's exaggerated

Cuban accent, which had been a detriment in his earlier acting career, delighted audiences in his role as Lucy's long-suffering foil.

The production performed like a play, filmed once and capturing live audience reaction. Other innovations included mirroring the changing American middle-class landscape, such as depicting a Cuban husband with an accent, the baby boom, post-World War II consumerism, and the great suburban migration. In particular, the show depicted Lucy's real-life pregnancy on-camera, which was previously considered a television taboo. With more Americans owning television sets, audiences identified with and shared in the on-camera lives of the Ricardos, which mirrored to a great extent the Arnazes' real-life personas.

Desilu Productions created several key technical innovations during the *I Love Lucy* production that are still used today. They include using a three-camera technique (with wide, middle, and close-up shots), filming before a live studio audience, creating lighting for multiple cameras, and usually completing a scene in one take.

Tapping Into the American Dream

Off screen, Arnaz proved to be a savvy businessman and negotiated with CBS for the rights of the show and its films in exchange for a \$1,000 weekly salary to pay for production costs and ensure high-quality tapings of the show. CBS agreed, believing it was a bargain. However, the rights to the films proved wildly lucrative, and as a result, Arnaz is credited to giving birth to television reruns and syndication. Arnaz sold 179 *I Love Lucy* episodes to CBS for \$4.5 million. CBS also paid Arnaz and Ball \$1 million for exclusivity as CBS performers for 10 years following the sale.

In 1954, the Arnazes bought Motion Picture Center Studios in Hollywood for \$750,000. Three years later, they bought RKO Studios for \$6.15 million, which included RKO's film production lots in Hollywood and Culver City, with 26 soundstages. With their acquisitions, Desilu Productions totaled 35 soundstages, four more than MGM and 11 more than Twentieth Century Fox. The Arnazes renamed the studios Desilu Gower, Desilu Culver, and Desilu Cahuenga. Desilu operations produced their own films, as well as making films for other producers and providing rental studio space. On December 3, 1958, the company

held an initial public offering and used the proceeds to pay off a portion of the RKO acquisitions. By 1959, 26 television series were produced and filmed at Desilu Productions.

Desilu was a publicity machine and encouraged the image and familiarity with the Arnazes of real life and the Ricardos of TV. All employees were a part of the "Desilu family" and were celebrated during the annual company picnics. Desilu started with seven employees and grew to nearly 1,000 in over five years. Family and friends said that Arnaz and Ball were the happiest when they were working together on *I Love Lucy* or dealing with business at Desilu.

Desilu Playhouse was the company's most ambitious series that included a package of 48 episodes from 1958 to 1960. Notably, it included the pilot for *The Twilight Zone* and several episodes of *The Lucille Ball-Desi Arnaz Show*, later called *The Lucy-Desi Comedy Hour*, in which they reprised America's favorite family, the Ricardos. This new *Lucy* show format went from *I Love Lucy*'s 30-minute episodes to a one-hour special that featured guest stars. At its peak, Desilu was the leader in the industry for television and film production, followed by Revue and Screen Gems. Ball always credited her husband as the business mastermind behind building their Desilu empire.

End of an Era

The success of Desilu Productions translated into professional pressures and marriage problems for the Arnazes. The more successful they became professionally, the more their marriage deteriorated. The last *Lucy* episode was filmed on March 2, 1960, on Arnaz's 43rd birthday; the very next day, Ball filed for divorce. In 1962, Arnaz resigned as president of Desilu Productions and Ball bought out his shares, becoming the first woman president of a major studio. Ball continued to run Desilu successfully until 1967, when she sold it to Gulf+Western, who renamed it Paramount Television (now CBS Television Studios).

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See Also: Cuban Americans; *I Love Lucy*; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Television.

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Día de los Muertos

Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) is a national holiday in Mexico that is celebrated by many Hispanics in the United States and by many others throughout the Americas and other parts of the world. This time set aside for honoring the dead is now celebrated on the same date that Catholics celebrate All Saints Day (November 1) and All Souls Day (November 2). The celebration is thought to have originated in indigenous celebrations in Mexico that existed prior to European influences.

Origins of Día de los Muertos

Before the arrival of Europeans the Aztecs had a monthlong celebration at the end of summer, at the time of the corn harvest, related to their goddess Mictecacihuatl, who was considered closely related to death. She was thought to guard the bones of the dead. The celebration sought to recognize the continuity between those living and those who had died. It was seen as a time to celebrate the lives of those who had died. The lives of deceased children were observed first, followed by deceased adults. Skulls were used in the festival.

Ancient Mesoamericans were agrarian and depended upon the fertility of the soil. Their belief system, as well as that of many other groups, held that departed souls were partially responsible for crop production. The festival to honor the dead, held during harvest time, was at least one effort to ensure the continued production of crops. Generous offerings of food were given to departed people as a way to prepare for a bountiful harvest. As is the case with today's celebration, the ancient people of Mexico did not view death as a finality.

The interaction of the living and the dead was symbolized in the carrying out of this celebration.

When the Spanish conquerors entered Mexico, Catholic priests accompanied them to seek to make Christians of the indigenous peoples. They sought to eliminate practices that were contrary to Catholic teachings. The monthlong celebration devoted to a goddess of death and offering sacrifices to the dead were seen as practices that had to be stamped out. However, Catholics found the practices deeply ingrained in the culture and were not able to wipe them out. But there were enough parallels between this indigenous celebration and the Catholic All Saints Day and All Souls Day to enable the church to Christianize the pagan practices and fit them within the celebration of these two Christian holidays. Both Catholic holidays had to do with the dead. All Saints Day involved praying to saints, and All Souls Day was a time for praying for the deceased in purgatory.

Practices of Día de los Muertos

The celebration is based on the belief that the dead are able to visit the world of the living for a 24-hour period during this time. Children are thought to visit on November 1 and adults on November 2. During this period, death is conceived less grimly and there is an effort to joyfully celebrate the temporary return of the spirits of the deceased. In Mexico public observances, like parades and street parties where people dress as skeletons, have been encouraged to promote tourism. Private celebrations have needed no encouragement.

In Mexico the practices of Día de los Muertos vary from place to place. Also, the customs in other Latin American countries are not uniform. However, there are common characteristics of the celebrations. There are public and private celebrations. Families will often clean and decorate the graves of the deceased. Food and drink that the dead person enjoyed will often be made available at the grave site. Food will be shared among those in the graveyard, and there is fellowship among the families gathered there. Candles are placed on the grave to guide the spirits back to their proper places. Marigolds are often used to decorate, as these flowers have special significance for the dead. Incense is burned. Photos are also placed around the grave. The symbol of the skull is



In Mexican folk culture, the catarina symbol, a skeleton of a high-society woman, is one of the most popular figures in the Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) celebration, which focuses on prayer and remembrance for dead friends and family members. It is a Mexican national holiday, with many communities in the United States holding similar celebrations.

closely associated with the celebration. Candy in the shape of skulls is seen throughout the festival. The name of deceased persons is often written on the candy before it is consumed. *Pan de muerto*, or bread of the dead, is commonly seen during the celebration. This bread has decorations that resemble bones and is eaten in memory of the deceased. The bread is often seen in the period leading up to the celebration.

Home altars are a part of the festival. Families are generous in providing their altars with food, drink, and objects meaningful to the deceased members of the family. Copal is a resin from a tree that grows in Mexico; this is the incense that is burned on altars. The dead spirits are said to be drawn to the altar by the smell. Salt for purification and water for quenching the thirst of spirits are provided on the altar. Water basins are available for the spirits to use for cleaning themselves.

Día de los Muertos in the United States

In the United States, the practice of the Day of the Dead was given prominence in California as the Chicano movement sought to instill pride in Hispanics in California and in other locations. Art and festivals were important to the growth of the practice in the United States. As more Hispanic immigrants moved to the United States, the practice of Day of the Dead followed these newcomers to various parts of the country.

As more cities boast a large Hispanic population, Day of the Dead celebrations have spread. In San Francisco, the large Latino and strong arts communities stage a major event on November 2. Artists and others build altars to put on display. A candlelight procession is joined by those wishing to honor the dead. One of the largest events takes place in Los Angeles' Hollywood Forever Cemetery. This event, for which there is an entry fee, truly takes the form of a festival.

Día de los Muertos celebrations provide a source of cohesiveness for Hispanics from diverse backgrounds who have made their home in the United States. While the customs might be different from the ones they were accustomed to in their homelands, there is enough familiarity for people to join in. For many, the event can turn out to be more about fellowship with the living than with the dead.

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See Also: Chicanos; Cinco de Mayo; Hispanic Americans; Mexican Americans; Santería.

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Día de los Reyes Magos

The Epiphany of the Wise Men—or Día de los Reyes Magos, as it is known in Spanish—is celebrated on January 6 of each year as one of the three epiphanies narrated in biblical scripture. The most celebrated epiphany is that of the Wise Men (formerly known as the Three Magi), as narrated in Matthew 2:1-12. Matthew is the only one of the four Gospels to mention the three wise men, identifying them as foreign individuals arriving from the east. The use of the appellation magi to name them appears to have started in Italy during the Middle Ages.

The Story

Upon receiving the good tidings of the birth of Jesus, Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar traveled from the east to offer three symbolic gifts: gold, incense, and myrrh. It is probable that the number and richness of gifts led in time to the assumption that they had been three in number, as well as kings. According to tradition, when Jesus was born in Judah, in the days of King Herod, three Wise Men arrived from the east, guided by a star. On their way to Bethlehem, the Wise Men were warned by a dream that King Herod wanted to kill the child. Upon arriving in Bethlehem, they discovered the child with Mary, his mother, and they rendered homage unto him. Later traditions have established the Wise Men's number at more than three. In time, more symbolism became attached to the legend; for example, the Wise Men became represented in art by different races and ages, to encompass all the ethnicities and ages of men.

Latin America Observance

Día de los Reyes traditions were established early in many main colonial cities built by Spanish

conquerors. There are historical chronicles and art depicting the Adoration of the Magi from South America to Mexico. Although the celebration was popular for centuries, the traditions have given way in importance to others in most Spanish American regions and institutions that preserve the holiday rituals. Ring-shaped cakes known as *rosca de reyes* (Kings' Cake) are baked with a figurine of the child Jesus and eaten on this day. The person who finds the figurine is crowned or blessed.

United States Celebration

Epiphany, also known in different communities as Twelfth Night, Three Kings' Day, or Día de Reyes, has also found expression in the United States, where it is celebrated in Mexican American and some Caribbean communities, as well as in the former French colony of Louisiana and in some Protestant communities.

Inevitably, the Epiphany celebration would adopt local customs and mores across the United States and today still plays a significant role in intercultural community celebrations. In the U.S. Virgin Islands, the day is commemorated as a public holiday, where it maintains a Latin American flavor. It is celebrated expansively in the island of St. Croix, where lively processions and parades take place. In Louisiana, a former French Catholic colony, Three Kings' Day starts the Mardi Gras season, and a version of Kings' Cake, similar to the one enjoyed in Mexico during this holiday, is baked from Epiphany Day until Mardi Gras. In Puerto Rico, children and adults participate in the celebration of the Feast of Kings, which includes live music on the feast day, and children open gifts that are placed under their bed on the eve of the holiday. For many Protestant churches, a holiday is celebrated as a period of time rather than as a single holy day. Thus, in some Protestant traditions, Epiphany extends from Twelfth Night until Ash Wednesday, which marks the beginning of Lent.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Ethnicity; Latinos; Mexican Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Diaspora

From the Greek verb *diaspeirein*, “to spread about,” the word *diaspora* means dispersion or scattering. Classically, the term referred specifically to the scattering of Jewish populations from various countries that nevertheless maintained an attachment to their homeland. Beginning in the 20th century, however, the definition has shifted: It has come to mean compulsory expulsion of numerous populations, whether for economic, social, political, or other reasons. Some scholars also use it to simply communicate migration, without any sense of force or duress. In the last 15 years or so, it has become more popular to use this concept as a lens of analysis in literary studies and other fields within the humanities and social sciences. Discussions of diaspora now call forth such terms as *hybridity*, *creolization*, *syncretism*, *fragmentation*, *fluidity*, and *transnationalism*, among others. The Americas have been the destination of many diaspora groups.

Jewish Diaspora

The dispersal of Jewish populations throughout history has often been cited as a classic example of diaspora. Its origins in recorded history begin with the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the Babylonian conquest of the kingdom of Judah in the 6th century B.C.E. by Nebuchadnezzar and his military forces. For decades, Jewish communities existed outside Judah, in the Babylonian Empire and Egypt; though there was a return to the capital of Jerusalem under the leadership of Persian ruler Cyrus the Great, who allowed the reconstruction of the Temple, “Babylon” became

a metaphor for exile within Jewish religious and secular texts, and the exilic experience has been recorded in the Hebrew Bible. Despite the opportunity to return, many Jews remained in the settlements that had been established outside Judah; with the ability to retain their language and culture, these populations thrived in what is today Iraq. Centuries later, the Temple was destroyed for a second time in the 1st century C.E., when Jerusalem was under the Roman Empire. In the following century, Roman soldiers crushed Jewish independence movements and the name of the state was changed from Judea (what had formerly been Judah as well as Samaria) to Syria-Palestine.

In subsequent centuries, the rise of Jewish communities throughout the Asian, African, and European continents under various powers (first empires and later nations) meant populations that acclimated to the cultures that surrounded them; they therefore developed different ethnic identifications, such as Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and Mizrahi. Nevertheless, there remained identification with a Jewish homeland, the capital of which was Jerusalem.

Jewish migration to the Americas began at the conclusion of the 17th century. Fleeing the persecutions of the Spanish Inquisition that began in the 15th century, many were forced to convert to Catholicism (*conversos*) or migrate to other European nations such as Britain, France, and the Netherlands. Some moved to Spanish and French holdings in the Western Hemisphere; there remain small communities throughout the region, including in Curaçao, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica, among other islands.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, there was large-scale migration to the United States, Argentina, and Brazil. As a result of pogroms in the Russian Empire, more than two million fled to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the same time period, Argentina encouraged Jewish immigration as a means to increase the general population and cultivate large swaths of land, resulting in the creation of the largest Jewish community in Latin America. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, hundreds of thousands of survivors migrated to North America. Today there are more than five and a half million men, women, and children who claim Jewish heritage throughout the Americas.

African Diaspora

The dispersal of peoples from the African continent to Europe, Asia, and the Americas has occurred for millennia, due primarily to trade and warfare. The most common usage of the term *diaspora* in relation to the Americas refers to the Middle Passage, the sale and transport of enslaved Africans and their descendants that began in 1501, shortly after Spanish colonization efforts in Hispaniola. Although the transport of enslaved men and women from western Africa to the Americas ended in the 1860s, slavery itself ended in 1888 in Brazil, only a few short years before the start of the 20th century. In the 400-year history of the slave trade, it is estimated that 1 million to 2 million people died, and over 12 million Africans survived the transport to the Americas, only 5 percent of whom (600,000) landed in the United States, in ports such as Newport, Boston, New York, and Charleston. The remainder of these men and women, almost 12 million, were transported to the French, Spanish, and Portuguese holdings south of the 13 colonies. They passed through important ports such as Galveston, New Orleans, St. Augustine, Havana, Port-au-Prince, Cartagena, Salvador da Bahia, and Buenos Aires.

Throughout the Americas, there was a strong demand for labor; as the indigenous populations died as a result of warfare and disease, there remained the mandate for cheap labor. While the great majority of the enslaved worked on sugar plantations throughout the Caribbean and South America, they also worked in the harvest of cotton, coffee, tobacco, and cacao. They were also integral in the mining of gold and silver. Living conditions were devastating, and tens of thousands died annually, resulting in the continued refreshment of the inventory of the enslaved. The United States was the only country in the hemisphere to succeed in developing a system whereby the domestic population was successfully reproduced, thereby allowing for the maintenance of slavery even after the British ended the transport of slaves in 1808. Other countries such as Cuba and Brazil continued to import enslaved men and women, in the case of Brazil, well into the 1860s.

After the slave revolts and subsequent independence of Haiti, tens of thousands of landowners and their enslaved workers moved to Louisiana, itself a former French colony. The Haitian

Revolution impacted the hemisphere remarkably, as the cultivation of sugar moved from that island to Cuba and Brazil, most notably. In the same period, the Spanish colonies of the South American continent rebelled against their Mother Country; enslaved men were granted opportunities for freedom should they fight in the rebel armies, which they did in the first two decades of the 19th century.

The abolition of slavery occurred in stages in the Americas: the British Empire ended this practice throughout its colonies in 1833, and the French followed suit in 1845. The United States formally ended slavery in 1865 following its Civil War with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Slavery ended in Puerto Rico in 1873 and in Cuba in 1886; the end of slavery in these last two colonies of Spain was an element of the fight for independence from Spain, which was not gained until 1898. Brazil was the last country in the Americas to end slavery, in 1888; the recipient of the greatest number of enslaved African men and women, Brazil remains the site of the greatest number of people of African descent outside Nigeria, the most populous African country.

In the years following the formal end of slavery, millions faced racist discriminatory practices as they fought to gain all that had been promised them as citizens of these nations of the Americas. Today, over 200 million people self-identify as being of African descent throughout the Americas; tens of millions more deny such a claim, a testimony to the legacy of racial discrimination and prejudice that continue to affect employment, education, law enforcement, citizenship, housing, and health services.

Irish Diaspora

While there were hundreds of thousands of men and women of Irish heritage in the 13 colonies in the 18th century, this population was mainly comprised of the Scots-Irish of Ulster, Presbyterians, and other Protestants who had little trouble assimilating in the Protestant colonies of the British Crown. More often, references to the Irish diaspora apply to subsequent migrations that occurred a century later, resulting in great part from the potato famines of the 1840s. This movement in the middle of the 19th century resulted

in the flight of millions of Irish men and women to the Americas, as more than 1 million died in Ireland itself. More than 5 million migrated to the United States alone between 1820 and 1920.

Whereas the earlier Irish immigrants were Protestant, this group was largely Catholic, arriving in a predominantly Protestant United States. In comparison with other groups, the Irish were the greatest in number to arrive in the United States in the 1840s. Destitute and faced with rampant anti-Irish, anti-Catholic sentiment, many came to find work in canal building, construction, and mining.

Unlike the Irish settlers of the 18th century, who put down roots in the frontier lands of Pennsylvania and Virginia, those of the 19th century lived in urban centers: Boston, New York, Chicago, among other cities. In the Irish, business owners found a relatively inexpensive source of labor, in comparison to the enslaved population of African Americans. This opinion was shared throughout the Americas, as the Irish immigrated not only to the United States but also to all of the Americas, including Canada, Argentina, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, and Brazil, among other places. In these Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking nations, Argentina attracted the largest number of Irish immigrants, with 45,000–50,000 arrived there from 1829 to 1929. It is estimated that at least half of that number went on to settle in other countries, including the United States; nevertheless, today up to half a million Latin Americans are of Irish heritage, whereas in the United States, approximately 40 million are of Irish descent.

South Asian Diaspora

In the aftermath of the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833, the British established a new source of cheap labor for all of their holdings: men from one of the empire's largest colonies, the Indian subcontinent. One destination for these workers was the English- and French-speaking Caribbean, where they were meant to replace the newly freed African laborers on sugarcane plantations. Though theoretically more humane than slavery, indentured servitude often replicated poor living conditions experienced previously by the enslaved. Contractually obligated to work for five years (the one critical difference between indentured labor and African

slavery), these men were barred from leaving the premises and paid a shilling a day, with sums withheld for the provision of food and other supplies. Between the arrival of the first ship carrying these laborers to Guyana in 1838 and the end of the indentured labor system in 1916, more than half a million men traveled to the Caribbean. At the end of the contract, rather than sign on for another five-year term or return to India, many decided to remain on the islands, recipients of land grants offered by the colonial governments. Known as "coolies," they continued to contribute to the economies of these islands, becoming an integral part of a middle class, as shopkeepers and owners of other businesses. Today, their descendants make up a significant part of the populations of many Caribbean islands such as Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, and Jamaica.

Indians migrated to the North American continent at the turn of the 20th century, often to replace Chinese labor, first in Canada (a part of the British Empire) and then in the United States. Immigration was kept at low numbers in the United States for much of the 20th century because of anti-Asian sentiment, especially on the West Coast. With the Immigration Act of 1965, more Indians were allowed into the country, as the United States sought skilled labor: doctors, engineers, and scientists. As previously established restrictions were eased, these immigrants were allowed to bring their families with them and establish residency in the country. In addition, workers of Indian heritage from the Caribbean and east Africa also arrived in the United States in larger numbers. With the creation of the new H1-B visa in 1990 allowing for the temporary hiring of non-U.S. laborers in such occupations as engineering, science, and information technology, more highly skilled workers continue to arrive in the country. After multiple waves of migration throughout the 20th century, today there are almost three million men, women, and children of Indian descent in the United States.

Chinese Diaspora

Beginning in the 1840s and 1850s, Chinese laborers were recruited to work throughout the Americas; tens of thousands of contract workers left China with visions of beginning new lives. Between 1849 and 1874, more than 125,000 men arrived in Cuba, the majority of them from Fukien

Province. Also known as “coolies,” these men were meant to supplement the labor provided by enslaved Africans on sugarcane plantations. They were contracted to work for eight-year terms, paid one peso a week, and provided with food, shelter, and medical attention, with holidays free. While they were legally distinct from their enslaved counterparts, in reality, they suffered much of the same mistreatment, with many dying from malnutrition, beatings, or suicide. In the same period, more than 100,000 Chinese laborers arrived in Peru to work the guano fields, as well as the cotton and sugar plantations, as a means by which to end the labor shortage there. They worked alongside Africans, indigenous, and mestizo workers in severe conditions similar to those faced by their countrymen in Cuba. In Panama, laborers worked on the Panama Railroad, linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and completed in 1855. Afterward, they settled there, opening businesses across the country.

Chinese laborers traveled to California in large numbers after the discovery of gold there in 1848s; they worked as miners, suppliers, and performed unskilled labor. They also worked on the railroad in the United States; hired by the Central Pacific Railroad Company, they made up more than 90 percent of the workers. Charged with laying the tracks, they blasted mountains and excavated tunnels through the Sierra Nevada. By 1880, over 100,000 Chinese men lived in the United States, involved in a number of industries, including agriculture, fishing, and manufacturing, among others. Today there are more than seven million men, women, and children of Chinese descent throughout the Americas.

Caribbean Diaspora

Throughout the 20th century, there were a number of migrations to the continental Americas from the Caribbean. Between 1900 and 1930, almost 1 million laborers from the British and French West Indies (Jamaica, Barbados, Guadeloupe, and Martinique) as well as Haiti migrated to the Spanish-speaking Americas. Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama received the highest number of workers. In Cuba, there was work to be found on the sugar plantations, a large contributor to the national economies of these countries. In Venezuela, newly discovered oil fields provided an opportunity for employment;

then, as now, oil was a natural resource that called for a steady stream of manual labor. In Panama, men found work in the construction of the largest infrastructure project of the era, the building of the Panama Canal connecting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. The canal would facilitate the faster transportation of goods in this hemisphere, thereby cutting the costs for trade.

On the Caribbean coasts of Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Honduras, West Indians found work on the banana plantations as well as in railroad construction. During the same time period, there was a great migration within the island of Hispaniola as sugar plantations expanded at the end of the 19th century, leading to greater demand for workers. By 1935, more than 200,000 Haitians had crossed the border dividing the island. In all of these countries, migration was spurred by a need for cheap labor in diverse industries, many of which were dominated by U.S. firms such as United Fruit Company in the banana industry, Standard Oil in the oil industry, and the Panama Canal Company.

Whereas Central America and the Spanish-speaking islands saw an expansion of the banana and sugar industries, the British and French West Indies saw a collapse in their own, and so the supply of workers increased dramatically toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. During this time, between 1899 and 1935, more than 140,000 West Indians emigrated to the United States, settling in Florida, New York, and Massachusetts; in contrast to many of their countrymen emigrating to Spanish-speaking countries of South America and the Caribbean, these men and women were often better educated than their counterparts and even better educated than the U.S. native-born population. They contributed greatly to the growth of a black middle class in the United States, as a good number were doctors, lawyers, writers, activists, and other professionals. This generation of migrants gave birth to public figures such as Cicely Tyson, Malcolm X, Shirley Chisholm, Audre Lorde, and Colin Powell.

As the century rolled on, various Caribbean islands saw great economic and political instability, which was a leading contributor to continued migration. Though Puerto Ricans had lived in the continental United States since the late 19th century, when they and their Cuban brethren had

organized independence efforts against the Spanish Empire, it was not until the 1940s that the United States, New York especially, saw tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans arrive in search of work. This immigration peaked in the 1950s and 1960s, when more than 500,000 Puerto Ricans left the island. Industrialization efforts on the island in the form of Operation Bootstrap had left agricultural workers without work. This migration was facilitated by the fact that since 1917, Puerto Ricans were U.S. citizens, and so there was relative ease in making the move.

In the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution of 1959, tens of thousands of upper- and upper-middle-class Cubans fled to the United States; over 20 years later, in a five-month span, from April to September 1980, more than 125,000 Cubans arrived in Florida from the Cuban port of Mariel, in the Mariel boatlift. Dominican migration to the United States peaked in the decades following the assassination of Rafael Trujillo, the dictator who ruled the island for over 30 years, in 1961. In the aftermath, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children, migrated primarily to the northeastern United States in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. During the same period, Haitians fleeing the dictatorships of the Duvaliers (François “Papa Doc” [1957–71] and Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” [1971–86]) made their homes in the United States, Canada, the Dominican Republic, and the Bahamas. Today there are more than 10 million men and women of Caribbean heritage residing in the United States alone.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; Caribbean Americans; Chinese Americans; Cuban Americans; Dominican Americans; Great Migration; Haitian Americans; Irish Americans; Jewish Americans; Mariel Boatlift; Puerto Ricans; Slave Trade; West Indian Americans.

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Different Mirror, A

First published in 1993, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* represents one of the earliest attempts at a comprehensive history of the United States that spotlights the sociohistorical experiences of Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, Jews, and other ethnic minority groups. Written by Ronald Takaki (1939–2009), a renowned Japanese American scholar, this classic work aims to counter the traditional white-Anglo-Protestant bias that characterizes most textbooks' narrative of U.S. history and the "American experience."

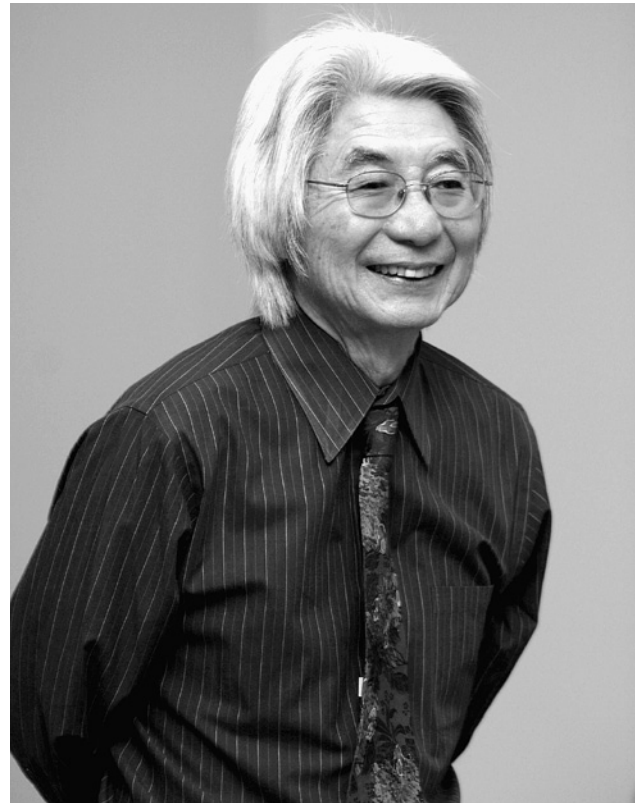
A Different Mirror earned an American Book Award in 1994 for outstanding literary achievement. A second edition, which briefly mentions in the final chapter President Barack Obama's diverse heritage and its influence on discourses of race in American society, was released in 2008.

Ronald Takaki: Life and Legacy

The grandson of Japanese immigrants, Ronald T. Takaki was born in Honolulu, Hawai'i, on April 12, 1939. Takaki's grandfather ventured to Hawai'i in 1886 seeking employment in the local sugarcane fields. Takaki's father died when Ronald was 7 years old; afterward, his mother and Chinese stepfather raised him. An avid surfer, Takaki expressed little interest in academics until a high school teacher encouraged him to attend

college. Takaki enrolled at the College of Wooster in Ohio, graduating with a bachelor's degree in history in 1961.

As one of only two Asian American students at Wooster, Takaki immediately realized others' perception of him as an "outsider" on the American mainland. One of the most profound experiences that fostered Takaki's interest in ethnic studies occurred when one of his professors asked him how long he had lived in the United States and where he had learned to speak English. After informing his professor that he was from Hawai'i, his professor continued to question Takaki on how long he had lived in the United States. Takaki understood that his name and physical appearance marked him as "not American" to mainstream society, which lacks an awareness of the existence and experiences of marginalized groups.



Ronald Takaki authored *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*, which examines minority perspectives in the United States. The work highlights various ethnic groups, incorporating quotes, folk songs, letters, photographs, and telegrams. The theme of "us against them" is woven throughout.

Takaki went on to earn a master's degree in history at the University of California, Berkeley in 1962 and a Ph.D. in history (also at Berkeley) in 1967. His dissertation focused on the history of U.S. slavery. The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), hired Takaki in 1967 to teach the university's first African American history class. After leaving UCLA, Takaki joined UC Berkeley and taught in its recently established Ethnic Studies program. He chaired Berkeley's Ethnic Studies department from 1975 to 1977 and was instrumental in designing the nation's first Ph.D. program in Comparative Ethnic Studies during the early 1980s. Takaki also played a critical role in the establishment of the "American cultures" general education requirement, which required all students to take a course focusing on ethnic and cultural diversity. This is now a standard requirement at many colleges and universities nationwide.

A prolific writer, Takaki authored more than 20 books and journal articles throughout his career. The White House asked Takaki to advise President William Jefferson Clinton on his major initiative on race in 1997. A major proponent of multicultural education, Takaki garnered numerous awards throughout his career, including honorary doctorates from seven institutions and the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Association for Asian American Studies in 2009.

A Different Mirror

Takaki begins *A Different Mirror* with a vignette that reveals his rationale for writing the book, discussing an experience that occurred on a flight from San Francisco to Norfolk, Virginia. After hailing a taxi en route to a conference on multicultural education, the white cabbie complimented Takaki for speaking "excellent" English and asked him, "How long have you been in this country?" Takaki's response, informing the driver that he was a third-generation American, left the cabbie speechless, revealing to Takaki that his Asian physical features and heritage led others to automatically preclude him from the bounds of what is considered "American."

Takaki's overarching theme in *A Different Mirror* is to offer an alternative paradigm of U.S. history from the customary "master narrative." This master narrative, from which U.S. history has long been taught and is reified in most history

textbooks, reflects a Eurocentric viewpoint on the nation's history told from the perspective of middle-class, Anglo-Saxon Americana. Takaki points out that the central problem with this hegemonic master narrative is that it marginalizes, or outright omits, the experiences and influences of racial and ethnic minority groups throughout the nation's history. The master narrative also produces a sanitized account of American history by glossing over the discomfiting dimensions of the nation's past, such as Native American genocide, slavery, Manifest Destiny, nativism, and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. The master narrative implies that white, particularly Anglo-Saxon, Americans are the "real Americans," that their ancestors alone built the nation, and that racial, ethnic, and religious diversity are phenomena that arose only in recent years. Such a limited understanding of the multiethnic dimensions of U.S. history have led many Americans to automatically presume Takaki and other Asian Americans are foreigners.

Takaki contrasts the master narrative by putting forth "a different mirror" from which the nation should view its past. Takaki documents that the nation has been a multiethnic and multicultural one since the colonial era. Beginning with a description of the North American continent's indigenous inhabitants before the arrival of Europeans, Takaki proceeds in chronological order over many chapters until the 21st century.

The major groups that Takaki includes in his comprehensive account of American history include Native Americans and African Americans, along with the migrations and incorporation of the Irish, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, and Jews. Takaki incorporates the major political and military events in the nation's history, such as the Civil War and World War II, but he expands the traditional focus of these events by discussing the experiences of various groups with regard to these events. His chapter on World War II, for example, addresses the internment of the Japanese, black soldiers' struggle with a segregated military, the high rate of enlistment among the Navajo, and the denial of entry to Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazis.

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See Also: African Americans; Chinese Americans; Civil War, U.S.; History/Heritage Months; Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Native Americans; *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*; World War II.

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Digital Divide, The

The digital divide is the phenomenon of demographic disparities in both the access to, and the ability to use, information communication technologies (ICTs). The term stems from a perceived gap, or divide, between users and nonusers of ICTs who comprise different socioeconomic, linguistic, and geographical subgroups.

Theoretical Development

The theoretical origins of the digital divide can be traced to the knowledge gap hypothesis introduced in 1970 by Phillip Tichenor, George Donohue, and Clarice Olien at the University of Minnesota. The knowledge gap hypothesis explains that mass media and the underlying structure of society cause knowledge to be disproportionately appropriated by high socioeconomic groups, thus increasing the knowledge gap with low socioeconomic groups. The digital divide applies this reasoning to information models (such as ICTs or the Internet), rather than only to knowledge flow.

The term *digital divide* was used as early as 1996, when it sporadically began to appear in

the U.S. press, such as in the *New York Times*, and in political speeches, including some by Vice President Al Gore. The most popularly cited origin of the term is a 1999 report from the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA), which defined the digital divide as "the divide between those with access to new technologies and those without." In this context, "new technologies" referred to information and communication technologies (ICTs) generally, which included telephones and computers in addition to the Internet. As the Internet became popularly accessible through systems other than dial-up access, the nature of the Internet as a free-floating system disembodied from telephone lines became increasingly apparent. Then the term *digital divide* came to apply to the demographic disparities exclusively in Internet use and access.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the digital divide started to become recognized as a complex multidimensional phenomenon and thus not amenable to simple dichotomous analysis. Analysis now entails (1) an understanding of the criteria for the divide, including the definitions of being online or off-line, both in terms of Internet access and Internet use and (2) the context of the divide, which includes the extent to which economic, social, and political forces have shaped and continue to shape the divide.

The abundance of usage options permitted by the Internet, ranging from social networking and finding information to shopping and seeking entertainment, allows for various new conceptions of the Internet user. Hence, while the term *digital divide* intuitively delineates a gap between the two groups of users and nonusers, additional groups are now being compared. These groups can be delineated by temporality of use, for example, as early adopters, late adopters, continuing users, and dropouts—but not only. For example, as early as 2002, the idea that different Internet users hold different approaches to using the Internet gave rise to what Eszter Hargittai termed the "second-level digital divide." More recently, as collaborative online cultures have emerged, supported by technological developments such as Web 2.0 and legal developments such as Creative Commons copyright licensing, the idea of a gap between online content producers and online

content consumers, or a “production gap,” has also started to develop.

Thus, although the term *digital divide* has been used continually since the mid-1990s, it has not been used consistently, as conceptual developments have refined it from an intuitive binary concept to a less intuitive, but more intricate, multifaceted and culturally sensitive concept.

Historical and Contemporary Digital Divides

Race has historically been an important categorization for the digital divide as different cultural groups have struggled to access and use the Internet at a similar rate as whites. The U.S. Census Bureau’s 2012 Statistical Abstract indicates that only 71 percent of African Americans, as opposed to 80 percent of whites, occasionally accessed the Internet in 2010. The following year, though whites had slightly lower levels of Internet usage (79 percent), African Americans had considerably lower levels (67 percent). Nonetheless, while race has been an important component of divides in Internet access since 1995, these divides became less prominent from 2009.

However, general comparative figures of Internet access by race sometimes mask additional divides that exist within racial groups. For instance, while native and English-speaking Hispanics have generally maintained Internet access rates similar to those of whites, indeed sometimes surpassing them—as evidenced in U.S. census data for 1995, 2005, and from 2008 to 2010—the Pew Hispanic Center reports that foreign-born and Spanish-speaking Hispanics have lower Internet access and usage than other Hispanics. Similarly, based on 2003 data from the Current Population Survey, Robert Fairlie finds that Mexican Americans have lower rates of access than Cuban Americans and Puerto Ricans.

Therese Bissell evidenced in 2004 that Native American Internet use is strongly divided by cultural contexts such as whether individuals live in an urban area or a reservation, and whether or not they perceive the Internet as being detrimental to the preservation of their native cultures. African American Internet access is differentiated based on education and age. When considering national origin, income, language, and geography, the divide within races is in certain cases larger than the divide between races.

Income, age, and education are the strongest social markers of divisions in Internet access. The U.S. Census Bureau’s 2012 Statistical Abstract finds that in 2011, only 63 percent of adults from low-income households (earning under \$30,000 a year) were Internet users, as opposed to a near totality (96 percent) of adults from high-income households (earning over \$75,000 a year). This is a relative trend that has been continuous from as long as data on the digital divide has been collected. These low-income Americans access the Internet from libraries more often than do higher-income Americans, who access the Internet largely from home. This further erects barriers to usage due to limited library accessibility and capacity, as library computers are shared among numerous other groups, particularly by students. Accordingly, the 2010 Pew Home Broadband Survey found that one in five Internet non-users self-reported not using the Internet due to cost-related reasons.

Yet the main motivation for self-exclusion from the Internet is that many Internet non-users (48 percent) believe the Internet is not relevant to their lives. Self-exclusion is heterogeneously distributed by age, and there exists a “gray divide” of sorts as individuals over the age of 65 are much less likely (42 percent) to use the Internet than those between 18 and 29 years of age (95 percent).

Finally, educational attainment also marks important divides in both Internet access and use. In 2011, only 42 percent of adults without a high school education were Internet users, as opposed to 69 percent of those who had graduated from high school; and 94 percent of those with at least a college education were Internet users. Income, age, and education have been historically the most significant socioeconomic markers of the digital divide and continue to be so today.

Significance of the Digital Divide

The Internet mirrors its users and, in a multicultural society, presents a kaleidoscope of cultural and socially sensitive political and economic outlooks. It provides potential for alternative methods of fulfilling numerous existing societal functions, and, more profoundly, of introducing innovative alternatives to existing societal structures—from leveraging social media for health

care to increasing representation through participatory Internet democracy. However, the digital divide reflects underlying socioeconomic disparities within society, especially those related to income, education, and age. Current differential Internet access and use limits these possibilities by biasing social outcomes. Moreover, as the Internet continues to permeate everyday American life, and benefits Internet users, these underlying socioeconomic disparities will become increasingly exaggerated. The digital divide, then, has consequences on the sustainability, short-term development, and long-term outlook of multicultural society, rendering it increasingly important to assess and redress the digital divides within the United States.

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See Also: Global Education; GobiernoUSA.gov; Head Start; Intercultural Competence; Internet; Privilege; Science and Technology; Social Media; Special Education.

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Dillingham Commission (United States Immigration Commission)

The period from 1870 to 1914 marked a time of unprecedented growth in immigration. As arrivals increased, and as the origin of these people largely changed from nations located in northern and western Europe to the regions of southern and eastern Europe, nativist sentiments led to increasing calls for legislation to limit both the number of new immigrants and the nations from which they were allowed to come. In 1888, the U.S. House of Representatives organized a select committee to investigate the effects of immigration. The committee held hearings in New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, publishing its findings as the Ford Committee Report in 1889.

This report, sustained by a similar U.S. Senate report, concluded that the time had come "to select the good from the bad, and to sift the wheat from the chaff." The time had come to restrict anarchists, paupers, and the influx of cheap foreign labor. It is apparent, the Ford Committee continued, "that this country cannot properly assimilate the immigration now coming to our shores."

The industrial depression of the early 1890s added urgency to the situation. By 1892 both the Democratic and Republican party platforms contained planks calling for further immigration restriction. The efforts of these movements crystallized around the proposal to add a literacy test to the immigration requirements, a concept championed by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the anti-Catholic American Protective Association, the American Federation of Labor, and others who supported immigration restriction. Lobbyists for the Immigration Restriction League and the American Federation of Labor renewed their efforts for a literacy test in 1906, appealing to Congress to preserve America's Anglo-Saxon civilization. Opponents of the 1906 literacy test hoped to postpone or prevent its passage by calling for the establishment of a commission to study the immigration question. Thus was born the U.S.

Immigration Commission, usually referred to as the Dillingham Commission.

Chaired by Senator William P. Dillingham of Vermont, the commission included nine members: three from the Senate, three from the House of Representatives, and three statisticians. In addition to Dillingham, the senators included Henry Cabot Lodge and Asbury Latimer (the latter replaced by LeRoy Percy in 1910). The House was represented by William S. Bennet, John L. Burnett, and Benjamin F. Howell. The statisticians were Charles P. Neill from the U.S. Department of Labor, Cornell University professor Jeremiah Jenks, and William R. Wheeler, the California commissioner of immigration. Five of the six politicians had made statements in favor of immigration restriction prior to their appointment to the commission, and the statisticians were also generally known to favor restriction; thus, the commission was hardly impartial.

The commission met from 1907 to 1911 and employed a staff of more than 300 people at a cost in excess of \$1 million, a very considerable sum in those days. During its investigations it accumulated a mass of data on a wide variety of topics such as employment, education, crime, unionization, living conditions, and a variety of other economic and social topics. Its data and reports were published in 41 volumes, the first of which contained conclusions reached by the commission as a result of the study. Not surprisingly, given the makeup of the commission, the findings supported the proponents of restriction, officially declaring for the first time that there was a distinct difference between what it labeled the “new” immigration—those from southern and eastern Europe—and the previous groups from northwestern Europe, which it termed the “old” immigration. Restriction of the former, it concluded, was “demanded by economic, moral, and social conditions” since these “races” were significantly different from those of northwestern Europe and could not be readily assimilated.

Although based upon faulty research and reasoning, as studies have shown, the Dillingham Commission reports extended the sanction of the U.S. government to the stereotyping of millions of Americans descended from the regions of southern and eastern Europe. The reports appeared to “legitimize” calls for restriction. The effects can

be seen in T. J. Woofter’s survey of popular literature between 1900 and 1930. Woofter found that during the period from 1907 to 1914, “there occurred a marked change in public sentiment toward immigration,” with the old restrictionist arguments based upon economics giving way to a rationale based upon “the undesirability of certain racial elements.” Italians, Poles, Greeks, Russians, and others from whence the “new” immigration derived were now typecast as undesirable races.

One of first results of the commission’s pronouncements was an increase in calls for further restriction, leading Congress to enact a new literacy bill in 1913, only to have it vetoed by President William Howard Taft. A similar bill for a literacy test adopted by Congress in 1915 was vetoed by President Woodrow Wilson with the comment that such a law would test opportunity, not intellect. Regardless of these setbacks, the restrictionists eventually succeeded. The commission’s findings provided the support required to ratify the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924.

First European Immigration Restrictions

On May 19, 1921, President Warren G. Harding signed into law the first federal legislation in American history designed specifically to limit European immigration. Between 1901 and 1920 an average of 625,629 people entered the United States each year. The First Quota Act of 1921 was designed both to limit total immigration to the United States and to alter the composition of that immigration in favor of people whose origins lay in the nations of northwestern Europe. To accomplish the first goal, the law imposed a maximum of 357,803 people allowed to legally enter the country from outside the Western Hemisphere in any single year, some 57.2 percent of the previous average number of arrivals. Additionally, each nationality group was given a separate quota based upon 3 percent of the number of people from that group residing in the United States in 1910. This provision addressed the second goal by discriminating directly against southern and eastern Europeans. It did so by using 1910 as a base year rather than 1920, thus eliminating from the formula by which the quotas were calculated the millions of people, approximately 75 percent of whom traced their origins to southern and

eastern Europe, who arrived during the decade between census enumerations.

In 1924, Congress made the quotas permanent with the National Origins Act, which also reduced the total number of immigrants per year from 357,803 to 164,667, only 26.3 percent of the previous average. To further guarantee the predominance of immigrants from northwestern Europe, the quota percentage of each nationality was reduced from 3 percent to 2 percent, and the base year was changed from 1910 to 1890. This was a clear attempt to diminish the impact, and therefore the quota, of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who entered en masse after 1890.

The net result of the Dillingham Commission was therefore to seemingly legitimize the negative stereotyping of hundreds of thousands of Americans from southern and eastern Europe, to seriously reduce any future opportunity for immigration from these areas, and to justify racial discrimination based on the commission's faulty findings.

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See Also: Immigration Acts; Italian Americans; Nativism; Polish Americans.

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Kellerman's, a Catskills summer resort, and falls in love with a rough-edged, working-class dance instructor who introduces her to "dirty dancing." The story is set in 1963, the summer of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech and the summer before John F. Kennedy was assassinated. The movie, propelled by the romantic appeal of a cross-class love story and a wildly popular sound track, was a smash hit. It was also, both on screen and behind the scenes, a reflection of America's diverse cultures.

The movie pulled in box-office receipts for the first 10 days that earned twice the movie's cost of less than \$5 million. Final worldwide sales topped \$170 million, and the original sound track was recertified platinum 11 times. A second album was quadruple platinum. The movie's theme song, "(I've Had) The Time of My Life," written by Franke Previte, John DeNicola, and Donald Markowitz, hit number one and earned both a Grammy and an Academy Award. The album also reached the top position, outranking both Michael Jackson and Bruce Springsteen to do so. It remained at number one for nine weeks and returned to the top spot for an additional nine weeks in 1988. A poster of Patrick Swayze as Johnny Castle sold out, and the most quoted line, "Nobody puts Baby in a corner," entered the lexicon of the American public. By August 1988, the *Dirty Dancing* enterprise—movie, sound track albums, video cassette, touring company, and television series—had grossed \$350 million.

Eleanor Bergstein wrote the screenplay, basing much of the story on her own life. Like Baby Houseman, Bergstein was the daughter of a Jewish doctor. She was called "Baby" until she reached adulthood, and she vacationed with her family in the Catskills. Bergstein based Kellerman's, the resort the fictional Houseman family visits, on Grossinger's, the Catskills resort where her family vacationed. The setting is Bergstein's tribute to the Borscht Belt. The name refers to soup made from beetroot, a popular eastern European dish; it alludes to the heritage of many of the Jewish inhabitants of New York's Lower East Side who invaded the Catskills resorts each summer.

The Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York considers *Dirty Dancing* a Jewish movie that captures an important slice of Jewish culture. The museum has a copy in its film archives. Bernstein

Dirty Dancing

Dirty Dancing, a movie that premiered on August 21, 1987, tells the story of Frances "Baby" Houseman, the privileged, idealistic younger daughter of a doctor who vacations with her family at



Johnny Castle's famous line from the film *Dirty Dancing*, "Nobody puts Baby in a corner," is scrawled on a San Francisco sidewalk. The 1987 film, set in 1963 about a cross-class love story between a privileged Jewish American girl and a working-class Irish American dancer, was a massive box-office hit.

herself has acknowledged deliberately evoking stereotypical elements of the Borscht Belt with its bad jokes, ill-conceived matchmaking, and liberal Democrat social values common among upper-middle-class Jews generally and Bergstein's family particularly. Bergstein was named for Eleanor Roosevelt. Her sister Frances, whose name Bergstein borrows for her heroine, was named for Frances Perkins, President Franklin Roosevelt's secretary of labor from 1933 to 1945. The future plans of Baby Houseman include studying the economies of the third world and joining the Peace Corps, and the Kellermans' grandson anticipates joining the Freedom Rides in the south after the summer season ends. Bergstein has described the time in which she sets the movie as "the last summer of liberalism."

Johnny Castle is separated from Baby Houseman by more than class. Baby's father disapproves of him for his privileged daughter not only because Johnny falls lower on the social scale but also because he is descended from Italian immigrants. Implicit in the contrast between the two characters are religious differences as well, as Italian immigrants were overwhelmingly Catholic. Part of Baby's coming of age, represented by her transformation into Frances, is her recognition of the shallowness of her father's liberal convictions. He can accept his daughter's studying third world economies but not her love affair with someone of a different class and culture.

The sound track heightened the cultural clash within the movie and mirrored the cultural differences in American society of the 1960s. Bergstein, who coproduced the movie, had far greater control over the production than she would have had as only the writer. She divided the musical selections into Latin mambo, with its Cuban and Mexican roots; teen pop, which Bergstein called the "clean music"; and sensual rock and roll, with its strong influences from black music, especially soul and gospel. Bergstein wanted the dance music to be something Baby Houseman would be unlikely to have heard, something that would connote the shockingly sexual in contrast to Baby's innocence.

The movie's creators comprised an ethnic and cultural mix even more diverse than that of the fictional world they created. Jennifer Gray, who played Baby, is a third-generation performer who had been rejected for other roles because she looked "too Jewish." Texan Patrick Swayze, the professionally trained dancer who played Johnny Castle, was an American mongrel who claimed Apache ancestors among his mostly Irish forebears. Jerry Orbach, who played Baby's father, was the son of a Jewish immigrant from Germany and a Polish American Catholic. Director Emile Ardolino was the openly gay son of Italian immigrants, and choreographer Kenny Ortega is the grandson of Spanish immigrants.

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See Also: Dance and Ethnic Diversity; Freedom Riders; "I Have a Dream" Speech; Italian Americans; Jewish Americans; Motion Pictures.

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Disability and Ethnic Diversity

U.S. policy today recognizes that disability is an inevitable part of the human experience. Some people are born with disabilities, others develop disabilities through disease or injury, and many people will acquire disabilities, both mental and physical, as they age. Regardless of this prevalence, however, for several centuries after Europeans began colonizing the United States, people with disabilities were scorned, excluded, vilified, demonized, and institutionalized. They have been called malingerers, freaks, imbeciles, witches, lunatics, cripples, and many other offensive names.

Slowly, charitable views began to overtake these former ideas, including beliefs that the medical profession could prevent and heal some disabilities. But not until recent times have people with disabilities been guaranteed basic civil rights under federal law that is taken for granted by other Americans, regardless of race, nationality, gender, and religion.

Historical Perceptions of Disability

Prior to the 20th century, the term *disability* was not commonly used to describe a group of people with varying impairments. More common names were blind, deaf, mute, inferior, imbecile, idiot, cripple, midget, monster, and freak. In extreme cases, disabled people were put to death under law or murdered. More often, newborns with disfigurements or defects were killed or died from neglect or the denial of treatment within days or weeks of birth. Family members with impairments were frequently hidden from view to protect them from ridicule or the disabled member from harm.

Often children with disabilities were excluded from public school programs. A few private entities offered educational opportunities that only wealthy families could afford, such as the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb that opened in 1817. State educational institutions for the deaf began in 1823, and for the “feeble-minded” in 1852. Black children had no access to public education, regardless whether they had a disability.

Data on the prevalence of disabilities in the general population of enslaved people prior to U.S. independence from Great Britain do not

largely exist. The earliest data from the U.S. Census of 1830 found 5,363 whites and 743 free blacks and enslaved people identified as “deaf and dumb,” and 3,974 whites and 1,470 free blacks and enslaved people as “blind.” These persons accounted for less than 1 percent of the U.S. population at the time. In subsequent censuses, additional disability and racial data were collected, including for the categories of “deaf, dumb, idiotic, blind, insane, or pauper” in 1850; and differentiating between whites, “free mulattoes,” “free blacks,” and slaves in 1860; and adding mixed race, Chinese, and Indian, as well as multiple disabilities, in 1870.

Civil War to 1900

The U.S. Civil War created a cohort of veterans with disabilities; more than 850,000 Union army veterans, including nearly 200,000 African Americans, acquired a permanent disability. Over the next 50 years, Congress implemented and enhanced a pension scheme of medical care and monthly compensation for Civil War disabled veterans to offset their inability to work, under the General Law of 1862. The General Law created a comprehensive evaluation system for rating claimants in terms of their inability to work, based on impairment to specific physical functioning (such as one amputated leg or loss of vision in both eyes). Quantification of impairment in this manner shaped public understanding of disability for the next 100 years, whereby “disability” was defined and determined by the medical community based on the “incapacity to perform manual labor.” This medical model viewed having a disability as a “personal tragedy” that ensured the “victim’s” low productivity or inability to work, and condemned them to “the mercy and charity of society.”

The 1873 Consolidation Act extended pensions to veterans for “service-related conditions or diseases that later caused disabilities” (such as noise-induced hearing loss or chronic bronchitis). In 1879, the Pension Arrears Act offered back payments to veterans who previously were ineligible for or denied pensions. Thereafter, African American and immigrant veterans increasingly sought disability pensions. The 1890 Disability Pension Act extended pensions to veterans regardless whether their disabilities had arisen from military service. As pensions were extended to veterans

whose impairments were not linked to military service and to those with easily diagnosable conditions, outcomes of pension claims “reflected a stigma-based distinction between mental and physical impairments. . . .” Veterans who had sustained severe physical disabilities in service were viewed as worthy beneficiaries, while those with less obvious or invisible mental impairments often were thought to be malingerers scamming the system. Moreover, the race or ethnicity of veterans “was tied to views of deservingness and moral worth.” African American veterans were disproportionately denied disability pensions.

By 1880, the U.S. Census found that many more persons with disabilities were categorized as “insane” (157,589) and “idiotic” (149,783), compared to “deaf-mute” (64,385) and blind (89,527). Data for blacks were not collected; however, “Indians” (or Native Americans) and Asians (Chinese) combined accounted for more persons with disabilities in all four categories than whites. Moreover, rates of disabilities among Native Americans challenged those of whites (such as 40,599 blind Native Americans compared to 41,278 whites), although white populations had become the dominant group in the United States.

20th-Century Eugenics

An understanding of disability and ethnicity is incomplete without a discussion of the eugenic immigration, sterilization, and anti-miscegenation laws that permeated U.S. society into the early 20th century. English biologist Francis Galton introduced the term *eugenics* in 1883 and later defined it as the “study of the agencies under social control that improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally.” These laws prohibited specific ethnic and racial groups from entering the United States and/or reproducing based on their ethnic and/or disability status.

In 1882, for instance, Congress passed an immigration act that gave authorities the power to deny entry to “lunatics,” “idiots,” and “persons likely to become public charges.” The 1917 Immigration Act further denied immigration to “undesirables,” including “imbeciles, epileptics, alcoholics . . . criminals, beggars, any person suffering attacks of insanity, those with tuberculosis . . . those who have any form of dangerous

contagious disease, [and those] who have a physical disability that will restrict them from earning a living in the United States.” Through the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924, eugenicists sought to stop, in part, the immigration of those “who are making excessive contribution to our feeble-minded, insane, criminal and other socially inadequate classes.”

During this period, people with disabilities generally were considered incapable of work, undeserving of opportunities, or at best curable by medical experts if such charity were afforded. Large-scale institutionalization of people with disabilities became a common approach to caring for their unique needs by providing some with access to professional treatment, while separating many others from the sight and concern of the general public. In time, many of these institutions moved to a custodial model, in which people with disabilities were kept in overcrowded, unsanitary, and subhuman conditions.

In 1927, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a Virginia state statute in *Buck v. Bell* requiring sterilization of persons with mental retardation “for the protection and health of the state.” Notably, during this period, Hitler’s Germany deemed a broad array of persons to be “socially defective,” including those with obvious physical or mental disabilities. An estimated 350,000 persons were sterilized pursuant to German Law for the Prevention of Defective Progeny. In 1934, an estimated 150 million people worldwide were living under laws requiring sterilization of certain individuals. In the United States, 33 states had sterilization statutes, which authorized the involuntary sterilization of more than 60,000 persons.

Most states implemented workers compensation laws by 1920 to recompense employees injured on the job. These laws adopted and perpetuated the categorization of physical dysfunctions for purposes of compensation. Similarly, the Social Security system instituted benefits systems that presumed people with disabilities were incapable of work and thus of earning an income. These attitudes toward people with disabilities naturally fed the arguments of the eugenics era.

Civil Rights Movement

The U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* marked the beginning of a

shift in both race and disability policies in the United States. This decision held that “in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate education facilities are inherently unequal.” Over the next decade, civil rights activists fought and won equal legal rights for people of color, as well as women, to work and earn a living, go to school, travel, shop, and otherwise participate in society on equal terms with other Americans. As the civil rights movement grew, people with disabilities began seeing themselves as a minority group and lobbied for their own civil rights. An independent living movement began in the 1960s with the goals that people with disabilities should have control over their own lives, make their own decisions, and minimize their reliance on others in performing everyday activities.

Almost two decades after *Brown*, federal courts invoked the reasoning that separate education was inherently unequal in ruling that children with disabilities could not be denied educational opportunities in the same schools as children without disabilities. Shortly afterward, Congress passed the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, prohibiting the exclusion of and discrimination against people with disabilities under any program that received federal funding, including those at many public schools. Congress then passed the Education of All Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA) in 1975, requiring public schools to provide all students with disabilities a free, appropriate public education.

Renamed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), amendments to EAHCA acknowledged that children of color and non-native English speaking students were being disproportionately identified as having disabilities, and prohibited biased and inaccurate methods of determining eligibility. In 1990, Congress enacted the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA), the first comprehensive civil rights law for people with disabilities, providing equal access to employment, government services, public accommodations, transportation, and telecommunications by prohibiting discrimination based on disability.

Modern Perceptions of Disability

Today, the concept of disability differs across U.S. cultural groups. Immigrant groups from all over

the world have brought many different perceptions of and experiences with disability to the American mosaic. The impacts of xenophobia and racism in America also are important to consider. For instance, throughout U.S. history, disability has been used as a tool to justify unequal treatment to nonwhites through racist and eugenic laws that imply nonwhites are biologically inferior. This creates an underlying tension between disability rights groups and ethnic groups, as some minorities have had to disprove the myths of their “inferiority” by distancing themselves from disability groups.

Recent population surveys have indicated different rates of disability among racial and ethnic populations in the United States. In 2010, the U.S. Census indicated that the overall disability rate was 18.7 percent. However, self-reported disability varied substantially by race. Asians (13 percent) and Latinos (13.2 percent) reported the lowest disability rates, while whites (18.5 percent) and blacks (20.3 percent) reported the highest rates. A 2008 report from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services found a disability rate of 29.9 percent in the American Indian/Alaska Natives category.

Many Americans of western European origin view disability as a deficit that doctors, social workers, special educators, and other professionals are trained to remedy. Charitable approaches that pity and seek to help people with disabilities arise from Christianity. Many Americans of eastern European origin have a functional view of disability that has been influenced by the former Soviet Union’s emphasis on work capacity as the main factor in determining whether someone has a disability. The functional perspective is evident in eligibility determinations for social benefits, like Medicaid and Social Security disability insurance.

There is no single Asian perspective on disability; however, there are several themes, including shame and guilt, and disability being a private matter in Asian cultures. These perspectives might explain the lower rates of disability reported by Asian Americans. The traditional Chinese term for disability is *canfei*, meaning “handicap” and “useless,” or *canji*, meaning “handicap” and “illness.” Disability is viewed as a punishment for the parents of the person with a disability or for

past-life sins. Chinese people generally are more accepting and sympathetic toward acquired physical limitations than congenital physical or mental disorders.

Many Latinos place a high value on family. Family members with disabilities generally are included in and protected by the extended family. Strong religious beliefs may aid in acceptance of the family member with a disability. Similar to Asian cultures, Latino Americans are less likely to accept government support for their disabilities. This may explain the lower rate of reported disability in this population. Additionally, many Americans of Central American or Caribbean origin do not recognize mild intellectual disabilities, emotional disturbances, and speech and language impediments as disabilities. In these cultures social abilities may be more important than academic success, such that mild disabilities are viewed as learning differences.

The high rate of disability among Native Americans is attributed to an overwhelming lack of access to quality health care and the devastating impact on the Native American population and culture by U.S. colonialism. Most Native American tribal languages do not have a word for disability; rather Native Americans view disability as disharmony of spirit. Tribes have different cultural and traditional beliefs, unique religious doctrines, and taboos. “Unwellness” may be caused by the violation of a tribal taboo or by witchcraft.

African American perceptions of disability are linked to the history of discrimination including the institution of slavery, segregation, and overrepresentation in special education. African American students disproportionately are identified as having a disability (a special education label), prompting distrust for disability labels among black families. For example, a 2001 study suggested that African American parents are less likely to accept the attention deficit hyperactivity disorder diagnosis and to use stimulant medication for its treatment. A 2003 study suggested that African Americans are less willing to use psychiatric medications themselves or to administer them to a child for whom they are responsible.

Disability Culture

Many people with disabilities view disability as part of their cultural identity, similar to the

way some view ethnicity as part of their cultural identity, rather than a physiological impairment. They view disability through a social model that rejects the idea that there is a “normal” range of human functioning. The social model of disability argues that society creates barriers to access and participation by people with disabilities through inaccessible social, attitudinal, and physical infrastructures. The social model is commonly associated with a human or civil rights orientation toward disability and focuses on removing social, attitudinal, and physical barriers. The mantra of the disability rights culture is “Nothing about us without us,” meaning that experts on disability are people with disabilities, and that they should have the strongest voice and most active role in the outcome of their own lives.

The most established disability-based cultural identity is deaf culture. A recent census report found that 7.6 million people (3.1 percent) experienced a hearing difficulty, including 1.1 million people who had severe difficulty. Many members of the deaf community see themselves as a cultural minority with a unique language, American Sign Language (ASL), and traditions, rather than as a group bound together by a common disability. These traditions include deaf clubs, deaf sports, deaf residential schools and universities, deaf art, and deaf political organizations, such as the National Association of the Deaf (NAD). The deaf community helped spark a nationwide disability civil rights movement with protests at Gallaudet University in March 1988. During a weeklong protest known as Deaf President Now (DPN), deaf protesters demanded that the board of trustees appoint a deaf president to the university instead of the selected hearing candidate. They wanted a president who would represent the deaf community’s interests. Eight days later, they got their wish. This political mobilization of the deaf community helped put disability rights in the mainstream political media and increased support for the enactment of the ADA in 1990.

Another example of disability culture comes from the autistic community. A 2008 study estimated that about one in 88 children have an autism spectrum disorder (ASD). Some members of the autistic community do not consider autism to be a disease but rather a neurological variation that ought to be respected as a difference, like

race or sexual orientation. This concept is often referred to as neurodiversity.

The Autistic Self Advocacy Network (ASAN) was founded in 2006 as a nonprofit run by and for autistic people to provide support and services to individuals on the autism spectrum, while working to educate communities and improve public perceptions of autism. Members of ASAN and other autistic cultural groups have criticized the federal government for allotting the majority of autism funding for preventative or curative research rather than for policies to help improve the community integration and participation of autistics in society.

These two examples of disability culture are by no means exhaustive but serve to illustrate cultural disability as an identity rather than a medically based categorization. Scholars have recently criticized disability rights groups for not being more representative of ethnic differences among people with disabilities in their leadership and respective agendas, and for failing to acknowledge nonwhite perceptions of disability. For example, critics would suggest that the deaf community should not be characterized as a monolithic cultural group when there are ethnic differences among deaf people. A study from the National Center on Health Statistics from 1990 reported that 9.4 percent of the white population, 4.2 percent of the black population, and 4.2 of the Hispanic population reported being deaf or hard of hearing. There are also reported geographical differences in ASL, and black ASL has been recognized for years as a distinct form of sign language.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Eugenics; Intersectionality; Segregation; Special Education.

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Discourse

Discourse is language (spoken, written, visual, and body language) people use in social contexts in order to convey meanings, communicate with each other, and interact with the world. It is an integral part of the beliefs, identities, and values that are produced and enacted in society, illustrating the diverse positions that social actors or groups occupy; hence, "discourses" is the plural form that is often used. As "language in use," discourse represents, classifies, or performs various aspects of social life. A person may hold progressive or conservative views, which means that their understanding and representation of issues such as the welfare state originate and result in very different discourses. They may fall into the category of "citizens" of a state, enjoying full citizenship rights, or "asylum seekers" with limited rights. They may identify as "punk" or "emo" and act out these identities in dress code, talk, and music.

Discourses belong to and generate effects in particular social, political, economic, and cultural contexts. They pertain to domains of public activity, such as politics, media, research, and education, but also to everyday, private interactions. They are a site of negotiation of meaning, reproduction of existing practices and relations and, importantly, of social change. The relationship between discourse in general and social reality is a mutually constitutive one: discourse is shaped by and at the same time shapes social reality.

Nation, ethnicity, and race are not natural givens that exist in the world "out there" but instead are a product of socially embedded language. Two major social institutions that construct and are constructed by dominant discourses on

American national identity are immigration, naturalization, and citizenship policies, and census categories. Together, they classify and respond to public classifications of racial and ethnic identities, setting boundaries between, for example, black and white and Hispanic and non-Hispanic. The U.S. government and other institutions use systems of classification to regulate migrant flows and impart social justice, and in turn often (re)produce stereotypes and prejudice. Multicultural America is an outcome of the interplay between discursive self-identification and other identification, power relations in society, and institutional policies.

Discursive constructions of who Americans are have molded national identity over the centuries, by structuring how Americans both define national community, values, and spirit, and how they draw boundaries between themselves and others. Such discourses have multiple sources. They include political texts, such as the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, presidential addresses, texts produced by lobby groups and similar organizations, and policy documents; scientific texts, such as research about the origin of races; legal decisions; media articles and forums (either mainstream or alternative); educational textbooks; literary works; and popular culture products. Many of these sources reflect political ideologies (liberal-progressive, libertarian, or conservative) or frame topics and themes from a political perspective.

In the course of American history, struggles among social groups to project their own understanding of national identity and the recognition attributed to racial and ethnic groups within its framework have generated distinct versions of the nation and place occupied by “cultural diversity” as one of its main components. Dominant discourses, understood as long-standing discourses that articulate the ideological visions of groups in positions of power in society, are the ones most often materialized and institutionalized by means of policy making. Far from being confined to the level of discourse, prevailing interpretations have been implemented and made part of existing institutions, often distorting or overlooking the self-assigned identities of the culturally diverse groups in American society. Changes in the sociopolitical and cultural circumstances, power dynamics,

major historical events, and economic developments have brought about changes in the meanings and definitions of the national “we” and its multicultural and racial diversity. On the backdrop of social transformation and often engaged in it, ethnic and other minority groups have succeeded in achieving recognition. Their counter-narratives—self-representations of the histories, traditions, and values of their communities—have gained visibility and have been included in the official narrative of the American nation.

From the Melting Pot to the Salad Bowl

The metaphors of the “melting pot” and the “salad bowl” frame the two dominant American political standpoints regarding cultural diversity. Coined by British writer Israel Zangwill in 1909, the former may be interpreted either as assimilation and conformity to traditional norms of “Americanness.” Less commonly, it is interpreted as cultural pluralism accommodating ethnic and racial differences under the umbrella of a common civic identity, a concept proposed by philosopher Horace Kallen in the early 1900s. The “salad bowl” metaphor stems from multiculturalism, a vision of ethnic and racial groups that participate in society as unique cultural entities. This approach gained centrality in the 1970s and 1980s.

These two divergent views—the culturally homogenizing trend and the preservation of ethnic and racial distinctness—incorporated into two main opposing discourses and still clash in the debates surrounding the place of cultural diversity in the nation. The prominence of one or the other over the decades has created discursive and social categories of desirables and undesirables, targets of persecution and discrimination, and special recipients of reparation in affirmative action programs. Culturally and linguistically, discrimination finds expression in stereotypes and clichés, predominantly negative, but also positive, such as the “model minority” label attached to Asian Americans in the late 20th century.

The construction of American identity in the discourse of the founding documents established the nation around an ideal of unity, captured in the motto *E pluribus unum* (out of many, one), Enlightenment reason, and the rights to equality, freedom, and opportunities for advancement,

political independence, constitutionality, economic self-reliance, and the values of individualism. The discourses that surround the theme of American exceptionalism, America's special mission to spread democracy and freedom to the world, and the discourses that construe the American Dream thus derive from the civic virtues of Americanness at the dawn of the nation. The category of "man" was, however, originally limited to white, propertied male citizens; the union excluded from the very beginning American Indians and enslaved African Americans. The United States emerged and consolidated into what would become known as a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP) nation, after the groups that retained dominance and enjoyed privilege in society. Until World War II, dominant society's main tendency was to absorb into this construct immigrants and other categories, such as Native Americans, and allow them access and citizenship on the basis of their perceived potential to assimilate.

Taking National to the Extreme

An extreme version of American nationalism is the nativist discourse that was built around anti-Catholic, antiradical, and racist attitudes, occasioned by feelings of aversion and suspicion toward those identified as foreigners. At present, the nativist discourse puts forward economic, demographic, and environmental arguments, but many of its claims are of a social and cultural nature. It often supports restrictionist positions and immigration reform. Bouts of nativism are responsible for some of the most discriminatory and constraining immigration and naturalization acts in American history.

For example, the representation of Asian immigrants as unassimilable because of their skin color and non-Christian religion led to policies of exclusion and bans on citizenship against the Chinese and Japanese at the turn of the 20th century. Nativism also found support in the discourse of scientific racism or eugenics, catalyzed



A group of Japanese American girls stands in formation during a calisthenics exercise at the Manzanar War Relocation Center, Inyo County, California, 1943. Nativist discourse, an extreme form of American nationalism built on feelings of aversion and suspicion toward foreigners, has been compounded by threats from the subversive "other" during various wartimes. In February 1942, Executive Order 9066 authorized the secretary of war to remove anyone from designated military areas considered a threat to the war effort. Without due process, the government relocated everyone of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast to internment camps during the war.

in the United States by Madison Grant, author of *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), which scientifically legitimized Nordics (those considered to originate in northern Europe and declared ancestors of native-born Americans) as a superior, pure, white race. These claims lay behind the Immigration Act of 1924, which introduced national origin quotas to curtail immigration from southern and eastern Europe and exclude Asian immigration.

Fears of the subversive “other,” the foreign enemy who would plot against the nation from within, compounded nativist fears that foreign “others” would spoil national values and pose a threat to social cohesion and Western civilization in the United States. This categorization, also bearing the name of “fifth columnist,” affected German Americans during World War I, Japanese Americans during World War II, Mexican and other Latino youths during the Zoot Suit riots in Los Angeles in 1943, and Arab Americans during the Persian Gulf War and especially after 9/11 and the War on Terror. More extreme reactions have included arrests, internments, bombings, and hate crimes. Manifestations of contemporary nativism can be associated with organizations such as Save Our State and magazines such as *The American Conservative*, cofounded by Patrick Buchanan, their main concern focusing on the massive immigration of Hispanics.

A shift in perspective on cultural diversity and the configuration of political, media, education, legal, and popular discourses that construct diversity took place in 1965, when multiculturalism started to gain ground. The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 eliminated the national origins quotas and coincided with civil rights legislation and the affirmative action programs initiated by President Lyndon B. Johnson for the purpose of preventing racial discrimination and inequality, offering reparation through preferential treatment. These programs benefited both African Americans and immigrants. Despite more liberal immigration and citizenship policies in the 1980s and 1990s, the constant and dramatic growth in immigration, especially from Latin America but also from Asia, has resulted in new categories of threatening “others.” Such are the figures of the Mexican or Latino immigrants or of the illegal alien, the two often conflated in

popular discourse, or of the concept of the “welfare sponge,” often applied to immigrants.

Racial Discourse in American Census Categories

The U.S. Census provides one of the best examples of the historical developments in racial discourse and the transformations of race categories in the United States. It both expresses the social meanings attributed to race in American society and institutionalizes race and ethnicity according to political, economic, and civil rights imperatives. The racial category that has registered no descriptive changes over the years is “white,” while many other categories have been created in response to increases in and diversification of immigration, racial laws, and affirmative action policies. If between 1790 and 1840 the census categories chiefly addressed the need for representational reapportionment, the following period (1850–1920) also witnessed the use of the national census for testing and sustaining scientific racism theories. The term *mulatto* appeared in the 1850 census to measure degrees between “pure white” and “pure black” and to gather data about a hybrid population believed to be predisposed to bodily weakness and impossible to culturally integrate. In 1890, two more refined categories were introduced, “quadroon” and “octoroon,” subsequently removed because of the unreliability of data, left to the estimate of enumerators. The American Indian population (blood quantum included) was carefully recorded to verify hypotheses about their assimilation and eventual disappearance.

A new era in the classification of race and ethnicity began in the 1960s and impacted the 1970 through 1990 census categories through Directive 15 of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for the purpose of monitoring the implementation of civil rights legislation and equal access programs. Four racial categories—American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, black, and white—and one ethnicity category, Hispanic, constituted the new racial and ethnic configuration of American diversity in accordance with the tenets of multiculturalism. The 2000 and 2010 census forms offered respondents the possibility to acknowledge more than one racial background. Initially, this aroused suspicions among civil rights and ethnic

organizations that group rights would be targeted if the neoconservative discourse of a colorblind society could be borne out by census data.

Mainstream discourses, or discourses that rise to mainstream acceptance, are the chief generators of institutional change, in turn structuring new discourses. Dominant worldviews coexist and engage in permanent clashes with more marginal voices, which come to the fore in particular socio-political, economic, or cultural circumstances. The discourses of African American self-identification, leading to the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, challenged and overturned the racial categories that denied African Americans basic rights and liberties. The self-identification of Americans who consider themselves multiracial put pressure on census officials to provide a “mark one or more boxes” option for race in the 2000 and 2010 census forms, but pressure is still on for a separate multiracial category. In the 2010 census, 97 percent of all respondents in the “some other race” category were of Hispanic origin. In the long run, this might challenge the white race majority in American society.

Multiculturalism has eased the trajectory to the center of previously marginal discourses in culturally diverse America, but it has also caused concern for the dissolution of the traditional white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant core of American identity. At present, the United States is searching for a “more perfect union” formula that would reflect the nation’s cultural diversity without eliminating a set of commonly accepted American identity traits and without compromising social justice and equality.

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See Also: Cooperative/Collaborative Learning; Critical Pedagogy; Knowledge Construction; Racism; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Displaced Persons Act (1948)

By the end of World War II, an estimated 17 million people had been forced to leave their homes. Some were murdered in German concentration camps, but others survived. Among the latter were people who had been taken from their homes against their will to serve as forced labor in German wartime industries, those who fled war zones as refugees seeking safety from the fighting, and still others who either could not or would not return home because of the takeover of their countries by postwar Communist regimes. Some seven million of these “displaced persons” resided in Germany and Austria in May 1945.

With the end of the war in Europe, the Western Allies and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) established what were supposed to be temporary camps for people who were classified as refugees and displaced persons. Within about five months, some six million people were repatriated, but that left nearly a million people to be cared for in the “temporary” camps, some for several years. When the UNRRA ceased operations in 1947, its activities

were taken over by the International Refugee Organization (IRO). It was estimated that there were then still 370 camps in operation in Germany, 120 in Austria, and 25 in Italy containing a total of more than 800,000 people. About 55 percent of these were Roman Catholics, 27 percent Protestants and various Eastern Orthodox denominations, and 18 percent Jewish.

According to research by Edward B. Rooney, estimates are that within a year England accepted 17,000 people from the displaced persons camps and another 250,000 former members of the Polish armed forces and their families. Belgium ranked second on the list of receiving nations with almost 20,000, followed by Brazil (7,000), Argentina (5,000), Venezuela (4,000), Canada (2,000), and the Netherlands (2,000). The United States, because of its restrictive immigration laws of 1921 and 1924, had accepted no one. In 1947, a bill proposed to allow refugees into the country in excess of the quota numbers, but it required each to have a U.S. sponsor. Largely because of this restriction, in June of the following year Congress enacted the Displaced Persons Act.

Under the new law, people who suffered persecution under the Nazi regime, those escaping persecution, and those who could not return to their home country because of the fear of persecution based on race, religion, or political views could apply for admission to the United States as a permanent resident. Spouses and children were also eligible for permanent resident status. However, the law distinguished between those who were “forcibly” displaced and those who “voluntarily” left their homelands. By definition, those who were displaced between the beginning

of the European war on September 1, 1939, and December 22, 1945, were to be considered “forcibly” displaced and thus eligible for U.S. entry. Those designated as “voluntarily” displaced were not eligible for entry under this law. The date parameters excluded those who had migrated to Germany for higher wages before the beginning of the war and those who fled later Communist takeovers such as in Czechoslovakia.

The act provided 220,000 nonquota visas over a two-year period and an additional 3,000 nonquota visas for orphans. Although President Harry Truman signed the Displaced Persons Act into law, he had serious reservations, calling the legislation “flagrantly discriminatory” because the date restrictions excluded approximately 90 percent of the Jewish refugees who arrived in the displaced persons camps after December 22, 1945. It also tended, Truman argued, to discriminate against Catholics who fled from persecution under Communist regimes only after that date. In fairness, he maintained, the closing date ought to have been established as April 21, 1947, when the camps were closed to any further admissions. Though voicing these concerns, he signed the legislation in the belief that to veto

Table 1 Admission of displaced persons

Year	Entries
1949	40,213
1950	132,800
1951	87,351
1952	104,869
German expellees	53,448
Orphans	2,838
TOTAL	421,519

Table 2 Immigrants by country of birth

Country	Percentage
Poland	34.0
Germany	15.0
Latvia	9.3
Soviet Union	8.7
Yugoslavia	7.9
Lithuania	6.4
Hungary	4.0
Czechoslovakia	2.7
Estonia	2.6
Greece	2.5
Romania	2.5
Austria	2.1
United Kingdom	0.4
Turkey	0.3
Other countries	1.6
TOTAL	100.0

it would only hurt those who might otherwise be helped by the law.

The original Displaced Persons Act was amended in June 1950 to increase the number of visas by an additional 121,000 and to raise the number of orphan visas to a total of 5,000. A separate provision added 5,000 nonquota visas for children under the age of 10 who were going to live with close relatives or be adopted through a recognized agency. A year later, a second amendment extended the time limit for visa issuance to the end of 1951 for displaced persons and June 1952 for orphans. The Final Report of the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission identified people admitted under the act by year and by country of birth, as seen in Tables 1 and 2.

Approximately 900,000 immigrants were admitted to the United States between 1949 and 1952, with almost one-half of them gaining entrance through the Displaced Persons Act. Over 78 percent were from eastern Europe, a region previously severely restricted under the immigration laws of 1921 and 1924. About 63,000, or 16 percent, were Jewish. Almost three-quarters arrived as part of family units. The result was a broadening of the mosaic of ethnic groups comprising the nation.

The Displaced Persons Act was the first time in U.S. history that immigration policy had been directly influenced by the circumstances of foreign refugees. As such, it set a precedent that later informed U.S. policy toward refugees from Communist nations during the Cold War. The admittance of so many displaced persons from eastern Europe also proved to be the first crack in the discriminatory quota system based on nationality, which was eventually eliminated in the Immigration Act of 1964.

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See Also: Amnesty; Diaspora; European Americans; Holocaust, The; Immigration Acts; Jewish Americans; Refugee Act (1980); Refugee Relief Act (1953); Refugees; Sanctuary Movement; World War II.

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Diversity

Diversity is a word, a challenge, a body of knowledge and practices, and a set of programs used in organizations, often in an employment context. The programs are sometimes referred to as Diversity and Inclusion or D+I. It has many definitions and meanings.

Defining Diversity

The first is a common dictionary definition, which is not used in the social justice, social equity, and multicultural fields. Any standard dictionary will use words such as “difference” and “unlikeness.” These are elements used in the social science sense of the word. However, “diversity” has become a more technical, if conflicted, term that dictionaries do not help define.

In regard to professional practice in the diversity and inclusion field, an emphasis on accepting, respecting, and valuing differences among people by recognizing that no one group is intrinsically superior to another underlies the current usage of the term. Diversity can include human qualities that are different from one’s own and from those groups to which one belongs. The intent is sometimes to include members of groups who have been marginalized in some way. Cultural diversity is the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the human capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations.

In terms of organizational culture, implementation of diversity concepts can create an organizational and managerial process for developing an environment that maximizes the potential of all employees by valuing difference. Diversity training is often prescribed as a partial solution to intergroup differences within an organization. A diversity-competent organization would then be able to respond to the needs of many different

groups in ways that are appropriate for these groups in sociocultural terms.

A different meaning of diversity is used in the social sciences, especially around fair housing and segregation, as a measurement of levels of integration by race and ethnicity. The theory is that if all decisions were made randomly, there would be 100 percent diversity. Diversity is a condition; integration is an outcome.

History

Some diversity programs arose in the United States before the 1990s, becoming more popular with the partial dismantling of affirmative action programs as the result of several successful federal court challenges against them and a more conservative electorate in a few states, who expressed their opposition to affirmative action at the ballot box. While some viewed affirmative action as coercive, many people accepted diversity programs because they were voluntary. The impetus for diversity programs was prompted by the reality that many organizations did not reflect the population of the United States, and were overwhelmingly white and male. An institutional lack of diversity was a hallmark of the United States from its earliest history.

A current impetus to adjust to and prepare for the nation's new demographics is rapidly becoming much more urgent with the growth of Latino and Asian American/Pacific Islander populations. Growing acceptance of gays and lesbians, and the presence of more women in the workforce also create a need to learn to adjust to new realities. An advantage to organizations in approaching disparity problems through diversity programs is that they can often resolve issues without legal investigations or making admissions of wrongdoing. Diversity is often distinguished from civil rights.

Diversity as a concept, as in the diversity of student bodies, was introduced into the legal and organizational discourse in part as a justification for race-conscious remedies to racial inequality, such as affirmative action. Diversity arguments for affirmative action are a species of argument from social utility. The general idea is that group attributes can contribute to positive outcomes over and above the attributes of individuals. The diverse whole is greater than the sum of its

individual parts. Diversity programs have relatively few legal underpinnings, and are in general not required by statute.

The benefits of student diversity are used as an argument in favor of affirmative action in admissions to colleges and universities. In a number of important federal court cases, parties, such as the U.S. military and U.S. corporations, have argued in favor of affirmative action by noting that racial and ethnic diversity is beneficial for the student body as a whole.

In an international context, diversity can have different target groups. For example, Northern Ireland's equity policy covers most employees and targets inequality between Catholics and Protestants. India's policy targets the social class of *dalit*, formerly called untouchables. Malaysia has hiring quotas for public sector employment for native Malays, the majority community; and India has a hiring quota system for some government jobs and for access to higher education for disadvantaged castes and tribes. South Africa's legislation addresses discrimination in private and public sectors against women and racialized people (including African, colored, and Indian groups—local categories that constitute the majority of the population). In Norway, setting target figures for female representation is quite common.

Diversity as a Profession

Diversity programs are often carried out by consultants and trainers, and, if in-house, by chief diversity officers. Diversity management (DM) is the label given to a wide range of management practices that seek to promote the employment and career development of a range of specified groups. As of 2009, the term *DM* is no longer popular in the United States, as it implies that diversity is something to be manipulated.

A number of organizations have introduced certification for professionals in the diversity field. Such certification is already common in the human resources field and in a number of other professions. None of these certifications is universally accepted, and there is disagreement within the field concerning the value of certification. Currently, diversity as a profession is similar to the field of executive coaching, in that any interested person can practice it. Advocates of certification

feel that certification would help organizations determine the qualifications of consultants and ensure that they have a minimum standard of knowledge, experience, and practice. Diversity and inclusion have not achieved much consensus and community of practice as a field.

Coverage of Diversity Programs

Some of the most targeted diversity programs strive to recruit, hire, train, promote, and retain members of underrepresented, traditionally discriminated against groups in organizations. Typically, this practice would cover legally protected classes, such as racial and ethnic minorities, women, and people with disabilities. The other end of the diversity program spectrum would focus on veterans' status, language, the status of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) community members, religion, culture, class, geography, learning styles, and modes of thought.

The most extreme interpretation is that almost any difference among people makes for diversity. This is sometimes called "deep diversity." In the view of many of those who see and practice diversity, such broad interpretations and practices dilute diversity programs into nonexistence and lack of meaning. This is in part because of a lack of focus, a lack of prioritization, and a problem with not addressing real social problems of underrepresentation of traditionally discriminated against groups in organizations.

Types of Diversity Training

There are at least four types of diversity training programs designed to try to repair and remedy harm done to traditionally discriminated-against groups of people by addressing underrepresentation and lack of inclusion in the workplace. These types of training include group dynamics orientation, antioppression and unearned benefit, positivistic, and legal compliance.

Diversity programs with a group dynamics orientation often emphasize diversity training of staff. Diversity training is any discrete program or set of programs that aims to influence participants to increase their positive—or decrease their negative—intergroup behaviors and interactions, with the objective that less prejudice or discrimination is displayed toward others perceived as

different in their group affiliation(s). The roots of diversity training extend back to the work of the psychologist. In the 1940s, psychologist Kurt Lewin tried to train leaders to better manage interpersonal tensions. Lewin developed methods of using small discussion groups to "unfreeze" the attitudes of the participants (coining the term *group dynamics*). Since then, diversity training has changed direction from the initial compliance-focused programs of the 1960s to early 1980s to ways of improving working relationships of the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s to the recent focus on leveraging a myriad of diversity dimensions to enhance business performance.

A second, now less prominent, form of diversity training involves exploration of antioppression and unearned benefits accruing to white men. Fundamental concepts considered by political progressives (such as those who work in "anti-racism") include group identity, power and privilege, and internalized oppression. This type of training is often unpopular among a target audience of white men. Diversity programs are often opposed by politically conservative groups, who feel the programs are coercive and indulge in political correctness.

In the 1990s, Congress went so far as to prohibit diversity training among Federal Aviation Administration staff, following a set of trainings that caused some white male employees to complain to their representatives in Congress. Terms such as "antiracism" and "antioppression" are not being transitioned out of mainstream applications of diversity work; rather, those initiatives are pursued independently of diversity and inclusion. While some diversity practitioners include tolerance of others as a goal, some social justice advocates object to the word as implying paternalism. Possibly replacing or displacing the internalized oppression and privilege approach is a newer method based on findings from neuroscience, based on unconscious and implicit bias. While these programs have great explanatory power, their effectiveness has yet to be proven.

A third type of diversity training and programs is softer and usually draws fewer objections. It emphasizes singing songs (characterized only somewhat facetiously as "Kumbayah," after a famous folk song celebrating good intergroup relations), ethnic food and costumes, speeches,

and celebratory days, weeks, and months. These are sometimes called “feel good” efforts, after the positivistic, self-improvement strain in late-20th-century American culture that emphasized “feeling good” about oneself. These efforts are sometimes called “celebrating diversity.”

A fourth type of diversity effort stems from equal employment opportunity and nondiscrimination laws and emphasizes social justice and social equity, with a legalistic emphasis. Major components of this effort include maintaining policies, procedures, practices, monitoring, and compliance. Complaint and grievance procedures, with following investigation, analysis, evaluation, findings, and resolution, figure prominently in these efforts. Many who work in the diversity field do not regard these as components of diversity, but others maintain that such legally oriented efforts have produced some of the few measurable gains in employment of underrepresented and traditionally discriminated-against group members.

Assessing Diversity

The success and failure of diversity efforts are often not measured. Thus, it can be hard to determine if they succeed or not, or if goals are met or not. Sometimes, no goals are set. Goals of diversity programs can include improving the organization’s global marketing, demographic marketing, and cultural competence. Other goals include keeping up to date with changing demographics in the organization’s service/client area, contributing to the organization’s corporate social responsibility efforts, and improving the climate of welcomeness in the workplace for employees of color, women, and people with disabilities. These issues can include how the organization is regarded in the community and among special interest and advocacy groups. Diversity programs can also be used to address problems found through administering organizational climate surveys when questions are asked and answers analyzed about diversity, equity, trust, fairness, accountability, and transparency. The type of assessment can be linked to the particular diversity goals of the organization.

The thorniest part of diversity and inclusion programs is defining and carrying out the inclusion prong. It has been said that achieving diversity

without inclusion is just numbers. Others say that numbers of traditionally discriminated-against employees are important, especially in achieving a critical mass within an organization.

Supplier diversity is used by companies and government agencies in procurement programs and initiatives to encourage business relationships, purchasing commitments, and provisions of equal access and opportunity to small and minority-owned businesses. Targeted businesses typically include small businesses, small disadvantaged businesses, woman-owned small businesses, veteran-owned small businesses, minority and women business enterprises, and businesses in historically underutilized business (HUB) zones to participate as partners and suppliers of goods and services within a corporate and agency supply chain.

Too often, diversity programs are afforded less credibility than other corporate endeavors. Probably the most telling indicator of lack of success of diversity programs is when staff increases of targeted groups simply match or are worse than natural demographic increases in the service or customer area. An organization’s diversity profile would include a consideration of the organization’s history, baseline disaggregated statistics, demographic situation, existing practices as an employer, relationship to local communities, as well as its clients, student body, and/or customers. In other words, any equality and diversity policies should function to provide “biographies” of organizations, as well as sectors in a full or descriptive sense.

Employment equity analysis compares representation and distribution in a workplace with availability of workers in relevant labor markets in order to investigate underrepresentation. Underutilization in workforce participation of fewer minorities or women in a particular job group then would reasonably be expected, given their availability.

Major arguments in favor of adopting diversity programs include the “business case for diversity,” which states that businesses will prosper globally if they employ a diverse staff. The usefulness of diversity is supported by research documenting the benefit of diverse people in diverse workplaces and by facilitating creative problem solving, attracting a larger client base, and

effectively operating within a global marketplace. However, the mere presence of coworkers from various backgrounds in a single workplace does not necessarily foster racial and ethnic harmony.

A lack of adequate assessment measurements and tools can make it difficult to show that diversity programs have contributed to an organization, and thereby contribute to a criticism of some diversity programs that they are pro forma and symbolic.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Age and Ethnic Diversity; Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; Art and Ethnic Diversity; Chief Diversity Officers; Class and Ethnic Diversity; Clothing and Ethnic Diversity; Cowboy Culture and Ethnic Diversity; Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity; Cuisine and Ethnic Diversity; Cultural Competence; Dance and Ethnic Diversity; Disability and Ethnic Diversity; Diversity and Inclusion; Diversity Assessment Instruments; Diversity Training; Epidemiology and Ethnic Diversity; Family and Ethnic Diversity; Feminism and Ethnic Diversity; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Generations and Ethnic Diversity; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Law and Ethnic Diversity; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Manufacturing and Ethnic Diversity; Medicine and Ethnic Diversity; Metrics of Diversity (Business); Music and Ethnic Diversity; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity; Sports and Ethnic Diversity; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Diversity and Inclusion

Diversity existed in North America long before the first Europeans settled on the continent. Native populations included wide differences among Plains, mountain, and coastal nations. With the entry of Europeans, diversity continued in the form of religious, ethnic, gender, and other differences. Populations were segregated by differences, however, so that diversity and inclusion was only noticed, or considered, when someone violated the rules by trying to integrate a group to which they did not belong. It was not until the 20th century that integration and therefore diversity became something to consciously notice and attempt to include.

Early in the 20th century there was diversity in the workforce but it was still segregated: Women were generally relegated to clerical, nursing, and teaching jobs; people of color were relegated to service industries. Positions of authority and status and a wide range of options were still limited to white males. Women and minorities were also denied access to most educational systems.

Women gained a wider range of work experience during World War I and even greater options following World War II. Organizations like the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, created in 1920, and the National Council of Negro Women, begun in 1935, lobbied Congress against racism, sexism, and job discrimination.

President Harry S. Truman integrated the military in 1948. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy established affirmative action through an executive order. This order was followed by a plan for action that was a model for businesses to recruit and develop minority employees. In the same year, Kennedy established the Commission on the Status of Women. The Equal Pay Act was passed in 1963, and in 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act. All of these acts were intended to remedy past and present discrimination in employment, education, and housing. This legislation also created a legal environment for diverse populations to succeed and to be integrated throughout U.S. culture.

Backlash was quick, however, and one of the most visible signs was the lawsuit by Allan Bakke, a white male who in 1974 sued the University of California at Davis for denying him admission



A member of the Navy's diversity senior advisory group provides diversity training to officers and enlisted and civilian personnel at a three-day diversity symposium in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in 2008. Many leaders have the feeling they are exploring new territory when managing a team of individuals from different cultures. Originally aimed at white participants, diversity training has gradually adopted very broad definitions of diversity over time, including secondary differences such as communication, leadership, and thinking styles.

while applicants of color with lower scores were admitted. Affirmative action became synonymous in many peoples' minds with "reverse" discrimination, or with favoring applicants for jobs or education simply because they were minorities.

Expectations that diverse populations would be integrated into U.S. culture were not met, and following almost two decades of struggle to realize the dream of inclusion, people of color and women were still relegated to lower-status jobs, excluded from educational institutions, and struggled to attain economic equality. In addition, affirmative action efforts generally enabled white women to benefit substantially faster than women and men of color. Studies by Susan Reed indicated that in three separate years—1995, 2005 and 2009—Fortune 100 companies had gender diversity in their highest ranks but no minority diversity.

Enter Diversity Training

Largely in response to the failure of new laws to make substantial changes in work and educational achievements, many work environments began to offer diversity training in the 1980s. This training

largely endeavored to educate white populations about the challenges experienced by minorities and women, and to modify biased behaviors. The philosophy behind these programs was that if white people just understood minorities and women, they would change their behaviors. Training typically included a combination of information about marginalized populations, exercises to help participants identify and challenge their own biases, and attempts to change the work environment to be more accepting of women and people of color. The result, however, was not as hoped: Considerable white male backlash occurred and diversity training was often laced with accusations, leaving participants with negative reactions and often bolstering existing biases.

Slow shifts in training programs began to occur. Educators and trainers began to consider adult learning theory and created programs that reduced defensiveness and increased readiness for learning. Definitions of diversity became very broad, including differences as wide as primary dimensions (race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disabilities) and secondary differences (communication,

leadership, and thinking styles). This shift to a broader definition of diversity often had the impact of allowing Caucasians and men to feel included in the diversity field and to take ownership of their own biases and behaviors. It also often had the effect of diverting conversations away from legally protected groups and concern about reducing the impacts of historical discrimination.

Other diversity trainers and facilitators took a more cross-cultural, developmental approach using Milton Bennett's stages of cultural sensitivity. This allowed education programs to acknowledge differences as cultural in origin and to approach participants based on their developmental stage, thus decreasing defensiveness.

At about the same time, in the late 1980s, research began to identify specific business-related benefits of including a broader range of people in workforce populations. Diverse workforce demographics were shown to increase organizational resilience during market changes, as well as to produce higher profit margins and return on investment. The Diversity Inc. Foundation conducted studies that demonstrated the positive impact of diversity on profit margins. This shift became important to acceptance of diversity and inclusion in both employment and educational settings.

McKinsey & Company examined the performance of 180 publicly traded companies in the United States, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom from a wide range of industries from 2008 to 2010 (during which there was a strong economic downturn). They found that for companies ranking in the top quartile of executive-board diversity, return on investments was 53 percent higher, on average, than it was for those in the bottom quartile. At the same time, earnings before interest and taxes were 14 percent higher for the top quartile, on average, than those of the least diverse companies.

What has become clear is that when leadership supports diversity, it happens. Corporations with leadership support have more women and people of color in executive suites and boards of directors and appear to achieve better financial results.

Inclusion Trumps Diversity

Hiring diverse employees was not having the impact that organizations had hoped for: As they

hired more women and people of color, they also began to experience high rates of turnover. Hiring diverse candidates and expecting them to think, talk, and act like the white male norm was not working. Many people of color and women were not willing to leave their own cultural values and norms behind in order to succeed. What became clear was that it was not enough to hire people—organizational cultures needed to change in order to become attractive to nontraditional employees if they were to be retained, developed, and promoted into leadership.

Beyond diversity training, organizations began to examine how structural shifts could create a more inclusive environment. A range of structural changes included benefits for domestic partners, child care facilities or assistance, transportation benefits, and employee affinity groups. The number of employee groups, for example, doubled between 1995 and 2005. Those groups provided assistance to leadership in identifying policies, procedures, and practices that could be modified to achieve a more inclusive environment. They also frequently assisted in the recruitment and retention of employees from diverse populations.

And Then Came Globalization

As more organizations developed an international focus in the 1990s and into the 21st century, it became clear that they often needed assistance in how to be effective in non-U.S. environments. Consequently, they began hiring leaders from international locations in order to understand those populations and best serve them. While this was intended as a positive action to increase effectiveness and avoid a U.S. bias, there was a downside. Over one-third of minority officers in the Fortune 100 companies in 2009 were born outside the United States. These international hires are often counted in affirmative action numbers. This practice has the effect of masking the fact that those individuals are not the people affirmative action was initially intended to impact. Organizations that hire international employees who can be used in compliance data can look like they have considerable diversity—and they do—but they have not continued to hire, develop, and retain the U.S. minority populations that were the initial target of affirmative action.

The Case for Education

Education is often the key to being able to hire, develop, retain, and promote people of color and women. Most jobs in today's world require a minimum of high school graduation, with college graduation giving candidates a substantial advantage. Educational disparities and the low number of people completing both high school and college educations will be a challenge for the future of diversity and inclusion in the United States. Looking at 2010 graduation rates, 87.6 percent of white students graduated from high school but only 30.3 percent graduated from college; 84.2 percent of black students graduated from high school while 19.8 percent graduated from college; 88 percent of Asian and Pacific Islanders completed high school and 52.4 percent completed college.

Only 62 percent of Hispanic students graduated from high school, and 13.9 percent graduated from college. Female college graduation rates were 29.9 percent for whites, 21.4 percent for blacks, 49.5 percent for Asian/Pacific Islanders, and 14.9 percent for Hispanics. The significantly lower percentages of Hispanics graduating from both high school and college is important in view of the fact that these populations accounted for over 58 percent of the growth in the last decade and will continue to account for a large percentage of future growth.

These data suggest that those very populations needed for successful diversity and inclusion in employment are not receiving the basic education required to get hired, much less promoted into leadership roles.

In recognition of the importance of diversity and cultural competency for future generations of leaders, the National Association for Campus Activities has included the following in its 17 core competencies: meaningful interpersonal relationships, cultural competency, collaboration, interdependence, effective communication, and social responsibility.

Demographic Shifts

The 2010 U.S. Census data make it clear that the demographics of the United States are changing in a way that will impact diversity and inclusion in organizations. While Caucasians are still the majority of the population (72.4 percent), their

increase since the 2000 population was a mere 5.7 percent, while other ethnic groups grew far more rapidly, from a minimum of 12.3 percent of African Americans to a maximum of 43.3 percent of Asians. This means that organizations will need to attract people of color at a much higher rate—and will need to retain and promote these populations into leadership positions.

A significant shift in the census data is that of individuals who identify as having “two or more” ethnic identities. This category, while only 2.9 percent in 2010, increased by 32 percent since 2010. Biracial marriages have increased by over 30 percent in the past decade, resulting in an increasing number of biracial individuals who are no longer willing to identify with only one of their parental ethnic lines. This change will make data collection and census information gathering in the traditional method much more challenging, if not irrelevant to the real world of work, education, and community life.

The older population increased by 15.1 percent between 2000 and 2010, faster than the total U.S. population growth of 9.7 percent. These older individuals are working longer, leaving challenges for the younger population who is often looking at workplaces that cannot promote them into leadership—or will not utilize their creative skills—as quickly as they wish. This leaves many young people feeling disenfranchised.

Females outnumber males at virtually every age group in the United States. Similar to the numbers for nonwhite groups, if organizations cannot recruit, hire, develop, and retain women at leadership levels, there will be a loss of leadership as males in those positions retire.

Another major demographic shift is that of immigrants. Since the 1990s, immigration to the United States has been the highest it has been since the early 1900s. New immigrants and their children have contributed well over half the U.S. population increase. These immigrants have shifted from being native to Europe to being native to Latin America and Asia, changing both the voice and face of the United States. While these populations will contribute to a needed labor force, they also tend to have a lower educational level, which will make it difficult for them to be developed and retained into leadership roles in most organizations.

Future Implications

All of this information leads to a number of critical challenges to diversity and inclusion, including the following:

- It will become more difficult to recruit and retain younger workers who will be looking beyond compensation to company reputation, workplace culture, and promotional and entrepreneurial opportunities that may not be available if older workers stay in the workforce.
- Organizations will need to identify ways to retain older workers and encourage them to transfer their knowledge and skills to younger generations, especially in knowledge-based sectors.
- Organizations that invest in educational attainment for communities of color and for women will benefit in the recruitment and retention of those populations.
- Recruitment in immigrant communities, along with the development of language and other skills for those individuals, will likely pay great dividends in the ability to retain loyal employees.
- It will become increasingly important to identify ways to collect meaningful data regarding biracial and multiracial identities.
- Organizations will need to balance the need for international leaders as they become global with the need to hire, retain, and promote domestic populations of color.

More important, however, the country will need to identify ways to facilitate effective cross-cultural communication and cross-difference working and living relationships in order to avoid the potential violence and ineffectiveness that can occur when people fear, avoid, or reject those who are different from themselves.

Donna Stringer
Independent Scholar

See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Age Distribution (Essay); Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Commission on Civil Rights,

U.S.; Desegregation/Integration; Diversity Training; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.; Executive Order 8802 (1941); Metrics of Diversity (Business); Occupational Patterns (Essay); Protected Class; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978).

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Diversity Assessment Instruments

The assessment of cultural diversity competence grew out of the 1960s, a period characterized by the realization by culturally diverse groups that culture does matter. Culture has always occupied an important role in the lives of identifiable groups; the 1960s saw the emergence of cultural groups that openly embraced their differences. Culturally aware African Americans, Chicanos, and women led the way in voicing pride in who they were and ushered in a movement that led to a greater emphasis on inclusiveness and the need to train school and business personnel in respecting cultural differences. The importance of developing an understanding and respect for diversities

of all kinds began during this period and has impacted people and institutions globally.

Cultural diversity training and assessment is based on the notion that culture is an integral part of what it means to be a human being. People are made up of a diversity of cultures. Training programs and accompanying assessment instruments have therefore been developed to foster cultural understandings and measure the outcome of such training. Educational institutions at all levels, public and private schools, colleges, and universities have developed cultural diversity assessment instruments to assess the cultural competency of their students and the cultural inclusiveness of educational organizations and educational programs. Organizations are able to apply the assessment instruments in uncovering strengths and areas for improvement regarding diversity and personnel, recruitment and retention, promotion, accountability, policies, and procedures.

Assessment Tool Examples

As the world has become increasingly diverse, it has also become increasingly necessary for educators, health care workers, social agency personnel, and employees in businesses and corporations to develop cultural competence. The assessment of the cultural competence of individuals as well as organizations and institutions has become a natural by-product of cultural diversity training. Cultural diversity assessment instruments have been developed to address the perception and reflection of culture by individuals, institutions, organizations, and programs within organizations. Self-assessment instruments designed to be used by personnel in schools, businesses, and other human service organizations consist of a series of statements to which responses reveal positive or negative perceptions of diversity.

The Self-Assessment Checklist for Personnel Providing Services and Supports to Children and Their Families, developed by Tawara Goode from the Georgetown University Center for Child and Human Development, consists of 33 items designed to assess perceptions of educators regarding the importance of culture as reflected by the school learning environment through materials and resources, communication styles, and values and attitudes. Educators

respond to questions addressing whether the displays in their classroom reflect cultural diversity, how they respond to parents of limited English proficiency, or if they understand how religious beliefs may impact decisions regarding illness, medical treatment, or death. Respondents reflect cultural competence by choosing from the following responses to the 33 statements: (1) things I do frequently, (2) things I do occasionally, or (3) things I do rarely or never. There are no right or wrong responses; however, a majority response of “things I do rarely or never” may reveal a low level of cultural competence in working with children from diverse cultural backgrounds.

A similar cultural diversity assessment is the Culturally Responsive Learning Environment (CRLE) Rating Scale. This instrument consists of 28 statements descriptive of a culturally responsive learning environment. A Likert scale, consisting of strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, and strongly disagree, is used to reflect the perceptions of educators regarding the curriculum, instruction, student involvement, or parent involvement of their school. Respondents indicate the extent of their perception regarding statements addressing whether their school has a gospel choir or a mariachi band; other statements address the involvement of African American or Hispanic students in honors and advanced placement courses.

Teachers indicating agreement with a majority of the statements have a more favorable perception of the cultural responsiveness of their school's learning environment. In contrast to the first instrument described, the CRLE Rating Scale assesses the perceptions of respondents toward the institution or, as in this case, toward the school. The instrument is therefore not only an assessment of the organization; as the respondents reveal their perceptions, an assessment of the respondent's cultural competence is uncovered.

Achieving a Culture of Inclusion: A Self-Assessment Tool, developed by Susan Lee, is another instrument labeled as a self-assessment tool, but the items of the instrument reflect an assessment of the organization. Six sections of the instrument address the perceptions of the respondent regarding cultural diversity in leadership, academic planning, resource allocation

and faculty rewards, faculty recruitment and retention, accountability, and typical behaviors and beliefs as manifested by the organization. Representative statements from this instrument address whether leadership openly and publicly communicates the importance of student body diversity and whether diversity is an integral part of planning, curriculum, and instruction. Lee's instrument also addresses the allocation of funding and research for diversity-related projects and whether the organization's value system is characterized by understanding and respect of diversities of all kinds. Each statement is rated along a continuum ranging from pre-awareness, characterized by homogeneity and an unawareness of bias, to a state of complete culture of inclusion, where cultural diversity, inclusiveness, and heterogeneity are norm.

McKendree University uses the Diversity Rubric: Awareness of Diverse Individuals and Cultures Competency (General Education), which is comprised of four performance factors to assess the cultural competency of McKendree University students. Students are rated along a four-point continuum designed to assess competency in the areas of knowledge and comprehension, application and demonstration of individual understanding, analysis and synthesis, and evaluation. The expectation is that students will develop a broader understanding of what diversity includes, demonstrate positive understanding of diversity, show creative displays of attitudes toward diversity personally and professionally, and evaluate the impact of the college experience on their attitudes toward cultural diversity.

The University of South Florida developed the Human and Cultural Diversity in a Global Context, Assessment Rubric to determine students' understanding of multicultural perspectives, local and global processes, and what can occur when students do not have this understanding. This rubric consists of four criteria detailing specific cultural understandings that are evaluated along a continuum ranging from 4 = outstanding, 3 = acceptable, 2 = developing, to 1 = unacceptable. A column is available for recording the score received by students for each criterion.

Various cultural diversity assessment instruments are being used by educational institutions, health care institutions, businesses, and other

organizations to determine the cultural competence of their personnel and the cultural responsiveness of their institution. Instruments have been found to be easily administered and can be used to uncover meaningful results.

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See Also: Cultural Competence; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Diversity and Inclusion; Diversity Training.

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Diversity Training

Long before the now-famous Hudson Report sent shock waves through corporate America in 1987, with its predictions about demographic changes impacting the workforce, diversity was on the radar screens of forward-thinking business leaders. Equal employment opportunity (EEO) laws of the 1960s and 1970s and affirmative action requirements were already putting attention on equity in the workplace, and immigration was bringing a wider range of cultures and languages to both the workforce and the marketplace. Finally, global business realities were highlighting the need for increased cultural understanding. Because of vision and necessity, companies began to understand that diversity was a business issue, and managing it effectively was a strategic imperative for survival and growth.

As organizations began to address these changes, one of the first responses was to implement training for staff at all levels. While varying in effectiveness in raising awareness and increasing sensitivity and understanding, what training did not and could not do was change organizational cultures. The ensuing disappointment led to many articles and studies decrying the “failure” of diversity training. What critics often failed to realize was that, while training is an essential element in building an inclusive climate, it alone is not sufficient. Effectively done, training can develop awareness, knowledge, and skills that can result in behavior change at individual and team levels. In addition, when leaders gain awareness and knowledge about diversity, they can institute policies and procedures leading to culture change.

Diversity training is a label that covers a broad spectrum of content and activities, from awareness and sensitivity about bias and prejudice to knowledge about different cultural norms and the skills to work effectively with others who are different. A more recent addition to this array has been a focus on the strategic business case for diversity and its relevance to the organization’s goals and objectives. The foundation of effective diversity training is a definition of diversity that is broad and inclusive. Diversity is at its core about inclusion and exclusion, and about helping staff understand the differences around which there is inclusion and exclusion. The model by Lee

Gardenswartz and Anita Rowe, the Four Layers of Diversity, is used in many organizations across the country to frame the issue and encourage discussion, involvement, and commitment to diversity and inclusion.

Diversity training conjures up a variety of images and expectations for employees, from “touchy feely” activities to confrontational sessions in which sensitive issues around prejudice are dealt with. Many participants arrive at training with fear and trepidation, expecting to have their deepest biases exposed, be accused of bigotry, or have their values challenged. Others may think training did not go deep enough if no tears were shed. Some will view training as punishment for problems they did not create, while a number of their coworkers may welcome a chance to address long festering issues of inequity. Effective diversity training should consider the aspects of content, method, and measurement to overcome resistance, engage trainees, and achieve the desired goals.

Content

The focus of the training needs to be framed around the objectives of the organization and the needs and realities of participants. For example, does an organization want training to raise awareness and increase sensitivity about differences and how they impact interactions, teamwork, and productivity? Does an organization expect training to give managers skills in building diverse teams, or to give employees skills in cross-cultural customer service? Training objectives need to be tied clearly to job responsibilities and issues faced by staff. Needs assessment through interviews and focus groups can help determine relevant objectives.

Once clear on expected outcomes, the content of training is designed to achieve them. The three following areas of content, built from the fields of psychology, sociology, and anthropology with an emphasis on intercultural communication and bias reduction, are essential to diversity training:

1. Defining the multiple dimensions of diversity and their impact on personal and organizational effectiveness;
2. increasing knowledge of culture and how it influences behavior and interactions on the job; and

- managing stereotypes and prejudice that interfere with relationships, teamwork, and service.

Method

Diversity training can be implemented through a variety of methods and formats. In-person training, usually in half- to full-day sessions, brown-bag workshops, or in-house diversity conferences with breakout sessions and keynoters are common formats. Some organizations also make use of online training as well as video-based content.

Most diversity training is not conducted through a didactic process. The objectives of training are best achieved through an inductive session that is interactive and experiential, using personal assessment, paired sharing, and small-group discussions. In this way the learning is pulled out of participants rather than given to them. Finally, the most effective training has a strong focus on practical application, giving participants awareness, knowledge, and skills they can use on the job.

Measurement

Assessing the results of diversity training has generally been the weakest element in most organizations. First, it is difficult to isolate the variables to identify the role training had in the results. Second, training has often been tied to results that it alone cannot achieve. For example, training alone cannot increase the number of underrepresented groups in management, though it can help leaders manage their biases and assumptions when making decisions about promotion and hiring.

The most effective methods do not focus only on process measures, such as how many people were trained and how they rated the training. Rather they focus on results by tying measures to organizational outcomes. Allstate Insurance, for example, compares the employee opinion survey scores of those who have and have not attended training to see if there is an impact. The company's findings show that those who attended training have higher levels of satisfaction and ability to solve problems and that they experienced less conflict on the job. Measures of customer satisfaction, productivity, retention, absenteeism, safety, and other organizational outcomes are also used.

Diversity training is an essential tool in helping organizations effectively manage diversity,

leverage its potential benefits, and create a culture of inclusion. However, to be effective it must be part of a larger strategy of culture change and tailored to meet the specific needs of employees and objectives of the organization.

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See Also: Anti-Racist Education; Chief Diversity Officers; Critical Pedagogy; Curricular Integration; Diversity and Inclusion; Diversity Assessment Instruments; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.; Ethnic Studies; Intercultural Communication; Intercultural Education; Multicultural Education.

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Do the Right Thing

Some critics have called *Do the Right Thing* (1989) one of the most important films of the 20th century. It was immediately recognized with a nomination for an Academy Award for Best Original Screenplay, and some felt it should have received Best Picture. Part of a new wave of black-made auteur (author) films speaking about the reality and complexity of black life with black voices and perspectives, it created controversy even

before its official opening. Filmmaker Spike Lee exposes the structured racism and racial tensions simmering just below the surface of a Brooklyn working-class neighborhood comprised mostly of African American and Puerto Rican residents and Italian and Korean businesses. Defying the usual Hollywood linear style, with clear heroes and villains leading to closure and a clear message, Lee provides a realistic yet sympathetic portrait of a neighborhood that explodes in violence. There are few good or bad characters, and his refusal to provide easy answers led many viewers to experience the film through their own lenses and agendas, resulting in widely divergent interpretations usually based on race.

Lee's first feature in 1986 marked the beginning of a 21-year period in which African American filmmakers claimed the right to define and explore their own culture and community instead of allowing nonblack Hollywood to shape black characters, roles, and stories created for the mainstream market. *Do The Right Thing* expanded the focus from interpersonal relationships to the social conditions of poorer African American neighborhoods.

The Plot

Set in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, New York, Lee portrayed the daily life of his own neighborhood on the hottest day of the year, with warmth, humor, and music (including an original score by his father, Bill Lee). Shot entirely on location by a mostly black crew, the film particularizes the archetypal characters and small details of people's lives. Most cross-cultural interactions are depicted as confrontations and concessions of varying intensities, sometimes comical and increasingly threatening. They build at one point to a ritual round of racial epithets verbalized by each of the resident races, including a white policeman. Tensions also exist between women and men, focused primarily on the failure of black men to be strong and fulfill their responsibilities. Hopelessness is part of the landscape.

The action surrounds Sal's Famous Pizzeria. Formerly an Italian neighborhood, Sal and his sons continue their business long after others have moved away. Sal (Danny Aiello) and his sons are portrayed in a mainstream style of expository dialogue, enabling whites access to their feelings and motives. Mookie, the central black character

played by Spike Lee, and the other key black characters are revealed through a style of dialogue as almost musical interplay more accessible to black audiences.

Mookie works for Sal delivering pizzas and functions as a bridge between the Italians and African Americans as the central conflict builds: black demands for voice and representation challenging white Italian positional power. Radio Raheem's music (Public Enemy's "Fight the Power") and Buggin Out's pressure for black celebrities on Sal's Wall of Fame confront the power of Sal's ownership, and this time no one concedes. The seemingly inevitable violence leads to Radio Raheem's brutal death at the hands of the police.

Lee challenges audiences with the title, *Do the Right Thing*. The film sets up a polarity between nonviolence and violence and ends with quotes from Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X. After the death of Radio Raheem, Mookie throws a garbage can through the window of the pizzeria, initiating its destruction. Lee says he is not advocating violence, but the days of oppression need to end.



Spike Lee produced, wrote, directed, and starred in the film Do the Right Thing, a story about his own neighborhood's racial tensions that come to a head on the hottest day of summer. The controversial Lee has produced over 35 films examining political issues such as race relations, colorism, the role of media in contemporary life, and urban crime and poverty.

Praise and Criticism

Lee's grandmother helped bankroll his earliest films, but Lee wanted to make it in the mainstream industry, while insisting on artistic control. When Paramount wanted to change the ending, afraid it would incite riots, Lee went to Universal and successfully negotiated his aesthetic terms but felt frustrated with a reduced budget, despite two previous successes. Nevertheless, he used a union crew and hired as much black talent as possible, expressing that he was committed to putting his power and influence to good use.

While many of the new wave black films played primarily to black audiences, *Do the Right Thing* made such an impact at the Cannes Film Festival that it drew people from all backgrounds. It elicited drastically different responses from different audiences. Some black viewers lauded Lee for defying white power, while others found it lacking in real resistance to white power. Many black women found it another example of the dismissal of black women and their voices. Many white audiences forgot about the police brutality and missed Sal's racism, considering him the main character and his loss the tragedy. Some whites saw it as proof that you can't trust black people, and others accused Lee of antiwhite racism and inciting black hate. Audiences continue to polarize over the movie because it raises complex questions about daily racism, poverty, and hopelessness, and provides no clear answers.

Uncompromising Voice of Black Experience

This uncompromising film along with Lee's other films and Spike Lee as a personality have contributed enormously to the recognition of lived black experience, black voices and talent, and to the rise of black filmmaking as a successful industry. It has made a cross-cultural historical impact shared by few other films.

Louise C. Wilkinson
Independent Scholar

See Also: Academy Awards; African Americans; Blaxploitation Films; *Boyz n the Hood*; Ghetto; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Italian Americans; Motion Pictures; Puerto Ricans; Racism; *Shaft*.

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Dominican Americans

Individuals of Dominican descent constitute the fifth-largest Latino group in the United States, after Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and Salvadoran Americans. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, there were 1,414,703 native or foreign-born people of Dominican descent in the United States, comprising approximately 0.4 percent of the population. The northeast has the highest concentration of Dominican Americans, with nearly 48 percent living in New York, followed by New Jersey (14 percent), Massachusetts (7 percent), and Pennsylvania (4 percent).

An additional 12 percent of Dominican Americans live in Florida. A thriving Dominican community has existed in the New York metropolitan area since the 1930s, particularly in the Washington Heights neighborhood in northern Manhattan. In addition, large numbers of Dominican immigrants settled in Boston, Providence, and Philadelphia.

Immigration to the United States

The Dominican Republic occupies the western third of the Greater Antillean island of Hispaniola. With an estimated 2010 population of 9,378,818, it is the second-largest Caribbean nation, after Cuba. Colonized by Spain in 1492, the nation first won its independence in 1821. Foreign powers, including Spain, Haiti, and the United States, occupied the Dominican Republic for intermittent periods through the 1920s. Years of political and economic instability, marked by assassinations and the brutal dictatorship of General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina followed. Subsequently, the nation experienced military

rule, civil war, and a curtailing of civil liberties that continued through the 1970s.

Although there have been men and women of Dominican descent in the United States since the 18th century, immigration picked up significantly after the 1961 assassination of Trujillo. A second wave of immigration began in 1966, during an occupation by the U.S. military to end the civil war. The third period began in the early 1980s, due to high inflation and unemployment in the Dominican Republic, and the strong U.S. economy. Nearly half of all Dominican Americans have immigrated since the early 1990s, after Mexican immigration began to wane, thereby allowing Dominican applicants for legal residency to be approved.

Historically, most Dominicans immigrated to the United States from rural areas and lacked higher education. In contrast, a large percentage of second-generation Dominican Americans live in or around large metropolitan areas, and at 21 percent, the group possesses one of the highest rates for college completion among American-born Latinos.

Politics and Sports

Although some scholars have maintained that, historically, Dominican Americans have been more interested in Dominican politics than in U.S. affairs, they have served in government at the local, state, and national levels. William Lantigua, Alex D. Blaco, and Angel Taveras have served as mayors of major American cities. In Massachusetts (Marcos Devers), Rhode Island (Grace Diaz), Maryland (Joseline Peña-Melnyk), and New York (Adriano Espaillat), Dominican Americans have been elected to state government. From 2001 to 2006, Dr. Eduardo J. Sanchez served as Texas's commissioner for health. In New York, multiple Dominican Americans have served as secretary of state, including Lorraine Cortés-Vázquez and Cesar A. Perales. President Barack Obama nominated Julissa Reynoso as U.S. ambassador to Uruguay in October 2011.

Baseball's popularity in the Dominican Republic has resulted in a number of prominent players in the American major leagues, including Alex Rodriguez, Sammy Sosa, Manny Ramirez, and Albert Pujols. Although not as celebrated among Dominican Americans as baseball, basketball

has gained in popularity in tandem with the successful careers of professional players like Trevor Ariza and Charlie Villanueva. Other Americans of Dominican descent are well-known athletes in tennis (Mary Joe Fernández), mixed martial arts (Eddie Sanchez), track and field (Félix Sánchez), and football (Dante Rosario).

Dominican Americans and the Arts

Since at least the 1940s, Dominican American actors have made significant contributions in film, television, and stage roles. Maria Montez was a popular actress in adventure and western films in the 1940s. She paved the way for subsequent generations of Dominican American film actors, including Zoe Saldana (*Avatar*), Rick Gonzalez (*Coach Carter*), Michelle Rodríguez (*The Fast and the Furious*), and Victor Rasuk (*Raising Victor Vargas*).

Child actress Shannon Tavaréz (*The Lion King*) and Tony Award winners Karen Olivo (*West Side Story*) and Wilson Jermaine Heredia (*Rent*) have given acclaimed performances on Broadway in the 1990s and 2000s. Actors Dania Ramírez (*Heroes*), Judy Reyes (*Scrubs*), Merlin Santana (*The Cosby Show*), Carlos Pena, Jr. (*Big Time Rush*), and Tristan Wilds (*90210*) all have worked extensively in television.

Musicians of Dominican descent are present across genres, ranging from merengue (Johnny Ventura) to *bachata* (Aventura) to pop (Kat DeLuna) to R&B (Karina Pasian) to hip-hop (Trina) to house (Roger Sanchez) to salsa (Johnny Pacheco). Dominican American writers of note include Julia Alvarez and 2008 Pulitzer Prize-winner Junot Díaz. Oscar de la Renta has been an influential fashion designer since the 1960s. Dominican American life has been represented on stage in *In the Heights*, on screen in *Nueba Yol*, *Raising Victor Vargas*, and *Sugar*, and in the novels of Angie Cruz (*Soledad*), Nelly Rosario (*Song of the Water Saints*), and Loida Maritza Perez (*Geographies of Home*).

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See Also: Caribbean Americans; Cuban Americans; Haitian Americans; *In the Heights*; Latinos; Puerto Ricans.

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Dora the Explorer

Dora the Explorer is a Nick Jr. children's preschool series that began in 2000. Dora Marquez is a 7-year-old Latina heroine who travels the televisual landscape together with her anthropomorphic monkey companion Boots, her talking purple backpack, and a funny, bouncy map that lives inside the backpack's side pocket. The animated series aired on the Nickelodeon cable television network, including the associated Nick Jr. channel. Creators Chris Gifford, Valerie Walsh Valdes, and Eric Weiner created a character who epitomizes Latina/o culture, while becoming part of the intimacy of the viewers' home and everyday life. *Dora the Explorer* has gained global recognition, and Dora's popularity demonstrates how images from children's programming can be readily spread and consumed in countries other than the United States. A key element of *Dora the Explorer's* popularity has been the assertion and acceptance of Spanish in the program. For example, Spanish is taught through small phrases that are very accessible for non-Spanish speakers. This makes the programming a great tool for second language acquisition. The protagonist Dora is a bilingual Spanish- and English-speaking Latina.

Multifaceted Intelligences

In *Dora the Explorer's* first season, the audience becomes familiarized with Dora and her friends and also is introduced to the 30-minute show's format. The episodes focus on psychologist Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences, which are: (1) linguistic, (2) logical-mathematical,

(3) musical, (4) bodily kinesthetic, (5) spatial, (6) interpersonal, and (7) intrapersonal.

Education is important to the producers and *Dora the Explorer* teaches children to be active by asking them to "Stand up! Stand up!" or "Wiggle, Now Wiggle!" or "Jump! Jump!" Repetition is key to learning math, colors, Spanish words, and active words throughout the episodes. Dora teaches children the need for direction and successful arrival. For example, in each episode there is a starting point and a destination at which one needs to arrive in order to win a race, rescue a princess, or arrive to a party. Dora is aided in her quests by Map, who lets the explorers know where to go and how to navigate themselves through jungles, forests, mountains, and, in one episode, outer space. Preschool educator James R. Carter notes that through *Dora the Explorer* preschoolers learn geography and how to use maps. Additionally, Carter argues that even though viewers may occasionally see stereotypical images of Latina/os, those images should be seen in comparison to the stereotypical images of life in other communities and countries, such as in Paris, a village in Tanzania, a winter in Russia, and children in China playing beside the Great Wall. As Dora facilitates a discussion of how to negotiate space within the televisual landscape, educators note, she is configured with a fair amount of power that has historically been denied Latina/os.

Exploring Different Cultures and Languages

In the second season of *Dora the Explorer* more episodes are introduced with Spanish titles. The producers' advocacy of bilingualism is evident in the naming of the episodes, as well as in the use of language within all the episodes.

Dora the Explorer's producers' advocacy of bilingualism is evident in the naming of the episodes in the development of the series as well as the use of language in the episodes. Dora's character develops the intention to educate children on various cultures, educational strategies, and communication skills through numerous episodes that enhance the understanding of different cultures and languages. For example, the fourth season of the series introduces more cultural markers and more relevance to bilingualism, as in how friendships are made, even when the characters are monolingual in their native languages.

In the fifth season, each episode introduces a new character from a different place in the world, including Guatemala, Denmark, Egypt, Australia, Peru, Mexico, Japan, China, Antarctica, and Russia. While these characters may appear in other episodes, they have a main role in their respective episodes, which is to assist Dora and her friends to figure something out. All of these characters are Dora's age or older. They all show respect to their elders by acknowledging what they have learned from them. These children survive, navigate, and solve problems through the knowledge they have gained from grandparents and parents, thus teaching children and adult viewers to acknowledge what their elders have to share with them.

Dora the Explorer embodies the notion of multiculturalism in the United States. The programming has opened the conversation to develop more culturally and linguistically sensitive pedagogy.

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See Also: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Intercultural Education; Latinos; Multicultural Education; Television.

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DREAM Act

The DREAM Act, which stands for Development, Relief, and Education of Alien Minors Act, was first introduced by Congress in 2001 as a means of providing a path to legal residency for undocumented students who came to the United States

with their parents as children and, hence, give them an opportunity to participate in the American Dream.

The bill would benefit students who meet the following requirements: entry into the United States before age 16, continuous presence in the United States for five years prior to the bill's enactment, receipt of a high school diploma or its equivalent (such as a GED), and demonstration of good moral character.

If passed, the DREAM Act would enable undocumented high school graduates to apply for conditional status, which would authorize them for up to six years of legal residence. During the six-year period, the student would be required to attend college and graduate, or serve in the U.S. military for at least two years. Students who meet these requirements would be granted permanent residency at the end of the six-year period.

The Problem

The undocumented population in the United States includes approximately 3.2 million children and young adults under the age of 24, about one-fourth of the total undocumented population, who were brought to this country by their parents when they were very young, often before school age. Before 1982, various school districts across the country tried to bar undocumented children from attending public schools.

Undocumented students initially received legal access to K–12 public education as a result of the 1982 Supreme Court case *Plyler v. Doe*. The court held that denying education to children who have no control over their parents' conduct or their own legal status would impose a lifetime hardship on them. The court also stated that educating children, regardless of their immigration status, is essential for creating individuals who can function in society and contribute to its development.

That court-mandated equal access to education, however, ends when undocumented students graduate from high school. Each year, between 65,000 and 80,000 undocumented students who have lived in the United States for at least five years become high school graduates, joining the ranks of an estimated 1.7 million undocumented young adults between the ages of 18 and 24. Upon graduating, and after extensive public educational

investment, higher education becomes an elusive dream for these young adults.

Under current law, undocumented students are not eligible to receive state or federal financial aid. Instead, in most states they are required to pay international student tuition rates, despite having had all their schooling and early education in the same state. International tuition fees to attend a state (public) university can be three to 10 times higher than resident tuition fees of U.S.-born high school graduates. In-state tuition charges have a significant impact on the ability of undocumented students to enroll in a postsecondary institution. A recent study of college attendance found that among all undocumented young adults between the ages of 18 and 24, only half (49 percent) are in or have attended college. The comparable figure for U.S.-born residents is 71 percent.

State Efforts

To address the lack of higher education access, a number of states have taken matters into their own hands. Starting in 2001, states that have passed in-state tuition policies are Texas, California, Illinois, Kansas, New Mexico, Nebraska, New York, Oklahoma, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, Maryland, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Four states—Texas, California, New Mexico, and Illinois—provide expanded access by offering students various grants under their state financial aid programs. Although undocumented immigrants in these states are allowed to attend public colleges and universities at in-state tuition rates, they are still not able to work because of their undocumented status, even if they earn a college degree.

Federal Legislation Efforts

The DREAM Act would immediately make 726,000 undocumented young adults eligible for conditional legal status, while another 934,000 would be potential future beneficiaries. Economic impact studies suggest that the act's passage would encourage more immigrants to graduate from high school and college and would also increase tax revenues and reduce government expenses. Furthermore, these studies conclude that the increased fiscal contribution would repay the required educational investment within a few years and thereafter provide a profit to taxpayers for several decades.



U.S. Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis talks with an immigrant graduating senior during a meeting on immigration reform at University of California, Los Angeles, in June 2012. The DREAM Act would provide conditional permanent residency to some undocumented U.S. high school graduates who arrived as minors and lived in the country for at least five continuous years.

The impact of the DREAM Act would not be limited to increased earnings, tax revenues, and social services savings. Under current law, most undocumented youth are unable to complete their education and are forced to work in the informal economy as domestic workers, day laborers, ambulatory sellers, and factory workers. Recent studies have also found high levels of civic engagement among undocumented college students. In particular, studies of young adults who lived most of their life undocumented but who were able to legalize their status as they entered adulthood find that their civic engagement increased after gaining legal status, thus suggesting that DREAM Act beneficiaries may follow a similar pattern. Despite a decade of efforts by advocates, as of 2012, the DREAM Act has not been passed into law.

Over the past five years, public opinion studies have consistently found that at least two-thirds of Americans support passage of the DREAM Act. There has also been an increase in the number of advocacy organizations, corporations, religious organizations, educational institutions, and state governments that have expressed their official

support. Despite these trends of increasing support, passage of the bill remains elusive.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Compensatory Education; Educational Achievement; English as a Second Language Education; Higher Education; Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Latinos.

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Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

The institution of slavery, long a source of discord, came increasingly to dominate the national political debates during the 1850s as the north and south argued over whether new states admitted to the Union would be "free" or "slave" and abolitionist and proslavery oratory grew to increasingly belligerent rhetorical heights. One of the key events in the years immediately prior to the outbreak of the Civil War was the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case in 1857, a defining moment when the Supreme Court finally rendered a decision on the issue of slavery.

Dred Scott was born into slavery. In 1832, he was living in Missouri when his owner died, as a result of which he was sold the following year to John Emerson, an army surgeon. When Emerson was assigned to Fort Armstrong in Illinois, he took Scott with him, even though the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 required that the land north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River be maintained as free territory and the Illinois constitution of 1819 prohibited slavery. In 1836, Emerson was reassigned to Fort Snelling in what was then the Wisconsin Territory, which was likewise required to be "free" under the Northwest Ordinance. When Emerson joined the army in the field for service in the Seminole War, his wife, Eliza Sanford, settled in St. Louis, Missouri, with Scott and his wife Harriet. Emerson survived the war but died soon thereafter in the Iowa Territory in 1843. Three years later, Scott attempted to purchase his and his wife's freedom, but Eliza Emerson refused the proposition. Failing to gain his freedom, Scott, with the assistance of antislavery attorneys, sued for his freedom, his wife's, and his daughter's in 1846.

The Legal Argument

Scott's legal argument was that his owner had freely taken him to reside for several years in a state and a territory where slavery was illegal, thus making him free. When the case finally came to trial in Missouri, a jury found in Scott's favor, declaring him and his family (by then increased by the arrival of a second daughter) free. Emerson, who in the meantime had moved to Massachusetts, appealed the verdict to the Missouri Supreme Court with her brother, John Sanford (misspelled as Sandford in court records), acting as executor of John Emerson's estate on her behalf. In 1852, the state's highest court reversed the earlier decision based on the fact that Scott was a resident of a slave state and had not attempted to gain his freedom while resident in a free state. Scott appealed the new verdict to the federal courts where he again lost, eventually appealing this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, a native of Virginia, delivered the *Dred Scott* decision on behalf of the court on March 6, 1857. There were three major issues in the case: Was Scott a citizen entitled to sue in federal court? Was residence on free

soil a valid claim to freedom? Was the Missouri Compromise constitutional? Of the nine justices, seven were Democrats and two were Republicans, and each justice rendered his own opinion. Regarding the first question, Taney found that Scott was not a citizen and thus not entitled to sue in federal court, because people of African descent were never intended to be citizens. Three justices agreed, while two dissented. With this finding the case should have been over, since Scott was not eligible to sue in federal court, but the justices went on to determine the merits of the case anyway. Taney found that Scott should not be free because he resided in Missouri at the time of the suit and Missouri allowed slavery. Six justices agreed with this position; three dissented. By a similar majority of 6–3, the court also found that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional because slaves were considered property and the Fifth Amendment prohibited Congress from depriving people of their property without due process. In part, the Fifth Amendment reads: “No person shall be . . . deprived of property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.” Because the majority of justices considered slaves to be property, Scott could not be freed against the wishes of his owner.

Southerners were jubilant. The Supreme Court had validated their position. Slaves were property and the right of people to own property was protected by the Constitution. The long disagreement over the expansion of slavery into the territories appeared to have been finally decided in favor of southern expansionism.

Northerners were outraged. “Surely,” wrote New York politician Roscoe Conkling, “there can be fewer great monstrosities than the proposition that one race has the right to enslave another.” His hometown newspaper, the *Utica, New York, Herald*, editorialized the following:

A new code of political ethics is pronounced: a new theory of Government has been discovered. It is not a Republic, but a Despotism we are living under. The Constitution is not a chart of freedom, but an instrument of Bondage. The object of the Government is not to protect the liberties of the People, but to further the interests of Slavery. It is not Freedom that is national, but Slavery.

If slavery was protected by the Constitution, then what was there to prevent a slave owner from bringing slaves into New York, or Ohio, or Indiana, or any other free state? If the Constitution protected the right to own slaves in Missouri, then it also protected that right in every other state.

Northerners who had heretofore been ambiguous or disinterested in the slavery issue began to join the antislavery ranks, fearing that slavery might spread nationwide, forcing them to compete with slave labor. The Democratic Party split over the issue, while membership in the new antislavery Republican Party grew quickly from an influx of disenchanting Democrats. The decision became a focus of the Lincoln-Douglas debates in the 1858 campaign for the U.S. Senate seat from Illinois and served to mobilize northerners against slavery as much as did abolitionist rhetoric. The rapid emotional response by northerners to the decision made any further compromise on the issue less likely, propelling the nation toward civil war.

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See Also: Abolitionist Movement; Civil War, U.S.; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Fugitive Slave Acts (1793 and 1850); Slavery.

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Dual Citizenship

The United States does not formally recognize dual citizenship; however, neither does it act against it. Currently, the United States tolerates the millions of Americans who have dual citizenship. Unlike in the past, the courts maintain that actions that symbolize dual, split, or even

the abandonment of American allegiance are not sufficient for compulsory expatriation or any other legal action. Since 1907, Americans who acquired another citizenship have faced the risk of losing their U.S. citizenship. Today the legal standard has changed, and in order to revoke U.S. citizenship, the state has to prove that taking the second citizenship was performed voluntarily and with the intention to relinquish U.S. citizenship. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether Americans have really adopted a political philosophy that embraces multiple national loyalties.

Dual citizenship is the consequence of two phenomena. The first is the movement of people across national borders (and to a lesser extent, the realignment of geographical borders by agreements or wars). The second is the fact that different countries have different policies regarding naturalization—some countries grant citizenship only to those who are born in the state territory (*jus soli*), others grant citizenship according to descent (*jus sanguinis*), or according to a combination of the two policies. Therefore, children born in the United States to immigrant parents automatically receive U.S. citizenship regardless of the legal status of their parents and can usually also keep their parents' citizenship. A child who is born to one parent who is a U.S. citizen and one who is not may get both citizenships; immigrants (from one of the 92 countries that allow dual citizenship) can acquire dual citizenship by naturalization in the United States without voluntarily renouncing their former citizenship; and even immigrants who do lose their former citizenship upon naturalization in the United States may regain it while retaining their U.S. citizenship.

Having dual citizenship can be extremely important for establishing a multicultural society. Benefits include the facilitation of remittances, encouragement of immigration and naturalization, and the development of a sense of civic solidarity. In fact, for those strategic reasons many countries, such as India and Australia, began to permit multiple national allegiances. In March 1998, Mexico departed from its historic hostility to dual citizenship, explicitly in order to foster ongoing nationality links with Mexican emigrants who naturalize in the United States.

Marriage as a Metaphor

Multiple national allegiances were not always tolerated in the United States. In the past, having multiple citizenships was considered illegitimate and even immoral. In an unpublished essay cited by Gerhard Casper and Stephen Krasner, Alexander Hamilton, the first U.S. secretary of the treasury, himself an immigrant, used marriage as a metaphor for citizenship as follows:

A dispassionate and virtuous citizen . . . will regard his own country as a wife to whom he is bound to be exclusively faithful and affectionate. And he will watch with a jealous attention every propensity of his heart to wander toward a foreign country, which he will regard as a mistress that may pervert his fidelity and mar his happiness.

The ideal citizen, Hamilton asserted, owed allegiance to only one state. Over the years many other politicians and public figures have expressed the same conviction. For example, President Theodore Roosevelt maintained that citizenship, like identity, cannot be divided. The common position for most of American history up to the middle of the 20th century was that dual citizenship should be eradicated. In order to be a "true" American, one ought to have complete and undivided loyalty to the state. Dual citizenship was perceived as an imminent threat to the continuation of the national world order that supposes a one-on-one relationship between the individual and the state.

This belief was not limited to speeches, and the U.S. Congress enacted many laws that not only prohibited the holding of dual citizenship but also forbade many actions that might be perceived as indicative of divided national allegiance. During most of the 20th century, Americans who performed acts that represented dual national allegiance—such as establishing residence abroad, taking an oath to a foreign country, voting for another country's parliament or serving in its army, accepting foreign public office, or even women marrying foreign nationals—could have their citizenship revoked. Those provisions were legislated as part of the Expatriation Act of 1907, the Nationality Act of 1940, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and many amendments to these laws. Voluntary renunciation of

citizenship was encouraged and forced expatriation was recommended in order to reduce dual citizenship. In other words, once individuals gained a second citizenship, they were expected to voluntarily renounce their first citizenship; if they were not willing to do so, the state would take it from them.

This well-established and accepted belief, that dual citizenship should be eliminated, is also apparent in U.S. international relations. The War of 1812 arose partly over dual citizenship, when the British tried to repatriate American citizens at sea, maintaining that citizenship could not be transferred or divided. From 1868 to 1937, the same period in which most expatriation laws were legislated, the United States entered into 25 treaties in regard to nationality transformation. The goal of these treaties, named after the historian and diplomat George Bancroft (1800–91), was to regulate the citizenship of those persons who emigrate from one country to another. Dual citizenship was construed as an undesirable outcome and the treaties were intended to make sure that nationality was acquired in one country at the expense of the other. For Bancroft, dual allegiance was to be rejected as vehemently as polygamy. In 1930, the Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws explicitly stated that “it is the general interest of the international community to secure that all its members should recognize that every person should have a nationality and should have one nationality only.”

Changing Views

Scholars have debated the reasons the United States took such a negative view of dual citizenship and thus instituted the policy of forced expatriation. The most common justification is related to the incomprehensibility of the idea of dual citizenship at the time, which was likened to political bigamy. The need for an international regulatory mechanism that eradicates dual nationality is connected to issues of diplomatic protection. Another difficulty was the need to regulate military service and other acts that supposedly require undivided allegiance. These considerations should be seen as part of a whole and not viewed separately. Practical needs of state (such as issuing protections to citizens abroad or ensuring the loyalty of the army) are always intimately linked with the

broader perceptions of citizenship at that particular moment (that national allegiance cannot be divided or multiple). In addition, policies are rooted in the hegemonic cultural perception of the time. Thus, while considering actual cases of dual citizenship, the consular and diplomatic officers of the United States abroad who were charged with implementing these notions also included assumptions regarding gender, religion, capitalism, and race.

Today, there is a consolidation of a new stage in the history of citizenship whereby dual citizenship is becoming implicitly accepted. Most scholars, such as David Martin, Alexander Aleinikoff, and Peter Spiro, embrace this change, although others, such as Stanley Renshon, believe that it may degrade American national identity. Nevertheless, the 1958 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Trop v. Dulles* and subsequent rulings, the following repeals of many of the legislative measures regarding expatriation, and the 1990 written acknowledgment of the Department of State that acquiring another citizenship should not be taken as an indication of the intent to relinquish citizenship all suggest that in the United States divided and multiple national loyalties are now acceptable.

Whereas in the past dual nationality was not merely unacceptable—it was an abomination—today it is not unusual, problematic, or freakish to hold more than one citizenship. The United States tolerates dual citizenship and it is improbable that this trend will change in the future. The current conditions of globalization, peace, complex identities, an effective human rights regime, and expanding democratization all make dual citizenship more common and more acceptable. The empirical data gathered by most of the recent studies suggest that acceptance of dual citizenship has been rising steadily since World War II. The trend is toward an expansive and nonexclusive notion of citizenship. While many scholars indicate that there is a growing acceptance of dual citizenship, there is still evidence that in the United States this transformation is neither wholehearted nor complete.

Although today dual citizenship is allowed by law, socially, many view it as an indication of un-American behavior. Michele Bachmann, a Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Minnesota, became a Swiss citizen in

March 2012, a month after her husband Marcus, the son of Swiss immigrants, registered with the Swiss consulate. After being censured in conservative circles for her dual allegiance, she immediately renounced her Swiss citizenship. Bachmann claimed that her withdrawal from dual citizenship showed her commitment to the United States and to its Constitution.

The ambivalence in U.S. policy can be seen in the most defining document of citizenship—the passport. The United States passport explicitly states that possessing another nationality might result in loss of American citizenship (section 13). However, in the next section, it is acknowledged that many Americans have dual citizenship and that they might encounter problems abroad—but not in the United States (section 14). This document represents the fact that although dual citizenship by itself cannot be a reason for denaturalization, there are still laws that maintain that dual nationality is prohibited if the state can prove that the act of acquiring it was undertaken with the intent to renounce American citizenship.

The naturalization oath symbolically exemplifies that the United States still has not embraced the multicultural ideal of multiple nationalities. One of the foundational elements of naturalization in the United States is the Oath of Allegiance. Since it was introduced in 1795, in order to become a citizen of the United States, the immigrant has had to forswear forever former national loyalties. In the first line of the oath the immigrant declares that he or she does “absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen.” Although compliance with the oath has never been enforced by American authorities, this text is still a mandatory oath for almost all naturalized citizens.

Irene Bloemraad analyzed immigration and naturalization patterns in the United States and Canada and concluded that the public embrace of dual citizenship in Canada has promoted immigration to that country. In contrast to the United States, which does not explicitly allow dual national allegiances, Canada removed the restriction on multiple citizenships in 1977. That is, even if the United States de facto accepts dual citizenship, the symbolic embracing of multiple national

allegiances in Canada illustrates its multicultural commitment, which in turn has real consequences regarding the absorption of immigrants.

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See Also: Amnesty; Citizenship; Deportation (Repatriation); Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Naturalization; Refugees; Sanctuary Movement; War of 1812.

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Dual (Two-Way) Immersion Education

Dual language education is generally well regarded in the United States and is seen as an ideal model for all students, both English speakers

and English-language learners (ELLs), to participate with each other in authentic bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural education. This model promotes positive attitudes toward each language and culture and fosters full bilingual and biliterate proficiencies.

Dual language education is neither a new concept nor limited to the United States. Canada, Switzerland, Spain, and China, among many other countries, have successfully practiced and encouraged this form of bilingual and multilingual education. In the United States, the success of bilingual education programs established in Florida after the Cuban Revolution inspired the implementation of dual language programs across the nation. Coral Way Elementary, a dual language English-Spanish school established in 1963 by Cuban exiles in Dade County, Florida, continued to operate in 2012.

Bilingual education in the United States is generally designed for English-language learners in prekindergarten through 12th grade schools who are not yet proficient in English, offering different amounts of native language instruction (such as Spanish or Chinese) as well as English as a Second Language (ESL). The goal of all bilingual education programs, regardless of model, is to assist ELLs to reach full proficiency in English and achieve at grade level academically. However, bilingual education in the United States follows several types of models that fall under either additive or subtractive language paradigms. Subtractive models, such as transitional bilingual education, use students' native language typically for a period of three to four years as students develop proficiency in English through ESL or sheltered English instruction. Once students have become proficient, as determined by language proficiency standardized evaluation, students exit into the general English medium classrooms.

Subtractive programs add a second language, in this case English, and subtract the native language. Additive language programs, on the other hand, promote the continual development of the native language and maintenance of the home culture while adding a second language and culture. Additive models, such as maintenance, developmental, and dual language, do not drop the students after they become proficient in English. Rather, students in additive programs

continue to develop their academic native language as well as academic English. Unlike subtractive programs, the goal in additive programs is for students to reach full biliterate and bilingual proficiencies.

Effectiveness of Dual Language Education

Two critical longitudinal studies, in addition to an increased body of research, have documented the effectiveness of dual language education in the United States. In their 2009 book, Virginia Collier and Wayne Thomas report that ELLs who participated in dual language education outperformed comparable monolingual-schooled students in academic achievement after four to seven years in the program. Students who received dual language instruction for at least five to six years reached the 50th percentile on the reading standardized tests by fifth or sixth grade and maintained this level of performance in subsequent grades. Their results also indicate that native English speakers in dual language programs maintained their English, acquired as a second language, and achieved well above the 50th percentile in all subject areas on norm-reference tests in English.

In research published in 2001, Kathryn Lindholm-Leary reported that native English speakers developed high levels of proficiency in their first language regardless whether they participated in total (90-10) or partial (50-50) dual language immersion programs. Students from both language groups developed high levels of second language proficiency in both total and partial immersion models, though their proficiency was higher in total immersion programs.

Lindholm-Leary found that English- and Spanish-speaking students made significant growth in reading and academic achievement in both the native and second language across grade levels, and scored on a par with their peers using standardized norms for English and Spanish speakers, although results varied somewhat according to program type, grade level, and language background. The results showed that higher levels of bilingual proficiency are associated with higher levels of reading achievement, corresponding with other research findings that point to higher levels of bilingual proficiency leading to increased academic and cognitive functioning. Spanish- and English-dominant students in dual language

programs outperformed their peers across California in English reading and academic achievement tests.

One-Way and Two-Way Programs

Dual language is an additive model that falls under the broader umbrella of bilingual education and is also known by several other names: two-way immersion as well as one-way or two-way bilingual education. Dual language programs consistently use two languages for instruction for teaching and learning literacy as well as all content subjects that include math, science, and social studies. There are two program types: one-way and two-way. Two-way dual language programs have equal or near equal numbers of students from two language groups, English native speakers and native speakers of another language who are typically ELLs, such as Navajo, Korean, or Spanish. Students from the two language groups are integrated for instruction for all or at least half of the school day to achieve bilingual, biliterate, academic, and cross-cultural competencies.

In one-way dual language instruction, the goals and language use are the same as in the two-way program, with the difference that all the students in the program are ELLs, and there are no native English speakers. While both types of programs are effective and desirable, the two-way program has the advantage of having students who are native speakers of English and represent more diversity in the classroom demographic makeup.

In addition to the one-way and two-way variations that are based on the language backgrounds of student population, there are also two types of models that are based on the amount that each language is used for instruction: partial immersion (or 50-50) or total immersion (90-10 or 80-20). The primary distinction between these two models is the amount of time allocated to each language for instruction at each grade level. In the total immersion model, the amount of instruction in the language other than English is initially greater than in English, usually 80 percent of the time in the primary grades, with English instruction increasing by each grade level until students receive equal amounts of English and the other language instruction by the intermediate grades. In the partial immersion model, on the other

hand, both languages are used equally for instruction in all grade levels.

Dual language education, an additive form of bilingual education that provides enriched language education both for ELLs and native English-speaking students, has been recognized by policy makers, educators, researchers, and parents as a desirable alternative to monolingual English education in the United States.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Bilingualism; English as a Second Language Education; English-Language Learners; Office of English Language Acquisition; Official English Movement.

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Dutch Americans

The Netherlands is a western European country on the shores of the North Sea. As of the most recent census information, there are 5,023,846 Dutch Americans, or 1.6 percent of the population. The Dutch were not only a significant immigrant population in American history, they were the original settlers of some of the territory that eventually became the United States. Dutch Americans should not be confused with “Pennsylvania Dutch,” whose name is a corruption of the word *Deutsch*, meaning German.

The Dutch established New Netherland in the early 17th century, consisting of lands from the

Delmarva Peninsula to Cape Cod, a region now occupied by parts of Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and New York. New Netherland (the capital of which was New Amsterdam, which became New York under English rule) was settled more slowly than its neighbors, New England to the north and New Sweden to the south, and the colony was also less homogenous than its neighbors, consisting not only of Dutch settlers but of Flemish and Walloons from modern-day Belgium, French Huguenots, Scandinavians, and Portuguese. New Netherland, like the Dutch Republic, was a bastion of religious and cultural tolerance, perhaps the first American civilization who could be considered multicultural. Some of the colony's principles were adopted into the U.S. Constitution, and they also provided the legal tradition for the New York

area—notably, the Articles of Capitulation, which transferred control of the colony from the Dutch to the English in 1664, guaranteed the right to religious freedom. As a pragmatic matter, this was to ensure the safety of New Netherland's existing citizens, but it also preserved religious freedom as what became an American ideal.

Nassau County, Coney Island, Block Island, Long Island, Rikers Island, Staten Island, Batavia, Dunkirk, Rensselaer, Yonkers, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem, Dutch Kills, Flushing, and Manhattan in New York; Bergen County and Brielle in New Jersey; Cape Henlopen in Delaware; and Rhode Island all bear names from the New Netherland period. Though the Hudson River is named for the Englishman Henry Hudson, he was working in the service of the Dutch. The families of three presidents—Martin Van Buren, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt—are descended from Dutch colonists in New Netherland.



A late-17th- to early-18th-century Dutch gable home in Albany, New York, is typical of the Dutch architectural influence in the United States, with its Flemish brick bond and fleur-de-lis wall tiles. From the first Dutch settlements in the Americas in 1613, many villages were established by Dutch immigrants, including New Amsterdam, which eventually became New York City.

Population Growth and Assimilation

After New Netherland was transferred to British control, Dutch immigration stopped almost completely until the 19th century, though very few Dutch left the colony, so the Dutch American population continued to grow through natural means. The key exception was the founding of Germantown in Pennsylvania—since absorbed into Philadelphia—by Dutch Quakers in 1683. Germantown soon became the birthplace of the abolitionist movement. Dutch immigration resumed in the early 1800s as Dutch farmers left the economic mire of the Netherlands for new opportunities in the United States, settling mainly in the midwest, where ample agricultural land was available. Western Michigan and the city of Holland have become an epicenter of Dutch American culture and the Dutch Reformed Church in the region. Dutch Catholics settled in Wisconsin in response to the same economic pressures and growing anti-Catholic sentiment in the Netherlands. Over the course of the 19th century, 340,000 Dutch immigrated to the United States.

After World War II, an unknown number—probably around 50,000—of Indies Dutchmen immigrated to the United States from Indonesia, formerly known as the Dutch East Indies.

Typically Christians raised with the Dutch language and culture, they were predominantly children, and even grandchildren, of Dutchmen and indigenous Asian women and were categorized in a variety of ways by immigration officials and subsequent census reports. A wave of Dutch immigrants arrived directly from the Netherlands as well, where the war had left the country with a flailing economy and a significant housing shortage. Provisions of relief acts passed beginning in 1950 permitted more Dutch and Dutch Indonesians to immigrate than immigration quotas would have allowed, part of the exceptions granted to postwar refugees.

Dutch immigrants, especially prior to the 20th century, assimilated quickly and decisively. While celebrations of Dutch culture were retained, the English language was adopted almost universally. The spread of public education in the 19th century helped with this, as the children of immigrants were taught English and other American practices for free. Almost none of the Dutch restaurants, bakeries, or stores operating today were opened before the mid-20th century. Dutch culture has been influential in America's melting pot, notably contributing to modern depictions of Santa Claus (*Sinterklaas*, in Dutch).

Many areas with large Dutch populations celebrate a Dutch heritage festival, typically scheduled to coincide with the blooming of tulips, a popular symbol of the Netherlands. The largest is believed to be in Holland, Michigan—the Tulip Time Festival, which has been held since 1929 and runs for a week beginning the first Saturday in May. Tulip gardens throughout the town are displayed, and tulips line the major streets. There are three separate parades, traditional dancing and music, fireworks, and a Dutch Market selling Dutch goods and memorabilia. Holland also holds a Dutch Winterfest to celebrate *Sinterklaas* in early December. Other Dutch American communities celebrate *Kermis*, a Dutch festival that originated as the anniversary of the founding

of a given church but has developed into a harvest festival held in October to celebrate Dutch culture.

Some of the most famous Dutch Americans include the abstract expressionist painter Willem de Kooning, actors Dick Van Dyke and Rebecca Romijn, Simpsons creator Matt Groening, musicians Alex and Eddie Van Halen, baseball player Bert Blyleven, and Nobel Prize-winners Nicolaas Bloembergen and Tjalling Koopmans.

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See Also: Art and Ethnic Diversity; Baseball and Ethnic Diversity; Belgian Americans; Flemish Americans; German Americans; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Pennsylvania Dutch; Television.

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E

E Pluribus Unum

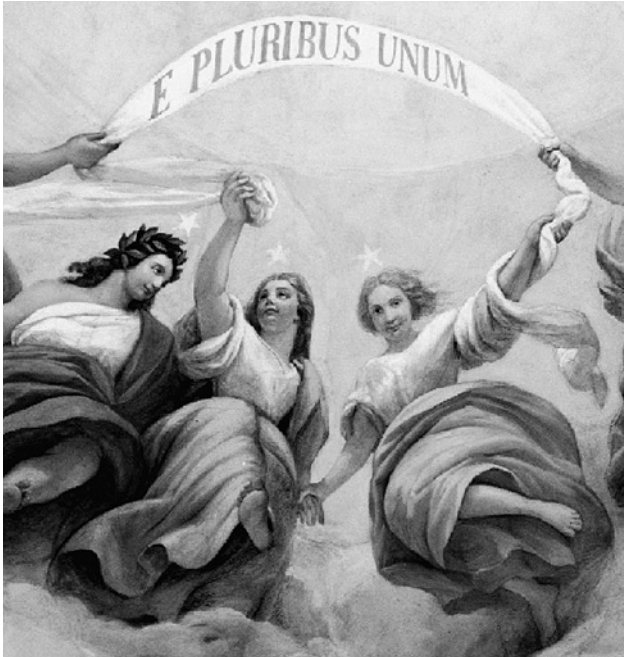
Within any group, no matter how homogeneous, diversity exists. This has been the reality within the United States from the very beginning. The Latin phrase *E Pluribus Unum* (out of many, one) found on American coinage illustrates the recognition and balance of plurality and unity. Throughout the history of the United States, the motto *E Pluribus Unum* has been interpreted in numerous and sometimes even contradictory ways. This ideal is based on the hope that one nation can be simultaneously supportive of diversity and sufficiently unified.

Attempts at balancing these conflicting values have been seen in various political and cultural debates, with each side wrestling for domination. In a unitary system, like that with which the colonists were familiar in England, government entities strive for national unity and in the process suppress individual or regional identities, resulting in a *unum*, or totalizing, government. In a confederated system such as the one established by the Articles of Confederation, local government agencies dominate, thus emphasizing the *pluribus*, or many. By contrast, the federal system as established in the Constitution is designed to balance the needs of the states with the needs of the country by balancing the many and the one.

Historical Background

The Continental Congress of 1776 appointed Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson to draft the design of the Great Seal of the United States. These Founding Fathers employed three Latin phrases within the design: *Annuit Coeptis* (God has favored our undertaking), *Novus Ordo Seclorum* (a new order of the ages), and *E Pluribus Unum* (out of many, one). All three Latin phrases possess both a religious and a political connotation that significantly are blended together.

There is some debate on the literary source of *E Pluribus Unum*. Some attribute the phrase on the Great Seal, *E Pluribus Unum*, to a poem, *Moretum*, attributed to Virgil, in which a farmer mixes various ingredients together to form a relish. A more likely candidate for the origin of the phrase is Saint Augustine. The phrase, “out of many, one,” is a classical Catholic ecclesiological principle stressing the universal nature of the Catholic faith. It is used by Saint Augustine to describe the ties of brotherly love and friendship in book IV of his *Confessions* (397 c.E.). By just examining the three Latin phrases of the Great Seal, in both their likely sources and intended meanings, one finds a high degree of religious reference and significance. The case is made only stronger when one considers the multiple religious symbols incorporated into the design of the Great Seal (such as the Eye of God, cloud of God’s glory, and olive branch).



A fresco by Constantino Brumidi pronouncing *E Pluribus Unum*, which is Latin for “out of many, one,” graces the rotunda at the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. The central idea was that out of many colonies emerged a single nation.

Ethnicity

The response to the 19th-century influx of immigrants was called Americanization, made famous by the “melting pot” analogy, whereby the cultural ingredients of religion and ethnicity would melt newcomers into one national character of a “true” American. To be American was to speak English, be white, and be Protestant. The government, schools, and churches participated in this effort to form a unified, patriotic national identity.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, European immigration to the United States began to increase substantially. Beginning in the 1880s, large numbers of Catholic immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, such as Italians, Russians, and Poles, arrived. These immigrants were met with intense hostility. The dominant white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) culture forced them into ethnic “ghettos” in the larger cities.

Adopting a social Darwinism perspective, nativists felt too many “undesirables”—in their view, culturally inferior immigrants from southern and eastern Europe—had already arrived. Nativists wanted to severely restrict foreign influence on the

culture of the United States. A series of immigration laws in the 1920s followed, establishing the principle that the number of new arrivals should be small and, apart from family reunification, the inflow of new immigrants should match the ethnic profile of the nation as it existed at that time. Already-established national quotas discouraged immigration from Poland, Italy, and Russia and encouraged immigration from Britain, Ireland, and Germany.

The sociological pendulum has swung in the opposite direction as modern struggles with immigration reject such complete assimilation, and instead minimize characteristics required to identify one as an American. Some argue today that there is no single American identity but rather each ethnicity should be equally valued. Instead of a melting pot, America is more often compared to a tossed salad wherein each component is distinct.

Religion

To what degree was the United States founded as a religious nation? The answer to this question involves the interpretation of history and has become central to the modern culture wars. Scholars who argue that the United States was founded as an experiment in limited government in pursuit of the freedom of religious expression point to numerous examples of government support of religious ideas, symbols, and expressions. Even prior to the American Revolutionary War, evidence indicates there was a high degree of religious consciousness within the society. By popular demand the inscription “In God We Trust,” was formally adopted as the official national motto on July 30, 1956.

Advocates of a secularized American history describe the Founding Fathers as varying in their attitudes toward religion from merely suspicious to openly hostile. They contend that America was founded as a secular or religion-free society but incrementally over time religion was injected or forced into our culture. Advocates of secularity prefer the phrase *E Pluribus Unum* to the national motto “In God We Trust,” applauding the prior phrase’s absence of reference to the divine and envisioning an America made up of distinct cultures. As national secularity and sensitivity to multiculturalism continue to increase, the phrase

E Pluribus Unum will likely supersede “In God We Trust” as the national motto.

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See Also: American Revolution; Americanization; Citizenship; Culture; Know-Nothing Movement; Melting Pot; Nativism; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants).

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Ebony

On November 1, 1945, America got its first look at *Ebony*, a monthly pictorial magazine modeled after *Look* and *Life* but whose goals, in the words of its founder John H. Johnson, were to focus on the achievements of blacks from “Harlem to Hollywood” and to “offer positive images of blacks in a world of negative images.”

Prior to *Ebony*, no black magazine had taken such an optimistic view of black life in America. Magazines such as *Crisis* and *Opportunity* daily catalogued the harshly circumscribed world of racism, violence, federal apathy, and black oppression after World War II. In *Ebony*, Johnson sought to introduce both black and white readers to African America’s good life, and black readers expressed relief and satisfaction at *Ebony*’s approach. It showed that African American life was as good as any American’s life in this world. Johnson found success in his policy that *Ebony* “reflect the Negro’s everyday life on Main Street from coast to coast, to present him to both white and Negro readers as an ordinary mortal human

being—not a freak or a stereotype, not a debate or a resolution.” While its presentation of the 1950s American good life was not new—magazines such as *Life* and *Look* showcased similar formulas and themes—*Ebony* championed an optimistic black identity for the first time.

Founding a Black Publishing Empire

John H. Johnson was born in Arkansas City, Arkansas, in January 1918, the grandson of enslaved people. His mother worked hard to save enough money to buy a train ticket for the family to the north because there was no high school for black students in Arkansas City. Johnson graduated as class president and with academic honors from Wendell Phillips Academy High School on the south side of Chicago and attended the University of Chicago and Northwestern University.

In 1942, after putting up his mother’s furniture as collateral for a \$500 loan, Johnson began his publishing career with *Negro Digest* and *Black World*, and, with his wife, took the first steps toward establishing what would become one of the most successful black-owned businesses in the world, Johnson Publishing Company.

Ebony’s Birth and Popularity

Three years later, Johnson launched *Ebony* (a name suggested by his wife Eunice); the first issue sold a meager 25,000 copies. With the help of Benjamin Burns, *Ebony*’s white and Jewish coeditor, the second issue sold 200,000 copies. To capitalize on what historian Adam Green called “the market turn in African American life” and to emphasize the broader complexities of the black political and consumer culture of the postwar era, the magazine’s initial success relied on several stock features. The magazine regularly ran features on exemplary individuals from the sporting world, Hollywood, and literary world, such as world heavyweight champion Joe Louis, author Richard Wright, and poet Gwendolyn Brooks. Fame became a celebrated virtue in the magazine.

Ebony also had an appetite for racially evocative culture and arts. It regularly posted stories on fashion, dancing, and performance pieces that were more than a mere catalog of the week’s best box-office hits. Headlines such as “African Influences on Fashion” (July 1948), “Dred Scott’s

Children” (April 1954), and “Female Impersonators” (March 1948) always pushed the envelope, showing a commitment to showcasing the “zesty” (February 1946) side of African American cultural production. *Ebony* also evidenced a commitment to interracial dialogue and fellowship. Coverage such as “Famous Negroes Who Married White” (1949) and “Whites Who Sing Like Negroes” (1951) captured these topics and showed that the cultural meaning of blackness and interracial dialogue were ever-evolving phenomenon.

Setting and Breaking Precedent

As much as *Ebony* strove to break with the protest precedent of the black press, the magazine devoted much space to voices of dissent. It stands as a rich historical archive of political protest and the politics of black struggle worldwide. During the late 1950s, it ran Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s, column, “Advice for Living By,” and by the 1960s, it was covering substantive and consistent news of the civil rights movement. Photographers captured the Montgomery Bus Boycott, King’s Nobel Peace Prize, and the march from Selma to Montgomery. *Ebony* photographer Moneta Sleet became the first African American photographer to win a Pulitzer Prize for his photograph of Coretta Scott King and daughter Bernice that appeared in *Ebony*’s May 1968 issue. *Ebony* was also the first magazine to get an interview and photo shoot with President Barack Obama after his 2008 election.

Johnson and his wife built an empire in Chicago that included not only magazines *Ebony* and *Jet*, but a cosmetic line, as well, called Fashion Fair Cosmetics. Johnson’s magazine ventures achieved and continue to achieve high accolades; *Negro Digest* and *Ebony* were so successful that in 1972 the Magazine Publishers Association named Johnson Magazine Publisher of the Year. Today, *Ebony* and *Jet* are the mainstays of Johnson Publishing Company and hold the number one and number three spots, respectively, in readership of black American magazines with over 20 million readers. The company’s current chairwoman is Johnson’s daughter Linda Johnson Rice.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Entertainment Television; Culture; Ethnic Studies; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Magazines; Media, Ethnic; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Social Media.

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Ecuadorian Americans

Ecuador is a South American country on the Pacific Coast, bordered by Colombia and Peru. Like many countries of the former Spanish colonial empire, its population is predominantly mestizo (a mix of European and indigenous heritages) with a large indigenous population and Afro-Ecuadorian and white minorities.

Recent Immigrants

Ecuadorian Americans come from many backgrounds, including the aforementioned groups, Lebanese Ecuadorians, Italian Ecuadorians, Chinese Ecuadorians, and Japanese Ecuadorians. There are 696,500 Ecuadorian Americans and an unknown number of undocumented immigrants.

As with many American groups of South American descent, one reason for the diverse heritage of these immigrants is that most of them have arrived relatively recently, having immigrated from a country that itself had become its own melting pot of diverse ethnic heritages. Not that this diversity is always egalitarian; even in the 21st century, the indigenous population is predominantly poor, and in most of rural Ecuador, indigenous Ecuadorians are expected to defer to whites and mestizos, their social superiors. However, racial identity is in some ways more social than biological; Ecuadorian Indians typically still wear their traditional clothing, and abandoning that clothing in favor of modern garb and acquiring sufficient Spanish fluency is enough to present oneself as mestizo and rise in the social ranks.

Sustained Ecuadorian immigration in significant numbers did not begin until the 1960s, in response to both the liberalization of American immigration restrictions and the 1964 Ecuador Land Reform, Idle Lands, and Settlement Act, which redistributed land in a belated effort to dismantle the feudal system that had been outmoded even at the nation's birth. Though the reforms gave ownership of the land to the peasantry who had worked it, these new landowners lacked the experience to know how to manage a farm, rather than simply do farm work, and in most cases had no credit with which to pay for expenses. Without the ability to earn revenue from the land, many of them were forced to sell it, and in doing so put themselves out of work. While some simply took jobs working on other farms, others took their sudden access to cash—a rarity for a farming family—and used it as an opportunity to relocate. Some moved to Ecuadorian cities; others immigrated to the United States, Canada, and Venezuela. Many of those who left Ecuador continued to support their families back home through remittances. Others sent for their families to join them.

Some of the Ecuadorians living in the United States, and a group that rarely naturalizes, are Otavaleños, an indigenous group in northern Ecuador. The Otavaleños were textile weavers whose forced labor was ended by the 1960s reforms, and as they took control of their own businesses, they sent itinerant sales forces abroad

to sell their clothes and blankets. At any given time there are several hundred Otavaleño sellers in New York City and a scattering in other parts of the country, working as street vendors of their traditional clothing. The Otavaleño community has gradually become prosperous, its young men and women more likely with each decade to attend and complete college, and to enter into a professional career.

Chinese Ecuadorians are also among the Ecuadorians who immigrated to New York City, in part to escape discrimination in Ecuador, where they occupied no defined position in the racially based social hierarchy, and in part for the same economic reasons as other Ecuadorians. Despite New York's having a well-established Chinese American community, Chinese Ecuadorians are more likely to settle in Spanish-speaking Hispanic neighborhoods.

Illegal Immigration and Human Trafficking

A 1990s study found that Ecuadorians were one of the three largest groups of illegal immigrants in New York City; the typical tactic was to fly to New York with a tourist visa and simply not return. This group included those who were staying in the country illegally while waiting for paperwork to be processed that would allow them to become legal residents—a process that could mean spending years on the waiting list. Not all such illegal immigrants intended to be, or knew they were, immigrating illegally; numerous businesses arranged passage to the United States from Ecuador, making claims that the Ecuadorians had no means of checking, especially before access to the Internet became widespread. Such businesses might guarantee a green card, for instance, without the immigrant realizing no such guarantee could be made; others promised to secure both a work visa and work for the immigrant, but such promises either proved to be false or the jobs paid well below minimum wage and were themselves undocumented.

Of course, human trafficking of prospective sex workers is always a factor where illegal immigration is concerned, with young women told a job has been lined up for them, only to go into debt to the company providing their passage and discover too late that the job is prostitution and they are without documentation or money in a

foreign country. However, this is not to suggest that human trafficking accounts for a significant share of Ecuadorian immigration.

Even aside from undocumented immigrants, only a fifth of the Ecuadorian immigrants today who are eligible to become citizens choose to do so. Still, Ecuadorians do assimilate in a fashion—but the culture they assimilate into is the under-recognized culture of the Hispanic United States, the growing culture common to many Latin American communities within the country. The *quinceañera* celebration for 15-year-old girls, for instance, is a Mexican tradition celebrated by Mexican Americans but has become adopted by many Latin Americans, including Ecuadorian Americans, in the United States, who have no such celebration in their home countries.

The majority of the Ecuadorian American population live in the New York City area, the port to which most of them first immigrated. New York Ecuadorian Americans comprise more than half of Ecuadorian Americans, and the 25 cities and towns with the highest percentages of Ecuadorian Americans or Ecuador-born residents are all in New York or nearby New Jersey. The second-largest community, in the Los Angeles area, is only 10 percent of the Ecuadorian American population.

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See Also: Chinese Americans; Colombian Americans; Hispanic Americans; Immigration, Illegal; Mexican Americans; Peruvian Americans; Quinceañera.

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Educational Achievement

By 1852, states began establishing compulsory attendance laws requiring children within specific age ranges to attend school. All states had established compulsory attendance laws by 1929. Although all children were required to attend school, the schools were racially segregated. It was during this time that educators began noting disparities in academic achievement among different racial-ethnic groups.

The most glaring disparity was the significantly lower achievement of black students compared to white students. Educators argued that having racially segregated schools contributed to this disparity because the schools that black students attended were inferior (in buildings and textbooks) to the schools that white students attended. Given this concern, the landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954, 1955) required all schools to desegregate with all deliberate speed. Despite integration efforts, disparities in achievement between white and black students not only persisted, but similar disparities between other racial-ethnic groups also emerged.

While academic performance in all content areas is important, educators and scholars have prioritized student performance in reading and math because they are foundational skills that all students need to be successful in schools. Given the importance of reading and math skills, identifying and addressing the differences in performance across racial/ethnic groups became a major priority. Therefore, to better understand the academic performance of all students, the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) began conducting a National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) during the 1970s.

The purpose of the NAEP is to assess the academic performance of a nationally representative sample of students in 4th, 8th, and 12th grade across a range of subject areas to obtain a national picture of academic performance.

NCES reports the performance data for each of five racial-ethnic groups: black, white, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native,

and Hispanic. To provide a historical context for reading and math achievement across these five racial/ethnic groups, the achievement data is organized approximately by decade depending on the years of testing. It is important to note that NCES did not collect data for all racial/ethnic groups for all years of the assessment. Hence, reading results are available for white and African American students since 1971 and for Hispanic students since 1975. Results for the remaining racial-ethnic groups are available beginning in 1980. Math results are available for all groups since 1978 with the exception of American Indian or Alaska Native; this is again due to insufficient sample sizes that do not permit reliable results.

Reading Performance Across Racial/Ethnic Groups: 1970 to 2011

Since the NAEP in reading began during the 1970s, the reading performance of black and Hispanic students has lagged behind that of white students. Specifically, in 1971, African American students performed approximately 40 points below their white counterparts. From this time to 1988, the performance gap decreased significantly across all grades, such that African Americans remained approximately 20 points behind white students (25, 18, and 17 points behind for 4th, 8th, and 12th grade students, respectively). Hispanic students also performed well below their white peers during this time. Performance among Hispanic students in 1975 was markedly worse, falling approximately 30 points below white students across grades. During the period from 1975 to 1988, however, the gap decreased somewhat, with Hispanic students 20, 21, and 20 points below white students across 4th, 8th, and 12th grades, respectively.

This disparity in reading performance was concerning because it was occurring after the *Brown* ruling to integrate schools, which was established in part to address academic performance gaps. However, many have argued that *Brown* did not achieve its purpose because schools did not racially integrate, and when integration did occur, it was tremendously arduous, especially for racial/ethnic minorities. Therefore, many racial/ethnic minorities continued to attend either under-resourced schools or racially integrated schools with more

resources, but with often racially charged school environments.

Also during this time, it was hypothesized that racial/ethnic minorities were culturally disadvantaged by living in poverty or having parents with lower achievement levels. Advocates of the cultural-disadvantage hypothesis argued that racial/ethnic minority students needed compensatory programming to address their inherent disadvantages and allow them to perform better in schools. There were several scholars who disagreed with the cultural-disadvantage hypothesis, explaining that it was a deficit-based approach to understanding racial/ethnic minorities that perpetuated stereotypes, prejudice, and marginalization of these students in academic settings, which contributed in part to their academic underperformance.

On the other hand, when NAEP data was first collected for Asian American/Pacific Islander students, the data indicated that white and Asian American/Pacific Islander students had similarly high performance across grades throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Demonstrating steady growth since their respective start points (1971 for white students and 1980 for Asian/Pacific Islander students), in 1988 Asian/Pacific Islander students outperformed white students in 4th and 8th grades, while white students outperformed their Asian/Pacific Islander counterparts in 12th grade. Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders were the only racial/ethnic minority group to outperform their white peers in reading during this decade.

By 1990, there was more variability in reading performance across the different ethnic groups. Specifically, there were periods when the reading performance gap narrowed; however, overall, the gap persisted. For example, Asian American/Pacific Islander 4th graders initially outperformed white students by 16 points, but by 1999, white students outperformed Asian American students by 3 points. In 8th grade the trend was similar, with Asian American/Pacific Islander students initially outperforming white students by 12 points, but by 1999, white students outperformed Asian American and Pacific Islander students by 9 points. For 12th grade students, there was a similar gap, with white students outperforming by 6 points in 1988 and by 5 points in 1999. It is unclear what accounted for these trends in performance; however, both of these groups continued

to outperform black and Hispanic students. The white-Hispanic achievement gap generally increased from 1988 to 1994 and then decreased from 1994 to 1999.

Overall, the gap generally widened slightly, increasing from 24 to 28 points among 4th grade students and 21 to 23 points among 8th grade students, and remaining unchanged for 12th grade students (24 points). With the generally erratic change in scores among African American students throughout this time period, the achievement gaps predominantly worsened. The gap shifted by 4 points among 4th grade students (from 29 to 25 points), by 11 points among 8th graders (from 18 to 29 points), and by 10 points among 12th graders (from 21 to 31 points).

While the 1970s through the 1990s generally saw the black-white and Hispanic-white reading achievement gap increase, by 2000 those trends were starting to reverse. From 2000 to 2011, Asian American/Pacific Islander students surpassed or equalized the performance of white students across all grade levels. That being said, scores remained comparable, with white students performing 4 points below in 4th grade, 1 point below in 8th grade, and equal in 12th grade. For both Hispanic and African American students the achievement gaps with white students remained approximately the same or improved throughout this decade across grades (with 12th grade Hispanic students being an exception). Among African American students, the gap decreased by 9 points in 4th grade (35 to 26), by 4 points in 8th grade (29 to 25), and by 2 points in 12th grade (31 to 29). Among Hispanic 4th, 8th, and 12th grade students, gaps decreased by 3 points, decreased by 1 point, and increased by 2 points, respectively (the latter as the lone exception). Comparing American Indian/Alaska Native students to their white counterparts, the gaps shifted throughout this decade, from 7 to 17 points and from 29 to 22 points (4th and 8th grade, respectively).

Although the reading achievement gaps remain quite substantial, the decreases in the gaps are noteworthy. It is unclear what factors have contributed to the decreases because of the myriad changes that constantly occur in education. Identifying the factors that help reduce the achievement gap is a major focus of educators so they can further reduce the achievement gap in reading.

Math Performance Across Racial/Ethnic Groups: 1970 to 2011

The performance of racial/ethnic minorities in math has also been a concern among educators for several decades. For example, during the 1970s, white and Asian American/Pacific Islander students performed notably higher than Hispanic and African American students. While the growth pattern differs across grade levels among Asian American/Pacific Islanders, they actually outperformed their white counterparts in 1978 and continued to do so in 1990; during 8th grade this gap actually increased throughout this time period, but for 4th and 12th graders the gap decreased. The gap between Hispanic and white students varied by grade level. In 4th grade, the gap remained unchanged (21 points in 1978 and 1990). In 8th grade, however, the gap closed considerably, from 34 points in 1978 to 21 points in 1990. The 12th grade gap was between these two relative extremes, from 30 to 25 points (1978 and 1990, respectively). The gap between African American students and their white counterparts closed steadily across grade levels. In this time frame, the gap decreased from 32 to 27 points in 4th grade, from 42 to 27 points in 8th grade, and from 38 to 20 points in 12th grade.

A fluctuating black-white and Hispanic-white achievement gap was also observed in the area of math achievement. The disparities were consistently above 20 points, which was slightly larger than the reading achievement gap between the same groups.

Again Asian American/Pacific Islander and white students performed significantly higher than Hispanic and African American students during the 1990s. Gaps between Asian American/Pacific Islander and white students were rather minimal and only increased slightly, with Asian American/Pacific Islander students demonstrating slightly greater growth (within 2 points in 1990 and 5 points in 1999). For both Hispanic and African American students, the achievement gaps with white students remained approximately the same or worsened throughout the 1990s across grades (with 12th-grade Hispanic students being an exception). Among African American students, the gap widened by 1 point in 4th grade (27 to 28), by 5 points in 8th grade (27 to 32), and by 10 points in 12th grade (21 to 31). Among Hispanic

4th, 8th, and 12th grade students, respectively, gaps increased by 5 points, increased by 2 points, and decreased by 4 points (the latter being the lone exception with gap closure). Throughout the 1990s, the math achievement gap remained quite substantial.

By 2000, Asian American/Pacific Islander students continued to outperform their white counterparts across all grade levels and even extended this gap. It remains comparatively minimal (as of 2011), with white students performing 7 points below in 4th grade, 10 points below in 8th grade, and 7 points below in 12th grade. Among African American students, the gap decreased across all grade levels, from 28, 32, and 32 points to 25, 31, and 27 points (4th, 8th, and 12th grade, respectively). A similar trend held true for Hispanics, with gaps decreasing from 26 to 20 points in 4th grade, 24 to 21 in 8th grade, and 22 to 21 in 12th grade. Finally, American Indian/Alaska Native students decreased the gap in 4th grade, from 31 to 24 points, but the gap increased among 8th-grade students from 24 to 28 points.

As with the reading achievement gap, the math achievement gap remains large; however, there is also a decreasing trend in the math achievement gap. It is unclear what factors are contributing to this trend; however, educators and researchers have put great effort into improving educational programming to improve reading and math performance. However, across the United States, there are several different curricula and other programming supports that are being used to improve math performance, especially among racial/ethnic minorities. The variability in programming makes it very difficult to identify programs that reduce the gap in order to extend those programs to other schools across the country.

Based on all of the data reviewed since 1970, the central challenges regarding ethnic group achievement have been and continue to be the relatively lower reading and math scores among black, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Hispanic compared to white and Asian/Pacific Islanders. Given the persistence of these achievement gaps among the ethnic groups, reducing the



U.S. Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar congratulates student Jase Lee, a member of the Comanche Tribe, with a fist bump as they work through a textbook at Riverside Indian School in Anadarko, Oklahoma, March 17, 2011. Secretary Salazar visited the school as part of Interior's intention to expand quality educational opportunities for American Indian and Alaska Native tribes. The U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics began assessing U.S. students' proficiency in core subjects in the 1970s.

achievement gap in reading and math has become a major goal of the U.S. Department of Education as well as several other national, state, and local education agencies. To reduce these gaps, researchers have studied these data for decades to identify factors that are causing and/or contributing to these achievement gaps, especially the black-white and Hispanic-white gaps in reading and math.

Causes/Contributors to Differences in Ethnic Group Achievement

One of the longest-standing explanations for the differential achievement of ethnic groups has been that blacks, Hispanics, and American Indian/Alaska Natives are minority groups that have experienced discrimination and oppression in educational institutions. It is suggested that discriminatory practices have contributed to the high number of these ethnic minority students attending poorer-quality schools that have fewer qualified teachers, lower-quality curriculum, and less financial support. Therefore, these students demonstrate lower academic performance due to having a lower-quality education. While racial integration has occurred with the *Brown* decision, the implementation has been uneven and racial segregation in educational institutions continues to manifest in new ways.

Another proposed reason for the ethnic group achievement is differences in socioeconomic status across groups. Given that a disproportionate number of black, Hispanic, American Indian/Alaska Native families live in the low-income range, these students are more likely to experience poor-quality prenatal care, inadequate nutrition, unsafe/inadequate housing, and poorer quality schooling. When these students experience these risks, it can adversely influence their academic and/or psychological functioning. Therefore, it is suggested that these students are more likely to demonstrate poorer academic performance. However, data also indicate that not all students who have family income in the low-income range experience these adverse events or effects. Thus, low-income status alone does not explain the lower academic performance of these ethnic groups.

The instructional and educational practices used within schools have also been suggested as

factors contributing to the uneven performance among ethnic groups. To explain, there has been limited research examining how students who are members of different racial/ethnic groups learn. Moreover, educators have had limited training in teaching students from different ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, it is unclear whether instructional environments should be restructured, whether teachers should use different instructional strategies/styles, or whether curriculum content should be modified to better reflect the learning needs/styles of ethnic minorities.

For these reasons, there has been increased interest in trying to better understand the components of an optimal learning environment for students who are members of different ethnic groups in order to improve their academic performance.

Finally, factors such as acculturation and English language proficiency are important considerations for students who immigrate to the United States because students may feel stress as a result of the acculturation process or learning a new language. However, the data remains limited on how these factors influence learning as well as how to optimally teach students who are learning English or who have recently immigrated to the United States.

Conclusions

Current data suggests that while the academic performance of black, Hispanic, and American Indian/Alaska Native ethnic groups is improving at some grade levels, their performance (on average) continues to lag behind their white and Asian/Pacific Islander peers. The lower academic performance of these groups, particularly in reading and math, has contributed to increased rates of retention and dropout. Uneven achievement across these ethnic groups has garnered significant attention, yet the challenge persists. It is unclear how the achievement gap will be reduced in the near future; however, efforts to address the myriad factors that contribute to the achievement gap will continue.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Cultural Competence; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Culture Shock; Desegregation/Integration; English-Language Learners; Multicultural Education.

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Egyptian Americans

Egyptian Americans are Americans of direct Egyptian descent. Egyptians began to immigrate to the United States in large numbers in the second half of the 20th century. However, unlike other Arab Americans, such as the Lebanese and Syrians, there are no official records to indicate the precise number of immigrants who came from Egypt to the United States in the 19th century.

In 2000, 1.2 million people living in the United States reported an Arab ancestry. A little over one-fourth of those were Lebanese, 29 percent. The next largest specific groups were Egyptian, 14.5 percent, and Syrian, 8.9 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). In 2009, the U.S. Census Bureau reported the number of Egyptians had reached 197,000, maintaining its second-place rank of Arab populations in the United States after Lebanese Americans. Egyptian Americans reside mostly in New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia, Michigan, Florida, Texas, and California. According to the 2009 census figures,

the distribution of Egyptian Americans by region is northeast, 36 percent; midwest, 12 percent; south, 25 percent; and west, 27 percent.

Demographics

Egyptian immigrants are predominantly male, concentrated in young age groups, with a high educational attainment. In the 20th century, the first wave of Egyptian immigrants to the United States were highly educated, mostly university graduates, some of whom were seeking further graduate studies. They have been working as physicians, engineers, lawyers, professors, teachers, accountants, brokers, and entrepreneurs.

Within the American multicultural context, most Egyptian Americans are bilingual, speaking English and Arabic, often with an Egyptian dialect. While all of the Arab American subgroups show educational levels above that of the total U.S. population, Egyptians in particular have a high degree of educational achievement, with over 63 percent having earned at least a college degree. However, some Egyptian Americans who hold degrees from Egyptian universities are engaged in blue-color occupations, such as car maintenance workers, taxicab or truck drivers, and restaurant waiters.

Growth of U.S. Immigration

Before 1965, migration to the United States was limited from both the Egyptian and American sides. Egypt, under Nasser's regime, did not have good relations with the United States, which had a restricted immigration policy, restraining certain countries from entering its land. However, in 1965 the United States issued the Immigration and Nationality Act allowing selective entry of certain professionals, especially scientists, from other countries including Egypt.

Furthermore, the deterioration of economic conditions, triggered by the political instability in Egypt following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, pushed thousands of Egyptians to emigrate to the United States. After Nasser's death in 1970 and the improvement of American-Egyptian relations during Anwar Sadat's presidency, emigration to the United States rose dramatically.

By 1990, Egypt, more so than other Arab countries, had participated in the Diversity Visa (lottery) Program, allowing them to immigrate to the United States. Since the 1980s, the Egyptian

government has been working to strengthen ties with the United States by encouraging wealthy Egyptian Americans to help its economy through remittances sent to their families, as well as by investing their money in the homeland.

In 1999, Egyptian Americans' income was among the highest per family at \$57,246, per the 2000 U. S. Census. In 2000, 61 percent of the foreign-born population in the United States participated in the labor force, a figure slightly below the national average. Labor force participation among Egyptian immigrants in particular, however, was slightly higher than the average, at 65 percent.

Daily Life and Religion

Traditional Egyptian culinary dishes include bread ('*aysh*, which also means "life"), *ful* (fava beans), *falafel* (a mixture of ground fava beans and other spices served fried), *mullkhia* (a thick green soup made of mallow leaves), *kufta* (ground meat mixed with ground rice and other spices served, after being fried, in tomato sauce), and stuffed cabbage (*mahshi*). Egyptian Muslims prefer to eat *halal* food (food that is prepared according to Islamic law or regulation).

Egyptian Americans' religions include Christian Copts, who migrated earlier, and predominantly Sunni Muslims. Mosques and churches have been built in Muslim and Christian communities, respectively. Western-style clothing is common among Egyptian Americans, though some Muslim women wear traditional Islamic dress and veils. For religious services, Muslim and Christian leaders wear traditional clothes. Muslim leaders, for example, wear a long gown (*jilbab*), robe or cloak ('*abaya*), and turban. Both Muslims and Copts participate together in social and religious occasions. Egyptian Copts sometimes share in the celebrations of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, while Muslim Egyptians participate in certain aspects of Easter (comparable to the Shamel-Nessim, or celebration of spring tradition of serving egg and salted fish), Christmas, and the New Year.

Egyptian Americans are concerned not only with the religious and daily activities of the living, but also with the burial of their dead. Families collect money and buy several burial lots to reserve for their members. Graves of Muslim Egyptians are built facing the Qiblah or the Ka'ba in Mecca.

While marriage between Egyptian Sunni and Shi'i Muslims is uncommon in Egypt, there are cases in the United States in which Sunnis, mostly men, are married to Shi'i women. Similarly, as marriage between Muslims and Christians is rare in Egypt, various marriages between Egyptian Muslim men and Christian or Jewish women have occurred in the United States. Still, a Muslim woman would only be able to marry a non-Muslim man on the condition that he converted to Islam. Some Christian and Jewish men have actually converted to Islam to marry Egyptian Muslim women.

Egyptian Americans have established social and cultural societies such as the Egyptian American Organization (EAO) and the American Egyptian Strategic Alliance (AESAs), among others. They participate in activities of Arab American and Islamic societies, such as the Arab American Institute (AAI), the Arab American Association (AAA), and the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). Most Egyptian Americans give their votes to the Republican Party, but recently there has been a shift, especially among educators and workers, to support the Democratic Party. Some, however, cast their votes as Independents. Egyptian Americans supported the January 25, 2011 revolution in Egypt and celebrated the fall of President Hosni Mubarak's regime. They also willingly participated in the first democratic presidential election in Egypt.

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See Also: Arab Americans; Halal; Hijab; Muslim Americans; Nation of Islam; Qur'an; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Sharia; Syrian Americans.

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El Norte

El Norte (The North), is an independent film released in 1983, directed by Gregory Nava along with writing partner and producer Anna Thomas, which received an Academy Award nomination. The film captures the journey of siblings Enrique and Rosa Xuncax from the battlefields of Guatemala during the 1980s, through the borders of Mexico and the United States, and to the final destination of Los Angeles. *El Norte* is a border-crossing epic that tells the story from the perspective of the protagonists Enrique and Rosa, of the violence propagated by an authoritative regime that took control of Guatemala and of the civil war (1960–96) that followed.

The film parallels their journey from the violence of their homeland with their journey north to another type of violence. At the film's end, a dying Rosa observes that in Guatemala, the regime wanted to murder them; in poverty-stricken Mexico there is no room; and in the United States, they are not accepted. Disheartened, she asks her brother, "When will we find our place?"

This question resonates with the current status of Guatemalan immigrants, primarily the indigenous Indians, who migrated en masse during the 1980s, seeking refuge in the United States only to be greeted with hostility and massive deportations. More broadly, the story questions the current place of indigenous communities in the Americas. The film captures the cross-border experience in three parts: "Arturo Xuncax," "El Coyote," and "The North."

Seeking a Better Life

The film opens with the circumstances that force the siblings to flee their homeland. Arturo Xuncax, the father of Rosa and Enrique, is ambushed

and brutally murdered, along with several coffee pickers, for attempting to organize. Upon the burial of the murdered men, the military troops return in search of surviving family members. Rosa's and Enrique's mother is picked up and "disappeared," a common practice during the repressive regime. Enrique and Rosa escape the death squad and are faced with the only option available: to head north. El Norte—America—is not only a place of refuge but, as told in old issues of *Good Housekeeping*, also a place of abundance, where they will make a lot of money. "In the north, we won't be treated this way," Enrique asserts optimistically upon the decision to migrate.

Part two projects the travels of Rosa and Enrique through Mexico and across the U.S.-Mexico border at Tijuana. While in Mexico, the siblings experience the racial hierarchies established in a country where Indians continue to be at the bottom, even in impoverished circumstances. At the same time, they encounter strangers willing to help them through their journey, including Raimundo, a retired *coyote* (smuggler) who agrees to guide them through the border. Rosa and Enrique cross underneath the U.S.-Mexico border through an abandoned sewer tunnel. As they crawl through the narrow space, they are attacked by hundreds of rats, a haunting moment that exemplifies the dehumanization of immigrants as they seek refuge in *el norte*. As they reach the end of the tunnel, mesmerized by the shining lights of San Diego, they pause for a moment to relish their arrival in the promised land.

Part three captures their arrival in the north. The film depicts Los Angeles as it is transformed by the shifting migrations of the 1980s, including the exodus of Central Americans. Rosa finds employment in a sweatshop that produces high-fashion clothing, and after escaping an immigration raid with the help of her new friend, Nacha, the women find work cleaning houses in high-class neighborhoods.

Meanwhile Enrique finds employment in an exclusive restaurant where his hard work ethic quickly wins him a job as a waiter's assistant. This promotion is the envy of a coworker who calls immigration, and, like Rosa, Enrique also escapes arrest, paralleling his escape from the death squads in Guatemala.

The Harsh Realities of Illegal Immigrants

These places of employment manifest the echelons of American society, where luxury and abundance are reserved for the elite, and unattainable for the nonwhite laborers. Similarly, the film parallels the life of the siblings in Guatemala, where commodities, such as coffee, were inaccessible because they were destined for U.S. consumption. The film captures the position of impoverished and oppressed indigenous populations in the Americas, chased by government officials, subjected to racism and discrimination, and serving as chattel for a global economy. The film closes with a scene of Enrique working with a shovel as the foreman oversees the labor, and thus paralleling the beginning of the film that opens up with a scene of indigenous workers picking coffee as a *ladino* foreman oversees them.

In addition to illustrating the cross-border experiences, *El Norte* is central to the development of Latino filmmaking. While Latina/os had been represented in films, often with negative stereotypes, it was during the 1970s that Latinas/Latinos began portraying and telling their own stories through film. It is in this context that *El Norte* emerges as a film that captures the “face and the heart in the shadows that prevailed in Los Angeles,” as Gregory Nava states. “By offering the human side of immigration, *El Norte* countered the anti-immigrant arguments of the time that portrayed the U.S.-Mexico border as being raided.”

These arguments have prevailed and intensified at the turn of the 21st century. The effect and power of *El Norte* has endured as evidenced in the re-release of the film on DVD on the 25th anniversary of its production.

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See Also: Customs and Border Protection, U.S.; Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.; Latinos; Mexican Americans.

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El Paso Salt War

The El Paso Salt War was a series of armed conflicts toward the end of 1877 over the right of the Mexican American population near El Paso to gather salt from land previously held in common by the location population, yet claimed under private ownership laws by prominent Anglo leaders in the region.

Background

When the area surrounding El Paso, Texas, was part of the Spanish New World empire, the Spanish king had granted villagers the right to collect salt from the salt lakes in the region. In essence, the salt lakes became communally owned. When the region became part of Mexico, the Mexican government continued to grant this right, and it should have continued even after ownership of the region transferred to the United States because of provisions in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the U.S.-Mexican War in 1848. However, in 1866, the new Texas state constitution allowed individuals to make claims on mineral rights, which included the salt in the El Paso salt lakes. Beginning in 1866, various prominent Anglo figures began to assert ownership over the salt lakes, sometimes in cooperation and sometimes in conflict with one another. By 1877, a Virginia-transplant and local political leader named Charles Howard claimed ownership, and he intended to enforce it.

The Salt War

On September 29, 1887, two local Mexican American men, Jose Maria Juarez and Macedonia Gandara, announced their plan to collect salt from the salt lakes, in contradiction of Howard's ownership claims. In response, Howard had the local sheriff arrest the men, then pursued a restraining order against them. Outraged by Howard's actions, Mexican Americans in the region organized several citizens' committees (*juntas*) to determine a response. Eventually, the

juntas “arrested” two judges who refused to issue warrants for Howard’s arrest, then finally took Howard himself captive. After three days as a hostage, Howard signed a piece of paper agreeing to relinquish his rights to the salt lakes, allowing the courts to decide the true ownership. He also agreed to pay the juntas a \$12,000 bond and promise never to return to the El Paso area. After signing the document and paying the bond, he was released on October 3.

However, Howard returned to the area on October 10 to murder a political rival, Louis Cardis. It was an act of revenge, because Cardis had encouraged the local Mexican American population to defy Howard’s claims of ownership in the first place. After killing Cardis, Howard fled to New Mexico. The Mexican American population of the area was outraged by the death of Cardis, and the juntas threatened to effectively shut down local government. The governor dispatched Texas Ranger Major John B. Jones to El Paso. Jones restored order with the juntas and arranged for Howard’s return to the area to face charges. He also recruited a new Texas Ranger company to stay in the area and placed it under the command of Lieutenant John B. Tays.

Howard would never face trial. Under the escort of 20 Texas Rangers, including Tays, Howard was ambushed by a mob of local citizens.



The Guadalupe Mountains in 1899. The El Paso Salt War was a complex political, social, and military conflict between Mexican American citizens and the Texas Rangers over ownership and control of huge salt lakes here toward the end of 1877.

After a two-day siege of the building in which the group had taken refuge, Howard agreed to surrender to the mob, and Tays and the other Texas Rangers agreed to lay down their arms. Howard, along with two other men, were immediately executed. The rest were allowed to leave.

The Aftermath

Retaliation was swift and ugly. Tays returned to the area with more men, including a supplement of disreputable volunteers from Silver City, New Mexico. Tays’s men terrorized the local population, with reports of drunkenness and rape being common. Eventually, the army was dispatched to restore order. When the railroad arrived in the area in 1881, it made the conflict over the ownership of the salt moot because it was no longer profitable for locals to retrieve the salt with wagons. The El Paso Salt War typifies the various conflicts that erupted in the southwest at the end of the 19th century—conflicts between the Mexican American and Anglo populations, conflicts between local, state, and national concerns, and conflicts between traditional and formal legal authority structures.

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See Also: Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); Hispanic Americans; Mexican Americans; Mexican Revolution; Mexican-American War; Tejanos.

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Election 2012 and the 2010 Census

The 2012 election was one of the most bitterly fought and ideological in recent memory. From

the presidential election to state-level contests, contrasting visions of the role of government dominated headlines. Moreover, racial and cultural wars over the future took place and demonstrated just how divided America may remain in the near future.

Since the election of President Barack Obama in 2008, the United States has had to reckon with the meaning of race in contemporary society. More than 200 years after the founding of the country, Americans elected a biracial (black) man to the White House. In 2008 several factors played into the final elections results: (1) the failures of the administration of President George W. Bush, (2) the onset of the Great Recession (2007–09), (3) the public's weariness with the war in Iraq, (4) a lengthy and costly war in Afghanistan, and (5) one of the most heatedly run and dramatic presidential campaigns in decades. Also, the enormous number of Asians, African Americans, and Latinos who crowded the polling stations provided President Obama with a landslide victory, with more than 360 electoral votes and 53 percent of the popular vote.

When the new president was inaugurated, he faced challenges unique in the history of the presidency. Obama was considered by tens of millions of Americans to be fraudulent. Party lines were drawn and filibusters were used. Government virtually crawled along and failed to complete basic tasks. Death threats against the president spiked. Some parents refused to allow their children to hear the president's annual back-to-school message.

In a dramatic reversal of fortunes, in 2010 the voters gave the House of Representatives back to the Republicans and made serious inroads into the Democrats' majority in the Senate. Republican presidential hopefuls considered their bid for the 2012 election. The new racial demographics signaled that change was coming, perhaps much more rapidly than previously thought.

In 2010, the U.S. Census Bureau conducted the decennial census, which was politically important for several reasons. It is used to reapportion seats in the U.S. House of Representatives as well as state legislatures. It is also used to formulate policy in various areas under the purview of the government. Furthermore, how the count is conducted—its methodology—is also a source for

concern. Few political pundits took seriously the dramatic demographic shifts under way in the United States since the last census in 2000. Yet those shifts contributed greatly to the reelection of President Obama in 2012 and to Democratic gains in the House and Senate.

The New Millennium

As the United States reached the beginning of a new millennium, the nation was at peace and, with President-elect George W. Bush preparing for his inauguration, looking forward to a more conservative era. White Americans made up 78 percent, or nearly four-fifths, of all voters. With those numbers, white Americans could easily tip the election in one direction or another, the recount (*Bush v. Gore*) notwithstanding. Minorities were a significant electoral group but not enough to elect a minority on their own. While the 2000 U.S. Census showed that Latinos, for instance, made up 12.5 percent of the population, they were comparable to the African American community, which made up 12.3 percent of the population. In 1990, Latinos and African Americans comprised 9 percent and 12.1 percent, respectively. Asians made up 3.6 percent of the population in 2000.

Combined with the lack of nationally prominent and viable politicians, most of the elected minority members of Congress were in minority-majority districts. In fact, no African Americans or Hispanics served in the Senate in 2001. The Bush years and the Democrats' backlash, however, took place at precisely the time when the United States was undergoing transformative changes in demographics and cultural attitudes toward the minority population. Those changes contributed to Obama's election in 2008 and the somewhat surprising results of the 2012 elections.

Census 2010

The census is a controversial and highly contested process. The purpose is to count, as accurately as possible, how many people are living in the United States and where they reside. Municipalities, state governments, and the federal government use the census in a variety of ways. First, the data are used to ascertain where people reside and how that compares with the previous census

data. Second, the census results are used, in part, to direct federal resources to various communities around the nation. Third, the census is used to reapportion seats in the House of Representatives. Because of the last point, politicians take extra care in the results of this process.

After the census has been completed, the state legislatures redraw the congressional map for their respective state. The political party in power in the state legislatures largely controls the process and draws up the new districts according to the needs and desires of their caucus. This turns the process into a highly partisan affair, in which data are sometimes used to contort congressional districts into amalgamations of economic, political, and racial groups (what some have likened to gerrymandering). The concept of one person, one vote is the important factor under consideration. Observers of this process argue that congressional districts must not be designed in such a way that it dilutes the political strength of minorities. Moreover, legislatures cannot put a million people in one district and half a million in another; that would dilute the voting power of the district that has a million people.

The origin of the term *gerrymander* is Massachusetts Governor Elbridge Gerry, one of the Founding Fathers who became governor in 1810 and proceeded to use the power of his office and state government in Boston to draw congressional districts that highly benefited his political party. It was noted that a district in Massachusetts—after Gerry and others were done drawing it—looked like a salamander. Thus, the practice of drawing districts for partisan advantage became known as “gerrymandering.”

Since the early republic, the highly competitive process of census taking and reapportionment has continued unabated. In fact, over the past 50 years, the practice has only gained speed and notoriety. An increasingly partisan war in Washington and various state capitals, along with dramatic ethnic, gender, and racial advancements, have made the controversial once-in-a-decade event even more contentious. In the early 2000s, House Majority Leader Tom DeLay of Texas, a prominent Republican, moved to capitalize on gains Republicans had made in the 2000 and 2002 elections. Along with the 2000 census, DeLay and others in the state legislature in Austin moved to do something

highly unusual: a mid-decade redrawing of the Texas political map. The plan was largely successful as the Republicans produced huge gains in state and congressional races. It accelerated the decimation of the Democratic Party in Texas, a process that began in the 1980s.

It is the highly partisan nature of redistricting that makes the decennial census so controversial. That did not change in 2010. There were several controversial aspects of the process of counting Americans. Democrats wanted to count as many people as possible because it helps their political fortunes, especially in diverse areas of the country where minorities account for a substantial portion of the population. Republicans, however, were skeptical of the methodology used in counting. Many Republicans have been critical of statistical sampling and the use of race. The modern Republican Party has struggled to make gains in the voting blocs of African Americans, Latinos, Asians, young people, and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. Increasingly, the GOP has become more dependent on older white Americans for electoral success. Consequently, the census has become even more important.

Latinos

Latinos are by far the fastest-growing racial group in the United States. Out of more than 308 million people living in the United States in 2010, more than 50 million were Latino. This means that they accounted for 16 percent of all Americans. By 2010, Latinos had surpassed African Americans as the largest racial minority group in the United States. This is a profound change that concerns both political parties. In addition, the rise of Latinos had exacerbated underlying tensions between Latinos and African Americans. These tensions are the result of long-standing historical differences between the two groups. African Americans' long history of enslavement, oppression, and indifference from the white majority has created extremely delicate and complex race relations. As minority politicians fight for control of scarce resources, political attention, and power, these tensions have grown. This is especially true in places such as California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, and Florida, all of which have substantial

minority populations. Along with distrust and suspicion, both groups have tentatively warmed up to one another because of the stark differences between the two major political parties in the Obama era.

In terms of the make-up of Latinos, like all groups in America, they are not monolithic. Mexican Americans were the majority of the Latino or Hispanic population with 54 percent. There were more than 31 million Mexican Americans. Cuban Americans made up 1.8 million. Puerto Ricans also increased their presence to 4.6 million. In terms of voting, Latinos had nearly 24 million eligible voters and more than 12 million were registered to vote. As a result, Latinos were a highly sought-after voter group for both Democrats and Republicans. The political atmospherics between 2008 and 2012, however, have made it increasingly difficult for Republicans to appeal to this group.

Obama's election in 2008 signaled a sea change in national political affairs. Republicans took a strong nativist approach, addressing problems with both legal and illegal immigration. Laws were passed at the state level that wound up curbing the rights of many immigrants. Eventual Republican nominee Mitt Romney argued that illegal immigrants should "self-deport," which alienated many Latinos, 71 percent of whom voted for Obama. Many conservative policies appeal to Latinos, such as low taxes, strong defense, and strong family values, but other policies embraced by the GOP drove many of these voters toward the Democratic Party.

African Americans

In 2010, African Americans accounted for more than 42 million people, or 13.6 percent of the population. As a community, their numbers surged by 15.4 percent, or 5.6 million. In addition, the number of African Americans considered to be biracial also grew. More African Americans are dating, marrying, and reproducing children outside their race than ever before. By far the most common pairing has been African Americans and white Americans. Persons of African American and white lineage grew more than 133 percent. The growing multicultural dimensions of America have complicated race relations and produced new political dynamics. Nowhere

has this been more visible than in the 2012 presidential election.

The African American population grew faster than the overall population of the United States. The majority of African Americans lived in the south but also maintained a significant presence in major metropolitan areas, such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Washington, D.C. This pattern meant that African Americans maintained a strong political position, both within the Democratic Party and in the areas where they lived.

Decades after the Great Migration, African Americans have been returning home to points south. The historical and familiar ties to the south and the growing acceptance of African Americans by white southerners have made the south an attractive place for many African Americans. This is especially true for middle-class African Americans who have relocated to major areas such as Atlanta, Charlotte, Nashville, New Orleans, Durham, Richmond, Memphis, and Little Rock. Despite the progress of this group, there are substantial challenges yet to be overcome.

While approximately two-thirds of the African American community are classified middle class, a full third is poor or working class. African Americans in the middle class have a more tenuous grasp on it than their white or Asian counterparts. The decline of married black couples, the pernicious effects of racism, and the effects of the Great Recession have combined to limit the economic and educational prospects of this community.

Furthermore, African Americans are at a political crossroads of sorts. President Obama represents the new, diverse political class. He and those of his generation did not come from the church or the old civil rights battles or the 1950s and 1960s. They are highly educated with a greater degree of personal experiences than their elders. More willing to embrace the new political ideologies, Obama's generation is less tied to the politics of pain and protest. Included in these developments have been the growing number of blacks who are conservative or Republican, such as Allen West, Tim Scott, Artur Davis, Kenneth Blackwell, Mia Love, and Angela McGlowan. While Democrats can still count on 85 to 95 percent of the black vote in presidential elections, the African

American community is becoming more economically and politically diverse.

Asians

Since 1860, the federal government has been keeping track of the Asian population. In 2010, Asians made up 5.6 percent of the U.S. population, or 5.4 million, an increase of 45.6 percent. The Asian community is centered in the western United States but also has a strong presence in the south and northeast. As the African American and Latino populations have grown, so has the Asian population. The result of this growth has been a greater diversification of the U.S. population that has transformed our politics and economy. In fact, Asian Americans had more candidates for public office in 2012 than any previous year. In addition, Asians made up more new arrivals to the United States than Latinos or Africans. Furthermore, Asian Americans voted overwhelmingly for Obama in 2012 by a margin of 72 percent, compared to a 26 percent margin for Romney. This, too, has created tensions, as many in this community feel ignored by the two major political parties. Tensions notwithstanding, this community gained more political clout than they had previously.

Women

Arguably, women of all races gained political power in 2012. Increasingly, over the past four decades, women have become a more serious and forceful component in American politics. The successes of the women's rights movement opened tremendous opportunities for this segment of the population. Nondiscrimination laws, affirmative action, greater access to higher education, the growing acceptance of women in the workplace and politics, and a far higher success in education have contributed to political success. While the "playing field" is not yet level, women are making huge strides and, in the process, surpassing men in educational achievement and professional success. This is especially true as it relates to Americans aged 45 years and younger.

By 2011, women made up nearly 51 percent of the U.S. population, or 156.9 million. In the 2012 election, 55 percent of women voted for Obama and 44 percent for Romney. Men's voting pattern was almost exactly the opposite with 52 percent

voting for Romney and 45 percent for Obama. Along with minorities, women helped carry the election for Obama as well as many congressional and senatorial candidates. Moreover, a record number of women were elected to Congress in 2012. Twenty women—16 Democrats, and four Republicans—were elected to the Senate. In the House of Representatives, 78 women were elected in 2012—58 Democrats and 20 Republican. Nearly 100 of the 535 seats in Congress were won by women, thus demonstrating the growing importance of this key constituency.

Religion

The 2012 election was also the first in which neither presidential candidate was a white Protestant. Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney was a Mormon. Controversial in the United States, Mormons have been perceived as cult by some. Regardless, many Protestants were willing to dismiss their earlier concerns and vote for Romney. This development did not receive as much attention as the president's race, but it was an important development nonetheless. The growing acceptance of difference in the United States has been a significant change in U.S. political culture. Romney's success was reflective of a new United States, one more diverse than anything the country had seen in the past.

Conclusion

The 2010 census and 2012 elections were historic moments for the United States. In 2010, the census revealed just how diverse the nation had become over the past 10 years. African Americans, Latinos, Asians, women, and LGBT Americans have forged a new, dynamic, and increasingly influential blocs of Americans that are transforming American politics in ways that were thought impossible not long ago. Obama's surprisingly comfortable reelection in 2012 proved to many that 2008 was not an anomaly, but a harbinger of things to come. White Americans have shown they are increasingly comfortable with racial and ethnic change. In fact, as all polling and demographics show, the pace of racial and ethnic change will likely only accelerate in the future.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; Category Controversies (Essay); Census Data and Multicultural Research (Essay); Hispanic Americans; History of the Census; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Presidency, U.S.; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; White Ethnics.

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Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965 and Reauthorizations)

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was passed by Congress and signed into law on April 11, 1965, by President Lyndon B. Johnson, with his childhood teacher, Kate Deadrich, by his side. ESEA was ambitious legislation crucial to Johnson’s Great Society policy—reducing poverty through education and lifting the poor to the middle class.

Coming 11 years after the U.S. Supreme Court landmark decision, *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), and one year after the historic Civil Rights Act, ESEA enabled the federal government to partner with states to advance equal educational opportunities in order to better educate pupils disadvantaged by poverty.

ESEA’s Title I provided funds to public schools containing high concentrations of pupils from low-income families, allowing for “dual enrollment” of low-income pupils attending private schools. Title I became ESEA’s stellar program, injecting vast amounts of funds into schools for remedial programs, mainly in language arts, reading, and mathematics.

Title II funded school libraries, providing books, other print and nonprint materials, and audio-visual equipment. It prohibited federal government censorship, honoring local and state control over selection of subject matter.

Title III suggested categories of possible programs. Without prescribing methods, it allowed educators flexibility to develop programs for their unique settings. Suggested categories of activities include the following:

- Remedial instruction in all subjects
- Comprehensive guidance and counseling programs
- Specialized instruction for students interested in advanced science and foreign languages
- Specialized instruction for early childhood education, the handicapped, pre- and after-school programs, and parental involvement
- Development of educational radio and television programs
- Outreach educational services for rural areas
- Professional development for educators and parents

Title IV funded research and development centers to disseminate information derived from educational research, creating regional educational laboratories and a network of national diffusion of research-based educational practices. Title V provided funds to strengthen state departments of education (SEA), which received grants to build their capacities in order to offer information and training to Title I educators. Some states emulated national research and development centers by operating in-state regional services.

Title VI stipulated regulations for proper operation of the funded programs; all programs required parental involvement. Funded programs

were also required to supplement and not supplant regular programs, that is, federal funds were “seed money” so schools and SEAs could develop capacities to better serve low-income students. Gradually, SEAs and schools were to absorb the programs’ costs without relying on federal funds.

Title VII was added in 1968 to provide funds for students of “limited English speaking ability.” It allowed bilingual education for “Spanish-speaking students,” later expanding to other language populations. In the early 1970s, ESEA catalyzed individual equal educational opportunity laws for females (Title IX, enacted in 1972), non-English-speakers (Bilingual Education Act of 1974), and disabled students (Education For All Handicapped Children Act of 1975).

Persistent Academic Achievement Gap

By the late 1970s, the consensus was that ESEA had accomplished much, but not enough. Schools and SEAs had increased capacities to address some educational challenges posed by poverty, but these challenges appeared intractable. Low-income pupils were disproportionately at risk of school failure. They scored significantly lower on academic achievement tests compared to middle-income peers and were twice as likely to drop out of school before graduation.

In 1981, President Ronald Reagan’s policy of New Federalism changed the U.S. government’s role in education, proposing that states and schools could manage educational problems by reducing federal intervention and financial support. ESEA was reauthorized in 1981 as the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA). This law contained three chapters allocating funds to schools in block grants. Chapter 1 replaced ESEA’s Title I, funding schools for “compensatory” education of “high cost students.” Chapter 2 consolidated ESEA’s remaining titles into basic skills development, educational improvement, and special projects. Chapter 3 funneled funds to schools via SEAs, but schools were free to operate programs without federal accountability. Meanwhile, advocacy groups for Title IX and the bilingual and handicapped education laws successfully lobbied Congress to stave off consolidation into block grants. They remained specialized equal educational opportunity laws.

By 1990, the academic achievement gap between low- and middle-income pupils had narrowed slightly, though it persisted, and dropout rates remained high for low-income pupils. In 1994, the Bill Clinton administration reauthorized ESEA, the Improving America’s Schools Act (IASA.) Keeping ESEA’s original intent, this law offered a new vision. Rather than funding remedial programs, IASA envisioned school-wide reform based on the adage “A rising tide lifts all boats,” attempting to lift all students by school-wide improvement of teaching and learning, thereby assisting low-income students to succeed in a school’s regular programs, and to achieve the same high standards set for middle-income students. The name of its Title 1 reflects IASA’s vision “Helping Disadvantaged Children Meet High Standards.”

IASA contained greater depth and breadth than ESEA with 14 titles, restoring original titles and making new titles of ESEA’s subtopics. More funds were allocated for programs, such as early childhood education, gender equity, dropout prevention, public charter schools, and professional development of pre- and in-service educators. IASA caused fundamental changes for state and school operations by adding accountability for use of the funds: The act required that states must adopt uniform, challenging content standards to be taught in all schools; and uniform and challenging student performance standards to be assessed, which should include the same knowledge, skills, and levels of performance expected of all students.

IASA allowed states and schools to use funds more flexibly for school-wide improvement and school choice for parents, such as enabling parents to send their children to magnet and charter schools. IASA significantly revised the original ESEA and was the last major alteration in federal education policy before the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Class and Ethnic Diversity; Compensatory Education; Counseling and Therapy, Multicultural; Critical Pedagogy; Curricular

Integration; Diversity Assessment Instruments; No Child Left Behind Act (2001); Special Education; Television.

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Ellis Island

The nation's primary immigrant entry point and processing station during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Ellis Island is synonymous with American immigration in the public consciousness and popular culture. From 1892 to 1924, more than 12 million immigrants seeking a new life passed through the halls of Ellis Island, their first stop as they began their journeys on American shores. Today, more than 100 million Americans (roughly one-third of the nation's total population) are the relatives of ancestors who entered through Ellis Island. Although no immigrants have been processed at this national historic site in nearly a century, Ellis Island remains a powerful symbol of America's proud tradition as a nation of immigrants.

Early History

Although New York City, one of the nation's most significant ports, had long been a major destination for immigrants entering the United States, Ellis Island did not become an immigrant processing center until 1892. Originally a three-acre atoll named Kioshk (an indigenous term meaning Gull Island) by local Native Americans, Dutch colonialists acquired this territory with their purchase

of New Amsterdam During the colonial era, Dutch and English settlers nicknamed it Little Oyster Island because New York Harbor sat on 350 oyster beds. The island switched possession among owners numerous times until Samuel Ellis, for whom the island is now named, acquired it during the late 18th century. New York State purchased the island from Samuel Ellis in 1808 and subsequently sold the land to the federal government, which converted the island into a fort in anticipation of a British attack on New York City. Following the War of 1812, Ellis Island served primarily as a military post until its conversion into an immigration station in 1890.

Until the late 1880s, immigration policies were regulated separately by each state. Legislative changes during the late 19th century federalized immigration policy, placing it under the sole authority of the federal government. As part of this overhaul, the federal government established immigrant processing stations at various points of entry to screen the would-be migrants and exclude certain immigrants from admission to the United States. In 1890, the U.S. Congress selected Ellis Island as the site of a new immigration depot and allocated \$75,000 for construction.

Immigration Center: 1892 to 1924

Ellis Island officially opened its doors as an immigration processing station on January 1, 1892. Annie Moore, a 15-year-old girl from Cork County, Ireland, who made the voyage across the Atlantic with her two younger brothers aboard the steamship *Nevada*, made history as the first immigrant processed at the island. Colonel John Weber, the commissioner of Ellis Island, presented Moore with a \$10 gold coin to commemorate the occasion. Today, a bronze statue of Annie Moore is located inside the main building of Ellis Island as a symbol of all immigrants who were processed there, and another statue of Moore is found at her point of departure in Ireland.

Only third-class passengers aboard steamships were required to undergo processing at Ellis Island. Immigration officials processed first- and second-class passengers aboard the ship itself en route to New York. This discrepancy in treatment stemmed from the belief that immigrants who had the means to purchase a higher-priced fare were more affluent and would be less likely to become a

public charge on American shores. Conventional wisdom also held that the more affluent immigrants were likely to be properly nourished and less likely to suffer from mental illness or physical ailments. Consequently, they were subject to a less stringent immigration inspection than their third-class counterparts.

A fire in one of the towers on the island broke out after midnight on June 15, 1897. The flames quickly spread to other structures at Ellis Island and completely burned the immigration station, built from Georgia pinewood, to the ground. No one was killed or injured in the fire, and temporary immigrant processing stations were set up at the southern tip of Manhattan and other points in New York City. The federal government immediately authorized emergency funding for the construction of a new, fireproof immigration center on Ellis Island. The new facility opened on December 17, 1900, and processed 2,252 immigrants that day alone.

Immigration peaked between 1900 and 1914. During this 15-year period, officials at Ellis Island processed as many as 5,000 immigrants a day. An expedited processing would last approximately three or four hours, while immigrants deemed to require further medical examinations or questioning could be held for several more hours or even days. Upon disembarking from the ship, immigrants made their way to the Registry Room (also called the Great Hall) located on the second floor of the main building. As immigrants huddled into the Registry Room, immigration officials subjected them to a medical examination and questioning to determine whether they would be granted or denied admission to the United States.

Doctors at Ellis Island conducted a quick “six-second physical” of each immigrant in the Registry Room, in search of obvious diseases or other health impairments. Some of the most common symptoms that doctors looked for included anemia, enlarged goiters, varicose veins, and trachoma, a highly contagious eye disease that could lead to blindness. Doctors marked immigrants who needed more thorough health inspections with chalk on the outer layer of their clothing. Trachoma was the single leading cause of immigrants being detained during the health inspection phase of processing.

Following the initial health screening, immigrants made their way to the front of the Registry Room, where immigration officials attempted to verify an immigrant’s name with the names of passengers contained on the ship’s manifest. Officials also subjected immigrants to a 29-question inquiry, checking to see if immigrants’ responses matched the answers they had given in their homeland prior to embarkation. Among these questions, immigrants were asked to state their nationalities, how much money they had, and if they had ever been in prison. Interpreters facilitated the questioning process, as most immigrants (except for those from Britain, Ireland, Canada, or the British Caribbean) lacked a conversational knowledge of English.

The purpose of such screenings was to prevent “undesirables” from entering the United States. Inspectors sought to single out two categories of immigrants, in particular, for exclusion: persons with serious health conditions and persons who were deemed unable to provide for themselves and thus likely to become public charges. Although in some cases families were torn apart by the denial of entry of certain members, the vast majority of immigrants seeking admission at Ellis Island were granted the right to remain in the United States. Officials denied entry to only 2 percent of arrivals.

The vast majority of immigrants processed between 1892 and 1924 came from Europe, with more than four million coming from Ireland alone. Large numbers of immigrants also arrived from Italy, Germany, Poland, Britain, Russia, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Other migrants hailed from Spain, Portugal, Greece, the Balkans, and the Ottoman Empire. Approximately 143,000 black immigrants arrived from the Caribbean West Indies and other areas, including prominent psychologist and civil rights activist Kenneth Clark, black nationalist Marcus Garvey, and Harlem Renaissance author Claude McKay. Afro-Caribbean immigrants exerted a significant cultural influence in New York City during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s.

Although Ellis Island has become virtually synonymous with the public’s recollection of immigration during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was not the nation’s only immigrant processing center. Other major points of entry included Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Miami, New Orleans,

Chicago, and San Francisco. Angel Island, located in the San Francisco Bay, operated as a major immigration station from 1910 to 1940 and has been nicknamed “the Ellis Island of the west.”

Immigration to the United States declined precipitously during World War I (1914–18), interrupted by the ravages of fighting and the disruption of transatlantic transportation service. The U.S. military interned enemy aliens and prisoners of war at Ellis Island when the army and navy assumed control of the island in 1918 until the end of the war. The relatively low number of immigrants who did enter the United States during the war were either inspected aboard steamships or on the docks once their ships reached shore. Ellis Island resumed its duties as an immigration station in 1920, with more than 225,000 immigrants processed there that year.

Decline: 1924 to 1954

President Calvin Coolidge signed the Johnson-Reed Act into law on May 26, 1924. Propelled by the alarmist rhetoric of Anglo-Protestant nativists, such as anthropologist and eugenicist Madison Grant and Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who feared that the large influx of “Asiatics” and Catholic and Jewish Europeans threatened the cultural, demographic, and “racial” stock of the United States, the act imposed severe immigration restrictions. In order to preserve the “Anglo-Saxon” or “Nordic” population, the Johnson-Reed Act barred immigration from the Asia-Pacific Triangle (the region of the world between central Asia and the Pacific Rim) and implemented stringent quotas on the number of immigrants permitted to enter the United States from southern and eastern European societies. Reflecting the racial concerns of Anglo-Saxon nativists, Coolidge remarked upon signing the act, “America must be kept American.”

The Johnson-Reed Act significantly reduced the volume of immigration to the United States, as well as diminished the importance of Ellis Island. Whereas 12 million immigrants had been processed on the island from 1892 to 1924, prospective immigrants began to apply for visas at the American consulate in their country of origin after 1924. Ellis Island remained open, but its primary operations shifted focus. The U.S. Coast Guard trained 60,000 recruits at the island during

World War II, while the military detained prisoners of war in the island’s dormitory. The government also used the island to detain immigrants who had overstayed their visas. The final detainee was released in November 1954, after which the General Services Administration designated Ellis Island surplus property, effectively closing the island.

Restoration

After sitting dormant for 11 years, President Lyndon B. Johnson placed Ellis Island under the authority of the National Park Service in 1965. Johnson’s designation of Ellis Island as a historic landmark for the key role it played in the nation’s past waves of immigration occurred the same year that he signed the landmark Hart-Cellar Act. This legislation, passed shortly after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibited racial segregation, overturned the 1924 immigration law by abolishing national origins quotas aimed at restricting southern and eastern Europeans, and abolished the exclusionary Asia-Pacific Triangle. Johnson signed the Hart-Cellar Act into law at a ceremony held beneath the Statue of Liberty. The law greatly diversified immigration to the United States by dramatically increasing the numbers of immigrants permitted to enter the nation from Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and the Middle East. By the early 21st century, the Hart-Cellar Act had become the catalyst for much of the current racial and ethnic diversity in the United States.

Ellis Island’s designation as a national historic site fostered renovation and restoration campaigns for 17 years, although relatively little was accomplished. For the most part, Ellis Island sat neglected in New York Harbor. Finally, the Ronald Reagan administration initiated a public-private partnership in 1982 to secure funding for the renovation of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. President Reagan wanted restoration of the statute and the island to be completed by 1986 and 1992, respectively, in time for the 100th anniversaries of the two landmarks.

Chrysler executive Lee Iacocca, who was deeply emotionally attached to Ellis Island, led fund-raising efforts for the renovations. The son of Italian immigrants, Iacocca’s father had been processed at Ellis Island in 1902 at the age of 9. His father later returned to Italy, married his mother, and



Immigrants with their belongings at a dock on Ellis Island, New York, in 1912. Ellis Island was the gateway for an estimated 10.5 million immigrants to the United States who used the station from 1892 to 1924.

the couple then migrated to the United States. Because of health concerns, immigration inspectors nearly denied Iacocca's mother entry at Ellis Island, although his father managed to convince authorities to grant her the right to remain in the United States. By 1991, Iacocca had succeeded in raising \$350 million for the renovation of Ellis Island and called his efforts "a labor of love for my mother and father." Reflecting on the personal connection between his fund-raising and his family history, Iacocca referred to Ellis Island as "a cathedral, a churchlike setting, a place to pray. It brings tears to your eyes."

The renovated Ellis Island opened its doors to the public on September 2, 1990. The restoration project included an immigration museum designed to capture the essence of immigrants' experiences at the island, including the joys, sadness, optimism, fears, and gratitude that were expressed by the millions who had once passed through the Great Hall.

Ellis Island in Motion Pictures

Because of its profound historical importance in American immigration history, various American and international films have used Ellis Island as a setting. One of the most noted depictions of life at Ellis Island during the early 20th century occurs in the *The Godfather Part II* (1974), directed by Francis Ford Coppola. The film follows the experiences of a prepubescent Vito Andolini, who flees his Sicilian village of Corleone following the murder of his mother and father at the hands of a local Mafia leader. Vito stows away on a steamship bound for New York City and is processed at Ellis Island with other immigrants. Coppola vividly illustrates the standard operating procedures that millions of newcomers underwent through Vito's character. Immigration officials register Vito in their logs and, uncertain of his last name, assign his hometown, Corleone, as his last name. During the routine health inspection, a physician discovers that Vito is infected with smallpox, and he is quarantined in a small room for three months before beginning his new life in the United States.

The romantic comedy *Hitch* (2005), starring Will Smith and Eva Mendes as an interethnic African American–Latina couple, also contains scenes shot at Ellis Island. Alex Hitchens (Smith) takes Sara Melas (Mendes) to Ellis Island on their first date. Hitchens retrieves registration information from official records of Melas's great-great-grandfather Juan. Intended to impress Melas, Hitchens instead upsets his date by uncovering that Juan was a murderer and that Melas's family has attempted to bury any recollection of him.

The Myth of Name Changing

Perhaps the greatest myth surrounding Ellis Island is the perception that immigration inspectors routinely changed the "foreign-sounding" names of arrivals to more "Anglo-sounding" surnames. In reality, officials did not reassign names to immigrants. Inspectors asked immigrants their names during processing to ensure that the names of immigrants matched the names indicated on the steamship passenger manifests. Inspectors only wrote down the names of immigrants on forms when they required a hearing or additional medical testing. Because many immigrants were illiterate, inspectors wrote down permutations of

their names. However, these forms were internal paperwork and not official documents that legally changed one's name.

Many immigrants did change their names upon reaching American shores, but this phenomenon took place after they had undergone processing at Ellis Island. Others changed their names by providing aliases when boarding steamships in their homeland. Immigrants who changed their names often did so voluntarily in an effort to de-emphasize their "foreignness" and facilitate the assimilation process amid a social climate marked by strong nativist sentiments in the early decades of the 20th century.

Nevertheless, complete assimilation into American society was not a quick and simple process for the vast majority of immigrants. Historian Vincent Cannato notes the following:

. . . the name change story lives on as urban legend. Many Americans are convinced of its truth because their grandparents told them the story. It is a convenient myth that emphasizes the traumatic nature of Ellis Island and the supposed rough treatment of immigrants, as well as the facility's role in Americanizing immigrants, often against their will. . . . Better to blame insensitive immigration officials than Grandpa for the fact that your name is Smith and not Hryczyszyn.

Public pressures to assimilate into the Anglo-Saxon cultural mainstream of American society compelled large numbers of immigrants to modify their names. The societal emphasis on pluralism and multiculturalism did not take root until the 1970s. Expectations of Anglo conformity reigned supreme across the nation for much of its history, with anti-immigrant sentiments rising during periods of intense immigration.

Hurricane Sandy Impact

The National Park Service announced on November 1, 2012, that Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty had been closed indefinitely in the wake of Hurricane Sandy. Although preliminary investigations did not reveal damage to either landmark, federal authorities planned to conduct more thorough examinations to uncover any possible damage to the infrastructures of the

statue and the buildings on both Liberty Island and Ellis Island.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Angel Island; Great Migration; Immigration Acts; Motion Pictures; Nativism; Statue of Liberty.

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Emancipation

The American slavery regime ultimately collapsed as a result of a bitter, four-year civil war. By the war's end, some four million bondspersons were officially liberated from a life of chattel slavery in the American south. Though President Abraham Lincoln and the Union government had taken steps to strategically emancipate thousands of slaves in the rebellious Confederate states via the Emancipation Proclamation, real freedom came only once the practice of slavery was abolished by constitutional amendment in 1865. Thus, it was the Thirteenth Amendment that proclaimed that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall

have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.” The amendment also gave Congress the power to “enforce this article by appropriate legislation.” That emancipation ultimately came as a direct result of the Civil War should not elide the long history of activism and the numerous clarion calls for freedom by blacks from the earliest days of American nationhood.

Beginning in the mid-17th century, America’s small black enslaved population sometimes made successful grasps at freedom even as slavery and indentured servitude became entrenched features of life in the Americas. In the Virginia colony, a small cargo of Africans had arrived in 1619 to supplement the growing population of English tobacco farmers. Within a short time, the Chesapeake Bay colonies produced most of the world’s tobacco and so monetary wealth in the colonies and in the metropole became inexorably tied to a planter’s wealth in slaves. Meanwhile, in the north, Massachusetts became the first English colony to recognize the institution of slavery in 1641, followed by Connecticut (in 1650), and Virginia (in 1661). Two years later, Virginia further ordered slavery a perpetual status passed from mother to child. Simply, a child born to an enslaved mother would also be enslaved. That slavery was now codified along racial and gendered lines now meant even fewer avenues to freedom by generations of blacks.

As the tobacco plantation economy thrived throughout the Chesapeake, a man’s, and exclusively a white man’s, success and indeed his very own freedom was connected to the prevalence of slavery around him. At bottom, slavery and freedom were symbiotic factors in shaping the American character for nearly two centuries, yet over time, the push toward freedom grew stronger and more resolute.

By the early to mid-18th century, slavery had taken hold as the primary mode of labor in the young but thriving British American colonies. Spurred by the booming transatlantic slave trade, the plantation complex had arrived from the Caribbean islands and many eager American planters, especially in South Carolina and Georgia, now boasted large landholdings with an equally impressive number of slaves. Broadside advertising the sale of slaves and the arrival of

slave ships at various southern port cities colored the developing landscape and littered the pages of a nascent American press. At the dawn of the 18th century, slavery had fully arrived, leaving its imprint on America’s economics, politics, and social relations.

The Middle Passage

As the demand for tobacco and other cash crops increased, so too did the importation of slaves from western Africa. The African slave trade became a lucrative business in its own right and was international in scope. European investors, Boston shipbuilders, and New York insurers all participated in the shameful buying and selling of human “property.” However, the captured and traded Africans did not willingly submit to European enslavers. Many resisted enslavement from the very start. The so-called Middle Passage often witnessed enchained bondsmen jumping overboard to their deaths; sometimes large bands of brave Africans engaged in mutinies in the open Atlantic. Some carried out hunger strikes in hope of perishing before reaching the Americas and a lifetime of bondage. Some vessels, however, met altogether different fates. In 1701, the slave ship *Henrietta Marie* sank off the coast of Key West, Florida, with a cargo of some 400 slaves. While scholars cite wreckage as the cause for the *Henrietta Marie*’s demise, one cannot assert with any authority that the captive Africans aboard did not have a role in the gruesome final outcome.

Still, numerous vessels delivered throngs of slaves to America during this period, even as Europe began to experience some unease with slavery and the slave trade. Undoubtedly, slavery was now a part of the American way.

The transatlantic slave trade coupled with natural increase augmented the slave population in America, though not without a small but gradually growing chorus of antislavery sentiment. The 1790 U.S. Census counted some 293,000 slaves in Virginia alone, and more than 694,000 slaves in the original 13 colonies. By 1800, that number rose to more than one million enslaved persons out of the 7.2 million persons living in the United States. It was not until 1808, however, that the U.S. Congress banned the importation of African slaves.

Meanwhile, years before the eventual closing of the transatlantic trade on the American side, Quakers in Pennsylvania and some northern evangelicals stood at the forefront of early abolitionism in America, though most enslaved blacks unmistakably harbored abolitionist sentiments. By 1688, Quakers began to criticize the slave trade and slave ownership in Pennsylvania and the other colonies. Black writer Phillis Wheatley published abolitionist poems in 1773, and a black woman named Elizabeth “Mum Bett” Freeman sued in court for her freedom in Massachusetts. And as blacks in the north and south pressed toward freedom, the larger society around them took additional steps to further establish slavery as a part of American life.

Abolitionist Fervor Builds

Nonetheless, in many northern colonies especially, emancipation moved piecemeal; shortly after the American Revolution, slavery in the north died out, state by state. New Jersey became the last northern state to officially end slavery in 1865. Unquestionably, the American Revolution provided white and black abolitionists with the appropriate rhetoric and discourse with which to discuss the possibility of emancipation throughout the new nation. Asserting that “all men are created equal” in the Declaration of Independence, Virginia slaveholder and Founding Father Thomas Jefferson ironically offered effective language to guide the abolition cause. Frederick Douglass and David Walker, two prominent black abolitionists, embraced the philosophical reasoning that made American independence possible and applied it to expose the gross contradictions found in American society writ large, and most damning, in the American Constitution itself. Soon, the abolitionist fervor would engulf both north and south until compromise over the slavery issue seemed impossible.

By the dawning of the 19th century, the spirit of emancipation swept through the Americas, especially following the Haitian Revolution in 1804. If anything, the Haitian Revolution gave hope to the millions suffering under the yoke of slavery in America. For those aware of this watershed event, freedom appeared relatively closer than it had in years past. Bondsmen knew that liberation would not be handed to them. Instead, they would have

to either take it for themselves or fight for it. And this is precisely what happened throughout much of the antebellum period. Numerous slave rebellions—from Gabriel’s (1800) to Pointe Coupee (1811) to Nat Turner’s (1831)—demonstrated a visible discomfort and agonizing longing for freedom among the enslaved. Even those who did not participate in full-scale revolts found themselves committing a host of passive and active forms of resistance. Some ran away, others broke farm tools to avoid work, and many abused their seemingly close relationships with slaveholders to produce outcomes that favored their particular circumstances. By and large, the enslaved worked within the confines of their condition to inch their way closer and closer to freedom.

Yet, it was not until the outbreak of civil war that many bondsmen voted with their feet and fled southern plantations to Union lines. All across the south, the enslaved took full advantage of the ensuing chaos that comes with war and made their way to contraband camps or safer grounds. As one historian maintains, the Civil War was but one massive slave rebellion, a point largely ignored by most. Altogether, the war wrought wholesale change to the south and obliterated the institution of slavery, a system that had grown alongside the nation. And though the Civil War made emancipation a fully realized dream for many, the resolve to take full advantage of those “inalienable rights” described in the Declaration of Independence was always there.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; American Anti-Slavery Society; Civil War, U.S.; *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857); Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Fugitive Slave Acts (1793 and 1850); Slave Narratives; Slave Revolts; Slave Trade; Slavery.

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Emancipation Proclamation (1863)

At the beginning of the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln's primary purpose was to preserve the United States intact. However, the issue of slavery received much public attention. As the U.S. Army began to move into Confederate states, escaped slaves sought refuge within its lines. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, however, legally bound people to assist in the apprehension and return of fugitives. Regardless, some Union generals attempted to protect the fugitives, arguing they were "contraband of war" and thus could legally be seized, while others refused sanctuary and instead returned them to their owners. In March 1862, Congress enacted a law prohibiting the return of fugitive slaves, but the question remained uncertain because of existing federal laws and previous decisions by the Supreme Court.

By 1862, Lincoln wanted to push the issue through a presidential proclamation, but at the time there was a long string of Union defeats on the eastern battlefields in 1861 and 1862 that led some of the president's advisers to believe any such move would be interpreted as an act of desperation. When the Confederate invasion of the north that fall was repelled at the Battle of Antietam on September 17, Lincoln used the occasion to proclaim a northern victory and to announce his intention to emancipate slaves in the Confederate states as of January 1, 1863. Since the stated intention was to free slaves in the rebelling states only, the announcement left open the possibility that if a state resumed allegiance to the United States prior to January 1, it would be able to avoid emancipation.

The final Emancipation Proclamation ordered that "all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free." Lincoln's action made emancipation a central objective of the war, holding out the promise of freedom for over three million people enslaved in the areas defined by the proclamation. While this outraged the south and angered anti-war Democrats and Copperheads in the north, it energized the abolitionists and other antislavery factions and had international implications that were especially important at the time. The south hoped to gain foreign assistance, especially from Great Britain, which appeared to be dependent on southern cotton to feed its huge textile industry. But Great Britain had already prohibited slavery in its empire and the British laboring class was largely antislavery. Thus, the Emancipation Proclamation gained the support of many Britons and is usually considered to be one factor that convinced the British government against open intervention in the Civil War.

Criticism of the Proclamation

Even before its official announcement, critics attacked the proclamation, claiming that since it applied only to areas "in rebellion," it actually freed no one because those areas were controlled by the Confederates, who were not about to emancipate anyone. Similar arguments appear frequently today, often accompanied by

assertions that Lincoln never really intended to end slavery but only to use the proclamation for political leverage with the antislavery forces and abroad.

A frequent response is that Lincoln feared including the slaveholding border states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri in the proclamation because they might then decide to join the Confederacy, which would place their manpower and resources at the disposal of the rebellion. Of course, regardless of what Lincoln might proclaim, in the end any emancipation in the south depended on a northern victory in the war. Adding four more states to the rebellion at a time when the United States appeared to be losing would not have been a very intelligent thing to do.

But there were key legal reasons why Lincoln worded the proclamation as he did. In the *Dred Scott* decision of 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court found that slaves were property and that the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution protected the right of people to own property. Since the decision had in effect declared that slavery was legal in the United States, Lincoln reasoned that if he attempted to proclaim emancipation throughout the country, the Supreme Court would most likely declare the effort unconstitutional. However, there was precedent that the president, acting in his capacity as commander in chief of the armed forces, could order the confiscation of enemy property. Further, in 1862, Congress enacted a Confiscation Act giving the president the authority to confiscate the property of citizens in rebellion against the country. So, Lincoln believed that by wording the proclamation to apply only to those areas in rebellion, he had a much better chance that his action would stand the test of legal challenge than if he attempted universal emancipation.

While revisionist historians have argued that Lincoln's record on slavery was not one of support, the president was not above the requirements of the Constitution and had to abide by its provisions, as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Following the proclamation, Lincoln supported a constitutional amendment to eliminate slavery. When it failed to gain congressional approval in 1864, he exerted considerable political pressure on individual members of Congress until it finally received the required two-thirds vote in February

1865. It was eventually ratified in December, eight months after Lincoln's death. His use of presidential leverage to push it through Congress is often overlooked.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; American Anti-Slavery Society; Civil War, U.S.; *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857); Fugitive Slave Acts (1793 and 1850); Slave Narratives; Slave Revolts; Slave Trade; Slavery.

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Emotional Intelligence

While there may be disputes about the credibility, value, and legitimacy of emotional intelligence (EI) as a field of study, what is not in doubt is how powerful emotions are in shaping behavior and influencing our choices on a daily basis.

To appreciate the emotional intelligence and diversity model and its usefulness, it is important to understand how EI came about, its history, and how it is viewed, both positively and negatively. While *New York Times* science writer Daniel Goleman popularized the concept of emotional intelligence and put it on the radar in organizations, his ideas and those of others are built on the 1990 work of leading researchers Peter Salovey, a professor at Yale, and John D. Mayer, a professor at the University of New Hampshire. The pair defined the concept of EI as the “subset of social intelligence that involves the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions.”

History

Emotional Intelligence as a field had its start in the 1930s, when E. L. Thorndike, who is known as the father of modern educational psychology, first mentioned social intelligence and discussed the ability to get along with other people. In the 1940s, the conversation was moved forward by David Wechsler, a psychologist whose contribution was rooted in developing intelligence scales. He argued that effective components of individuals were essential to success in life. Continuing the evolution, in the 1950s, Abraham Maslow, a humanistic psychologist, discussed how people can build emotional strength. Slowly but surely, more writers and thinkers contributed to this conversation. Howard Gardner, in his 1975 book *The Shattered Mind*, writes of multiple intelligences that involve understanding the feelings and motivations not only of ourselves but others as well.

The first use of the term *emotional intelligence* was in a doctoral thesis by Wayne Pages in 1985. The term gained more traction in 1990 when Salovey and Mayer wrote their seminal article, "Emotional Intelligence," in the *Journal of Imagination, Cognition and Personality*. Two years later, Goleman asked Salovey and Mayer for permission to use the phrase in an article he was writing. Since then, the definition has been expanded by Goleman and others to such an extent that it no longer has any scientific meaning or utility, as it is no longer a predictor of outcome.

The history and evolution of emotional intelligence is long, with ample supporters and detractors. Some define EI as a model that is personality based, while others see it through competencies, mental abilities, or even traits.

Goleman posits that EI is a set of competencies that are organized around self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, and the ability to manage relationships. In a different paradigm, Mayer and Salovey look at a person's ability to perceive, use, and understand emotions in self and others.

A different model that is also prominent is trait-based and looks at sociability, emotionality, self-control, and well-being. There is no universal definition, standard, or even measure that indicates whether a person has some mastery over EI or how EI will affect an individual.

The Emotional Intelligence and Diversity (EID) Model

For people living in a very connected, yet diverse, global, and dispersed world, researchers Lee Gardenswartz, Jorge Cherbosque, and Anita Rowe created the Emotional Intelligence and Diversity (EID) model, which integrates its core concepts with those of EI to help people manage emotions in the face of differences that can trigger negative responses. The four-part EID model—affirmative introspection, self-governance, intercultural literacy, and social architecting—provides a structure for gaining insight and understanding about emotions and subsequent behaviors. It also builds skills that lead to interactions that are more productive and harmonious as well as less difficult and contentious. The competencies are both insight and action based and pave the way for an intentional approach to more productive relationships that lead to the successful accomplishment of goals.

Affirmative introspection gives one the ability to take an honest and nonjudgmental look inside. It is insight based. As Socrates said, "Know thyself." Being aware of one's own hot buttons and biases is the first step in managing them and being open to others. However, helping people get along in a global world requires more than insight. It also requires action, which leads to self-governance, or the ability to manage feelings (rather than exploding) by paying attention to the internal or self-talk that can be destructive, especially in the face of rapid change.

Self-governance means being an editor in one's own life. Paying attention to these frequently harmful and inhibiting messages and understanding the losses felt during rapid change can help a person better manage emotions in a rapidly changing world. Learning to reframe the perception and messages about what is happening can change the dynamics of increased communication and interplay among a wide variety of differences.

The third part of the model, intercultural literacy, is the segment that touches most directly on the varying cultural norms faced by people all over the globe. The intent of intercultural literacy is not only to understand that there are different norms and what might be behind these customs and behaviors, but also to gain a fresh, new perspective on one's own culture. The intent in this part of the model is to have all people contemplate

the upsides and downsides of every cultural norm, starting with their own. With these two goals in mind, there is a chance that cultural humility can be an element of any interaction.

Finally, social architecting conveys the idea that each individual is responsible for doing his or her part to be a bridge-building, interpersonal engineer, whether in one-on-one relationships or workgroups. It is about taking action to intentionally create good dialogue across differences and communicate in ways that resolve conflict effectively. It also means structuring a work environment that gets the best of everyone's talents and skills in a way that creates emotional safety, thereby unleashing even more creativity.

This EID model was designed specifically to help people in multicultural America and around the globe relate in ways that are uplifting and gratifying. It is well known that diversity has the potential to bring both creativity and conflict. Human beings are not neutral about differences. Responses are triggered by emotions, and human reactions to differences range on a continuum with conflict, frustration, fear, or anxiety on one

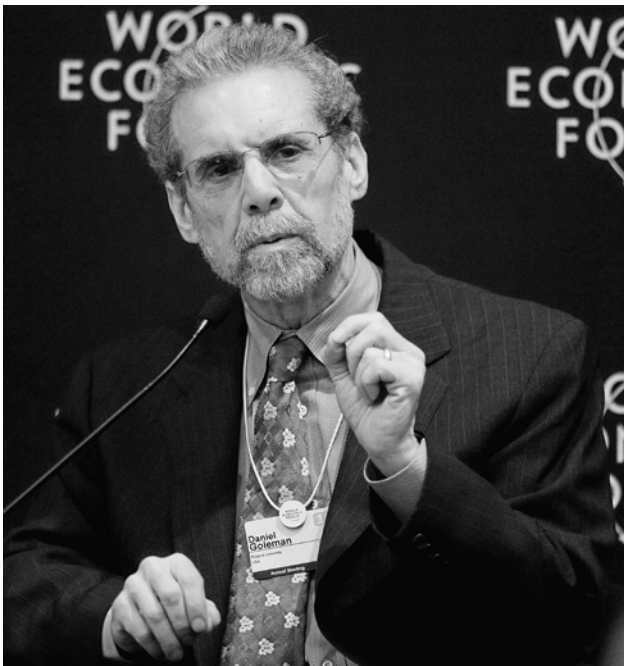
end to stimulation, excitement, and new visions or perspectives from open minds on the other.

This model is also designed to help people understand and manage their emotions in a healthy, productive way. By starting with oneself and learning more about one's own reactions and triggers and how culture shapes everyone's behavior, as well as finding the connection amid the differences in a very diverse and multicultural world, EI has a chance to flourish, thrive, and create harmony and understanding in areas where there is often discord. These differences can be a catalyst to stimulate, energize, and connect a global world in a respectful, satisfying, and beneficial way.

With its emphasis on effectively managing emotions in a world of differences, the EID system is designed to enable all people to bring their whole selves wherever they are. Emotions drive people. They are powerful. This model helps individuals be intentional and wise in displaying emotions. The insight gained from understanding oneself and others, coupled with the willingness to be flexible and open to working with and learning from others, is at the foundation of this model. By learning more about one's own emotional life, paying attention to others, and acting in emotionally healthy ways, individuals will be able to increase their effectiveness and satisfaction.

While EID differs from other EI models in its specificity of focus, it is one more valuable avenue for bringing heightened awareness and intentionality to people's behavior in any environment, and it provides clear tools and steps for growth, dialogue, connection, and harmony.

Lee Gardenswartz
Gardenswartz & Rowe
Anita Rowe
Independent Scholar



New York Times science writer Daniel Goleman at the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, January 27, 2011. Goleman was the first to bring the concept of emotional intelligence into the mainstream.

See Also: Cross-Cultural Psychology; Cultural Competence; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/ Culturally Relevant Teaching; Culture; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Identity Development; Intelligence Testing; Intercultural Communication; Multiple Intelligences; Perspectivism; Tolerance.

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English Americans

English Americans are U.S. citizens who have emigrated from or trace their ancestral roots, wholly or in part, to England. The English migration and settlement in America has its own history, which dates back to first English colonies of the early 17th century. Because of cultural similarities, English Americans for centuries have acclimated to American society very easily. They are often seen as, and simply called, "American."

According to U.S. Census 2010 data, the population of English Americans currently living in the United States is estimated to be 25.9 million, or 9 percent of the total U.S. population; they form the third-largest European ancestry group after Irish Americans and German Americans. The largest populations of English Americans live in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, California, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, and Florida.

English Colonies, Immigration, and Settlement in the United States

After Native Americans, the English were the first to settle what is now the United States. The origins of English colonies in America began in Jamestown, known as Virginia Colony in 1607, and at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay from 1620 to 1622. Many English men and women were attracted to America and immigrated there for economic opportunities and cheap land. In addition, some were looking for religious freedom; thus, they sought liberation from intolerant religious institutions. The majority of colonies were controlled and managed by the royal administration, which was established by the Church of

England in 1776. They created laws—or imposed the English systems of law—that influenced every professional arena, including governmental administration, commercial and financial management, education, agriculture, and entertainment and the arts.

In 1607, Virginia Company sent to America a group of single men who searched for gold in the belief that this would create a profitable trade; however, this did not happen. Agriculture and tobacco growth exports in the 1620s did, however, became profitable. This attracted several thousand English to migrate while England was suffering economically.

According to the 1790 U.S. Census, the English settlers and their descendants comprised 60 percent of total European settlers. They were able to dominate and manage various levels of governmental institutions in the new republic, as reflected in national and state government leaders as well as in their contribution to the new Constitution and the English-style Bill of Rights.

Furthermore, in the 18th and 19th centuries, England—with its government and corporate enterprises—was the number one investor in American land, including heavy industry, mining, railroads, and other diverse, environment-transforming industries. Because of their numbers and influence as a group in the new territory, English American settlers are believed to have had an easy transition into American society compared with other ethnic groups, and they were able to create organizations and institutions that helped them preserve, learn about, and transmit their English traditions and heritage to succeeding and non-English generations. In the 19th century, the English comprised 15 percent of the total European migration to the United States. However, by 1820 and until 1920, people leaving England en route to America had declined to less than 10 percent of migrants to the United States.

One hundred years later, in the 20th century, English emigrants set their sights on Australia and Canada because both countries offered better opportunities and more favorable immigration policies than did the United States.

There was a decline of English immigration in the decade after the World War I, when only about 100,000 English (18 percent of all European immigrants) came from England. However,

English immigration rose by 20,000 in the 1960s and continued for decades because of the attractive work program in the United States, causing a “brain drain” in England. Multinational corporations became instrumental in bringing professionals such as engineers, scientists, and medical doctors to America.

In 1980, U.S. census data revealed that 23.7 million people claimed wholly English ancestry, and another 25.8 million claimed English along with another ethnic ancestry. The number of English increased in the 2000 census, with 24.5 million Americans claiming English ancestry in whole or in part. An additional 1.03 million claimed British ancestry.

Contemporary Scene: Culture, Acculturation, Religion, and English Language

Like any other ethnic group, English immigrants brought with them their culture, worldviews, traditions, heritage, religious and medical beliefs, arts, and literature to their new home.

English Americans contributed greatly to the creation of medical schools, societies, and public-health-related industries throughout the United States. As early as the 19th century, the English brought models and ideas related to the creation and running of group health insurance structures. (By the mid-20th century, England had created a National Health Service, which benefited employers and their employees with access to affordable and appropriate medical benefits.)

The English also brought to America their music, both classical and contemporary, which served to enrich U.S. musical traditions. They also had an influence on U.S. and world society through movies, television, and the theater, which continues today. In these venues and through these vehicles, English performers spoke English like Americans did, but with an accent. Despite minor differences in the language and colloquialisms, both English and Americans understand each other. Sir Laurence Olivier, Sir Richard Burton, Elizabeth Taylor, and Bob Hope are among the many entertainers identified as English Americans.

For most groups of English immigrants who settled in America, the church was an important part of their lives, work, and identity. They were affiliated with such different denominations as

Anglican/Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist, churches that were similar to those in England. Despite their various names, these Christian congregations maintained and supported local, national, and global missionary projects of the Anglican/Episcopal Church of England. In the midst of this Christian denominational diversity, a unique brand of American Protestantism emerged and continues to greatly influence the religious practices and beliefs of English Americans today.

England’s oldest and famous universities, Cambridge and Oxford, were founded in the medieval era. They initially trained priests but later became very important centers for all disciplines that attracted the brightest students and scholars. Both universities now open the door for all students from all over the world, including English and Europeans. England was greatly influenced by the rebirth of learning and artistic activity in Europe known as the Renaissance. Those who attended English schools were trained in various fields of study such as mathematics, engineering, medicine, logic, and social sciences. These centers trained and developed professional scientists and scholars who helped advance technical and scientific discoveries. For instance, Roger Bacon did pioneering work in mathematics, logic, and human sight, and advanced observation and scientific experimentation in the late 13th century. Sir Isaac Newton also excelled in and greatly contributed to the advancement of science. Specifically, he invented calculus and discovered and explained the phenomena of gravity. Newton also built the telescope that was the inspiration for other scientists who contribute to the field of astronomy.

Since the colonial era, English Americans were interested and had an influence in higher education. They understood and valued the need for trained, skilled workers and professionals who possessed the formal education and training essential to, and critical for, both sacred and secular jobs. Additionally, they saw the need for a trained ministry who would educate the masses in the basic tenets of Protestant religious beliefs. Initially, Yale College was founded by English colonists in New Haven in 1701 with an emphasis on religious instruction, an education that primarily centered on religious teaching and learning. Later,

Yale also became a learning center for natural and social sciences.

At that time, education for English settlers in the northern United States was more advanced and accessible than in the south. Because the population was more spread out across the countryside and not organized in towns or districts, the building of schools was seen as more difficult and not feasible because of geographic factors. In addition, the availability and dissemination of information in the form of books, newspapers, pamphlets, and other learning material was very poor or even nonexistent; for example, about half of all Virginians were illiterate.

However, in 1700, the situation started to change for the better once the printing press became available in the south. Seven years prior, the first college in the south, William and Mary, was opened. The name was given in honor of England's monarchs. For the first few decades, enrollment was low. Through various challenges, however, the college survived and continues to thrive.

A large number of colleges and universities were supported and founded by English emigrants and their descendants, particularly in New England and the southeast. The English Puritans and the English Quakers in Pennsylvania, among other English groups in America, were almost the first to advocate for free public education at all levels. However, the professional and wealthy among English settlers favored or advocated more private schools, which were often in line with their denomination or belief system. Many of them created exchange programs that allowed students to travel between England and the United States through the "grand tour" portion of their learning.

English immigrants and their descendants were also philanthropists who raised and gave money to support colleges, cultural organizations, and museums. In the aftermath of World War II, Americans of English descent raised millions of dollars for the restoration of schools, churches, and other public buildings in England.

For centuries, English Americans continued to intermarry more frequently than any other European group, in part because of increased numbers of mobile craftsman, tradesmen, and merchants among the new English Americans. The

percentage of English women increased from 15 percent to nearly 25 percent of English settlers.

Contemporary Scene: Famous English Americans

The majority of the Founding Fathers of the United States were of English ancestry, including George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. In addition, many notable English Americans have made significant contributions to the creation, development, and prosperity of the United States, such as Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross; Ernest Hemingway, Nobel Literature Prize laureate and author; Jody Williams, Nobel Peace Prize laureate; and Bill Gates, Microsoft Corporation founder, entrepreneur, and philanthropist.

The Future of English Americans

Over the past century, English Americans have been actively involved in public service and are influential in local, state, and national governmental and political organizations. Moreover, the oral and written language of English Americans and their relations in England will continue to be the dominant language of global communication, education, and commerce.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Anglos; English Language: Ethnic and Regional Variations; Irish Americans; Native Americans; Official English Movement; Scottish Americans; WASPs (White Anglo Saxon Protestants).

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English as a Second Language Education

English as a second language (ESL) is a specialized approach to English language teaching, intended for immigrants and other Americans who do not speak English in the home. This may include children born in this country who are exposed to another language in their home, or primarily speak another language in their home, as well as students who were born outside the United States. According to the U.S. Census, the number of children ages 5 through 17 who speak a language other than English at home doubled between 2000 and 2010. Over the past 20 years, the population of students who are English-language learners (ELLs) in American schools has increased by 160 percent, whereas the general student population has shown only a 20 percent increase.

English as a second language education dates back to the 1500s with the expansion of British trade routes around the world. English became important as a lingua franca for this trade, and was a language one needed to know to participate in this lucrative endeavor. As the British Empire grew and British colonies were created, it became important to have an educational system for teaching English to foreign-born colonists and local elites. The native leaders needed English to become functionaries for colonial governments.

In the United States, English as a second language education did not become important until the 20th century. Prior to this, immigrants tended to live in their own enclaves, where English was not necessary for survival. The jobs performed by immigrants were primarily manual labor, which did not require English language skills. In 1906, the Naturalization Act formalized the necessity of English instruction by requiring immigrants to learn English in order to become naturalized citizens.

Henry Ford in 1914 instituted the \$5-a-day wage ceiling, which required his employees to live in single-family homes and learn English. By making people move out of their apartment neighborhoods, English became necessary for integration into the community, and if his workers moved and took English classes they were eligible for the maximum wage of \$5.

Definition and Demographics

The language diversity in American schools presents unique challenges in education. By law, American schools must provide specialized instruction for ELLs. Instructional programs may use English and another language (bilingualism), or they may use English alone (ESL). English as a second language pedagogy is to teach English in English. This type of approach is also known as immersion. Bilingual programs use the student's first language to build language skills, which can then be transferred to the second language. Both approaches have merit, but bilingual education must have a homogenous language group of students to be effective. Many schools have students who speak more than one language, which precludes bilingual education.

English as a second language instruction is different from foreign language instruction in that a

nonnative student is learning English in an English-speaking environment rather than a native student learning a language from a distant non-English speaking environment. Students studying a foreign language are not expected to do grade-level content work in the target language, whereas ELLs must learn English while mastering academic content. English as a second language instruction may also include civics, etiquette, traditions, and popular culture.

There are some strategic uses of the first language (also known as L1 or heritage language) that are appropriate in ESL classrooms. A teacher, bilingual aide, or another student may translate instructions, explain a concept, or help another student make connections to the content being taught. Translation is also helpful for cognates and false cognates. Cognates are words that are similar in both languages and mean the same thing; false cognates are words that look or sound similar but do not mean the same thing in both languages. This primarily works for Romance languages that share Latin roots with English.

ESL teachers have specialized training in language acquisition and pedagogy in order to teach English-language learners. Licensing requirements vary by state, but a qualified teacher will either have a degree in ESL education, or an add-on certification to a content-area teaching license. These teachers may be in stand-alone classrooms or supporting mainstream classrooms.

The U.S. Department of Education defines English-language learners as national-origin-minority students who are limited in English-language proficiency. The ELL term is often preferred over limited-English-proficient (LEP) as it highlights accomplishments rather than deficits. ELLs represent one of the fastest-growing groups among the school-aged population in the United States. Estimates place the ELL population at over 9.9 million students, with roughly 5.5 million students classified as limited-English-proficient by virtue of their participation in Title III assessments of English-language proficiency. Title III is the federal government funding for language instruction of limited-English-proficient and immigrant students in elementary and secondary schools. This group of students speaks over 400 different languages, with Spanish being the most common (spoken by more than 70 percent of ELLs).

Challenges in Instruction

Many English-language learners are successful in school, but a persistent conundrum is the group of students who continue to struggle even after years of specialized instruction. Data from the 2000 U.S. Census indicate that over half of secondary school ELLs were born in the United States, and of the 44 percent of ELLs who are immigrants, many entered U.S. schools at some point before or during the elementary years. In studying this problem, instructional practice has shifted. New approaches emphasize literacy strategies and explicit instruction of academic language to help students access grade-level material in the content area. Academic language mastery is the single most important predictor of academic success for ELLs.

Academic English is the English used in school discourse, as opposed to conversational or social English, which is acquired more rapidly. Research indicates that it takes five to seven years to become fluent in academic English. The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Association makes this distinction by calling this dichotomy BICS (social, conversational language) and CALPS (academic language); BICS is the acronym for Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills, and CALPS is the acronym for Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency. The profound difference between these two skill sets is the difference between discussing a current event from television news, and being able to compare and contrast two events in a written essay.

The four domains of language learning in English as a second language education are speaking, listening, reading, and writing. While learning these skills explicitly, English-language learners must also acquire the academic content that their non-ELL peers are learning. Thus, best practice in the ESL classroom is to have both content and language objectives included in lesson planning. Instruction in the English as a second language classroom includes explicit vocabulary instruction, building background for the lesson, putting the lesson in a familiar context for the student, materials at an appropriate reading level, and checking for comprehension. English as a second language instruction uses many visuals, including photos, pictures, maps, graphs, video, and realia.

The complexity of English as a second language instruction challenges school districts to

provide appropriate programming. Students with less English proficiency may be placed in a sheltered environment for part or all of the day. This is less common in elementary and middle schools, where the content is believed to be more accessible and the perception is that younger students learn language more easily. English-language learners struggle, however, as learning to read shifts into reading to learn. In high school settings, sheltered instruction is more prevalent as the students are arriving at a later age, sometimes with greater educational needs. A 15-year-old student arriving with a strong academic background in his or her first language will need less sheltered instruction than a student arriving with interrupted schooling because of economic or political reasons. The 15-year-old student who has been educated mostly or completely in the United States but is still limited-English-proficient will need ESL support for his or her academic classes.

The Achievement Gap

The complexity of the types of students qualifying for English as a second language instruction manifests itself in the persistent nationwide achievement gap. For these students, becoming proficient in English is more than learning what is in the book. They have deep gaps in prior knowledge, as well as socioeconomic factors that have to be overcome. The National Assessment of Educational Progress results for 2008 show a large gap between ELLs and their English-only counterparts on achievement scores in science and mathematics at grade 8 (ELLs score 31 points behind non-ELLs in math) and grade 12 (ELLs score 28 points behind non-ELLs in math). The literacy results for ELLs are worse: only 4 percent of fourth-grade ELLs scored at the proficient or advanced levels in reading, while only 3 percent of eighth-grade ELLs and 20 percent of students classified as “formerly ELL” scored at the proficient or advanced levels.

Nonacademic Benefits of Learning English

Aside from academic success, acquiring English in the United States is seen as an important factor for upward mobility and access to the American Dream. The ability to speak and write English influences employment status, and once employed, one’s ability to find full-time,

year-round employment. Even among those who have full employment, those with the highest ability to speak English have the highest earnings. According to the 2000 census, fluent English-speaking immigrants earn nearly double that of non-English-speaking workers and have substantially lower unemployment rates. English proficiency is also a tool for cultural assimilation for an increasingly diverse population. English is needed for full participation in the political and economic life of the United States.

Federal Mandates

School districts are required by law to identify and provide services for English-language learners. New students are tested to determine their language proficiency, and once identified must be tested yearly for proficiency. These levels of proficiency are determined by a yearly state-specific assessment given only to ELLs. Under the No Child Left Behind Act, ELLs are included in standardized testing once they reach a minimal level of proficiency. When students are fully English-proficient, they are required to be monitored for two more years.

Local school districts are required to implement an effective means of outreach to parents of ELLs. Schools must provide information in a language the parents can understand, and make sure that the parents know and understand the instruction their child is receiving. Parents can decide to have their children drop ESL instruction, and students who opt out may reenter after a language assessment is conducted.

Census Data

The American Community Survey (ACS) is an ongoing U.S. Census Bureau survey that provides data every year to give communities the current information they need to plan investments and services. Information from the survey generates data that help determine how more than \$400 billion in federal and state funds are distributed each year. The Census Bureau collects data about language use, English-speaking ability, and linguistic isolation for inclusion in the ACS. The current census questions related to language use are these: Does this person speak a language other than English at home? What is this language? How well does this person speak English? (Answer choices

for the last question are very well, well, not well, or not at all.) According to the 2000 census, there were 5.5 million students who spoke a language other than English at home (LOTE); this number increased to 11,227,000 in the 2009 American Community Survey.

Government agencies use the information about languages spoken at home for their programs serving the needs of the foreign-born and specifically those who have difficulty with English. Under the Voting Rights Act, information about language spoken in the home is needed to meet statutory requirements for making voting materials available in minority languages. Specifically, the Census Bureau is directed to use data about language spoken at home and the ability to speak English to identify minority groups that speak a language other than English, and to assess their English-speaking ability. A household is determined to be in linguistic isolation when no one in the home aged 14 or over speaks English at least “very well.”

The U.S. Department of Education uses these data to prepare a report to Congress on the social and economic status of children served by local

school districts. Data on language are used to allocate grants to school districts for children with limited English proficiency. State and local educational agencies receive grants for programs to improve educational skills, complete secondary schooling, and provide job training and placement for adults based on data about language.

The 2010 American Community Survey data highlight the shift in immigration patterns away from the historical origins of American immigrants. The 2010 ACS data found that 13 percent of the American population were foreign-born (29 percent from Mexico). Of the 53 percent from Latin America, 55 percent were from Mexico. Asian immigrants were the next-largest group at 28 percent, while European immigration accounted for only 12 percent.

Population Projections

More than half the total population growth in the United States between 2000 and 2010 was due to the increase in the Hispanic population. For 2010 the American Community Survey projected that 75 percent of Hispanics spoke a language other



The New Americans Welcome Area in Montgomery County, Maryland, provides information and classes in English as a second language (ESL) education to encourage the integration of immigrants into the United States. While federal grants are given to U.S. school districts to teach ESL to children, state and local educational agencies receive grants for programs to improve educational skills, complete secondary schooling, and provide job training and placement for adults.

than English at home (LOTE). This number is expected to decrease to 66 percent of the Hispanic population by 2020. Spanish, Vietnamese, and Russian are expected to be the most commonly spoken languages, with 20 percent increases over the next 10 years.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Bilingual Education; Dual (Two-Way) Immersion Education; English Language: Ethnic and Regional Variations; English-Language Learners; Language Usage in the United States; National Association for Bilingual Education; No Child Left Behind Act (2001); Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages; Office of English Language Acquisition; Official English Movement; Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

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English Language: Ethnic and Regional Variations

In the early 1600s, the first permanent English-speaking colony was established in North America, and the Americans soon developed a form of English that differed in a number of ways from the language that was spoken back in the British Isles. In some cases, older forms were retained. For example, the way most Americans pronounce the /r/ sound after a vowel in words like *bird*, *dirt*, and *search* is very similar to the pronunciation in 17th-century England. Similarly, the distinction between past tense "got" and past participle "gotten" still exists in American English but disappeared in most dialects in the United Kingdom.

Standard American English (SAE) is sometimes defined as a variety that does not show conspicuous features characteristic of any particular regions or ethnic groups. In particular, "General American" (GA) is sometimes seen as a notional accent of American English perceived by Americans to be most "neutral" and free of any regional characteristics. It sometimes corresponds with what is now called "Network English," which is used to describe the variety spoken by radio and TV announcers on the national networks. To a certain extent, it may be true that linguistic variations within the country are now leveling off as a result of the impact of network television and radio stations that cover the entire country and that use "Network English." However, most people's speech is likely to be influenced by some kind of regional or ethnic dialect. As a result, there still exist identifiable regional and ethnic variations in the English language used across the United States. Often, the use of dialects, or accents in particular, could serve as bonds of solidarity between speakers living in the same region and/or speakers with similar ethnic backgrounds.

Regional Variations

Regional variations in American English refer to the linguistic variations based on how people living in various geographical regions of the United States speak English differently, and the dialects that have emerged are called "regional dialects."

Speaking a regional dialect only means a tendency for a speaker to make use of some of the same linguistic choices as other people from the same region. In other words, the term *dialect* is more of a generalization or an abstraction that is used to characterize a variety of the language by highlighting a few prominent linguistic features.

The study of the regional variations of American English began with the creation of the American Dialect Society in 1889, an active organization that hosts annual meetings and publishes the international journal *American Speech*. A series of linguistic atlases was first developed and published between 1939 and 1943, including *The Linguistic Atlas of New England*. Subsequently, *The Dictionary of American Regional English* was published as the official dictionary of the society, and three of the volumes appeared in 1985, 1991, and 1996.

In these publications, dialect maps are plotted into more detailed isoglosses, which are boundary lines between places or regions that differ with respect to a particular linguistic feature. Specifically, the process of drawing a regional dialect map consists of collecting samples of the way people call certain objects, especially objects used every day or found in nature. A group of people speak the same regional dialect if they share many of the same words.

For example, a major isogloss in American English was identified as the north-midland isogloss, which demarcates numerous linguistic features, including the northern cities vowel shift. While the regions north of the line (including western New York; Cleveland, Ohio; lower Michigan; northern Illinois; and eastern Wisconsin) show traces of the shift, the regions south of the line (including Pennsylvania, central and southern Ohio, and most of Indiana) do not. Furthermore, maps of the dialects of the United States are constructed according to the ways in which particular sounds are produced.

Generally, dialects on the East Coast of the United States are most diverse, primarily because the East Coast was populated by English-speaking people relatively longer than any other regions. Western speech is much more homogeneous because the west was settled by English speakers more recently, and so there was less time for the west to diversify into a multiplicity of distinctive accents. As a result, as speakers moved westward,

different dialects tended to influence each other and merge. The main reason for the differences between eastern (on the one hand) and midwestern and western accents (on the other hand) is that the East Coast areas were in contact with England and imitated prestigious varieties of British English. On the other hand, the interior of the country was settled by people who were no longer closely connected to England, since they had no access to the ocean during a time when journeys to Britain were always by sea. As a result, western and inland speakers did not imitate the changes in speech from England.

Broadly speaking, there are three major regional dialects in the United States: the northern dialect, the midland dialect, and the southern dialect. These dialect regions show considerable phonological and lexical variations.

The northern dialect: The northern dialect area stretches from New England and New York to Oregon and Washington, along the northern border of the United States. The major northern cities include Boston, New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and Minneapolis. Although Boston and New York differ in some ways from the other cities, they remain linguistically northern speech areas.

Dialectologists in the first half of the 20th century distinguished the north from the midland on the basis of a large collection of lexical isoglosses, mostly dealing with differences in agricultural terms that are now largely obsolete (such as the use of *ko-dayin* in the north versus *sheepie* in the midland to call sheep from the pasture). A number of words are also characteristic of the northern dialect, for example, *brook* (meaning “creek”), *packie* (meaning “liquor store”), *tonic* (meaning “soft drink”), *wicked* (meaning “very”), *ayuh* (meaning “yes”), *Italian* (meaning “submarine sandwich”) and *muckle* (meaning “to grasp”).

Despite the obsolescence of some of these lexical differences, the boundary between the north and midland is still maintained in the same place by phonological and phonetic isoglosses.

In terms of pronunciation, the northern dialect is characterized by rhoticity, that is, the use of the sound -r in words like *bird* and *car*. However, exceptions to this are New English and New York, which do not pronounce the -r after a vowel or at

the end of words. In addition, whereas the midland has /ɔ/ (as in “dawn”) in “on,” the north has /a/. As such, there is no “cot-caught” merger in the north. Finally, in the northern dialect region, words like *matter* and *madder* are pronounced with the same medial consonant, which is called the “flap.”

The midland dialect: The midland region refers to a very large area extending across the United States, from southern New Jersey and Pennsylvania and northern Delaware, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, Tennessee and western Arkansas, and spreading into the whole of the western United States. In particular, the region of the midwestern United States west of the Appalachian Mountains begins the broad zone of what is generally called “midland” speech. In traditional dialectological research, there are two discrete subdivisions, namely the “north midland” that begins north of the Ohio River valley area and the “south midland” dialect area. In more recent work, the former is designated simply “midland” and the latter is considered part of the south. The (north) midland is arguably the major region whose dialect most closely approximates GA, and the enormous size of the midland area accounts for general uniformity in American English.

Midland pronunciation is characterized by the use of the sound -r in words like *bird* and *car*, as in the case of GA. Another feature of the midland dialect is the merger of pronunciation (especially vowels), so that such pairs as *cot/caught* and *tot/taught* sound the same. In other words, the people in the midland use the vowel of the words *cot* and *tot* for the vowel of the words *caught* and *taught*. The word *on* contains the vowel in the word *caught*, rather than the vowel in the word *cot*.

The north midland and south midland dialects are both characterized by having a distinctly fronter realization of the phoneme in the word *boat* than many other American accents, particularly those of the north. Moreover, in some areas of the midland, words like *roof* and *root* are pronounced with the vowel in words like *book* and *hoof*. On the other hand, the north midland and south midland dialects are both characterized by having a distinctly fronter realization of the vowel in the word *boat* than many other American accents, particularly those of the north.

In the greater midland area, there is also a common grammatical construction with “anymore.” It is possible to use the word *anymore* with the meaning “nowadays” in sentences such as “air travel is convenient anymore” (air travel is convenient nowadays). In addition, a number of words are characteristic of the Midland dialect, including *bub*, *cross-purposes*, *fall* (meaning “autumn”), *flapjack*, *greenhorn*, *guess* (meaning “suppose”), *homely*, *homespun*, *jeans*, *loophole*, *molasses*, *peek*, *ragamuffin*, *reckon*, *sorry* (meaning “inferior”), *trash*, *well* (meaning “healthy”).

The southern dialect: The southern region includes Virginia, the Carolinas, and the Gulf states, extending to the western end of Texas. Because there is great variation between regions in the south, few generalizations can be made about southern pronunciation as a whole. Upheavals such as the Great Depression, the Dust Bowl, and World War II caused mass migrations throughout the United States. Southern American dialect began to take its current shape only after World War II.

One of the phonological features is the merger of certain vowels, as in the *pin-pen* merger. In addition, the southern dialect is characterized by Americans from other areas as being spoken more slowly than others, with a “southern drawl.” For example, the people from the deep south speak English with a pronounced “drawl” through the lengthening of vowels. In terms of grammar, the prefix -a is sometimes used with the progressive form of the verb—for example, in sentences such as *he’s a-singin’* (“he is singing”) and *it’s a-rainin’ out there* (“it’s raining out there”).

The south midland dialect follows the Ohio River in a generally southwesterly direction, moves across Arkansas and Oklahoma west of the Mississippi, and peters out in West Texas. It is a version of the midland speech that has assimilated some coastal southern forms, most noticeably the loss of the second-person plural pronoun “you-all.” South midland pronunciation is also characterized by the use of the sound -r in words like *bird* and *car*, and it is the main feature that distinguishes south midland speech from the coastal southern varieties. In addition, south midland English can be characterized by its vocabulary, including *big daddy* (meaning “grandfather”),

big mamma (meaning “grandmother”), *Confederate War* (meaning “Civil War”), *cooter* (meaning “turtle”), *fixing to* (meaning “going to”), *goober* (meaning “peanut”), *mouth harp* (meaning “harmonica”), and *on account of* (meaning “because”).

Regional Variations in Vocabulary

A number of words and expressions are characteristic of specific dialect areas of the United States. Many of these terms spread from their area of origin, and many people in different dialect areas use these different words for the same object, or to distinguish between variations of an object. Some of the lexical variables include the following:

- Faucet (north) and spigot (south)
- Frying pan (north and south, but not midland), spider (New England), and skillet (midland, Gulf states)
- Clapboard (northeast) and weatherboard (midland and south)
- Gutter (northeast, south), eaves trough (inland north, west), and rainspouting (Maryland and Pennsylvania)
- Pit (north) and seed (elsewhere)
- Teeter-totter (widespread), seesaw (south and midland), and dandle (Rhode Island)
- Firefly (less frequent south and midland) and lightning bug (less frequent north)
- Pail (north, north midland) and bucket (midland and south)

It must be noted that the picture of regional variations was never a neat one, because of widespread north-south movements within the United States and the ongoing inflow of immigrants from other parts of the world. As a result, there are mixed dialect areas as well as pockets of unexpected dialect forms. However, the main division of north, midland, and south dialects remains more or less the same today. These regional dialects show no signs of disappearing, and the western English is even showing signs of dialect genesis.

While there are identifiable regional dialects within the country, American English can be characterized by its remarkable uniformity, in that roughly two-thirds of its population speak the same dialect. Aside from the emergence of “Network English,” one reason for the relative

uniformity is concerned with the mingling of settlers. In the course of westward movement, people who came from linguistically different regions in Britain intermingled a great deal. Another reason is the alleged conformity of Americans. In other words, the ready acceptance of group allegiance or identification on the part of many Americans may also explain their linguistic uniformity.

Ethnic Variations

Apart from regional variations, there are also ethnic variations in the English language spoken in the United States. In particular, two most important “ethnic dialects” (dialects that are spoken by ethnic minorities) of American English are African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and Chicano English. However, regional and ethnic varieties often intersect with each other, and any speech is conditioned by a host of factors, including regional, social, and situational factors.

African American Vernacular English: AAVE is an African American variety of American English. It is also called African American English, black English, black vernacular, black English vernacular, or black vernacular English. The term *vernacular* refers to the everyday language spoken by a speech community, often a nonstandard variety. Among lay people, AAVE is also sometimes called “ebonics,” but it is a term that carries strong connotations.

AAVE originated from slave Creoles who arose from the transatlantic African slave trade and the need for African captives to communicate among themselves and with their captors. As a result, the captives developed what are called “pidgins,” that is, simplified mixtures of two or more languages that develop from close contact between members of different language communities. AAVE also contains many distinctive forms that are more homogeneous from region to region than the accents of white speakers, but African American speakers are also subject to regional variation. While it is clear that there is a strong relationship between AAVE and southern American English, the unique characteristics of AAVE are not fully explained and its origins are still widely debated.

AAVE displays pronunciation, grammatical structures, and vocabulary features in common

with various West African languages. While these features are mostly regionalisms (originating from the dialect commonly spoken in the area, regardless of color), a number of them—such as the deletion of “is”—are used much more frequently by African American speakers. Its pronunciation is common to southern American English, which is spoken by many African Americans and many non-African Americans in the United States.

It is also noteworthy that AAVE gradually influenced the speech of southern white people, particularly the children of the aristocratic slave owners. One reason was that many black nannies helped raise white children in the area, and the children of blacks and whites played together freely before the Civil War. As linguistic features acquired in early childhood are likely to be retained throughout life, southern English naturally became mixed with AAVE. Some of the phonological features that set AAVE apart from forms of SAE include the following:

- The word *cub* sounds like “cup.”
- The word *this* is pronounced like “dis.”
- The word *stripping* is pronounced like “strippin.”
- The consonant -r is usually dropped when not followed by a vowel.
- The consonant -r may also sometimes be pronounced as an unstressed vowel.
- The consonant -l is often vocalized in patterns similar to that of -r (though not between vowels), thereby making the pairs “toll” and “toe,” “fault” and “fought,” and “tool” and “too” sound the same.
- The word *test* is pronounced like “tess”; similarly, *hand* is pronounced like “han.”

AAVE also contains words that either are not part of SAE or carry very different meanings from their common usage in SAE. For example, there are several words in AAVE referring to white people that are not part of SAE. Some examples include the word *gray* as an adjective for whites (as in gray dude), and the word *paddy* as an extension of the slang use for Irish. Another example is the word *ofay* (a term for a white person but is pejorative). It derived from the Ibibio word *afia*, which means “light-colored.” The word *kitchen*

refers to the particularly curly hair at the nape of the neck, and the words *siditty* or *seddity* means snobbish or bourgeois.

In terms of its grammatical structure, AAVE displays the following features:

- Present-tense verbs are uninflected for number and person. For example, there is no -s ending in the present-tense, third-person singular in “she write poetry” (“she writes poetry”). Similarly, the word *was* is used in place of both the words *was* and *were* in SAE
- The genitive -’s ending may or may not be used, which may result from a simplification of grammatical structures. One example is “my momma sister” (“my mother’s sister”).
- There is the use of double negatives, “ain’t,” as in early English.
- The words *it* and *they* denote the existence of something, equivalent to the words *there is*, or *there are* in SAE.
- There is altered syntax in questions. For example, questions such as “why they ain’t sleeping?” (“why aren’t they sleeping?”) and “who he think he is?” (“who does he think he is?”) lack the inversion of SAE. As a result, there is no need for the auxiliary verb *do*.

Chicano English: Another widely spoken ethnic dialect is Chicano English. It is often used by Hispanics who are descendants of immigrants from Mexico. Hispanic Americans comprise the second-largest ethnic minority in the United States, and the largest group of these Hispanic Americans moved to the United States from Mexico. However, Chicano English is spoken not only by people who know both English and Spanish, but also by people who do not speak Spanish but who are members of a Hispanic community. Chicanos mainly live in the American Southwest, an area including Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. It should also be noted that Chicano English should not be mixed up with Spanglish, which is not a recognized dialect of English but rather a mixing of Spanish and English.

Chicano English, the most uniform of the varieties of Hispanic English, displays stable speech

patterns and a distinct phonological system of its own. For example, words like *check* or *change* are pronounced as if the spelling was “sh” rather than “ch.” Chicano English also shows a characteristic stress pattern so that the stress of compound words falls on the last syllable instead of the first, as in the words *week-end* and *trouble-maker*. In addition, there is an absence of –th, so that the word *think* may be pronounced in various ways like *ting*, *fing*, or *sing*. Also, in Chicano English, the word *job* may sound like *yob*, and the word *yes* may sound like *jes*. In addition, statements are likely to be pronounced with rising rather than falling intonation in the speech produced by Chicanos.

In terms of lexical features, Chicano English also borrows words from Spanish. For example, the Spanish word *quinceañera* is used to refer to a special party for a 15-year-old girl. Other examples include *comadre* (godmother), *compadre* (godfather), *simon* (yes), *firme* (good), *flika* (picture), *vato* (guy), and *feria* (money). Also, the verb “borrow” is used to replace “lend” in Chicano English, and so the sentence “lend me a pen” becomes “borrow me a pen.”

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See Also: African American Vernacular English; African Americans; Bilingualism; Caló; English Americans; English as a Second Language Education; English-Language Learners; Estadounidismos; Language Brokers; Language Usage in the United States; Naturalization Language Requirements; Official English Movement; Spanglish; Speech Codes; Translators/Interpreters.

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English-Language Learners

The term *English-language learners* (ELL) refers to national-origin-minority students who are limited in English language proficiency. This may include children born in this country who are exposed to another language in their home, or primarily speak another language in their home, as well as students who were born outside the United States.

According to the U.S. Census, the number of children ages 5 through 17 who speak a language other than English at home doubled between 2000 and 2010. ELL is the common acronym for this student population. Over the past 20 years, the population of ELLs in American schools has increased by 160 percent, compared to a 20 percent increase in the general student population.

The U.S. Department of Education defines ELLs as national-origin-minority students who are limited in English language proficiency. The term *ELL* is often preferred over the term *limited English proficient* (LEP), as it highlights accomplishments rather than deficits. Another term for these students is language minority students. As a group, ELLs represent one of the fastest-growing

groups among the school-aged population in the United States. Estimates place the ELL population at over 9.9 million students, with roughly 5.5 million students classified as Limited English Proficient by virtue of their participation in Title III assessments of English language proficiency. This group of students speaks over 400 languages, with Spanish being the most common (spoken by more than 70 percent of ELLs). It is projected that English-language learners will represent 30 percent of the school-aged population by 2015. The largest and fastest-growing population of ELLs are students who immigrated before kindergarten and the U.S.-born children of immigrants.

Federal Mandates

School districts are required by law to identify and provide services for ELLs. New students are tested to determine their language proficiency and, once identified, must be tested yearly for proficiency. These levels of proficiency are determined by a yearly state-specific assessment given only to ELLs. Under the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), ELLs are included in standardized testing once they reach a minimal level of proficiency. When students are fully English proficient, they are required to be monitored for two more years.

Local school districts are required to implement an effective means of outreach to parents of ELLs. Schools must provide information in a language the parent can understand and make sure that the parents know and understand the programming their child is receiving. Parents have the choice of opting out of receiving English as a Second Language services for their child, and students who opt out may drop back in after taking a language assessment.

Challenges for English-Language Learners

Many ELLs are successful in school, but a persistent conundrum is the group of students who continue to struggle even after years of specialized instruction. Data from the 2000 U.S. Census indicate that over half of secondary school ELLs were born in the United States, and that of the 44 percent of ELLs who are immigrants, many entered U.S. schools at some point before or during the elementary years. In studying this problem, instructional practice has shifted. New

approaches emphasize literacy strategies and explicit instruction of academic language to help students access grade-level material in the content area while learning English.

Academic language mastery is the single most important predictor of academic success for ELLs. Academic English is the English used in school discourse, as opposed to conversational or social English, which is acquired more rapidly. Research indicates that it takes five to seven years to become fluent in academic English. ELLs struggle as “learning to read” shifts into “reading to learn.” Research has shown this group of students’ vocabulary levels are well below average (some as low as the 20th percentile), and this lack of vocabulary impedes reading comprehension and writing.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress 2008 results show a large gap between ELLs and their English-only counterparts on achievement scores in science and mathematics at grades 8 (ELLs score 31 points behind non-ELLs in math) and grade 12 (ELLs score 28 points behind non-ELLs in math). The literacy results for ELLs are worse: only 4 percent of 4th grade ELLs scored at the proficient or advanced levels in reading, and only 3 percent of 8th grade ELLs and 20 percent of students classified as “formerly ELL” scored at the proficient or advanced levels.

Census Data

The American Community Survey (ACS) is an ongoing U.S. Census Bureau survey that provides data every year to give communities the current information they need to plan investments and services. Information from the survey generates data that help determine how more than \$400 billion in federal and state funds are distributed each year. Language use, English-speaking ability, and linguistic isolation data are currently collected in the American Community Survey. The U.S. Census Bureau is both the sponsor and the collector of the American Community Survey. In the 2000 census, there were 5.5 million students who spoke a language other than English at home (LOTE), which increased to 11,227,000 in the 2009 American Community Survey.

Government agencies use this information about language spoken at home for programs that serve the needs of the foreign born and

specifically those who have difficulty with English. The U.S. Department of Education uses the data to prepare a report to Congress on the social and economic status of children served by the local school districts. Data on language are used to allocate grants to school districts for children with limited English proficiency. State and local educational agencies receive grants for programs to improve educational skills, complete secondary schooling, and provide job training and placement for adults based on data about language.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Bilingual Education; Dual (Two-Way) Immersion Education; English Language: Ethnic and Regional Variations; Language Usage in the United States; No Child Left Behind Act (2001); Official English Movement; Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

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Environmental Protection Agency, U.S.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was created by executive order (Reorganization Plan No. 3, signed by President Richard Nixon) in December 1970. The federal agency tasked with creating and enforcing regulations to protect human health and the environment, it is not a cabinet-level department but is not under the jurisdiction of any other department, and the EPA administrator (a vacant position in 2013, with Deputy Administrator Bob Perciasepe acting as administrator) is generally given cabinet rank. Some of its powers are delegated to state and tribal governments. The EPA employs 17,000 full-time workers and thousands more contract workers, and more than half of its workforce consists of scientists and engineers. It operates out of 10 regional offices, 27 laboratories, and its Washington, D.C., headquarters. The EPA's enforcement powers are generally exercised through sanctions and fines.

History of the EPA

The EPA was formed in response to a groundswell of public concern over environmental problems, which began with the 1962 publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, a best-selling study of the effects of pesticides on the environment. The book inspired the beginning of the environmental movement and popularized key scientific concepts and concerns, such as the endangerment of species due to environmental factors (rather than hunting or other more obvious threats) and the problem of carcinogens in the environment (as opposed to carcinogens introduced through ingestion, such as in cigarette smoke). The book also figured prominently in the field of ecology and related sciences, encouraging scientists to become involved with public policy and other advocacy. The popularity of *Silent Spring* led to President John F. Kennedy's ordering a federal investigation of pesticide safety, which in turn led to stronger pesticide regulations in the short term. In the longer term, the need was clear for a national environmental policy that would guide agencies and legislators. In addition to the publication of *Silent Spring*, a number of events in the 1960s continued to bring attention to the environmental movement and to make clear

how broad that movement's scope was, including the building of the interstate highway system and its impact on local environments, concerns about nuclear weapons and nuclear power, and the 1969 Santa Barbara oil spill.

In 1963, the Clean Air Act was passed to introduce national air pollution controls, which were enhanced in a series of amendments (notably in 1970, 1977, and 1990). It also established a pollution research program. The Wilderness Act in 1964 created the first legal definition of "wilderness" in the United States and created better mechanisms to protect federal wilderness areas. The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) defined this policy for the first time and established the President's Council on Environmental Quality. The cornerstone of NEPA is the requirement that all federal agencies prepare environmental assessments and environmental impact statements explaining the environmental effects of any and all proposed federal agency actions. Specific procedures for doing so are established and the Council on Environmental Quality oversees agencies that carry them out. Shortly after NEPA was signed into law, the 1970 amendments to the Clean Air Act expanded the federal mandate over air pollution, creating a requirement for comprehensive federal and state regulations over stationary and mobile pollution sources (i.e., factories and vehicles, respectively). The federal government's enforcement powers were greatly expanded, and the National Ambient Air Quality Standards were established for the first time.

President Nixon, through executive action, reorganized the federal government's environmental responsibilities, consolidating them under a single agency: the Environmental Protection Agency. The EPA was created in 1970 and began operation in 1971. The agency is responsible for enforcing the laws enacted by a large body of environmental protection legislation passed both before and since its founding.

Although the EPA has sometimes been criticized by business interests or staunch conservatives for allegedly interfering in American business to an extent detrimental to job growth or economic activity, the more substantive complaint has been that the EPA does too little. It has rarely been proactive in its efforts; it tests the fuel efficiency of

fewer than 15 percent of new car models; in all industries it too frequently accepts the claims manufacturers make of the efficiency or environmental friendliness of their products, with little or no testing; and optional programs like Energy Star offer energy-efficient certification to products of inherently inefficient design based on flimsy criteria. During the George W. Bush administration, the EPA also succumbed to political pressure, agreeing to rescind a declaration that climate change endangered the public welfare. A subsequent survey of 1,600 EPA staff scientists found that more than half reported they had experienced political interference in their work.

Environmental Racism

Environmental racism is the unequal distribution of the effects of environmental degradation such that low-income and minority communities experience a disproportionate level of suffering. It refers not only to conditions that result as a matter of policy or racist institutions but to environmental inequalities that result from disparities of wealth: for instance, a common example is a neighborhood where property values have fallen because of poor local environmental conditions, whether the noise pollution of a nearby airport; the poor quality of the drinking water, soil, or air because of industrial activity; or proximity to a waste site. Because of the unequal distribution of wealth, as families who can afford to do so move out of the neighborhood and other families move in, a situation develops in which poor families are the only ones exposed to this environmental hazard—and in all likelihood experience no benefit associated with whatever activity created the hazard. The distribution of wealth in the United States being what it is, it is also true that in most parts of the country these poor families are likely to be nonwhite or Hispanic. Some have suggested restricting the usage of the term *environmental racism* to deliberate targeting of people of color, but this ignores important realities about contemporary American culture.

There are, of course, examples of deliberate targeting to which one can point. One of the most famous in this context is the placement of a hazardous waste landfill in a wealthy African American neighborhood in Houston, Texas. Sociologist Robert D. Bullard produced a paper in 1979 showing that, while most in the environmental

justice movement at the time assumed that ethnic groups were targeted only incidentally as a result of targeting low-income communities, in this case race had been an important factor in the decision to locate the landfill—income had not played a role. Bullard's paper was key in the mobilization of African Americans and allies in the environmental movement in the 1980s, and both government and third-party studies found that people of color were statistically more likely to live near hazardous waste facilities than were whites. A study by the United Church of Christ emphasized that, as in the Bullard paper's case, race was more strongly correlated than income level.

In addition to deliberate targeting, common forms of environmental racism are the uneven impacts of environmental policies, the disproportionate access to services like garbage removal and recycling, disproportionate access to amenities like parks and local waterways, the disproportionate representation of minority workers in hazardous jobs, and the zoning of toxic facilities. Means by which these situations may result, beyond targeting and effects of wealth, include low voter registration and education, leading to community members' being less likely to challenge proposals, realize their potential harmful effects, or seek compensation for damages; lack of full access to the tools and resources to fight the placement of toxic sites and other private sector or policy decisions that impact them; and, related to the wealth disparity, a greater likelihood to accept environmental risks in return for an increase in jobs or other economic incentives to the community. Statistically, white communities are more likely to succeed in their attempts to oppose environmental hazards such as policy changes, new construction, landfill placements, and sewage treatment facilities, and have greater access to policy input and policy awareness.

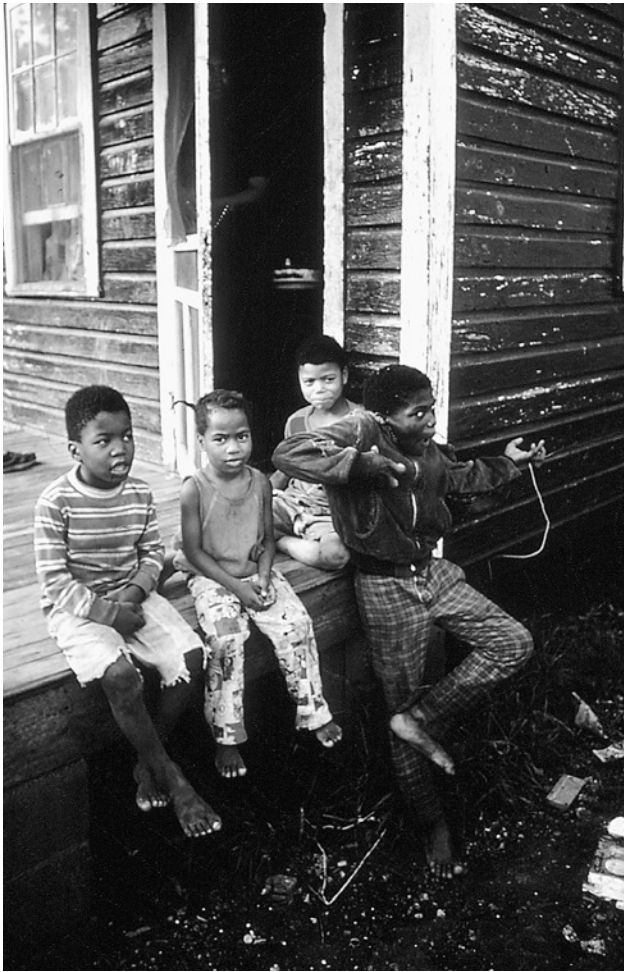
Some social scientists continue to treat the placement of known environmental hazards like sewage treatment facilities or landfills as a case of intentional conscious racism, whether one that is conscious of the race predominant in the targeted community or one that is protecting the racial group privilege of the white policy maker. Others see racist results as the product of processes like gentrification, suburbanization, and decentralization, as white flight drives nonminorities away

from the zones most vulnerable to environmental hazards. Cases cited as situations of environmental racism include the fate of New Orleans communities after the collapse of inadequate levees in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Subsequent investigations found that city and state officials had failed to account for the large numbers of residents (predominantly black) who relied on public transportation and would be unable to participate in the evacuation plans as drafted, which relied almost entirely on residents driving out of the city. Further, a history of institutionalized segregation that had continued as unofficial segregation of neighborhoods along racial lines had led to predominantly black and Vietnamese populations in neighborhoods like New Orleans East, which were low lying and among the hardest hit by the flooding. Many people in and outside New Orleans also accused the federal government of being slow to act and of acting without due diligence because of the city's largely black population.

The case of the PCB landfill in Warren County, North Carolina, is also widely cited and is considered by many to be the birth of the modern environmental justice movement. Located in North Carolina's "black belt," Warren County is predominantly black and poor. A 150-acre landfill was created there by the state to dispose of soil that had been contaminated by illegal PCB-dumping activities. The illegal dumping had taken place along 240 miles of highway crossing 14 counties in 1978, but disposal was held up for four years because of opposition to the landfill. The EPA approved a "dry tomb" PCB landfill, with a perforated pipe leachate collection system. However, the landfill as installed lacked a collection system and was capped with a million gallons of water and no means of pumping it out—creating a pool of contaminated water that would leach into the soil.

The landfill was protested by Warren County citizens who used displays of civil disobedience. Though environmental protests had resulted in arrests before, this is believed to be the first case of arrests for protesting pollution.

Within months of the landfill's installation, the EPA demonstrated that PCB air emissions were at significant levels even half a mile away but did not release this information to the public. The contaminated soil buried in the landfill was located only seven feet away from the groundwater, and



Children living in an area of Birmingham, Alabama, known as "Little Korea," July 1972. They appeared in a 1970s U.S. Environmental Protection Agency project documenting subjects of environmental concern. Today, poor environmental quality still disproportionately impacts low-income minority families.

the first independent study of the site had predicted an inevitable failure because of this proximity. Though the North Carolina government repeatedly insisted that the site was the only site suitable for the landfill, it was clear long before the site's groundbreaking in 1982 that the criteria for that suitability could only have been demographic, as both groundwater proximity and soil permeability were at inappropriate levels for a landfill of this nature, even using the dry tomb method prescribed by the EPA.

In order to appease protesters and their supporters, the North Carolina government pledged to detoxify the Warren County site. More than

10 years later, in 1993, the water that had capped the landfill was in danger of breaching its plastic liner. A joint committee of state appointees and county citizens was formed to study the problem and to make an immediate recommendation, but years passed before funding was released to clean the site. In 1999, the legislature finally pledged \$8 million toward cleanup if another group could be found to provide matching funds; the EPA agreed to provide these matching funds, and cleanup began at the site in May 2002. At the end of 2003, more than 20 years after the original pledge and 10 years after the start of the emergency leak, the decontamination was completed.

Environmental Justice

Environmental justice, sometimes called environmental equity in EPA publications, is a remedy to environmental racism. It emerged as a social movement at the intersection of environmentalism and the civil rights movement in the 1980s. There are generally few minorities represented in mainstream environmental groups like Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, and those groups have done little to address environmental justice concerns. Environmental justice advocacy groups include the Tulane Environmental Law Clinic in New Orleans, Greenaction, and the Coalition Against Environmental Racism. The EPA defines environmental justice and environmental equity as "the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, sex, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies." It is explicitly stated as one of the goals of the EPA.

The EPA has been criticized for its failures in environmental justice and, under some administrations, its willful ignorance. The agency's Office of Environmental Equity was established in 1992, and an executive order by President Bill Clinton in 1994 required government agencies to form and enforce environmental policy and regulations while taking poor and minority populations into account. But the EPA reinterpreted this executive action in the 2000s, proposing the elimination of race and class from its environmental justice programs, as well as explicit identification of minority or low-income communities. Its argument was that environmental justice should apply to all

communities, but in formulating this argument, the agency willfully denied the existence of institutional racism, of the racist effects of wealth disparity, and other issues discussed above. A subsequent internal investigation in 2004 found that the agency had failed to develop a comprehensive environmental justice strategy—12 years after the formation of the Office of Environmental Equity. A follow-up investigation two years later found little to nothing had changed. Many feel the EPA's environmental justice record is actually worsening.

Native Americans are one of the groups most impacted by environmental injustice. Their suffering from the uranium mining industry is infamous. In Churchrock, New Mexico, the Navajo tribal government leased land to mining companies without reporting the consequences of uranium mining or obtaining the consent of affected families. The water supply was contaminated with uranium over the course of 15 years of continuous mining, and the mining companies argued that federal water control acts did not apply to them because they were operating on tribal lands.

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See Also: African Americans; Native Americans; Southern Poverty Law Center; Vietnamese Americans.

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Epidemiology and Ethnic Diversity

Epidemiology is the study of patterns of disease, illness, and health that occur in populations according to variables of interest such as gender, age, race, and ethnicity. It is an interdisciplinary field that combines medical science, social and behavioral science, and biostatistics. Epidemiological research has provided an understanding of the progression of many illnesses and diseases from inception to end, or the natural history of a disease. This knowledge is useful in the design of health intervention and disease prevention programs, policy recommendations, and to highlight areas in need of change in the nation's health care system.

A guiding principle is that risks or exposures to diseases are unequally distributed among a continuum in a population, and this distribution is influenced by social forces, a relationship best examined at the population level. A defining feature that sets epidemiology apart from much of clinical medicine is its population-level focus, versus examination of the individual. A population is a group of people who share a common characteristic(s) of interest, such as geographical region, gender, or religion. This approach enables the identification of different patterns of health and illness across a population.

The Development of Epidemiology

Scientific observations regarding the fact that some groups of people seemed more susceptible to a particular disease or illness have been made for hundreds of years. Often negative health outcomes were associated with an economic force, such as occupation. Early studies include Sir Percivall Pott's study of high testicular cancer among chimney sweeps and John Snow's findings that a cholera outbreak was traceable to a contaminated drinking water source. Based on their findings, both men were able to make recommendations to improve the public's health. Emile Durkheim's observations that suicide rates in Europe were related to social integration also provided an early framework.

Social epidemiology developed in the 20th century as a means to better focus on social and

biological determinants of disease. Work by a number of different researchers put forth and advanced the idea that stressors in the environment can have adverse physiological effects on the body. A landmark article by Saxon Graham detailed the manners through which membership in a social group (such as an ethnic group) can start a chain of events that begins with behavior patterns, risk, and exposures that affect disease and health outcomes. Social epidemiology has been and continues to be a major contributor in the identification of health disparities, or that some groups disproportionately suffer more from a disease or illness than another.

Methods, Data, and the U.S. Census

Epidemiology relies heavily on quantitative data in order to track cases of diseases, illnesses, or health outcomes and examine the distribution across person, place, and time variables. Such data are instrumental in the documentation of racial and ethnic health disparities. The U.S. Census provides a wealth of population-level information on economic, social, and demographic characteristics. Data such as average household income for geographic regions and ethnic and racial group population sizes are invaluable for examining social forces on patterns of health and illness. Of particular interest to epidemiologists are census tracts and metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), as some disease and illness patterns are correlated with urban and rural life, types of residence, and proximity to industrial plants. Other sources of epidemiologic data include the Framingham Heart Study, the oldest continuing running study of coronary heart disease risk, the National Vital Statistics System, the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, and the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey.

Epidemiology, Ethnicity, and Race

Race and ethnicity are ambiguous concepts that refer to socially constructed categories of people with perceived differences. In other words, the characteristics that are predominantly used to group people are arbitrary, with much cross-cultural and historical variation. The constantly changing treatment of racial and ethnic categories since the inception of the U.S. Census is a perfect illustration of how society, rather than natural laws

of science or inherent genetic differences, draw the boundaries between racial and ethnic groups.

Ethnicity is multifaceted and generally refers to a group of people with a sense of shared ancestral origins and shared culture, language, religion, and traditions, whereas race is an indicator of skin color and other phenotypes. While there is often an overlap, ethnicity is not the same as race, yet it is increasingly being used as a substitute for race in health research.

The examination of health disparities among different ethnic and racial groups in a given population is an important piece of epidemiology. Most people working in the field today agree that health disparities are a social justice issue, rooted in systems of economic, racial, and ethnic inequality that privilege white people. In 1899, sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois was one of the first to connect the poor health of African Americans to racial inequality in the United States. Du Bois argued that the observed differences between the health and health outcomes of black and white Americans were primarily social, such as inadequate living conditions, inadequate diets, and improper sanitation. Since his time, a growing body of literature continues to indisputably show the existence of health disparities between African Americans and whites across a wide range of disease, illness, and health outcomes. For example, African Americans have higher rates of infant mortality, maternal mortality, homicide, HIV, many cancers and with more late-stage diagnoses and worse survival rates, hypertension, and heart disease. In addition, even when the rate of some diseases or illnesses among African Americans is the same or less than that of whites, they are more likely to have a worse prognosis.

The health status of racial and ethnic minorities is often compounded by the increased likelihood for these persons to live in or near poverty conditions. Material conditions directly related to health, such as the ability to refill prescriptions or to access a doctor, are distributed across class lines, as well as the resources that can keep people healthy and limit exposure to risk factors. Despite the established connection between economic status and health, health disparities between racial groups exist even when variables such as poverty, insurance status, education, and access to medical care are controlled, indicating that racial inequality

and discrimination at the interpersonal and/or structural level are likely contributing factors.

While African Americans have made relative gains in society as a group, they continue to occupy lower social and economic statuses in the United States. These inequalities are correlated to a number of risk factors—from exposure to violence to lead paint in the home—that impact a person's health in direct and indirect ways. Many of these risk factors and exposures are present from birth or early childhood and compound or multiply over a person's life. Some hypotheses expand on the work of early social epidemiologists to suggest that poor health and health outcomes work through indirect channels, such as stress or depression, which not only have real biological and physiological effects but can also lead to negative coping behavior such as alcohol abuse or unprotected sex that increase risk factors. Racial discrimination and bias embedded in all levels of the health care system are also sources of critique. For instance, data show that racial and ethnic minorities receive a lower quality of health care even when access and affordability issues are controlled.

However, these patterns are not unique to health differences between African Americans and whites. Many health disparities exist between whites and other racial/ethnic groups that have been marginalized in society. For example, rates of diabetes, liver cirrhosis, hypertension, and homicide are higher among Hispanics than their white counterparts. In addition, ethnic minorities may experience additional barriers to care, such as language or cultural differences, that do not affect the health care delivery of whites.

It is important to note that not all health disparities entail worse outcomes for people of color, yet, these examples are rarely addressed despite what they can inform about the health of all persons. As an example, Asian Americans on average have longer life expectancies than whites. A second example is that research on maternal mortality rates typically focuses more on the black-white gap, despite more Hispanic women having a lower maternal mortality rate than white women. Known as the “Latina paradox,” this phenomenon could benefit from further investigations into Hispanic and non-Hispanic maternal health outcomes.

Importance of Categorization

Because epidemiology focuses on the identification of disparate patterns of health and illness among populations, the manner in which race and ethnicity are categorized and used can be very important. The inclusion of race and ethnicity variables has increased in epidemiological studies; however, so too have concerns about the applicability and ethics of including an ethnic analysis, particularly when a study may not warrant it. Raj Bhopal, a leading expert in ethnicity and epidemiology, outlines a number of factors that should be taken into consideration. These include the measurement difficulties, heterogeneity of populations, ethnocentricity, and ambiguity of variable purpose. His purpose is not to dissuade researchers from including race or ethnicity but rather to highlight the reasons why these issues matter.

Of the four, measurement difficulties may be the most important because terminology, definitions, classifications, and reporting methods (interviewer-assessed or self-identified) impact the data and lead to different interpretations. The socially constructed character of race and ethnicity lends itself to these difficulties, and there is no single, worldwide definition of who or what definitively belongs in which category and the associated terminology. For example, “Asian” has a different meaning in different countries. In the United States, Asian typically refers to Chinese, Japanese, and Korean and excludes people from the Indian subcontinent, but in the United Kingdom, Asian applies to people with Indian subcontinent origins. A second illustration is that as changes occur in how race and ethnicity are captured by the U.S. Census, so too do the population sizes and the denominators. These differences affect statistical calculations and can skew or mask the full picture of a disease distribution.

The second problem, heterogeneity, captures the issues with grouping large numbers of different nations and cultures into one category, such as “Asian” or “Hispanic.” These are often too broad to be meaningful because they can hide the substantial within-group morbidity and mortality rates. For example, in the United States, the Chinese have the highest mortality rates from lung and bronchial cancers than any Asian subgroup, whereas the Japanese have the highest mortality rates from colorectal and uterine cancers.

The last two concerns, ethnocentricity and sound rationale, speak to issues of discrimination and bias. With ethnocentricity, the tendency to view one's culture as the standard by which to view all others, the absence of bias is a key component of scientific research. Yet, much medical and health research treats whites and white bodies as the standard. This is problematic because it assumes racial superiority and also masks instances in which being a member of a nonwhite ethnic or racial group offers a protective benefit.

Summary

The rationale for collecting data by race and ethnicity must be clear because the underpinnings of racism are that whites are biologically different and inherently superior to nonwhites. Further, there is a dark history of scientific racism, initially developed as a means to justify slavery and colonialism. These studies attempted to show, usually with the aid of faulty research and forged records, that Africans and African Americans were inferior in some manner to whites and thus exploitable.

Later, scientific racism gave birth to the eugenics movement that left thousands of poor women and women of color sterilized in the United States and other countries, the Tuskegee Syphilis Study that purposefully denied medical treatment to African American males, the Holocaust in which Jews and Jewish bodies were exploited in the pursuit of medical knowledge, and, as recently as 1994, in *The Bell Curve*, a book (and theory) that related intelligence with race. In addition, racial and ethnic data that show differences in health can blur the confounding effect of poverty and inadequate resources and access to medical care. Thus, while differences are often easy to describe, the reasons behind their occurrence are not so readily apparent.

As the United States continues toward greater multiculturalism, epidemiological issues surrounding race and ethnicity will be important to understand in order to improve public health for all persons.

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See Also: Ethnopharmacology; Eugenics; Health Beliefs and Practices; Health Disparities and Ethnic

Diversity; Herbalism; Hispanic Americans; Indian Health Service; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity; Race, Social Construction of.

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Epithets, Ethnic and Racial

An *epithet* is a descriptive term, word, or phrase used to enhance—or add to—the characterization of a person, place, or group, providing a generally accepted valuation. It is used extensively in poetry, where it is called poetic diction. An epithet formulaically applies actual or attributed qualities to people, individuals, or groups. Sometimes

this valuation becomes a nickname, like labeling a very effective football defensive back “bruiser.” Names of historical personages that could be confused with other individuals are given epithets as descriptive titles: William the Conqueror, Charles the Bald, Isabella the Catholic, or Wenceslaus the Drunkard.

At other times, the labels carry information about how the labeler thinks about culture, the individual, and his or her role in history or public events, ethnicity, or race. All are reductionist metaphors that stand in place of a group’s name, just as in historical texts; for example, “The Father of His Country” stands in place of George Washington.

Use in Cultures and Political Groups

Epithets can refer to social groups and describe their characteristics from the point of view of the user. In ancient Greece, “barbarian” was a descriptive term reserved for anyone who was not Greek with the connotation that a barbarian did not know how to act properly—they were not properly enculturated in Greek culture. In contemporary America, to say someone is a barbarian is considered an insult for it infers the referent has

not developed into a civilized person, or is someone who cannot control their violent emotions or ascribed background. As a result, epithet has come to be connotatively associated with expressions used to convey hostility and contempt and used invectively, dismissively, or abusively. An example of this process is the use of the words *communist*, *fascist*, or *socialist* for a person who does not agree with the speaker’s political views, invoking an ad hominum logical fallacy meant to undermine the butt’s intellectual arguments and marginalize the referent so he or she will not be listened to. The ultimate goal of a negative epithet is to eliminate the referent from the social group and negate his or her influence. Two of the most commonly used demeaning words, *bitch* or *bastard*, are often combined with obscenities or an ethnic designation.

When ethnicity, nationality, or race is centered in an epithet it is almost always derogatory. Sometimes the ethnic term is combined with a general insult—dirty, pig, dog—used as a modifier. Others are based on specific racialized adjectives (“nigger,” for any group with dark skin when light skin is assumed to be superior; or “Redskin,” used by U.S. sports teams to refer to a Native American) Other derogatory terms refer to specific times, places, and heritages: “bog,” a person of lower-class Irish ancestry; “gook” or “gook-eyed,” a term used by U.S. military in Asia during World War II; the Korean and Vietnam Wars refer to the Asian heritage enemies. For Native Americans, terms that have been used include “buck,” “warrior,” “chief,” “squaw,” or “papoose.” Mexican illegal immigrants who crossed the Rio Grande to find work in the United States were called “wetbacks.” Sometimes names have been broadened to refer to types of people regardless of ethnic or national heritage, such as “gringo,” “hun,” “thug,” or “vandal.” Such epithets and names have become disparaging stereotypes, although they were first used as neutral terms.



A caricature in the January 3, 1912, issue of *Puck* depicts the plight of Chinese in China with “Lo, the Poor Chink!” This English epithet, which refers to a person of Asian descent, is considered extremely offensive. Epithets have become associated with expressions or terms used abusively—in other words, racial slurs.

Stereotyping and Slurs

The use of racial or ethnic slurs theoretically raises the social position of the insulter and demeans the butt of the insult. In this sense, epithets are a form of stereotypes, culturally, socially, and individually determined by ideas about differences, often visualized in representations. Based on limited knowledge and assumed expectations, racialized

epithets carry perceptual, moral, and judgmental overtones viewed as derogatory and offensive. As a result, stereotypes tend to harm targeted social groups and individuals because they systematically distort reality while helping the user.

Epithet formation mechanisms assume that there are differences between two groups and accentuate some features while downgrading others. Often these stereotyped differences are based on the presence or absence of a key physical feature, social activity, or cultural trait, such as the way people greet each other, the type of eye contact people make, hair color, the loudness of voices, or the speed with which people talk. Epithetical words refer to either the exaggeration of valid group differences or the projection of illusionary distinctions. Distinctions assume that what the epithet stereotyper's group does is positive and "right," compared to the referent social group. It is the illusionary category on which racial slurs or epithets are formed; ethnic-based epithets are found in both categories.

Epithet stereotypes are often called slurs, and this is their most common usage in the contemporary United States. Epithet usage leads people to "see" homogeneous, almost reified, characteristics expressed by a person from a targeted social group that may not be present and to "ignore" other attributes that might be present or expressed. Thus, epithet usage robs groups of their diversity and people of their individuality. They are disrespectful, hateful, and generally pejorative, yet are socially debated because of issues of free speech.

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See Also: Hate Speech; Labels; Language Usage in the United States; N_____ Word, The; Race; Racism; Speech Codes; Stereotype Threat; Stereotypes/Generalization.

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Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is a federal administrative agency responsible for explaining and enforcing federal employment antidiscrimination laws. These include all relevant parts of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA), the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act of 2008, and the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009. If Congress passes the most recent version of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), which would extend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and/or gender identity, it will be enforced by the EEOC.

As it stands, the EEOC enforces regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, ethnicity, national origin or nationality, religion, sex or gender, and pregnancy status, as well as retaliation against those who report concerns pertaining to these categories. The EEOC has the authority to file lawsuits against employers who violate federal antidiscrimination laws but rarely needs to do so. The vast majority of charges are resolved via administrative enforcement, such as settlements and policy changes,

rather than by litigation. In the 10-year period between 2001 and 2011, 948,543 discrimination charges were filed with the EEOC; of these, only 4,010—fewer than 0.5 percent of the total—resulted in lawsuits.

In fiscal year 2012, the EEOC operated with 2,571 staff members and a budget of \$360 million. The size of the EEOC has dropped by 36 percent over the past three decades, dwindling from 3,390 employees under the Jimmy Carter administration in 1980 to 2,158 employees under the George W. Bush administration in 2007, but began to climb again following the election of President Barack Obama in 2008.

Policy positions on the size and scope of the EEOC tend to correlate with party identity; Republican policy makers tend to favor a smaller EEOC that focuses exclusively on individual cases of bias-motivated discrimination, while Democratic policy makers tend to favor a larger EEOC with the resources to address more subtle patterns of systemic discrimination. This reflects philosophical differences between the two parties regarding the nature of discrimination—the conservative movement having historically taught that discrimination requires conscious intent, while progressives believe that it can function in a more inertial, institutional way without conscious intent on the part of employers. It also reflects differences between the two parties regarding the role and scope of federal government agencies.

The current EEOC chair, Jacqueline Berrien, has served in that role since 2010. Prior to her appointment, she worked as an attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund (LDF), the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The EEOC's first chair was Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., son of the late president. The longest-serving and most controversial chair in EEOC history was Clarence Thomas, who served in the role from 1982 until he was appointed to the District of Columbia Appeals Court and then to the U.S. Supreme Court by President George H. W. Bush in 1989.

Origins of the Commission

On July 26, 1948, President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981. The order both

banned racial discrimination within the U.S. Armed Forces and established a seven-member President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, which was, in essence, a military-specific precursor to the EEOC. On March 6, 1961, President John F. Kennedy expanded the ban on racial discrimination to include all federal contractors in Executive Order 10925, which also established a President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. This committee became the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) with the enactment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Initial public reaction to the EEOC was mixed. While southern segregationists prepared to challenge the Civil Rights Act's constitutionality on the basis that the federal government did not have the authority to regulate employment discrimination, many civil rights activists suspected that the law was a largely symbolic gesture and would not result in any significant enforceable government action. The EEOC essentially functioned as an advisory body during the 1960s, but its authority to pursue litigation was limited. The Civil Rights Act itself did not give the EEOC the authority to file its own lawsuits, which essentially limited the agency's role to investigation and support, but the threat of private Title VII lawsuits was enough to convince many corporations to desegregate. In its first year, the EEOC negotiated with 111 businesses to ensure that their company policies and facilities conformed to Title VII requirements. The EEOC also began to submit amicus briefs in 1968 to assist, in a more formal way, with private lawsuits.

The EEOC gained the power to litigate with the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, by which time the U.S. Supreme Court had already held—in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company* (1971)—that policies that have a discriminatory effect violate Title VII even when intent cannot be proven. Over the next two years, the largest private company in the United States—AT&T—agreed to pay \$75 million in compensation to employees affected by discriminatory practices. Most of the EEOC's early efforts focused on race, gender, and national-origin discrimination but quickly expanded to include disability discrimination (with the passage of the

Rehabilitation Act in 1973) and age discrimination (pursuant to passage of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967)—and with the added threat of litigation, the EEOC's investigative efforts were taken more seriously by the business community.

The 1970s were an immensely successful period for the EEOC. By the end of the decade, it had investigated, confronted, and reformed nearly every major corporation in the United States, including General Electric, United Airlines, General Motors, Ford, Sears Roebuck, Bechtel Corporation, and the Illinois Central Gulf Railroad. It soon became clear that no corporation had enough power, influence, or money to completely escape the EEOC's attention, and—because the government took on litigation expenses—no victim of discrimination was too poor or marginalized to hold a corporation accountable for discrimination. This new level of corporate accountability necessitated aggressive reforms in corporate diversity and affirmative action policies, bringing the broader cultural reforms of the 1960s civil rights movement into corporate culture. The EEOC did not, of course, end discrimination—but it made discrimination less respectable as a business practice, and gave women, people of color, the disabled, and older workers a broader range of options and the possibility of greater social mobility.

Skepticism and Scope

The 1980s were an extremely controversial time for the agency. The conservative backlash against civil rights and feminism came just as the EEOC became known for embracing affirmative action guidelines and sexual harassment litigation, initiatives that had not achieved the same level of broad-based public support as investigations into employment discrimination. Although the Ronald Reagan administration was broadly supportive of the EEOC's viability as an agency, increasing both its funding and the number of employees, the period between 1979 and 1991 represented a compromise between the EEOC's supporters and skeptics—ending further expansion of the EEOC's mandate but securing the agency's long-term survival.

The EEOC's emerging transition toward remedial affirmative action programs in the late 1970s

followed a similar trajectory already established by unions, which in some cases established collective bargaining agreements that mandated percentage targets for the hiring of women and people of color as an effort to remedy past discrimination. Opponents of these affirmative action policies were initially emboldened by the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *McDonald v. Santa Fe Trail Construction Company* (1976), which held that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 protects men and whites from intentional discrimination just as surely as it protects women and people of color, but the Supreme Court later held in *United Steelworkers v. Weber* (1979) that companies may establish affirmative action programs in an effort to remedy or mitigate existing disparities in employment. Confusion over this policy led to the publication in 1979 of new guidelines on employee selection, which established standards that would allow companies to adopt voluntary affirmative action criteria in compliance with Title VII. The promotion of affirmative action criteria offended many conservative white men, who considered these policies tantamount to reverse discrimination.

Equally controversial in some sectors was the EEOC's decision in 1980 to clearly define sexual harassment as a violation of Title VII's gender discrimination statute, a decision that was constitutionally validated by the U.S. Supreme Court's majority ruling in *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* (1986). Under the guidelines, predatory behavior that makes workplaces inhospitable to women constitutes sex discrimination just as surely as more direct forms of employment discrimination. This policy, like the affirmative action reforms that took place concurrently, was offensive to many conservative white men. President Bill Clinton went so far as to suggest that the Republican congressional victories of 1994, which led to the first congressional Republican majority since 1954, could be attributed in part to the resentment that many "angry white men" felt regarding this broader interpretation of Title VII, which had by that point been indelibly associated with the presidency of Jimmy Carter and the congressional Democratic majority of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

By the end of the decade, the increasingly conservative U.S. Supreme Court had begun to grow tired of the EEOC. In four 1989 rulings, based on

technical details of statutory interpretation rather than broader constitutional objections, the court substantially limited the scope of Title VII. *Martin v. Wilks* allowed white employees who were not directly affected by affirmative action consent decrees to challenge them anyway; *Patterson v. MacLean Credit Union* established, contrary to the spirit of *Meritor v. Vinson*, that racial harassment did *not* constitute a Title VII violation; *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* lowered the standard by which an employer could defend itself against a Title VII lawsuit; and *Wards Cove Packing Company v. Atonio* required employees affected by racial disparities to document the policies behind these disparities in an implausibly specific manner.

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Representative Augustus Hawkins (D-CA) responded to these rulings by proposing the Civil Rights Act of 1990, which would have clarified the language of Title VII to address these statutory ambiguities. The bill passed Congress, but this initial draft was vetoed by President George H. W. Bush on the grounds that it would impose racial quotas on businesses and discriminate against prospective white employees—an unlikely outcome given the Supreme Court’s existing precedent in *McDonald v. Santa Fe*, but a persuasive nightmare scenario for older white men who felt targeted by changes in employment law. After further negotiation, President George H. W. Bush agreed to sign the revised Civil Rights Act of 1991, which addressed the Supreme Court rulings without otherwise significantly expanding the mandate of the EEOC.

Although expansion of the EEOC’s mandate has slowed down over the past two decades, it has not halted entirely. With the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 and the Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act of 2008 came a new wave of significant civil rights protections for disabled workers and other workers with long-term health issues and, with the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009, greater large-scale equal pay protections for women. Today, activists focus primarily on expanding equal pay legislation and expanding Title VII to include lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender workers, as well as more aggressively enforcing existing EEOC policies. Meanwhile, the U.S. Supreme Court has continued—most notably in *Ricci v. DeStefano* (2009)—to narrow the circumstances under which

affirmative action policies can be implemented to address institutional disparities.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is no longer new—but it has become an enduring instrument of the executive branch of the U.S. government, and its role will continue to shift, subject to public opinion, judicial review, and legislative revision.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Civil Rights Acts; Equity and Equality; House of Representatives, U.S.; Metrics of Diversity (Business); Presidency, U.S.; Senate, U.S.; Supreme Court, U.S.

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Equity and Equality

Equity and equality are related but significantly different concepts. Equity means fairness, and in the American legal tradition inherited from England, it is a principle giving judges in certain civil cases a degree of discretion in order to achieve an equitable result that the letter of the law might not explicitly provide. One of the “maxims of

equity,” a set of legal principles expanding on the concept of equity in law, is “equity will not suffer a wrong to be without a remedy.” Commonly, the goal of equity cases is to provide a better remedy to a wrong that has been done than the common law remedies available, which are usually limited to monetary damages.

In economics, equity is specifically contrasted with the idea of equal treatment. A flat tax treats each taxpayer equally, but not equitably. Economic equity requires policies to achieve fairness to account for unequal access to resources and unequal opportunity. Most people today embrace the simplest tenets of egalitarianism—that all people are created equal, should be treated as equal, and have the same rights. This is encoded not only in the U.S. Declaration of Independence but in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948, which states that “All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.”

Disagreements arise from the creation of new rights or routes to resources in order to correct economic, social, or civil inequalities, such as in voting rights laws or affirmative action programs. Classical liberalism favors individual rights and equal treatment by the law without regard to equity as such. Economist John Maynard Keynes, on the other hand, emphasized egalitarianism as the pursuit of an equality of *outcomes*: if two children are sitting at a restaurant booth and the smaller one is given a booster seat to bring him to the level of the table, that is not equal treatment in the sense of each party being treated identically, but it is equitable treatment in that the outcome for each party is equal.

The concept of “equality of opportunity” is interpreted differently by various parties. The opportunity in question refers to access to resources, especially employment, but includes education, housing, health care, and financial resources such as fair credit terms, small business loans, and mortgages. The difference in interpretation mirrors that between classical liberals and Keynes mentioned above: conservatives generally feel that it is sufficient to outlaw discrimination, while liberals have often supported programs that act as the figurative booster seat to increase the opportunity of disadvantaged groups, with an eye

toward the Keynesian equality of outcomes. Affirmative action is perhaps the best-known example.

Affirmative action programs are those that are adopted by universities or employers in order to actively prevent and counter discrimination against race, ethnicity, religion, or sex. Rather than simply outlaw discrimination, affirmative action programs actively support the hiring, or admission into college, of minorities through programs that include targeted recruitment, special grants and loans available to minority students, employee development programs for minority groups, and other such actions. Though the concept of affirmative action is popularly associated with quotas—whereby a minimum number of students of a particular gender or ethnicity would be admitted in a given year, for instance—the Supreme Court has limited universities’ ability to set such quotas, primarily in the *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) and *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003) decisions. What has been upheld, however, is a school’s ability to consider race or gender as a positive factor in evaluating candidates for admission.

Equity in Education

Equity is an often-raised issue in educational policy and the challenge of serving a student population in an equitable manner. Equity issues are sometimes raised in discussions of standards-based education reform, which seek to ensure that all students of a particular level achieve a particular minimum set of specific knowledge and skills. Given that students have different needs, aptitudes, and styles of learning, and come from different backgrounds, equal treatment—exposing each student to the same number of hours in each subject, grouping them all in the same classes—is not sufficient to achieve this minimum set unless it is pegged to the achievements of the least adept students.

A better solution is to tailor each student’s educational experience more specifically: to offer classes to help in the areas that are the most difficult for them, to offer tutoring and study groups and one-on-one learning experiences, and other methods. Equity in education also requires serving the needs of students with disabilities, whether physical or learning disabilities, and students of any ethnic or cultural background.

A phrase common in discussions of standards-based education reform is the “meaningful high school diploma.” The goal of standards-based reform is not just to better tailor the educational experiences of students but to create and maintain a system in which a diploma is a guarantee of a specific level of achievement and skills. Both Republican and Democratic presidents, notably George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, have supported standards-based education initiatives, and the nationwide education policy in the 21st century is grounded in standards-based education. Unfortunately, one of the initiatives that standards-based reformers succeeded in implementing was the adoption of exit exams in many school districts—exams students must pass in order to graduate. Perhaps sound in theory, in practice exit exams have been found to be extremely problematic, overemphasizing certain types of skills because of the ease of their testability, as well as inevitably resulting in a cottage industry of exit exam preparation tutors and summer school classes that “teach the test,” that is, cover the specific material that will be tested while neglecting other areas.

Equity in education is also a concern of advocates of antibias curriculums. Such curriculums, which originated in the multicultural education movement, are developed with the intention of removing biases such as racism, sexism, and homophobia. While such biases are rarely explicit, traditional educational materials may nevertheless reflect them, especially in the assumptions made about social norms or students’ family backgrounds or in the use of noninclusive language. An equitable antibias curriculum should not, for instance, leave students with the impression that a white Christian heterosexual American is the “normal” or “average” American against which other Americans are contrasted as exceptions to the mainstream. The concerns of the antibias curriculum range from the use of inclusive language in textbooks to abandoning the traditional practice of assigning female students to home economics classes and male students to shop classes.

The school curriculum consists of two layers: the formal curriculum, which is explicitly addressed and created by educational policy and consists of such things as course materials, the sets of available and required courses, graded work, and classroom instruction; and

the informal or hidden curriculum, consisting of the values, beliefs, norms, and biases reflected by educator behavior. Certain norms of behavior are inculcated in students by teachers who may otherwise be radically different and teach very different material, for example, such as arriving to class on time, ending class on time, and conducting class in an orderly manner (with students raising hands to be called upon, for example). There is nothing necessarily wrong with such norms. Other norms may be more problematic, such as the heteronormative character of the language and imagery that surrounds school dances and other social functions, the often heavily gendered presentation of content in school yearbooks, or the privileging of Christian culture that is implied by having a long vacation at Christmas.

Students are treated equitably when a range of cultural traditions are discussed in class, not just the major holidays of white western European culture. But only discussing these “other” cultures on holidays or other special occasions ghettoizes them and emphasizes their otherness, continuing to contrast them against a culturally dominant norm. One of the difficulties of antibias curriculum has been in being truly multicultural. Asian Americans, Native Americans, and others have pointed out that in many cases, multicultural or antibias material does little more than expand its focus from white Americans to white and black Americans, addressing many of the concerns of African American education activists but doing little to actually reflect a multicultural, complex America.

In other cases, revisionist textbooks that correct the biases of older textbooks may do so in a way that reads sensibly to an adult reader who is familiar with the older biased narrative but reads as a condemnation of European or white American culture when considered on its own terms without that greater context. Antibias curriculum has also been criticized for frequently being blind to intersectionality, the interactions between multiple forms of discrimination, such as against black women (who face both racist institutions and sexist ones) or disabled homosexuals.

Though the humanities may be the subjects most obviously impacted by these curriculum adjustments—in the public imagination, multicultural education is often synonymous with

the shift away from a focus on the writings of “dead white men”—bias in mathematics education is also a serious issue. Antibias mathematics materials include discussions of the mathematical contributions of non-European civilizations, and avoid relying exclusively on European names in story problems and other included narratives. At advanced levels, antibias mathematics can also discuss mathematics as a cultural product. Most education reform has focused on high school, both because it offers the largest variety of courses that can be objectively tested and because it is the final stage of public education, with a limited secondary focus on elementary school. But many reformers have pointed to the importance of early childhood education and the ways attitudes about gender, race, and other matters form at young ages.

Regardless of changes wrought to high school and other public school curriculums, students who wish to go to college are still in most cases required to take a standardized achievement test, such as Educational Testing Service’s Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT), and are impacted by the bias that has been found in such tests.

The criticism of the SAT (the largest standardized test used by college admissions departments) for cultural bias goes back for decades, and it has especially centered on the verbal portion of the test, where there are significant differences in specific vocabulary inventories (which is not the same as a difference in actual verbal reasoning ability or even vocabulary size) between different cultural, ethnic, and racial groups, and in which the test has long favored non-Hispanic white Americans.

Attempts to remedy the problem have been of questionable success. Research has confirmed a persistent correlation between family incomes and mean SAT scores, but not everyone agrees on the degree to which this reflects testing bias and the degree to which it reflects the effects of income on access to educational resources and other factors (poorer students may be more likely to have to work after-school jobs while middle-class students do their homework, for example, even apart from the likelihood of wealthier students having access to tutors and exam prep materials). In 2005, the SAT experienced its most thorough changes in years, with the Verbal test renamed the

Critical Reading test and a separate Writing test added. This was the first structural change to the test since the division into Verbal and Math tests in 1930.

The 2005 changes came in response to numerous complaints and the threat of the University of California to drop the SAT, which would have made it the largest college system to do so. Analogies, which were the most problematic and clearly biased portion of the Verbal test, were left out of the new Critical Reading test. However, significant problems have been discovered with the new Writing test, and one study revealed that there was a stronger correlation between long essays and high scores than between factually correct or rhetorically sound essays and high scores.

Further, recent studies have confirmed that cultural bias in the tests continues. In 2009, black students scored an average 99 points lower than white students. Studies in both 2010 and earlier in 2003 (before the changes) showed that this score disparity could not be attributed solely to social inequalities over which the SAT had no control—black students consistently scored worse than white students of similar educational background and skill set, meaning that the scores were not simply revealing that one group performed worse than the other academically with the test as only one of many instances of that performance. In 2012, a study of New York City students found that although blacks and Hispanics comprised 70 percent of the student population, they represented only 11 percent of the student body in the city’s elite public schools, because of consistent low performance in standardized tests relative to white and Asian American students.

In some cases this disparity in performance has persisted for so long and been demonstrated so consistently that educational policies are founded upon the assumption that it will continue. In 2012, Virginia and Washington, D.C., public school districts, setting metrics for whether a school would remain in good standing, set separate metrics for each race group. In Virginia, while 82 percent of a school’s Asian students and 68 percent of its white students must pass the standardized math test for the school to retain good standing, only 45 percent of its black students—less than half—need to do so. These policies, too, make it clear that the disparity cannot be solely accounted for by

differences in wealth, given that students within the same school are generally going to be closer to one another economically than will students in separate districts.

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See Also: Class and Ethnic Diversity.

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Eskimos

The Eskimos, or Inuit-Yupik, are an indigenous people of Alaska, Canada, and Greenland, having migrated from eastern Siberia. They are closely related to the Aleuts, who inhabit the Aleutian Islands. The term *Eskimo* is used in Alaska and considered acceptable, and refers to two main groups: the Yupik and the Inupiat. In Canada,

“Eskimo” is deprecated in favor of “Inuit,” in part because of the now-discredited myth that the word *Eskimo* means “eater of raw meat.” (Its actual origin is uncertain.) There are few Yupik in Canada, so the usage of “Inuit” poses no problems there; there is no collective term apart from “Eskimo” that includes both the Inuit and Yupik peoples and excludes others. The term *Alaska Natives*, used to differentiate the indigenous people of Alaska from those of the lower 48 states, includes many unrelated peoples.

Eskimo Cultures and Languages

The earliest evidence of Eskimo culture dates to about 3000 B.C.E., Siberian descendants who had likely migrated between 15,000 and 5000 B.C.E. These early Eskimos were part of the Arctic small-tool tradition (ASTt), an anthropological term for a tradition of tool-using cultures found in Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and eastern Siberia. The ASTt cultures used microblade technology consisting of side and end blades, scrapers, and burins (chisel-like tools made of lithic flake) in spears and arrows fashioned from bones or antlers. The ASTt probably introduced archery to the Arctic and included both nomadic and sedentary groups, typically living along waterways for better seal hunting or salmon fishing.

At some point the Aleut, though descended from this early Eskimo culture, became culturally distinct, perhaps due to their geographic isolation from the people who became the Yunik and Inupiat. The Aleut language is part of the Eskimo-Aleut family, but they are not considered an Eskimo people.

The Yupik peoples include speakers of four Yupik languages—Naukan Yupik, spoken by a small community on the Chukotka Peninsula of Siberia; Central Siberian Yupik, spoken mainly in Siberia but also by the community of about 1,000 Yupiks on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska; Central Alaskan Yupik, spoken throughout the Alaskan mainland; and Alutiiq or Pacific Yupik, spoken from the Alaska Peninsula to Prince William Sound. A fifth language, Sirenik, was spoken on the Chukotka Peninsula of Russia, but it has been extinct since the last native speaker died in 1997.

The Inuit language, spoken by the Inuit and Inupiat peoples of the Arctic, is descended from the language of the Thule people. The Thule culture dates to about 1000 C.E., with beginnings in coastal

Alaska and spreading across Canada to Greenland over the next four centuries. The Thule most likely were in contact with the Vikings of Greenland and the Canadian coast and lived migratory lives based on their hunting of large sea mammals, including whales. Their culture splintered during the Little Ice Age (1650–1850), with individual groups becoming the direct ancestors of today's Inuit cultures. In Alaska, the main Inuit dialects spoken are Qawwaraq, spoken on the Seward Peninsula and in the Norton Sound and Bering Strait areas; and Inupiatun, spoken on the North Slope and northwestern Alaska. Inuit is also one of the official languages of Canada's Northwest Territories.

Eskimo languages have no single, standardized writing system. Most groups in Alaska, whether Inuit or Yupik, use a Latin alphabet introduced during or just before the territorial period. Some Yupik groups use the Cyrillic alphabet, introduced during the period of Russian control. In Canada and Greenland, other systems altogether are used.

The kinship system used by Eskimo peoples was the subject of study by 19th-century Lewis Henry Morgan, and “Eskimo kinship” has become the name for that kinship system regardless of which culture uses it. One of the major kinship systems in the world, Eskimo kinship is familiar to most North American and European families, as it focuses on kinship distance relative to the nuclear family (parents and siblings). Relatives are grouped together according to kinship distance—grandparents, great-grandparents; first cousins, second cousins, cousins twice removed—with no distinction as to whether they are patrilineal or matrilineal relatives. Parental siblings are identified according to gender (“aunt” or “uncle”) but children of parental siblings are not (“cousin”).

One of the best-known foods of Eskimo culture, called *akutaq* by the Yupik and “Eskimo ice cream” by many non-Natives, is found throughout the Arctic region, and similar foods are found in most far-north cultures. It consists of berries, used for sweetness and flavor, pounded with whipped animal fat and frozen. Traditionally, the animal fat may have included tallow from the walrus, reindeer, or moose, or oil from seals. Today, Crisco shortening is frequently used to re-create the treat. Fish or meat were sometimes added in the traditional preparation but are less common today.



A young Alutiiq dancer displays the sewing and weaving skills of his heritage during a Native cultural event called “Celebration,” held every two years in Juneau, Alaska. The art of sewing was extremely important to the cultures living in the freezing Arctic.

Under the terms of the 1986 moratorium on whaling, the International Whaling Commission permits whaling by aboriginal groups such as Eskimos if it is done on a subsistence basis, meaning that whalers and their communities depend on the catch to live, not simply to profit from. In the United States, this exemption applies to nine Alaska Native groups, which hunt less than 100 bowhead whales a year out of the 10,000 in Alaskan waters, and to the Makah people of Washington State, who are allowed to hunt a single baleen whale every year. The yield from whaling is shared communally, a long-standing tradition in Eskimo cultures.

Specific formulas dictate how much meat and other products (blubber and skin) are allocated to each family in a village, according to how much was caught, and relatives living outside the village

are entitled to claim their share. Whale blubber has been a vital source of nutrients to Arctic peoples; living so far north in such cold conditions, few fruits and vegetables can be grown, and whale blubber is a rich source of vitamins A and C. Thinning sea ice has made whaling more difficult, jeopardized the traditional hunting of seals and walrus, increased coastal flooding where many villages are located, disrupted the migration and spawning habits of many fish species upon which Eskimos depend, and made travel more dangerous.

The Inupiat

Most Inuits in Alaska are Inupiat (or Inupiaq), indigenous to the Bering Strait region and the northwest Arctic. The Inupiat number about 13,500, are represented by the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, Bering Straits Native Corporation, and NANA Regional Corporation, and include the Siberian Yupik people, the Bering Strait Inupiat, the Kotzebue Sound Inupiat, the North Alaska Coast Inupiat (or Tagiugmiut), and the Interior North Inupiat.

Barrow, Alaska, the northernmost American city and one of the oldest permanent settlements in the country, is located in the Inupiat homelands in the North Slope and is ice-locked nine months of the year. It is also home to Ilisagvik College, a public community college that is the only college in Alaska operated by a Native tribe. Established in 1996, Ilisagvik offers courses in Inupiat studies, industrial and construction trades, business management, office administration, allied health, and accounting. It offers two-year associate's degrees and is accredited by the Northwest Commission on Colleges and Universities.

Barrow is also home to the Inupiat Heritage Center, dedicated in 1999 and affiliated with the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park in Massachusetts. Owned and managed on behalf of the North Slope whaling villages, the Heritage Center is home to exhibits and artifacts related to Inupiat whaling. The whale harvest has long been an important part of Inupiat culture, and both the Inupiat and Yupik peoples used to celebrate a midwinter whale harvest festival. Barrow continues to hold a Kivgiq Feast (also called the Messenger Feast), a three-day celebration of dance, song, and bartering. Held at the end of the midwinter festival every two to three years, it is

attended by visitors from all over the Arctic as a way to renew family ties and share traditions. The modern Kivgiq was revived in 1988.

The Kivgiq is followed by a spring festival in mid-April called Piuraagiaqta, when a path is broken in the ice for the whalers. The festival occurs when the weather allows for outdoor activities—half the year in Barrow, the daytime temperature is below zero degrees Fahrenheit, but approaches mere freezing temperatures in April. A number of Eskimo games are played during the spring festival, as well as on the Fourth of July and in the week after Christmas. Winners of the Fourth of July games are eligible to compete at the World Eskimo-Indian Olympics in Anchorage, Alaska, held every year (unlike most Olympics). Events include high kicks, also known as *akratcheak*, a sport that originated in whale hunting and requires the competitor to jump in the air, touch a hanging target with both feet, and land on both feet. Another traditional game is a simple contest of pain tolerance called the ear pull, in which two competitors, attached by the ears with a loop of string and facing each other, pull on the string until one forfeits because of the pain.

Another Eskimo sport, the blanket toss, is associated with Nalukataq, the spring whaling festival held throughout the Inupiat lands. In Barrow, it is held in the third week of June, when the temperature finally rises above freezing and the midnight sun begins. Nalukataq celebrates the distribution of whale meat and *muktuk* (blubber and skin) to the Inupiat community from the whalers, who are accorded great respect by their villages. Today it is also a celebration of traditional Inupiat culture, songs, and storytelling. After everyone feasts on whale meat, a sealskin blanket is erected atop four beams at about waist height. The blanket toss consists of dancers being thrown into the air as everyone else holds the blanket's edges. Traditionally, whaling captains and their wives go first and throw candy to children while they are in the air.

Yupik Peoples

There are about 24,000 Yupik in the United States, most of whom live in Alaska in the traditional Yupik territories in southwestern and western Alaska. Approximately 2,000 additional Yupik live in Russia. Most Yupik are fluent in their people's language. In traditional Yupik

culture, the people's time was split between fishing camps in the warm months and winter villages, and today many Yupik families are still subsistence fishers, relying heavily on salmon and seal. Singing, storytelling, and dancing are vital customs at cultural festivals. As in many cultures, gender roles are important in traditional Yupik culture. Men and women maintain separate communal houses, the *qasgiq* and the *ena*, used primarily in winter to teach boys and girls traditional skills—hunting, tool-making, and wilderness survival for the boys, and sewing, tanning, weaving, and cooking for the girls. Young boys until age five would live with the women in the *ena*, and in many villages, girls and boys would switch places for a few weeks every winter to learn the other gender's skills.

The largest group of Yupik is the Central Alaskan Yupik people, found from the southern Norton Sound southward along the Bering Sea coast. They are often called the Yup'ik or YUPIIT. Though they were traditionally nomadic, the abundant fish and game of the region allowed them a more sedentary existence than the Inupiat in the north, and a lifestyle that once depended more heavily on far-ranging nomadism eventually settled into seasonal migratory patterns. Many modern Yup'ik communities date to before the time of Russian contact, including the Unalirmiut of the Norton Sound area; the Pastulirmiut of the mouth of the Yukon River; the Kuigpagmiut of the Lower Yukon River; the Marayarmiut of the Scammon Bay; the Askinararmiut of Hooper Bay; the Akulmiut of the Kuskokwim River; and the Nunivaarmiut of Nunivak Island, who speak their own dialect of Yupik.

St. Lawrence Island, though part of Alaska, is closer to Siberia than to the Alaskan mainland, and consists of two villages—Savoonga and Gambell—which, under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, control most of the land of the island. The island is inhabited primarily by the only Siberian Yupik community in the United States, who live a subsistence existence dependent on reindeer herding, fishing, and hunting. A population that was about 4,000 in the middle of the 19th century has been reduced to less than 1,500; most of the non-Siberian Yupik population left the island during an 1870s famine or have since died. The island was home to a U.S.

Air Force station during the Cold War, serving as a U.S. Security Service listening post and warning radar site, and residents have experienced elevated cancer rates that have been attributed to polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) exposure from the station.

Eskimo Words for Snow

One of the most propagated ideas about Eskimos has no basis in fact. There is a long-held cliché that Eskimos have an unusually large number of words for snow, which is sometimes cited to demonstrate various claims about language, cognition, or culture. In fact, the English language has many words for snow—for example, slush, sleet, thundersnow, flurry, blizzard, drift, and snowbank are just as recognizable as words for snow as the Inuit examples sometimes cited. Eskimo languages could be said to have more words for snow only insofar as they are polysynthetic, which is a language that combines morphemes into sentence-long words. It is technically true that a polysynthetic language has more words for snow in that every possible sentence that can be written about snow constitutes a separate word, but in this sense, a polysynthetic language has more words for anything than does English.

In any event, the myth—which is sometimes called a hoax by linguists, because it has been spread long after it was discredited—seems to be based not on a misunderstanding of polysynthetic languages but on hoary anthropological notions about cultural differences. Benjamin Whorf, one of the linguists responsible for the Sapir-Whorf theory of linguistic relativity, cited the “fact” of many Eskimo words for snow as an example of language structure determining cognitive processes.

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See Also: Alaska Native Categorization (Essay); Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971); Alaska Purchase; Aleuts; Native Americans.

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Estadounidismos

In early 2012, the term *estadounidismo* was acknowledged by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language to refer to proper Spanish as spoken in the United States.

The interaction of Spanish speakers with their English-speaking neighbors has encouraged integration of English words with Spanish dialects to the point of becoming the norm in Spanish communities within the country. For this reason, the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE) confirmed the use of the terms *estadounidismo* and *Spanglish*. However, these terms are not synonymous. Spanglish has been identified by the RAE as a “form of popular speech in which elements combine morphological, lexical and grammatical Spanish and English.”

For its part, the *estadounidismos* “are words that maintain morphological integrity but senses acquire new lexical affinity with similar words of English in cases reinforcing their understanding with reference to the concept of the dominant language.” In other words, *estadounidismos* are acknowledged by the Royal Academy as proper Spanish words, not Spanglish slang. Many *estadounidismos* hold specific meanings in regard to life in the United States. For example, the word *department* is used in the United States regarding the Department of Education. However, in other countries the same governmental entity may be called a ministry or secretariat.

Arguments Over Semantics

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, more than 50 million Hispanics are currently living in the United States, and a significant portion of them are native Spanish speakers. In fact, the size of the Spanish-speaking population of the United States is second only to Mexico (including Spain itself). The increased importance of Spanish in American

culture is further indicated by the growing Latin American enclaves in urban areas and cable television packages regularly including Spanish-only networks.

Both English and Spanish have been historically dynamic languages. English, as it exists today, developed over thousands of years and has incorporated elements of Celtic, French, and Scandinavian into its vocabulary over the centuries. Likewise, Spanish is a combination of Indo-European, Latin, Romance, and Native American languages. Thus, it should be no surprise that when Spanish and English speakers interact in a country as diverse as the United States, the syntax and vocabularies of those languages are impacted.

Despite the inevitability of linguistic and cultural exchange, certain English and Spanish speakers see the acknowledgment of the phenomena surrounding *estadounidismos* as threatening. Recent federal legislation also addresses some of the fears that surround Spanish-English language mixing. Since 1906, English tests have been a requirement for naturalization. However, exemptions have existed, which certain groups have found objectionable. In early 2011, Republicans in Congress introduced the English Language Unity Act, legislation that would declare English the official language of the United States and eliminate exemptions for English language testing in the naturalization process. Republicans contend that the act would preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the federal government.

Oklahoma Senator James Inhofe testified before Congress that a “nation divided by language cannot pull together . . . effectively as a people.” Thus, Inhofe expressed his concern with the cultural and linguistic mixing caused by a significant number of Spanish speakers living in the United States. Similarly, Spanish linguists have also expressed concern over language mixing. These individuals fear that if the mixing of English and Spanish is officially acknowledged by organizations such as the Royal Academy, their language will somehow turn into something else.

From an academic standpoint, such fears from lay people could be labeled as reactionary. However, academic controversy exists in this regard. The academic controversy is best illustrated by the defined difference between *estadounidismo* and

españolish (Spanglish in English). As it will appear in the 2014 Royal Academy Dictionary, españolish is defined as “a modality of speech among some Hispanics by which Spanish and English lexical and grammatical forms are mixed, thereby weakening both.” The key difference between the two terms for Spanish mixing with English is that españolish weakens both Spanish and English in structure and vocabulary, while *estadounidismos* represents the creation and strengthening of language structures.

Language Mixing Appears Here to Stay

In response to the current linguistic mixing that is occurring in the United States and the controversy involved, the North American Academy of the Spanish Language proposed the term *estadounidismos* as a first step toward recognizing the use of Spanish in the United States. The North American Academy has pushed for the official acknowledgment of the term *estadounidismos* by the Royal Academy because its leadership felt that its use has become another highly complex variant of the Spanish language. Additionally, the North American Academy argues that because immigrants come from a wide variety of Spanish-speaking countries, the United States has become an area where many variants of the common tongue are created. In officially recognizing *estadounidismos* as a word, the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language recognizes the importance of the Spanish language in the United States. Additionally, by taking this action, the academy acknowledges that this unique form of Spanish exists and that it is not going away. The academy does not proclaim the existence of the term, or associated linguistic intermixing, as either good or bad. It simply records the widely accepted words that are in the common usage.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Bilingual Education; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Language Usage in the United States; Melting Pot; Spanglish.

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Estonian Americans

Estonia is a European country on the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea, a former Soviet republic. Estonia is one of the least populous countries in Europe, and Estonian Americans are one of the country's smallest ethnic groups, numbering only about 25,000. A former Soviet republic that gained independence and became a democracy in the 1990s, Estonia is considered a Nordic country by some of its citizens, having more in common culturally and linguistically with Finland than with Latvia or Lithuania.

Estonian immigration to the United States was sparse until the World War II era. The first Estonians arrived as part of the Swedish colonization of North America along the Delaware River in the 17th century, but they were few in number. Until 1922, those Estonians who did immigrate to the United States—farmers driven away by the Russian Empire's changing agricultural policies, and sailors who jumped ship—were identified as Russians in immigration records. Notable turn-of-the-century Estonian communities were founded in San Francisco and New York, and

rural communities in Fort Pierre, South Dakota; Bloomville, Wisconsin; Chester, Montana; and Dickenson, North Dakota. When the 1905 Estonian revolution failed, groups of socialists fled political reprisals by immigrating to the United States, joining the growing socialist movement here. There are no reliable figures for the Estonian presence in the United States before the middle of the 20th century, but estimates of the 1930 Estonian American population vary from about 3,500 to nearly 100,000.

What immigration did occur was constricted in the 1920s by newly restrictive immigration laws, but the first significant wave of Estonian immigration came in the World War II years. War refugees and political refugees fled Estonia during the war and in response to the Soviet takeover of the country after the war. In contrast to the 1905 minor wave, this group was nationalistic and strongly antisocialist. Most fleeing Estonians settled in Sweden or Germany, but 15,000 came to the United States. The 20th-century immigrants settled primarily in cities. About half settled in the northeastern cities of New York, Boston, Baltimore, District of Columbia, and parts of Connecticut and New Jersey; about one-fifth settled in Los Angeles and San Francisco; the remainder settled in midwestern cities and parts of the south and northwest.

Estonian Americans are well assimilated into American culture, and since World War II, most Estonian immigrants have become citizens. Relative to the size of the population, there are many Estonian American cultural organizations and fraternal groups. There are also a number of Estonian churches. The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, with 38 congregations, has over 12,000 members—nearly half as large as the Estonian American population (though, of course, not all of its members are Estonian, and membership includes non-Estonian spouses). The Estonian Baptist Church in New York was one of the first Estonian churches founded and remained an important cultural center even for non-Baptist Estonians. There are a small number of Estonian Orthodox and Pentecostal parishes in the major cities. This religious diversity reflects the diversity of the Estonian people, as well as the very different circumstances surrounding various waves of immigration; the 1905 socialists, for instance,

were not always atheist, but typically eschewed organized faith, especially since Estonia's Lutheran Church at the time had long been dominated by Baltic-German oppressors. That same oppression, though, also motivated the founding of an Estonian Lutheran Church in New York in 1896, by Hans Rebane, a Lutheran minister to whom the American German Missouri Lutheran Synod had reached out. Rebane's church provided Estonian immigrants with a Lutheran parish of their own, outside Baltic-German control; an outspoken leader, Rebane was a vocal opponent of the later socialist immigrants.

Rebane's church and the fighting between socialist and antisocialist factions in the Estonian American community were all signs of the uneasy nature of the Estonian national identity; the country had been dependent on foreign powers for so long that it lacked a solidly developed national character or story, and the various factions had very different ideas about what it should be, and little common ground. The Soviet takeover of Estonia ended many of these arguments. Most Estonians since then have supported the Republican Party (a Democratic president signed the agreement at Yalta in 1945, which in many Estonians' eyes capitulated to Soviet demands), despite frequent involvement in labor unions.

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See Also: Finnish Americans; Latvian Americans; Lithuanian Americans; Russian Americans; World War II.

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Ethics

Ethics is a branch of philosophy concerned with moral principles and human conduct. Ethical values determine whether an act may be, should be, or should not be performed: in essence, how one's deeds are judged as good or bad within particular norms. Ethics studies have cultural connotations because principles derived from the Eastern origin and those of cultural minorities often differ from traditional ethics of Greek and European origin dominant in the United States. Western cultures adhere to ethical tenets that emphasize the individual's actions and rights, while other cultures regard the collective will superior in ethical decisions.

The study of ethics enables one to understand problems in context and to make informed judgments, whether discussing cultural assimilation or arguing the efficacy of affirmative action. Given today's multicultural landscape, it is essential that an examination of ethics includes both knowledge of the history that produced current dominant norms and an awareness of the issues that arise from cultural distinctions and diversity present in American society.

Historical Origins

Ethics includes rights, obligations, benefits to society, and fairness, and many have evolved and changed during the United States' history. An abbreviated synopsis of the Western foundational concepts delineates the dominance of individualism in American society, compared to group-centered collectivism of other populations. It is not surprising, therefore, that the root of Western moral philosophy is *virtue ethics*, which emphasizes the virtues of an individual.

Virtue ethics often begins with Socrates (5th century B.C.E), who held the teleological view that humans have a purpose. Morality was not about obeying laws but about understanding oneself sufficiently to know how best to behave. Plato believed in both empirical knowledge and reason, which he deemed "real" knowledge because it required deep thinking. U.S. citizens have traditionally questioned their lawmakers in his model and often affirm that this right is not similarly allowed in other nations.

Aristotle postulated an examination of the ends: if one chose to do wrong, one must be

punished. Decades later the Stoics and Epicureans emphasized pleasure and passion in contrast to Aristotle, but Christianity supplanted these and other early doctrines, and St. Augustine and his contemporaries underscored theology rather than morality until humanism reestablished the importance of the usefulness of one's life.

John Locke believed in natural law, which ultimately inspired the Declaration of Independence concept of "inalienable rights" from Locke's principles of human nature as defined by an inborn ability to reason. From this followed the natural law tenets of freedom, rights to possessions, and the right to life, above even a government's rules. Thomas Hobbes, however, replaced Locke's doctrine with his social contract because he did not believe in society's ability to govern itself without fighting over goods and power.

Hobbes declared that people were selfish, fundamentally unethical, feared misery caused by material desires, and that government was essential to establish strict laws to punish those not in compliance. Immigrants from countries with recent histories of socialism and communism are familiar with and may adhere to this dogma. By contrast, Thomas Jefferson espoused the tenets of Locke's Second Treatise of government because it asserted that people are created equal with equal rights. It remains the cornerstone of American ideology today.

A later 18th-century philosophy of note, deontology, postulated by Immanuel Kant, concluded that ethics is not about doing what one wants to do but about carrying out moral obligations and duties. In opposition, utilitarian philosophers Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill held that motives were not important, but rather that consequences were the determinants of ethics. Mill's Greatest Happiness principle stated that an action was right if it maximized pleasure and minimized pain for the majority of people: of consequence in a multicultural society where majority opinion outweighs the rights of the few and may disallow rights of minorities.

Existential ethics meant the highest good for humans was becoming an individual. Martin Luther King, Jr., proposed that ethics provided standards that precede laws, and emphasized cultural relativism. And, postmodern ethics emphasizes systems within societies, usually advising

community members to work together for individuals to achieve.

The majority of Western ethical principles were developed by and aimed toward individuals—primarily, white males. This has potential to be problematic in a multicultural society where cultural groups often have opposing, collectivist values.

Individualism and Collectivism

In multicultural America today the concept of individual rights versus a collectivist philosophy is at the core of many ethical dilemmas. Eastern philosophies of Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Zen emphasize collective principles such as social responsibility and duty to family and society, as well as eminence of inner development over external rewards of money or popularity. A tragic past example of collectivist versus individualist ideologies is the early settlers' misunderstanding of Native Americans' ethics regarding community, spirituality, land, honor, nature, and morality. Ethnic Americans today often have similar touchstones regarding ethical behavior based on family, religion, or cultural origins less in alignment with European-derived values.

Masculine–Feminine Divergence

Another site for ethical dilemmas is the status and treatment of women. Women born in the United States may find it common to be assertive and independent, while immigrants and families from cultures accustomed to absolute masculine authority may disagree about the legality and ethics of both laws and customs. Immigrants from countries where religion supersedes the government, or Americans whose religious doctrines contradict specific laws, may encounter further ethical dilemmas.

As part of his proposed challenges to modern ethics, James Sterba addresses both the view that Western ethics is biased to favor men and male thinkers as well as the view that Western ethics has not taken women thinkers and their positions seriously. And Carol Gilligan, among others, utilizes a feminine perspective of judging actions as moral or immoral. Through a feminine framework of ethics males tend toward an “ethic of justice” that views morality as a question of rights,

while females tend toward an “ethic of care” that emphasizes responsibilities.

Females find greater moral worth in networks and lateral relationships, while males tend to focus on hierarchical chains of command. Strength has a different meaning for men and women. Men emphasize assertion and aggression while women emphasize nurturance and interdependence.

Despite these differences, an ethical person, male or female, is expected to adhere to justice and equality based on universal principles of acting in the best interests of society, meeting one's responsibilities, and doing no harm.

Principles and Practice

In a 2010 national survey, the U.S. Census, collected data from residents across the United States for the purpose of informed decision making regarding political, economic, legal, and societal services, as well as determination of House of Representatives' seats. In the same year, a very different survey produced the “2010 Report Card on the Ethics of American Youth.”

The results of over 40,000 students who participated in the investigation revealed entrenched habits of unethical behavior and decision making. A majority of students (59 percent) admitted to cheating on a test that year, 80 percent admitted to copying someone else's homework, and one in three plagiarized assignments using the Internet. The survey also reported that 80 percent admitted to lying to their parents about something significant. Disturbing from a cultural perspective, 42 percent admitted to using racial slurs.

The Josephson Institute notes that these numbers appear to be understated since more than one in four of the students confessed that they lied on some survey questions to conceal misconduct. Perhaps most disconcerting is that the students' baseline of values, while alarmingly low, allowed 92 percent of them to report that they were satisfied with their personal ethics. Although these findings may be considered ethical misdemeanors in contrast to universally condemned acts, such as murder and rape, they do demonstrate specific values and ethics for this particular research sample of the U.S. population.

At issue are questions of what determines one's moral development, what social and legal norms influence one's maturation into an ethical citizen,

and which principles are most important in becoming an adult in pursuit of knowledge and happiness. Despite differences in cultural origins, it is important to teach responsibilities associated with ethics to members of a multicultural society for continuing productive coexistence and progress.

It is unlikely that everyone will agree upon a universal definition of ethics, but in a democratic America one can choose among several paths: a disregard of ethics, a decision to follow one of many traditional ethical ideologies, or a multicultural approach described by American philosopher Richard Rorty as philosophical pluralism, which progresses from individuality to plurality as one accepts a variety of equally valuable principles in pursuit of an honorable human life.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Constructivism, Intercultural; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Diversity and Inclusion; Diversity Training; Equity and Equality; Pluralism; Political Correctness; Tolerance.

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Ethnic Studies

Although research on racial and ethnic groups and their interrelations had long existed in the United States, ethnic studies as a discipline did not emerge until the late 1960s. Before then, there existed no ethnic studies programs and no ethnic studies faculty, and almost no ethnic studies courses were offered at universities and colleges. School curricula primarily reflected Eurocentric histories and views; they largely overlooked the histories, cultures, and perspectives of minority groups. Faculty and administrators of higher education were predominantly white males. Ethnic studies was not a concern of American society; ethnicity was often perceived as an obstacle to the full assimilation of ethnic groups into the mainstream of society. The emphasis of American society at that time was on assimilation into white Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture.

The tumultuous 1960s witnessed waves of social movements and social unrest. The modern civil rights movement, which began in the 1950s, culminated in the mid-1960s, resulting in the enactment of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. More and more Americans came to agree with the principle that all Americans, regardless of their race or ethnicity, should be treated equally, should have equal access to higher education, and should have their voices heard and their perspectives reflected in higher education. The women's liberation movement emerged in about the same period, adding its demand for equal rights and an equal voice to the foray. Anti-Vietnam War demonstrations erupted across the nation. Outside the United States, third world peoples were rising up against colonialism, especially in Africa.

These movements inspired student activism on university campuses. In 1968, students at San Francisco State College (now San Francisco State University), led by a coalition of separate ethnic action groups known as the Third World Liberation Front, staged the first strike for the creation of an ethnic studies program. In 1969, students at the University of California (UC), Berkeley, organized by their Third World Liberation Front rallied for their ethnic studies program. The students rebelled against the status quo and denounced racism, sexism, and elitism. These events culminated in students' occupation of the

administrative offices at both campuses, with a demand for fundamental changes in higher education. The movement soon spread to many other campuses across the country. Students of color, as well as their white supporters, demanded better access to higher education, changes in curricula to reflect their ethnic cultures and perspectives, recruitment of minority faculty, and establishment of ethnic studies programs.

As a result, ethnic studies programs were created in the late 1960s and the early 1970s as “fire insurance” to appease militant students. Among the pioneers were the School of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University and the Ethnic Studies Department at University of California, Berkeley. Following their lead, black, Asian American, Chicano/Chicana, and Native American studies programs mushroomed across the nation. Scholars began to pay greater attention to ethnic issues. Ethnic groups, especially minority groups, started to emphasize ethnic consciousness, ethnic identity, and ethnic pride. Slogans such as “Black is beautiful,” “Brown is beautiful,” and “Yellow is mellow” partly reflected this shift. Terms indicating ethnic identities, such as African American, Japanese American, Mexican American, and Jewish American became buzzwords. Societal emphasis gradually shifted from assimilation toward ethnic distinctiveness. Ethnic studies as a discipline grew out of this historical context.

Joining this emerging discipline was a renewed interest in the study of white ethnic groups, especially Catholic groups (such as the Italians, the Irish), the Jewish, and Eastern European groups (like the Polish). Studies of this so-called ethnic revival found that even among white ethnic groups, ethnic identities and ethnic cultures did not die out, as evidenced by ethnic awareness, ethnic foods, ethnic languages, ethnic literatures, ethnic festivals, ethnic holidays, and ethnic customs, although they disagreed on the meanings and causes of this ethnic revival. By the late 1970s, a significant number of ethnic studies programs on European groups such as Armenians, Germans, Italians, Polish, Jewish, English, Welsh, Canadians, Czechs, Slavics, Ukrainians, and Amish had appeared on the scene. Hence, ethnic studies was not limited to the study of minority groups.

During the latter half of the 1970s, the demand for social justice that bred the civil rights movement

waned significantly. Budgetary crises in the 1970s forced severe cutbacks in and consolidation of ethnic studies programs, and less than half of the then existing programs survived into the 1980s. Furthermore, the politically inhospitable climate in the 1980s instigated a backlash against ethnic minority communities and a degradation of their concerns. On college and university campuses, racism was resurrected and racial tension intensified. Ethnic studies was at a low ebb.

In spite of setbacks, the reorganization, reconceptualization, and redesign of ethnic studies programs have revitalized the field. After four and a half decades since its emergence, ethnic studies as academic discipline has grown stronger than ever before. One salient feature of this maturation is the growing institutionalization of ethnic studies programs. In 1996, Gretchen Bataille, Miguel Carranza, and Laurie Lisa recorded almost 700 ethnic studies programs or departments with an emphasis on minority groups. If programs on European Americans were counted, the total number of ethnic studies programs or departments was well above 800. Despite a lack of updated count, today the total number of ethnic studies programs should be significantly more because of the creation of new ethnic studies programs since 1996, especially in Asian American studies and Chicano and Latino studies.

Several of the strongest comprehensive ethnic studies programs are housed in public research universities, especially in the west. The Department of Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley includes programs in Asian American studies, Chicano studies, and Native American studies and houses the first Ph.D. program in ethnic studies in the United States. Founded in 1990, the Ethnic Studies Department at UC San Diego takes a comparative approach with no ethnic-specific programs and started its Ph.D. program in ethnic studies in academic year 1996–97. The Department of American Ethnic Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle, was launched in 1985 by consolidating the existing programs in African American, Asian American, and Chicano studies. In a similar vein, the University of Colorado at Boulder created its Center for Studies of Ethnicity and Race in America (CSERA) in 1988 by merging the black studies and Chicano studies programs and adding new ones in Asian

American and American Indian studies. In 1996 the Department of Ethnic Studies took the place of CSERA. A Ph.D. program in comparative ethnic studies was approved in 2013 and will begin accepting applications in late 2013 for a cohort to enter in fall 2014. The Department of Ethnic Studies at UC Riverside offers a Ph.D. degree in ethnic studies. Bowling Green State University has one of the oldest ethnic studies departments, founded in 1979 with a comprehensive and comparative orientation.

Many other research universities have departments, programs, or centers in one or more ethnic studies subfields. Examples include Harvard University, Brown University, Cornell University, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Michigan, the University of Southern California, the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and other UC campuses. In recent years, an increasing number of research universities outside the west have been making genuine efforts in establishing ethnic studies programs, partly as a response to student demonstrations or demands (such as Columbia University, University of Texas at Austin). Many teaching universities have also installed ethnic studies departments or programs. Most notable is the 23-campus California State University (CSU or Cal State) system. All CSU campuses have either a comprehensive ethnic studies department or ethnic-specific departments or programs. Particularly, San Francisco State University houses the only College of Ethnic Studies in the country.

The institutionalization of ethnic studies programs has been accompanied by a growing number of faculty engaged in ethnic studies teaching and research. The establishment of ethnic studies departments or programs and the recruitment of full-time faculty in ethnic studies have resulted in a prodigious amount of scholarship. Exemplary works encompass not only the well-known writings of Cornel West, Henry Louis Gates, and bell hooks, but also Ramon Guitierrez's highly original study of power and sexuality in colonial New Mexico; Michael Omi and Howard Winant's acclaimed book on racial formation; Ronald Takaki's and Sucheng Chan's outstanding narratives of Asian American history; and Ward Churchill's powerful defense of Native American sovereignty.

Increasingly, ethnic studies courses have become part of requirements for degree programs or an important portion of the curriculum. For example, successful completion of a number of ethnic studies courses is a graduation requirement for all undergraduate students at many UC and CSU campuses, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the University of Colorado at Boulder, Washington State University, and other colleges and universities. Enrollments in ethnic studies programs or courses have increased substantially. For instance, at UC Berkeley, the Ethnic Studies Department together with the Department of Afro-American Studies enrolls over 8,000 students each year, and there are still about 2,000 students on the waiting list.

However, attacks on ethnic studies have never stopped. They have ebbed and flowed from time to time. Among the latest assaults, the most publicized was represented by Arizona House Bill 2281 (known as H.B. 2281), signed into law in 2010. Effective January 1, 2011, this law prohibits a school district or charter school from teaching courses and classes that promote the overthrow of the U.S. government, "promote resentment toward a race or class of people," "advocate ethnic solidarity instead of treatment of pupils as individuals," or "are designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group." Sponsored by Tom Horne, the state's then superintendent of public instruction, this law targeted Chicano studies program in the Tucson Unified School District, which, he claimed, promoted racial division and inculcated the notion that Mexican Americans are oppressed. Although this law applies to primary and secondary education in Arizona only, its impact may go beyond this scope as a result of media publicity. The law includes a number of clauses that permit the offering of courses under standard ethnic studies curriculum. Thus, H.B. 2281 may be viewed as a bashful attempt to revert what appears to be irreversible.

Despite on-and-off attacks, ethnic studies is becoming part of the mainstream in higher education. This trend is likely to continue in the near future as American society becomes increasingly multiracial and multiethnic and the ethnic composition of the college student population continues to diversify.

Defining Ethnic Studies

Unlike well-established disciplines, there may not be a consensus among ethnic studies scholars as to what ethnic studies is, or what constitutes the domain of ethnic studies. Ethnic studies is often perceived as the study of minority groups. The National Association for Ethnic Studies defines ethnic studies as “an interdisciplinary forum” for the study of “the national and international dimensions of ethnicity.” Still others contend that ethnic studies should focus on the intersection among race, ethnicity, gender, and class. On balance, ethnic studies can be defined as an interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and comparative study of ethnic groups and their interrelations, with an emphasis on groups that have historically been neglected.

One important component of ethnic studies is the study of ethnic groups. Two definitions of ethnic groups are often used: a narrow definition and a broad definition. The narrow definition defines an ethnic group as a group socially distinguished, by others or by itself, on the basis of its unique culture or national origin. According to the broad definition, an ethnic group is a group socially distinguished, by others or by itself, on the basis of its unique culture, national origin, or physical characteristics. Under the broad definition, a racial group, defined as a group socially distinguished, by others or by itself, on the basis of its unique physical characteristics such as skin color, eye color, hair color, or facial structure is part of ethnic groups.

This article uses the broad definition of ethnic group and treats racial group as a special case of ethnic groups based on physical characteristics. Ethnic studies has profound interests in all social aspects of ethnic groups including their histories (such as origin, immigration, settlement, population changes, and socioeconomic transformations); cultures (like languages, religions, customs, and popular cultures); institutions and organizations (such as, family, school, economic institutions, political, social, and religious organizations); identities; experiences; and contributions to American culture and society.

Another vital component of ethnic studies is the study of intergroup relations, which include ethnic stratification; social, economic, and spatial interactions among ethnic groups; political power relations; cooperation and conflict

between groups; ethnic prejudice and stereotype; and ethnic discrimination. Individual ethnic groups may be better understood in comparison with and relationship to other ethnic groups. Ethnic studies seeks to capture the social, economic, cultural, and historical forces that shape the development of diverse ethnic groups and their interrelations.

Ethnic studies adopts interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and comparative approaches to knowledge. Ethnic studies scholars study ethnic groups and their interrelations through the combination and integration of perspectives of various disciplines, including anthropology, economics, history, political science, psychology, sociology, and humanities (like, philosophy, literature, linguistics, arts). That is why ethnic studies scholars are of very diverse backgrounds, including social scientists and humanities specialists. Furthermore, ethnic studies emphasizes a comparative approach in order to understand the history, culture, and institutions of ethnic groups in comparison with others. It focuses on common trends and experiences of different ethnic groups. In addition, ethnic studies uses some discipline-based methodologies of the social sciences and humanities.

Currently, the emphasis of ethnic studies is on those ethnic groups that have been neglected in the past. Ethnic studies is concerned about all ethnic groups but focuses on minority groups such as African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans. A prime reason is that traditional disciplines have largely omitted the history, culture, and experience of minority groups and their contributions to the shaping of U.S. culture and society. This partly explains why ethnic studies departments or programs are normally staffed with specialists in specific minority groups or in comparative studies of ethnic groups. Ethnic studies seeks to recover and reconstruct the history of minority groups, to identify and credit their contribution to American culture and institutions, to chronicle their protest and resistance, and to establish alternative values, visions, cultures, and institutions.

Although ethnic studies in the United States focuses on ethnic groups and intergroup relations in this country, in more recent years ethnic studies programs and scholars have become increasingly interested in the diasporic and transnational

dimensions of ethnicity and ethnic relations. A primary consideration for such a shift is that ethnic groups and intergroup relations in the United States can be better understood in global contexts and in comparison with ethnic groups and intergroup relations across nations.

Subfields of Ethnic Studies

In the United States, ethnic studies currently consists of several subfields: African American studies or black studies, Asian American studies, Latino/a studies, Chicano/a studies, Puerto Rican studies, and Native American studies. All of these subfields share some common concerns, assumptions, and principles, but each subfield has its special interest in a particular minority group. African American studies, for instance, focuses on the experience of African Americans and their relations with other groups. There appears to be a unified field of Hispanic and Latino studies as represented by the National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies (NAHLS), but NAHLS is still at an emerging stage as it depends on the National Association of African American Studies (NAAAS) as an affiliate. The most organized fields within Latino studies are Chicano/a studies and Puerto Rican studies, the former having an emphasis on Americans of Mexican descent. There are further divisions within some of these subfields. Chinese American studies, Japanese American studies, Filipino American studies, Korean American studies, South Asian American studies, and Vietnamese American studies are some examples of such divisions within Asian American studies.

These subfields are relatively autonomous. Each has its own constituency. Each is represented by at least one national professional association, such as the American Indian Studies Association, the National Association of Native American Studies (NANAS), the NAAAS, the National Council for Black Studies, the Association for Asian American Studies, the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies, the Puerto Rican Studies Association (PRSA), and the NAHLS. Normally, each organization convenes an annual meeting. However, the NAHLS, the NANAS, and the International Association of Asian Studies join the NAAAS to hold their annual conferences as affiliates of the latter, and the PRSA holds a biennial conference. Most organizations have their own publications.

What Ethnic Studies Is Not

Increasingly, traditional boundaries of disciplines have become nebulous. Nonetheless, certain confines do exist in order to define a discipline, at least until a greater integration of disciplines arrives. Ethnic studies is not international area studies. Often students and laymen mistake international area studies for ethnic studies. For instance, "Asian American studies" is often mixed up with "Asian studies." The Asian American Studies program at UC Berkeley had to post a note outside its office, proclaiming that "This is Asian American Studies Program, NOT Asian Studies Program." Similarly, distinctions between African American studies and African studies and between Latino studies and Latin America studies seem less palpable to outsiders. In general, area studies focuses on a particular region or country outside the United States and its relations with the United States, while ethnic studies centers on a particular group in America that originates from a region or country. The former is internationally oriented whereas the latter is domestic in orientation.

Sharp distinctions notwithstanding, linkages and overlapping between the two fields do exist. For instance, ethnic studies pays attention to how conditions in the country of origin and its relations with the United States affect the status and experience of the ethnic group in America from that area, and area studies is also interested in the impact of the ethnic group in the United States on its country of origin. Because of the connections between countries of origin and experiences of ethnic groups in America as well as the need for cross-national comparison of ethnic relations, ethnic studies also demands an international component to its curriculum.

Ethnic studies does not equate with cultural studies, though the two disciplines do overlap to some extent. Emerging in the 1950s in Great Britain, cultural studies is a field that has continuously shifted its interests and focus. A main difference is that cultural studies emphasizes the culture of a society, which may include ways of life, cultural forms, cultural industries, cultural markets, cultural products, cultural policies, and subcultures, whereas ethnic studies focuses on ethnic groups (including their cultures as well as their histories and social institutions) and intergroup relations.

Ethnic studies and women's studies have different emphases. Both ethnic studies and women's studies grew out of the 1960s and share similar concerns of achieving equality between the sexes or among ethnic groups. Some ethnic studies scholars underscore the importance of researching the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, and class. While this is legitimate, women's studies also places a great emphasis on the intersection among race, ethnicity, gender, and class. In spite of common interests, ethnic studies focuses on the ethnic dimension while women's studies devotes more effort to the gender dimension, even when both deal with the junction of the multiple dimensions.

Ethnic studies differs from other disciplines of social sciences and humanities in its basic methodologies. Other disciplines of social sciences and humanities study issues that concern ethnic studies scholars, such as ethnic stratification, ethnic interactions, ethnic prejudice, and discrimination. However, ethnic studies differs from those disciplines in that it uses interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and comparative approaches while those disciplines mainly rely on discipline-bound methodologies. Some people outside ethnic studies tend to equate ethnic studies with political activism. Undeniably, ethnic studies originated from student political movement. Nevertheless, as it has evolved, ethnic studies cannot and should not be characterized as political activism, demonstration, protest, or the like. Ethnic studies is a scientific inquiry of ethnic groups and their interrelations. It pursues knowledge that will advance the interests of traditionally underprivileged ethnic groups and will help achieve eventual equality among all ethnic groups.

The Future of Ethnic Studies

Ethnic studies is here to stay in the United States. Its future survival and success will depend on how the discipline tackles the following issues: institutionalization of ethnic studies, academization versus politicization of ethnic studies, multiculturalism and ethnic studies, whiteness studies and ethnic studies, and ethnic studies and national unity.

Continuing institutionalization of ethnic studies. Since its inception in the late 1960s, ethnic studies has blossomed into a full-fledged academic

discipline in higher education in the United States. Institutionalization has become a salient feature of the discipline. Significant progress notwithstanding, success of ethnic studies programs in securing departmental status demands further endeavors. Institutionalization of ethnic studies also calls for the further expansion of ethnic studies programs to more than two-thirds of U.S. colleges and universities that still have no ethnic studies programs. Procurement of a general education or core course status for core ethnic studies courses and codification of ethnic studies courses into college graduation requirements can increase the audience of ethnic studies courses and solidify their status in higher education. Substantial and increasing demand for ethnic studies courses in turn sustains and augments demand for faculty and may lead to the growth of ethnic studies programs. Offering more general and ethnic-comparative courses rather than just ethnic-specific courses can also increase demand for ethnic studies courses.

Changing demographics provide a vital source of continuing institutionalization for ethnic studies. The shifting demographic composition prefigures a more diverse student population on college campuses, which in turn increases the demand for ethnic studies.

Academization versus politicization of ethnic studies. Ethnic studies must weigh academization against politicization. The issue of academization is particularly pivotal and difficult because, unlike traditional disciplines, ethnic studies as a discipline grew out of student activism in the 1960s. To be sure, the mission of ethnic studies and the process of establishing and sustaining an ethnic studies program are political. The cause of ethnic studies aims at progressive social changes, humane treatment of ethnic groups, and improved intergroup relations. Each step of progress entails hard-fought political battles. As a discipline, ethnic studies is a systematic study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, and intergroup relations using interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and comparative methodologies. It is by no means synonymous with political activism. The academization of the discipline and curriculum of ethnic studies is important for the survival and advancement of the discipline, changing social milieu, and shifting

student composition of ethnic studies courses. The academization of the ethnic studies discipline and curriculum is not only imperative, but it is also attainable today. Calls for academization in the 1960s and 1970s would not have been realistic because of the paucity of expertise and scholarship in the field. The remarkable growth of the literature in the field in the last four decades has made the academization of the discipline viable.

The academization of ethnic studies invites endeavors in several areas. One such area is the continuing production of scholarship through scholarly books, academic journals, and creative writings. Textbooks constitute another area of undertaking as they play an important role in popularizing the discipline and increasing its acceptance by the larger society.

The academization of ethnic studies does not necessarily contradict the promotion of interests of minorities. Academization calls for further research on minorities and their communities. Via scientific study of the traditionally disadvantaged, ethnic studies scholars can better fathom their status; pinpoint their problems, needs and solutions; and speak on their behalf.

Multiculturalism and ethnic studies. While the meaning of multiculturalism varies greatly across disciplines, no one will deny that multiculturalism is a social movement toward openness and diversity. A genuine drive toward multiculturalism in American universities and colleges has been most evident since the 1980s. As multiculturalism expands its domain into the college curriculum and becomes an accepted curriculum-organizing principle, some concerns have been raised as to whether multiculturalism threatens the existence of ethnic studies. According to the literature, multiculturalism imperils the existence of ethnic studies at least in two ways. First, multiculturalism could co-opt or ingest ethnic studies. Since traditional disciplines of social sciences and humanities and their departments increasingly recruit ethnically diverse faculty, integrate multicultural perspectives in their curricula, and/or offer multicultural courses themselves, ethnic studies will lose its ground of necessity and vitality. In other words, the prevalence of multicultural education efforts in traditional disciplines could endanger the justification of autonomous ethnic studies programs.

Second, the establishment of broad ethnic studies course requirements vies for the limited resources of ethnic studies programs since they will become service stations.

The multiculturalism menace is exaggerated, but it should alarm ethnic studies scholars to take preventive actions against this peril. Several measures may be considered by ethnic studies programs: (1) strengthen ethnic studies programs by sharpening the uniqueness and advantages of the ethnic studies curriculum and making it irreplaceable, (2) take an active leading role in coordinating the campus multicultural curriculum, (3) prevent or lessen competition for resources and prioritize important areas of development, and (4) expand single-group-oriented ethnic studies into *multiethnic* studies by emphasizing the comparative approach.

By making assorted and precautionary efforts, the multiculturalism threat can become an impetus and advantage for the advancement of ethnic studies. The prevalence of multiculturalism per se is partly an outcome of ethnic studies, and it could, in turn, strengthen ethnic studies programs if steered properly. Ethnic studies and multiculturalism are in essence complementary rather than competitive. Multiculturalism is an ally of ethnic studies more than its rival.

Whiteness studies and ethnic studies. Another critical issue that could have great potential impact on the future of ethnic studies is whether to incorporate whiteness in ethnic studies. The study of whiteness is a growing field of scholarship that examines whiteness as a social construct, as a system of power and privilege, as a group, as an identity, and as a social movement. There are risks of engaging in the discourse of whiteness. For one thing, intellectual work on whiteness may be construed as an affirmation and rendition of white privilege and domination. For another, the study of whiteness may contribute to the re-centering, rather than de-centering, it, as well as the reification of whiteness as a fixed category of experience and identity. Moreover, the invention of so-called “whiteness studies” could eclipse important work done on “people of color.” In addition, white writers may revel in a narrative of guilt, accusation, or denial, and therefore dispense with the real work of racial justice and antiracism pedagogy.

Turning a blind eye to the existence of whiteness studies is ostrichism. The exclusion of whiteness studies would not aid the cause of ethnic studies. A better strategy is to incorporate the study of whiteness in ethnic studies. The incorporation of whiteness studies could have significant effects on the development of ethnic studies.

First, the inclusion of whiteness studies as a focus of analysis shifts the emphasis of ethnic studies from the study of minority groups to a comprehensive and comparative analysis of all ethnic groups. This move is consonant with the direction of ethnic studies toward comparativeness and academization. Second, the study of whiteness will affect the ethnic studies curriculum. It means the addition and modification of ethnic studies courses that reflect this area of scholarship, and it also means more comparative courses. Third, the incorporation of whiteness studies may increase the acceptance of ethnic studies courses and boost ethnic studies programs.

For instance, at UC Berkeley, the inclusion of comparative analysis of European Americans with other minority groups in the curriculum resulted in the passage of the American Cultures Requirement for all undergraduate students. Finally, and perhaps most controversially, the incorporation of whiteness studies could change the faculty composition of ethnic studies programs in the near future. The inclusion of whiteness in ethnic studies may give the green light to the entry of white scholars into ethnic studies programs, especially those multiethnic studies programs. The inclusion of progressive white scholars in ethnic studies programs may strengthen them and might well change the image of ethnic studies programs from primarily minority programs to more inclusive ones.

Ethnic studies and national unity. Ethnic studies is often mistaken for ethnic particularism and even separatism. To be sure, ethnic studies does not champion separatism but calls for self-consciousness; it does not seek division but searches for accurate and mutual appreciation. Ethnic studies is not a force of fragmentation, Balkanization, and tribalization but a force that forges an unshakable national unity based on the knowledge and respect of diverse ethnic cultures. Ethnic studies seeks to “reunite America” on the basis

of equality and equity and to redefine American identity. Ethnic studies prepares students for a common citizenship through understanding and appreciating cultures of different groups. Ethnic studies acclaims “out of many, one.” Ethnic studies can have a distinctive role to play in reuniting America, redefining “American,” and rebuilding a more inclusive, multicultural American society.

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See Also: African American Studies; American Indian Studies; Asian American Studies; Black Studies; Chicano Studies; Hispanic Studies; Native American Studies; Puerto Rican Studies.

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Ethnicity

While “ethnicity”—and especially the adjective “ethnic”—have become two of the most frequently used English words of the last quarter century, there is still much confusion about their precise meaning, particularly in reference to social science definitions. This confusion may exist because *ethnos*—the ancient Greek term from which *ethnicity* derives—originally simply meant “people” or “nation,” broadly understood as referring to a human population sharing a common ancestry, language, heritage, and lifestyle, and recognizing their group membership on the basis of these criteria. Currently, however, the term *ethnicity* is usually correlated either to exotic tribal people or minority-majority relations, often involving problematic diversity issues.

The complex factors leading to this shift underlie the substantially different definitions of ethnicity still being debated among social scientists, which emerged from the same historical processes that also gave birth to the modern social sciences now studying ethnicity. These social sciences include psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science, and these processes involve European colonialism, on the one hand, and the social, political, and economic changes triggered by “modernization” on the other.

Western colonialism’s date of birth is usually correlated to Christopher Columbus’s “discovery” of the New World in 1492, a date also ushering in the period during which the foundations of European modernity became established, through the application of the new perspectives on art, science, religion, and economic and sociopolitical organizations that made the Renaissance a major turning point in the history of Western civilization. Throughout this period the English term *ethnic* was used rarely, and mainly to refer to “heathen” populations, not belonging to the Christian community of nations. As colonial expansion intensified contacts with a broad range of non-European populations, and as scientific advances led to a revision of traditional views about the Earth and its inhabitants, the concept of ethnicity was supplanted by that of race, which applied biology to human diversity (relating it to “inherited traits”), organized it hierarchically (on the basis of Eurocentric assumptions of superiority), and justified

Western colonial imperialism because of its “civilizing mission.”

Modern Anthropology and Ethnicity

It can be argued that if early anthropology incorporated many of the theoretical mistakes and empirical misunderstandings undergirding these social evolutionist perspectives, the modern version of the discipline, established by Franz Boas around the beginning of the 20th century, specifically aimed at counteracting racialist ideology. Fifty years later, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) commissioned some of the most renowned scientists of the time to address “the race question,” and there was consensus among them in supporting the Boasian perspective on human diversity—totally denying the scientific validity of the race concept, and recommending it should be dropped altogether and substituted by ethnicity.

But the race concept has had remarkable staying power, possibly because human beings are sensitive to visual markers and to symbolic emblems of ingroup-outgroup membership. Even members of populations who have suffered centuries of discrimination because of racialist ideology and consequent racist policies—such as African Americans—continue to place importance on maintaining, and even emphasizing, those “racial” characteristics that distinguish them from the majority population. So, race is now often used to strengthen a sense of group identity, which in turn can be a powerful political tool. However, the lack of correspondence between the physical and cultural characteristics of human groups makes the race concept dangerously unreliable, and its continuing imbrication with ethnicity considerably complicates contemporary social science treatments of this topic.

The modern social science definition of ethnicity came from the German sociologist Max Weber in his *Economy and Society*, published posthumously in 1922. This definition did not explicitly involve a correlation with race, highlighting instead the importance of a sense of “common descent,” which members of an ethnic group believe they share. However, it did refer to the perception of ethnicity as being related to contrasting one’s population with other populations encountered through migration or colonization, and this

is an important change from the ancient meaning. While ethnicity was originally a synonym for “peoplehood”—implying membership in a distinctive, self-contained, autonomous, sovereign nation—the modern social science meaning refers instead to populations that are not autonomous, particularly at the political level. In other words, ethnic groups may still be considered, or even officially be recognized, as “nations” or “nationalities,” but they are not sovereign nation-states.

This explains why ethnicity has perhaps become the most potent trigger worldwide for political mobilization, majority-minority conflict, and separatist movements. This is also why contemporary discussions of ethnicity often intersect with discussions of nationalism. The theory that nationalism is the ideology of the modern nation-state—a theory developed by Western political scientists, social historians, and sociologists—relates the separatist aspirations that ethnicity can trigger to the fact that the modern nation-state “needs” to ensure the cultural homogeneity of its citizens, in order both to legitimize its political organization (which wields power in the name of the “people”) and to ensure the compliance of all citizens with its laws, norms, and overall institutional structures. In this framework, ethnic groups that do not become assimilated within the “national culture”—that is, the hegemonic cultural framework of the majority—become implicitly problematic.

It is revealing, in this respect, that theorists of nationalism relate the emergence of this one-nation/one-state ideology to the same 19th-century European “discovery of culture” that also gave rise to modern anthropology. When Franz Boas described culture-making as the main adaptive mechanism of the human species, and cultures (in the plural) as the geographically and historically contingent products of this mechanism, he was expressing a major shift in how to understand human diversity. This is a shift that eliminates the “biologizing” of human group differences (a culture is “learned,” rather than inherited, and populations with similar physical characteristics may vary dramatically in cultural characteristics). Also, this view dismantles the social-evolutionist hierarchical placement of different cultures on a “ladder of progress” (every culture expresses “the genius of a people,” and

definitions of progress are culture-specific). Thus, cultural relativism and long-term participant observation were the fundamental methodological principles applied by modern anthropologists in the study of different cultures, and their work solidly documented that various “peoples” often have overall cultural characteristics distinct from those of other populations, even when they live in close proximity, may physically look very similar, and share some historical experiences and/or organizational characteristics.

As it happens, these early studies mainly focused on small-scale, tribal populations, often because anthropological research was encouraged by the Western colonial powers needing information on their subjects in order to better rule or assimilate them. Thus modern anthropology often became the handmaiden of colonialism. But through their work, anthropologists confirmed the ancient definition of “ethnos” as an autonomous, sovereign nation, with a distinct and recognizable “culture”—no matter what its size. The tribal populations so often studied by anthropologists in the first half of the 20th century were not nation-states, since state systems of political organization appear in history only fairly recently and seem to require a certain population size, but they definitely were “culture units.”

As tribal populations became incorporated into Western colonial empires, at least some were able to maintain their cultural specificity and organizational autonomy, but this could not continue as they became part of the nation-states that were either directly established by the European settlers (as in the case of Canada or the United States) or that emerged from decolonization molded into a Western model of government (as happened throughout Latin America, parts of Asia, and the African continent). It is precisely in these settings that ethnicity acquired its modern meaning, referring now to populations that see themselves as culturally distinct from others with which they are inextricably related at the sociopolitical level. In other words, ethnic groups are often nations “trapped” within a culturally alien state structure.

Western Concepts of Human Nature

The centrality of culture, and of cultural differences, for understanding ethnic relations in the contemporary world should have given

anthropologists a distinct advantage in the study of “the ethnic phenomenon.” This, however, has not been the case, and the social scientists who have so far contributed the most to the study of this topic remain the sociologists, the social historians, the political scientists, and the social psychologists. This development is partly explained by the centrifugal internal dynamics of anthropology as a discipline, in which consensus has been lost about fundamental theoretical tenets—such as definitions of culture—methodology, and even scientific status. But this is also the consequence of unacknowledged ethnocentric assumptions about human nature, which in the West is generally conceived as basically asocial, contentious, avaricious, driven by self-interest, and overall defined by possessive individualism.

As remarked by American anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, this is the view expressed by a long line of Western thinkers, from Aristotle to St. Augustine, and from John Calvin to Benjamin Franklin. It seems to be behind the preoccupation with “checks and balances” as the basis of the U.S. Constitution, and it is definitely the view expressed by Austrian psychologist Sigmund Freud when characterizing the process of a child’s socialization as the repetition of the collective “civilizing process” of the human species, requiring the repression and sublimation of its malignant inclinations.

But this is also a view belied not only by the unbroken record of culture-making sociality characterizing human beings from their emergence but also by the fact that many cultural traditions—actually, the majority of the non-Western ones—define humans as essentially good; see enculturation as the process by which people realize and express (rather than thwart and repress) their human natures; and see people as fundamentally defined by sociality, and so embedded in a complex web of social relations that individual agency is seen as the outcome (rather than the antagonist) of the solidarity ties anchoring everyone to their social matrix. This basic difference between what could be called the “I-cultures/we-cultures” views of human nature profoundly affects the conceptualization of ethnicity and ethnic relations, and may also explain some of the misunderstandings incurred by Western social scientists studying the treatment of ethnic groups in non-Western societies.

A view of humans as basically isolated individuals, potentially engaged in a constant “war of each against all,” highlights the need for people both to engage in “constructing” their identity (rather than “acquiring” it automatically through group membership) and to constantly protect their autonomy from outside control, interference, and influence. In a way, then, this is a view that denies the reality of culture as the distinctive lifestyle of a whole population, emphasizing instead the rights of individuals to define their own identity according to their contingent instrumental needs.

Consequently, this is a view leading to a definition of sociopolitical organization as a control mechanism, which can itself only function by pitting interest against interest and power against power, in order to establish a precarious uniformity—which in theory protects the rights of everyone, but which in practice establishes “the tyranny of the marketplace,” in which the only behavioral guideline is competitive individualism. Within this scenario, the fact that ethnic groups differ from the majority is both belittled and bemoaned. Since differing culturally from the majority is an obvious “instrumental handicap,” individuals should actively engage in “shedding their ethnicity” so they can successfully become assimilated. And since identity is individually constructed, people can “choose” their cultural identity and should obviously do so to maximize their self-interest.

In the United States, where the ideology of possessive individualism has probably found its most radical expression—establishing a quintessential “I-culture”—being American has in fact long been perceived to be what remains when ethnicity has been erased. This is probably why Americans generally deny there even is an American culture. Apparently most mainstream Americans still feel, as the American anthropologist Margaret Mead acutely pointed out in the 1940s, that “however many generations we may boast of in this country, however real our lack of ties in the old world may be, we are all third generation, our European ancestry tucked away and half forgotten, the recent steps in our wanderings over America immortalized and over-emphasized.” In this context, the inability of certain groups to successfully acculturate in order to be assimilated has

long been seen as a “failure”—often related to some original characteristics (once thought to be racial, and now redefined as cultural) that actually impede their “reinvention” as all-American.

Postmodernism and Circumstantialism

Another consequence of Western views of human nature for the study of ethnicity is which social science disciplines have mainly become engaged with it, and how they influenced each other’s approaches. Until the late 1960s, for example, the anthropological approach was strongly influenced by psychology and, in those settings in which ethnicity was studied at all, the central issue was “identity,” especially in reference to processes of acculturation. In other words, the main model was one of ethnicity as a transitional phenomenon with chiefly psychological manifestations.

By the end of the 1960s, however, many anthropologists turned to a model borrowed from political science, in the sense that ethnicity came to be seen as a “situational” strategy, aimed at negotiating relations across groups perceived as culturally different. The turning point in the theoretical tide is often cited as 1969, the year Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth’s book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* was published, since this text most clearly spells out an approach—variously called situationist, circumstantialist, or instrumental—which ended up exerting the most influence on the social science treatments of ethnicity for several decades. The factors that have given this approach its remarkable success are the rise of postmodernism as an overall social science perspective and the increase in ethnicity-related conflict—factors that are themselves connected with the further expansion of Western cultural hegemony through globalization, and with the change in patterns of international migration and nation building it triggered.

Postmodernism, as a general ideological stance, emerges from the conditions created by multinational consumer capitalism—the engine of globalization. The postmodern condition is one in which traditional social frameworks—such as the family or the workplace—lose their strength and stability, so that consumption becomes the only mechanism for self-definition. As a consequence, the postmodern subject hungers for affiliation, but only to the extent that it implies personal

choice (the exercise of “consumer freedom”). The circumstantialist approach to the study of ethnicity fits the postmodern zeitgeist particularly well since it is constructivist, in the sense that it emphasizes the subject’s agency in the process of ethnic-boundary development, and it is dynamical, since both ethnic boundaries and ethnic identity are seen as the result of contingent, and constantly fluctuating, interactive processes. This harmonizes well with the postmodern critique of “objectification” in social science and the concomitant attention to subjectivity and creative agency in identity formation. As a matter of fact, the postmodern preoccupation with rejecting any type of “essentialism” is also behind the critique of the anthropological culture concept itself.

It is therefore hardly surprising that a cultural approach to the study of ethnicity, while arguably canonical at the stage in which anthropologists saw no reason to distinguish between tribes and industrial nation-states, is now often considered irrelevant or even inappropriate. Furthermore, by taking the circumstantialist argument to its ultimate conclusions, ethnic groups become equated with interest groups, and ethnicity is simply seen as a “political” phenomenon. This fits in well with the “conflict model” of social relations, which seems to have become paradigmatic in Western social science. Within this model, culture gets both politicized and trivialized, simply becoming another commodity.

That ethnic diversity has led to so much intergroup conflict since the 1970s is the other factor that may have favored a circumstantialist view of ethnicity among social scientists. The management of ethnic boundaries in interaction leads almost implicitly to ethnically rooted inequality and thus to conflict. Consequently, a circumstantialist approach ends up highlighting the inevitably conflictual component of ethnic diversity. But it is precisely this phenomenon that most highlights the conceptual dissonance between the circumstantialism of so many Western social scientists and the importance given to the “cultural content” of ethnicity by so many ethnic group members themselves, who claim an inherited collective cultural uniqueness and make it the basis of their social and political activism. At the popular level, in fact, the historical processes triggered by globalization seem to have catalyzed a growing

attention, and attachment, to cultural heritage, and an increasing unwillingness to assimilate.

Globalization and the New Diaspora

In a way, therefore, the major transnational migratory flows characterizing recent history have created a new type of diaspora—involving populations maintaining strong connections with their homelands, and holding on to their cultural distinctiveness from the host country with pride, implicitly resisting acculturation. In the world of scholarship this has given rise to new areas of study, such as “cultural studies,” which specifically looks at the expressive dimension of social life and at the symbolic representation of diversity, and “ethnic studies.” Also, and perhaps most importantly, some scholars have attempted to address contemporary trends by introducing a perspective on “group rights” even in the context of “I-cultures” long committed to prioritizing individual agency and identity. Consequently, there has been a growing debate on the concept of “cultural citizenship,” and

“multiculturalism” has become a major ideological trend in political philosophy and in pedagogy—being translated into a myriad of programs variously aimed at facilitating diversity training, cross-cultural competence, or even the acquisition of “cultural intelligence.”

These recent trends seem to intimate the value of “reclaiming” the anthropological perspectives on culture for the effective study of ethnicity, and it is ironic that the lead on this promising path has been taken by several non-Western anthropologists—particularly in Asia—who are able to evade both the postmodern zeitgeist, and the epistemological foundations of the “I-cultures.” The cross-cultural differences characterizing the study of ethnicity may, in fact, implicitly indicate the crucial importance of looking at ethnic groups as cultural units and studying them in a comparative framework. However, such an approach also demands a robust clarification of the culture concept, which has currently become ever more loosely applied both popularly and in new social science fields such as cultural studies.



At the elaborate opening ceremonies of the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing, China, 2,008 performers of the fou—the most ancient percussion instrument in China, made of clay or bronze—produce the sound of rolling thunder to greet spectators from around the world, August 8, 2008. The long and distinguished history of China’s culture was intertwined with the theme of the Olympics: “One World, One Dream.” The study of ethnicity underscores the importance of looking at ethnic groups as cultural units.

By analyzing the differences between whole cultures (holocultures) and ethnic groups, and by relating their reality to the structure of the nation-state, new analytical frames might emerge that could greatly facilitate research. Also, the historical formation of ethnic groups—that is, whether they emerge from migration or invasion—needs to be comparatively assessed. And the relationship between ethnicity and physical appearance on the one hand, and ethnicity and social roles—such as those created by age, gender, or socioeconomic status—on the other, needs to be studied, documented, and placed within an overall theoretical framework.

Ethnicity is a lived experience, and the anthropological research approach, aimed at detecting macro patterns on the basis of micro observations, and analyzing the global through the local, is a particularly useful tool for understanding a phenomenon that is now affecting all areas of the world and that has wide-ranging repercussions. Whether modern nation-states embrace or reject multiculturalist policies, the multiethnic composition of their citizenry is an undeniable historical reality. The universalization of ethnicity may well require a basic overhauling of the political organization of nation-states, but a better understanding of this phenomenon may make all the difference in how successfully, and peacefully, this major transition in the history of humankind will ultimately take place.

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See Also: Culture; Diaspora; Diversity Training; Ethnic Studies; Intercultural Competence; Multicultural Education; Race; Relativism; Tolerance.

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Ethnoburbs

Ethnoburbs are multiethnic suburban neighborhoods with a high density of one particular ethnic minority group, possessing both a strong residential and economic presence. Immigrants living in ethnoburbs come from varied socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, and these areas are comprised of both international and local businesses. Wei Li originally used the term *ethnoburbs* to describe the settlement patterns of Chinese immigrants in the United States, in areas such as Monterey Park in Los Angeles County, which now hosts a population of 61,571, dominated by Asians. Changes in U.S. immigration policies, the global economy, and geopolitics have all led to the development of ethnoburbs. These areas have also received much recent interest, in both academia and popular discourse.

Historically, ethnoburbs began to emerge in the 1960s, with Monterey Park being one of the first to attract ethnic residents. Prior to this, immigrants settled in ethnotowns: strictly defined ethnic enclaves found in inner-city areas, such as Chinatowns. Openly racist exclusion laws (such

as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882) served to support this inner-city settlement pattern. However, following World War II, with the introduction of laws allowing servicemen to bring their war brides to the United States and the introduction of the Immigrant and Nationality Act of 1965, immigration increased exponentially. In the case of Asian immigrants, their influx into the United States, coupled with the decrepit conditions of many Chinatowns and inner-city race riots (for example, the Los Angeles, California, Watts race riots, 1965), led to an outward migration of many Chinese to the suburbs. This pattern was replicated in other ethnic groups, including Latino and African American.

Features of Ethnoburbs

Ethnoburbs possess a number of features. They attract immigrants from both high-income educated backgrounds and low-income unskilled backgrounds. Compared to ethnotowns, which tend to have strictly defined boundaries, ethnoburbs possess less clear boundaries. They are more ethnically diverse, are comprised of more recent immigrant generations, and are car dominated. Here, ethnic groups have the ability to maintain their traditional cultural identities and practices relating to language, education, and religion. This can facilitate community cohesion and the adaptation of new immigrants to their surroundings. Yet, it can also limit their ability to completely assimilate into the U.S. culture. Ethnoburbs also tend to focus on facilitating the needs of one particular ethnic group, and less on those from other groups living in the same space.

The varied socioeconomic makeup in ethnoburbs develops in a number of ways. With the globalization of the economy, and the key role of multinationals in this process, there comes a rise in the demand for highly skilled and educated immigrant professionals to work in financial, information technology, and a range of other globalized firms. These professionals tend to migrate to more tolerant, ethnically and racially diverse suburban neighborhoods. This inflow of middle- and upper-middle-class immigrants leads to a demand for an ethnic-based service industry, with restaurants and other local businesses serving the local population's needs. It is the creation of this service industry that facilitates opportunities for

low-income unskilled immigrants from the same ethnic/language group and thus leads to stratification in class. These suburbs function as social networks and hubs wherein immigrants may do business with one another and in turn with the wider globalized economy.

Ethnoburbs dominate the San Gabriel Valley in California, with eight Asian-concentrated ethnoburbs. Bellevue, Washington, is another example of an Asian ethnoburb, with Asians comprising 27 percent of the 122,363 population. In Massachusetts, Quincy is rapidly becoming an Asian-centered suburb, with 22 percent of its population made up of members from this ethnic group. These areas all share common features of ethnic-based local economies and global and multinational linkages, of built large houses and malls catering to Chinese businesses.

Ethnoburbs are not limited to Asian groups. Over half of the Hispanic population in the United States lives in three states: California, Texas, and Florida. An example of a Latino-based ethnoburb is Riverside County in California. This minority-majority area is comprised of 45.5 percent Latinos, making their numbers greater than the white population. Here, the median family income is well above the national average and more than one in five businesses is owned by Latinos. With its population of 18 percent black and 54.4 percent Latino, Moreno Valley in California is an ethnoburb dominated by two groups. In the United States, 55 percent of blacks (alone or in combination) reside in the south. Areas including Houston and Dallas in Texas; Memphis, Tennessee; and Baltimore, Maryland, all host large suburban populations. Ethnoburbs are also located near other ethnically diverse cities, including New York City; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and San Francisco, California. Dearborn, Michigan, represents a white-minority ethnoburb where Arabs comprise 41.7 percent of the population.

The development of ethnoburbs has an influence on the political conditions and social relations of a city. Rapid change, racialized conflicts, and interracial cooperation have all been generated in their establishment. With the redistricting of states following the 2010 population census, high-ethnic-density ethnoburbs have implications for voting patterns and the representation of ethnic group members in Congress.

Based on their population compositions, as measured by the census, and their widespread distribution, the development of ethnoburbs highlights the changing landscape of multicultural America. These areas allow immigrants to practice their culture, language, and traditions freely in the area in which they live, and serve as a means by which ethnic diversity is maintained in the United States.

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See Also: African American; Chinatowns; Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Ethnicity; Gerrymandering; Hispanic Americans; Interculturalism; Latinos; Melting Pot; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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Ethnocentrism/ Xenophobia

The term *ethnocentrism* was coined by William Graham Sumner in reference to the view that one's own group is the center of everything, with others judged in terms of the familiar standards of that group. One manifestation of ethnocentrism

is xenophobia, or the fear of outsiders. Xenophobia may have served an evolutionary purpose in the development of homo sapiens by allowing them to automatically reject potentially competitive groups, but it is an increasingly dysfunctional response to modern mobility and multiculturalism. Fear, like all emotions, arises from perceptual experience. To address the fear of outsiders, people need to understand how insiders and outsiders are being created and maintained by their perceptual experience of culture.

The idea of ethnocentrism has long been associated with a kind of national xenophobia, but the basic mechanism of ethnocentrism is equally applicable to understanding many troublesome aspects of domestic intergroup relations. The key to reducing xenophobia among domestic ethnic groups, including immigrant groups, is to assume (1) that all groups have a cultural dimension and (2) that relations among groups include a kind of intercultural communication. With these assumptions, it is possible to see three major aspects of ethnocentrism that impact multicultural relations in America (and elsewhere).

Ethnocentrism as Denial

The primary mechanism of ethnocentrism is perceptual. The groups in which people are socialized provide a set of figure/ground distinctions that give form to some phenomena and not to others. For instance, American women as a group are taught to make many more distinctions in texture and color than are American men, while generally men are provided with more categories for distinguishing technical objects like automobiles and computers. The result of this socialization is that women tend to treat color and texture as objects of interest, while men tend to treat them as just background. Men, on the other hand, tend to treat cars or computers as important objects of interest, while women tend to see them as just the mechanisms through which transportation or information occurs.

In communication between these two groups, American women may see American men as aesthetically incompetent, while men may lament women's intransigence toward learning basic mechanical skills. However, in both cases, the issue is not really about behavior—it is about perceptual conditioning. If people have not learned

to differentiate certain objects, categories cannot be generated that let people talk about or even think about those objects. The others may seem incompetent but really they are simply oblivious.

There are at least two major implications of perceptual conditioning for multicultural group relations. One is that entire groups of people may exist and not be perceived at all by people of other groups. For instance, not so long ago in the United States, many straight people did not have a well-developed perceptual category for gay people. Consequently, straights tended not to perceive the existence of gays as a group; when asked, they greatly underestimated the size of the group, and they reacted to individual gay people who came to their attention as deviants from their own group rather than normal people in a different group. The perceptual category for gays is now much better defined, as evidenced by the recent event of the president of Iran claiming that there were no gay people in Iran—a statement ridiculed by many of the same people who once claimed the same thing in the United States.

African Americans and other minority groups have usually experienced having their existence denied, meaning that they were not noticed as objects of attention and treated only as part of the general background. Recipients of this inattention often report that they would rather be the object of discrimination than not an object at all.

The second implication of this kind of ethnocentrism is that people may fail to attribute equal humanity to others. The reason for this is that ethnocentric people experience their own culture as much more complex than other cultures; they have well-developed perceptual categories to organize the familiar events of their own culture, while they have at best only vague notions of the perceptual categories generated by other cultures. As a consequence, these people may experience themselves and their compatriots as complex human beings while they experience others as more simple and primitive. In its relatively benign form this contrast generates the “little brown brother” syndrome, wherein dominant-culture members help others to develop the obviously superior dominant-culture perceptual categories.

The more serious implication of denying equal humanity to others is its potential to support

exploitation or even extermination. If others are not as human as oneself, it is no more exploitive to enslave them than it is to harness animals. And from perceiving others as valuable animals, it is only one more step to experiencing them as disgusting rodents or insects, possibly justifying genocide or ethnic cleansing.

Ethnocentrism as Defense

As people’s perceptual categories for other groups become somewhat better defined, those groups may seem to be more threatening; they seem more human but in a simple and primitive way. Following basic psychological attribution theory, ethnocentric people attribute complex motivations to members of their own culture while attributing simple motivations to other groups. For instance, immigrant groups assumedly come to the United States only because “they want to take our jobs” and minority groups have children so “they can collect government welfare checks.” These and the other typical negative stereotypes form the basis of a perceived attack on “our way of life.” Under this threat, ethnocentric people defend their own culture by derogating others and by asserting the superiority of themselves.

The defense/derogation form of ethnocentrism is more obvious than the denial form, since it generally involves a strong polarization of “us and them” and overt expressions of disrespect for others. We are the good guys and they are the bad guys. But the boundaries of who constitutes “us” and who constitutes “them” are mutable. Against immigrants, “us” may be U.S. Americans of all majority and minority groups. But an arbitrary generational boundary may separate some of “us” who have been in the United States more than three or four generations from “us” who have only been in the United States for one or two generations. For this reason, African Americans of U.S. slave heritage may consider more recently arrived African Americans as “them,” but both groups may be “us” compared to the “them” of blacks of Caribbean slave heritage. While this is an obvious cultural identity issue, it also fuels different expressions of ethnocentrism, since the culture that is experienced as central is a moving target.

Slightly more subtle expressions of defense are statements of the superiority of one’s own culture.

Rather than derogating others, ethnocentrism may be expressed by affirming the standards of one's group as central to quality and civilized action. Thus, community development efforts, like colonialism, may be enactments of an experience of cultural superiority, and schools may insist, in the name of preserving educational quality, on helping students match the cultural standards of one ethnic group. People who promulgate such efforts often do so with good (albeit ethnocentric) intentions, and they may be surprised or even angered if prospective recipients reject the offered assistance. On an interpersonal level, similar ethnocentric assumptions may underlie some coaching or mentoring efforts in organizations. When an ethnocentric member of the dominant group (in the United States, usually an older white male) is given the task of mentoring a younger person, a woman, or a person of color, he may take it as a directive to help his charge get over his or her troublesome cultural predilections and adopt the clearly successful cultural standards of European Americans.

Sometimes ethnocentrism is expressed in a reversed polarization of "us" and "them." This may occur when a member of a dominant group takes on the cause of an oppressed group in a way that romanticizes the adopted group while derogating the dominant culture. Romanticizing, or exotifying, a group involves experiencing the group's culture in terms of positive stereotypes, such as "all Asians are smart" or "Latino people have a deep love of life." The simplistic (but positive) experience allowed by these stereotypes is juxtaposed to the more complex experience of the shortcomings of one's own culture. In other words, "them" become the good guys and "us" become the bad guys. This is still ethnocentric defense, but with the poles reversed.

Ethnocentrism as Minimization

The subtlest form of ethnocentrism is when cultural difference is minimized in favor of stressing human similarity and common experience. On the surface, such minimization appears to be the solution to ethnocentrism, as it reduces many of the expressions of denial and defense. However, minimization actually reinforces the basic mechanism of ethnocentrism—the experience of one's own culture as central to reality. Rather than rejecting or derogating other groups, one's own

culture is taken as being central to the experience of all human beings, whatever cultural group they belong to.

In the minimization form of ethnocentrism, attention is directed to the facts that human beings of all groups are genetically quite similar and that they all face the challenge of satisfying needs for safety, security, socialization, and spirituality. Further, certain "universal values" are assumed to underlie our various cultural experiences, making particular cultures like transforms of a universal cultural grammar shared by all human beings. Variations in group experience therefore become relatively trivial compared to our immersion in the basic experience of being human. Here, ethnocentrism is expressed as a kind of worldview projection. For instance, ethnocentric Christians tend to believe that deep down, whether they know it or not, everyone is a child of God. But ethnocentric Hindus tend to think that everyone has dharma and karma. Ethnocentric Marxists believed that everyone given a chance would revolt against class-based economic control, but ethnocentric capitalists think that everyone given a chance would try to become an individual entrepreneur in a market-driven society.

In domestic relations among groups in a multicultural society, minimization becomes a pressure toward assimilation. In the United States, ethnocentric members of the dominant ethnic group of European Americans tend to define aspects of their culture—for example, individualism, personal responsibility, and communicative directness—as central to all human experience. Further, they may see the United States as "exceptional" in its adherence to these assumedly basic human qualities. Consequently, in this view, to be an American is to share these cultural qualities—not because European Americans have the power in many cases to enforce these qualities through education and selection, but because they are the universal human qualities that America has the responsibility for upholding. And to note that alternative cultural qualities coexist within the American national culture is not taken as an accurate description of multiculturalism but as a betrayal of the sacred covenant upon which the country was founded.

Minimization also masks cultural privilege. European Americans tend to believe that all

people have an equal opportunity for success in the United States unless they are victims of active prejudicial discrimination.

When it is noted that the higher ranks of nearly all organizations are populated by a predominance of European American males, including in organizations with strict antidiscrimination policies and procedures, ethnocentric members of that group may claim that other people certainly had the chance, but they just didn't want to work as hard. This expression of minimization ignores the privilege enjoyed by dominant culture members, which is to define the path to success in their own cultural terms.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Afrocentrism; Constructivism, Intercultural; Epithets, Ethnic and Racial; Genocide; Hate Speech; Identity Development; Intercultural Communication; Race; Racism; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Tolerance.

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Ethnopharmacology

Ethnopharmacology is the study of the use of various drugs as used by different ethnic groups for therapeutic ends. It is a subfield of ethnomedicine, which studies the traditional medical practices of ethnic groups, especially those that are orally transmitted rather than contained in a corpus of written work, as with traditional Chinese

medicine. Ethnopharmacologists are generally anthropologists or botanists, though there is growing commercial interest in pharmacognosy. The specific study of the efficacy of traditional medicines used by ethnic and cultural groups is ethnopharmacy, though ethnopharmacology is often used metonymously. Ethnopharmacy also overlaps considerably with ethnobotany, the use of plants by ethnic groups. Ethnomedicine worldwide is on the rise in urban areas. While this is because the rate of urbanization is higher than the rate of access to mainstream medicine, ethnomedical practices are also on the rise in urban areas of the developed world such as New York City, where recent immigrant groups include traditional medicine practitioners.

Medical Pluralism and Traditional Medicine

Two key concepts in understanding ethnopharmacology and ethnopharmacological literature are medical pluralism and traditional medicine. Medical pluralism is the adoption by a group, family, or individual of more than one medical system. Common Western examples of medical pluralism in practice include dealing with depression with both Prozac and Zen meditation or treating a cold with both a decongestant and a homeopathic remedy. Treating depression with Prozac and cognitive behavioral therapy, on the other hand, is not a valid example; while pharmaceutical remedies and behavioral remedies are two different types of remedy, they are not from wholly separate medical systems. Even these distinctions have become blurred over time as medical systems have gradually integrated elements from other medical systems.

Medical systems outside mainstream medicine, which has been subjected to scientifically rigorous testing, are often referred to as complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) in professional literature. Some examples include acupuncture, homeopathy, and chiropractic medicine. In ethnographic and anthropological literature, CAM is more often called traditional medicine or folk medicine and comprises the medical practices followed by a given culture. In some states, practitioners of alternative health practices are subject to some form of licensing.

CAM systems and the ethnopharmacological practices included therein are generally predicated



Foxglove, found in temperate regions of North America, is the original source of the heart medicine digitalis. The presence of digitoxin makes the plant's leaves, flowers, and seeds poisonous to humans. The plant's clinical use was pioneered by William Withering, an English botanist, chemist, and physician.

on religious or supernatural grounds or on traditional practices, which predate and have not yet been proven (or have been disproven) by modern science. There is an important distinction between unproven and disproven. The “unproven” element is especially important because ethnopharmacology seeks to ensure that many traditional practices are scientifically sound. For example, a certain leaf used in traditional medicine to alleviate headaches may contain caffeine or may expand the capillaries in a manner similar to caffeine. Similarly, cayenne pepper was used in folk medicine as a pain-relieving salve long before it was discovered that capsaicin, the chemical that

causes chili peppers to be “hot,” was a topical analgesic, one that is now included in over-the-counter medicines.

The combination of CAM with scientifically proven medicine is called integrative medicine. About 20 percent of Americans rely on substance-based CAM therapies such as herbal remedies and other supplements, ethnopharmacological treatments, megavitamins, and so on. The drugs prescribed by medical systems studied by ethnopharmacology may include either raw unprocessed materials or processed preparations as well as plants, herbs, foods, vitamins and nonvitamin supplements, and even nonbiological substances such as colloidal silver or the use of lead in traditional Chinese medicine.

Traditional medicine often thrives in countries where access to modern medicine is constrained by circumstances or poverty. One-third of the developing world lacks access to basic modern medications, for instance, and traditional medicine takes the role of primary health care in many of these regions—although in many cases, these traditional health practitioners will refer patients to modern hospitals for treatment, placing them in a role similar to triage nurses. Immigrant groups to the United States often continue practicing their traditional medicine, and this is where medical pluralism is typically found, as immigrants and their descendants rely on both a traditional medical system and the modern scientific medical system.

Other Subsets

An overlap between modern science and ethnopharmacology is pharmacognosy, which studies medicines prepared from natural sources and is an important part of the search for new drugs. As mentioned, many traditional herbal remedies are efficacious for reasons perfectly consistent with modern science.

Within mainstream medicine, there is a subset of drugs that might be considered ethnopharmacological. Isosorbide dinitrite/hydralazine, for instance, is a combination of the antihypertensive hydralazine with the vasodilator isosorbide dinitrite. Developed in the 1990s and approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in 2005, it is marketed under the name BiDil as a congestive heart failure treatment approved for use only for

African Americans. It is the first prescription drug in the United States developed for use by a specific race or ethnic group. The medicine combines two drugs available in generic forms in a specific combination that has therapeutic benefit, and its approval was contingent on studies demonstrating that African Americans are less likely than Caucasians to show positive results from other congestive heart failure treatments like ACE inhibitors.

Religious Movements and Ethnopharmacology

Ethnopharmacology in the United States includes the use of substances involved in ritual. A well-known example is the Native American Church. Believed to be the most widespread indigenous religion in the United States, the Native American Church was formally organized to petition for legal protections under the First Amendment of the Native American use of peyote in religious ceremonies. A hallucinogenic cactus native to the United States and Mexico, peyote has been used in religious ceremonies for hundreds of years by many different Native American religious groups.

The Native American Church represents not one specific religious worldview but rather the intersection of these peyotist groups. The church was formally founded in 1918, but the movement leading to its founding began with the powerful Comanche leader Quanah Parker in the 19th century. The church has generally been successful in obtaining legal protection for peyote (federal protection exists, but state laws vary), and a trade network of three peyoteros along the Texas–Mexico border are responsible for obtaining and selling legal peyote. Each peyotero is licensed by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration and the Texas Department of Public Safety.

Seeking to follow in the footsteps of the Native American Church are two Brazilian religious movements with adherents in the United States. They have sought legal protection for their ritual use of ayahuasca, a psychoactive tea made from certain Amazonian vines. Santo Daime (Holy Ayahuasca) is one such religious group, originating in the 1930s and growing in their American presence since the 1990s. Along with the more recent group, Uniao do Vegetal (Union of the Plant), they have made inroads in gaining acceptance for ritual use of ayahuasca, with the Supreme Court ruling in

2006 that a sufficient case to bar religious groups from using ayahuasca had not been made. While ayahuasca specifically (and DMT-containing plants more generally) are not listed as controlled substances on the federal drug schedules, the active ingredient, dimethyltryptamine (DMT), is classified as a Schedule I drug, which are drugs that have a high potential for abuse, no currently accepted medical use in the United States, and a lack of accepted safety under medical supervision. DMT is a powerful psychedelic within ayahuasca that is combined with a monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitor, allowing it to be orally ingested.

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See Also: Epidemiology and Ethnic Diversity; Health Beliefs and Practices; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Herbalism; Indian Health Service; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity; Shaman.

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Eugenics

Sir Francis Galton used the term *good stock* to define eugenics in 1883 as a way to encourage the best marriages between the fittest, healthiest, and wealthiest individuals in order to produce the best children. The goal of eugenics was to improve the human species through careful selection of parents to preserve the superior stock and to breed intelligent children.

Eugenics in the United States

As a result of Galton's influences—and those of his followers, who believed that behaviors and conditions such as criminality, insanity, and poverty are genetically inherited—the eugenics movement gained popularity in the United States between 1870 and World War I. During this time, eugenicists worked hard to look for ways to resolve what they believed were inherited abnormal behaviors. Among the solutions eugenicists felt would resolve the problems they felt were destroying America were the institutionalization and segregation of people whom they identified as having cognitive impairments, the prohibition of such people from marrying so they would not reproduce what eugenicists feared would be unfit children, and involuntary sterilization laws.

By 1924, 24 states had passed involuntary sterilization laws, and the 1924 Immigration Act was enacted, a law that limited the number of immigrants admitted from any country to 2 percent. As a result of these laws, eugenics reached its height of popularity in the United States. Eugenicists believed that immigrants were contributing to a national degeneration, and they pushed to keep what they saw the unfit or degenerate from reproducing, marrying, and entering the country.

Professors, industrialists, educators, social scientists, government officials, and other professionals were among eugenicists who believed that

the vast majority of the population were imbeciles and not worthy of survival because of their heredity. In particular, they believed if certain ethnic groups did not have the perceived intelligence level, strength, or physical features of the superior Nordic race, they were inferior. As a result, hundreds of thousands of immigrants and Americans were denied the right to have children and sterilized against their will. In 1927, Virginia's sterilization statute was challenged in the Supreme Court in *Buck v. Bell*. The court ruled that Virginia's sterilization statute did not violate the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and could not be considered cruel and unusual punishment because it was not punishment but rather a means to provide an opportunity for the plaintiff to "do good" for the community and society. The decision was a victory for eugenicists and resulted in other states passing similar sterilization laws. Eugenicists believed that government control of reproduction, directed specifically at hereditary defects, was a necessity for racial improvement and to save America.

Nazi Germany to Genetic Technology

Overseas, *Buck v. Bell* was followed closely and influenced the adoption of the 1933 eugenics sterilization law in Nazi Germany. Shortly after, the policy targeted Jews and other people deemed "unfit," resulting in genocide and the Holocaust. Not until the atrocities of Nazi Germany entered the public consciousness did eugenics begin to curry disfavor. Beginning in the 1940s and extending into the 1950s, the term *eugenics* was avoided. However, from the mid-1950s until the 1960s, efforts to improve race in America reappeared with sperm banks and genetic counseling. The development of reproductive technologies like human gene therapy and in vitro fertilization in the 1970s led to the resurgence of eugenics in the United States. Additionally, the publication of psychologist Richard Herrnstein and political scientist Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve* in 1994 renewed debate over the relationship between intelligence, ethnicity, and social class reminiscent of the eugenics movement in the 1920s.

Today, with a new focus on genetic technologies, the idea behind the term *eugenics* may not have completely disappeared. Some experts fear recent innovations in genetic research, including

the Human Genome Project, could lead to resurgence in eugenic ideas.

Eugenics and Education

In the early 20th century, eugenics ideology made its way into education. The development of the IQ test by Alfred Binet was instrumental in the identification of feeble-mindedness. Although Binet did not believe this test measured innate ability and intelligence, it was used to support the idea of genetic differences between races. Eugenicians, specifically Henry H. Goddard, argued that the average IQ scores from different national groups reflected innate racial differences, and eugenicians used IQ testing to reinforce their ideology that intelligence was hereditary. In their view, test scores were scientifically sound and therefore legitimate in identifying, classifying, and separating students based on intelligence. Identification of children as gifted or at-risk became popular in schools.

As a result of Goddard's influence, differences in children's intelligence levels equated with the idea that certain children should be educated differently, giving rise to the popularity of programs that focus on vocational education, special education, and programs for gifted and talented children.

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See Also: Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Genocide; Immigration Acts; Intelligence Testing; Intermarriage, History of; Intermarriage Court Decisions; Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Mulatto; Pigmentocracy; Quadroon; Race Mixture in the United States; War Brides; World War I; World War II.

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Eurasian

The term *Eurasian* generally refers to a person who has Asian and European ancestry. Though it is still used in the context of the British Commonwealth, it is less frequently used in the United States, where it is viewed as antiquated.

Originally referring to children of white (British) fathers and Indian mothers, it is credited as being invented by the first Marquess of Hastings, Francis Edward Rawdon-Hastings, who was the Governor-General of India from 1813 to 1823. Joachim Hayward Stocqueler's 1844 *The Handbook of British India* contains one of the first recorded uses of the term and provides the following definition: ". . . conventionally accepted as embracing all the progeny of white fathers and Hindoo [sic] or Mahometan [sic] mothers. . . ."

Other earlier terms included "country-born" and "Indo-Briton," as well as "chee-chee," a more vulgar expression derived from the Hindi term for "dirt" or "filth," which was used to describe both the accented and stilted English used by Eurasians as well as the people themselves. The term was adopted in different British colonial contexts such as Hong Kong and Australia to refer to a person with white and Asian heritage. In Hong Kong, for example, the term *Eurasian* referred to people who were mixed European and Chinese, with a specific emphasis on English rather than Portuguese ancestry.

Tendrils of Colonial Power

Throughout the span of European empire in Asia, the term *Eurasian* was, and still is, an identity that channels fears and tensions regarding race, gender, and imperial and sexual power. Caught in a space between colonizer and colonized,

Eurasian identity was a site of contestation both on an individual and a national scale. Different colonial institutions legislated the legal status of mixed Asian and white people differently, calling into question the stability of notions such as “citizen,” “race,” and cultural belonging. As a living symbol of the transgression of racial and cultural boundaries, as well as, usually, a colonial system structured to give white men sexual agency over women of color, “Eurasian” was for a long time synonymous with degeneracy, impurity, and loose morals.

The figure of the Eurasian has a long history in popular culture, often used as a parable for the tragic perils of miscegenation, carrying an implicit imperative to shore up the boundaries of race. Recurring frequently in English-language fiction in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Eurasian characters act as dangerous figures, close enough to both races to understand them intimately but never ultimately aligned with either one. These Eurasian characters usually yearn to obtain full whiteness but never can, and often end up dying by the narrative’s end. This archetype is parallel to the “tragic mulatto” stock character in American fiction, who has both black and white racial ancestry and who usually dies after her secret black heritage has been revealed.

Beginning in the 1980s, however, the figure of the Eurasian began to take on a different connotation within popular culture. Coupled with the rising influence of Asian nations, particularly Japan, in the 1980s, the figure of the Eurasian began to reemerge in popular culture as someone who contained the “best” qualities of both races. As the 1990s saw a general shift toward cosmopolitanism, both as an ideology and as a marketable quality, Asian-descent multiracial people (most always Asian and white), were portrayed as literally embodying the cachet of being a globe-trotting citizen-of-the-world. Whereas before, tragic Eurasians were doomed to certain death for being unable to claim membership in either of their ancestral groups, in the 1990s and after, Asian-descent multiracial people were cast as models and actors who appealed to cosmopolitan sensibilities and diverse audiences around the globe. Notable figures included the actor Keanu Reeves, the model Devon Aoki, and the actress Maggie Q. Though this represented a recuperation of an

identity that endured a long history of exclusion and prejudice, this trend was also criticized for putting a slightly “exotic” face on top of long-standing legacies of European economic and cultural domination, as well as for altering Asian standards of beauty to physically conform to hegemonic whiteness.

“Eurasian” by definition refers only to Asian-descent multiracial people who have European heritage. It is therefore not synonymous with other terms such as “hapa,” since it excludes the large number of people who are Asian-descent multiracial with some race other than white. While not explicit, the American term *Amerasian*, originally coined to refer to the children born in Asia of white Americans and Asian women, also contains this connotation as well as the subtext of the U.S. imperial project in Asia. Although as of 2010 the majority of Asian-descent multiracial people living in the United States were Asian and white (1.6 million), there are approximately one million people in the United States who report Asian and one or more additional races that are not white.

It should be noted that the term *Eurasian* is also frequently used in a geopolitical sense, referring to the Europe-Asia supercontinent and not to a person. This usage usually describes a political concern that spans these two regions, or an animal species that is found across these two regions. Careful attention should be paid to the context in which this term is used.

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See Also: Asian Americans; European Americans; Hapa; Hindu Americans; Mulatto; Multiple Race Categorization (Essay).

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European Americans

Although the first to establish a permanent settlement in the present-day United States were the Spanish colonizers (St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565), it was the white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) who established the core of what was to become the dominant culture of the United States. As the country expanded through purchase or conquest, other Europeans were also incorporated within its boundaries. Nevertheless, most Europeans entered the United States as immigrants. Until the 1920s, they constituted the majority of arrivals, yet the two great waves—from the 1820s until the 1880s and from the 1890s until the introduction of the quota system in 1924—differed substantially in terms of ethnic origin. The newcomers were, thus, received differently. Today, Europeans account for only a fraction of immigrants, as the most considerable flows come from Latin America and Asia. The enduring European legacy has, however, been vital in the social, cultural, and political development of the country.

European Ancestry in 2011

The data on ancestry—collected from 1980 to 2000 by the U.S. Census and since 2010 by the American Community Survey (ACS)—demonstrate that Americans report a variety of national, regional (such as eastern European), and pan-regional (such as European or Arab) ancestries, including those that have their roots in colonial

times (such as Pennsylvania Germans) or former political entities (such as Czechoslovakian ancestry). In 2011, according to ACS data on people reporting ancestry, the top five European ancestries were the following:

1. German (reported by 47 million people): These estimates do not include over 330,000 Pennsylvania Germans, who are considered a separate ethnic group, nor 26,000 German Russians. People of German ancestry reside throughout the country but mainly in the midwest. Pennsylvania Germans are concentrated mostly in southeastern and south-central Pennsylvania.
2. Irish (34.5 million): The largest ancestry group in the northeast.
3. English (25.7 million): The prevalent ancestry in New England, Utah, and southern Idaho.
4. Italian (almost 17.5 million): In the northeast.
5. Polish (9.5 million): Mainly in the Great Lakes region.

The sixth-largest ancestry in the United States is French (8.6 million). As in the case of the German-origin population, the ACS estimates provide separate data for French Canadians (2 million) and Cajuns (a distinct ethnic group, the descendants of the French-speaking settlers from the colony called Acadia in Canada, 104,000). The French-origin groups reside mainly in Louisiana and in the northeastern part of the United States.

As most European Americans descend from more than one group because of ethnic intermarriage, the collected data provide the answers that respondents chose to give and thus may not reflect their full ethnic origin. Therefore, the subsequent year estimates may vary.

Colonial Times and Early National Period

Although the British comprised by far the largest group in the British colonies, other settlers were also attracted. Driven by either religious or economic reasons, newcomers from northern and western Europe arrived in relatively significant numbers—among them were Germans (mainly in Pennsylvania), Dutch (New York and New

Jersey), and such religious minorities as Mennonites. The colonies were, thus, pluricultural and plurilingual. Nevertheless, as early as the colonial period some negative sentiments arose, especially toward the Irish and Germans. Benjamin Franklin himself, for example, openly expressed his concerns about the growing numbers of Pennsylvania Germans.

According to the first census, in 1790 the English comprised about half the population (48 percent), followed by Germans (7 percent), Scottish (7 percent), Scots-Irish (almost 5 percent), and Irish (3 percent). The Dutch, French, and Swedish together made up a relatively small proportion of the population (below 5 percent).

In the following decades, thousands of people of Spanish, Spanish/Mexican, and French descent were incorporated into the American territory following the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819), the Mexican-American War (1846–48), and the Gadsden Purchase (1853). These groups themselves comprised heterogeneous communities.

Immigration From 1820 to 1921

European immigrants started arriving in increasing numbers in the 1820s. The first wave, from the 1820s until the 1880s, came mostly from northern and western Europe. The total number of Germans and Irish—the two largest groups of newcomers—in this period was similar (3 million and 2.8 million, respectively). The Irish immigration commenced at the beginning of the 19th century; however, it was the Great Famine (1845–52), otherwise known as the Irish Potato Famine, that was a major factor in triggering mass migration. From 1841 to 1860, almost 1.7 million Irish came to America, and in the 1840s they comprised over 45 percent of total immigration.

The German immigration differed from the Irish not only in terms of language and religious composition (Protestants, Catholics, and Jews). The flow itself was triggered by different factors and the settlement patterns were more diverse; while the Irish mostly settled in the urban centers of New England, New York, and New Jersey, Germans headed both to urban centers in eastern cities and to the “German triangle” in the midwest—Cincinnati-St. Louis-Milwaukee—and to rural areas, mainly in the midwest. German

immigration reached its highest, unprecedented numbers in the 1880s (1.4 million in one decade) and dropped significantly in the following decades.

From 1880 to 1920, Europeans continued migrating in great numbers, accounting for almost 90 percent of the 23.5 million immigrants who arrived in the United States. The influx was so substantial that between 1890 and 1910 almost 15 percent of the U.S. population was foreign born, the highest rate in the whole of American history. What distinguished this wave from the earlier one was an unprecedented number of newcomers from southern and eastern Europe, among them Italians (as many as 4 million from 1880 to 1920), Poles, and immigrants from Austria-Hungary and Russia, including Jews.

Immigration From 1921 to 1965

As the number of immigrants soared, important immigration and naturalization legislation was passed, culminating in the restrictive national quota acts of 1921 and 1924, which sharply reduced immigration from southern, central, and eastern Europe. Notwithstanding this, the Irish and Germans and other northwestern Europeans were not negatively affected.

In the following decades some Europeans migrated to the United States outside the quota system. In 1948, the U.S. Congress passed the Displaced Persons Act, which eventually allowed for the entry of over 400,000 people. The refugees from Communist-ruled Europe also kept coming in the 1950s (such as Hungarians). Although the Immigration Act of 1952 included some important changes in immigration policy, it did not repeal the national-origin quotas. Germans, who were less affected, remained the largest group of immigrants.

Immigration Since 1965

The abolition of the 1924 quotas in the 1965 Immigration Act and the family reunification provisions—enacted also to increase immigration from those European countries that had been affected by the 1920s quotas—did not attract as many immigrants from Europe as expected. One of the reasons was that by this time postwar western Europe had, also due significantly to U.S. assistance, recovered and prospered economically and sent fewer immigrants. Since 1965 the main

suppliers of immigrants to the United States have been Latin America and Asia. In 2000, only 15 percent of the total foreign-born population in the United States came from Europe, while 50 percent originated from Latin America and 25 percent from Asia.

Today, European immigration to the United States is still diverse in terms of ethnic origin. The immigrants come for various reasons: they are joining their families, looking for better job opportunities, or on visas for highly skilled immigrants. The Germans and the British are among the 10 top foreign-born populations. The British, however, because of their similar ethnic and cultural origins, remain mostly “invisible immigrants,” as Charlotte Erickson puts it.

Immigration from the former Communist countries (such as Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and the former Czechoslovakia) had different characteristics/trajectories. Immigrants from these countries generally fall into two major categories: those who arrived before 1989 and those who arrived after 1989 (the fall of the Berlin Wall). Today, some former eastern bloc nations (such as the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovakia) participate, along with western European countries, in the Visa Waiver Program (VWP). Some others, such as Poland, still do not meet the requirements to be included in the VWP.

Intergroup Relations and Nativism

The Protestant religion and whiteness were essential elements of the group identity of the British colonists. These two factors have been, in fact, of much importance for many Americans and provoked strong nativist attitudes. The Catholic religion became a major concern in the mid-19th century with the arrival of unprecedented numbers of Irish and Germans. Nativists believed that Catholics posed a real threat to American values, institutions, and the democratic political system. This fear was reflected in the birth, development, and relative success of the American Party (Know-Nothings) in the 1840s and 1850s. Although the party had disappeared by the Civil War, it managed to gain some political success.

Race shaped U.S. immigration policy and citizenship law for a long time. “Whiteness” became a requirement for naturalization in 1790.

Surprisingly enough, this policy was changed only as late as 1952, when all races were made eligible for naturalization. Nevertheless, some Europeans also fell victim to unequal treatment based on religion or nationality. For example, in the mid-1840s and 1850s the Irish were ostracized and discriminated against when applying for jobs (“no Irish need apply”). Stereotypically seen as criminals and troublemakers, they were definitely not treated like whites but were rather equated with African Americans.

Racial concerns were even more marked from 1880 to 1920. In this period racist theories became widespread even among influential public figures such as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. Based on late-19th-century racial ideas, which distinguished between the Nordic (Teutonic), Mediterranean, and Alpine “white” races, the “new” immigrants were seen as less skilled and less likely to assimilate into American culture. Thus they were generally less desirable than those coming from western and northern Europe. These positions found support in some research and official reports, for example, the 1912 study conducted by Henry Goddard and the 1911 Dillingham Commission Report. In this social, political, and intellectual context, the Immigration Act of 1924 was passed.

While the big influx of “new” immigrants awoke xenophobic sentiments in the 1880s (such as the American Protective Association), World War I fueled hostile attitudes toward Germans. In different parts of the country various attempts were made to eliminate the use of the German language in public life. In many states it was forbidden in schools, sermons, and public addresses, and in some localities people speaking German on the street could be fined. Overall, the first two decades of the 20th century witnessed the broadest Americanization campaign in the United States, with the English language becoming one of its key tools. By 1923 as many as 34 states had introduced teaching in English only, in public as well as in private schools. Also, some businesses, like the Ford Motor Company, launched obligatory English-language classes for their workers.

During the second Red Scare in the 1940s and 1950s nativist attitudes targeted advocates of un-American ideas rather than religious and

national-origin groups. It is interesting to note that Joseph R. McCarthy, Jr., the chief Communist hunter of the 1950s, was of Irish Catholic descent—thus, paradoxically, he himself belonged to a group that had experienced strong nativist attacks in the past.

Racial and religious views have shifted over time, ceasing to be a factor that totally impedes the crossing of boundaries. In the decades following World War II the increase in marriages across nationality groups within the same religious traditions led to the relative blurring of ethnic boundaries. The sociologist Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy described this assimilation process as a “triple melting pot” in which Protestants, Catholics, and Jews intermarried within the same religious tradition. In the later decades, intermarriage across racial and religious lines—an important test of assimilation—increased substantially.

Assimilation and Culture Maintenance

For a long time the widespread ideology of assimilation in the history of the United States was “Anglo-conformity,” demanding that immigrants shed their ancestral culture in favor of that of the Anglo-Saxon core group. Newcomers were expected to assimilate to the broader American society. Even if an ideology of “melting pot” was evoked, it was in fact often used to refer to “Anglo-conformity.” After the 1960s, cultural pluralism became the predominant concept. Cultural pluralists argued that groups could maintain elements of their ethnic/racial identity while participating in a broader society. Cultural pluralism focused on diversity and accepted cultural differences among groups. Diversity was to be protected and preserved. This resulted in a rise in ethnic identification during the 1970s, when ethnic and racial identities became a source of pride, as was the case with black or Latino groups (such as the Chicano movement).

It was specifically in 1970 that Michael Novak discussed the integration of non-northwestern European immigrants (the “new” immigrants) into American society. In his book *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (1972) he demonstrated that the “white ethnics,” as he called them, experienced similar problems/exclusions as racial minorities. Since the 1970s other important analyses of white ethnic identity have been proposed,

such as Herbert Gans, *Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America* (1979); Joshua Fishman, *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival* (1985); Richard Alba, *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America* (1992); Mary Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (1990); and others.

The desire to preserve and maintain ethnic culture is reflected in a plethora of ethnic organizations, associations, and cultural and educational centers, as well as ethnic media. Traditional festivals or national celebrations are especially salient in the regions of high concentration of particular groups: the German Oktoberfest in Milwaukee, the Irish St. Patrick’s Day in Boston and New York City, or the French Mardi Gras in New Orleans being just some examples. Language is of much importance in this context due to its important role in group identity formation. The Amish in the mid-Atlantic and the midwest regions of the United States still use their old German dialect, while Cajuns struggle to revive their dialect (distinct from both the standard French of Paris and of Quebec, as well as the French Creole). Both groups display resistance to the crossing of ethnic barriers (Cajuns have high rates of endogamy, while the Amish maintain cultural customs, preserve their identity, and have managed to stay in relative isolation); as such, they contribute greatly to multicultural American society.

European Impact on U.S. Society and Culture

The colonial dominance of the population from the British Isles (about 63 percent in 1790) left an indelible impact on the emerging American society and culture: the legal and political systems, customs and values, and the English language as the de facto national language.

The Spanish and French colonial heritage is probably most evident in the names of places, mountain ranges or rivers, such as California, Los Angeles, San Francisco, as well as Louisville, Kentucky; Vincennes, Indiana; Lake Champlain, or Lake Pontchartrain. The Dutch contributed with some of the most world-famous names, for example, Brooklyn (*Breuklen*), the Bowery Street (*bouwerij* meaning “farm”), and Wall Street in New York (which owes its name to a wooden stockade

that protected the Dutch settlement against British and Native American attacks).

Spanish, French, and Dutch colonial architecture—missions, presidios, and other types of buildings—are reminders of the rich and turbulent history of the country. The Spanish past is evident in tradition and customs, especially in New Mexico where some people still consider themselves *Hispanos* (of Spanish colonial descent). Also, in California a limited number of people identify with the regional term *Californio*, although the Hispanic/Latino culture in this state is today predominantly Mexican. The French influence is evident in Louisiana; it should, however, be kept in mind that the French group is not homogenous and includes several subgroups, such as Cajuns, French Creoles, and French Canadians. California and Louisiana have also retained some elements of the Spanish/Mexican and French legal systems, such as, respectively, community property and “parishes” instead of “counties” as administrative subdivisions.

Both colonial settlers and immigrants had a great impact on the development of religious pluralism in the United States. Colonial America was heterogeneous in terms of denominations, Protestants being the dominant Christians. Among the arriving immigrants were the adherents of Protestant denominations but also a very substantial number of Catholics (especially from Ireland, Germany, Italy, or central Europe—all of which had their own characteristics), Orthodox Christians (eastern Europe), and Jews (especially from central Europe).

Today, although Protestants in general account for the highest number of adherents, Roman Catholicism is the largest single denomination in the United States (59 million adherents in 2010 according to the Association of Religious Data Archives). Catholics are traditionally found among Irish descendants in the northeast, Hispanics in the southwestern United States, and French descendants in Louisiana. Western states, due to their historical development and pioneering characteristics, are more religiously diverse.

The Anglo-Saxons were crucial in the formative period, and they still keep a prominent position in U.S. politics. American presidents have been of predominantly Anglo-Saxon origin, the first Irish president being John F. Kennedy (1961–63).

Among the politicians from other European groups who have occupied important federal, state, and local positions are, for example, German-born Henry (Heinz) Kissinger, secretary of state; Danish-origin Janet Reno, attorney general; Polish-born Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security advisor to President Jimmy Carter; and Antonin Scalia, the first Italian American appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Also of Italian descent were Fiorello LaGuardia and Rudolph W. Giuliani, the 107th mayor of New York City.

European-origin writers have greatly enriched the American literary tradition with their outstanding writing skills, exceptional insight, and originality. Among the American Nobel Prize winners are Eugene O'Neill (Irish), John Steinbeck (German), Saul Bellow (Russian Jewish), and Isaac Bashevis Singer (Jewish). Other internationally renowned American poets, writers, and playwrights of European descent are, for example, those of Irish origin: Edgar Allan Poe, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Flannery O'Connor; of Dutch origin: Walt Whitman; Franco American authors Henry David Thoreau (French) and Jean-Louis “Jack” Kerouac (French-Canadian); Jewish authors Joseph Heller, Arthur Miller, Allen Ginsberg, Elie Wiesel; Portuguese John Dos Passos; German Thomas Mann; and Russian Vladimir Nabokov.

Classical musicians who profoundly influenced not only American but also world 20th-century classical music include, for example, George Gershwin (of Jewish descent) and immigrants Igor Stravinsky (Russia), Béla Bartók (Hungary), and Arnold Schönberg (Austria). At the same time, American musical life was enriched with ethnic music and instruments, for example, Irish fiddle music and Cajun zydeco music.

Just as Jewish artists, composers, lyricists, and directors have made an indelible impact on Broadway (such as Russian-born Irving Berlin), the Hollywood film industry was virtually established by Jewish Americans of eastern European origin, who started and operated such production companies as, for example, Columbia, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Paramount, Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Brothers. Some of the most famous American filmmakers and actors come from various European-origin families (such as the Coppolas, Martin Scorsese, and Quentin Tarantino).

Although in most films ethnicity is not the main issue, there are many in which historical experience, intergroup relations, internal problems, traditions, and cultures are well portrayed and provide a vivid snapshot of the American experience, for example, *Far and Away*, *Gangs of New York*, *The Godfather*, and *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*.

In art and architecture, European Americans—either U.S. or foreign born—substantially contributed to the development of existing trends



A sketch of a woman and children from the December 22, 1849, *Illustrated London News* represents Bridget O'Donnel, an Irish woman whose family suffered through the Irish Potato Famine. This famine was a major factor in triggering a mass migration of almost 1.7 million Irish to America from 1841 to 1860; in the 1840s, they represented over 45 percent of total immigration.

or initiated new movements and schools that inspired others around the world. For example, the Chicago school projects, such as by Louis Henry Sullivan (Irish-Swiss), which used new technologies to create formally simple, spacious steel-frame construction buildings with little or no ornaments, are considered to be the first examples of functionalism in architecture. The second Chicago school, in turn, came into being thanks to the work and teachings of German immigrant Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.

Another German immigrant, Walter Gropius, renowned modern architect and founder of the Bauhaus School in Germany, was one of the leading architects of the international style. Another important figure was the famous industrial “Detroit architect” Albert Khan (Prussia-born Jew), known for his designs of the large American automobile factories. The American car industry itself flourished under the influence of Henry Ford (of Irish and Belgian descent), Walter Chrysler (Dutch), and Louis Joseph Chevrolet (Swiss).

The pop art movement in the 1960s, considered to be an artistic reflection of American everyday life, mass culture, and mass production, emerged also with the contribution of the children of European immigrants, such as Andy Warhol (Carpatho-Rusyn). American life was also depicted, for example, in the 1930s in the Bronx Post Office murals by Ben Shahn, a Lithuanian-born artist, muralist, and social realist.

Among either foreign- or U.S.-born world-renowned American academics of European origin who greatly contributed to American and world academia and science are Noam Chomsky (Jewish), Thorstein Veblen (Norwegian), Einar Haugen (Norwegian), as well as many distinguished intellectuals who settled in the United States shortly before or during World War II, some of whom were of Jewish descent. Among the prominent Germans were Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, Leo Strauss, and Erik Erikson, while among the Hungarians were physicists Leo Szilard, Eugene Wigner, and Edward Teller.

In the hotel industry, the world-famous Hilton Hotel chains were established by Conrad Hilton (Norwegian). In fashion and cosmetics there are, for example, Ralph Lauren (Jewish), Calvin Klein (Jewish), Estée Lauder (Jewish), and Elizabeth Arden (Canadian).

Also worth mentioning are some contemporary global phenomena. The most typical American foods, the hot dog and the hamburger, most probably have German antecedents. The most popular worldwide chain of fast food restaurants was established by Ray Kroc (of Czech origin), who bought the first McDonald's restaurants from the McDonald brothers (of Irish origin). Two of the most popular American sports—baseball and hockey—most likely developed from earlier forms brought from Europe. The popular blue jean trousers were first popularized in the 19th century by Levi Strauss (German).

Finally, a favorite doll among girls, Barbie, was created by Ruth Handler, a woman born to Polish immigrants. Mattel has created Barbie dolls representing numerous ethnicities, ranging from African American dolls to the Quinceañera Barbie (named for a Hispanic/Latino girl's 15th birthday celebration).

In sum, Americans of European descent have been present in all aspects of American life and have fundamentally contributed to U.S. and global society, culture, academia, and industry.

Contemporary Scene

As of 2011, according to U.S. Census data, white Americans rank second—following Asians—in educational attainment (bachelor's degree or higher), median household income, and personal income. They also have the second-highest proportion of workers in management, professional, and related occupations. The poverty rate among whites is the second-lowest among all racial groups in the nation.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Amana Colonies; Amish; Austrian Americans; Belarusian Americans; Belgian Americans; Czech Americans; Danish Americans; Dutch Americans; English Americans; Finnish Americans; Flemish Americans; French Americans; German Americans; Immigration Acts; Irish Americans; Italian Americans; Jewish Americans; Nativism; Northern Irish Americans; Norwegian Americans; Pennsylvania Dutch; Romanian Americans; Scandinavian Americans; Scots-Irish Americans; Scottish Americans; Slovak

Americans; Swedish Americans; Swiss Americans; Ukrainian Americans; Welsh Americans.

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Executive Actions

Executive actions from various presidential administrations have repeatedly hammered the multicultural landscape of the United States. Some of the most dramatic multicultural shifts in American history have resulted from executive action.

Basics of Executive Actions

Executive actions include executive orders and other directives of the executive branch. They are generally used by presidents to issue policy directives and to assign related tasks and duties to executive officers and cabinet members. When

the Senate or House of Representatives grant relevant permissions, executive orders actually have the force of law, meaning they are legally binding in the United States. Until the 1950s, there were no limits on how far executive orders could go; then, in 1952, the Supreme Court ruled that an executive order by President Harry S. Truman was invalid because it attempted to make law—which is the province of Congress.

Today, executive actions that deal with laws are only allowed to clarify existing laws, not make new ones, and all executive orders, proclamations, and other actions are announced to the public. Executive orders can be defeated or overturned by the Supreme Court through a case before it based on the order, or through Congress either passing a law that contradicts the executive order or refusing to fund actions required to enforce the order. To date, only two executive orders have been overturned by the other two branches.

Indian Removal Policy in the 1830s

One of the most striking examples of executive action that changed the multicultural landscape of the United States was President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act, which amounted to an ethnic cleansing of several tribes.

Jackson signed the order into law in 1830. The act authorized the president to negotiate to buy tribal lands in exchange for lands outside existing U.S. borders to the west. Eventually these "negotiations" with the Cherokee—which were done under significant pressure and threat of violence and with an unrecognized tribal leader—led to the enforcement of the treaty, despite protest by the Cherokee Nation.

The treaty was enforced by Jackson's successor, President Martin Van Buren, who ordered an armed force of 7,000 soldiers and militia to remove the Cherokee from their homes and land. This forceful removal resulted in the relocation of 15,000 Cherokee to camps along what has been referred to as the Trail of Tears. Thousands of Native Americans died during the march between 1831 and 1838 from exposure, disease, starvation, and otherwise inadequate rations and by violence at the hands of frontiersmen. Those who survived the relocation were subject to unfair dealings, outright theft, and even more violence at their various destinations along the way.

The Emancipation Proclamation

President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. The proclamation's language was sweeping: "all persons held as slaves" within any state that had seceded from the Union "are, and henceforth shall be free."

In the case of this executive action, the president used his authority as commander in chief of the armed forces under Article II, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution to legitimize the proclamation. This authority arguably granted him the right and power to declare martial law in the secession states that remained disloyal to the Union.

The Emancipation Proclamation allowed those freed from slavery to enroll in the U.S. military forces. During the Civil War, more than 200,000 blacks joined the Union army. Most of these troops were formerly enslaved, and their numbers were vital to the north's success. The Confederacy did not allow freed enslaved people to serve in the military until the last weeks of the war. Cultural and specific racial differences between military forces, originating in former northern or Confederate states, continued to play a role in military culture well into the 20th century.

Although the proclamation did not instantly eradicate slavery, it did cause a major change. Immediately upon its issuance many enslaved people in the south fled for the Union. As the political tide turned, slavery was abolished in all but a few states before the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. The effective result of the proclamation was to make slavery the issue of the war; the north was the side of freedom and emancipation, which had a political and cultural effect on the outcome.

Japanese American Internment

In 1942, the U.S. government relocated and interned approximately 110,000 Japanese Americans and Japanese living in the United States, mostly along the Pacific Coast. These "war relocation camps" were almost all on the West Coast, although some internments were in Hawai'i, as well. The action came after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Of all those who were interned, approximately 62 percent were U.S. citizens.

The executive action was taken by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, when he signed Executive Order 9066. The order

allowed the designation of “exclusion zones” from which the military were to exclude “any and all persons.” This sweeping power was used to exclude all people of Japanese ancestry from all of California and most of Arizona, Oregon, and Washington. The practical result was that all people of Japanese descent were interned in camps, aided by the U.S. Census Bureau, which provided confidential personal information on numbers and addresses of Japanese Americans.

In March 1942, Executive Order 9095 was issued, freezing assets of “aliens.” This made relocation for Japanese Americans out of the designated military zones even more difficult.

Detainees were often housed in livestock stalls and shanties that lacked sufficient ventilation, sanitation, and electricity. There were shortages of food and medicine, and food that was available was often rotten. The camps were surrounded by gates and barbed wire and the perimeters were guarded by armed soldiers with shoot to kill orders. The camps were essentially prisons.

Finally, at the end of 1944, Roosevelt announced the end of the exclusion order of Japanese Americans. By then, many had already lost their homes, their livelihoods, and most of their possessions. No Japanese American was ever found to have committed a single act of treason or espionage.

Several lawsuits were filed during internment, and a few reached the Supreme Court. In *Yasui v. United States* and *Hirabayashi v. United States*, the court held that the curfews were constitutional. In *Korematsu v. United States*, the court found the exclusion order itself to be constitutional. And in *ex parte Endo*, the court ruled on a writ of habeas corpus that the government could not continue to detain an individual whom the government had found to be loyal. The decision came down a day after Roosevelt had lifted the exclusion order.

In 1988, Congress passed the Civil Liberties Act, which apologized for the internment on behalf of the United States government and made more than \$1.6 billion in reparations to Japanese Americans who had suffered internment and to their heirs.

Recent Action for Undocumented Immigrants

In June 2012 the Barack Obama administration announced an executive action that allows certain illegal immigrants who came to the United States

as children to work and remain in the country without fear of deportation, but it does not grant permanent legal status. Rather, this executive action states that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) will no longer initiate deportation of young people without criminal records who were brought to the United States illegally by their parents and allows them to get driver’s licenses and to work and live free of constant fear of deportation.

For all eligible immigrants who come forward, the DHS will use its prosecutorial discretion to grant a reprieve, which must be renewed every two years. President Obama’s action stays within the lines of existing legal authority because it grants neither immunity nor amnesty but simply shifts the deportation priorities within the Department of Homeland Security. This executive action is the first measure by President Obama to offer instant relief to a large number of illegal immigrants, and he did not consult Congress on this action.

The action benefits the same group of people who would have been helped by the DREAM Act, which the Obama administration also supports. Thus far the legislation has been blocked by Congress, and the executive action is a means to get past the block. This move comes at a time when Latino voters, previously supportive of Obama, are putting increased pressure on his administration to assist the beleaguered immigrant community.

As many as 1.4 million immigrants could benefit from this executive action. Most of them are Latino, with about 70 percent born in Mexico. The Obama administration announced the action on the 30th anniversary of the *Plyler v. Doe* decision, a case that held that all children have the right to a public school education regardless of their immigration status. While the future of this executive action and the issues it addresses are uncertain, it undeniably will impact the trajectory of American multiculturalism in the arena of illegal immigration, one of the most salient cultural battles of our time.

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See Also: DREAM Act; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Executive Order 8802 (1941); Executive

Order 9066 (1942); Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Indian Removal Act (1830); Japanese American Internment; *Plyler v. Doe* (1982); Presidency, U.S.

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Executive Order 8802 (1941)

Executive Order 8802 was issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 25, 1941. The executive order was a response to efforts by black civil rights leaders, led by A. Philip Randolph, who threatened a March on Washington to raise concerns regarding civil rights. The executive order sought to combat discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin in wartime industries. Though Executive Order 8802 was relatively limited in scope, it set the stage for further executive intervention in civil rights and set

in motion the creation of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC), the first federal civil rights agency.

Origins of Executive Order 8802

In 1941, A. Philip Randolph was the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and a black civil rights leader. Randolph also remembered that blacks had been mobilized during World War I only to return to a nation characterized by segregation and discrimination. Randolph and other black leaders such as Bayard Rustin organized the March on Washington movement, threatening to bring 100,000 people to the Lincoln Memorial to protest discrimination.

In June 1941 Randolph met with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and presented an extensive list of demands, including a fair employment practices committee and greater opportunities for blacks to participate in the industries mobilizing for World War II. Roosevelt's New Deal coalition included blacks eligible to vote in the large cities of the north who had switched their traditional Republican allegiance. However, Roosevelt also depended on the votes of the Democratic-solid south, and segregationist Democrats often held the balance of power and key leadership positions in the House and Senate, making broad-scale action risky. The continued efforts by Randolph and other black leaders created an increasingly significant problem for Roosevelt. Faced with the threat of a march on Washington exhibiting the racial inequality in the American south and throughout the nation while mobilizing for a war to protect democracy, Roosevelt responded by issuing Executive Order 8802.

Executive Order 8802 was written primarily by young attorney and administration official Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., who later would serve in prominent positions with the advocacy group Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). Rauh was given the assignment quickly and composed an executive order for Roosevelt's signature. Even though congressional action on civil rights was not possible at this point, the executive power of the presidency could be utilized to combat discrimination.

Combating discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, and national origin in wartime

employment was the primary objective of Executive Order 8802. The reasoning behind combating discrimination was cloaked in the language of wartime mobilization. All groups in the United States must mobilize to defend democracy according to Executive Order 8802. The U.S. government's departments and agencies as well as organizations receiving government contracts were to comply with the order by ending discriminatory practices.

The primary result of Executive Order 8802 was the creation of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, known as the FEPC, that was to be headquartered within the Office of Production Management. A chairman and four other members were to be appointed by the president and they would investigate complaints and make recommendations regarding combating discrimination. The FEPC worked as the first federal antidiscrimination agency to investigate complaints on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin. The FEPC was in many ways the precursor the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the federal civil rights agency that remains in place today. The FEPC held hearings and investigated individual complaints throughout the nation. Lobbying by blacks was the impetus for the creation of the agency but the broad-based charge of Executive Order 8802 allowed any group being discriminated against on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin to file a complaint. Jews in the northeast, Mexican Americans in the southwest, and others discriminated against on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin had their complaints investigated. While the FEPC was constrained by a lack of enforcement authority and limited resources, it did have some tangible accomplishments in enhancing employment opportunities.

Legacy of Executive Order 8802

Executive Order 8802 was one of the first steps taken in an expansion of federal civil rights activity in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. President Roosevelt reaffirmed his commitment to combating discrimination in 1943 when he issued Executive Order 9346, which increased the capacity of the FEPC. While the FEPC ceased to exist in 1946, Executive Order 8802 set a precedent for

executive action continued by future presidents and helped set the stage for federal intervention in the arena of civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s.

The inclusive nature of Executive Order 8802 is another legacy. Rather than merely seeking to combat discrimination against blacks, the order was written with a pluralist mission. Civil rights legislation was passed in the 1960s and beyond, but that vision of protecting people from multiple types of discrimination has endured with groups such as people over 40, people with disabilities, and men and women facing barriers on the basis of gender. It also set a precedent for using executive action for civil rights, a tradition continued with subsequent presidents issuing executive orders to combat discrimination.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.; Executive Actions; Freedom Riders; Presidency, U.S.; Racism; World War I; World War II.

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Executive Order 9066 (1942)

On December 17, 1941, the Japanese navy attacked Pearl Harbor, an American naval base in Hawai‘i. This unexpected attack brought the United States into World War II. On February 19, 1942, Executive Order 9066, issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, gave the American

military broad powers to remove individuals from any areas deemed necessary for security and military purposes. Designated military zones were established in western California, Oregon, Washington, and southern Arizona. On March 18, Executive Order 9102 created the War Relocation Authority (WRA) to supervise the evacuated population. Milton Eisenhower (brother of General Dwight Eisenhower) was appointed to direct it. Although most people affected by the order were of Japanese ancestry, smaller numbers of persons of Italian or German heritage were also interned by authority of its powers.

Executive Order 9066 was issued as a precautionary measure, in response to security concerns based on large numbers of persons of Japanese descent living in Hawai‘i and the West Coast. Identifying and removing persons of Japanese ancestry was aided by the Second War Powers Act of 1942, which suspended the prohibition against revealing personal data collected by the U.S. Census. (The prohibition was restored in 1947.) As a result, records from the U.S. Department of Commerce show that the Census Bureau released information about the names and locations of persons of Japanese ancestry living in Washington, D.C., and block-level data were also used in several states to identify neighborhoods in which persons of Japanese ancestry were living.

Forced Evacuations

The War Department was charged with removing people of Japanese descent from the military zones. A voluntary removal program was tried at first, but only about 5,000 Japanese people responded. The first forced evacuations took place in February 1942 at Terminal Island, near Los Angeles Harbor, and in March on Bainbridge Island, in Puget Sound, Washington. Large-scale evacuations began later that month. Over 90,000 evacuees (about 70 percent of whom were American citizens) were brought to one of 16 assembly centers located in California, Oregon, Washington, and Arizona.

Most evacuees had only a few weeks to sell their homes and personal property and get their finances in order. Assembly centers were hastily prepared and often located in inhospitable areas. For instance, one camp in California’s Owens

Valley recorded temperatures of over 110 degrees in the summer.

Most evacuees stayed at the assembly centers for one to four months before being moved to more permanent relocation centers. Ten relocation centers were established in isolated regions of Utah, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and California, and were constructed on the model of military barracks. Each family was allotted one room, no matter how many people were in the family. Bathing and toilet facilities were communal, and meals were served in communal mess halls. Although it originally had been thought that residents of these centers could work in agriculture, many locations were unsuitable for this purpose, including Manzanar, California; and Gila River, Arizona; which were located in deserts, and Jerome and Rohwer, Arkansas, located in swamp areas. Ultimately, the War Relocation Authority interned over 120,000 people during World War II.

There was little public or official opposition to Executive Order 9066, and the order withstood several legal challenges. In 1943, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Hirabayashi v. United States* and *Yasui v. United States* that it was legal to impose a curfew exclusively on members of a minority group, even if they were American citizens. In 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Korematsu v. United States* that the exclusion order was constitutional, and that U.S. interest in protecting its security outweighed the individual rights of Fred Korematsu, a Japanese American living in California, and the rights of other Americans of Japanese descent.

Public Proclamation 24, issued on September 4, 1945, two days after Japan surrendered to the United States, revoked the exclusion orders and military restrictions against persons of Japanese ancestry. All WRA internment camps were closed by December 15, 1945, except for the Tule Lake Segregation Center in California, which was closed on March 20, 1946. In March 1983, the National Council for Japanese American Redress filed a class action on behalf of all those who were interned. In August 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed H.R. 442, which provided for payments of \$20,000 to each surviving former internee.

Today, Executive Order 9066 is generally regarded as a great injustice perpetrated against large numbers of innocent people. Some historians cite the order as an early example of racial profiling because people were singled out for relocation solely on the basis of their national origins, rather than any suspected criminal activity or disloyalty.

Historians also point out that the order was issued after the United States had been attacked by the Japanese navy, forcing the country to enter World War II, actions that may have prevented those who would otherwise have spoken against the order from doing so in the interest of preserving national unity.

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See Also: Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; Citizenship; Deportation (Repatriation); Japanese American Citizens League; Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; Presidency, U.S.; World War II.

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Fallen Timbers, Battle of

The Battle of Fallen Timbers (August 20, 1794), fought in northwestern Ohio, was the last major battle of the U.S. military campaign against the Northwestern Native American Confederacy known as the Northwest Indian War of 1785–95. General Anthony Wayne commanded the U.S. forces in a decisive defeat of the Native American forces under the leadership of Shawnee Chief Blue Jacket. The U.S. victory was key to ending Native American resistance in the area, resulting in Native American land cessions under the 1795 Treaty of Fort Greenville. The defeat and subsequent treaty paved the way for Euro-American settlement and development in the region.

The U.S. military had been fighting the Northwest Indian War since 1785. The British had ceded the area to the United States in the 1783 Treaty of Paris that ended the American Revolution, although the British still maintained forts in the area. Euro-Americans had begun settling in the Northwest Territory, sparking conflict with the Native American tribes living in the region. U.S. forces were in the region to protect settlers against the predations of the Northwestern Native American Confederacy, consisting of members of the Shawnee, Miami, Ottawa, Chippewa, Delaware, Iroquios, Wyandot, and Potawatomie tribes, among others.

President George Washington had appointed General Anthony Wayne, widely known by the nickname “Mad” Anthony Wayne, as commander of the U.S. Army of the Northwest in 1792. Wayne took command after previous commanders General Josiah Harmar and General Arthur St. Clair had failed to end the Native American resistance. General Wayne, hoping to avoid the mistakes of previous regional commanders, ensured that his troops were well-supplied, drilled, and disciplined. He utilized pre-existing forts, such as Fort Washington and Fort Jefferson, and constructed several new forts, including Fort Greenville, Fort Recovery, and Fort Defiance.

General Wayne and his men arrived in the Northwest Territory in May 1793 and entered northwestern Ohio by 1794, moving toward the Maumee River area. Meanwhile, Native American warriors had been gathering along the Maumee River, near British-controlled Fort Miamis in present-day Ohio. In the summer of 1794, Wayne answered a Native American raid on a supply train with his own raids on Native American villages and crops.

General Wayne commanded a force of approximately 2,000 U.S. soldiers aided by approximately 1,000 militia and cavalry troops from Kentucky under the command of Major General Charles Scott. Blue Jacket led a combined Native American force of approximately 1,500 to 2,000

warriors. Blue Jacket had assumed full control of the Confederacy when Miami Chief Little Turtle, who had shared the duties, resigned his position in the belief that peace was the best option. Chief Black Wolf and Chief Ottawa were among the other prominent military leaders of the Native American forces.

The Battle of Fallen Timbers occurred on August 20, 1794. The Native Americans took positions behind the fallen trees that littered the area, giving it the name Fallen Timbers. Wayne's men attacked, resulting in hand-to-hand combat. Wayne's men were reinforced by the accompanying cavalry forces, which attacked from the rear. Blue Jacket's forces were outnumbered, and the expected support of their British allies from the British forts remaining within the Northwest Territory never materialized. The Native Americans were forced to break their position and retreat from the battlefield after only several hours of fighting.

The Battle of Fallen Timbers ended as a decisive victory for General Wayne and his U.S. forces. The United States reported 33 casualties and 100 wounded. Conflicting reports estimate

Native American casualties of between 19 and 40 dead, although some scholars believe the number to be higher. Native American casualties included Chief Ottawa. Today, the Fallen Timbers Battlefield is an Ohio state park located west of the city of Maumee and southwest of the city of Toledo.

The Native American forces retreated to nearby Fort Miamis (Fort Miami), where they sought reinforcement from their British allies. General Wayne and his forces pursued Blue Jacket and his men but left when it became clear that the British were unwilling to provoke a confrontation with the United States by offering aid. General Wayne returned to Fort Greenville, but not before destroying a number of Native American villages and crops in the region.

After the Battle of Fallen Timbers, the federal government signed the Treaty of Fort Greenville with the Northwestern Native American Confederacy on August 3, 1795. Wayne had remained at the fort to assist in the treaty negotiations. Miami Chief Little Turtle was among the confederation's representatives, who ceded Native American territory in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan to the United States. Long-term results were an



"The Road to Fallen Timbers," a poster commissioned by the Department of the Army in 1953, depicts the final battle of the Northwest Indian War on the banks of the river in Maumee, Ohio, on August 20, 1794. The war centered on the struggle for control over the Northwest Territory, an area bounded on the south by the Ohio River, on the west by the Mississippi River, and on the northeast by the Great Lakes. The battle, a decisive victory for the United States, ended the major hostilities in the region until 1811.

end to any potential alliance between British and Indian forces, further U.S. acquisition of Native American territory, and increased Euro-American settlement in the region.

The Northwest Indian War ended in 1795 with the defeat of the Northwest Native American Confederacy. Sporadic Native American resistance to Euro-American settlement in the region continued into the early 19th century, when Shawnee Chief Tecumseh once again sought to unite a Native American confederacy against white encroachment and the destruction of traditional Native American culture. Tecumseh had been among those Native Americans who refused to sign or recognize the Treaty of Greenville.

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See Also: American Indian-U.S. Government Treaties; Native Americans; Tecumseh's War.

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Family and Ethnic Diversity

Families, which may be defined differently in different races and ethnicities, play important roles in individuals' lives and deeply affect their well-being. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, family households account for 68 percent of all households. This percentage is highest among Hispanic households (78.4 percent), followed by Asian, American Indian, non-Hispanic white, and black. It is worth noting that race and Hispanic origin (ethnicity) were regarded as distinct concepts by

the 2010 census. In addition, the census allowed reporting of more than one race, which helped collect more accurate information, but also presented more complexity in describing ethnic diversity of families, even though the overwhelming majority of families described themselves as only one race.

This article focuses on the comparison among non-Hispanic white (sometimes referred to as "white"), African American, Hispanic, and Asian families, citing statistics concerning those who reported that they were only one race. The comparisons are not among completely mutually exclusive groups, but they come very close. The studies on American Indians are relatively sparse, so this article has limited discussion on these families.

Race and ethnicity are regarded as important indicators of stratification in examining family relations, with their importance comparable to age, gender, and socioeconomic status. People from different ethnicities have kept their own historical and cultural heritage and are subject to their own constraints and identities formed in broader social conditions. Nevertheless, vast heterogeneity exists within each ethnic group. For example, among Hispanics, Mexican Americans are quite different from those with Puerto Rican and Cuban origins. Asian Americans also include a population with different origins and cultures. It is almost impossible to address all these diversities in this article. A description of the differences is more about general observed differences among different races/ethnicities with only brief discussion of diversity within each major group.

In addition, ethnic differences are also closely related to immigration status. Particularly, the increased Hispanic and Asian population is to a great extent driven by immigration. The 2010 census found that among the foreign-born population, 53.1 percent were from Latin America and the Caribbean, 28.2 percent from Asia, 12.1 percent from Europe, and 4 percent from Africa. First-generation Hispanic and Asian immigrants show many different patterns in their family-related behaviors from their U.S.-born counterparts.

Structural and cultural factors (they are intertwined to some extent) affect differences among families of different ethnicities in respect to fertility, marriage, single parenthood, divorce, cohabitation, interracial romantic pairings, extended familism, multigenerational coresidence, grandparenting,

and caregiving. Many of the differences observed among whites, Hispanics, African Americans, Asians, and American Indians are associated with their differences in socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status, such as education, income, and occupation, may result from historical and cultural conditions and enforce some behaviors that are consistent with cultural expectations. For example, on average Hispanics and African Americans usually have lower socioeconomic status, such as lower educational levels and lower incomes, than whites and Asian Americans. The unemployment rate among African Americans is particularly high. These social conditions are combined with historical and cultural conditions to shape family behaviors with huge ethnic differences.

Fertility

Total fertility rate is usually used to describe the number of children a woman expects to have during her lifetime at the current birthrate. Data in 2006 revealed that the total fertility rate in the United States on average was around 2.1. This is approximately equal to the replacement rate, which is the number of children a woman should have for the population to maintain its current level. Among different ethnicities, Hispanic women have the highest fertility rate, followed by African American, Asian, white, and American Indian women. Among Hispanics, the high fertility rate is driven by the high fertility rate of Mexican Americans, with those from Puerto Rico and Cuba having much lower rates. In addition, the fertility rate is lower among the second-generation Mexican Americans (those born in the United States) than among the first-generation Mexican Americans.

The high fertility rate among Mexican Americans is sometimes attributed to the cultural norm in Mexico of having many children. However, recent studies have found different fertility behaviors among Mexicans and Mexican Americans. While the fertility rate among Mexicans is decreasing, the fertility rate among Mexican Americans is increasing. This suggests that something other than cultural reasons, such as structural and practical factors, may explain the high fertility rate among Mexican Americans. Similarly, although second-generation Mexican Americans' lower fertility has been explained as the result of

assimilation, the findings that third-generation Mexican Americans have a higher fertility rate than second-generation Mexican Americans questions the dominant role of assimilation. Overall, cultures may play important roles in affecting fertility among different ethnicities; other structural factors may also exert significant impacts.

Marriage

The marriage rate is lowest for African Americans and highest for Asians, followed by whites and Hispanics. The 2010 census shows that among family households, around 50 percent of Hispanic and white families were husband-and-wife households, compared with 60 percent for Asian Americans and 29 percent for African Americans. It is also estimated that 81 percent of white women, 77 percent of Hispanic women, and 52 percent of African American women will get married by age 30.

The reasons for the comparatively low marriage rate among African Americans usually includes their history of slavery, which made stable marriage unlikely. Additionally, the diversity of marriage statistics among ethnicities is associated with their socioeconomic status. Recent studies have shown different marriage rates among populations with different educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, with those with higher socioeconomic status more likely to get married. The relatively lower socioeconomic status of African Americans and the unemployment rate among African American males, in particular, are barriers to marriage, which to some extent is a declaration of status and builds upon economic stability.

However, even with lower socioeconomic status on average, Hispanics retain a comparatively high level of marriage rates, similar to whites. This is usually explained by cultural factors, such as the strong familism dominating Hispanic cultures that favors marriage. The marriage rate among Mexican Americans is higher than the rate for people of Puerto Rican origin. There is also a greater proportion of two-parent, single-earner families in Mexican American families than in other Hispanic families. Asian Americans also have a comparatively high marriage rate, which is usually explained by the cultures of their home countries and their generally favorable socioeconomic status.

Ethnic diversity is intertwined with immigration status. A large proportion of Hispanics and Asians are first-generation immigrants. First-generation Hispanics and Asian Americans have higher levels of marriage rates than their second-generation counterparts for several reasons. First, first-generation immigrants may have higher marriage prevalence because of the favorable immigration policy that endorses family reunification. In addition to home countries' traditional values about marriage, the limited resources of many new immigrants makes it beneficial for them to stay in their marriage and pool resources. This is particularly true for women with low levels of education, whose limited social resources will challenge their independent living; thus, they are very likely to be married and stay in the marriage. This may also explain why traditional marriage values are emphasized among first-generation immigrants.

Some researchers regard cultures as tool kits rather than doctrines because individuals may actively choose what will best serve their needs within these tool kits. As a result, both cultural and practical factors determine individuals' behaviors. Even when some behaviors seem to be consistent with traditional values, practical factors may be the actual reasons for individuals' upholding those values. In contrast, the second-generation Hispanics typically have higher educational and socioeconomic attainment than the first-generation immigrants. Their pursuit of education may delay the marriage, and abundant financial resources may reduce the need to get married.

Divorce

Whites and Hispanics have similar divorce rates within the first 15 years of their marriage, while African Americans have a higher divorce rate. Generally speaking, the divorce rate among Asian Americans is much lower than the national average. Similar to differences in marriage rates, higher divorce rates among African Americans are related to social and cultural factors. For example, divorce is likely to occur as a response to stress in the marriage. This stress quite often results from unfavorable financial status and unemployment, which is more prevalent in African American families. Among Hispanics, Mexican Americans are less likely to be divorced than those with Puerto

Rican and Cuban origins. Divorce rates among first-generation Mexican Americans is very low, while the second-generation Mexican Americans have a divorce rate similar to whites. In addition to divorce, permanent separations are also more likely to be an option for Hispanics and African Americans than for whites.

Single Parents

The number of single parents has been steadily increasing over the past decades. According to the 2010 census, 7.2 percent of all households were single-mother-headed households with children younger than 18 years old. When examined by ethnicity, single-mother-headed households accounted for 17.4 percent among African American households, 12.1 percent among Hispanic households, 4.7 percent among white households, and 4.1 percent among Asian American households. In comparison, there are far fewer single-father-headed households with children younger than 18 years old, with only 2.4 percent of these families among all households counted in 2010.

Single parenthood is closely related to divorce and unmarried birth. In the past, single parents were typically described as "disadvantaged." Although single-parent families still have higher poverty rates and lower socioeconomic status on average, recent research has shown many positive aspects of single-parenthood. Some studies have examined resources that could be mobilized for single parents, including increased involvement of grandparents. Maternal grandparents are more involved in these households, possibly because there is a much higher percentage of single mothers than single fathers.

Cohabitation

Cohabitation has become more normative in past decades. In 1970, there were only about 500,000 cohabiting couples. The number dramatically increased to five million in 2000, but stabilized in the following decade with a little more than five million cohabiting couples in 2010. In addition, a substantial proportion (40 percent) of children spend some part of their childhood in cohabiting families, which suggests that cohabitation also serves the purpose of child rearing.

The prevalence of cohabitation differs among different ethnic groups, which is often attributed

to differences in perceptions of cohabitation, as well as the social and economic status of different ethnicities. Cohabitation rates are higher among African Americans and Hispanics than whites. Asian Americans have the lowest cohabitation rate across ethnicities. One reason often proposed to explain these differences is the different levels of cultural acceptance and norms concerning cohabitation among ethnic groups. Whites are more likely to regard cohabitation as a step toward marriage, whereas African Americans and Hispanics are more likely to regard cohabitation as a substitute for marriage. For example, white partners who cohabit are more likely to marry as a result of pregnancy than African Americans and Hispanics. Even when African American partners who cohabited reported their plans to get married, their relationships were less likely to lead to marriage. In addition, children in African American and Hispanic families spend larger periods of their lives in cohabiting families than children in white families. For African Americans, the high cohabitation rate again is sometimes attributed to the history of slavery, which made marriage very unlikely, and is sometimes associated with lower socioeconomic status.

Furthermore, because the Hispanic and Asian American groups are made up of a large number of recent immigrants, the home countries' values also exert substantial influences on their behaviors. A detailed examination of Asian Americans reveals that only the first-generation Asian immigrants have a much lower cohabitation rate than whites. However, the second-generation Asian Americans are much more likely to cohabit than their parent generation, and their cohabitation rate is even higher than that of Hispanics. This may be related to the fact that cohabitation is usually not widely accepted in Asian countries and is sometimes stigmatized. In contrast, consensual unions or common-law marriages in Latin American countries are much more common and may be a stable arrangement that has many characteristics of marriage. This explains why cohabitation rates among the Hispanic population are higher.

In addition to different values and cultural heritages, increased cohabitation rates seem to be driven by the disadvantaged population with lower educational and financial resources, who

are usually overrepresented in the Hispanic and African American population. For the more disadvantaged population, marriage is usually described as a goal that is not attainable because of inability to have a secure and stable environment in which to raise a family.

Interracial Romantic Pairings

There has been increased attention to interracial marriage in the past decade because of the increase in the diversity of the population. By some estimates, interracial marriage increased more than twentyfold since the 1960s; in 2010, almost 7 percent of married-couple households consisted of couples of different races, and 14 percent of all couples (including unmarried) were interracial partners. Interracial marriage between nonwhites and whites has increased dramatically. Hispanics and American Indians are more likely to marry whites than are Asians and African Americans. Among Asian Americans, those with Japanese and Filipino origins are more likely to marry whites than those with origins in southeast Asia. This is usually explained as the differences in their socioeconomic status, which result in the segregation of occupations and residential neighborhoods. With increased education, U.S.-born Hispanics and Asian Americans are more likely to marry whites, but similar patterns are not found for African Americans.

Many studies are exploring how race/ethnicity is negotiated in this intimate relationship. For example, some studies have suggested that marriages between African Americans and whites are particularly vulnerable to racism when compared with other types of interracial marriages, and thus couples may experience more stress in the relationships and be more likely to divorce.

Extended Familism

Hispanic, African American, and Asian families appear to have stronger extended-family ties, which may provide additional safety nets for family members when nuclear families seem to be in trouble because of high divorce rates, high single-parent rates, and low marriage rates. However, recent studies have cautioned against the idea that minority families have stronger extended family ties and family members are more likely to get support from extended families, because the

exchanges between parents and adult children in minority families may not necessarily be stronger simply because of stronger beliefs in familism.

In exploring extended family ties, intergenerational relationships are the most important relationships examined. Many studies have paid attention to ethnic differences concerning intergenerational relationships between adult children and their parents, including how they exchange resources, intergenerational emotional closeness, coresidence, as well as norms and values guiding these relationships.

Minorities usually are believed to have stronger extended familism and thus stronger expectations of intergenerational obligations than whites, who are more likely to endorse the individualized self. In African American, Hispanic, and Asian cultures, the individual is more likely to be defined in relation to families, resulting in a stronger feeling of family obligation. This stronger, intergenerational obligation is sometimes described as familism, or more specifically, extended familism, in order to stress the importance of extended family ties. In Asian cultures, particularly in countries in which Confucianism is a dominant religion, such as China, Japan, and Korea, the obligations to one's older parents are described as filial piety, which has been a major theme in studying intergenerational relationships in these countries and immigrants from these countries.

Extended families of different ethnicities exchange different types of support. The patterns of exchanges are not only related to cultural norms but also are more closely related to the socioeconomic status of families. It has been generally found that African Americans and Hispanics are less likely to provide financial support to their kin; conversely, white adult children are most likely to receive financial assistance from their parents. Differences in financial support from parents can usually be attributed to differences in both parents' resources and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Concerning instrumental support or practical help, the evidence is equivocal. Although some studies find that African American and Hispanic families are more involved in exchanging this kind of help, such as providing care and housing, some studies do not. Even if African American and Hispanic families are more likely to exchange

practical help, the quality may not be comparable to that of white families because of the limited resources available to African Americans and Hispanics. Moreover, there is heterogeneity among the Hispanic population; it is reported that Mexican Americans are more likely to be involved in hands-on support between parents and adult children than are Puerto Ricans.

Some studies show that African American, Hispanic, and Asian American older adults are more likely to live with their adult children. Some studies also conclude that Hispanics live closer to their kin than whites do. Findings about familial contact are more inconclusive. Most studies find that Mexican Americans have more phone and in-person contact with their extended kin than whites; however, some studies have not found any difference, or that whites have more contact than Mexican Americans. Results concerning emotional support are also equivocal, with some studies concluding that whites have stronger emotional support exchanges among extended kin than Hispanics, and other studies presenting conflicting evidence.

Multigenerational Coresidence

From 2000 to 2010, the number of multigenerational families increased from 3.9 million to 5.1 million, accounting for 4.4 percent of all households. "Multigenerational families" refers to households with three or more generations of relatives. Multigenerational households are usually associated with poverty and overcrowded housing. This living arrangement is more prevalent in places where there is a high proportion of recent immigrants, housing costs are high or there is a housing shortage, and there are relatively high percentages of unmarried mothers who live with their parents.

Higher multigenerational coresidence rates have been identified in Hispanic and Asian American families, particularly among first-generation immigrants. Different hypotheses are proposed to explain why this is so. Some cite the stronger extended familism or filial piety in these families, while some argue that practical needs play a determining role, because this living arrangement offers the opportunity to pool resources in order to provide housing, transportation, child care, and share of household chores for the benefit

of each of the family members. Recent studies have found that the nature of multigenerational coresidence among recent Mexican American immigrants is different from the multigenerational coresidence among Mexicans. For Mexican American immigrants, multigenerational coresidence is more likely to be among those who are relatives but not as closely related as parents and their adult children. But multigenerational coresidence in Mexico is more often a living arrangement of grandparents, parents, and children. This suggests that practical needs may outweigh cultures in explaining multigenerational coresidence among immigrants.

Caregiving

Studies have found stronger norms of intergenerational obligations to care for older parents among African American, Hispanic, and Asian American families. Nevertheless, the underlying mechanisms may not necessarily be the same. For example, although both African Americans and Hispanics show a stronger preference for care by adult children, some studies have pointed out the different reasons for this preference between these two groups. African American adult children may prefer to provide care for their older parents by themselves instead of using personally or publicly paid services because of their limited opportunities for employment. Their unemployment enables them to provide care for their older parents. In contrast, because many Hispanics are recent immigrants, language barriers and traditional mistrust of public services in home countries may be more consequential in explaining Hispanics' preference for family care. Moreover, different expectations of assuming caregiving roles also suggest different psychological consequences on caregivers. For example, African Americans may feel that caregiving is less of a burden than their white counterparts do.

Grandparenting

The contributions of grandparents to the care of their grandchildren have attracted wide attention in recent years. This development is partly related to improved life expectancy that has increased the shared time available for grandparents to spend with grandchildren. It is also related to grandparents' greater ability to care for their

grandchildren because of grandparents' improved health. Generally speaking, grandparenting roles in the United States are greatly ambiguous, with no clearly defined role expectations. Intimacy at a distance has been regarded as the norm among white grandparents; that is, grandparents are expected to be supportive in grandchildren's lives, but grandparents should not be too involved and interfere with parents raising their own children. Only when the parents are facing difficulties with their children, such as in cases of teen pregnancy, drug abuse, or incarceration, will grandparents step in to help their grandchildren out.

However, grandparents from other ethnic groups may play more active roles in grandchildren's lives than their white counterparts. Grandparents in African American, Hispanic, and Asian American families are more likely to be involved in intensive care of their grandchildren. While Hispanic grandparents are more likely to assume coparenting roles, African American grandparents are more likely to serve as surrogate parents. African American children are also more likely to live with their grandparents than children of other ethnicities. The American Community Survey in 2009 showed that among grandchildren who lived with their grandparents, 62.2 percent were African American, 24.7 percent were Hispanic, and 7.3 percent were Asian American. Additionally, a higher proportion of African American children lived in skipped-generation households, that is, households with grandparents and grandchildren but no parents. This is a living arrangement that typically involves grandparents in a surrogate parenting role. In contrast, Hispanic children are more likely to live with their grandparents in parent-headed families, in which grandparents are more committed to supporting the parents.

African American grandparents have a tradition of taking care of their grandchildren, which may be traced to this group's history during and after slavery. Grandparents often looked after grandchildren in order to keep their families intact during slavery, and later looked after grandchildren whose parents went to the north to seek employment. Nowadays, African American grandparents who care for their grandchildren could be a response to teen pregnancy and single motherhood, which are more prevalent among African American families.

Grandparents, especially grandmothers, are instrumental in supporting and even substituting for their daughters in caring for grandchildren.

The involvement of grandparents could also be a response to family disruptions. In contrast, Hispanic grandparents are more involved in providing day care, that is, supporting their children instead of replacing them. This is related to familism, which emphasizes the care of extended family members. Some studies also show that even when Hispanic grandparents serve in a custodial role without the presence of parents, there may be other adult children in their households, the result of strong extended familism.

In white families, grandparents may also assume the custodial role to buffer the negative consequences related to single parenthood and family disruptions. Because these grandparents do not expect to take this role, after they assume it they report a higher level of burden than African American grandmothers. Moreover, when the grandparenting roles are more ambiguous in white families, the support available is also limited.

Despite the increased role of grandparents in caring for their grandchildren, it would be wrong to be overly optimistic about the resources that grandchildren in minority families can receive from their grandparents. Studies have shown that children from disadvantaged families obtain less help from their grandparents than those from more advantaged families. One reason is that children from disadvantaged families are more likely to have disadvantaged grandparents, who are more likely to experience financial hardship, have low levels of education, and be in poor health. This substantially limits the resources they can provide to their grandchildren. While these grandparents do make important contributions to their grandchildren, their ability to satisfy the physical and emotional needs of their grandchildren may not be comparable to the assistance provided by more affluent and better-off grandparents.

For example, living in skipped-generation households is strongly associated with poverty. In addition, children from single-parent families are less likely to receive support from both paternal and maternal grandparents. Thus, even though children in African American and Hispanic families may be more likely to receive their grandparents' care, the quality of support has to

be carefully considered, especially among those families with lower socioeconomic status.

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See Also: Adoption, Transnational/Transracial; Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Family and Marital Patterns (Essay); Generations and Ethnic Diversity; Intermarriage, History of; Intermarriage Court Decisions; Intermarriage Demographic Trends; Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Mulatto; Picture Brides; Quadroon; Race Mixture in the United States; War Brides; White Categorization (Essay).

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Federal Indian Trust

The Federal Indian Trust represents an evolving legal battle and economic relationship between the United States, individual American Indians, and over 560 indigenous tribal nations. In modern courts, the trust has been defined as having all the elements of a true fiduciary relationship, in which the United States is seen ideally as a

protector of the rights and assets of its American Indian beneficiaries.

The trust has taproots that reach into indigenous traditions of diplomacy and negotiation among the many nations of the Americas' pre-colonial and diverse, multicultural past. But the trust's lateral root system can be traced most obviously to the General Allotment, or Dawes, Act of 1887, and from there to the foundational court cases of federal Indian law called the Marshall Trilogy (named after Chief Justice John Marshall) that connect the trust to a 16th-century edict of the Catholic church.

Marshall Trilogy and Federal Protection

Issued in 1493, the church's Doctrine of Discovery intended to control competition among European nations in their claims of political sovereignty over recently "discovered" lands. The preemptive right that the Discovery Doctrine allowed European explorers to claim was the right to exclude other Europeans from extending their nations' jurisdiction (not ownership) over New World lands and peoples. With that right, Marshall ruled in his U.S. Supreme Court decisions published in 1823, 1830, and 1831, came a responsibility of protection.

The protective aspect of the federal-Indian relationship has been mirrored less in practice than in intention, as revealed in the hundreds of treaties and other agreements negotiated during several centuries of interaction between indigenous Americans and their European colonizers. In treaty after treaty—even early in that relationship, before Euro-Americans began to overwhelm indigenous Americans by the sheer force of their numbers—indigenous leaders are seen trading certain rights to land and resource use for promises of protection, sometimes against other indigenous groups, but mainly against Euro-American settlers.

The Cherokee Nation cases represented in the Marshall Court's 1830 and 1831 decisions (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia*) make clear that the court considered America's duty toward the Cherokee to be a military one: the Cherokee needed protection from the state of Georgia and its citizens. But by 1830, Congress had passed the Indian Removal Act, and President Andrew Jackson was in league with those who wanted what is now called ethnic cleansing,

in which as many Indians as possible were forced from their homelands in the east and marched westward to Indian Territory, encompassing what is now Oklahoma, Nebraska, Kansas, and part of Iowa.

In 1871, the U.S. Congress unilaterally refused to allow constitutionally established, executive treaty-making powers to continue and declared that American Indian tribes would no longer be considered separate self-governing nations. For most of the next century, the protective aspect of the federal-Indian relationship disappeared into a twisted notion of "guardianship." Marshall had written in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1831), "[p]rotection does not imply the destruction of the protected." But American indigenous nations were nearly (some wholly) destroyed in a process that characterized American Indians as mere impediments to Euro-American Manifest Destiny.

General Allotment/Dawes Act

In keeping with the prevailing attitude that indigenous Americans were inferior to white settlers, Congress passed the General Allotment, or Dawes, Act of 1887. The law essentially privatized many indigenous homelands, attempted to destroy indigenous forms of land tenure and governance, and imposed America's trusteeship over the lands and assets of the newly allotted American Indians, ostensibly for their own good.

The act divvied up what had been collectively owned Indian lands among the individual members of allotted tribes, and turned allotted individuals (and later tribal governments) into beneficiaries of the imposed trusteeship. In doing so, the act created what courts have referred to as a general trust, which is supposed to be protective in nature. But it also paved the way for the creation of a fiduciary relationship, wherein the United States imposed upon itself certain duties toward its Native American beneficiaries, enforceable in a court of law.

Consequences

Of the many intended and unintended consequences of the Dawes Act and the Federal Indian Trust, several stand out. The act made little provision for the inheritance of allotted Indian lands, leaving (until recently) the question of the quasi-privately owned Indian estate to state courts, a

direct assault on American Indian cultural and national sovereignty; and a passing of the buck as the vast majority of Native Americans have no cultural tradition of writing wills. Greater than 90 percent of American Indians die intestate, or without a will. The Indian Land Consolidation Act of 1983 and its amendments—including the American Indian Probate Reform Act of 2004 and the American Indian Trust Fund Management Reform Act of 1994—represent Congress's attempts to remedy this and other problems created by the Dawes Act.

The major problem involved a 1910 provision for the inheritance of Indian allotted lands to heirs as tenants in common, a form of collective ownership. This meant that instead of inheriting the allotted lands of their ancestors as separate individuals, heirs of allotted Indian lands inherited interests in (percentages of) the entire allotments in common with their relatives. As a result, some allotments are now co-owned by hundreds of mostly distantly related heirs. This fractionation of ownership, coupled with restrictions on the leveraging of federal trust lands (which cannot be used as a loan guarantee) and the widespread leasing of allotted lands to non-Indians has created a situation whereby allottees and their heirs are essentially absentee landowners, even if they live on their own reservations. They own the land but have very little control over what is done with it.

And while the courts have generally agreed that the Federal Indian Trust represents a self-imposed duty that Congress and the regulatory agencies must not shirk, there has been enough financial mismanagement by federal departments and agencies that, after decades of congressional review, the largest class action ever brought against an agency of the federal government was filed in 1996. Led by Blackfeet banker turned activist Elouise Cobell and other named plaintiffs, *Cobell v. Secretary of the Interior* represented nearly half a million Individual Indian Money account holders—by definition, allotted landowners and their heirs whose assets are held in trust by the federal government.

Partial Settlement Achieved

After 14 years of heated litigation—in which federal district and appeals courts overwhelmingly agreed that the government was liable but

couldn't agree for how much—the Barack Obama administration offered a \$3.4 billion settlement for mismanagement occurring between 1985 and 2009 (although the mismanagement goes back to the trust's inception in 1887). The settlement was approved by Congress and certified by the courts in 2011. Appeals delayed its dispersal for more than a year, but late in 2012, the first \$1,000 checks were mailed to Native American individuals harmed by the massive mismanagement of the Federal Indian Trust.

Separate litigation representing the tribal trust mismanagement is ongoing. In April 2012, the Obama administration offered \$1.023 billion to settle 41 of those cases.

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See Also: Bureau of Indian Affairs; Dawes Act (1887); Homestead Act (1862); Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Indian Territory; Manifest Destiny; Reservations, Native American.

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Feminism and Ethnic Diversity

The term *feminism* is derived from the French *féminisme*, which is a combination of the French words for women's, *féminin*, and social movement, *isme*. The term spread throughout Europe in the 1890s and to North and South America around the turn of the century. The concept of

feminism, the belief that men and women are of equal worth, has always been controversial. At its origins, even some women disavowed the term, instead asserting that to be equal with men might diminish their roles as mothers. Men who enjoy the privileges of living in societies that are patriarchal often find feminism to be a dangerous challenge to their authority. Patriarchy refers to societies that are male dominated. Such societies tend to divide qualities into “male” and “female,” valuing those associated with traditional gendered understanding of masculinity over those considered to be feminine. Some see feminism as exclusively focused on ending oppression of women, while others take a more global stance and seek the end of all forms of oppression that affect women.

The U.S. feminist movement is said to have occurred in three waves. The first wave, emerging even before the actual term *feminism* migrated from Europe, lasted roughly between the mid-1800s and the mid-1950s. The second wave, or what is often referred to as the Women’s Rights or Women’s Liberation Movement, began in the mid-1950s and lasted until the late-1970s. The third-wave began in the 1980s and continues today.

There are multiple forms of feminism. Liberal feminism is what most people are familiar with. Its focus is on legislative and judicial remedies to gender inequality. Radical feminism emerged in the late 1960s. Influenced by Marxism and the Black Power movement, radical feminists challenged capitalism as the root cause of patriarchy. Rather than advocating shared power between men and women, radical feminists asserted that the quest for power itself was the problem. Further, radical feminists denounced sex roles as rigid and oppressive. Radical feminist groups include the Redstockings, W.I.T.C.H, and Cell 16. A small group of radical feminists asserted that women should separate themselves from men, which likely created the long-lasting notion that feminists are “man-haters.” Many of these activists, however, believed that gender equality needed to be achieved before racial equality was a possibility.

The First Wave

The first wave was mostly concerned with gaining women’s suffrage. First wavers were also concerned about women’s right to own property, as

patriarchal laws generally prohibited them from doing so. Others, such as Catherine Beecher, saw education as key and spent their lives developing schools to train women. These early feminists were influenced by Native American women with whom they were in regular contact. The Iroquois and the six-nation confederacy (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and later Tuscarora) were all in close proximity to Seneca Falls, New York, where the first women’s rights convention was held in 1848. Women in these tribes enjoyed far greater rights than did most white women.

Women also played major roles in the movement to abolish slavery, although that issue eventually divided the movement. In 1831, Maria Stewart, a black woman, was the first to speak publicly about women’s rights, more than five years before Sarah and Angelina Grimke did the same. Sojourner Truth also warned that if colored women did not have the same rights as colored men, then the situation would not be any better than before, as men would simply dominate women. In fact, it was gender discrimination within the abolition movement that spurred many of the first wavers.

As early as 1833, Lydia Maria Child authored *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans*, considered to be one of the first antislavery books. In her bold treatise, Child argued that people of different races should be allowed to mix freely with one another. Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, one of the most influential books of all time, catalyzed the northern movement to end slavery. Women supported abolition for various reasons, including the breakup of slave homes and the horrific physical and sexual violence slave women endured. Women formed chapters of the Female Anti-Slavery Society in the 1830s, spending their time hosting conversations and distributing pamphlets that called on women to exercise any influence they had with men to abolish slavery. Former slave Sojourner Truth lectured audiences around the country about not just slavery but also women’s rights. Women’s groups gathered the bulk of signatures on petitions asking state legislatures to abolish slavery, and in 1863, feminists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton formed the National Women’s Loyal League to petition



Women's suffrage hikers (from left) "General" Rosalie Jones, Jessie Stubbs, and Colonel Ida Craft gather in New York, circa 1910–15. Craft is wearing a bag labeled "Votes for Women Pilgrim Leaflets" and a banner with a notice for a "Woman Suffrage Party, Mass Meeting." First wave feminism was primarily concerned with gaining women's suffrage, and a push to include women of color within the ranks ultimately divided the movement. Women formed antislavery societies in the 1830s but many did not allow women of color to join.

Congress to free the slaves. It was the first women's political organization in the United States. In 1869, Frederick Douglass, Lucy Stone, and others formed the American Woman Suffrage Association to support the voting rights of black women. Similarly, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone helped form the National Woman Suffrage Association with the same goal.

Interestingly, many of these antislavery societies did not allow women of color to join, suggesting that these groups opposed slavery but did not necessarily believe in racial equality. In 1840, Elizabeth Cady married abolitionist Henry Stanton and the two attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Cady was relegated to a small area designated for women. After that experience, she and another delegate, Lucretia Mott, became more serious about women's rights and on July 19, 1848, joined with more than 200 other women in Seneca Falls to draft the Declaration

of Sentiments, modeled after the Declaration of Independence, which called for full rights under the law for all. Women's suffrage, however, was not a part of the Fifteenth Amendment.

In 1892, black feminist educator Anna Julia Cooper, a former slave, is said to have authored the first black feminist book called *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman From the South*. At age 67, she was, the first woman student of the University of Paris–Sorbonne to earn a doctoral degree in 1925. She helped create a number of black community and cultural organizations devoted to equal employment, education, and housing, such as the Phillis Wheatley YWCA, Bethel Literary and Historical Society, and the Colored Women's League.

Although some feminists were satisfied with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, which gave women the right to vote, many were not. Concerns about women's reproductive

rights, violence against women, and other issues remained salient for many activists. In particular, women of color remained vigilant about ensuring women's bodily integrity. Some women's activists, however, supported the eugenics movement of the 1910s and 1920s. They believed that some mixing of the races would lead to depravity and delinquency and advocated sterilization of those deemed "feeble-minded." Estimates are that more than 70,000 women endured coerced or forced sterilization from 1907, when states began enacting legislation authorizing it, until the 1970s. It was disproportionately women of color, and especially Native American women, who suffered from these procedures. Some of the women who fought so hard for suffrage, like Alice Paul, dismissed any of the race-related issues they had previously addressed.

The Women's Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was formed in 1924, during a period when the KKK was at record enrollment and was leading lynchings of black men throughout the country. Some feminists helped counter this era of hate by protesting against lynchings. In response to pleas from black churchwomen in the 1930s, Jessie Daniel Ames formed the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Many took their lead from feminist and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who vocally opposed anti-Semitism and racism.

Women of color were often prohibited from voting in the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, despite passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. States had enacted harsh Jim Crow laws that required poll taxes or literacy tests. It was women like Mary McLeod Bethune, who founded the National Association of Colored Women, who fought to obtain equal access for all.

In sum, the first-wave feminists helped achieve suffrage for women and called important attention to issues. While some sought to address racism and to help women of different ethnic groups, this was not a primary focus, nor was the movement generally inclusive.

The Second Wave

The second wave began in the 1950s. Activists focused on a variety of issues, including gender equality in the workplace, sexual harassment, health and reproductive rights, educational opportunities for women and girls, political

participation, and sexual and racial harassment. Many supported passage of an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) that was never ratified.

Critics have long asserted that the second wave, too, suffered from an inclusivity problem. Some black civil rights leaders, such as Cellestin Ware, Pauli Murray, and Shirley Chisholm, were integral to the Women's Liberation Movement. However, many have asserted that the second wave relied far too much on the voices and perspectives of middle-class white women and, while women of many racial and ethnic groups did work together at times, often it was on specific issues rather than as a general rule. Yet, it is clear that the women's rights movement gained much of its momentum in the 1960s and 1970s from the civil rights activism of the 1950s and 1960s.

In addition, feminists gained inspiration and tactics from the Chicano rights movement and the Native American rights movements. In 1973, several black women, including Michele Wallace, Faith Ringgold, Doris Wright, and Margaret Sloan-Hunter, borrowed the New York office of the National Organization for Women (NOW) to form the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) as a means of integrating black voices into the feminist movement. These women were also concerned that black women were marginalized within male-dominated civil rights organizations. The NBFO drew attention to the importance of interconnected or interlocking systems of oppression. They made visible the fact that women did not just suffer from sexism but also from racism, classism, homosexual prejudice, and other issues. Author Alice Walker called black feminism "womanism."

The Combahee River Collective was a black feminist lesbian organization that emerged from the NBFO in Boston from 1974 to 1980. The name was taken from the historic event at Combahee River, South Carolina, where Harriet Tubman led a movement that freed some 750 slaves. Determining that they were more radical than the NBFO, Barbara Smith, Demita Frazier, and others were concerned that other black feminist groups did not adequately address the issues faced by lesbians. The group authored the Combahee River Collective Statement, which addressed interlocking systems of oppression; the importance of black feminist activism; the connections between

capitalism, imperialism, and patriarchy; and the need to address racism within the white women's feminist movement. One of its best-known members was poet Audre Lorde, who wrote frequently about intersectionality, including "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," which asserted that white feminists were as oppressive as white slave masters.

Yet, what many do not know is that black women were some of the founders of the feminist movement. Among the movement's early leaders were Flo Kennedy, the second black woman admitted to Columbia University; Pauli Murray, the first black female Episcopal priest; and Shirley Chisholm, the first black female member of Congress. In 1971, Flo Kennedy formed the Feminist Party, making the movement overtly political. Chisholm became the first woman to run for president.

There were also many influential Chicana feminists in the 1960s and 1970s. Like many black women, Chicanas felt that their contributions to the Mexican American protest movements, like La Raza, had been minimized. In 1973, activists formed the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional to connect Chicana feminists and to advocate for the rights of Chicana women. In particular, these women wanted to challenge the patriarchal Chicano value system and sought greater inclusion in Chicano/a movements. Many Chicana authors helped promote feminist beliefs, including Cherie Moraga, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Ana Castillo.

Native American women were also actively involved in promoting women's rights. They, too, were not typically included in white women's feminism but instead worked within Native American civil rights movements and formed their own organizations. Native American groups were more likely to emphasize the maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity than were other civil rights groups of the era, which were generally advocating for greater inclusion in mainstream society. The emphasis was on empowering the tribe, not individuals. The American Indian Movement (AIM), modeled after the Black Panther movement, was formed in 1968. Mostly male activists coordinated a series of efforts that often ended violently. In 1985, Wilma Mankiller made history when she became the first female chief of the Cherokee nation. Mankiller had been involved

with AIM's occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969. As chief, she battled a male-dominated structure and value system.

The 1960s also saw the first appearance of organized Asian American feminism. They challenged the Confucian belief in male superiority and adherence to the status quo. Many identified with the activists opposed to the war in Vietnam. Activists sought to better the communities in which they lived, forming centers for drug-addicted women, child care centers, women's health care cooperatives, and domestic violence shelters.

By the 1980s, the feminist movement began to focus more globally. It also saw the beginning of a new type of feminism that has been characterized as the third wave.

Third-Wave Feminism and Transnational Feminism

Third-wave feminists, like authors Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards, Judith Butler, and Elle Green, critique earlier feminists' narrow focus on gender, a critique long inspired by women of color, such as bell hooks, Gloria Anzaldúa, Patricia Hill Collins, and Audre Lorde. This wave emerged as a result of the idea that feminism had reached a turning point. As previous waves of feminism were known to address assumptions about gender and equality, more contemporary feminists began to draw attention to the limitations of these particular foci, instead emphasizing the importance of the multiple identities held by women. Third-wave feminists are influenced by both postcolonial and postmodern theories, which question the concepts of truth, certainty, and objectivity. Third-wave feminists re-examine social constructs related to gender that traditionally have been used to oppress women. Third-wave feminists create more fluid conceptions of identities by challenging and redefining what it means to be a feminist in a globalized world. Thus, third-wave feminists focus more on difference than on commonalities, asserting that women's unique experiences can only be understood in the context of their social, cultural, political, and economic backgrounds.

Third-wave feminism addresses misconceptions about the nature and intent of feminism and creates significant space for ethnicity to be directly addressed by feminists across borders.

This version of feminism debunks many of the negative misconceptions of feminist work as a white, middle-class movement primarily or solely invested in gender equity. Rather, third-wave feminism recognizes far more than did the previous waves that women of color, lesbian women, women with disabilities, third world women, and other groups have specific and differing needs than do white women from the developed world.

Third-wave feminism is often conceptualized as a contemporary wave of feminism involving a younger generation of activists. Young feminists are encouraged to explore personal and political contradictions, such as denouncing derogatory, mediated images of women but choosing to wear lipstick and traditionally “feminine” clothing. Because third-wave feminism emphasizes and encourages these different identities, activists unite around common issues that are related to social justice. They embrace feminist commitments to include critiques against militarism, negative media representations, immigration, and other issues related to social justice and human rights. Third-wave feminists have supported and created popular culture that embraces women.

Third-wave feminists acknowledge all of the negative associations and connotations of claiming the term *feminist*. In fact, the term *feminist* frequently evokes problematic emotional responses, and many young women have a difficult time claiming it, even as their political agendas directly align with values connected to feminism. Even as individual women live in ways that directly benefit from earlier feminist work, discomfort prevails about who can claim the term *feminist*. In sum, third-wave feminists acknowledge how they inherit a legacy of power and exclusion. Further, third-wave feminists are far more likely to engage males as allies in the movement toward equality. In particular, some scholars and activists in the second wave were perceived to have been “anti-male.” Third-wave feminists often seek to dialogue with men, and there are many male-led feminist groups such as the National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS).

Third-wave feminism examines the role of third world women in political activism and resists a monolithic understanding of feminism by situating difference at the fore. Western frameworks have historically discouraged third world women

and women of color from fully participating in the feminist movement; therefore, feminist activists and scholars today utilize new frameworks and methods to engage a more diverse set of women and men.

Transnational and Postcolonial Feminism

Transnational feminism addresses the problematic ways that differences between women have been addressed and/or denied in the feminist movement. Scholars such as M. Jacqui Alexander, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Wendy Hesford, and Wendy Kozol acknowledge how ethnicity, race, and class affect change. They explore how global capitalism creates unequal opportunities for women. Brought together by a common goal—social justice—transnational feminism addresses how gender matters within a global economy. They critically examine how histories of colonialism and imperialism disproportionately disempower women.

Postcolonial feminism, linked to transnational feminism, critically examines the effects of colonialism on the lives of women. Postcolonial feminists like Sara Ahmed critically assess the concept of “other”—nonwhite, non-Western women—and call attention to the effects of histories of oppression on women. In fact, postcolonial feminists critique misconceptions of the third world women, exploring ideas of how women are “othered” and how this process is inscribed with power and privilege. In these cases, a Western framework is imposed to misread and often dismiss, trivialize, or infantilize the third world woman, who is assumed to be passive, weak, and static. Thus, there is a consistent critique of the essentialism—a static representation of what constitutes a woman—that occurs within these discourses.

The key component of transnational feminism is the attention paid to identities, experience, and difference. Unlike different feminist movements of the past, transnational feminism places emphasis on making difference visible, rather than erasing difference. In fact, transnational feminism resists the idea of “global sisterhood” often found in multicultural feminism as well as in early versions of feminism. Global sisterhood and similar concepts that evoke community are important because they point out that all women experience gendered oppressions. However, transnational feminism recognizes that the idea of sisterhood

may serve to minimize the issues experienced by and contributions made by non-Western women in that those defining the “sisterhood” and the agenda for activism have been historically dominated by Western, white women. Real activism that changes conditions for women globally seeks to acknowledge the issues of power and privilege.

Transnational feminists are committed to creating opportunities for solidarity. Transnational feminists like Chandra Talpade Mohanty argue that solidarity occurs as a result of critically assessing the self and understanding how the values of capitalism are incompatible with antiracist feminism. Transnational feminists believe women must be reflective about their experiences and the relationship to global capitalism before common activism for social justice can occur.

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See Also: Black Panther Party; Equity and Equality; Eugenics; Gender/Sex (Essay); Genocide; Family and Marital Patterns (Essay); Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Intersectionality; Ku Klux Klan; National Congress of Black Women; National Council of Jewish Women; Privilege; Slavery; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Fences

Fences, the Pulitzer Prize– and Tony Award–winning play by August Wilson, examines generational conflict, access to opportunity, and evolving definitions of manhood in the interstitial period between the Korean and Vietnam Wars. It occupies the sixth slot in the Pittsburgh Cycle. By 2012, it had been produced twice on Broadway and was the most commercially successful of Wilson’s plays.

An Autobiographical Masterpiece

August Wilson was born Fredrick August Kittel, Jr., on April 27, 1945, to Daisy Wilson, an African American woman from North Carolina, and Fredrick Kittel, Sr., an immigrant from Germany. He was raised by his mother and stepfather, David Bedford, in Pittsburgh's predominantly black Hill District. During Wilson's adolescence, the family moved to Hazelwood, a working-class, mostly white immigrant neighborhood in Pittsburgh in which the family encountered considerable racial animus. Although he dropped out of high school at age 16, Wilson was such a voracious reader that the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh eventually awarded him an honorary degree. He was especially attracted to the works of Malcolm X, Langston Hughes, Ralph Ellison, and Richard Wright.

Having been inspired by the Black Arts movement's embracing of African American culture and history, Wilson first worked as a poet prior to turning his attention to the theater. After successful presentations of his first two works, *Jitney* at the Playwright's Center in Minneapolis and *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* at the O'Neill Playwrights Conference, Wilson developed *Fences* at the Yale Repertory Theatre, under the helm of Lloyd Richards, dean of the Yale School of Drama and director of the original Broadway production of *A Raisin in the Sun*.

Set in the Hill District between 1957 and 1965, *Fences* chronicles the Maxsons, a blended Pittsburgh family ruled by their titanic 53-year-old patriarch, Troy. A former baseball player in the Negro Leagues, Troy is an ex-convict-cum-garbage-man who campaigns for equal treatment at work and special treatment at home. He overwhelms his wife, sons, and best friend, imposing his will on every person he encounters. Gradually, Troy's behavior alienates his wife, Rose, and youngest son, Cory. When his ego leads him to impregnate another woman, his fall from grace is almost mythic and Rose emotionally withdraws from his life altogether.

In that it focuses on a single character rather than a large ensemble, *Fences* has the most conventional structure in any of the Pittsburgh Cycle's plays. A tragic hero in the mold of Greek and Roman dramas, Troy is torn between his duty to provide for his family and his own hubristic

personal desires. Wilson represents that schism in Troy's name, Maxson, which is a portmanteau of Mason-Dixon, the traditional cultural dividing line between north and south in America. Like many of his other works, *Fences* features a dysfunctional father-son relationship, a mentally impaired soothsayer, black religious practices integrated neatly into the plot, institutional racism as a constant impediment to success, and Wilson's trademark poetically naturalistic language. There are autobiographical elements as well. Bedford worked as a garbage man. Wilson had argued frequently with his stepfather about his high school athletic career. In addition, Bedford had served time in prison prior to marrying Wilson's mother, and he died while Wilson was still a young man.

Production History

Fences was first presented in a staged reading at the 1983 O'Neill Playwrights Conference, followed by a run at the Yale Repertory Theatre two years later. The original Broadway production opened at the 46th Street Theatre on March 26, 1987, where it played 525 performances. Leading the cast were James Earl Jones as Troy and Mary Alice as Rose. At various times during its run, Billy Dee Williams, Lynne Thigpen, Courtney B. Vance, Frankie R. Faison, Ethel Ayler, and Tatyana Ali essayed other roles. The production won four of the six Tony Awards for which it was nominated, including Best Play, Best Direction of a Play, Best Actor in a Leading Role (Jones), and Best Actress in a Featured Role (Alice). In addition, it won Drama Desk Awards for Outstanding New Play, Actor in a Leading Role, and Actress in a Featured Role. Finally, the play was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Drama (Wilson would win again three years later for *The Piano Lesson*).

A well-received Broadway revival opened at the Cort Theatre on April 26, 2010, with Denzel Washington and Viola Davis as Troy and Rose. Wilson's wife, Constanza Romero, designed the costumes. Kenny Leon, who directed the production, previously had directed *Gem of the Ocean*, *Radio Golf*, and the revival of *A Raisin in the Sun* on Broadway. The production broke box office records, recouped its entire \$2.8 million capitalization in less than two months, and won three

Tony Awards: Best Revival, Best Leading Actor, and Best Leading Actress.

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See Also: Brooklyn Dodgers; *Raisin in the Sun*, A; Sports and Ethnic Diversity; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Feng Shui

Feng shui, which generally translates to "wind and water," is an ancient folk art that originated in China. It consists of arranging structures and objects to maximize *qi*, a movable life force that can be positive or negative. This arrangement is thought to increase the harmony between people and their environments. The slope of a building site, its soil quality, and the climate are all factored into a feng shui assessment.

Qi, pronounced "chee," is one of the most important concepts within the practice of feng shui. Qi represents the celestial breath of the mythical dragon as well as the life force of every person. Qi is thought to flow everywhere but is more plentiful in some places. As qi brings prosperity, good luck, and happiness, in general the

aim of feng shui is to allow for the ready flow of qi. Some ways to make this happen are to reduce sharp edges and remove clutter and debris.

During the early 19th century, the United States was introduced to feng shui by the first Chinese immigrants. The most notable examples of early American feng shui include the Chinese ghetto, the Four Corners section of New York, and the Chinatowns in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Mao Zedong outlawed feng shui in the Peoples Republic of China because he considered it a superstition and believed that many fraudsters promulgated the practice.

As of 2013, feng shui is again practiced in China, as well as many other places in the world. The United States in particular is home to a flourishing cottage industry of feng shui practitioners who consult about landscaping and interior design. One notable feng shui user is Donald Trump, who reportedly does not believe in the practice per se, but desires to retain Asian business by respecting the practice.

In 1991 the American Feng Shui Institute (AFSI) was founded in the Los Angeles area by Chinese American Larry Sang. As of 2013 it is the longest-established school of feng shui in the United States in one, steady location. The school boasts graduates in many countries all over the world.

Modern Meaning

The modern aim of the practice of feng shui is to collocate the constructed human environment and good qi places. Ideal qi locations are both temporal and physical. The practice includes lucky objects as well as ideal qi spots. These objects include aquariums, tassels, plants, statues, and wind chimes as well as representations of various animals. Each item is imbued with certain meanings. Many modern practitioners in the United States see clutter, a focus of Feng Shui, as a uniquely American problem that makes the practice especially well-suited for modern American life.

Aquariums are thought to bring prosperity and favorable luck to the structure they grace. They are ideally placed outdoors next to the home or in the central family living area. This is in part due to the supposed ability to absorb negative qi that fish have generally. Water itself, though, is beneficial, and fountains and waterfalls are also believed to bestow positive qi on a structure. This

tradition is one of the most common in current feng shui practice among modern Americans.

Tassels bless and protect a space. They are nearly always red and often feature symbols thought to be lucky. Chinese coins symbolize prosperity. The most modern and current practice of the coin and tassel is hanging from the rearview mirrors of cars; this is mostly an Asian American practice. Live plants are thought to harness chi and are ideally placed in the upper right corner of a room as determined when the viewer stands with his/her back in the doorway. Among the younger generations of Americans, even Asian Americans, this placement tradition is mostly forgotten and is not commonly used, even by professional feng shui practitioners.

Wind chimes mediate between wind and water and result in peace and stylishness. Different kinds of wind chimes are thought to work against different problems. In modern feng shui use, wind chimes are used more for general good luck as well as style.

The various animals in feng shui have well-established meanings within the practice. The dragon symbolizes power and authority and should only face inward, not out a window or door. Tigers represent strength and courage and should appear calm, not as if they are striking. Elephants symbolize dignity and the high moral behavior expected of powerful, prominent positions. In modern use, these animals do retain their basic feng shui meanings, but the detailed rules about their positioning are rarely followed.

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See Also: Art and Ethnic Diversity; Chinese Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Filipino Americans

Following almost 400 years of colonization by Spain and the United States, scholarship on Philippine history and its heritage among Filipino Americans, often referred to as the “forgotten Asians,” has emerged slowly since the Philippines became a republic in 1948. More studies have materialized in the past 40 years, capturing the unique historical and political ties between the Philippines and the United States.

Precolonial Period

Situated southeast of the Asian mainland above the equator, the islands of the Philippine archipelago received their first inhabitants as early as 40,000 to 50,000 B.C.E. The indigenous people developed a wide variety of tools, agricultural and hunting techniques, as well as varieties of pottery, folklore, textiles, wood carvings, musical instruments, and house- and boat-building technologies. As sea routes and trade communities expanded, so did prospects for increased migration to neighboring territories, cross-cultural dialogue, and intercultural marriage. Manila’s seafaring merchant trade began with Borneo and the Indonesian Islands by 300 C.E., with India and China by 800 C.E., and with Muslim missionaries who arrived in the southern Philippines by 1240 C.E.

Men, Pioneers, and Laborers

Though Ferdinand Magellan is celebrated for “discovering” the Philippines in 1521, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos named the archipelago Felipinas in honor of Crown Prince Felipe (Philip II), who finalized Spanish rule on June 24, 1571.

The enslavement of the Philippine Indios (a derogatory Spanish name for the indigenous peoples of their colonies) imposed new labor trades, including seafaring to the Americas. Known as Manila Men, Filipino sailors served on Mexico-bound galleon ships from 1565 to 1813. This sea cargo enterprise transported Asian goods twice a year between Manila Bay and the Bay of Acapulco.

The first documented presence of Manila Men in America occurred on October 17 or 18, 1587, in Morro Bay, California. Some historians theorize Filipino seamen wandered throughout various parts of America when galleon ships arrived in Mexico—escaping captivity and possibly traveling northward through Veracruz.

On March 31, 1883, Lafcadio Hearn's article dedicated to Filipinos in America for *Harper's Weekly* highlighted the bizarre existence of Filipino villages in St. Malo on the Louisiana bayous. Of note are historical documents discovered by Nestor Palugod Enriques chronicling at least 31 Manila-born men who enlisted to fight in the War of 1812 against the British, alongside many others of Asian descent.

With the Gold Rush of 1848, whaling ship expeditions to the arctic, and growing participation of Filipinos in the agriculture industry, even greater numbers of laborers and sailors of Philippine ancestry arrived in California with hopes of wealth acquisition and a new start in the "promised land." By this time, the growing Philippine diaspora extended throughout the United States, with some Filipinos even losing their ethnic identities over time through intermarriage with multiple nationalities.

U.S. Annexation of Philippine Territory

On December 10, 1898, Spain sold the independent Republic of the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million. This event responded to a countrywide initiative for independence inspired by the martyrdom of Philippine national hero, Jose Rizal. The ensuing Philippine-American War endured from 1899 to 1902.

The colonization and Americanization of the Philippines resulted in unique U.S.-Filipino relations. As early as 1903, pensionados (wealthy, upper-class Filipinos) were allowed to study in the United States, provided they return to serve in the

Philippine government for every year of schooling abroad.

Thousands of Filipino migrant laborers traveled to Hawai'i's sugar plantations starting in 1906. Still others traveled to Alaska's fish canneries and to California's agricultural farms. Many urban communities named "Little Manila" emerged as a result of mass Filipino migration to the United States, making available pockets of housing and providing cultural centers for Filipino camaraderie and entertainment.

Under the American occupation, Filipinos became U.S. nationals who were neither "aliens" nor "citizens" on American soil. Incoming first-wave immigrant travelers from the Philippines to Angel Island carrying American passports were granted unlimited arrival to and departure from the United States until the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act limited immigrant entry to 50 Filipinos a year. The Hawai'ian Sugar Planters Association's exemption from this law, however, allowed unrestricted Filipinos to continue to enter the United States as laborers (*sakadas*) via Hawai'i.

The second wave of Filipino immigrants, from 1941 to 1959, included war brides of World War II American veterans. Over 250,000 Filipino Americans were drafted into the U.S. military during World War II. They fought alongside Americans throughout Europe and Asia, though many were denied veteran status decades later. Following the declaration of Philippine independence, President Truman granted U.S. citizenship to Filipinos. Another wave of Filipinos entered the United States after Congress passed the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act to assist with shortages in the U.S. workforce. By 1973, increasing numbers of Filipinos continued to move to the United States as laborers and professionals throughout the regime of Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos and the Aquino-led People Power movement of the successor regime. Migrant domestic workers, like nannies and helpers, continue to establish roots in the United States today.

Impact on the U.S. Medical System

During the U.S. occupation, many Filipinas received U.S.-sponsored training in American nursing curricula, which established collaboration between Filipino nurses and U.S. hospitals.

This education initiative prompted mass migration of nurses of Filipino origin to the United States, a tradition that continues to impact contemporary multicultural America. According to the National Council of State Boards of Nursing in Chicago, by September 2012, 2,662 more registered nurses and practical nurses from the Philippines comprised the nation's top tier of internationally educated candidates to pass the board exams. Health worker migration by Filipinos to the United States has increased over the past 65 years and affects the direction of career choice among many Filipinos entering and living in the United States. Established in 1979, the Philippine Nurses Association of America Inc. has expanded its response to the growing needs of Filipino nurses in the United States, while guiding the influential presence of Filipinos in the U.S. health care industry.

Multiculturalism and Filipino Americans

To understand with more gravity the significance of Filipino American history, identity, and lived daily experience, writers and scholars have sought to celebrate Filipino American culture and appreciate more fully the long historical relationship between the United States and the Philippines. Whether taking interest in rejuvenating Stockton's Little Manila or exploring responses

to American-style presentation of Filipino foods, like *palabok*, *adobo*, or *pancit* in Filipino restaurant chains in the United States (Jollibee, Max's, Goldilocks), Filipino Americans share a rich collective background and cultural pride in their roots, religious faith, and ancestral bonds.

Filipino American heritage and education initiatives, like www.FAHNS.net, the Filipino American Education Institute; the Filipino American Curriculum Project, www.ijeeepney.com; and Pinoy Teach have sought to explore more deeply the roots of Philippine and Filipino American history, identity, and ethnicity. The 2006 traveling national exhibition titled "Singgalot" represented the Smithsonian's centennial effort to tribute Filipino American contributions to U.S. history. Founders of the Filipino American National Historical Society, Fred and Dorothy Cordova, have collaborated with Filipino Americans from coast to coast, cooperatively reclaiming and archiving oral histories, reconstructing the Filipino American legacy, and connecting Filipino communities to their rich roots in the Philippine archipelago, as well as to one another.

Contemporary Filipino Americans

In 2010, the U.S. Census Bureau documented 2,555,923 Americans with ancestral roots in the archipelago of the Philippines. The Filipino



The Lacustrine village of St. Malo, Louisiana, the first settlement of Filipinos in the United States, as illustrated in the March 31, 1883, issue of Harper's Weekly. Various attributes of life and personalities in the village are depicted: gambling (left); Charles E. Whitney, an outdoor oven, and Lafcadio Hearn (top right); and a vegetable garden on a pier (bottom right). Whitney and Hearn were journalists and historians; Hearn's article in Harper's Weekly is the first known article written about Filipinos in the United States.

American diaspora has emerged as the second largest group of Asian Pacific origin, with concentrated populations in California (1,195,580), Hawai'i (197,497), Illinois (114,724), New Jersey (110,650), New York (104,287), Texas, (103,074) Nevada (98,351), Washington (91,367), Florida (90,223), and Maryland (43,923).

Not always visible to mainstream culture is the individual and collective impact of Filipino Americans in the artistic, literary, economic, cultural, religious, social, historical, political, educational, and academic facets of citizen life in the United States. Like many other inhabitants and U.S. citizens in multicultural America, Filipino Americans are professionals, technical workers, family caregivers, educators, entrepreneurs, students, skilled and semiskilled laborers, artists, athletes, entertainers, scientists, journalists, authors, medical practitioners, and filmmakers, among many other occupations.

Many Filipino Americans choose to remain in the United States and embrace a hybrid of ancestral and/or local traditions and ways of life, perhaps retaining ties to family, friends, culture, news, and other motherland connections in the Philippines. Others decide to return to the Philippines for vacation, school, work, education, and/or retirement. Exposure to the breadth of cultural exchange presented by multicultural models of education and/or exposure to multiethnic cosmopolitan hubs offer Filipino Americans unlimited choices to venture within or beyond their Filipino American roots to seek new opportunities for global travel and gather international educational and/or work experience.

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See Also: Americanization; Angel Island; Asian Americans; Interculturalism; Philippine Independence Act (1934); Philippine-American War.

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Finnish Americans

Finland is a northern European country, notable for its sparse population (the most sparsely populated in Europe) and its late introduction of industrialization by European standards. Until 1809 it was part of Sweden, and so depending on the date of immigration, it is not always possible to

differentiate between Finnish and Swedish Americans. From 1809 to 1917, it was part of the Russian Empire but has since been independent.

Finns do not always agree about who is and is not a Finn; as a linguistic definition, it is easy to determine Finnish speakers, but as an ethnic group, there is not universal agreement about whether the Swedish-speaking population of Finland should be included. (A 2008 genetic study found that Swedish-speaking residents of Finland are more closely related to Swedish residents than to Finnish-speaking residents in their own province.) The Finnish language is in the same family as Estonian; Swedish is unrelated. The origin of the Finns as a people is unclear, adding to the controversy of defining who is a Finn today; while there is archaeological evidence that Finland has been inhabited since the last ice age, it is not clear that today's Finns are descended from the original inhabitants. Certainly Finns are more closely related to other Europeans than to the Sami, the indigenous people of Scandinavia, but given thousands of years of invasions and intermarriages, this does not necessitate an extra-Finland origin of the Finns.

Finnish Americans, of whom there are about 700,000, may be descended from Finnish speakers from either Finland or Sweden, Swedish speakers from Finland, or Sami. Some Norwegian Americans may also be descended from Kvens, the descendants of Finns who left Sweden or Finland for Norway in the 18th and 19th centuries. There have been Finns in North America since the founding of New Sweden, the 17th-century Swedish colony along the Delaware River. A small but healthy Finnish community developed in New Sweden before the colony was taken over by the Dutch in 1655. Just before the transfer, Martti Marttinen joined the colony. He later Anglicized his name to Morton, and his great-grandson John Morton was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Until the 19th century, Finnish immigration to the United States was low. In the 19th century, transportation advances that made the trip abroad cheaper and safer, combined with worsening agricultural and economic conditions in Finland, encouraged Finns to begin immigrating to the United States as so many other groups were doing. The vast land of America attracted many farmers, as well as thrill-seekers and other migrants.

Agents—professional recruiters for companies in industries like mining and shipping—moved in secret through Finland, against the wishes of the government, spreading the word of American opportunities. Three thousand Finns moved to the United States in the 1870s and 36,000 in the 1880s. When the Russian government began an extensive program designed to Russify Finland, that number jumped fivefold.

The Great Laestadian Migration of 1864–95 was a migration of Finnish families from Finland and northern Norway to the United States after the death of Lars Laestadius, the founder of their religious sect. Laestadians settled mainly in the midwest and northwest, homesteading farms in Washington, Oregon, South Dakota, and Minnesota, or settling down in mining communities in Michigan.

Today, the greatest concentrations of Finnish Americans are still seen in the three regions settled by Finnish immigrants in the 19th century: the northeast, particularly New York City and New England; the upper midwest; and the northwest. The Finn Hook of northeastern Minnesota, northern Wisconsin, and the northwest half of Michigan's Upper Peninsula has the greatest concentration of Finnish Americans in the country. Because their migration was late in the 19th century and so many other immigrant groups had already arrived to claim arable land for farming, many Finns took up work in forestry, mining, and construction.

Finns were well accepted by existing American communities; like other northern European immigrants, they seem to have been embraced as being closer to the “original American root stock” than the southern and eastern Europeans and non-Europeans, whose immigration had accelerated so greatly in the 19th century. In mining communities, they were somewhat less well accepted because of the competition for jobs; in particular, their relationship with Irish Americans suffered from this competition, as the Irish had been denied work in so many other places.

Finlandia University, founded in 1896 as the Suomi College and Theological Seminary, is currently the only Finnish American college in the country. A private university in Hancock, Michigan, it is affiliated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church but is not a seminary, offering bachelor's

degrees in business administration, fine arts, education, health sciences, and liberal arts. Finnish American culture is an important part of Finlandia University, which operates a Finnish American Heritage Center and Finnish American Historical Archives, as well as publishing the *Finnish American Reporter*, a monthly newsmagazine.

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See Also: Estonian Americans; European Americans; Russian Americans; Swedish Americans.

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Fisher v. University of Texas (2013)

The 2008 suit that Abigail Noel Fisher brought against the University of Texas at Austin (UT-Austin) represents the most significant federal challenge to the decades-old policy of affirmative action as applied to minority applicants seeking much-coveted seats in college admission.

Affirmative action, a policy that permitted universities to take into consideration race as a way to ensure diversity in the university environment, has been viewed as a protocol to guarantee equal access to higher education to minorities whose access to such opportunity had, for generations, been deliberately or indirectly limited because of race. It is also one of the most controversial social engineering policies of the postsegregation era. Liberals tend to see such policies as gateways to assist minorities in closing the gap in education opportunities by maintaining a critical presence in higher education until such time, if ever, when America is authentically race neutral; conservatives, however, see the policy as an artificial leg up that has long since served its purpose and now disadvantages nonminority applicants in favor of less-qualified minority applicants.

In 2008, Fisher, then a senior at Stephen F. Austin High School in Sugar Land, Texas, a predominantly white, affluent suburb of Houston, applied for admission to UT-Austin. Under Texas law, state universities must accept any student ranked in the top 10 percent of their graduating class regardless of the school's academic standing. The policy had been in place to ensure state universities reflected the state's ethnic diversity. After the 10 percent admissions (which routinely accounted for just over 80 percent of each year's total admissions), the university was permitted a more holistic approach; a decision could consider nonacademic factors, including extracurricular activities, writing skills, demonstrated leadership, honors, language proficiency, and community service commitments, as well as income and race. The policy was thought to be in line with the Supreme Court decision in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), which upheld a limited use of affirmative action for admissions to the University of Michigan Law School. At the time, however, the justices also found that colleges must also give serious, good-faith consideration to holistic criteria that did not include race.

The Texas system was by any measure a modest insertion of race into admission policy. However, on the first page of all state university applications, students were asked to indicate race. When her application to UT-Austin was denied, Fisher, who was white and in the top 12 percent of her high school class in a school routinely recognized as one of the state's most rigorous, challenged the

racial criteria for admission under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Revisiting the Goal of Affirmative Action

Although directed specifically at Texas policy, Fisher's suit has been seen as a petition for the courts to revisit the broader goal of affirmative action itself. Fisher's suit contends that the statewide policy of admitting the top 10 percent automatically to any state university sufficiently satisfied *Grutter v. Bollinger*. Beyond that, considering race disadvantaged white applicants. At the center of Fisher's suit is the difficult question of determining at what point a university has created critical mass—that is, a diversity profile sufficient to reflect the culture's makeup and serve the government and public interest.

As the University of Texas would argue in litigation, the holistic policy guiding its admissions policy after following the state-mandated top 10 percent was an effort to create a variety of perspectives, experiences, and backgrounds in the university system. The policy was not conceived as a way to achieve a quota, long held to be unconstitutional, but rather as way to ensure that applicants would be evaluated as individuals, not as members of some particular racial or ethnic group. That policy, Texas administrators argued, reflected an attempt to shape the strongest possible incoming class and to offer an environment in which students of different backgrounds would come together in both classroom and social interactions.

In 2009, the U.S. district court heard Fisher's arguments but ruled that the university admission policy did not violate *Grutter v. Bollinger*. In 2011, the appeal, heard by a panel of three judges in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, also upheld the university. In February 2012, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case in its fall term. The justices initially suggested that because Fisher's denial followed university procedure (in fact, Fisher's SAT scores fell considerably below university admission standards) and that, in fact, she had already applied to and graduated from another college (Louisiana State University), the entire case was moot. However, Justice Anthony Kennedy, held to be the key swing vote in a court perceived to be divided along liberal and conservative lines, questioned whether race as a factor in admissions policies had outlived its original

usefulness and no longer served a compelling government or public interest. Furthermore, how does a university measure diversity? Inevitably, local, state, and national demographics can be widely disparate. Other justices raised issues about how exactly to measure any one student's racial and ethnic makeup in a progressively multicultural America in which ethnicities now routinely married across racial lines and whose children in turn could be defined in fractions of ethnicity. Other justices raised broader issues about data that showed how such admissions often fared poorly in the university environment and how they often felt isolated and even illegitimate.

On June 24, 2013, after nearly nine months of anticipation, the Supreme Court handed down a modest ruling that sent a mixed message to universities struggling with the issue and reflected the fractured court's reluctance to confront the larger issues of how to achieve diversity in public education. It was a ruling less about diversity in public education or the University of Texas program and more about the judicial process. In a brief (only 13 pages) 7–1 ruling, the court returned the case to the Fifth District Court where the criteria the University of Texas used was to be more carefully scrutinized, specifically whether the university's "good faith" was sufficient to meet constitutional requirements for equal opportunity.

Supporters and opponents of affirmative action found grounds to claim victory in the ruling—defenders pointed out that the court had, in fact, not rejected the use of race as consideration for college admissions nor did they declare racial preferences a violation of equal rights protection and appeared, at least by not striking down the University of Texas program, to endorse the educational benefits of engineering diversity; while opponents were confident that the court's directive to the lower court to review the process sent the message that the Texas criteria would ultimately be modified or rejected, thus de facto setting the stage for future challenges and more lengthy (and costly) litigation, thus indirectly mandating universities to reevaluate admission criteria. But that impact, court experts acknowledged, could be years in coming.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Constitutional Amendments; Diversity and Inclusion; Higher Education.

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Five Civilized Tribes

White settlers first used the name *Five Civilized Tribes* in the 19th century to refer to five southeastern Native American tribes: the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muskogee (Creek), and Seminole, residing in Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. These tribes were considered “civilized” by European standards because they adopted European values and customs, such as attending Christian churches, sending their children to school, and farming, and because they had generally good relations with their European neighbors.

The term *civilized* needs to be understood as part of the larger U.S. policy toward Native Americans, encouraging the assimilation process whereby they would adopt European American customs and as such would be treated as members of American society. This began with George Washington’s policy of culturally transforming American Indians to European American ways of life. Washington’s civilizing policy was undertaken as his six-point plan, which included impartial treatment of, or justice for, American Indians; regulated purchase of their land; promotion of commerce; endorsement of experiments aimed at civilizing or “improving” American Indian society; presidential authority to offer gifts; and punishment of those found in

violation of American Indian rights. Later, government-appointed agents and missionaries were often placed on reservations, and children were sent to government-run boarding schools to aid in the process of assimilation.

Despite this designation, the five tribes were forced to relocate under the 1830 Indian Removal Act, as the U.S. government claimed their land for white settlement and development. In a series of removals made between 1830 and 1842, known as the Trail of Tears, all five tribes were moved to what was then called Indian Territory in parts of present-day Oklahoma. The westward migration of the Five Civilized Tribes was a devastating and tragic experience for each group, resulting not only in the loss of property, possessions, and their ancestral homelands but also in significant loss of life.

However, once situated in their new lands, each tribe developed thriving communities that included the creation of their own constitutions, governments, school systems, and successful economies. Despite their status as sovereign nations, which should have secured their new territory from further encroachment by settlers or U.S. authorities, their Oklahoma lands were opened up for white settlement in the late 19th century. In 1895, the Dawes Commission began negotiating allotment agreements with the Five Civilized Tribes. Communally owned tribal land was allotted to individual members registered with the Dawes Roll. Finally, the Curtis Act of 1898 put an end to tribal sovereignty by terminating tribal governments, courts, and laws. In 1907, Indian Territory was merged with the Oklahoma Territory to form the state of Oklahoma (which is a Choctaw word meaning Red People), where all five tribes have a strong presence today.

In the 1920s, assimilation and allotment policies came under attack, leading to changes that resulted in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and new ideas about cultural pluralism. The key initiatives of the act included stopping allotment and establishing procedures for the creation of tribal governments and business corporations, the latter of which many tribal groups did successfully in the late 20th century. The 1950s reflected another policy change: termination, which entailed ending services provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The 1960s began the era

of self-determination, allowing Native Americans to have more control in policy-making matters.

Cherokee

The Cherokee call themselves *ani'-yûñ'wiya'*, which means “the real people” or “the principal people.” Traditionally they occupied territory in the present-day states of Alabama, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia until they were relocated to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) between 1835 and 1838. Removal of the Five Civilized Tribes was complicated because this entailed forcibly relocating many educated groups that had already embraced the ways of “civilized” society.

The Cherokee fought removal by lobbying Congress and appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court. Although their legal battles were unsuccessful, the long-term impact upon issues of tribal sovereignty and Native rights were significant. As of 2010 there were 800,000 individuals self-identifying as Cherokee, and there are three federally recognized groups: the Cherokee Nation and the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians, in Oklahoma, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee, in North Carolina. There are additional Cherokee bands, like the Echota Cherokee Tribe in Alabama.

Chickasaw

Historically, the Chickasaw, known as the “Beloved Warriors” or the “Unconquered,” occupied a vast area that encompassed parts of present-day Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. According to oral history, they migrated to this region with the Choctaw as one tribe, splitting into their respective cultural groups during the process. They spoke the same Muskogean language and practiced many of the same customs. At the time of European contact the Chickasaw located their primary settlement in northern Mississippi, where they possessed a highly developed system for governance and complex religious customs.

As the 18th century came to a close, intermarriage between Chickasaw and white settlers led to new tribal leadership and cultural changes. The first diplomatic agreement between the United States and the Chickasaw occurred with the 1783 Virginia-Chickasaw treaty, defining the eastern boundary of Chickasaw territory. The Hopewell Treaty of 1786 provided for peace

between the United States and the Chickasaw. The United States also secured a tract of land in Chickasaw territory for the purpose of trade and the exclusive right to regulate trade in the Chickasaw Nation.

The Chickasaw were the last of the Five Civilized Tribes to undergo removal from their homelands in the southeast. In 1837, the Treaty of Doaksville called for the Chickasaw to resettle in parts of the Choctaw Nation’s land in Indian Territory. Ultimately the Chickasaw leased land from the Choctaw and received representation on the Choctaw Council. Over the next decade and a half the Chickasaw worked to become politically independent and terminate their contract with the Choctaw. In 1856, a formal treaty signed by both tribes officially sanctioned the separation. Later the Chickasaw Nation formed a new constitution and three-tiered government system modeled after the American system.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, there are 52,278 individuals identifying themselves as Chickasaw. The Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma is federally recognized by the U.S. government.

Choctaw

As of 2010 there were 195,764 individuals in the United States who self-identified as Choctaw, making them the fifth-largest federally recognized Native American tribe. Prior to the 1830 Indian Removal Act the Choctaw resided in the southeast, in what are the present-day states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana. Today, the U.S. government recognizes three Choctaw Indian tribes: the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw, and the Jena Band of Choctaw in Louisiana.

The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma is comprised of those Choctaw relocated to Indian Territory. The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma was established by treaty in 1830. Today they control an area comprised of 12 tribal districts (6,400 acres of land in Oklahoma, with headquarters in Durant). The tribe is governed by the Choctaw Nation Constitution, which was ratified in 1984. They operate under a three-part government system with chiefs and tribal council members elected every four years.

Choctaw removal took place in three stages. About 5,000 Choctaw chose to remain in their

ancient homelands in Mississippi and became citizens of the state. In 1944, the secretary of the Interior set aside 18,000 acres of land held in trust for the Mississippi Choctaw. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw is also federally recognized, established in 1945 under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In the same year the Choctaw Indian Reservation was created. It is comprised of 35,000 acres of land throughout 10 counties in Mississippi and is also home to the ancient earthwork mound known as Nanih Waiya, which was built around 1 to 300 c.e. Venerated by the Choctaw as their place of origin, Nanih Waiya (formerly part of the state) was returned to them in 2006.

The Jena Band of Choctaw of La Sale and Catahoula Parishes in the state of Louisiana received federal recognition in 1995.

Muscogee, or Muskogee (Creek)

Historically, the Muscogee (Creek) Indians, a confederacy comprised of various tribes, occupied major parts of what are now the states of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. They trace their origins to the sky, where their ancestors lived in spirit form before descending to the Earth in the west, and later migrating east, where they divided into two geographic groups known as Upper and Lower Towns. The main difference was the proximity to European influence and the degree to which these groups maintained their own cultural traditions. The Muscogee traded actively with Europeans and allied themselves with the English by 1702. In the 1830s, 23,000 Creek were relocated to Indian Territory.

Today, three Muscogee (Creek) tribes are federally recognized: the Muscogee (Creek) Nation in Okmulgee, Oklahoma; the Poarch Band of Creek in Alabama; and the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. In addition, three Muscogee towns in Oklahoma (Alabama-Quassarte, Kialegee, and Thlopthlocco) also have federal recognition, and several tribes in Alabama and Georgia have state recognition. According to the 2010 census, there are 88,332 individuals who self-identified as Creek.

Seminole

Although the word *Seminole* is widely accepted today, it was first used by Europeans to identify a diverse group of independent Native American

tribes residing in Florida. The Spanish called them *cimarrones*, or “free people.” The original “Seminole,” the Ocone, were descendants of the Creek people, who combined with other Florida tribes. Later in the 18th century, the Seminole population grew with the inclusion of Back Seminoles, free blacks and escaped slaves who settled in towns near the Seminole for protection. The Seminole are comprised of three federally recognized tribes, the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, the Seminole Tribe of Florida, and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida.

According to 2010 census records, 31,971 individuals self-identified as Seminole (with more than half identifying themselves as part-Seminole with another tribal or racial affiliation).

The Seminole were required to relocate to Indian Territory under the 1830 Indian Removal Act despite their considerable, organized resistance in a series of conflicts known as the Seminole Wars (1818–58). In 1856, the Muskogee Creeks and the U.S. government signed a treaty establishing the first Seminole Nation of Oklahoma. Not long thereafter the Civil War began and members of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma armed themselves to fight alongside Union or Confederate forces. The Seminoles were divided, and those loyal to the Union, led by Big John Chupco, moved to Kansas, while those siding with the Confederates, under the leadership of John Jumper, lived in camps in Texas.

The Civil War was particularly devastating for the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma. The pre-war treaties that guaranteed their new lands in Oklahoma were negated and they were forced to give up parts of their land in Oklahoma. The U.S. government negotiated only with the loyal Seminole fighting under Chupco. The Seminole (like many of the Five Civilized Tribes) were compelled to sign a new treaty in 1866 requiring them to emancipate their slaves, extend tribal membership to all freedmen choosing to stay with them, sell their land in Oklahoma to the U.S. government, and purchase new land for the creation of the Second Seminole Nation, which lasted until 1907. Today there are three federally recognized Seminole groups: the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma; the Seminole Tribe of Florida (controlling several reservations in Big Cypress, Brighton Seminole Indian Reservation, Dania, Florida State

Reservation, and Tampa Reservation); and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida.

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See Also: Cherokee; Chickasaw; Choctaw; Code Talkers; Creek Confederacy; European Americans; Indian Territory; Mascots, Native American (Sports); Muscogee (Muskogee); Seminole; Seminole Wars; Trail of Tears.

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Flemish Americans

Flemish Americans are descended from Flemings—inhabitants of Flanders. Flanders today is a Dutch-speaking region of Belgium, which declared independence from the Netherlands in 1831; historically, the Flanders region has included parts of France. Flanders began as the County of Flanders from 862 to 1795, renowned for its wealth and education. It was originally a fief of France, but France lost control of Flanders in 1526 (it is the only territory of medieval France that is not part of modern France) and it soon became part of the Low Countries, the other constituent parts of which are Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

Community, Not a Country

Though the Flemish have not had a country of their own for centuries, the Flemish Community remains an important idea in Flemish identity. In Belgium, the Flemish Community is one of three

institutional communities making up the state, along with the French Community and the German Community, each of which has specific non-overlapping legal authority over issues pertaining to language, culture, education, and aspects of health care. The Flemish Community is celebrated every July 11 in remembrance of the Battle of the Golden Spurs, when the Flemish successfully defeated a French attack.

The Flemish Community also refers to the Flemish people in a broad cultural sense, one that encompasses Flemish cultural life and identity irrespective of political borders or the political authority of other ethnic groups: the Flemish nation. In this sense, the Flemish identity is similar to that of the Welsh or Quebecois, with the added issue that the Flemish homeland is not contained within another political entity (as Quebec is within Canada) but rather sprawls over into several political entities: Belgium, the Netherlands, and France.

It is difficult to determine the number of Flemish Americans. Immigration officials at various points in history could classify an incoming immigrant as Flemish, Dutch, Belgian, or French. There are about 360,000 Belgian Americans, some portion of whom are Flemish. They are distributed primarily in the midwest—Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, and Indiana have some of the largest Flemish populations.

Famous Flemish Americans include the artist Jan Yoors, who spent much of his adolescence with a traveling group of Romani and whose memoir was one of the seminal works about that culture; George Washington Goethals, builder of the Panama Canal and the first Flemish American graduate of West Point; and the novelist Marguerite Yourcenar.

Aspects of Flemish American Culture

One aspect of Flemish American culture is the carillon (sometimes misspelled carillion). Similar to the German glockenspiel, the carillon is a very large musical instrument including at least 23 bronze bells, which are played by using both a keyboard and a pedal keyboard. It is typically housed in a bell tower or church belfry. The keys are mechanical, not electrical (even today), which allows the performer to vary the intensity of the note by varying the pressure applied to the key. A

traditional musical instrument of the Low Countries, the carillon has become somewhat associated with Flemish identity—the Dutch-speaking regions of Belgium have a much greater concentration of carillons than the French-speaking regions do. Carillons in the United States include the Stanton Memorial Carillon at Iowa State University; the 49-bell carillon at Michigan State University's Beaumont Tower; the 48-bell carillon of the University of California, Riverside; and the 50-bell carillon at Duke University's chapel, which is played daily.

Another element of Flemish American identity is the Kermis Festival, which is celebrated in some parts of the country. Originally an anniversary celebration for the founding of a church (the name is Dutch for “church mass”), Kermis in the United States has become a harvest festival where Flemish, Dutch, or Belgian identity is celebrated. Participating communities often have a fair, a parade, a market and traditional foods, and sometimes live entertainment. Some parts of the country also celebrate a Winter Festival or Christmas Festival, celebrating the coming of Sinterklaas, the Dutch version of Santa Claus.

The Genealogical Society of Flemish Americans was founded in 1976 by interested Flemish Americans in Roseville, Michigan, and publishes the *Flemish Heritage* magazine, which presents genealogical tips and information as well as bits of historical trivia about Flemish Americans. The existence of the society is somewhat a sign of how assimilated Flemish Americans are, as the emphasis is on exploring the past rather than on preserving an existing connection to Flemish identity.

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See Also: Belgian Americans; Dutch Americans; European Americans; French Americans; Welsh Americans.

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Flower Drum Song

Flower Drum Song is a 1957 realist novel by C. Y. (Chin Yang) Lee, set in San Francisco's Chinatown of the 1950s. The author was born in Hunan, China, in 1917. He left in 1943 to pursue a masters of fine arts degree from Yale University. Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein's 1958 Broadway musical version and Joseph Field's screen adaptation in 1961 soon overshadowed Lee's novel. The musical was taken to London in 1961. In 2001, David Henry Hwang introduced significant modifications to his revival of the Rodgers and Hammerstein production, including an attempt to bring back some of the darker threads of the novel.

The popularity of the musical and film with audiences has lessened through the decades; scholarly reception of both versions has been consistently negative, specifically with regard to the racist stereotypes of Chinese Americans and the depiction of Chinatown as exotic and alien. Hwang's revival, despite its parodies of stereotypes and other attempts to bring the musical in line with contemporary attitudes toward race, seems not to have attracted much scholarly attention. The only book-length work to trace the four texts is David H. Lewis's *Flower Drum Songs: The Story of Two Musicals*, a compilation of newspaper reviews, interviews, hearsay, and reportage from trade publications.

All four works should be considered within the context of national and global political situations; the novel and the revival in particular afford insights into the evolution of Asian American self-representation and sense of social and political agency in relation to shifting national and global realpolitik. C. Y. Lee's novel predates such canonical literary texts as Louis Chu's *Eat a Bowl of Tea*, Maxine Hong Kingston's *Woman Warrior*, and Fae Myenne Ng's *Bone*; the most notable and recent addition to this list is Karen Tei Yamashita's multi-genre narrative, *I Hotel*. Actually, *Flower Drum Song* was not the first

narrative on Chinatowns: Jade Snow Wong's *Fifth Chinese Daughter* was published in 1950, and Pardee Lowe's autobiography, *Father and Glorious Descendent*, in 1943.

Asian American scholarship, beginning with the rise of American "ethnic" activism in the 1960s and the emergence of postcolonial theory, critiques racist stereotypes of Asian American and other minority groups. Lee's novel, like the ones by Lowe and Wong, includes stereotypes of Chinatowns and Chinese immigrants and participates in reductive portrayals of the phenomenon of assimilation. However, the darker elements in Lee's novel, similar to Chu's or Hong Kingston's narratives, debunk the myth of Asian Americans as the model minority and the implications of that myth.

C. Y. Lee's novel depicts a bifurcated world: "white," mainstream America and San Francisco's Chinatown, which constitutes the daily reality of Chinese immigrants, while their American-born children grow up "Americanized" and grow away from their parents' heritage. Lee characterizes Wang Chi-yang, the main character, as a traditionalist, with both feet in prerevolutionary China. Wang Chi-yang and Wang Ta, the eldest son, and Wang San, the younger and even more Americanized son, epitomize the contrasts between the east and the West, between what is cast in the narrative as the old versus the new. In Lee's novel, assimilation into mainstream culture is as inevitable as the next generation succeeding the previous one. The existential angst is in Wang Chi-yang and not in his sons. For them, mainstream culture is their culture.

Lee's book departs from earlier Chinatown-assimilation stories in the subplot of Helen Chao's desperate and unsuccessful ploy to snag Wang Ta and her eventual suicide. Wang Ta—a man of (his father's) means—enjoys relative security vis-à-vis other Chinatown residents. Helen, disfigured and poor, faces a bleak future unless she can find a man like Wang Ta. Although Linda Low is dealt the same challenges as Helen, Linda's beauty enables her to make her way more easily. These female characters inhabit a much darker existence than the males, an existence that precludes any aspirations of economic self-sufficiency or mainstream cultural assimilation.

The Broadway musical and Hollywood film were blockbusters, because both versions were

rewritten as romantic comedies that focused the main plot on the entanglement of Mei Li (played by Miyoshi Umeki in both productions), Linda Low (Pat Suzuki in the musical, Nancy Kwan in the film), and Wang Ta (Ed Kenney in the musical, James Shigeta in the film). Linda represents supposedly mainstream American values of individualism and hustle, while Mei Li stands for so-called traditional Chinese values of faithfulness and humility. Wang Ta, of course, is attracted to Linda more than to Mei Li, although the audience perceives clearly that the girl from China has fallen in love with Wang Ta and that Linda is a gold digger.

David Henry Hwang's revival used the Maoist revolution in China gone wrong to give the Mei Li (Lea Salonga) character the motivation to leave China for the United States. Madame Liang (Jodi Long) is a media-savvy entrepreneur who transforms Wang Chi-yang's (Randall Duk Kim) imagined Peking opera house into a successful nightclub. This version ends with the marriage of Wang Ta (Jose Llana) and Mei Li. Hwang's agreement with the Rogers and Hammerstein Organization required that he retain most of the music and songs from the Broadway production. Hwang chose not to use the Helen Chao character; instead, a new immigrant, Chao Hai-Lung, is made to cast doubt on the model minority myth. At the conclusion of the play, Chao decides to return to China.

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See Also: Chinatowns; Chinese Americans; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity

The term *folk* is used to describe the vernacular music of rural and ethnic minority communities that is not played by musicians with formal training. Folk music is created and evolved by common working people as their musical expression derived from a particular national, regional, or ethnic culture. It is a direct, simple, and unpretentious musical expression that is generally a simple melody with or without a chorus, with a freedom of rhythm that sticks to a more natural meter of lyrics. While philosophies, popular musical expression, and religious conventions have changed over time, folk music as a fundamental human expression has endured and has mingled with popular as well as classical music. When not performed with affectation, folk music is evocative and primordial to its originators. It conjures up intuitive or inherited "bloodline" experiences that have been expelled from classical and popular music. It could be argued that poverty groups, stripped of refinements and formal education, are the vectors for the movement of ethnic folk music in the United States. Folk music lyrics often express

idiomatic regional speech and dialect where words and shared experience may not readily be clear to outsiders. Within illiterate communities, the lyrics of folk songs were transmitted from generation to generation through oral tradition so their origins remain unknown; they sometimes are the only chronicles of that community's history.

Immigration and North American Folk Music
Between 1607 and 1700, North America experienced its first wave of immigration of English and Welsh settlement, which was accompanied by a large influx of Africans. This pattern continued between 1700 and 1775 with the addition of Germanic and Scots-Irish groups immigrating to the Pennsylvania region. This wave included large numbers of indentured servants, who planted the seeds for native folk music traditions. Enslaved Africans left behind material possessions but carried their diverse musical cultures. European instruments in the New World were unfamiliar, but Native Americans and enslaved Africans shared primordial rhythmic expression in vocal chants accompanied by rhythmic banging of natural or work implements.

European music traditions were adapted into native folk traditions by music enthusiasts independent of cosmopolitan or academic environments. Simple and unpretentious folk genres emerged during the 17th and 18th century that were derived from African traditions. The southern plantation system fostered "the holler," sad refrains cried across work fields to fellow enslaved people that evolved into a form of the solo blues song. Slave music melded music of the dominant English, Scottish, and Irish society with French-influenced Cajun music from the Louisiana swamplands. Spiritual folk songs, or spirituals, came out of complex relations in southern plantation society where white spirituals and black spirituals in the American south and west were culturally intermingled after 1801 during the Great Revival in Cane Ridge, Kentucky.

Music and American Collective Memory

Ordinary American musicians created folk music equal to any in the world. Music has historically been one of the most enduring records of shared heritage for ethnic groups. Folk music reflects a human connection to the Earth even as instrument

makers select natural resources indigenous to specific regions to make their instruments. Agricultural laborers working close to the soil sang songs with themes of relationships, home, and kinfolk. Musicologists have speculated that folk music sometimes conveys work life more than kinship or ethnicity within the collective consciousness, and therefore with folk music, national and regional music is shaped and evolved by working-class folk and not an ancient elite class.

Nationalism and patriotism shaped the development of folk music after the American Revolution as a distinct American identity was celebrated. Noah Webster asserted in his *American Magazine* in 1787 that Americans should unshackle thinking and become independent from British customs. While the First Great Awakening created a didactic demand for independence that led to revolution—the American people shared a heritage of hardship journeys expressed in ballads, work songs, and field hollers—the Second Great Awakening freed American musical expression to become more emotional. Itinerant preachers carried Protestant hymns to camp meetings in remote communities in the rural, traditionally segregated, south. Musicians of African descent heard these melodies and adapted them into Negro spirituals.

Initial Studies of Folk Music

Academics first defined “true” folk music in the United States as “ancient” music originating in Great Britain. The formal study of American folk music started with a Harvard Shakespeare scholar named Frances James Childs who was influenced by the Brothers Grimm. Childs collected and preserved English and Scottish ballads as narrative songs but he did not preserve the tunes. Folk traditions were derived from northwestern Europeans, Germans, and Dutch along with eastern Europeans, Asians, Canadians, and Latin Americans who immigrated to the United States between 1820 and 1870.

Pacific Rim maritime trade also opened at this time and ships carried people with diverse musical traditions and supplies, including transportable musical instruments, across oceans, first by sail and then by steam. The harsh realities of maritime life and culture were chronicled in working songs called “shanties.” For instance, the Pacific shanty *Blow the Man Down* carried along international

currents during the California Gold Rush was sung as men raised heavy sails to masts.

African American Folk Traditions

American historian Edward Everett Hale identified the African-based spiritual to be the only true American music. Blues music emerged with the abolition of slavery in 1863 when work songs, spirituals, and the holler, the soulful expressions of bondage, were subordinated into ballads of religious expression of transcendence, American vernacular music based upon African American music forms that originated from freed African Americans after the Civil War. However, freedmen rejected this musical vestige of slavery.

Zydeco music, indigenous to southwest Louisiana and eastern Texas, blended American, African, and French Cajun influences traced back to the end of the Civil War as well as Creole dance influences including the polka, mazurkas, the two-step, and “vales.” Northerners became enamored with African American spirituals during the 1870s. George L. White worked for the Freedmen’s Bureau and organized the Fisk University Jubilee Singers. Fisk University was a black college established in 1866; its singing group was comprised of nine singers, eight of whom were former enslaved people. Fisk was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1870 when the Jubilee Singers began a fundraising tour of the northeastern United States in 1871.

Thomas Fenner’s “Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung by the Hampton Students” (1874), Marshall W. Taylor’s “Collection of Revival Hymns and Plantation Melodies” (1883), and Howard Odum’s dissertation at Clark University, “Religious Folk Songs of the Southern Negroes” (1909), were early music scores that promoted the importance of black folk music.

Collection of Folk Music

The greatest influx of immigration, including eastern and southern Europeans, and Scandinavians occurred between 1870 and 1920 and was accompanied by continued influxes of Latin Americans, Asians, and Canadians. Childs influenced the first documentation of music in the Appalachian Mountains. The American Folklore Society was established in 1888 with the mission to collect and preserve African American and

Native American folk music equally to that of European roots.

Pioneering blues singers were born during the 1880s. By 1900, a fusion of black and white folk music appeared in primitive forms of the blues with 12-bar tunes. The Arts and Crafts Movement brought “rustic” culture into vogue. John Lomax, a noted folklorist, recorded another indigenous American vernacular music tradition evolved by cowboys along the Chisholm Trail. Lomax published *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* in 1910, linking cowboy songs to British folk traditions. Cowboy songs were related to popular minstrel traditions. Alan Lomax asserted that music has historically been the most conservative of all cultural traits. At this time, female folklorist, collected gendered folk and domestic work songs of the Kentucky Blue Ridge Mountains for commercial use and published them as piano sheet music. The predominantly female informants preserved domestic oral traditions.

Folk Music After World War I

An influx of eastern European immigration during World War I brought new attempts to Americanize newcomers with American folk heritage. During the Harlem Renaissance, African American intellectuals and artisans disseminated their cultural heritage to broader society. Okeh Records first recorded African American vaudeville singer Mamie Smith singing “Crazy Blues” in 1920. It was successful in the commercial market place and record companies started targeting rural southern and urban black markets. Race music included spirituals, blues, jazz, and work songs. Race records were sold in record shops, mail order catalogs, bars, barbershops, and other black social hubs.

American folk culture was rediscovered during the 1920s when Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney organized an exhibit of American folk art in New York City and chronicled diverse ethnic expressions in material culture unaffected by stylistic trends of the fine arts; this art reflected landscapes, race relations, occupations, and music instruments related to folk music. By the mid-1920s, “hillbilly music” became a term used to describe rural white commercial music like that performed by Fiddlin’ John Carson in northern Georgia. Columbia, Paramount, Victor, and other record companies followed Okeh’s example and

searched out hillbilly music. Race and hillbilly music remained segregated during the 1930s even within the same record company. Ralph Peer marketed commercial race and hillbilly music; Robert Gordon established ethnic inclusiveness with the Archive of American Folk Song, and Carl Sandburg popularized music ethnicity with his best-selling *American Songbag* (1927), but all three could not find the means to promote the folk behind the specific songs.

Musical Revelations of the Great Depression

During the Great Depression, lesser-known folk musicians were put out of work. Lomax purchased portable electronic recording equipment that fit in the trunk of a car to collect music from informants for the Library of Congress’s Archive of American Sound, recording Huddie “Lead Belly” Ledbetter, who was still serving a sentence in Louisiana’s Angola Prison in 1933. Lomax found that Ledbetter performed music distinct from the academic historic memory of British traditions. Exoticism in African American music allowed musicologists to study African-derived music while keeping black culture segregated.

The Ozarks, lying across Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, became the epicenter for folk music during the 1930s when the National Folk Festival brought regional music to broader audiences. The ethnic core of Ozark music was predominantly white Anglo-Saxon music that migrated from the Appalachians as early as the 1820s and French music that followed mining opportunities beginning during the 1730s, along with Catholic and Lutheran German communities that maintained the mother tongue, and transplanted Cherokees forced to the Indian Territory to the west. Each culturally distinctive group diffused distinctive traits in the hill country.

Revitalizing American Folk Music Traditions

After World War II, folk music became the “rustic” entertainment for upwardly mobile veterans who attended folk festivals and “hootenannies” on college campuses. Record companies seeking new audiences changed the semantics of African American music when, in 1946, the term *race* was replaced with the term *rhythm and blues* on record album covers. Music professor Wendell Otey started teaching a survey course on “exotic”

(a euphemism for “ethnic”) music at San Francisco State College spotlighting oriental, folk, and primitive culture music in 1950. Colleges with recreation curriculum offered folk music that could be adapted to elementary classrooms and camping or recreation programs. Pete Seeger and the Weavers revived old Anglo-American music during the 1950s that briefly crossed over into popular music. Youth organizations, including the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, have kept campfire songs alive in popular culture.

The 19th-century American educator Lydia Marie Child described variant forms of clapping games in books with children’s early educational activities. Clapping games were shared in contemporary street culture that was adapted from call-and-response songs derived from African music

traditions. Teachers found that clapping games also involved social interaction and concentration. Unlike organized sports, street games provided students with opportunities to make up the rules and create new chants relevant to their own experiences. Clapping games only required two individuals sitting opposite each other with each person clapping hands together at the same time and then each reaching out with the right hand to clap the partner’s right hand. Variations included one or two hands at a time, backs of hands, palms of hands, double claps, hands up, hands down that made each rhyme distinctive. Repetition, coordination, and duration gave chants used in clapping games rhythmic conviction and power, even if the chants were nonsense verses like the musical equivalent of scattling.



The Bog Trotters Band from Ballard Branch, Virginia, here in 1937, were influential in American Appalachian music in the 1930s and 1940s with tunes such as “Cluck Old Hen” and “Shoo Fly.” Appalachian music is derived from various influences, including English ballads, Scottish fiddle music, and African American blues. First recorded in the 1920s, Appalachian musicians were a major influence on the early development of country music and bluegrass, playing an important role in the American folk music revival of the 1960s.

Musician and educator Ella Jenkins became the “first lady of children’s music,” after singing folk along with rhythm and blues in San Francisco coffee houses during the 1950s while studying social work at San Francisco State University. Her album *Call and Response: Rhythmic Group Singing* (1957) explored West African rhythms in a format popular with a generation of young listeners, and her *Travellin’ With Ella Jenkins: A Bi-Lingual Journey* (1979) was recorded in San Francisco with children from the Cross Cultural Family Center.

Politicizing Folk Music Traditions

Folk rock emerged out of revitalizing various folk music traditions to politicize the need for civil rights. Oklahoma-born Woodie Guthrie was known for his Dust Bowl ballads and the song “This Land Is Your Land.” Guthrie embraced and performed to benefit leftist causes in southern California. Folk music increasingly became connected with the political left; artists were targeted and blacklisted during the 1950s.

The Kingston Trio, established in San Francisco, rose to international acclaim with their recording of “Tom Dooley” in 1958, making acoustic folk music commercially viable and paving the way for folk rock in popular music. Two founding members, David Guard and Bob Shane, lived in Hawai‘i where they developed an interest in Hawai‘ian music. The Limelites, another San Francisco-based folk group was established in 1959; a founding member, Lou Gottlieb, was a musicologist who earlier wrote arrangements for the Kingston Trio and later operated the Digger Farm, a short-lived psychedelic political movement that supplied free food during the Summer of Love.

Joan Baez opened the three-day Monterey Folk Festival in May 1963, and Bob Dylan, influenced by Guthrie, made his West Coast debut singing “Only a Pawn In Their Game,” lamenting racial politics. The Monterey Folk Festival soon embraced counterculture movements and was replaced during the 1967 Summer of Love with the Monterey Pop Festival as folk music and rock merged into folk rock.

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See Also: African Americans; Appalachians; Civil War, U.S.; Classical Music and Ethnic Diversity; Gospel Music; Great Depression; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Popular Music and Ethnic Diversity; Scots-Irish Americans; World War I; World War II.

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Folklórico

The term *folklórico* (folkloric) may refer to either Latino cultural practices popularly identified in the United States with a traditional Hispanic American past, or to the field of folklore studies to which many early Latino scholars, such as Américo Paredes, contributed. To cite three examples of the former, Latino cultural practices identified with traditional Hispanic American culture include such customs as folkloric Mexican dances performed at Mexican American celebrations, Afro-Cuban music played at Cuban American festivals, or the traditional cultural practices

of Puerto Ricans and Nuyoricans as displayed, for instance, at the annual Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York.

The second and broader definition of folklórico refers to the field of folklore studies as practiced by scholars like Paredes in the 1950s and 1960s who sought to recover ethnic minority history, in Paredes's case, that of Mexican Americans, by recuperating the "folk" narratives and other cultural practices of that group. Paredes and other early ethnic minority folklorists, such as the African American writer Zora Neale Hurston, sought through their research to give voice to their submerged ethnic group, offering a resistant folk counter or oppositional narrative to dominant accounts that either neglected or erased that group's history. The resistant element in their work, set within the larger project to recuperate ethnic American (folk) history, laid the foundation for later fields such as Chicano/a studies, Latino/a studies, and African American studies. Despite the relative decline of folklore studies as a scholarly discipline (see below), ethnic minority folklorists such as Paredes and Hurston, today regarded as foundational ethnic minority intellectuals, continue to be the subject of scholarly studies across the humanistic disciplines.

Popular and Scholarly Definitions

Both definitions of folklórico, the popular and the scholarly, have been criticized by scholars as part of the reappraisal of folklore studies dating to the post-World War II era and particularly post-1960s research in anthropology. The popular view of folklórico as being synonymous with a traditional Hispanic American culture is problematic not only on its own terms, since it assumes an authentic and unchanging folk culture but also because the term derives from the largely outdated field of folklore studies.

Among contemporary cultural anthropologists and cultural studies scholars, the term *folklore* in the sense used in both definitions is therefore anomalous at best because it refers to this outmoded early scholarly model that claimed to recover the authentic folk culture of an ethnic or national group. Folklorists argued that this recovered folk culture represented the "real" identity and/or history of that group as well as, therefore, its authentic "spirit."

Although folklórico may be used in the popular sense to denote some of the cultural practices under the first definition, today among scholars it refers to an early analytical model that must be examined critically and in historical context.

Although the field with which ethnic minority folklorists such as Paredes and Hurston are associated is now considered outdated, these early figures employed the folklore model to recover and affirm folk culture, rather than romanticize it. For Paredes the folklore of Mexican Americans encompassed an array of cultural practices by which Mexican Americans drew from the past to negotiate and affirm their identities in the present.

These practices, such as songs (corridos, or ballads), stories, legends, dances, humor/jokes, vernacular language, customs, and cultural celebrations, according to Paredes, expressed the collective or social memory of Mexican Americans. Today the diversity of Latino folklore reflects the heterogeneity of the U.S. Latino population, whose members, now numbering over 50 million, represent a variety of ethnic and national backgrounds.

Despite the distinction that must be drawn between early folklore studies and contemporary anthropology, the folklore model as practiced by figures like Paredes sheds light on a number of key assumptions that offer insight into Latino culture and its relationship to mainstream U.S. society, which is why Paredes and other folklorists of his generation continue to generate both interest and acclaim.

Much like African American culture, U.S. Latino culture has existed at the margins of European American culture even as its presence has been an unacknowledged influence on the dominant culture. For example, the early Spanish and Mexican society in the region that would become the southwest United States significantly shaped that regional culture, as it continues to do today as Mexican immigrants renew this cultural influence. Hispanic place names throughout the southwest offer the most obvious evidence of this early influence. Less obvious are the folkloric elements, usually unacknowledged by the dominant culture, which Paredes sought to recover and which continue to be the subject of study by his intellectual heirs.

The same contradiction has been identified in other Latino cultures, such as those whose origin is the Hispanic Caribbean. Due to their geographic proximity, the (folk) cultures of these regions exerted a strong influence on the United States even before large numbers of immigrants from these countries arrived on U.S. shores. These cultural exchanges occurred initially through such encounters as tourism, colonialism, and other types of travel. Immigration from these island nations, from the early era to today, strengthened these cultural exchanges. The Afro-Caribbean cultural influence, such as Afro-Cuban music or the religion of Santería, offers the most obvious example of how Latino Caribbean folk practices not only survive but continue to enrich and transform U.S. culture.

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See Also: Caribbean Americans; Corrido; Cuban Americans; Culture; Ethnic Studies; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Santería.

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Food

Multicultural aspects of American food began long before immigrants arrived here from other countries. Hunters, travelers, merchants, warriors, explorers, and migrant tribes, moving forward in time from the Ice Age, traveled throughout the Americas in search of food and places to live safely through the changing seasons. Over

time, as immigrants from throughout the world traveled and settled in North America, the homeland food traditions they knew mingled with culinary discoveries they learned from Native Americans as well as from arrivals from other countries. From colonial settlements in New England, Florida, and California to today's California cuisine and fusion, food exploration has been part of the American experience. Nearly every world food can be grown here, and with that success has come the inevitable American love affair with food enjoyment and experimentation.

Early America

As more temperate climates evolved, desert cultures began to form in the southwestern region of North America, where people searched the wild land for seeds, grains, nuts, roots, and anything else edible. More eastward in the country, inhabitants gathered assorted nuts, fruits, berries, and animals from the abundant forests and prepared them with local herbs and leaves for seasoning. Those close to water or on the sea collected fish, mollusks, clams, and other shellfish, which they dried to feed their tribes through cold weather.

In time the stability and security of agriculture emerged. Close examination of evidence in caves and early grave sites reveals that regional foods were carried and used from place to place. Variety was endless, just as the foods available in America have endless variants today. Centuries passed, and the cultivation of staples such as corn, squash, and beans began to spread over the continent. In Bat Cave, New Mexico, tiny cobs of corn (called maize) were found and thought to have been there since around 3600 B.C.E. Millennia later, at the time Columbus and other Europeans arrived, blue, red, and black corn was being cultivated all over North America.

Early settlers, in both northern and southern colonies along the eastern seaboard, learned to survive on new, unfamiliar foods. Two universes of culinary ingredients, British and Native American, were combined to provide survival. There were no stores of wheat or oats, so the early colonists learned to pound corn, mix it with water, and cook it until a meal called "samp" (a name coined after a Narragansett word) was produced. In the decades that followed, cattle were brought from Britain, and butter and milk supplemented

the simple corn porridge. The result was one of the first cross-ethnic foods in America—a mix of English and Native American products. Soon the newcomers learned to grow corn, find wild game, and grow a variety of squash and beans. Over those first centuries, the British arrivals learned to work the land and in time grew grains, vegetables, a variety of fruits, and other familiar foodstuffs from their homeland. They gathered native fruits and berries and learned methods of preparation and preservation from the Native American inhabitants.

International Influences

By the mid-1700s, there were scattered settlements of people from Europe, and along with them came their culinary traditions. Though not as numerous as British immigrants, there were Irish, Scandinavians, Spanish, French, Germans, Italians, Africans, and Asians present in North America in the earliest centuries. Ethnic enclaves were established, and traditional foods were both treasured and shared. The first Africans came to these shores in 1565 when they helped establish a colony in St. Augustine, Florida. The first Africans to arrive in the English North American colonies came in 1619 and brought with them memories of the tastes and flavors of Africa, such as okra, yams, plantains, millet, and aromatic spices. They adapted what they could find in the Americas to suit their culinary needs, but over the next centuries those foods were also brought to America.

As exploration and settlements expanded across the North American continent, pushing the frontier farther west, culinary boundary crossing became more and more prevalent. Americans, nearly always seeking new experiences and opportunities, soon gained a vision of what could be built and gained by utilizing the broad range of international cuisines present and available. Entrepreneurs provided and fed not only themselves, their families, and their own countrymen but soon discovered both commonalities and unique differences in the culinary traditions within the grand mixture of people from around the world. The blending of food traditions and both common and exotic flavors has led to the multicultural cuisine Americans can find in nearly every city today.

Americans declared themselves to be an independent nation in the late 18th century, and slowly over the 19th century the robust American identity emerged. The culinary traditions didn't disappear into an unidentifiable melting pot. Most groups—ethnic, religious, and even regional—maintained precious traditions from their ancient origins. As the industrial age progressed and technologies such as meat processing, canning, other types of food preservation, and transportation improved, entrepreneurial experimentation and widespread marketing began. Often the pleasing and healthful tastes from traditional cultural foods, perhaps the other's other, became well known and widespread. For instance, yogurt has become a national food favorite in the United States; its popularity in the United States began on a humble Armenian dairy farm in Massachusetts sometime during the 1950s.

Historian Joel Denker told the story of an Armenian family—Sarkis Colombosian, his wife Rose, and their two sons Bob and John—who marketed their yogurt among people of their Middle Eastern community. The Colombosians realized that they were producing more milk than they could use or sell, so they decided to make and sell yogurt, a fermented product used by Old Country nomadic herdsman that was much easier to transport than fresh milk. On their dairy route the dairy farmers had Syrian, Lebanese, Greek, and Armenian neighbors who purchased their yogurt. Soon their product began to be marketed by local ethnic food shops, and then health food shops picked up the product. Under the shortened name of Colombo Yogurt, it was soon sold in supermarkets. After Sarkis died, the two sons inherited the business, added fruit preserves to the bottom and top of the individual cartons of yogurt, and in 1993, General Mills acquired their business. Yogurt, a Turkish word meaning “to thicken,” has since become one of the most popular foods in the United States.

Regional Foods

Spicy foods of the southwest United States have been used there for centuries. Ingredients include chilies, tomatoes, seasoned beans and rice, roast pork, beef, and traditional corn tortillas. Those and similar foods made their way there through the corridors of South and Central America and

Mexico long before Columbus and the other Spanish explorers arrived. In the last 50 years or so, those flavors have sprung up all over America and are served routinely in many private homes and restaurants that range from drive-through fast food shops to elegant restaurants. Authentic Mexican cuisine is usually not as spicy as the foods served north of the border, but regardless, many on the U.S. side seem to prefer adding copious hot sauce or dried chilies to whatever appears on their plate.

There are regional foods cherished in many parts of the country and adapted to various ethnic recipes. Foods range from Maine lobster (boiled, broiled, or baked) and Boston or Manhattan clam chowder (white or red) to crab shacks along the East Coast where seasonal crab (steamed, boiled, or in cakes) can be enjoyed to shrimp from the Gulf Coast (deep-fried, boiled, barbecued, served with delicate French or Asian sauces) to Mississippi grits, to salmon and halibut (smoked, planked, baked, or pan-fried) from Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. Methods of preparation, including delicate side dishes flavored with spices from faraway places and influenced by various ethnic groups, have led to endless variety. Sauerbraten and wienerschnitzel in Michigan can be as fine as any prepared in Germany and Austria. Delicately flavored French cuisine can be found in restaurants in New Orleans, home kitchens, creperies around the country, and specialty restaurants often found in elegant hotel dining rooms. Squid in a buttery ink sauce (*chipirones en su tinta*), a Basque specialty, is served in the mountains of Idaho, and one can find savory Vietnamese dishes at a restaurant in downtown Provo, Utah.

From Simple to Complex Foods

Today, American chefs and kitchen experimenters can find nearly every common food ingredient on the planet in one specialty shop or another. Ethnic grocers offer food ingredients imported from almost every corner of the world. In the colonial days of America, potatoes, corn, tomatoes, peppers, and peanuts were exported from the colonies to Europe, Africa, and Asia. The reverse was occurring also. From Europe and Africa came chickens, hogs, cattle, and sheep, as well as seeds for food crops such as rice, a wide range

of vegetables, and endless varieties of herbs and spices. For centuries, foods for the majority of Americans, mostly rural, were simple and based on what could be caught or grown in the region. Urban foods were also plain except for some hotel restaurants and inns where more exotic dishes could be prepared and served. Protein and dairy products in the land-bound regions came primarily from the farm animals. Fresh produce was enjoyed only in the warm months, and root vegetables like potatoes, carrots, and onions were carefully stored. Fruit was dried or preserved in honey or sugar.

Over time, American popular foods have been strongly influenced by Asian immigrants. It is estimated that by the mid-1800s, there were nearly 35,000 Chinese immigrants in the United States. Today, considering all Asian groups, the population is estimated to be nearly 2.5 million. Though xenophobic Americans initially did not make Asians feel welcome, the Americans did embrace them as menial workers and laborers. Chinatowns emerged in many large cities and, though generations have passed, the best Chinese meals in the United States are still to be found in the ethnic restaurants of Chinatown. Americans gradually adopted many of the traditional Chinese foods, and in contemporary America, Chinese and other Asian restaurants abound. Popular Chinese restaurant foods have been largely adapted for American tastes, but from simple soups to meat, poultry (including Peking duck), and seafood dishes, with myriad vegetables and dumplings followed by a fortune cookie (invented in California, by the way), the Asian flavors remain very popular.

Japanese workers arrived later in the 19th century, and they also brought delicious food traditions with them. Popular today are sushi and any number of quickly prepared Japanese foods. Filipino sailors arrived in California as early as 1587, but their first lasting settlements were in the bayous of Louisiana. There are ethnic enclaves of Filipinos still present in Louisiana, and using a term from a time past, they refer to themselves as Pinoy or Pinay—perhaps meaning Filipino Americans. Using the term as an adjective, one might hear a cook say that a dish is prepared in the Pinoy way, meaning a combination of Filipino- and Louisiana-style down-home cooking.

European immigration was numerically highest in the decades between 1880 and 1920. People from northern, southern, and eastern Europe brought with them their culinary traditions and enriched the bland American diet forever. Stereotypical American meals like a midwestern dinner of beef and potatoes with a salad, a few other vegetables, and dessert, or in another region of the country, simple staples like ham, collards, cornbread, and fruit pie (now labeled soul food) served sometimes in southern African American homes are steeped in tradition and remain preferred dinners for many. Even so, it would not be unusual for that midwestern salad dish to include beets (Russian) and sour cream (eastern European), or for the soul food dinner to include rye rolls (northern European) and cream puffs (French) for dessert, if someone requested them.

Origins and Influences

Floods of immigrants at the turn of the 20th century brought with them delightful recipes and memories of foods popular in their homelands. Some of these are still labeled “ethnic foods” (if there is any real meaning to such an ambiguous term). Foods that are popular in the United States today come from many origins; for instance, from the Russian Jews of eastern Europe, borscht, cabbage, dark breads, and dill-flavored sour cream mixed or on the side of raw cucumbers or other fresh vegetables; from the Italians, tomato sauce, pastas, garlic, grated cheeses, pizza; from the Greeks, olive oil, feta cheese, fresh vegetables, honey, walnuts, and plentiful fruit, including lemons; from the Czechs, dumplings, rich soups, fish with potatoes, stews, rich pastry; from the Germans, cookies, coffee cakes, breads, beer, jam omelets, marinated meat; and from the French, sauces, baguettes of bread, cream-filled pastries, lamb stew, and delicate salads; from northern Europeans, milk-based soups, root vegetables, and pork.

Food lines between ethnic groups blurred over time; for instance, immigrant European workers on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan adopted meat-filled pasties from the original Cornish immigrants and claim them as their own. These days nearly everyone in the United States eats a bagel now and then—or a fortune cookie—or a slab of pizza. Asian, Indo-Indian, African, Middle

Eastern, Caribbean, Mexican, Central and South American ingredients (and more) are now commonly found in grocery markets.

By the 1950s and 1960s, preservation and processing methods had improved and almost guaranteed the safety of both fresh and processed imported foods. Emphasis on locally grown foods was at a minimum. Grocery stores throughout the nation carried imported foods from canned lychees to escargot (snails) to fresh mangos year-round. Themed restaurants became more common, and it was common (as it is today) to get carry-out from an Asian restaurant, pizza or calzones from an Italian-themed restaurant, and Kosher sandwiches from a delicatessen. These are only a few examples, and though these emerged from specific ethnic groups, they were (and are) perceived as American foods.

Many of these foods have become so popular that they are now available in the frozen food aisles of most grocery stores. From Polish pierogies (meat-filled dumplings) to spicy Indo-Indian bean and grain mixtures, representative cultural foods have been processed, inspected, and made available to the American public. Concern about the lack of fresh, locally produced foods became an issue by the 1970s, and a food revolution began to take place. It was not intended specifically to educate the public about international food origins but to educate the public about more healthful eating. To enhance the shelf life and flavor of many food products, industrial agriculturalists, agribusinesses, and food processors add various chemicals (additives and preservatives) to most raw ingredients. There are cautionary tales and myriad examples of possible ill effects of these additives.

The Slow Food Movement

Using knowledge gleaned from food experts, Alice Waters, more than any other one individual, became the figurehead for what would become known as “California cuisine” and its demand for locally grown, seasonal, organic foods. Before Waters’s influential example and popularity, most restaurants depended on processed products, that is, quickly prepared convenience ingredients that had been canned, dried, or frozen. In her university undergraduate years, Waters went to France for a study-abroad program and became enamored of



Street vendors prepare Italian food at the annual Feast of San Gennaro in Little Italy, New York City, September 8, 2004 (left); a vendor prepares coconuts for sale at Seattle's Chinatown International District Night Market, August 4, 2007 (right). In the United States, with its many agricultural regions, food is represented from nearly every country. America maintains a rich tradition of authentic cultural foods, fusions, and experimentation with the tastes, colors, and textures of the multicultural world.

the French style of cooking and eating. She recognized the high flavor of fresh garden vegetables and lightly prepared fish and meat dishes. When she returned to the United States, she practiced her cooking, continued researching, and in time opened her first restaurant called *Chez Panisse* in Berkeley, California. Waters taught others that the freshest vegetables and other ingredients had the finest flavors. Another twist to the food, now often referred to as “fusion” style, are combination recipes made of fresh, locally grown organic ingredients. The varied ingredients—vegetables, fruits, meats, or seafood—are mixed for taste rather than by the tradition of their country of origin. Consequently, Waters’s restaurant was voted one of the top 25 in the United States by *Playboy* magazine, and it has also received many other significant awards and recognitions.

Fusion Foods and International Foods Today

American taste for foods from around the world has been enhanced by the fusion food movement, which emerged by way of the still popular California cuisine. Asian fusion restaurants have become popular in many parts of the United States, and the foods served cannot be categorized as any one particular cuisine style. In fusion foods, the form of one cuisine may be prepared with ingredients familiar to another cuisine or region. A roast turkey breast (American origin) served with a Mediterranean sauce of lemon juice and capers and then seasoned further with Asian chili sauce is a typical example. Another main dish might be a pizza covered with Mexican style ingredients such as refried beans, pepper jack cheese, and salsa.

From inexpensive drive-through ethnic-identified restaurants, where foods cater to American

tastes, to high-end restaurants with trained professional chefs who prepare both fusion or authentic cuisines with their own creativity as well as recipes and inventions from around the world, Americans are able to find representative food from just about every country. The United States began centuries ago with multiple tribes of migrating Native Americans. It has become a bustling country of immigrants and descendants from around the world longing to fulfill the American Dream and trying to survive on their journey to fulfillment. This country, with its many agricultural regions, is able to produce nearly every food imaginable, and it maintains a rich tradition of authentic cultural foods, fusion, and continuing experimentation with the tastes, colors, and textures of the multicultural world.

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See Also: Chinatowns; Cuisine and Ethnic Diversity; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Halal; Herbalism; *Jungle, The*; Kosher.

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Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity

Food processing and food manufacturing are categories of industry involved in the transformation of ingredients or food products into other food products. It involves everything in the chain from the production of animal feed to the slaughter of livestock to the packing of meat to the production of frozen TV dinners.

Ethnic diversity has been important to the food processing sector, both in the workforce and in the customer base. In the 19th century, the food processing industry developed in the United States at a greater pace than in other countries, which was due both to the greater means (the United States had become the center of the Industrial Revolution and had ample labor) and greater need. Other than the drying of basic ingredients such as grains, beans, fruits, and spices, most of the earliest food processing companies were meatpackers either attached to or working in conjunction with local slaughterhouses.

Growth of Ethnic Food Processing

Until the meat-shipping trade in Lake Michigan began in the 1830s, most processed food was prepared for the local market. It was sold in open-air markets, often in ethnic enclave neighborhoods, or peddled door-to-door, either by the maker or by a third-party peddler. Such markets were established throughout the country; the Colombo market, for instance, was established by Italian immigrants in San Francisco in 1874. The California Fruit Canners Association grew directly from Colombo market vendors 25 years later, and in 1916 it began selling products nationally under the Del Monte brand name.

This changed quickly as the country spread out, populated by waves of immigrants who worked in food processing factories and moved west to settle the country. In some neighborhoods, door-to-door peddling and street vending continued as well, and in some places have become part of the local tradition. In Chicago, Mexican American street vendors sell *elote*, sweet corn with mayonnaise and grated cheese; in San Antonio, the "tamale ladies" sell tamales door-to-door around Christmas time; in New York City,

Middle Easterners and Jewish vendors sell falafel from street carts; in Cincinnati, German Americans sell sausage balls and sauerkraut; and in Boston, Greeks sell gyros. The ethnic foods of immigrant communities have become distinct parts of cities' identities.

Canned goods and other processed foods were vital supplies for westward-migrating families. In combination with the use of railroads to bring goods to distant domestic markets, food processing allowed for the growth of increasingly larger commercial farms. But the industry also served the country's new immigrant populations and increasingly diverse ethnic communities. Much as local butchers near Italian neighborhoods would prepare *porchetta* (a stuffed pork dish) for families to bring home and roast, companies began producing canned and jarred spaghetti sauces.

The availability of these prepared foods, originally aimed at the immigrant families already accustomed to them, led in turn to their popularization among other American families. German foods were popularized first; bratwursts and hot dogs produced by meat processors quickly became assimilated, alongside packaged sauerkraut, bottled beer, canned pickles, and vinegar. Even as turn-of-the-century nutritionists tried to Americanize the eating habits of first- and second-generation American households, native-born Americans were rapidly adopting the new foods these immigrants had introduced.

By the 1930s, for instance, the Ragu brand of spaghetti sauce, which was first produced in the Rochester home of the Cantisano family, was marketed across the country. Spaghetti in tomato sauce became a household staple among families who had neither grown up with it nor prepared it themselves. Dried Italian pastas were similarly popularized, as fresh noodles had always been a staple food in most of the country. Similar processes popularized Mexican cuisine in predominantly non-Hispanic parts of the country, as companies that produced products originally for the Hispanic populations of Texas, California, the southwest, or migrant worker communities throughout the country soon began marketing them to a nationwide audience. The growth of the advertising industry in the late 19th century, in conjunction with the growth of magazines (which provided advertising space) and later

radio, helped tremendously with the transmission of food trends.

Work in the food processing sector also provided jobs to recent immigrants, whether as entrepreneurs starting their own companies to produce ethnic foods for their community or as part of the larger labor force necessary to fuel the industry. In Chicago, Polish, Italian, and Hispanic immigrants found work in the many meatpacking plants, which processed the beef delivered by rail from Texas, Kansas, and other ranching regions. Greeks, Lithuanians, and European Jews soon joined the ranks of these plant workers.

One of the most significant innovations in food processing was introduced by Moravian immigrant Charles Fleischmann, who introduced commercially made yeast to the country for the first time at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. Prior to that time, bread in the United States was always made with sourdough, a long process using bacterial fermentation and the naturally occurring yeasts found in the flour. Commercial yeast allowed for greater control and consistency, allowed home cooks to bake bread with much less preparation time, and was a necessity for the commercial baking industry. Yeast is still sold today under the Fleischmann name.

In the early 20th century, the spread of Chinatowns and the growing Chinese American middle class created a demand for both Chinese imports and locally produced Chinese ingredients. Numerous companies like Chicago's Hong Kong Noodle Company (established in 1914) were formed to produce food goods for the Chinese American market, as well as bakeries producing fortune cookies, almond cookies, and moon cakes.

Within the food processing workforce, the number of Hispanics working in food processing fell from 2005 to 2010, after rising rapidly from 2000 to 2005. The exact reason for this is unclear, but there is a decent chance that the food manufacturing workplace raids of 2006 to 2007 by U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services, followed by I-9 audits of the meatpacking industry, substantially reduced the number of undocumented immigrants employed in the sector. Further, the recession that set in with the 2008 financial crisis may have made food processing jobs attractive to non-Hispanic workers who had otherwise avoided the industry.

Food Processing Firm Ownership

Data on demographic and economic information pertaining to American businesses is compiled as part of the Survey of Business Owners (SBO), which is conducted roughly every five years. The deadline to submit responses for the 2012 SBO was extended into mid-2013, delaying the tabulation, compilation, and publication of derived data. The most recent data available is from the 2007 SBO. As of that survey, the overwhelming majority of food processing companies, about 80 percent, were owned by non-Hispanic whites. Hispanics of any race owned about 7 percent of companies, blacks owned about 5.5 percent, and Chinese Americans owned about 2 percent. No other group controlled more than one half of one percent of food processing companies.

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See Also: Food; Manufacturing and Ethnic Diversity; Occupational Patterns (Essay).

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Football and Ethnic Diversity

In the 1800s, the game of football evolved from a modified London football college game to an American game of blocking or interference between players. On the other hand, American football off the field did not easily transition from all Caucasian players to racially diverse players.

Professional football did not see racial integration until 1904, but American society continued to fight for or against racial equality.

The National Football League (NFL), as it is known today, was originally a product of an idea spawned by a well-known Native American and Olympian, Jim Thorpe, and a Caucasian, Leo Lyons, in 1920. These two men formed a regional football network that featured teams representing the major Great Lakes cities. The impetus of this new sport was to be equally as popular as baseball. As the game became more popular, its impact had a wide-reaching effect on the ethnic and social landscape of the sport and of society.

Expansion and Ethnicity

In 1920, the American Professional Football Conference, which originally included only teams based in Ohio, later became known as the American Professional Football Association. It was led by Thorpe for the first year of its existence. As this league expanded to include more major cities, the number of ethnically diverse players increased. Numerous teams had players representing not only the Native American community, but also the African American, Asian, and Jewish communities.

Alfred Miller was the first Jewish player in the National Football League, playing halfback and quarterback for the Boston Bulldogs. Jewish-born Benny Friedman revolutionized the game by being the first quarterback to throw first and second downs instead of the traditional third down. Ahmad Rashad is one of the most notable Muslim football players, a wide receiver with the Minnesota Vikings. Thorpe, the NFL founder and an Olympian, was Catholic.

Teams found diversity represented in many positions. The Carlisle Industrial Indian School was opened in 1879 for Native American children. This boarding school catered to Native American youth by educating them and creating a successful football program. Thorpe was a player at the school, and in 1912 it won the national collegiate championship. Players representing 10 Native American midwestern tribes formed the Oorang Indians team in 1922. In 1927 and 1928, Asian Americans Walter Achiu, a running back and defensive end, and Arthur Matsu, a quarterback, were both players for the Dayton Triangle, now known as the Detroit Lions. Rock Island's Robert Marshall was the first

African American to appear in an NFL game in the early 1920s. Other African Americans such as Fred Slater (defensive tackle), Paul Robeson (running back), Fritz Pollard (halfback, quarterback, running back), and Jay Williams (running back) were standout position players.

Nine African American players were removed from the league. Once Carlisle closed its doors in 1918, so did the NFL, to both Native American and African American players. With the removal of nine African American players in 1926, followed by the removal of African American players Ray Kemp and Joe Lillard in 1933. It would be another 13 years before another minority player took the field. The league became predominantly Caucasian as diverse players were not selected.

College Football

In the south, African American college football players were excluded from playing at any white institutions. Most of them played at Grambling State University, Jackson State University, and Prairie View State University. Even as schools in the Southeastern Conference (SEC) and Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC) begin to sign African American players, the struggle became difficult for players because many people did not want to see change in their all-Caucasian college football teams, but teams slowly became more diverse.

In 1963, Darryl Hill became the first African American college football player in the south and experienced many forms of racism during his time at the University of Maryland. Furthermore, the famous USC-Alabama game on September 12, 1970, ushered in more historic moments of change for football. An integrated institution, the University of Southern California (USC) was a football powerhouse, and Coach Paul Bryant of Alabama wanted to play their team. This game resulted in the first integrated football team playing at the University of Alabama, which convinced the Alabama institution to recruit African American players.

As southern college football teams begin to add more African American players, certain positions on the team continued to be held by Caucasians. The quarterback's role on the field was to be a leader and responsible for calling the signals or plays. Many people felt that no African American male could play this position. However, the number of African American quarterbacks increased in

professional football after some college players were seen playing at Ivy League schools. Rod Plummer, Rob Foster, Marty Vaughn, and Dennis Coleman played quarterback at some of the most prestigious schools in the country, including Princeton, Harvard, and Brown universities. Ultimately, the placement of African American quarterbacks became widespread in major college football programs.

Desegregation and the NFL

The National Football League found itself drafting and signing mostly Caucasian players between 1933 and 1946. Most of the ethnically diverse talent was either engaged in military action or not participating in the sport. In 1946, the Los Angeles Coliseum forced integration upon the then Cleveland Rams. The venue required the team to integrate in order to utilize its facility. African Americans Kenny Washington (running back) and Woody Stode (offensive end) signed with the Rams and became the first minority players to sign a contract after World War II. Other teams within the league soon began to integrate. Under pressure from the John F. Kennedy administration and to meet a precondition of occupancy of D.C. Stadium, renamed Robert F. Kennedy Stadium, the Washington Redskins was the last team in the National Football League to integrate in 1969.

The American Football League (AFL), the emerging rival league to the National Football League, offered players from historically black colleges and universities an opportunity to play professional football. This league began new franchises in cities that did not have teams affiliated with the NFL. Many of these gifted players had been unnoticed by the NFL and were now being showcased by their new teams. The American Football League offered contracts that paid these players higher salaries than the NFL. Thus, a bidding war began when drafting players for both AFL and NFL teams.

The Impact on Ethnicity

The American Football League not only sought players from the traditional black colleges, it also introduced the world to other talented minority players. Tom Flores was the first Hispanic quarterback with the Oakland Raiders. An 18th-round pick, Hispanic Joe Kapp, was drafted by the Washington Redskins in 1959, but was never

contacted by anyone from the team. Mexican American Tom Fears, drafted in 1945 by the Los Angeles Rams, is credited as being the first wide receiver in the modern era of the game. Jim Plunkett is not only the first Mexican American player to win the coveted Heisman Trophy but also claims the honor of being the only player of Hispanic ancestry to be drafted as the first overall pick in the NFL draft by the then American Football League's Boston Patriots.

Diversity and Ethnicity in NFL Players and Coaching

The average professional football player earns \$906,000 a year as measured by 2010 U.S. Census data. Within the industry of professional athletics and related services, such as agents, broadcasters, sports writers, and television industry professionals, there are over 1,393,540 employees. With all of the numerous diversity programs under the NFL umbrella, the data show this industry only employs 5,823 Native Americans and 63,414 Asians.

As for the players themselves, 67 percent are African American, 31 percent are Caucasian, 2 percent are Asian, 1 percent are Latino, and 1 percent are international. Most of the quarterbacks in the league are Caucasian (83 percent), as well as punters and kickers (95 percent). Running backs and tight ends are predominantly black (85 percent), as are the defensive front-line position players (75 percent).

Fritz Pollard is considered the first African American to coach a team with the American Professional Football Association. He coached the Akron Professionals in 1921 and the Hammond Professionals in 1925. In the modern era of the game, Art Shell was the NFL's first African American head coach with the Oakland Raiders. In 1967, Tom Fears was the NFL's first Hispanic head coach with the expansion team the New Orleans Saints; however, Tom Flores is the first Hispanic head coach to win the Super Bowl twice with the same franchise. As the assistant head coach of the Chicago Bears, Lloyd Lee was the NFL's first Asian American to coach in a Super Bowl.

NFL Commissioner Paul Tagliabue appointed a diversity commission in 2002 that generated what is now called the Rooney Rule, which requires each team to interview at least one minority candidate for a head coach or senior front office

position. With the enforcement of this rule, teams are now hiring a record number of minorities and women in senior management roles, followed by more diverse head and assistant head coaching positions. The total number of diverse employees at or above the vice president level increased by 30 percent, from 20 in 2010 to 26 in 2011. Yet, all 32 of the leagues are owned by Caucasians.

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See Also: African Americans; Desegregation/Integration; Indian Boarding Schools; Mascots, Native American (Sports); Native Americans; Soccer and Ethnic Diversity; Sports and Ethnic Diversity; Television.

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Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868)

The Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868 was an agreement between members of the Lakota, Yanktonai,

and Dakota (Sioux) and the U.S. government. The treaty guaranteed the Lakota ownership of the sacred Black Hills (Paha Sapa) and established the 26-million-acre Great Sioux Reservation on Lakota land (all of present-day South Dakota west of the Missouri River). The treaty also called for the abandonment and removal of all military forts along the Bozeman Trail in Powder River Country and closed that area to any further military intrusions or white settlement, calling it “unceded” Indian territory, which was reserved for hunting and for those who chose not to live on the reservation.

The treaty was the result of a successful war waged against the United States by the Oglala Lakota leader, Red Cloud (Makhpyia-luta), known as Red Cloud’s War or the Bozeman War, from 1866 to 1868 throughout the territories of Montana and Wyoming over control of hunting territory in the Powder River Country (north-central Wyoming). Eight years after the U.S. Congress ratified the treaty, the U.S. government violated its terms when it took Lakota land, including the Black Hills.

Over the last several centuries the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty has remained an important document, particularly in the struggle over native rights and land claims as evidenced by the ongoing Black Hills land claim by the Sioux Nation and the activities of the American Indian Movement. In the *United States v. Sioux Nation*, the U.S. Supreme Court determined that the government had illegally seized the land and was required to pay restitution in the amount of over \$100 million. This was a landmark case as its ruling established the legal basis for compensation in other Indian land claims.

Loss of the Black Hills

In 1874, George Armstrong Custer led a military expedition through the Black Hills and discovered gold. One year later the Newton-Jenney geological party conducted a detailed survey of the Black Hills. After gold was discovered, prospectors and settlers also began encroaching upon Lakota land. These kinds of activities were illegal under the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and the United States was supposed to help prevent them. Instead, in September 1875 President Ulysses S. Grant attempted to buy the Black Hills, but the Lakota

refused to sell land that was sacred. That November, the Indian Bureau ordered all Lakota on “unceded” land to confine themselves to the Great Sioux Reservation by January. This was another violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty. In early 1876 the U.S. government launched a military campaign against all Lakota unwilling to comply.

What resulted was a series of campaigns and battles between the United States and the Sioux, known as the Great Sioux War. The Battle of Little Bighorn, which took place in southeastern Montana in June 1876, is infamous in American history as the battle in which half of the 7th Cavalry, along with Custer, died in a crushing defeat by the Sioux (led by the Oglala Lakota Crazy Horse and the Hunkpapa Lakota Gall), the Cheyenne, and the Arapaho. Ultimately, the United States defeated the Sioux, and in 1877 Congress approved a law that changed the terms of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. Although the Sioux would still receive the annuity payments negotiated in that treaty, the size of the Great Sioux Reservation was reduced, three roads were to be constructed through it, and free navigation of the Missouri River was also authorized.

United States v. Sioux Nation

Throughout the 20th century Sioux (Lakota) leaders have filed a series of cases against the U.S. government, demanding reparations for the illegal seizure of Sioux land guaranteed under the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. In 1946, Sioux leaders received a full hearing through the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), which was created by Congress that same year to adjudicate unresolved Indian land disputes. In 1975, the ICC ruled that Congress’s 1877 law, through which Sioux land was obtained by the U.S. government, was unconstitutional and therefore the land seizure was illegal. The ICC further ruled that the Sioux were owed the estimated value of the land in 1877 (about \$17 million) plus interest. The U.S. government appealed.

On June 30, 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. Sioux Nation* that the Black Hills were unlawfully seized by the government and that the monies never paid to the Sioux were now due, along with interest accrued since that time. Maintaining that the Black Hills are sacred land and important to their communities today, the Sioux refused to accept payment (now over \$400

million) and instead have continued to pursue the return of their land, guaranteed to them under the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie.

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See Also: *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*; Ghost Dance; Great Plains Tribes; Great Sioux War; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Native Americans; Sioux; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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442nd Regimental Combat Team

When the Imperial Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, and approximately 120,000 Japanese immigrants and Americans on the west coast were interned because they were regarded as enemy aliens. To challenge discrimination against Japanese Americans and to prove their loyalty to the United States, Nisei (second-generation) Japanese American men joined the U.S. armed forces. Because Japanese Americans' loyalty to the United States was questioned, a combat team comprised of only Japanese Americans was organized, and that was the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (442nd RCT). Nisei Japanese American men fought bravely for the United States and proved their dedication to the country. President Harry Truman praised the team and said "you fought the enemy abroad and prejudice at home and you won." Their heroic fight in World War II led to the liberation of Japanese American internees from internment camps,

empowered Japanese Americans, and later made the U.S. government officially apologize for putting Japanese Americans in internment camps.

Formation of the 442nd

According to nationality law, any person born on U.S. soil is an American citizen. However, Japanese Americans became enemy aliens in the United States regardless of their American citizenship. They were not eligible to serve in the U.S. armed forces.

Japanese Americans in Hawai'i were not interned as were Japanese Americans on the mainland because they were dominant in numbers in Hawai'i and were an indispensable part of the islands' economy. They had worked for the war effort even before the Pearl Harbor attack, but they were also regarded with suspicion and ordered to leave war duty in 1942. The dismissed Nisei Japanese Americans petitioned Lieutenant General Delos Emmons to accept them again for the war effort. Emmons allowed them to work for the armed forces in 1943. These Nisei Japanese Americans in Hawai'i comprised the 100th Battalion, were trained at Camp McCoy in Wisconsin and Camp Shelby in Mississippi, and were sent to battlefields in Africa and Italy. They later joined the 442nd RCT, which was comprised of enlisted Nisei Japanese Americans from Hawai'i and Nisei Japanese Americans from the mainland, who had been interned.

When the U.S. government changed its policy from excluding Japanese Americans from the armed forces to having them serve in these special military units, they required the Japanese American internees to answer a loyalty questionnaire. The questions asked Japanese Americans if they had an unconditional loyalty to the United States and abandoned their ties to Japan. Those who answered "yes" to the question were allowed to serve the U.S. armed forces, but there were people who could not answer "yes" after experiencing their unjust treatment by the U.S. government. The questionnaire caused a rift in the Japanese American community.

Battles in the European Theater

The 442nd RCT was sent to fierce battlegrounds in Europe. One of the fiercest battles was the rescue of the Texas battalion, in which 211 Texan

soldiers were surrounded by German soldiers; the 442nd RCT succeeded in rescuing the Texans at the cost of 800 casualties. The team's success and valor was highly praised and circulated in the media, and the team's motto "Go for Broke" enhanced the image of Japanese Americans. However, discriminatory treatment of the 442nd RCT continued. For example, when the team liberated the French town of Bruyères from German troops, they were not permitted to join the victory parade. The 442nd RCT released Jewish inmates from the Dachau concentration camp in Germany but this fact was not disclosed until 1992.

The 442nd RCT was rewarded for its courageous fight by receiving 18,143 individual decorations, including 21 Congressional Medals of Honor, 52 Distinguished Service Crosses, 560 Silver Stars, 4,000 Bronze Stars, and 9,486 Purple Hearts. The team became the most decorated unit in the history of the U.S. armed forces.

Aftermath of World War II

The United States fought World War II for freedom and democracy. Veterans of the 442nd RCT wondered why they had to docilely accept their second-class-citizen status back in the United States after fighting for freedom and democracy and sacrificing their lives. Once-silenced Japanese Americans had started voicing their rights.

In Hawai'i, veterans of the 442nd RCT ran for office in the 1952 territorial election. Their Democratic Party won the election after many years of white Republican domination of the islands. This political change initiated by Japanese Americans is called the Democratic Revolution, and it contributed to making Hawai'i a multicultural society where there is no racial/ethnic majority. Daniel Inouye, one of the veterans who joined the Democratic Revolution, later won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1959.

On the mainland, motivated by the civil rights movement, Sansei (third-generation) Japanese Americans started the redress movement. They demanded the government's official apology and reparations for illegal internment of Japanese Americans. Many former internees felt the experiences and shame of internment, and they broke the silence and testified against the wrongs of internment. In 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed a bill to award \$20,000 in reparations to

surviving former internees. In 1991, President George H. W. Bush made an official apology on behalf of the United States for interning Japanese Americans.

Postwar Japanese American political gains would not be achieved without the sacrifice of the 442nd RCT. Fighting against prejudice and discrimination, the 442nd RCT played a significant role in changing Americans' biased views against Japanese Americans, clearing the tarnished status of Japanese Americans, and, most importantly, enriching multiculturalism in the United States.

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See Also: Armed Forces, U.S.; Deportation (Repatriation); Executive Order 9066 (1942); Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; World War II.

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Freedmen's Bureau

The Freedmen's Bureau was the most comprehensive relief agency in the history of the United States. Established on March 3, 1865, by the U.S. Congress, its mission was to alleviate physical suffering, provide legal justice and education, and redistribute southern lands to former slaves freed by the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) as well as to white refugees who sided with the

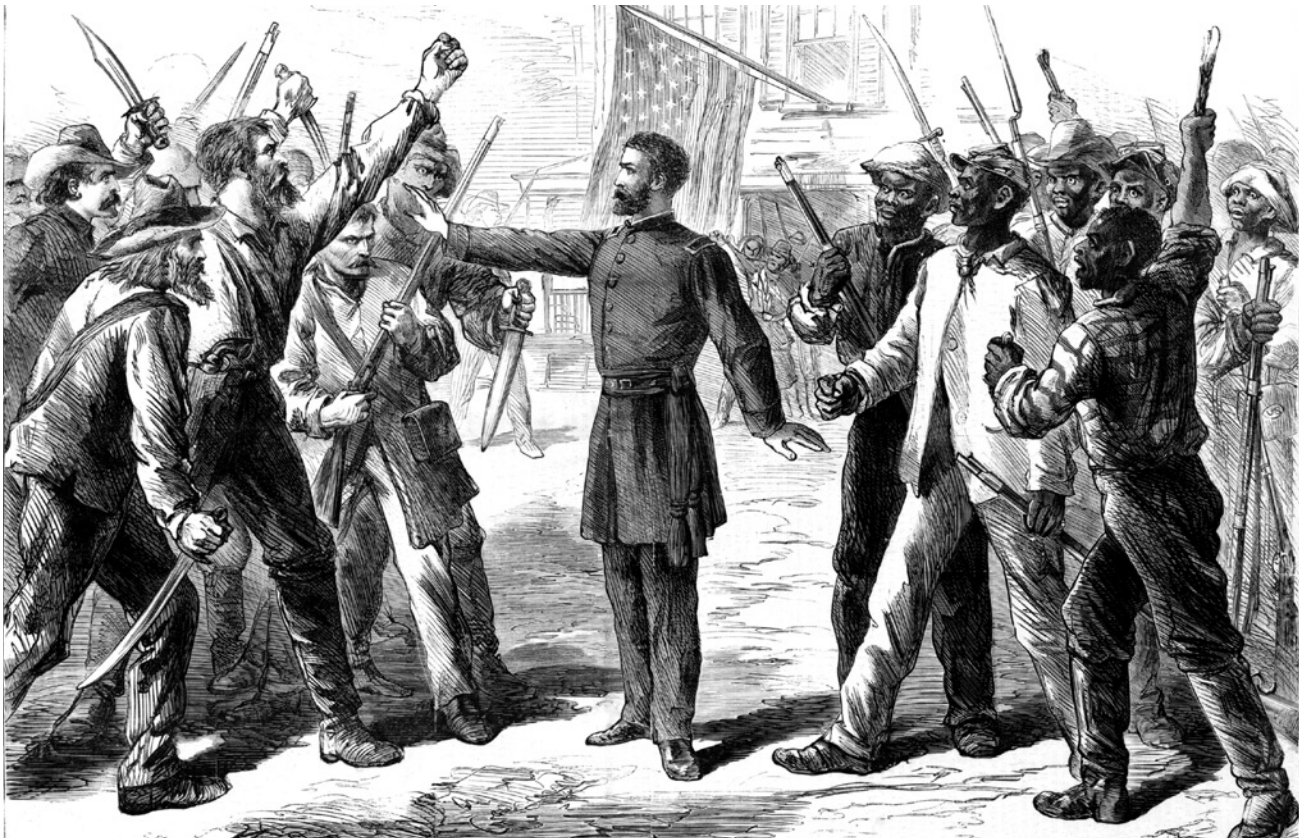
Union. Before its work ended in 1872, the bureau spent \$5 million for schools and coordinated with northern aid societies to employ 9,300 teachers, instruct 247,000 students, and build 4,000 schools throughout the southern and western United States. The educational work of the bureau provided the foundation for the beginning of a public school system in the south.

Beginnings

The Freedmen's Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was based on the Port Royal, or Sea Island, Experiment. On November 7, 1861, the U.S. Navy fleet and U.S. Army captured Port Royal Sound, South Carolina, and the adjacent Sea Islands of the Beaufort District. During this military action, the Beaufort District planters abandoned most of their property—including nearly 10,000 slaves on island plantations—and evacuated inland.

The political status of the slaves was unclear. Still considered to be property, they were declared contraband of war and placed under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of the Treasury. Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase sent Edward L. Pierce to Port Royal to investigate and recommend action to the federal government regarding the contrabands. Pierce, a captain in the Third Massachusetts Regiment, had earlier put former slaves to work building entrenchments at Hampton, Virginia. This was the first instance of employing former slaves to do military work for the U.S. Army.

Simultaneously, Reverend Mansfield French of the New York-based American Missionary Association (AMA), which was founded in 1846 as a Protestant and abolitionist organization, was sent to Port Royal to determine what assistance the AMA could render the former slaves. Both Pierce and French arrived at Port Royal in January 1862



A print from the July 25, 1868, issue of Harper's Weekly shows a Freedmen's Bureau agent standing between armed groups of southern whites and freedmen, or freed slaves. During the Reconstruction Era in the United States, the Bureau, initiated by President Abraham Lincoln in 1865 and intended to last for only one year after the Civil War, continued to aid distressed freedmen until 1872.

in order to institute a joint effort between philanthropic organizations and the federal government that would serve in a custodial role for the contrabands. The heart of the "experiment" was to use the contrabands to harvest and process the valuable Sea Island cotton. In February 1862 Pierce returned to Boston and began actively recruiting volunteers to go south to the Sea Islands in order to assist the effort.

Philanthropic organizations and religious missionaries provided food, clothing, medical help, and education to the effort. The National Freedmen's Relief Association in New York collected donations and enlisted volunteers to assist as well. In March, Pierce was placed in charge of the freedmen and plantations on the islands, along with nearly 60 teachers and superintendents, who established schools and advocated the formation of freedmen's aid societies. The partnership between the federal government and various philanthropic agencies to carry out humanitarian enterprises among the Sea Island blacks continued throughout the Civil War.

After 1861, slaves gravitated to the protection of the Union troops. General Ulysses S. Grant and Union army chaplain John Eaton contributed to the eventual formation of the bureau when Eaton took charge of unemployed blacks in November 1862. He opened a contraband camp at Grand Junction, Tennessee, and put blacks to work in the cotton fields. Governors of northern states, eager to keep the freed people in the south, sent money for food and clothing in order to keep former slaves on southern plantations. Influenced by northern abolitionists and humanitarians, the early emphasis was on improving the condition of the contrabands rather than exploiting their labor.

The emphasis changed from charity to the production of cotton and other crops because of philosophical concerns that former slaves needed to become self-sufficient. Under the authority of the federal Direct Tax Act of 1862, most of the Sea Island plantations in the Beaufort District had been seized for nonpayment of taxes. Leaders of the Port Royal experiment lobbied the federal government to redistribute this land to the freedmen. Of the 101,930 acres seized, the freedmen purchased approximately one-third in small parcels. This practice would ultimately lead to

the sharecropping system, which was nearly as exploitative as slavery itself.

Expansion After Emancipation

On January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which officially freed the contrabands of the Sea Islands along with all other slaves in Confederate states. Since contrabands would no longer be returned to their owners, the scope of the relief effort grew exponentially. Many people were recruited to support the army as teamsters, cooks, hostlers, and laborers who accompanied the troops as they worked their way through the south.

To meet the challenge, the federal government established the Freedmen's Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands to deal with humanitarian problems at the close of the Civil War. The bill creating the bureau was passed in 1865, but it was argued that the bureau belonged in the War Department because the freed people needed protection. The abandoned lands were then moved from the control of the Treasury Department to the War Department. The bureau was to supervise and manage all abandoned lands and exert control over all matters relating to refugees and freedmen. The commissioner of the bureau was Oliver Otis Howard, an army general from New England. He had been introduced to the schools for freed persons in Beaufort and was impressed by the teachers and earnest students.

Eleven assistant commissioners who worked for the bureau played a powerful role in the Reconstruction of the south. Following the Port Royal model, the agents promoted education, philanthropy, and paid labor. Feeding the refugees was the first issue, and the bureau initially had no appropriations for this task. The bureau also had to manage the abandoned land and properties, some of which it sold for income. Millions of slaves had been forbidden to learn to read and write by slave codes that were established in every southern state. Although many were skilled artisans, others were wholly dependent upon the plantation system. White refugees who had supported the Union in the conflict lost land and employment and were displaced as a result of the war's devastation.

Beyond humanitarian efforts, early major functions of the bureau were the supervision of labor,

reunification of black families, and provision of education and justice. The agents expanded their reach, helping blacks to write or read letters and newspaper advertisements for lost kin. Although wives and husbands were sometimes reunited, it was more difficult to locate missing children who had been sold off to other plantations. Bureau agents also performed marriages of black men and women who were living together but had not been considered legally married. Under slavery, marriages were considered to be illegitimate by slave owners, and black families were fractured when someone was traded away to another plantation.

Although the prospect of "Forty Acres and a Mule" initially gave the freed persons hope, it was quickly thwarted. By December 1865, President Andrew Johnson, a southerner from North Carolina, had restored the abandoned lands to the Confederate owners, depriving the bureau of income or the ability to redistribute land. Johnson was a Jacksonian Democrat who believed in states' rights and thought the bureau was hindering his Reconstruction program. Radical Republicans were furious about Johnson's conciliatory stance toward the south and his failure to advocate the rights of former slaves. Meanwhile, southerners bitterly resented the bureau and considered the south to be occupied by a foreign government.

Education as a Legacy

By 1865, bureau agents who were concerned with the welfare of the former slaves had already begun to pin their hopes more on education and politics. Howard considered education of the freedmen, both children and adults, to be "the true relief." Early in the war, chaplains and other soldiers had helped the contrabands learn to read. The agents of the northern aid societies followed. Howard stressed the need for schools, but since there was no allocation for them, the bureau had to rely on the aid societies to raise money and pay teacher salaries. The bureau let aid societies use its buildings for schools and provided transportation for teachers and books. The bureau then rented its buildings to the aid societies and used the rent to pay teachers.

But philanthropic organizations were beginning to lose interest, and aid would soon end. In all, by January 1865, about 750 people were

teaching about 75,000 black children in the areas of the south then occupied by Union armies. To African Americans, literacy seemed to belie the white message that blacks were merely beasts of the field. Some white planters went along with teaching former slaves to read and write, and Howard believed the planters would be placated if schooling included moral and religious training. Other whites, however, feared the teaching of ideas of social equality and thought the teachers were trying to remake the south in the image of New England. Some of the white violence toward teachers was about property: whites burned buildings that had been confiscated and were being used for schools. Although the arson was an attack on teachers, it was also retaliation for losing their land.

Toward the end of 1865, there were 799 men working for the bureau. In 1866, the bureau's charter was extended for two years. Its jurisdiction expanded to all loyal refugees and freedmen everywhere in the United States, and its appropriation increased to nearly \$7 million. More than half was allocated for clothing and rations for the freedmen. There was also \$500,000 for the rental and repair of school buildings and asylums, and the commissioners were directed to provide schoolhouses to benevolent societies that would support teachers.

The bureau also established courts, founded a bank, and tried to mediate labor relations. Various types of court systems operated in the former Confederate states. After emancipation, the federal government extended military protection and military jurisdiction over all cases in which persons were discriminated against because of race. The mission of the bureau's courts was to adjudicate difficulties arising between blacks and whites in places where the civil courts were interrupted and did not admit black testimony. Bureau agents were supposed to aid the freedmen with their cases and often acted as judges.

Beginning in 1866, the bureau's claims division took on the responsibility of filing claims for back pay and pensions of black soldiers who had served with the colored troops. The bureau also assisted with voter registration as a result of the Voting Rights Act of 1867, which gave black men over the age of 21 the right to vote. The bureau set up registration districts, recommended people

for registrars, and provided information to eligible voters. The bureau was criticized for going after Republican votes, and the agency was perceived as having a Republican agenda. President Johnson was opposed to the Republicans and the bureau, which he saw as helping keep radical Republicans in power.

The freedmen's bank was chartered by Congress as the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company. It operated for nine years (until 1875) in 34 branches in every state of the south and in New York, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia. Legally, the bank and the bureau were separate entities, but they worked closely together to promote economic development. Blacks were encouraged to make deposits in the bank as part of the effort to help them develop economic independence.

Labor relations were always problematic. Freedmen became disillusioned with the contract system because they did not think they received fair compensation for their labor. The planters believed they no longer needed the bureau.

Demise and Lasting Influences

By March 1869 the Bureau had helped build 630 schoolhouses. Over the next three years, it spent \$1 million for buildings. In a policy often used by philanthropic organizations, matching funds were required. Blacks were encouraged to contribute labor, aid societies provided land, and the bureau finished the task of constructing schools. Since there was no standard curriculum and teachers were often poorly trained, Howard proposed to the societies that they open normal schools and colleges for blacks throughout the south. The mission of the normal schools was teacher preparation. Howard also urged the Peabody Education Fund (1867–1915) to support normal schools.

In March 1867, Congress chartered Howard University, named for Oliver Otis Howard. The money for the land came from the bureau. By 1871 there were 11 colleges and universities and 61 normal schools in the nation intended for blacks that would have a long-lasting impact on black education. The curriculum would become contested, however. Black leader Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute advocated vocational training, while black intellectual W. E. B. Du

Bois pressed for civil rights and a classical-liberal curriculum.

By 1869, the number of people employed by the bureau had dwindled to 158. The bureau closed on January 1, 1869, except for its educational work and the collection and payment of veterans' claims. It began to withdraw its forces from the south. For all practical purposes, the bureau ceased operations in March 1871 due to a lack of appropriations.

Conflicting Mission

The Freedmen's Bureau had a tall order to fill: it was charged with nothing less than repairing the southern social and economic order; encouraging white planters to revive their farms; urging black workers to accept available jobs; monitoring contracts between landowners and workers; and pressing both groups to treat each other as employers and employees, not owners and property. Changes in the economic order between whites and former slaves required a redefinition of social relations, but the bureau exacerbated race relations because it was too politicized. White southerners saw the bureau as an extension of the Union's dominance and resented the fact that it was garnering Republican votes by enfranchising the freedmen. The army's provost marshals were more sympathetic to the former slave masters than to the freedmen and teachers. Union soldiers often had too much race prejudice to make good agents, and most Union veterans had little or no interest in the bureau.

The northern teachers were considered to be political missionaries who would educate blacks out of their place and indoctrinate them with New England ideals. The enormity of the literacy task is demonstrated by the fact that it is estimated that only one-tenth of African Americans of school age had attended school while under the charge of the bureau. Nevertheless, the bureau's efforts furthered the cause of literacy in the south for both blacks and whites. Although the bureau did not create black public schools as institutions, it had nurtured their development and dissemination. Whites would soon follow with their own—and separate—schools.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; Civil War, U.S.; Emancipation Proclamation (1863).

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Freedom Riders

Africans and African Americans were treated as second-class citizens through the institution of slavery in the United States, and later the Jim Crow laws that legalized racial discrimination. Instituted during the Reconstruction period following the U.S. Civil War and emancipation of slaves, these laws served to systematically oppress African Americans for another 100 years. The civil rights movement began in 1954, following the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, which outlawed separate but equal education in order to end racial inequality in the United States and improve the conditions of blacks.

A central but often overlooked part of the civil rights movement are the Freedom Rides, a term that refers to the nearly seven-months-long activist campaign to desegregate interstate bus depots and train stations in the southern United States. Approximately 400 men and women known as Freedom Riders took part in this interracial

movement, risking life and limb and enduring jail time in order to create a more equal world.

The first Freedom Ride actually predates the civil rights movement, dating back to 1947 when members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation joined to challenge *Morgan v. Virginia*, a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that desegregated interstate travel on buses and trains. An interracial group of 16 blacks and whites took a bus ride through the upper southern states to test the ruling's enforcement. Known as the Journey of Reconciliation, this first Freedom Ride garnered little attention. Thirteen years later, the tactic was revived after the 1960 *Boynton v. Virginia* ruling extended *Morgan v. Virginia* to the desegregation of all interstate terminal accommodations (depots, restaurants) and James Farmer, the national director of CORE, saw an opportunity.

The purpose of the 1961 Freedom Rides was to protest the practice of segregation and actualize the decision in *Boynton v. Virginia*. Using the Journey of Reconciliation as its model, this time an interracial group would board southbound buses in order to integrate station restrooms, waiting areas, and restaurants. During scheduled stops, the Freedom Riders would depart the bus and enter "white" and "colored" areas contrary to where they were supposed to go, or would sit together in segregated areas. In contrast to other acts of civil disobedience, the Freedom Riders were not breaking a single law. Instead, they hoped their acts of integration would incite southern racists to react, causing the Justice Department to uphold the law. Since CORE members practiced the Gandhian activist principles of nonviolence, they would not fight back if attacked.

CORE began the process by alerting the appropriate people of the group's upcoming plans to commit civil disobedience. In April 1961 they sent formal letters to U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and the Justice Department, President John F. Kennedy, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). They also notified the two bus companies, Greyhound and Trailways, of the upcoming Freedom Ride. These letters were never answered. A few weeks later, the group gathered on May 3, 1961, at a Chinese restaurant in Washington, D.C., to discuss the plan. Participant John Lewis and other attendees would later refer to

this dinner as “the last supper,” as the following morning they were embarking into the unknown.

On May 4, 1961, a group of 16 blacks and six whites boarded one Greyhound and one Trailways bus and departed for Birmingham, Alabama. As planned, the Freedom Riders boarded the buses and sat in integrated seating patterns, an act considered criminal through much of the southern states.

Anniston Bus Burning and Birmingham Riot

The initial legs of the trip were mostly uneventful for the Greyhound bus, and it continued southward, due to arrive in Birmingham on Mother’s Day, May 14, 1961. However, the bus ran into serious trouble in Anniston, Alabama. When the Greyhound bus arrived as scheduled in Anniston, it was met by an angry crowd of about 50 who yelled, “dirty communists” and “sieg heil!” while it slashed tires and broke windows in a 20-minute-long siege. Eventually the bus departed the station in search of safety, but members of the mob—such as Klansmen (none wearing hoods or robes) as well as other citizens, still in their Sunday best—trailed the damaged bus. A firebomb was thrown through the window, filling the bus with smoke and trapping many of the riders inside. A gas tank explosion momentarily broke up the crowd, allowing a few riders to escape out the door. Other frantic riders fled the bus through windows. Escape offered no relief from the threat of injury and death, as the Freedom Riders were summarily beaten with fists, chains, and bottles. Only a second fuel tank explosion and waning shots fired by a recently arrived highway patrolman put an end to the scene. The image of the smoldering bus has since become an iconic picture.

Meanwhile, the Trailways bus experienced trouble from the start. Before the bus left the station, several menacing Ku Klux Klansmen bought tickets and boarded. After boarding they harassed the Freedom Riders and demanded they sit in segregated seating. When the riders refused, the Klansmen attacked Charles Person and Herman Harris. These men were brutally beaten, along with James Peck and Walter Bergman, who came to their aid; all four were then dragged to the back of the bus and their near-lifeless bodies thrown over the seats as the bus continued on.

When the bus arrived in Birmingham, the four injured men had regained consciousness. Despite already suffering one attack, as bus captain of this leg Peck was first off the bus along with Person. At this time, the fate of the other bus was unknown and the men were unaware of the ambush that awaited them and the other Freedom Riders. Almost immediately a racist mob descended upon the Freedom Riders, with Peck and Person bearing almost unimaginable beatings. Other activists were also brutalized and beaten for more than 15 minutes before “help” arrived.

As prearranged with local police officers and officials, the Klansmen and white supremacists were to be left unbothered so they could enact their deadly mission. When later questioned about the lack of a police presence, Eugene (Bull) Connor, the commissioner of public safety in Birmingham, Alabama, replied that police officers were home celebrating Mother’s Day with their mothers.

Next Steps

After witnessing the violence and brutality of the events in Alabama some wondered if the Freedom Rides should be halted. However, others feared that ending the rides would legitimize mob rule and violence as viable tactics to maintain white supremacy and circumvent federal law. Among these was Diane Nash, a key organizer, who dispatched a new group of Freedom Riders to the south. A call was also issued to CORE, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to recruit more Freedom Riders and organize rides.

The next bus ride departed on May 20, 1961, with 21 Freedom Riders on board. This ride began differently; because of the preceding violence, Robert F. Kennedy did not ignore the Freedom Riders this time and negotiated with the governor of Alabama, James Patterson, to provide an escort. The pretense of protection was short-lived as the escorts abandoned the bus, leaving the riders to fall prey to the waiting, bloodthirsty mob. Many male and female activists were beaten with lead pipes, baseball bats, and Coke bottles in the savage attack, yet when medical help was summoned they learned that all the ambulances were broken down.

Meanwhile, FBI agents present at the scene took notes instead of intervening.

“Jail, No Bail”

Following three well-publicized bloody events, the Kennedy administration now turned its attention to preventing another violent, racial altercation. Robert F. Kennedy struck a deal with Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland with the purpose of preventing more photographs and mob violence in general. The Kennedy-Eastland agreement ensured the safety of Freedom Riders while on the bus, in exchange for the riders’ arrests upon arrival in Jackson, Mississippi. The plan went off without a hitch, and the arriving activists were booked on charges of “breach of peace.” Jackson, Mississippi, soon became a destination point for many Freedom Riders, and these activists were also arrested. By mid-September, close to 350 activists would be imprisoned in Mississippi “breach of peace” violations.

At this point the detained activists turned to a “jail, no bail” strategy taken straight from Gandhian teachings, opting to remain in jail. This method highlights the Freedom Riders’ principles of personal sacrifice and noncooperation with the institutions under attack in order to achieve social change. The local jails quickly overflowed and the riders were transferred to a maximum-security prison, Parchman Farm, where conditions proved to be inhumane. To keep up their resolve, the Freedom Riders sang freedom and protest songs from their cells, an act that enraged the prison guards. Others also engaged in a hunger strike.

The Role of the FBI

Under J. Edgar Hoover’s leadership the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) played a critical role in the civil rights movement, specifically in surveillance of activists and key leaders. Until events in the civil rights movement forced the issue, President Kennedy was reluctant to publicly support racial equality for fear he would alienate key southern supporters. Hoover was able to influence Kennedy and make a case for the need for surveillance of social activists. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, also supported FBI surveillance as a good strategy for managing the growing unrest.

In early 1961, President Kennedy sanctioned the FBI to spy on civil rights activists and collect

systematic surveillance on the Freedom Rides, including scheduled stops. Some of this information would wind up in the hands of the Birmingham police, some of whom were connected to the Klan and could have been dispatched to prevent the Anniston and Birmingham riots. Instead, police officials in both places remained conveniently absent from the scene as Klansman brutalized the riders.

Outcomes of the Freedom Rides

On May 29, 1961, Robert F. Kennedy petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to create and enforce national regulations guaranteeing the right of all individuals to travel without being subjected to discrimination. On September 21, 1961, the ICC banned segregation in all facilities that served interstate travelers, with the law taking full effect on November 1, 1961. While some forms of segregation would remain for another three years, these actions marked a huge achievement toward racial equality.

Forty years later, some 35 Freedom Riders, including four of the original 13, marked the 40th anniversary by retracing the route from Atlanta, Georgia, to Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery, Alabama. This time instead of angry mobs, the mayor of Anniston presented the Freedom Riders with a key to the city, and stops included a visit to Birmingham’s Civil Rights Institute. However, John Lewis, a former Freedom Rider and longtime member of the U.S. Congress, cautioned that American society still had much work to do.

Ten years later, in May 2011, President Barack Obama issued a presidential proclamation to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Freedom Rides. In this proclamation President Obama praised the Freedom Riders for their bravery and sacrifices in pursuit of the rights African Americans now enjoyed. Perhaps the Freedom Riders are best remembered as being a group of everyday, ordinary men and women from all walks of life who believed so strongly in the idea of racial equality and the right to live one’s life without discrimination that they risked their lives for the betterment of society.

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See Also: African Americans; Anti-Racist Education; Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Jim Crow Laws; Racism; Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; White Ethnics; White Supremacy.

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Freedom Schools

Freedom Schools were set up during the civil rights movement as a response to persistent racial injustices in education faced after the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954). The most significant creation of Freedom Schools occurred during Freedom Summer in 1964, when hundreds of northern activists collaborated with southern communities to run these schools in over 40 black towns and cities in Mississippi, educating more than 2,000 students.

Freedom Schools provided the communities they served with a free education while pursuing the dual purpose of politicizing the communities' thought and supplementing their standard public

schools. The legacy of Freedom Schools is today evident in a range of educational institutions from charter schools, which share their mission, to nonprofit organizations and national summer programs that aim to supplement the education of black students.

Education and Civil Rights

The 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision outlawed segregation in public schools, legally ending the "separate but equal" doctrine established decades prior in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court ruling. The *Brown* decision set off a wave of negative reactions from citizens opposed to its aim of racially mixed public schools throughout the United States. Freedom Schools in places like Prince Edward County, Virginia, were set up after local public school officials closed all schools from 1959 to 1964 rather than desegregate. Elsewhere, activists in cities such as Boston utilized Freedom Schools to protest public school segregation as over 10,000 black and white students in Boston staged "stay-outs" of Boston public schools in 1963 and 1964 to attend 34 Freedom Schools that had been set up throughout the city.

Mississippi was already at the center of the civil rights movement because of a number of major events that occurred there before Freedom Summer. In 1955, Mississippi was the site of Emmett Till's murder, in which the 14-year-old was brutally maimed and killed while visiting his uncle in Money, Mississippi. In 1962, the Mississippi National Guard had to be federalized and brought into Oxford, Mississippi, to quell a full-blown riot when James Meredith, a black man, was personally escorted by U.S. Department of Justice marshals and attorneys in order to register as the first black student at the University of Mississippi. In 1963, the murder of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Field Secretary Medgar Evers sent shock waves throughout the nation when he was gunned down by his boastful assassin, Byron de la Beckwith, as Evers arrived home to his family in Jackson, Mississippi, one June night.

All these events made Mississippi a focal point of the civil rights movement and the primary destination of organizers from the north who wanted to make a positive impact on racial progress. Organizations such as the NAACP, the Student

Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) planned a major undertaking scheduled for the summer of 1964, known as the Mississippi Summer Project, or Freedom Summer, in an effort to register as many black voters as possible in Mississippi after decades of systematic exclusion from the political process. Freedom Schools would become an integral part of this daunting and dangerous effort.

Schools Before Freedom Summer

Before Freedom Summer, a version of Freedom Schools was used in Mississippi in 1961 by the legendary activist, organizer, and educator Bob Moses. Moses and other SNCC workers set up classes that summer to prepare black citizens in McComb, Mississippi, to register to vote. A number of these students were subsequently expelled from their local high school and SNCC established Nonviolent High in order to instruct the students in subjects that they were missing.

The idea of Freedom Schools being used more broadly in Mississippi as part of Freedom Summer can be attributed to Charles Cobb, a SNCC worker who proposed the idea in December 1963. Staughton Lynd, a highly regarded white activist and professor at Spelman College, was selected to direct the Freedom Schools. He chose a black codirector, Harold Bardonille, who was a graduate student in sociology at Atlanta University. Bardonille visited Mississippi in the months before Freedom Summer and promptly quit the project, believing that the activists' lives would be in danger if they went forward. Lynd, however, persisted.

In March 1964, a curriculum conference was held in New York City, which brought together over 50 educators. The conference predominantly dealt with several critical questions: Why were conference participants working in Freedom Schools? What was the Freedom Movement? What did the majority culture have that African Americans wanted or did not want? And what did African Americans have that they wanted to keep? Curriculum-writing groups were set up under the categories of leadership training, remedial academics, contemporary issues, and nonacademic activities. From these categories came the three

sections of the Freedom Schools' curriculum: the academic curriculum, citizenship curriculum, and recreation curriculum.

In June 1964, a weeklong orientation for the 280 volunteers who would serve as Freedom School teachers was held in Oxford, Ohio, at Western College for Women (now part of Miami University of Ohio). The orientation had multiple parts, including discussions of the political and economic conditions of Mississippi, the segregated system of education in the state, and instructional techniques meant to open the minds of their students to the curriculum being offered. Significant time was also spent counseling teachers on the struggles and dangers associated with their work.

The disappearance of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner heightened fears when the three civil rights workers were later found to have been killed while investigating a Ku Klux Klan arson of an African American church that had agreed to host a Freedom School classroom. Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner were previously in attendance at the Ohio orientation.

Freedom Schools in Practice

The first group of Freedom School teachers began arriving in Mississippi at the end of June 1964. While canvassing for students proved to be an integral part of the teacher experience, the schools were much more successful than anticipated. Although expecting to establish only 21 schools for 1,000 students, over 40 schools were created for more than 2,000 Mississippians. The target group was originally intended to be 10th- and 11th-graders, but students as young as four ended up attending classes, sometimes sitting with elderly members of their community who also sought the instruction of Freedom Schools.

As demonstrated by the murders of Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner, the location of Freedom Schools was a point of contention in local communities. It was not uncommon for a pastor of a black church that had previously offered space to host a Freedom School to rescind permission because of local dangers. Thus, Freedom School classes were held in a variety of nonstandard locations, including parks, residential homes, under trees, and in boldly sympathetic churches.



Freedom School scholars cheer in preparation for painting display panels for a 900-foot walkway at the new Martin Luther King, Jr. Hospital in Los Angeles, California, August 2011. The student artists were drawn from several Freedom Schools, a six-week summer literacy program in the Second District of Los Angeles County. As part of the curriculum, Freedom School students illustrate their comprehension through arts, crafts, dance, sports, and music; read books; go on field trips; and engage in community service. In 1963, activist Charles Cobb proposed a network of Freedom Schools, the legacy of which is seen in a variety of contexts today.

Freedom Schools in Mississippi opened in the first week of July 1964. They bore some similarities to public schools but for the most part were dramatically different. Freedom School classes were organized to give each student a voice in discussions and to minimize, if not completely remove, the role of the teacher as the primary controlling force in the learning process and classroom context. Additionally, the work of the professional educators at the New York curriculum conference in March was dramatically modified once Freedom School teachers reached their sites. Thus, the curriculum became much more adaptive to local conditions and the intellectual desires of students.

In August a culminating conference was held in Meridian, Mississippi, the day after the funeral of Chaney, a Meridian native and resident. Three student representatives and a coordinator were sent to the conference from every Freedom School site. At the same time as the conference, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was holding a convention in Jackson. Despite being excluded from the Jackson meeting, participants at the Meridian conference exercised the knowledge and

skills they learned during the Freedom Schools sessions in July to develop a political platform to be presented to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the state of Mississippi, and the nation as a whole. This was perceived to be the major achievement of the Freedom Schools: empowering local blacks to be organized, knowledgeable, and vocal in the political arena.

Local and National Impact

The impact of the Freedom Schools was widely felt. Local residents in the communities where Freedom Schools operated were positively impacted as self-advocacy skills were coupled with major federal civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965. This gave a voice to a large segment of the Mississippi populace that was previously silenced politically and enabled the emergence of black elected officials in many of the state's majority black towns, cities, and counties.

Many local organizations were set up in the wake of the Freedom Schools, ceasing widespread operation after the Meridian convention. One such organization was the Mississippi Student

Union, a group of teenagers, which, while established prior to Freedom Summer, worked afterward to continue to support the aims of the Freedom Schools. The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union was established in January 1965 at a Freedom School discussion and was comprised of day laborers and domestic workers.

Finally, a number of schools used the Freedom Schools model as their guide after the summer of 1964. One such school was founded in New Haven, Connecticut, by Staughton Lynd himself. During the summer of 1965, Freedom Schools were set up throughout Mississippi, but at no time did they reach as many students in as many communities as they did during the summer of 1964.

Legacy and Influence Today

The legacy of Freedom Schools can be seen in a variety of contexts today. One such context is the range of summer and year-round programs that bear the “freedom school” name or model their practices or purpose after the Freedom Schools of the 1960s. These cover a wide range of educational offerings and geographic locations spanning from coastal areas such as Los Angeles and Philadelphia to the U.S. heartland in St. Louis and Chicago. Perhaps the most prominent national Freedom Schools program comes from the Children’s Defense Fund, which in 1992 established a national model for people interested in founding and operating Freedom Schools.

A second marker of the influence of Freedom Schools can be seen in the original intent of the charter school movement, in which local communities were given the ability to run more scholastically innovative and flexibly operated schools. These schools, like the Freedom Schools of Mississippi, were meant to provide an alternative to the substandard schools most students were forced to attend. A number of major charter school operators, such as the Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP) network and the Uncommon Schools network, link their work to social justice pursuits that regard educational inequities as the major civil rights issue of the day, explicitly linking a quality education with freedom. The impact of Freedom Schools continues through these and other means.

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See Also: African Americans; Anti-Racist Education; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Civil Rights Movement; Curricular Integration; Educational Achievement; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Race; Racism; Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

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French Americans

French Americans are one of the oldest ethnic groups in American society, having progressively formed an identity since their first arrival in America in the 16th century. Today, according to the 2010 U.S. Census, 9.3 million Americans report being of French ancestry, while only 152,000 U.S. residents were born in France. Although not one of the most culturally visible or demographically significant of the American groups, French Americans have developed a unique culture, shaped by a prolonged history of immigration.

Despite a relatively small number of immigrants in comparison with other groups, the French have had a disproportionately large impact on American society and have played a crucial role in American history from the earliest colonial stages. However, French Americans remain one of the least documented American ethnic groups: few works have been devoted to the group, and most amalgamate French Canadian ancestry with

French ancestry. This is further complicated by the fact that early migration patterns are not always easily categorized—such is the case of the Cajuns, the Acadians who left France to settle in the area that is now part of both present-day Maine and Quebec, and then migrated south to Louisiana. French Americans are defined here through the more direct path of American residents of French ancestry and their descendants; for more details on Canadian Americans, see the related article.

While the group can sometimes be explained through waves of immigrants fleeing sporadic religious, political, or economic hardship in France—as was the case for the Huguenots under the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the émigré of the French revolution, or the 19th century French fleeing rural hardships—it can more generally be understood as a heterogeneous migration of individuals, trying their luck in varied pursuits in America. Consequently, members of the group frequently assimilated culturally, and the group is relatively heterogeneous.

Geographically, French Americans are dispersed throughout the United States. Early French migrants have traditionally settled in northeastern regions of New England, as well as in Louisiana; both regions still have well-established French American communities. Newly arrived migrants, however, settle largely in urban areas, particularly in New York or California.

Early Exploration

The first published appearance of the term *America* was in France in 1507, in a cartographer's treatise written in Saint-Dié-des-Vosges. Yet the French experience in America formally began with Verranzo's 1524 exploration of the eastern coast for French King Francois I. Under commission from Francois I, Jacques Cartier then penetrated the continent through the Saint Lawrence River on his second voyage. In the area comprising the present-day United States, French colonies were established at Charlesfort, South Carolina, in 1562, and Fort Caroline, Florida, in 1564. However, early settlement of the continent proved ill-fated as the colonies were abandoned because of poor internal leadership, lack of supplies from France, or conquest by other European powers. Some security was brought when Louis XIV recognized New France as a royal province in 1663.

The subsequent colonial infrastructure, although relatively minimal, allowed for more reliance on the fur trade managed by the *coureurs des bois* and the *voyageurs*, this in turn profited French interests by pushing the frontier westward and southward.

French Jesuits represented a powerful religious and politico-cultural force in the early French exploration, settlement, and colonization of North America. The Jesuits succeeded, albeit with only temporary success, to infiltrate the Native American tribes, to convert them to Catholicism and their allegiance to France. The earliest missions, between 1609 and 1625, were established in the northernmost regions of New France: Acadia, the Great Lakes, and the banks of the Saint Lawrence River. By the second half of the 17th century, however, relatively stable French Jesuit missions operated in Illinois and Wisconsin. The success of the French Jesuits may be attributed to their recognition of the tribal customs and understanding of Native American communities, an approach that contrasted strikingly with that of the English or the Spanish. Jesuit missionary Jean de Brébeuf, for instance, recommended that the French missionaries dress and eat as the Native Americans, and missionaries commonly learned the native languages, extended their diplomatic efforts to manage intertribal conflicts, and familiarized themselves with social matters. Far from viewing them as savages, the French approached the Native Americans as lost souls seeking, first, salvation and, second, subsequent cultural assimilation into French societal values. In exchange, Native Americans sought the benefits of allegiance to France—an allegiance that would help consolidate the territorial claims of France and the further settlement of New France.

Religious Emigration

The uprooting of the French Protestant community by the *ancien régime* created a Huguenot diaspora, which was partly present in North America. The royal intolerance of Protestantism, which had already displayed itself by 1610 under the influence of Cardinal Richelieu, was greatly amplified during the reign of Louis XIV. In 1685, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes of 1598. The revocation severely restricted protestant religious freedoms and had the intended effect of

dramatically reducing the presence of Protestantism in France. The policies limiting Protestant institutions, including temples and schools, combined with a campaign of violence that was perpetrated by the royal *dragonnades*, forced many Protestants to either convert under duress or seek exile in both the Old and New World. Among the destinations for emigrating Protestants in the Americas were New York, New Rochelle, New Paltz, Salem, Virginia, and South Carolina.

The number of French immigrants to America who fled religious persecution is unknown and is contested among 20th century historians. Jon Butler's *The Huguenots in America* consolidates multiple primary sources including census figures and naturalization lists to estimate that the number of Huguenots who immigrated by 1700 was in the realm of 1,500 to 2,000. Similarly contested is the rate of assimilation of the Huguenots into New World society. While many southern French Huguenots immigrated to French America, others immigrated to the English or Dutch colonies. Thus, in 1658, some northern French settled in Dutch Kingston, while others settled in Staten Island or Salem. Butler advances the thesis that the Huguenots integrated their colonial communities with a fair degree of detachment from their immigrant peers.

There was no strong or centralized form of worship or strongly organized New World French Protestant institutions. The immigrants intermarried and, by the mid-18th century, many second- or third-generation immigrants had assimilated into Catholicism. Contrary to this view, Robin Gwynn's *Huguenot Heritage* and Catherine Randall's *From a Far Country* propose that the Huguenots either assimilated slowly or that they never assimilated, respectively. The later view supposes that the French Protestant influence on both colonial and postrevolution America is highly significant.

From the social, political, and theological history of French Protestant immigration can be traced the Protestant work ethic and the potential for self-reinvention. The genealogy of some of the individuals who have shaped U.S. history can be linked to early French Americans: Martha Washington, Paul Revere, and Alexander Hamilton are all descendants of this wave of French immigration.

The Politics of Empire

Political developments, in both France and its empire, can be seen as having principally motivated French emigration from the end of the 18th century to the mid-19th century. Periodic immigration during this period should be considered simultaneously to the larger colonial context of territorial gains and losses, with their macro- and microeconomic and political causes and consequences. Although, on the whole, French immigration is rarely divided into waves due to the relatively minor magnitude of its collective phenomenon and the independent nature of its individual immigrants, four periods of 18th and 19th century political instability can nonetheless be seen as having promoted French immigration to America and the continuous formation of the French American identity.

First, the French Revolution encouraged noblemen, *les émigrés*, to flee the guillotines and seek refuge in the New World. Second, the 1791 slave revolt in Saint Domingue, in which the white population found itself outnumbered ten-to-one by slaves, as well as the independence of Haiti, forced thousands of surviving French plantation owners to flee to Louisiana and Cuba. Third, Napoleon's conquest of Spain, which led to anti-French riots across the Spanish world, instigated the emigration of 2,500 whites and 5,000 blacks from Cuba to New Orleans in 1809. Finally, the unrest of the Bourbon Restoration motivated both immigration and emigration between the United States and France.

By 1763 the extent of France's colonial possessions in the Western Hemisphere had largely diminished. The loss of Louisiana to Spain with the 1762 Treaty of Fontainebleau and the transfer of Acadia, Canada, and Cape Breton to England with the 1763 Treaty of Paris marked the loosening of the colonial grasp of France in the New World. Yet the French presence in America was sustained by immigration responding to political instability abroad, and the sometimes forced, sometimes voluntary, integration of immigrants into a heterogeneous French America.

Nineteenth-Century Immigration

Before 1819, precise figures regarding immigration of the French to the United States are almost nonexistent. It was only in 1819 that a law forced

ship captains to provide their passenger records at the port of arrival. Additionally, it was not until 1908 that returns were taken into account in the estimates, skewing figures particularly for small groups like the French.

Despite the lack of formal immigration records, it is possible to establish that a great wave of emigration from France occurred between 1817 and 1818, a few years after the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte. At the time, demographic pressures, particularly the overpopulation of French rural areas and the scarcity of resources, forced many Frenchmen to leave their homeland and seek opportunities abroad. When large cities could no longer absorb the incoming population, due to a slowing industrial sector, some decided to emigrate from France and, while most tried their luck in the French colonies, some left for the United States. Furthermore, regional policy may have lessened national ties and encouraged emigration: some regions such as the Basque country, the Pays de Caux (now the Havre), Aveyron, and Champ-saur still practiced a custom of impartial inheritance, contrary to the rest of the county, where inheritance was shared equally among the children. Consequently, younger siblings in the family were more likely to emigrate than the elder child who may have been managing family estates.

To these domestic conditions were added international conditions that promoted immigration toward the United States. During the French Revolution of 1848, which established Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (or Napoleon III) as head of the Second Republic, many Frenchmen decided to leave, not only in order to avoid the economic crisis in France but principally to seek their luck in the California Gold Rush. French immigration to the United States also occurred at the beginning of the 1870s, when France lost the Alsace and Lorraine regions in the Prussian war. A large number of people chose to leave the regions in order to avoid Prussian rule. While most fled to the neighboring regions, the French colonies, or to Paris, a sizeable number of Alsacians, principally Jews, chose to immigrate to the United States.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, French-born U.S. residents increased from 54,069 in 1850, to 109,870 in 1860, and 116,402 in 1870; more than doubling the number of French-born

residents in 20 years, and this in spite of returns. Between 1820 and 1870, an estimated 245,812 French citizens arrived in the United States, but many returned to France. Emigration slowed during the last two decades of the century and was characterized mainly by individual initiatives. The number of French emigrants remained constant during the remainder of the 19th century, reaching 104,197 by 1900. Until the 1850s, migrants arrived from many regions of France but became more urban and politically motivated after 1848. By the end of the century, they were more rural, came from a more limited number of regions, and had interests that were more characteristic of their region of origin.

The Twentieth Century and Beyond

Although a sizable French American community was established by 1900, counting 104,197 individuals according to the 1900 census, the group's growth and cohesion would be limited by the series of wars fought by France. World War I strongly reduced French immigration, to the point that Basque immigration almost completely stopped. Following the war, French emigration was discouraged as the reconstruction created a great demand for labor in France that was satisfied only with great difficulty, due to the human loss from the war and a decrease in population growth that France had been experiencing since the 19th century. By the time that the French reconstruction had almost been completed, the United States limited immigration from France through the Immigration Act of 1924, by which only 3,000 French immigrants were allowed per year. World War II, however, saw an increase in French immigrants seeking a safe haven from the rise of Nazism in Europe.

Although France did not experience as much of a brain drain toward the United States as did England, the 20th century did see many notable intellectual, artistic, and entrepreneurial additions to the French American group. Among these, one can count the sculptor Gaston Lachaise, musician Edgar Varese, designer Raymond Loewy, painter Amedee Ozenfant, as well as multiple Nobel Prize winners.

Cultural consciousness was stimulated by a series of diplomatic crises between the United States and France. The unpopularity of the

Vietnam War and, to a lesser extent, President Charles de Gaulle's commentary on North American politics in the 1960s, as well as the 2003 Iraq War, brought into question the allegiances, sensitivities, and identity of the French Americans as a group that is distinct from the French and the Americans. The strengthening of the French American identity was particularly evident during the first half of the 20th century, during which bilingual elementary schools, Catholic institutions, and various other social grassroots organizations were formed. The awareness of the group became less pronounced during the second half of the 20th century, however, as many French American institutions closed and the impact of the French language in the United States trailed behind Spanish because of Hispanic immigration.

By the end of the 20th century, French Americans continued to form a group of relatively similar size to that at the start of the century. The 1980 census found that 120,000 French Americans lived in the United States, largely in urban areas, particularly in California and New York.

Contributions and the Contemporary Scene

Following the Guizot Law of 1833 and the Jules Ferry Laws of 1881 and 1882, which made secular primary education accessible to all French citizens for free, French emigrants were generally educated, making their assimilation into American society relatively smooth and swift. Today, French Americans tend to be wealthier and better educated than the average American population. For instance, in 2010, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, less than 8.4 percent of the French American population did not complete high school, compared to 14.4 percent for the national average, and 33.3 percent of French Americans had some college education, compared to 28.9 percent for the national average. In the same year, they had a median household income of \$52,483, compared to \$50,046 for the average population.

Although French Americans have settled in every state of the United States, newer immigrants have generally settled in regions other than the traditional French American bastions. According to the 2010 census, French Americans born in France reside principally in the District of Columbia (17.4 percent), followed by Florida (6.8 percent), New Jersey (6.5 percent), California (6.4

percent), Hawai'i (6.2 percent), Maryland (5.4 percent), and New York (5.3 percent). A similarly large proportion of this group resides in Puerto Rico (17.7 percent). These choices in destination contrast strongly with the traditional areas of French immigration. Nonetheless, French Americans continue to account for a significant proportion of population of these historical regions: Louisiana (15.1 percent), Maine (17 percent), New Hampshire (16.5 percent), Vermont (15.5 percent), Rhode Island (12.5 percent), Massachusetts (8.4 percent), and Connecticut (6.4 percent). Despite these geographical concentrations, however, French Americans are, on the whole, dispersed throughout the United States: 25 percent are in the northeast, 23 percent are in the midwest, 33 percent are in the south, and 20 percent are in the west.

Continued Influence of French Americans

Culturally, French Americans have maintained their influence through organizations and grassroots associations despite relatively minor immigration from France. In order to keep in touch with developments in the old country and to provide local news adapted to their audience, a number of French American newspapers have appeared in the United States. As early as the 18th century, periodicals such as the *Courier de Boston* and Philadelphia's *Courier de l'Amérique* appeared. Other newspapers were soon published: *Le Courier des Etats-Unis* in New York, *L'Echo de l'Ouest* in San Francisco, *L'Union Nouvelle* in Los Angeles, and *L'Amérique* in Chicago. The 19th century saw the creation of multiple French American publications, particularly in Massachusetts and Louisiana. In 1889, the *New York Times* started publishing a weekly paper *Le Nouveau Monde*.

From the 19th century to the present day, French Americans have formed organizations that have attracted both French intellectuals and American Francophiles. In the United States, it became *de bon goût* to be able to speak and read French, as familiarity with post-Enlightenment French thinkers and philosophers was highly regarded. A notable example is the Alliance Française, which was established in several cities, including San Francisco in 1889, Chicago in 1897, and New York City in 1907. The organization now

promotes French culture and language through over 100 chapters in 45 states. The 2010 census reports that there are currently over 1.3 million U.S. residents who report speaking French at home.

The cultural impact of the French Americans has been much larger than could perhaps have been expected from their group size. The founding of cities, from St. Louis to New Orleans to Boise, can be attributed to French American history. As a group, French Americans have helped shape American society by contributing savoir-faire and expertise in numerous domains, from agriculture and trade, to medicine and art. They have influenced American life by bringing French food, fashion, and also the language itself to the United States. At the same time, through the varied backgrounds of their immigrants as well as the identity crises raised by the occasional diplomatic conflict, they have developed a cohesive French American identity.

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See Also: Cajuns; European Americans; French and Indian War; French-Canadian Americans; Immigration Acts.

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French and Indian War

Fought from 1754 to 1763, the French and Indian War—known to some Canadians as the War of Conquest—was the North American component of a global conflict known as the Seven Years' War and involved members of French, Canadian, British, Anglo-American, and Native American societies. The Treaty of Paris ended the war in 1763, recasting North America's geopolitical scene and impacting the continent's cultural milieu.

The Seven Years' War reflected the growing imperial rivalry between Protestant Britain and Catholic France. In an ongoing series of conflicts, British nationalists critiqued French culture as inferior and corrupting and called on Britain to protect the safety and prosperity of overseas Britons. British and French commercial ambitions overlapped in the Ohio Country, where diverse interests competed. Tribes such as the Shawnee, Delaware, and Seneca had migrated to the area to escape Iroquois control, trading with New France and Pennsylvania while warding off speculators and squatters from Virginia. French forts constructed in 1753 and 1754 to link Canada and Louisiana and to supply Indian allies seemed to threaten Britain's coastal colonies. The Iroquois Confederacy also sought control of the region, hoping to reassert its dominance over former dependents and influence relations between European powers.

France and Britain mobilized in 1754 after a small Virginia force under George Washington, sent to evict the French from Ohio, instead surrendered to combined French and Indian forces. Britain's first official expedition fared even worse, General Edward Braddock's army suffering defeat by a smaller force utilizing Indian tactics and intelligence. Early French success relied on such alliances, Indian warriors attacking British backcountry settlements, while a 1756 French offensive captured several British forts.

Native American Support Diminishes

As independent allies rather than subjects, Native Americans pursued their own goals. Their support of the French wavered as gifts and trade diminished because of rising war costs and a successful British naval blockade, and as British officials recruited Indian allies. Ohio Indians deprived of

French goods turned to the British, while the formerly neutral Iroquois Confederacy shifted its support to the British in hope of maintaining its power over increasingly autonomous Ohio tribes. Conversely, the Cherokee ultimately withdrew their support from the British, despite committing 700 warriors to join British forces in 1758. Returning to find their territory invaded by British squatters and poachers, and themselves mistaken for enemies and attacked, the warriors retaliated, and war with South Carolina followed.

Wartime cooperation aside, the British and Anglo-American colonists hardly presented a unified front, localism and economic ventures pitting colonies against each other. Many British officials viewed colonial support as self-interested and dismissed American contributions to the war, but colonists comprised nearly half of Britain's 45,000 troops by 1758. The French, their 6,800 regular and 2,700 provincial soldiers outnumbered and their Native American allies dwindling, suffered a major defeat at Louisbourg in 1758 and lost Quebec in

1759. By 1760, three British armies converged on Montreal, forcing New France's surrender.

The war concluded in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris. In North America, Britain acquired France's claims to Canada and lands east of the Mississippi River, as well as Spanish Florida, while Spain received New Orleans and Louisiana.

Immense consequences followed for Native Americans excluded from negotiations. British officials treated even Native allies as conquered peoples, while traders and squatters seized on the peace to invade Indian lands. Nativist chiefs and religious prophets embraced a pan-Indian identity, arguing that Indians and whites had been created separately, and calling for the rejection of European culture and resistance to colonial expansion. By 1763 the local grievances of diverse Indian peoples culminated in Pontiac's Rebellion, a series of attacks on British forts and frontier settlements that forced the British to resume diplomatic gift-giving and attempt to control Anglo-American trade and settlement.



A late 1880s engraving depicts Louis-Joseph Montcalm de Saint-Véran trying to stop Native Americans from attacking British soldiers and civilians as they escape the garrison after the Battle of Fort William Henry on August 10, 1757, near Lake George, New York. To supplement his 7,000 troops, Montcalm, a French field commander, recruited about 1,800 Indian allies to besiege the fort, but they proved difficult to control and wound up attacking the British, killing and capturing several hundred men, women, children, and slaves.

For French colonists scattered between Canada and Louisiana, the official exchange of territory meant little. Often tied to Native American communities through marriage and residence, most remained in North America. Many leveraged their personal connections and experience with interior Indian tribes to fill positions in the British fur trade and in the diplomacy of the Spanish borderlands. Some departed for France or its colonies, but others moved to Spanish Louisiana, including St. Louis and New Orleans, and remained there when the United States acquired the territory in 1803.

Anglo-Americans, meanwhile, understood the victory to open new territories to settlement and trade. Separate colonies reverted to their independent ways, chafing against new taxes, restrictions on expansion and trade, and British garrisons they felt threatened their freedoms. Additionally, many Anglo-Americans felt betrayed by a British government determined to accommodate its new francophone residents and Native Americans, their displeasure helping shape a distinctly American cultural identity in the pre-Revolutionary years. Fear of raids and cultural differences often dissuaded Anglo-Americans from distinguishing between friendly and belligerent Native Americans, particularly on the frontier. In late 1763, the vigilante Paxton Boys attacked the Conestoga Indians on their Pennsylvania reservation, destroying farms and cabins before pursuing and killing the survivors. The incident reflected widespread Anglo-American attitudes that identified Indians as racially and culturally inferior.

Shifting geopolitical boundaries did not immediately recast North America's cultural makeup, as evidenced by the 8,761,496 respondents claiming French ancestry, and 2,042,808 claiming French-Canadian ancestry, on the 2010 U.S. Census. More significant was the war's influence on developing cultural identities, in particular, diverse Native Americans' embrace of pan-Indianism and Anglo-American colonists' articulation of an American rather than British identity. Each group claimed exclusive rights to control North America, marking the central issue of subsequent Indian-white relations.

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See Also: Anglos; French Americans; French Canadian Americans; Iroquois Confederacy; Native Americans; Pan-Indianism.

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French Canadian Americans

Nearly one million French Canadians immigrated to the United States from 1840 to 1930. They settled primarily in the northeastern United States, and their descendants today form the region's large ethnic population known commonly as Franco Americans. French-speaking Catholic immigrants from Canada not only helped diversify Anglo-Protestant New England and New York, but they also assisted in the industrialization of the country and in its development of social, welfare, and credit institutions, among other contributions. Until the middle of the 20th century, French Canadian Americans successfully fostered an intertwined identity that was ethnic and American.

Most French Canadians immigrated to the United States from the Province of Quebec, a province that has preserved its language and culture since the colonial era. French explorer Jacques Cartier claimed northern North America for France as the result of several voyages from 1534 to 1542. Not until Samuel de Champlain established an agricultural colony in Acadia (today's Nova Scotia) in 1604 and a permanent

settlement at Quebec in 1608 did French speakers migrate to North America. French explorers and fur traders as well as Catholic missionaries ventured far into the interior of the continent, establishing outposts on the Great Lakes and along the Mississippi River as far south as New Orleans. Nearly all migrants from France were Catholic, and most settled along the St. Lawrence River.

An imperial war between Britain and France, known in North America as the French and Indian War, resulted in the conquest of New France in 1760. Under British rule, French Catholics in North America lost their connection to France. The Quebec Act of 1774, a British security measure viewed as one of the Intolerable Acts by the American colonists, helped ensure the continuation of French Catholic lifeways while effectively preventing French Canadians from joining the American Revolution. The British North America Act of 1867, establishing the Dominion of Canada, provided French speakers with their own province, Quebec, within which they have since functioned as a nation within the nation-state of Canada and within which they have effectively preserved their language and culture.

During the 19th century, prior to 1840, most migrations of French Canadians to the United States constituted seasonal migrations for employment in agricultural, lumbering, and brick-making industries. A lack of access to arable farmland, resulting from natural population growth and landholding patterns, considerable unemployment, and the slower pace of industrialization in Quebec motivated more permanent migrations from the 1840s, and especially from the 1860s to 1930, after which date the United States imposed immigration restrictions on Canadians. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, French-speaking Catholics migrated with family and friends in a chain migration to northeastern manufacturing centers such as Woonsocket, Rhode Island; Manchester, New Hampshire; Lewiston, Maine; Fall River, Massachusetts; and Cohoes, New York. Succeeding the Irish as the predominant source of unskilled labor after the Civil War, they sought waged work in textile mills and shoe factories and contributed to the industrialization of the country.

French Canadian Americans comprised as much as 60 to 70 percent of the population of

some northeastern cities by 1930. They formed ethnic communities called *petits Canadas* (little Canadas) with their own national churches and parish schools in order to preserve their French language, Roman Catholic faith, and French Canadian customs. They drew upon models, inspiration, and even personnel from Quebec to found their own newspapers, to create their own mutual aid societies, and to develop their own social welfare institutions, such as hospitals, orphanages, and old-age homes. French Canadian Americans launched the credit union movement in the United States by establishing in 1908 the first credit union in the country at Saint Marie parish in Manchester, New Hampshire, making a significant, though little-known, contribution to their host society.

Repatriation and colonization efforts on the part of the federal government of Canada and the provincial government of Quebec proved unsuccessful in motivating significant numbers of French Canadians to return to their country of origin. Naturalization campaigns organized by French Canadian elites who wanted their ethnic group to enjoy a proportionate share of power and resources in their communities effectively countered the repatriation efforts by homeland governments. French speakers in the northeastern United States nonetheless maintained close ties with their kin and kith in Quebec, often traveling to their cultural home during factory closings and vacations, to celebrate the feast day of Saint-Jean-Baptiste (the patron saint of French Canadians), to make pilgrimages to the shrine of Sainte-Anne-Beaupré, and to send their sons to the classical schools of Quebec. An integrated railway network facilitated not only their initial migration to the United States but also their return visits to Canada. These contacts with Quebec helped families to preserve their language and traditions, often beyond the third generation in the United States.

Facing Discrimination

In large part because they successfully preserved their ethnicity, French Canadian immigrants and their Franco American descendants faced considerable discrimination by nativists in the United States. The Massachusetts Commissioner of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor labeled them the “Chinese of the eastern states” in 1881, and

they became targets of the anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant organizations of the American Protective Association in the 1880s and 1890s and of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. They also faced discrimination from their Irish coreligionists, who promoted assimilation, and they consequently engaged in heated disputes with the Irish Catholic hierarchy, most notably in Maine and Rhode Island.

Individuals of French Canadian birth and background wanted to become integrated but not assimilated into U.S. society. To demonstrate their Americanness, they began calling themselves “Franco Americans” around the turn of the 20th century; moreover, they learned English, became naturalized U.S. citizens, and voted. While Franco Americans enjoyed considerable success in municipal and state politics, they often did not exercise influence in statewide elections proportional to their numbers for most of the 19th and 20th centuries, a phenomenon that continues to puzzle scholars. In one notable exception, French Canadian Americans gained sufficient political strength to elect Quebec-born Aram J. Pothier governor of Rhode Island from 1909 to 1915 and again from 1925 to his death in 1928.

Numerous individual French Canadian Americans have made significant contributions to the business, sports, and cultural life of the nation, among other domains. In the early 20th century, William E. Aubuchon launched hardware stores in the northeastern states that formed one of the country’s largest chains. A major league second baseman, Napoleon Lajoie joined the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1937. Rudy Vallee, a singer and orchestra leader, gained his national reputation for radio, film, and Broadway performances from the 1920s to the 1960s. Novelist Jack Kerouac, still widely known and read, helped launch the countercultural beat generation in the mid-20th century. Author Grace (DeRepentigny) Metalious shocked and titillated the public with *Peyton Place*, her best-selling 1956 book that became a motion picture the following year and a long-running television series in the 1960s.

Over the course of the 20th century, French speakers of the northeastern United States increasingly abandoned their ethnic ties and became more integrated into U.S. society. The closing of textile mills and shoe factories from the 1950s

propelled many Franco Americans from industrial jobs where they often spoke French into service industries that required more fluency in the English language and more contact with non-Catholics; increasing numbers thus enjoyed some measure of upward occupational mobility. Due in large part to past discrimination suffered by parents, in many homes children became unilingual English speakers.

The advent of television, increasing intermarriage with non-Franco Americans, the closing of parish schools as religious women chose to serve in other ministries following Vatican II, and suburbanization that led to Franco Americans’ mixing with other ethnic groups as they left their inner-city ethnic communities also facilitated their integration. Today, while most Franco Americans appear to be assimilated Americans, there remain examples of French Canadian ethnicity in various cities of the northeastern United States, such as Lewiston, Maine, where one can still attend a French mass and participate in the annual Festival Franco-Fun.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Cajuns; European Americans; French Americans; French and Indian War; Mutual Aid Societies.

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Fugitive Slave Acts

The U.S. Constitution was created by people who were influenced by the times in which they lived. One of the most divisive issues at the Constitutional Convention was the question of slavery, yet it could not be easily avoided. Since the economy of six of the original 13 states was deeply dependent on slave labor to work large commercial plantations, none of these states would vote for a constitution that prohibited the practice. Similarly, if the new constitution legitimized slavery, the other states would probably vote against it. Either way, there would be no government.

In the resulting compromise, the final document did not include the word *slavery* at all. But there were matters related to slavery that, in some form or other, had to be addressed. One of these was the apprehension of runaway slaves.

The purchase of a slave was a costly acquisition. Owners wished to protect themselves against this financial loss. Consequently, without mentioning the word *slave*, Article IV, Section 2, of the original U.S. Constitution contained the following provision:

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Everyone knew who the “persons held to labor” were.

Fugitive Slave Act of 1793

Although the Constitution thus protected slave owners against the loss of their workers, the provision did not specify any particular process to assure its enforcement. This was particularly important for slave owners whose property was in states adjoining free states, where escape north was easier, or for those traveling in the free states who wished to take their slaves with them. This, of course, included the president, members of Congress, and other government officials whose duties required them to be in free states. The

answer was the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, which was designed to make sure that owners could recover their slaves in any state regardless of local or state laws. Section 3 of the law stated that the owner or the owner’s agent could apprehend any suspected fugitive and bring him or her before an appropriate federal, state, or local court. There, upon presentation of oral testimony or written evidence that the person in custody was in fact a fugitive, the presiding court official was required to provide a written certification that would allow the owner or agent to return the fugitive to the state or territory from which the fugitive originally fled. This provided the legal process by which fugitives could be apprehended, identified, and returned.

As a means of enforcement, Section 4 of the act provided that anyone interfering with the process, attempting to conceal or rescue a fugitive, or obstructing the owner or agent in apprehending a fugitive would be fined \$500, then the equivalent of about twice the annual income of the average worker. The act was signed into law by President George Washington, who himself tried on two occasions to use its provisions to reclaim an escaped slave who was his servant while he was in Philadelphia.

Although Washington’s efforts were not successful, slave catching grew into such a profitable enterprise that not even legally free black people were safe. Since black people could not offer testimony in the courts, there are recorded instances of free people being sent into slavery when they could not provide proof they were legally free.

As the antislavery movement began to spread during the 1820s, northern free states increasingly made attempts to circumvent the 1793 law. In eight states this took the form of “personal liberty” laws that required a trial by jury before accused fugitives could be sent out of state. The purpose of this was to give sympathetic local juries an opportunity to declare the accused to be free and thus not subject to return, even in cases in which the accused was in reality a fugitive.

An important test case occurred in Pennsylvania where a slave catcher named Edward Prigg was convicted of violating state law by apprehending a woman within the state and taking her to slavery in Maryland. In 1842 in *Prigg*

v. Pennsylvania, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the state court verdict on the grounds that the Constitution and federal law superseded any state law to the contrary. Yet, in rendering the verdict, Justice Joseph Story noted that state officials might exercise their authority to apprehend fugitives “unless prohibited by state legislation.” This phrase seemed to indicate that states might not be required to offer assistance in the search for or apprehension of fugitives. Some free states immediately began to enact laws prohibiting state and local officials from assisting slave hunters or using public jails to hold those accused of being fugitives. The result was that slave owners faced increasing difficulty in locating and reclaiming fugitives. Southerners grew increasingly angry.

The whole issue of slavery gained national attention whenever a territory applied for admission as a new state. Would it be free or slave? The question was one of great political importance because by the 1840s the nation was evenly divided, which meant parity in the U.S. Senate. That equality was threatened following the war against Mexico, which began in 1846. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States acquired immense territories in the southwest, including California, which already had a population sufficient in number to apply for statehood.

There was little doubt that it would enter as a free state because under Mexican ownership, slavery had been prohibited. But before this could happen, the south would have to receive some significant benefit in return for giving the north two more votes in the Senate.

The result was the Compromise of 1850, which provided for the admission of California as a free state and elimination of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, both of which appealed to antislavery advocates. Southern proslavery backers were placated with provisions that Congress had no authority to interfere with the interstate slave trade, the United States would assume the debts of Texas from the time before it became a state, the process of “popular sovereignty” would be used for the admission of other states in the area obtained from Mexico, and especially a stipulation that called for new and stricter fugitive slave laws.

Fugitive Slave Act of 1850

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was designed to force northerners, under penalty of a fine of up to \$1,000 and imprisonment, to assist southerners in recovering fugitives. Under this act, law enforcement officials were required to assist slave owners or their agents in locating, apprehending, and holding for trial any alleged fugitives. They were also authorized to deputize citizens who were then required to participate in a posse or in other ways assist in the location and apprehension of alleged fugitives. Once apprehended, law enforcement officials were held liable for any escapes. In court, alleged fugitives were not permitted to testify in their own behalf, but owners or their agents were permitted to testify to ownership. Even more unpalatable to antislavery northerners was the provision establishing special courts to hear cases arising from the Fugitive Slave Acts, with judges paid a fee of \$10 if they certified the return of a slave to his or her owner, but only \$5 if the judge did not certify the person as a runaway slave.

Northern antislavery advocates were outraged, and even those who had previously held ambiguous feelings or were unconcerned became alienated because now they were being forced to participate in upholding slavery. Northerners increasingly came to believe that the government was being subverted by a “slave power conspiracy,” while state and local governments once again attempted to employ legislation or other methods to block enforcement of the new law. The Wisconsin Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional, but its verdict was later overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Abolitionists and other antislavery activists threatened to refuse to obey the law and stepped up activities to assist fugitives to reach safety in Canada, where there would be no question that they were beyond the reach of the U.S. legal system. Enrollment in antislavery societies increased, and abolitionists in particular became more aggressive in their attacks not just on the law but on the institution of slavery and on the south. The situation quickly became so critical that some southern political leaders threatened secession if the law were not enforced, and President Millard Fillmore warned that he would use the army to enforce the law if necessary.

Heated rhetoric continued to stir passions on both sides in subsequent years. The Fugitive Slave Act inserted an emotional imperative into the slavery issue for northerners who found that under its provisions they could no longer assume they would be immune from the effects of the controversy. Along with the *Dred Scott* decision in 1857, it was a major factor in energizing the northern antislavery movement in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, and thus made compromise all the more difficult.

The controversy drove a deep wedge not only between north and south but between pro-slavery and antislavery members of the major political parties. One immediate result of this was that Daniel Webster, a leading New England politician who was believed to be a serious candidate for president in the upcoming 1852 election, was passed over by the Whigs because his advocacy of enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law antagonized the party's antislavery supporters. The Whig Party soon began to fragment between the northern antislavery wing, called Conscience Whigs, and the southern bloc of the party, which became known as Cotton Whigs.

With the formation of the antislavery Republican Party beginning in 1854, most of the Conscience Whigs migrated to the Republican Party. While southern Democrats favored the Fugitive Slave Act, discord similar to that among the Whigs split northern Democrats into moderates who favored compromise with southern Democrats and the antislavery faction that came increasingly to oppose compromise on the issue. This proved to be the initial wedge that eventually led the Democrats to nominate two candidates for president in 1860, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois as a northern Democrat and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as a southern Democrat, dividing the Democratic vote and allowing Abraham Lincoln's election as the first Republican president.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; Civil War, U.S.; *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857); Emancipation; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Slave Revolts; Slave Trade; Slavery.

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Funds of Knowledge

The term *funds of knowledge* was coined by anthropologist Eric Wolf in 1966. He defined funds of knowledge to include such categories as caloric funds, funds for rent, replacement funds, ceremonial funds, and social funds as resources and knowledge that households manipulate to make ends meet in the household economy. Years later, in 1988, findings from an ethnographic study of households in the U.S.-Mexican borderlands by Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez and James B. Greenberg identified diverse and abundant funds of knowledge that existed within families in Mexican communities. Additionally, it was determined that households are self-sufficient and do not depend on the economic market for assistance and well-being. Instead of looking to the economic market for assistance, communities develop networks among households, and funds of knowledge are distributed socially and exchanged among households.

Funds of Knowledge in Education

As a result of Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez and James B. Greenberg's original study, other anthropologists, researchers, educators, and teachers, along with Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg, moved to examine how the concept of funds of knowledge can be applied to educational settings. Findings show that funds of knowledge are based on the belief that people are competent and have various levels of knowledge (skills, abilities, ideas, and practices), which they have historically developed and gained through their lived experiences. It is the bodies of knowledge that underlie the activities of students' households

and communities. Students' household members develop social networks that interconnect with other households in the community. It is these relationships that contribute to the various kinds of funds of knowledge that students possess and bring to the classroom.

Diversity and Learning

As a result of Luis C. Moll, Cathy Amanti, and Deborah Neff's work in extending funds of knowledge from an anthropological context to an educational context, the term has gained a great deal of attention as one way to disrupt discourses of deficit ideologies. Deficit ideologies blame the underachievement of students from diverse backgrounds on perceived deficiencies they believe are related to students themselves, their families, and their cultures.

Furthermore, they blame underachievement among these students on inadequacies such as home literacy practices, language skills (specifically in English), motivation, parental support, and self-concept. As a result, expectations and acceptance of low academic achievement becomes normalized. Most implicit in deficit ideologies is the idea that student achievement among students from diverse backgrounds is unrelated to schooling but rather related to their lives at home. Critics argue this is a result of schools failing to acknowledge the kinds of social capital obtained by students and their families from diverse backgrounds.

A New Framework for Educators

Funds of knowledge offer a new conceptual framework for informing effective practice to assist educators in meeting the needs of their diverse learners. The ideology behind funds of knowledge is that the best way to learn about students' lives and backgrounds is by focusing on practices that occur on a daily basis in students' households and by learning about what students do and how they articulate what they do in their homes and in their communities. The goal is to identify what students have versus what they do not have and to dismantle assumptions and stereotypes by learning about their students outside the classroom. Identifying unique student and family experiences and linking them to instruction are a key component of the funds of knowledge framework.

Educational Implications

Students bring with them a variety of experiences related to their cultures when they enter the classroom. Integrating culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogies has been found to increase student motivation, engagement, and academic achievement. A key factor in culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogy is that instruction must be connected to students' lives in order to engage them in their own learning in the classroom. The more teachers are able to tap students' prior knowledge, relate instruction to students' lives, and provide culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogy and meaningful lessons, the more engaged and motivated students will become in their learning. Building on what students bring to school, including their funds of knowledge, and on their strengths has shown to be effective because students are able to see their lives represented in the curriculum. Strategic application of students' cultural resources is an important way of supporting academic achievement among diverse learners.

Examples of how to integrate household funds of knowledge into the classroom include learning about families' literacy practices, both verbal and written; having continuous dialogue with students about their lives at home and their communities; asking students to bring in family and cultural artifacts to share with their peers; integrating activities that require students to share information about their families with their peers, for example, interviews and autobiographies; including activities that allow parents to meet each other and share their funds of knowledge during open house or back to school night; and inviting parents as guests to teach students about their occupations and/or funds of knowledge.

Examples of integrating community funds of knowledge into the classroom include student comparison and contrast of information about nutritious food from restaurants located in the community during a science lesson on nutrition. Discussing how nutrition is valued in their own homes and how it relates to the health of their family members can further enhance this activity. Another example would be students sharing what they have learned about politics, science, technology, and the economy when they listen to the discourses that take place among community

members and family members. In these scenarios, students learn critical thinking, how to articulate one's views, democracy, and how to examine the macro levels of the world in which they live and how it impacts the micro level of their worlds.

Critical Views of Funds of Knowledge

The funds of knowledge framework has been criticized for a lack of clarity on whose knowledge is incorporated into the framework. For example, is there a distinction between prior knowledge and funds of knowledge? Should students' schooling experiences and knowledge gained from school be considered funds of knowledge? Should funds of knowledge specifically focus on students' lives and worldview? The most cited knowledge found in the literature includes funds of knowledge from household members, teachers (for example professional and life funds of knowledge), students (for example language, cultural, musical, literacy, personal life experiences and household practices funds of knowledge), parents, and other adults who live in the students' communities.

Since it is recommended that funds of knowledge be used to dismantle deficit ideologies, critics also claim there is danger in stereotyping cultural or ethnic groups as a result of using culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogy in relation to funds of knowledge. The danger lies in teachers portraying groups as homogeneous and possessing fixed cultural traits. Culture is dynamic and a process that occurs in the lived contexts and practices of the students and their families. Culture is not static. Additionally, funds of knowledge might be misconstrued, with some households having more funds than others and contributing to the deficit ideology rather than disrupting it.

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See Also: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Curricular Integration; Family and Ethnic Diversity; Generations and Ethnic Diversity; Intercultural Communication; Intercultural Education.

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Funny Girl

Funny Girl is a 1964 Broadway musical, loosely based on the life of singer-comedian Fanny Brice. Buoyed by a score full of hit songs by Jule Styne and Bob Merrill, the musical established Barbra Streisand as one of the foremost performers of her generation. Streisand's performance defied stereotypes, presenting Brice as an intelligent, attractive, sympathetic, and amusing Jewish woman. The motion picture adaptation won numerous awards and was the top-grossing film of 1968.

The Fabulous Fanny

Brice was born Fania Borach on October 29, 1891, in New York City, to fairly affluent parents of Hungarian Jewish origin. She gained prominence performing comedic routines and songs



The musical *Funny Girl* is performed at the Brno City Theatre in the Czech Republic in September 2012. The play has been performed on many stages in many countries, but Barbra Streisand's appearance as Fanny Brice in the 1968 film version is most remembered. The musical is set in New York City prior to and following World War I. Fanny, a Hungarian Jewish star in the Ziegfeld Follies, awaits the return of her husband, Nick, from prison and reflects on their life together as their story is told in flashback.

like “My Man” and “Second-Hand Rose” in the Ziegfeld Follies sporadically beginning in the 1910s. Her film roles, recordings, and popular radio show only added to her fame.

American film producer Ray Stark, whose wife, Frances, was Fanny's daughter, commissioned a biography of Brice, *The Fabulous Fanny*, which he found to be wholly unsatisfactory. He next hired and fired a succession of a dozen screenwriters to draft a version of Brice's story that would make a suitable big-budget film. Stark decided to turn the only screenplay he liked, Isobel Lennart's *My Man*, into a musical at the suggestion of actress Mary Martin. Initially, composer Jule Styne and lyricist Stephen Sondheim, the songwriting team behind the similarly biographical musical *Gypsy*, were to create the score; however, Sondheim moved on to other projects, and Bob Merrill, known for pop songs like “Mambo Italiano” and “(How Much Is) That Doggie in the Window,” contributed the lyrics instead. With the score and libretto in place, Stark assembled a production team that, at

various points, included David Merrick, Jerome Robbins, Garson Kanin, Carol Haney, and Bob Fosse, to stage the musical. Anne Bancroft, Eydie Gormé, and Carol Burnett were all approached to play Fanny Brice, but none were seen as having the requisite combination of Yiddish theater humor, singing, and acting abilities.

Styne remembered Streisand, then only 19 years old, from her Tony-nominated performance in Jerome Weidman and Harold Rome's *I Can Get It for You Wholesale*. Streisand was already making a name for herself with her popular nightclub act, Grammy Award-winning debut album, and various television appearances alongside Johnny Carson, Judy Garland, Ethel Merman, Jack Paar, and Mike Wallace. Stark was impressed with Streisand's audition and offered the role of Fanny to her immediately.

Funny Girl on Broadway

Funny Girl opened on March 26, 1964, at the Winter Garden Theatre. Critics praised

Streisand, but other aspects of the show, especially the libretto, were much less well received. In fact, the Broadway opening was postponed repeatedly to allow time for rewriting. Even the score, which included the now-classic “People,” “Don’t Rain on My Parade,” “Cornet Man,” “I’m the Greatest Star,” “If a Girl Isn’t Pretty,” and “The Music That Makes Me Dance,” did not receive universal critical approval. However, the cast recording would go on to reach number two on the *Billboard Magazine* Top 200 Singles chart and be certified as gold by the Recording Industry Association of America. Over the course of the Broadway run, the cast included Sydney Chaplin, Kay Medford, Jean Stapleton, Johnny Desmond, Paula Laurence, Phil Ford, Bob Avian, and Larry Fuller. The musical went on to play 17 previews and 1,348 regular performances on Broadway; Streisand reprised her role for the 1966 West End production at the Prince of Wales Theatre in London.

The Film Adaptation

A movie version of *Funny Girl* went into development almost immediately. Though studio executives wanted Shirley MacLaine for the role, Stark insisted that Streisand should make her film debut as Fanny Brice. A host of directors, including Gene Kelly, Sidney Lumet, and Mike Nichols, were engaged before three-time Academy Award-winner William Wyler was signed to direct. Eight songs from the stage score were deleted in favor of five new ones and three from Brice’s repertoire. Making more than \$58.5 million in box office receipts, *Funny Girl* was the most successful film of 1968. Although Streisand received universal raves, the critical response to the film was lukewarm; purists complained that Streisand’s Fanny

hardly resembled the historical one, and that the libretto changed many facts about Brice’s life, never mentioning her career in radio, her first marriage, or her son. Nevertheless, Streisand went on to win the Academy Award for Best Actress (tying with Katharine Hepburn for *The Lion in Winter*) and the Golden Globe Award for Best Actress—Motion Picture Musical or Comedy. In addition, Lennart won the Writers Guild of America Award for Best Written American Musical.

Subsequently, a number of other well-known actresses and singers have essayed the leading role in *Funny Girl*, including Barbara Cook, Debbie Gibson, Lainie Kazan, Mimi Hines, and Heather Headley. A 2002 all-star concert, featuring Whoopi Goldberg, Jane Krakowski, Ricki Lake, Stephanie Mills, Ana Gasteyer, Sutton Foster, Lillias White, Kaye Ballard, Idina Menzel, and Bebe Neuwirth, was produced at the New Amsterdam Theatre, where Brice had performed decades ago in the Ziegfeld Follies.

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See Also: *Dirty Dancing*; Jewish Americans; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Yiddish Theater.

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Gadsden Purchase

The Gadsden Purchase, an 1853 land deal between the United States and Mexico, sought to resolve lingering boundary disputes created by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo that ended the Mexican-American War in 1848. But the purchase, engineered by a cabal of southern visionaries led by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, later the president of the Confederacy, and James Gadsden, a South Carolina entrepreneur then serving as ambassador to Mexico, sought as well to ensure American access to the flatlands of the Mesilla Valley along the Rio Grande against the future development of a transcontinental railroad that would link the agrarian-rich markets of the south to the lucrative trade routes of the Pacific. Although that railroad would never be built, the purchase created a rich, culturally diverse enclave in what is present-day southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico, a multicultural society that would flourish decades after the Civil War.

By the standards of far more ambitious land deals executed under the protocol of Manifest Destiny during the first half of the 19th century, the treaty that secured the Gadsden Purchase may seem modest—the administration of Franklin Pierce purchased 29,670 square miles (bound roughly to the north by the Gila River and to the south by the Rio Grande) for \$10 million (roughly

\$270 million in contemporary currency). What led to American interest in securing the land were persistent problems over a flawed boundary set after the Mexican-American War by territorial surveying teams and ongoing problems over a treaty provision that had guaranteed American monitoring of the border to interdict Native American raids, particularly from the Comanche and the Apache. That campaign to secure the border had proven ruinously expensive and the border virtually unsealable.

But what drove the Gadsden Purchase was more the potential to use the negotiated land as a site for the development of what was conceived as a transcontinental railroad system that would link southern farm markets to the Pacific, specifically, a train line running from El Paso in southwestern Texas to coastal San Diego. After the war, Gadsden, a career soldier who had become a powerful executive in a South Carolina railroad interest, spearheaded a grand project that determined the most promising line would include the disputed boundary property along the Rio Grande then under the control of the Mexican government.

Pierce, a senator from New Hampshire with southern sympathies as well as an ambitious pro-expansionist agenda, was elected president in 1852 and aggressively pursued settling the long-standing border dispute with the Mexican government as a way to acquire the Mesilla Valley. He sent Gadsden



A historical marker located just north of Casa Grande, Arizona, commemorates the Gadsden Purchase, a 29,670-square-mile area in present-day southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico that was purchased in 1854 by the American ambassador to Mexico, James Gadsden. The purchase was the last major territorial acquisition in the contiguous United States.

to negotiate with the government of the dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna, who across nearly four tempestuous decades had been both the political and military leader of the Mexican independence movement. Although Santa Anna initially rejected the purchase, American negotiators underscored that if the Mexican government refused to sell, it would most likely face military aggression. Santa Anna agreed—the purchase was nearly universally decried in Mexico and Santa Anna would be removed from power within months. After significant modifications of the price by the U.S. Senate, the treaty went into effect June 30, 1854.

Until the closing decades of the century, when the transcontinental railroad system would reshape the west, the relatively narrow strip of land secured by the Gadsden Purchase remained one of the most forbidding (and dangerous) territories west of the Mississippi. After the Union army squelched a Confederate army presence in

the territory early in the Civil War, it abandoned the territory to its own devices. For decades, the region lacked reliable government oversight and stabilizing judicial control. By all rights it should have collapsed in anarchy. But drawing on its peculiar mix of ethnicities, the area survived, one of the earliest (and most successful) multicultural communities in America, forged from a rich mix of wealthy first- and second-generation Mexican families, first-generation European immigrants (largely German and Scandinavian), gentrified East Coast entrepreneurs, barely literate ex-slaves, and skilled plantation owners who had lost everything in the war.

The area relied on a kind of loose aristocracy of influential families, most of them Mexican, to give the region a quasi-political structure. In addition, given the constant threat from the inhospitable terrain and the relentless pressure from roaming Navajo and Apache tribes, who regarded both the Mexicans and the whites as invaders, the settlers had to forge a working alliance. Communication across the language barriers between Anglos and Hispanics was critical to the territory's very survival. In an era when, back east, immigrant ethnicities openly clashed in the streets over limited economic opportunities, here multiple cultures worked together, worshipped together, established a model bilingual education system together, and even married across ethnic lines to shape, over three decades, a rich homogenous cultural community that saw itself as a single entity set against the common threat posed by the region's tribes and by the climate.

The territory prospered, initially in agricultural industries, cotton and livestock, and later in a burgeoning mining industry, most notably coal, copper, and silver. With the completion of the railroad, however, a new wave of settlers, almost entirely white, demanded increased law and order and increased economic regulation (specifically grazing rights and water rights), all designed to favor them. Gradually, as the territories of Arizona and New Mexico moved to statehood in the early decades of the new century, the increasing presence of whites ended the region's revolutionary multicultural dynamic.

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See Also: Apache; Comanche; Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); Mexican-American War; Native Americans; Slavery.

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Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity

Although often used interchangeably in everyday language, gender and sex are not the same. Sex, usually clarified as biological sex, refers to the general state of being biologically male or female as defined by physical and genetic characteristics. Gender, on the other hand, is a social construct, which refers to concepts of masculinity and femininity as defined by culture. These describe the range of acceptable behaviors expected for both men and women in a society (gender roles) and how one identifies oneself as male or female (gender identity). Gender roles also describe the characteristics allowed in social relationships.

Biological sex, for the majority of individuals, is predominantly consistent with their culturally defined gender identity. Transgendered individuals experience a disconnection between their biological sex and gender identity, which impacts fulfillment of socially assigned and expected gender roles. Sandra Bem, a psychologist, suggested that gender identity exists along a continuum from masculine to feminine and is not simply two discrete categories. Androgynous individuals incorporate aspects of both masculinity and femininity into their personality and their behavior.

In 21st-century America, many individuals deviate from historically, culturally defined gender roles that limited the activities of both men and women. Currently, men are allowed to be nurturing caregivers of children, while women are able to be task-oriented executives in business. Since one's sex is biologically determined, it tends to remain consistent across diverse cultures, while gender expectations differ greatly. Sigmund Freud proposed "anatomy is destiny"; it has become increasingly clear that destiny and opportunity can vary depending on the society into which one is born.

Women as Second-Class Citizens

Historically, most societies tended to be patriarchal, with roles of leadership and power held by men. In fact, women and children were often considered property or chattel. Fathers had the right to arrange marriages for their daughters and secure a bride price from the groom or his family. Once married, women were the property of their husbands, who also controlled most, if not all, of their financial assets.

In the modern world, many societies are moving toward egalitarianism or equal roles for men and women. Yet there remain many societies in which women's lives remain controlled by men. Women may be forced to wear restrictive clothing; must be accompanied by male relatives in public; may have limited options for education or work; and may be financially dependent on husbands for food, shelter, and, ultimately, their very survival.

Gender Roles and Ethnicity

While traditional societies maintain gender characteristics over longer periods of time, it is apparent that societies may change their views regarding gender. "We've Come A Long Way Baby" reflects the changing gender expectations for women in America in the 21st century. Since America is multicultural, it would be reasonable to assume that gender definitions, expectations, and identities reflect the diversity of culture. Some of these gender expectations may be similar across cultures and some may be vastly different.

And while broad categories tend to be used to identify individuals of Latino, Asian, African, and Muslim/Arab cultures, within these groups there is often great diversity reflecting numerous subcultures. It is important to remember that every

individual is unique and may find certain aspects of their culture more important than others. Further, the individual is the best source of information about their culture.

Americanization of Traditional Gender Roles

More traditional gender roles tend to exist in many Eastern, African, and Latin cultures. Immigrants' and refugees' gender roles are often challenged upon arrival into the United States. For instance, sharing household duties, parenting responsibilities, verbalization of feelings and/or dual-earner households may not be relevant to some individuals as they struggle to maintain their traditional roles within a new society. In addition, polygamy—a marriage between more than two persons—continues to be recognized by many countries, mostly African and Muslim, throughout the world. American immigration laws may preclude all except the first wife and her children from immigrating with her husband.

As immigrant groups arrive in the United States, they may adopt certain Americanized views of women and maintain some traditional roles. For example, education of girls may be available in the United States but not in the country of origin. On the other hand, girls may still be required to marry, have children, and obey their husbands. The longer an immigrant group has been in the United States, the more likely they are to adopt some Americanized gender roles, creating newer forms combining both cultural expectations.

Various social factors encourage media exposure to less traditional gender roles via television, movies, music, and the Internet. Gender bending, which stretches the boundaries of traditional gender roles and gender identities, is part of modern culture. The American public education system exposes children, teens, and young adults to a variety of cultures and gender-role views that may be different than their parents'. Individuals raised and remaining in ethnic communities may retain more traditional cultural gender norms, while those who move to more heterogeneous communities or intermarry may abandon traditional definitions or create newer patterns.

Latino Gender Roles

Latino gender roles have been described as *machismo* for men and *marianismo* for women.

Machismo requires men to be dominant, virile, sexually competent, and independent. *Marianismo* describes the ideal woman as being submissive, chaste but sexually attractive to her husband, while being nurturing and subservient. Both definitions are simplistic and can be interpreted in different ways by the broader culture.

While some research suggests that traditional roles may be outdated in modern society, they continue to influence behavior and social expectations. Yet, while both terms have been used negatively to describe individuals displaying stereotypical gender roles, they may have positive effects on individuals and families. *Machismo* may cause men to sacrifice and work hard as providers. Latino men take their roles as fathers very seriously and may be extremely protective and more nurturing than those of other ethnic groups out of a desire to provide and protect. On the other hand, this work ethic may make them appear to be unavailable as they strive to provide. When Latino men have difficulty finding employment or are unable to provide adequately for their families, they may perceive themselves negatively. If unable to fulfill one aspect of their traditional gender role, such as a provider, they may demonstrate aggression, violence, or drinking.

The most important roles for women in Latino culture are wife and mother. Marriage and child-bearing are seen as integral parts of feminine gender roles. Latino women may define themselves through their family and children instead of as independent women or as part of a couple. The role of wife is secondary to that of mother. The emphasis on the wife's quiet submission and the husband's dominance may make it more difficult for Latino women to communicate directly and assertively with their husbands. They will put their children's needs before their own. This gender pattern, unfortunately, may also dispose them to domestic violence, as they are willing to tolerate abuse from their husbands, and even older sons, putting the needs of others before their own. In addition, domestic-oriented roles may isolate women from the broader U.S. community, impacting communication in English.

Yet there is evidence that traditional views of male and female roles are changing among Latinos in the United States. One recent study conducted by the Pew Research Center found that

younger Latinos were less likely to believe that fathers should have the final decision in family matters. Yet, there remains a large gender gap within the younger generation. Young men are twice (50 percent) as likely as young women (24 percent) to hold this view, while among the older individuals there was no appreciable gender gap.

Arabic and Muslim Gender Roles

For many Westerners, the terms *Muslim* and *Arab* are synonymous; they are not. Not all Arabs are Muslim nor are all Muslims Arabs. Muslims are individuals who practice the religion of Islam, while Arabic culture refers to those who dwell or own land in the Arab regions and speak Arabic. They may practice any religion they choose. Both the Arab and Muslim populations are relatively small in the United States, each less than 1 percent of the general population.

Arab individuals come from Middle Eastern societies. Differences in gender expectations in a family may create stress and adjustment in American society. In more traditional Arab American families, conflict may arise around dressing modestly, not socializing with children of the opposite sex or dating, and showing respect for elders in specific ways. Arab American parents may believe they should arrange their child's marriage to someone they feel is responsible and will be able to provide a good home for their child and grandchildren, contradicting the social norms within the United States of dating and picking one's own spouse.

Impact of Religious Codes and Stereotypes

In Muslim societies both men and women are expected to behave according to religious codes. Although religious texts may view men and women to be equal in human dignity, this may not be reflected in Muslim law. For example, in some countries, a Muslim woman may not have the right to choose a marital partner, get a divorce, maintain custody of her children after a divorce, own property, or drive a car. Interpretation of religious scripture identifies men as guardians over women, which has been used to justify unequal gender roles.

Traditional head coverings, veils, or burqas (the full body covering worn by some Muslim women) have served as political and civil liberty

issues in public places. Many women are willing to dress in such a fashion experiencing freedom from the coverings while others may see the clothing as evidence of subjugation and inequality. For some Americans, this identification of women as Muslim may result in stigma, bias, and even risk of violence after September 11, 2001.

While many Americans hold stereotypical views of Muslim American gender roles, American Muslim women may experience more freedom than in other parts of the world. In 2011, a Pew Research study found Muslim women compared with Muslims in other countries, most Muslim Americans are more supportive of emancipated women in society. Many believe women should be allowed to work outside the home and are qualified to hold political office.

African Gender Roles

Traditional African societies have clearly defined gender roles that were necessary for the survival of villages. Men were warriors and hunters, while women were mothers and farmers, responsible for cultivating land and growing domestic animals for food. Women educated children in the social, ethical, and moral values of the community, including the standards for proper gendered behavior. The community valued women's work. Polygamy was practiced throughout African societies. And while many African societies remain patriarchal, an increasing number of women can hold power as tribal chiefs and spiritual leaders and can own property. Some rights of inheritance are passed down through the female lineage.

Even today, throughout Africa, many individuals live in small villages without modern conveniences, potable water, or electricity, and eke out a survival living. In larger cities, contemporary African women are educated and empowered, similar to the United States. The traditional gender roles of women as wives and mothers have gradually changed as women have become increasingly involved in new roles, jobs, and relationships outside the home.

Of course, the immigrant experience of the early African Americans was different from those of other immigrant groups. Most came as enslaved people, forcibly removed from their homes in Africa and separated from their families and traditional culture. They were forced to adopt

gender-role expectations of early Americans. In contrast to other settings, as property, enslaved women had more value than men because of their ability to bear children, which as laborers or chattel brought wealth to slave owners.

Modern African American Gender Roles

Racism, urbanization, migration, discrimination, segregation, and immigration have profoundly shaped contemporary African American gender roles. Often the wives and mothers worked as domestic help to provide the family income, while their husbands had more limited opportunities for employment. In modern America, large numbers of African American children are being raised in single-parent, female-headed families. In such situations, women perform the gender roles expected of both mothers and fathers. Men who are raised in such families often have more respect for women, resulting in more gender-role flexibility.

Upper-class, modern Africans may arrive with opportunities, education, and socialization perspectives similar to contemporary Americans' about gender roles. On the other hand, poor African refugees, escaping wars, genocide, or famine, have had their traditional roles upended. Many female refugees have lost husbands, fathers, sons, and other male relatives and now find themselves responsible for themselves younger siblings, as well as their own children. Without men to protect them, they have had to become both protectors and providers. Many have experienced physical and sexual violence. Upon arrival in the United States, they become the heads of households, a new responsibility within a new culture, which advocates women's rights and equality. They are introduced to new employment and educational opportunities, which may be contradictory to their traditional gender roles.

Asian Gender Roles

Similar to other cultures, most traditional Asian societies had distinct gender roles for men and women, but these differ by country and culture. In addition, Asians practice many different religions, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, or something other. Within Asia, each religion holds differing views of gender roles. The interplay of culture and religion creates a myriad of perspectives on gendered behavior.

In the teachings of Confucius, men are responsible for women, who are expected to be passive and to nurture the well-being of the family. Chinese mothers form close bonds with their children, favoring the eldest son over her husband, for it is the eldest son who will care for his mother in her old age. According to Buddhism, no matter what limitations women might be thought to have, they are not to be limited in or excluded from Buddhist practice. In general, Hindus believe that males and females are born with different sexual natures and therefore should take different and complementary roles in marriage, sexual relations, and reproduction. The roles of women depend on the Hindu scripture being used and can range from equality with men to subservient or restricted. Sikhism views men and women as essentially equal. Throughout Asia, Christians and Muslims may or may not adhere to religious views of gender roles.

Changing Asian American Gender Roles

Over time, traditional gender roles among Asian Americans have changed and become more egalitarian, particularly among younger educated individuals with careers, similar to the general American population. Within some Asian American populations, there is pressure on first- and second-generation women to maintain the traditional culture, including gender roles, to pass on to future generations. Males are expected to care for parents, marry, and carry on the family name (as in many other cultures). Intermarriage has led to rapidly changing gender roles.

Refugees and immigrants from more traditional communities throughout Asia are also faced with the dual challenges of adjusting to a new culture with vastly different gender-role expectations. Many lived in peasant societies and conformed to traditional gender-role definitions. Wars and the cultural revolution forced many to flee their homelands and, upon arrival in the United States, face challenges to their traditional identities.

Gender and Law

Because of a history of gender inequality in the United States, some gender expectations are incorporated into law, for example, the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution gave women the

right to vote. And it was only in 1963, that the Equal Pay Act was enacted to establish that men and women be paid equally for equivalent work. But this legislation did not mean that men and women were treated equally.

Many subtle forms of discrimination operate to prevent women from having equivalent financial resources as men, and the “glass ceiling” continues to operate to prevent many from career advancement. In 2009, the Lily Ledbetter Equal Pay Act was passed to allow more rights in cases against past work-related sex discrimination. The Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution failed to secure the required number of states to be ratified and has been introduced into Congress every year since 1982. This legislation simply states, “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.”

Gender Roles and Violence Against Women

Throughout the world, many societies have gendered practices of sanctioned violence against women, including physical abuse, rape, disfigurement/maiming, and more. These practices arrive with immigrants and refugees to the United States. Men who wish to dominate women often use violence, or the threat of violence, to subjugate women.

Women who have been raped are seen as having shamed their families, are shunned or seen as damaged goods, and, as a result, are unable to secure a good marriage. Some cultures have incorporated this into their gender roles. Husbands and brothers may be sanctioned or expected to use physical punishment to control their wives, sisters, and daughters. Historically, in times of war, rape of women has been used by conquerors to demonstrate power.



*A burqa is an outer garment worn by women in some Islamic traditions to shield their bodies from the sight of men while in public. This concept is closely linked to *Namus*, an ethical category or virtue in Middle Eastern Muslim patriarchal society. It is strongly gender specific within a family, described in terms of honor, attention, respect, and modesty.*

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is often perceived as a gendered crime. United Nations data about trafficking indicate that most victims are women and young girls. The majority experience physical or sexual violence during the trafficking. Vulnerable women and children are easily taken advantage of by traffickers throughout the world. They are often offered jobs or a chance to leave a life of poverty and deprivation.

Among poor families, fathers may sell their daughters to traffickers, needing the money to support their families while believing their child might have opportunities for a better life as promised by the trafficker. In some cultures, the social status of the family might make prostitution the life expectation for poor girls, whose income is required by the family. American children and young women are also at high risk for sexual exploitation.

Domestic Violence and Genital Cutting

Domestic violence has often been used as a means of controlling wives, and societies have different standards for which behavior is to be considered excessive and should result in punishment of the perpetrators. In some cultures, men have the right to conjugal intercourse with their wives and so marital or spousal rape is not recognized as a crime. In many countries, it is either ignored or still not considered a crime. It was only in the 1990s that all of the United States finally enacted marital rape laws, although many states still have exemptions.

Many cultures justify husbands' violence toward wives by blaming the victim. The women, who have been socialized within these cultures, will also blame themselves for doing something that caused the violence. Because of unequal status in society, this self-blame is often realistically related to fear of being alone, without shelter, food, and other resources for herself and her children.

Female genital cutting (FGC) is recognized internationally as a form of violence against women. Yet it is still being practiced despite laws designed to prevent it. This practice is not illegal in the United States for women over the age of 18 or if medically necessary. The practice is so widespread that many women enter the United

States already having had the procedure in their own countries.

Because of deeply held cultural beliefs, women continue to subject their daughters to FGC. There is no U.S. law protecting girls from being taken overseas to have the procedure in another country. Minor girls need to be protected if they are determined to be at risk, but many are willing participants because they believe it is important for their family and culture. It is a delicate balancing act to provide public health education in communities where this practice may be prevalent. The problem in the United States is balancing cultural sensitivity with determining whether adult women are willing or unwilling participants in practices that may create risks to their health. Adult women who do not wish to participate need to be protected by the fullest extent of the law.

Honor Killings

Honor killings are another cultural phenomenon brought to America by immigrants and refugees. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of women murdered each year in the name of family "honor." In the United States, no national or state agency attempts to collect data on any kind of "honor" violence, including murders. In many cases these killings involve the sexual behavior of girls and women. In contrast, men who engage in the same behavior may actually receive social approval.

Conclusion

As a nation made up of diverse cultures, American society has to deal with many differing views regarding gender. These views are constantly merging, evolving, and shifting. As a country, laws need to be established that protect individuals from discrimination or abuse on the basis of their sex, but laws may not change what people believe; they only provide guidelines to control civil behavior.

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See Also: Family and Ethnic Diversity; Family and Marital Patterns (Essay); Feminism and Ethnic

Diversity; Gender/Sex (Essay); Generations and Ethnic Diversity; Genocide; Hijab; Machismo; Marianismo; Muslim Americans; Nation of Islam; Refugees; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity; War Brides.

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Generations and Ethnic Diversity

From the colonial era through the present, the immigrant has been a defining figure in one of the great national narratives about U.S. history and identity. According to this narrative, although the nation's ethnically diverse populations often share an immigrant past, the ethnic identities of the immigrant generation have, over a span of two or three generations, been supplanted by "American identity." This process of acculturation, according to the narrative, involves not only cultural assimilation into the European American "melting pot" but economic uplift as well, for example, into the arc of achievement, associated with the American Dream, from impoverished or working-class immigrant to the middle- or upper-class occupational success of later generations.

This narrative of achievement includes educational uplift as well, for example, in the case of immigrants and their descendants, from the non-English speaking outsider status of the newly arrived immigrant to the English-speaking and well-educated members of the second or third generations. Education here becomes synonymous not only with acculturation but also with professional success in the world of work.

On the one hand, today, as in the past, the myriad forces of acculturation seek to construct an American national cultural collective based on citizenship as well as other related factors, such as language (English). On the other hand, the immigrant past forms a foundational and cherished element of American national identity, as one sees, for example, in the wide variety of celebrations of ethnic cultures across the country, from Irish, Italian, and German to Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban, as well as Asian, Middle Eastern, eastern

European, and many others. Perhaps more significant than these homages to a distant immigrant past have been the complex processes by which the ethnic identities of immigrants have persisted within American families through several generations and after. Despite, and in some cases because of, the forces of acculturation—which seek cultural uniformity and homogeneity—ethnic identities born of an ancestor from the “old country” may profoundly influence later generations of the foreign-born immigrant’s descendants.

Describing the intergenerational family histories of his characters, the American novelist William Faulkner famously said, “There is no such thing as ‘*was*’—only *is*. If *was* existed there would be no grief or sorrow.” Within families descended from immigrants, and especially for the second and third generations, Faulkner’s truism about how the remote past persists into the present applies in ways that Faulkner, given his generational distance from his European ancestors, could and did not explore.

But Faulkner’s distance from his immigrant ancestors, and his (white) European racial background, offer circumstances that underscore the important distinction between (white) European immigrant ethnicities and those many other non-European (nonwhite) immigrant ethnicities that, from the colonial period through the present, have contributed to U.S. history and culture. Although most European immigrant groups, such as the Germans, Irish, and Italians, faced discrimination upon arriving in the colony—or, later, in the United States—those of non-European origin, such as Asians and nonwhite Hispanics, who were identifiable as racially different due to their non-European physical appearance, faced a much greater burden of prejudice, often lasting generations.

The United States is a “nation of immigrants” in a limited sense, in that the ancestors of most African Americans were brought to the New World involuntarily as slaves, and American Indians had lived in the New World, including what is now the continental United States, for millennia when Europeans began to arrive in large numbers in the early 16th century. For those ethnic and racial groups descended from immigrants who were and continue to be stigmatized by racism and prejudice, the United States

is a “melting pot”—a term that, among scholars, is now largely outdated, which was popularized in the late 19th and early 20th centuries—also in a relative and limited sense.

As noted above, regardless of background, ethnic identities linked to an immigrant ancestor often form a meaningful and lasting heritage for second and third generations and even for the generations that follow. But for those ethnic and racial groups whose collective past includes memories, some very recent, of racial oppression, cultural identities linked to an immigrant ancestor may be especially immediate, offering both a reminder of the descendants’ ethnic or racial identity and an important source of resistance, in the form of group solidarity, to racism and prejudice.

Since the 1960s, scholarship in U.S. ethnic studies, a field born of the 1960s’ ethnic nationalist movements such as the Chicano movement, has overturned earlier assumptions about ethnic acculturation. In contrast to the melting pot, contemporary scholars and critics have offered other culinary metaphors to describe the intergenerational history of U.S. ethnic diversity, including “salad” and “bouillabaisse.” These figurations emphasize cultural immersion in American society without the loss of the “ethnic self,” a mixing that retains, absorbs, and transforms the “ethnic self.” They suggest the fundamental argument that *identity*, whether of the immigrant and his/her ancestors or of those who embrace an “American” cultural identity, has never been a stable, unchanging phenomenon but rather an ongoing process embedded in and defined by a complex set of sociohistorical and cultural processes.

Theories of Stuart Hall

As the cultural studies scholar and theorist Stuart Hall explains, “[I]dentity [is] . . . formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us. It is historically, not biologically, defined. The subject [individual] assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent ‘self.’ Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about. If we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story



Three generations of a Dutch immigrant family wait to be processed after arriving in the United States at Ellis Island in New York City. America's immigrant past is a foundational element of the nation's identity, and it has been estimated that almost 40 percent of all U.S. citizens can count at least one ancestor among the millions who arrived through Ellis Island in its 60-year history.

or 'narrative of the self' about ourselves. The fully unified, completed, secure, and coherent identity is a fantasy." Ethnic identity is therefore always relative and unstable, even for recent immigrants to the United States who would appear to the casual observer to possess a coherent and unchanging "ethnic self."

Today, as in the past, immigrant populations themselves are formed and transformed in relation to the ways they are represented or addressed in the social and cultural systems that surround them. Through these relations they also form and transform "American identity." This all-encompassing term, which Hall and other scholars would consider both a "fantasy" and a "comforting narrative of the self" therefore, in the view of contemporary scholars of ethnic identity, becomes much less a prescriptive category than a denotation for a cultural and sociohistorical space within which multiple "American" identities continuously emerge, interact, and shift.

Hall's formulation of identity, which draws from and overlaps with the outpouring of theoretical and creative work produced since the

1970s by U.S. ethnic scholars and writers, sheds new light on key intergenerational processes such as acculturation, assimilation, and language practice. Rather than viewing intergenerational ethnic identities in the manner of melting pot theorists of the pre-1960s era, Hall's approach offers a method for identifying, analyzing, and appreciating the complexity of ethnic identities and particularly how these identities shift, evolve, and in myriad ways endure over generations.

Let us apply Hall's model, in the abstract, to families whose first-generation ancestors came to the United States from a foreign, non-English speaking country. Although this analysis may apply to all second- and third-generation families, whether of (white) European or non-European immigrant origin, let us focus on intergenerational families of nonwhite or non-European background, and particularly Asian Americans and nonwhite Latinos.

In order to understand ethnic identification within these groups over several generations, Hall's model would first examine the sociohistorical landscape, both early and recent, within

which immigrant groups and their descendants have lived. Beginning in the mid-19th century, when these two populations began to emigrate to—or to be “incorporated” through conquest into—U.S. society, Asian Americans and Latinos experienced racism and prejudice at almost every level of society. Because they were identified by their physiognomy as racially different from Europeans, until the late 1960s, when the civil rights movement succeeded in dismantling the segregationist (Jim Crow) juridical structure, both of these populations, like African Americans, were deemed innately inferior to (white) European Americans.

For much of the late 19th and early 20th centuries they were therefore subject to an array of discriminatory practices, from anti-immigration legislation barring Asians, specifically Chinese, from entering the United States to Jim Crow segregation that targeted Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in the southwest. While in roughly the same era, between 8 and 10 million (white) European immigrants arrived at Ellis Island, Asians and Mexicans were hardly welcomed as immigrants. Even for those first-generation individuals who sought assiduously to acculturate, the legacy of racial oppression inevitably became a part of the cultural or collective memory of their families and communities, shaping their sense of American selfhood far beyond the first generation.

Hall's model would underscore the ways in which ethnic identity evolves both within a given generation and within families and communities over generations, leading to a complicated set of relationships between and among members. For example, while one might expect the third generation to be far removed from their immigrant grandparents' ethnicity, often it is the third generation that seeks to recover and reaffirm a family's ethnic heritage, as one sees in the countless literary works about family history by third-generation authors.

At the same time, while Hall's paradigm would cite generational differences toward ethnic identification as evidence of how ethnic identities form and transform, it would refute the view that these differences are seamless or uniform. The loss or retention by later generations of an immigrant ancestor's ethnic identity depends on a number of social, cultural, and even economic factors,

though clearly the second and third generations are fundamentally different culturally from their immigrant progenitors. These differences lead to a variety of generational conflicts, many of them rooted in the instability and adaptability of the ethnic self, as Hall's model describes these processes. And yet something as simple as the degree of difficulty of learning or retaining a foreign language in an English-speaking country, for instance, a Chinese dialect as opposed to Spanish, can create a wide variety of ethnic identifications among second and third generations.

Intergenerational Family Experiences

When coupled with the innumerable other cultural, linguistic, sociohistorical, geographic, and economic factors that shape and inform the ethnic self, the permutations of “ethnicity” among later generations may appear to make a simple definition about generational distinctions impossible. But there are a number of parallel intergenerational experiences among U.S. ethnic families with a first-generation immigrant ancestor. Comparing the intergenerational family histories of Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans, to cite two examples, sheds light on the shared experiences of ethnicity among many nonwhite American families descended from immigrants.

Many Mexican American families with second- and third-generation adults can trace their history to the great migration of Mexicans to the United States that took place from approximately 1890 to 1930, when roughly 1 million Mexicans emigrated to the United States. Though some of these immigrants were well educated and some were political exiles, the majority, drawn to the United States by the labor needs of the rapidly growing agricultural industry in the southwest, worked as farm laborers. This meant that, beyond earning salaries that often left them in poverty, this immigrant generation had few opportunities to better themselves. They spoke Spanish at home, which meant that their U.S.-born second-generation children spoke this language before entering the U.S. school system.

Though raised ethnically Mexican at home, many of these second-generation Mexican American children attended schools where speaking Spanish was prohibited. Compelled to speak only English in public, they were in this way

expected to acculturate to U.S. cultural standards, which meant that, whether explicitly or implicitly, their Mexican ethnicity was stigmatized. In their formative years they experienced anti-Mexican racism and prejudice in all of its forms, including Jim Crow segregation. For members of this generation, the racial burden of being Mexican in a society that devalues Mexicans was traumatizing.

Unlike their immigrant parents, they led double lives: they were Mexican at home (private self) and American at school (public self). Though many members of this generation left their rural homes, attended college, and became successful professionals, many others were denied basic opportunities, beginning in the school system, because of the racism and prejudice of the era. Beginning in the 1940s and 1950s and culminating in the 1960s, it was the children of this second generation who, in a statement of both cultural pride and political protest, embraced the term *Chicano* as a self-identifier for third-generation Mexican American ethnic identity.

The generational distinctions among Japanese Americans, as well as their rural origin as farm workers, broadly parallel the intergenerational historical experience of Mexican Americans. Like Mexican immigrants, Japanese immigrants first arrived in the United States in large numbers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. But, while Japanese immigrants (Issei, or first generation) and their second (Nisei)- and third (Sansei)- generation descendants, like Mexicans, faced racism and prejudice during the Jim Crow era, anti-immigrant legislation in the early decades of the 19th century that targeted Asian immigrants created a unique intergenerational history within the Japanese American community. Because the Immigration Act of 1924 had banned further Japanese immigration, within the Japanese American community an unusually well-defined set of generational identities emerged. The term *Issei* applied exclusively to those who had immigrated prior to 1924.

Quite unlike the Mexican American intergenerational experience, which was always influenced by geographic proximity to and continuing emigration from the old country, the Nisei and Sansei developed into distinct generational categories that would create a unique set of circumstances and tensions for Japanese American

families. Yet, like many other descendants of nonwhite immigrants, despite the distinctively virulent type of anti-Asian racism that they faced, the Nisei and Sansei would make the transition from the rural and largely working-class lives of their immigrant progenitors to middle- and often upper-class status. Yet their Japanese ethnic identity—as Hall would suggest, a product of their racial difference from European Americans as well as the history of racism directed at this group—continues in later generations to form and transform, even as it also shapes and enriches American cultural identity.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Chicanos; European Americans; Identity Development; Immigration Acts.

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Genocide

From its inception, “genocide” has been a scholarly term. Invented by Raphael Lemkin—a Polish-born Jew, scholar, and lawyer who spoke nearly a dozen languages—in 1944, the term *genocide* was subsequently codified by the United Nations (UN). It has been a highly debated term in scholarly and political circles ever since.

It was the case of Soghomon Tehlirian that inspired Lemkin to first define, and then create global recognition for, what Winston Churchill called “a crime without a name.” On March 15, 1921, in Berlin, Germany, Tehlirian gunned down Mehmed Talaat in cold blood. Talaat, then Turkish minister of the interior, was one of the masterminds of the Armenian genocide of 1915 to 1923. The legal and moral conundrum that Tehlirian could and would be charged with the murder of one person while Talaat and his compatriots would not be charged with the murder of as many as a million people, guided Lemkin’s intellectual interests as well as his sense of justice. The incident initiated what was to truly be his life’s work.

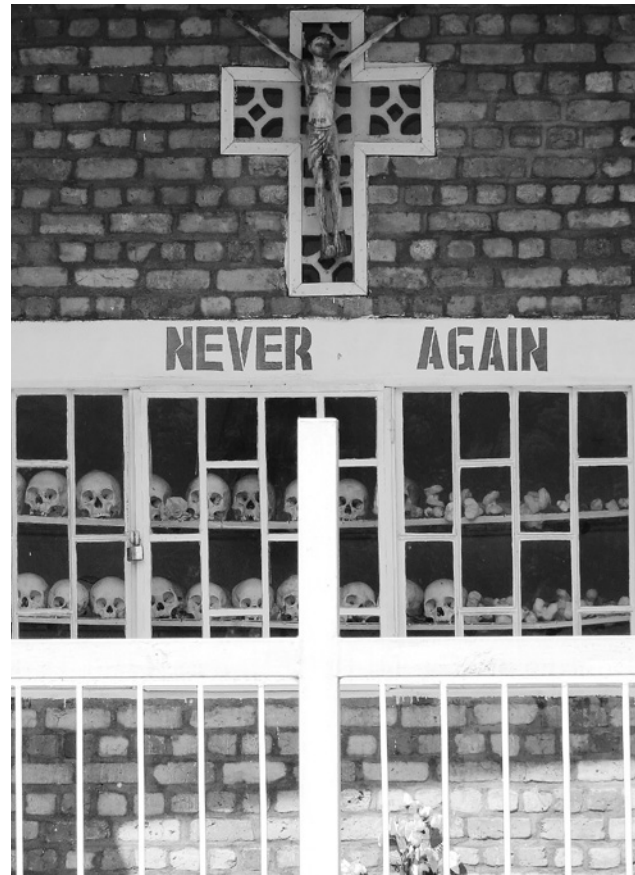
After trying to warn the world about Hitler in 1933 and living through the 1939 German invasion of Poland, Lemkin provided the world with a term to describe the unspeakable. First defined in his 1944 tome, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, Lemkin combined the Greek *genos* (race, kind, tribe) and the Latin *cidere* (to strike down, chop, beat, slay) to create the word *genocide* to kill a tribe.

Once defined, Lemkin worked relentlessly for political and legal recognition of his term. Lemkin’s years of lobbying, proposing, arguing, and drafting paid off when the United Nations formed the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Article II redefines genocide and its parameters on the global stage as follows:

In the present convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such:

- Killing members of the group;
- causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and
- forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

In *Axis*, Lemkin considered genocide to be not only an act fixed in time but also a process with two phases: first destruction, then imposition. Implicit in the notion of process is the idea of logic, planning, and implementation; conscious and methodical efforts aimed to eliminate, in whole or part, another race or ethnic group. Though the 1948 Convention drew heavily from Lemkin’s initial definition in *Axis*, the United



A display of skulls of Rwandan genocide victims in the courtyard of the Genocide Memorial Church, Karongi-Kibuye, Rwanda, in 2003. Members of the Hutu ethnic majority tribe reportedly killed as many as 800,000 members of the Tutsi minority between April and July 1994 in the African nation of Rwanda.

Nations document fails to acknowledge his recognition of cultural and political genocide. This omission, conscious and tactical on the part of a global body seeking to create clear and diplomatic guidelines for this newly recognized crime, stands as a location for many volumes of subsequent scholarship and debate concerning the definition.

In 1959, Lemkin died, well before the United States, in 1986, joined countries such as Cuba (1949), Egypt (1948), Israel (1949), Pakistan (1948), and Russia (1949), to finally ratify the 1948 Convention. His legacy, however, is one of a vigorous scholar and assiduous human rights advocate and sets the stage for the whole of genocide studies today.

Many Scholars, Many Definitions

A first wave of genocide studies appeared in the late 1960s primarily as research on the Holocaust. Prompted by the desire to fully illuminate the details, as well as record the firsthand experiences of those who survived the horrors, Holocaust studies scholars provide methodological footing for the larger field of genocide studies. Their work can also be seen as political action against Holocaust deniers, those who challenge the severity and veracity of the Holocaust itself. Even so, tension exists between Holocaust studies scholars who, whether purposefully or not, position the Holocaust as a uniquely relevant genocide, and those who view the Holocaust as one among several genocides worthy of examination.

Comparative genocide scholarship arose in the early 1980s as a way to expand the work of Holocaust scholars and acknowledge the occurrence of genocides around the globe. Which events may be understood as genocides, how far back the definition can be taken before the 20th century, and what it means to compare events happening at different times and in different contexts are all areas of concern for comparative genocide scholars. One prime example of a debate regarding the official definition of genocide has to deal with how to label and categorize the atrocities and violence committed by the U.S. government against the Native American Indians.

Further afield, yet equally relevant in terms of working with definitions, are discussions that arise out of use of the term in conjunction with race relations in the United States. In a speech made only

a couple of weeks before his assassination, Martin Luther King, Jr., cited Hitler in order to argue that “the ultimate logic of racism is genocide.” How people use and understand the term *genocide* in ways that move beyond the legal definition have serious implications to discussions regarding such issues as violence in America today.

It is the clarity of the definition created by the United Nations 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide that enables immediate and subsequent scholarly and political debate about the term. How to prove intent, and whether or not the killing must be “mass” in order to count as genocide become the exact areas of concern generating intense debate among scholars and may be understood as the constant in an area of scholarship that otherwise includes a wide range of disciplines.

Scholars such as Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn (through a specific focus on “one-sided mass killing”) and Irving Louis Horowitz (by emphasizing the role of the state) have worked to tighten the definition, while those such as Israel Charny have made arguments that expand the definition as much as possible (all cases of massive loss of life are genocide). Helen Fein (developmental genocide, despotic genocide, retributive genocide, ideological genocide), Rudolph Rummel (democide), and Adam Jones (gendercide) are scholars who have worked to present an expanded taxonomy for the term in order to address what they perceive as gaps in the UN’s definition.

Prosecution and Prevention

Lemkin’s principal interest in defining genocide was to eventually see the creation of laws that would enable courts to prosecute offenders and exact justice for victims. His criticism of the Nuremberg Trials of 1944 and 1945, the military tribunal created to prosecute higher-ranking officials associated with the crimes of the Holocaust, prompted his intense interest to create international law discouraging governments and official state bodies to engage in any such behavior ever again.

Though it was his intention that the 1948 Convention on Genocide would enable international prosecution of individuals responsible for the mass atrocities associated with genocide, it would not be until the 1990s that the world would bear witness to trials prosecuted in international courts

dealing with crimes associated with genocide in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

In 1998, following an acknowledgment of the limitations of temporary courts established to prosecute context-bound crimes, the International Criminal Court (ICC) was established as a permanent body to address in an ongoing manner international issues such as genocide. Currently, 121 countries have signed the Rome Statute creating the court. In 2000, the United States signed, and subsequently withdrew, its support, though the Barack Obama administration is currently working to reestablish a relationship with the ICC.

Closely related to issues regarding prosecution are those of prevention. According to its Web site, the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), founded in 1994 as the Association of Genocide Scholars, “is a global, interdisciplinary, nonpartisan organization that seeks to further research and teaching about the nature, causes, and consequences of genocide, and advance policy studies on genocide prevention.” Through its journal, *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, online listserv, and international conferences, members of the IAGS engage in continuous conversations aimed not only at supporting their interests as academics but also at influencing politicians and policy makers regarding governmental decisions intended to acknowledge and prevent genocide.

Genocide scholarship has had some impact on public education in the United States. Though only five states (California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York) have passed laws requiring teaching the Holocaust in public schools, 24 states make direct reference to curricular connections through their social studies standards. Inclusion of the Holocaust as a topic for student consideration is common in middle school (grades 6–8) curriculum and reappears in connection to United States history requirements in high school.

The recent building of museums and memorials, most all of which are, to one degree or another, integrally connected with the work of genocide scholars, provides space for public conversation regarding our definitions and understandings of genocide. Worldwide, notable museums include the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa; Auschwitz–Birkenau State Museum in Oswiecim, Poland; Genocide Memorial Center

in Kigali, Rwanda; Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in Murambi, Japan; the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.; Terror Háza in Budapest, Hungary; and the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

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See Also: Armenian Americans; Cambodian Americans; Deportation (Repatriation); Diaspora; Eugenics; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Holocaust, The; Jewish Americans; Long Walk of the Navajo; Lynchings; Refugees; Trail of Tears; World War II.

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Gentiles

The term *Gentile* has been used as a label of religious demarcation since ancient times. It is etymologically derived from the Latin word *gentilis*, “of the nations,” and is used by Jews to refer to all non-Jewish nations, sometimes with a negative connotation of outsiders or foreigners.

Ancient Rome and Judaism

In ancient Rome, Jews were separated from Gentiles by a variety of beliefs and practices. The official state Greco-Roman religion was polytheistic—worshipping multiple gods—and involved a set of practices governing everything from political appointments to market days and public holidays. Domestic and public spheres were closely linked in religious practices that encouraged respect and veneration for ancestors, for the state, and for the gods. The Roman regional authorities regulated the various religious cults tied to each god in order to ensure the security of the larger nation-state. As they took over new lands and peoples, the Romans found ways for conquered groups to maintain their former religious practices while also worshipping the Roman gods. Most cults and their practices were welcome in the Roman Empire, as long as they did not subvert the traditional order.

In this time, the Roman state viewed Jews as “atheists” because they believed in a single God who was not derived from the Greco-Roman pantheon. As a result, Jewish religious practices were often suppressed as subversive to the state. Roman Jews were conspicuously absent from state festivals and would not attend any form of worship except their own, since they viewed polytheistic practices to be the worship of false gods prohibited by the Ten Commandments given in the Torah. Jews were also exempt from military service and from paying the expenses associated with the state religion, as they sent an annual

temple tax back to their homeland in Palestine. Practicing Jews observed strict rules surrounding food preparation and consumption, avoiding certain foods altogether and also observing specific dietary prohibitions at particular times of year, tied to religious ritual practices. All of these practices separated Jews into a distinct community and differentiated them from other peoples living in Rome. These practices were officially permitted by the state but in practice led to hostility and popular disapproval.

The concept of Jewishness as a unique national identity, not only an ethnicity or religion, also caused internal tensions among Jews. These tensions led to the formation of sects within Judaism. Some subgroups wished to assimilate more fully into Greco-Roman culture than Jewish tradition strictly allowed. Others sought to reestablish a Jewish nation-state tied to the temple in Palestine, and they focused on maintaining distinctions as a nation set apart through the purity of their religious practice. This tension is reflected in the New Testament gospel writings, which mention various Jewish factions and their relations to the state.

Jewish Subgroups and Greco-Roman Society

The Sadducees were the most integrated into Greco-Roman society and served as the temple priests. The Essenes, by contrast, lived remotely as desert monks, wishing to remain as physically separate as possible from the Gentiles. Meanwhile, the Pharisees chose a middle ground between integration and separation, focusing their work on Jewish laws and ritual practices, trying to practice their ancient faith within a changing cultural context. The sect most antagonistic to the Greco-Roman state, the Zealots, sought to remove the Roman ruler from power and replace him with a Jewish king. Each of these factions had complex political relations with other Roman peoples and with Roman authorities. Under such conditions, “Gentile” was a word that could be used to insult other sects of Jews as inauthentic, as well as holding its previous meaning of distinguishing Jews from non-Jews.

Ultimately, the Zealots failed in their war against Rome, resulting in the destruction of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. After that time, the surviving Jews were primarily Pharisees,

and the rise of Christianity created new context regarding the use of the term *Gentile*.

Gentiles and the Emergence of Christianity

During the first century C.E., Jewish Christians were largely indistinguishable from other Jews except for their acceptance of Jesus Christ as Messiah. As the Christian faith spread throughout the region, however, the boundary lines that had distinguished Jew from Gentile began to shift. Many Jews dismissed Jesus as a false prophet or saw him as a holy rabbi but not as the Messiah. They viewed the Jewish Christians with hatred and disgust and persecuted the sect for proclaiming the resurrection of the dead, stoning its leaders publicly with state approval.

Meanwhile, non-Jews had also witnessed Jesus's public ministry and were attending Christian gatherings and worshipping beside Jews without observing the same ritual practices. It was no longer clear who was a Jew and who was a Gentile. The question of whether Gentiles could become Christians without first becoming Jews was of deep importance within the early Christian church. A leader in the Jewish Christian community, Paul of Tarsus (5–67 C.E.) began his life as a Pharisee and had a dramatic conversion to Christianity. Paul held the position that Christians need not be circumcised nor observe Jewish dietary laws. Those who disagreed with him and thought that all Christians should also observe Jewish law were known as "Judaizers." Under these circumstances, the term *Gentile* sometimes took on a pejorative tone. The Council of Jerusalem resolved this internal conflict in 50 C.E., and the decision that Christians did not have to adhere to most Jewish laws became known as the Apostolic Decree.

The early Christian communities had many such questions about their religious community boundaries. Markers of group membership were critical, since Christianity was a banned faith in the Roman Empire from the time of Jesus's crucifixion until the Edict of Milan in 313. Membership, if discovered, was a criminal offense, in some cases punishable by death. Also, the people joining the Christian cult were adults, who brought to Christianity both Jewish and Greco-Roman faith experiences, so conflicts over proper practice in the early household churches arose regularly.

Early Christian Use of the Term *Gentile*

As Christianity grew more distinct from Judaism in successive centuries, many former Jewish practices were altered or eliminated, but the practices of fasting as penitence and of abstinence from specified foods at certain times of the liturgical year remained. Christians began to use the term *Gentiles* among themselves to refer to pagans or non-Christians, again in an attempt to distinguish religious insiders from outsiders.

The publication of the King James Bible, written primarily for European countries with Jewish minorities, was the next event to affect the common usage of "Gentile." When the King James version was translated, scholars translated the Old Testament from Greek, the New Testament from Hebrew, and the Apocrypha from both Greek and Latin. The Latin term *gentilis* conflated the meanings of its root words in Greek (*ethne*) and Hebrew (*goyim*), which carried the varied connotations of "nations," "peoples," or "heathens," depending on the surrounding context. Another term from the Greek, *Hellen*, meant "Greeks" or "Greek-speaking people," but was mistranslated several times as "Gentiles" in the Authorized Version of the King James Bible. These errors were corrected in the later Revised Version. The end result was that the term *Gentiles* as it appeared in the King James New Testament began to refer specifically to Christians who were not Jews rather than to all non-Jewish peoples, including those in non-Western cultures.

Contemporary Use of the Term *Gentile*

The 19th century and the rise of the secular state led to further evolution in the use of the term *Gentile*, as new Jewish sects defined Judaism in nonreligious terms. Zionists viewed Judaism not as a religion, but as a nationality, and they sought the permanent establishment of the state of Israel as their highest goal. Bundists viewed Judaism as a peoplehood and saw European socialism as the most promising solution to the ills of Jewish people in Europe. The question of whether a Jew is a member of a specific nation, ethnicity, or religion remains under ideological debate. Each sect includes and excludes others from authentic Judaism by its use of the term *Gentile*.

In contemporary times, the term has also been used by Mormons to refer to non-Mormons.

Mormons believe in a literal and spiritual regathering of the nation of Israel and that their baptism brings them into that gathering. Thus, Mormons have sometimes referred to Jews as “Gentiles.” In this sense, a “Gentile” is a person who is not a member of one’s own church. As ever, the word can carry pejorative connotations, depending on how it is used to define a particular nation or people as outsiders to a specific religious tradition.

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See Also: Anglos; Jewish Americans; Mormons; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay); Religion and Ethnic Diversity; WASPs (White Anglo Saxon Protestants); Zionism.

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Gentleman's Agreement

The film *Gentleman's Agreement*, based on Laura Hobson's novel, was released in 1947. It was written by Moss Hart, directed by Elia Kazan, and produced by Darryl F. Zanuck. The film starred Gregory Peck (as Philip Green), Dorothy McGuire (as Kathy Lacy, Philip's fiancée), John Garfield (as Dave Goldman, Philip's friend), Celeste Holm (as Anne Dettrey, Philip's coworker), June Havoc (as Elaine Wales, Philip's secretary), Anne Revere (as Philip's mother), and Dean Stockwell (as Tommy, Philip's son). *Gentleman's Agreement*

has been identified as a groundbreaking film that highlighted covert discrimination. More specifically, the film focused on anti-Semitism (prejudice/harassment of Jewish people) as enacted by middle- and upper-class individuals. *Gentlemen's Agreement* also emphasized that individuals who take no action when discrimination occurs perpetuate prejudice.

The Plot

Philip Green is a reporter who recently moved to New York. His editor wants him to write a powerful article about anti-Semitism. Philip, who is not Jewish, tells everyone that he is Jewish and reports the reactions that he receives. Some individuals (Kathy and Dave) are aware of his true identity, whereas others (Anne and Elaine) only know him as Jewish. Kathy is most ambivalent about his Jewish identity status. In contrast, Anne is most comfortable and a constant source of support for Philip (and Dave).

Philip experiences various forms of mistreatment. He is never physically assaulted, but rather endures social derogations. For example, he is told that he is not permitted to list a Jewish form of his name (Greenburg) on the mailbox. When Philip attempts to check into a hotel that is restricted (does not allow Jewish guests), the staff refuse to allow him to stay. Philip is also indirectly affected by prejudice. For example, children make derogatory statements to his son Tommy and refuse to play with him. Dave stays with Philip while looking for an apartment or house. Dave, who is Jewish, indicates that he will lose a New York job because no one will rent or sell property to him. During this time, the men discuss the conditions that Dave, as a Jewish person, has faced for a lifetime. They agree that the most painful episodes are not the derision that they experience, but rather the derision experienced by their children.

Kathy owns an unoccupied home near New York City. When Kathy learns of Dave's housing problems, she does not offer the home to him. Philip is aware of the unoccupied home and is upset by Kathy's inaction. Kathy explains that there is a “gentleman's agreement” to not rent to individuals who are different (including Jewish individuals). She also explains that it is kinder to not expose Dave to an unwelcoming community.

Philip and Dave help Kathy see the ways in which she contributes to prejudice. She chooses to give the house to Dave and to challenge discrimination when it occurs.

Social Relevance

Gentleman's Agreement was emblematic of a genre known as problem/message films. Such movies directly portrayed social problems, explained injustices that perpetuated these problems, and identified individuals (via characters) who either exacerbated or tried to resolve problems. *Gentleman's Agreement* was somewhat unique in that it focused on only psychological forms of discrimination (such as derisive comments, declined hotel reservations). As Kathy and Dave noted, prejudiced individuals do not always state that they are engaging in discriminatory actions. Rather, such individuals simply keep the doors of opportunities closed.

The film also highlighted that discrimination is not limited to lower-class individuals or simply because of ignorance. Rather, *Gentleman's Agreement* portrayed that prejudice is intentional and common among middle- and upper-class individuals as a means to keep the "wrong kind" of people from entering their world. Thus, the "agreement" to exclude Jewish people is treated as subtle and ubiquitous. Elaine Wales (who is Jewish) participates in the agreement when she hopes that the publishing company does not hire Jews who will ruin the workplace. Thus, she represents in-group prejudice (by Jews toward other Jews).

The film does not shy away from the direct use of derogatory terms. Such terms are used by an intoxicated man toward Dave, the children toward Tommy, and Philip with Elaine Wales. In the first two situations, the terms are used derisively. In the last situation, the terms are used educationally. More specifically, Philip tells Elaine that all terms are equally wrong.

Throughout the film, there are arguments that prejudice is not consistent with American values. Given that the film was released only a few years after World War II, this inconsistency might have been more powerful than during other eras (such as the 1930s and 1950s). The film's persuasive strength was also seen in research during the late 1940s. The studies indicated that individuals who saw *Gentleman's Agreement* reported lower

negativity toward Jewish and African American individuals. Thus, there was an argument that message films could help change social attitudes and messages could be generalized beyond single groups.

The film is also consistent with parasocial contact principles. These principles suggest that (in contrast to in-person contact) individuals can feel less threatened and more open to diversity via exposure to media personalities and/or fictional characters. If people are exposed to individuals, such as actors Gregory Peck and Celeste Holm, and/or fictional characters, such as Philip Green and Dave Goldman, then they are more amenable to social messages. A similar argument has been made about the more recent prevalence of gay/lesbian characters and increased tolerance of gay/lesbian rights (such as civil unions and adoption).

Conclusion

Gentleman's Agreement is an important film as a psychological drama about the deleterious effects of prejudice and discrimination. The movie is equally critical of active and passive discrimination. Although the film focused specifically on anti-Semitism, the message (that prejudice is wrong) is generalized from religion to race and ethnicity (such as African Americans). *Gentleman's Agreement's* message remains relevant and some public screenings were scheduled for the film's 65th anniversary in 2012.

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See Also: African Americans; Anti-Semitism; Gentleman's Agreement (1907); Hate Speech; Intergroup Contact Theory; Jewish Americans; Motion Pictures; Privilege; Racism.

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Gentlemen's Agreement (1907)

The Gentlemen's Agreement (1907) was an informal agreement between the governments of Japan and the United States that allowed the two countries to maintain face and temporarily avoid larger problems. The United States agreed not to pass legislation banning the immigration of Japanese and not to discriminate against Japanese already living in the United States, and Japan agreed to refuse exit visas to laborers who wished to enter the United States. It was referred to as "Gentlemen's Agreement" because it was negotiated through notes exchanged between Elihu Root, the U.S. secretary of state, and Tadasu Hayashi, Japan's foreign minister, rather than in a formal diplomatic treaty. The agreement eased tensions between the two countries for the immediate future, but it failed as a long-term solution.

Segregation of Japanese and Chinese

The United States and Japan signed a treaty in 1894 that opened immigration to the Japanese and guaranteed protection of their persons and property. Immigrants from Japan attracted little attention as a group for the first decade following this treaty. Anti-Asian sentiments were directed primarily at the Chinese. But the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the extension of its restrictions by the Geary Act in 1892 halted the legal immigration of Chinese into the United States. Congress made the exclusion of Chinese permanent in 1902, but Japanese immigration was increasing. By 1906, as many as 1,000 Japanese a month were entering the United States, and hostility toward Asians was redirected toward the Japanese. The Asiatic Exclusion League, organized in San Francisco in 1905, targeted the Japanese, pushing for legislation that would extend the Chinese Exclusion Act to include the Japanese. The league also worked to boycott Japanese workers and Japanese-owned businesses. The California press fanned the fires of discrimination with its Yellow Peril campaign.

On October 11, 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education adopted a policy that sent Japanese children who had previously attended public

schools throughout the city to "Oriental schools," where Chinese students had historically been segregated. Japanese parents protested. So did the Japanese government, arguing that such action violated the Treaty of 1894. President Theodore Roosevelt, who had received the Nobel Peace Prize earlier that year for brokering the Treaty of Portsmouth that ended the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, was not pleased with the situation in San Francisco. It threatened his foreign policy objectives with Japan, a growing military power.

The U.S. ambassador to Japan hastened to reassure the Japanese government that the United States would not discriminate against Japanese within U.S. borders. Roosevelt himself met with the Japanese ambassador on October 29, 1906, and shared with him passages from the address the president was preparing for Congress. In early December, the president delivered the speech to Congress, denouncing the school segregation in San Francisco and advocating legislation that allowed Japanese immigrants to apply for citizenship. Roosevelt and Secretary Root determined that negotiations with the Japanese to restrict immigration would be necessary to appease Californians, but the federal government also began preparations for a legal challenge that the segregation order violated the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1894.

Roosevelt met with California's congressional delegation, some of whom had introduced bills calling for an end to Japanese immigration a year earlier. He also met with state legislative leaders and with San Francisco's mayor and school board in efforts to prevent the passage of anti-Japanese legislation that was certain to exacerbate Japanese resentment. In exchange for the president's promise to see that limits were placed on Japanese immigration and to withdraw the federal lawsuit, the California leaders agreed to allow most Japanese children to return to public schools, to apply any further restrictions on school attendance to all aliens rather than singling out the Japanese, and to hold off on state legislative action until after negotiations with Japan on laborer immigration were complete.

On February 24, 1907, Root and Tadasu Hayashi concluded the Gentlemen's Agreement in which Japan agreed to deny passports to laborers who wished to immigrate to the United

States and to recognize the U.S. right to exclude Japanese immigrants who had entered the United States on passports from other countries. On March 13, the San Francisco school board formally withdrew the school segregation order. The California legislature ended its session without passing anti-Japanese legislation. A final Japanese note dated February 18, 1908, capped the agreement.

A crisis had been averted, and the background saber rattling between the two countries ceased. But the number of Japanese in the United States continued to increase. The Gentlemen's Agreement allowed parents, children, and wives of Japanese laborers already in the United States to immigrate. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, there were 72,257 Japanese in the United States in 1900, 42 percent of them in California. Two decades later, that number had increased to 138,834, with 70 percent of them in California. Anti-Japanese sentiment did not disappear, and it found further expression in the Immigration Act of 1924. The act excluded all immigrants from Asia from entry into the United States, ending Japanese immigration until the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 repealed laws that excluded Asians from immigrating.

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See Also: Asiatic Exclusion League; Chinese Americans; Chinese Exclusion Act; Immigration, Illegal; Immigration Acts; Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans.

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German Americans

In the 2010 U.S. Census, about 47.9 million people, 15.48 percent of those surveyed, indicated they were of German ancestry. No other group could boast such a high percentage of ancestry, with the Irish coming merely second (11.21 percent) and the English third (8.38 percent). With their immigration beginning in the early 17th century, Germans have constituted one of the most significant and influential demographic elements in America. Census data between 1820 and 2010 report a total of about 7.3 million Germans to have entered the United States, about 9.54 percent of the overall immigration.

Waves of German Immigration

The Germans who streamed into the British colonies since the late 17th century came from various principalities, stretching from the estuary of the Rhine in Holland up to the Alps in Switzerland, from Alsace in the west far into central Europe. Because of the existence of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, a pre- or supranational conglomerate of numerous territories rather than a national state, German immigrants often identified along regional (e.g., Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon) or religious (e.g., Catholic, Lutheran, Jewish) lines rather than as Germans. In addition, they spoke a large variety of, often mutually unintelligible, linguistic varieties.

The first German settlement in colonial America was established in 1683 by 13 Quaker and Mennonite families from Krefeld. Led by Francis Daniel Pastorius, they founded Germantown, Pennsylvania, forming the nucleus of a group that would soon be called the Pennsylvania Dutch. In 1709, 13,000 Germans mainly from the Palatinate region in southwestern Germany immigrated to America because of overpopulation, heavy taxation, wars, and a very harsh winter. Some of them settled in New York's Hudson River Valley, others moved up the Hudson and Mohawk, while another group settled in Pennsylvania. Letters home as well as the activities of the so-called Neuländers triggered a stream of German migration until the 1750s.

Pennsylvania became the center of German settlement in the colonial period, with 33 percent of its population being German. Maryland, New

York, Virginia, and New Jersey also displayed sizable German communities. The majority of these early settlers were peasants who came from the Palatinate, Hesse, Baden, and Württemberg, traveled with family or village members, and belonged to the Lutheran or Reformed churches—although Mennonites and pietistic communities dissenting from mainstream Protestantism also figured prominently in the early period of German immigration.

Those migrants who lacked the money to pay for the transatlantic voyage became indentured servants, thus working off the fare paid for them by their employers over a fixed time period. The colonial period of German immigration was concluded by the settlement of about 5,000 Hessian soldiers, who had fought as mercenaries for the British in the Revolutionary War in the newly formed United States.

The second migration wave was inaugurated by the economic disruption caused by the Napoleonic Wars and the crop failures of 1816–17, which stimulated the migration of about 20,000 southwestern Germans to the United States. In the decades to come, the number of Germans entering the United States picked up steadily, peaking in the 1880s with 1,445,181 German arrivals, constituting 27.7 percent of the total immigration to the United States.

This second phase of German emigration can be subdivided into three periods. During the pre-industrial phase lasting to about 1865, German emigration expanded from the southwest of Germany, first to Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, Franconia, Westphalia, Hannover, and Oldenburg, and subsequently into Mecklenburg and Pomerania. While this first period was dominated by peasants, the second phase, beginning after the U.S. Civil War and lasting until 1895, largely brought agricultural laborers from northern and eastern Germany.

The third period consisted overwhelmingly of industrial workers looking for monetary profit and seeking to return after a few years. Numeric upsurges in this period took place in the 1920s—in the wake of the economic disruption caused by World War I—and in the 1930s and 1940s, when approximately 100,000 political and Jewish refugees came from Nazi Germany. While the 1920s émigrés were mostly educated professionals, the

latter group was highly heterogeneous in terms of occupation but contained an unprecedented number of academics and businessmen.

The last great wave of German immigration to the United States took place after World War II and was dominated by well-educated war victims. From the 1970s onward, statistics have registered a strong decline in German immigration, with Germans making up less than 2 percent of the total immigration to the United States.

As the above periodization indicates, the reasons for migrating to the United States were manifold and intersected in complex patterns that differed regionally and individually. Most Germans migrated in response to European wars, economic deprivation, crop failures, and overpopulation. Many suffered from the inheritance schemes common in Germany at the time. According to the practice of impartible inheritance (*anerbenrecht*), only the oldest son would inherit his father's entire possessions. While this kept family landholdings intact, it left the younger sons without any land and made relocation to the New World attractive. Partible inheritance (*realteilung*), practiced particularly in the southwest of Germany, could also prompt emigration, as the land was parceled up in equal shares to all children regardless of their sex, making farming increasingly unprofitable over the course of generations.

German immigrants also left Germany for religious reasons. Dissenting pietistic Germans founded communities, such as Amana, Iowa, to escape religious persecution and to practice their religion freely. The Old Lutherans migrating since the late 1830s acted in protest against the unification of Reformed and Lutheran churches imposed by Prussia. In the 1870s, a good number of German Catholics left their homeland to escape Otto von Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* against the Roman Catholic Church.

Comparatively few Germans came to America for purely political reasons. The small group of "forty-eighters," including famous German Americans such as Carl Schurz, deserves mention, however, because of its influence on the formation of German America. These political refugees were highly educated intellectuals who fled after the failed revolution in Germany in 1848 because of their disappointment and their fear of reprisal for their involvement. In addition, both in the

19th and 20th centuries, Jews fled Germany to escape economic and social discrimination, or, after 1933, annihilation.

Dispersal and Occupational Patterns

Prospective German settlers arrived by ship in port cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans. From there they continued their voyage inland either along the Mississippi, the Erie Canal, and the Great Lakes via steamship, or, from the 1840s onward, by railroad. They established widely dispersed but often stable communities whose location greatly depended on economic opportunity. The stability of their settlements mostly derived from their tendency to settle in clusters and to migrate in chains, connecting newer with older German settlements and with villages back in the Old World.

German settlements occurred most frequently in the mid-Atlantic, east north-central, and west north-central states. New York City was, in the second half of the 19th century, the third-largest "German" city following Berlin and Vienna. The midwest, in particular Wisconsin and Minnesota, with their newly opened farmlands and frontier cities, had the greatest proportion of German settlers in their populations. New England and the south did not attract a large number of German settlers. Only New Orleans had a sizable German community, and Texas was popular among Germans because of various colonization schemes (such as the Mainzer Adelsverein), ample land opportunities, and an agreeable climate. California became an option for German settlers after the gold rushes of the late 1840s and 1850s.

In the mid-1870s, about a third of those Germans indicating a profession upon their arrival stated they were skilled craftsmen, and one-quarter were peasants and unskilled laborers, respectively. By the end of the 19th century, the number of peasants declined while that of unskilled laborers and servants rose. Because of their specific skills, the occupations German immigrants entered in the New World matched the professional baggage they had brought with them from the Old World. Thus, in 1870, about 37 percent of those Germans employed worked in skilled professions, 27 percent in agriculture, 13 percent in transportation and trade, and 23 percent in professional and personal service.

Germans became particularly known for retailing of all kinds, food-related enterprises, and skilled crafts. They also figured prominently among musicians, tavern keepers, and barbers. Women were also part of the workforce but to a lesser degree than American women or women from other immigrant groups because of a firm belief among German Americans in bourgeois family values and patriarchal authority.

While Germans generally were of middling circumstances and advanced moderately, a few German Americans became known for their rags-to-riches ascendancy. John Jacob Astor became rich because of his involvement in the fur trade and his investments in real estate. Frederick Weyerhaeuser, a penniless youth upon immigration, became the lumber king of America. German Americans also dominated the brewing industry. Brewers such as Joseph Schlitz, Philip Best, Frederick Pabst, and Frederick Miller from Milwaukee and Theodore Hamm from St. Paul have been well known among beer drinkers.

Associational and Religious Life

The religious, regional, social, linguistic, and political heterogeneity of German settlers seeded a multifaceted community life, which often took place in virtually self-contained German neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods, German schools, churches, voluntary associations, labor unions, theaters, and musical societies, as well as a number of religious and secular festivities constituted the basis of an ethnically rich daily life, well documented, coordinated, and promoted by the German-language press, the largest and most-edited foreign-language press in the United States. The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, one of the oldest and most widely circulated German-language papers in the United States, and George Brumder, who established a press empire in the second half of the 19th century, greatly contributed to the good reputation and success of this German-language press.

The churches were another pillar in the German communities. About a third of all Germans belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, while the remainder were mostly Lutheran, Reformed, or Evangelical, in addition to small numbers of Mennonites, Pietists, Methodists, and Jews. German Protestants and Catholics agreed on the necessity of preserving their language in the New



An illustration in the November 7, 1874, issue of Harper's Weekly, titled "From the Old to the New World," portrayed German emigrants boarding a steamer in Hamburg, Germany, to come to America. Between 1820 and World War I, nearly 6 million Germans immigrated to the United States.

World, the dictum being "language saves faith." While German Protestants organized a number of ethnically homogeneous synods (such as the Ohio and Missouri Synods) and conferences (such as the General Conference of German Baptists, German Methodist conference), German Catholics had to fight for their rights in a church dominated by the Irish. Consequently, debates ensued about the control of bishoprics, the use of the German language in church services, and the status of parochial schools, as well as the German Catholic Church's official policy toward alcohol consumption and the temperance movement.

Interdenominational conflicts did not, however, come even close to the gulf existing between church and club Germans, the latter being anticlerical, middle-class urbanites. One of the most

notable freethinking societies was the Turners, the followers of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, who advocated a combination of physical exercise and liberal nationalism.

Ethnic Fragmentation

Heterogeneity among German Americans was both an asset and a liability. While it fostered the emergence of a vibrant and multifaceted German America, it simultaneously led to ethnic fragmentation and disunity and undermined durable panethnic formation. Such fragmentation was also a major reason for the German immigrants' inability to form a durable voting bloc and to exert a united powerful political influence. While the majority of Germans had long been committed to the Democratic Party, by the late 1850s the new antislavery Republican Party proved increasingly attractive to urban, freethinking Germans. Frictions among the various German groups also led to their unwillingness to support each other politically. Therefore, only comparatively few Germans were politically successful. Furthermore, politics was not seen as the noblest vocation by many Germans, a view that also contributed to their relative lack of political activism.

Panethnic Formation

Panethnic formation only took place when the German language, lifestyle, and culture were at stake. Points of contention included school language legislation, women's suffrage, and, most prominently, temperance. The temperance movement, promoting the moderation or complete abstinence in the use of alcohol, helped Germans to invent their ethnic identity and to heighten their ethnic consciousness. For them, the ethnocultural challenge of this movement threatened their cultural and associational life, in which sociable liquor consumption played a significant role. Considering the occupational patterns outlined above, it also endangered German livelihoods. Antitemperance activism drew Germans of most faiths, classes, geographical origins, and political affiliations together and helped them to realize their commonality in ethnic terms. The fight against temperance, however, proved eventually unable to eradicate the many internal divisions within the German community and to weather historical developments.

Ethnic Decline

The entry of the United States into World War I and the concomitant anti-German worries made the public expression of German ethnicity virtually impossible. By the fall of 1915, worries about the allegedly divided loyalties of German Americans had escalated into a nationwide “anti-hyphenate” campaign, which led to a restriction or elimination of German-language instruction; the censorship of the German press; the renaming of foods, streets, and towns; the burning of German-language books; and the erasure of cultural items signifying German heritage. Even physical violence, such as beatings, arrests, and a lynching, occurred occasionally. The war concerns also led to Congress’ revoking the charter of the German Americans’ largest and most influential organization, the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Nationalbund von Amerika (National German American Alliance of America), founded in Philadelphia in 1900 and having more than two million members in 1914.

In response to such harassment, discrimination, threats, and violence, many German Americans ceased their protests against war measures and relegated their ethnic heritage to the safe realm of the home or entirely renounced it. The Prohibition era (1919–33) made it difficult for German Americans to resurrect their ethnic identity invented in the 19th century. The relegation of alcohol, an essential ethnic marker, from the public sphere deprived many German American celebrations, meetings, and picnics of their traditional sociability and their cultural meaning.

World War I and the Prohibition era thus greatly hastened, if they were not largely responsible for, the transformation of German American ethnicity. A significant trailing off of immigration from Germany, the rise of the second and third generations of German Americans, and the lure of mass commercial and consumer culture also contributed to this transformation. The new, “subdued” German American ethnic identity that emerged in the course of the 1920s was based on modified cultural patterns and therefore was far more distant from its German origins.

Frederick C. Luebke even speaks of a “sort of cultural amnesia” befalling the generations of Germans growing up between the world wars. Speaking of amnesia might take it too far, but in

the 1920s and 1930s, German American ethnicity took on some of the facets that Herbert Gans ascribed to “symbolic ethnicity.”

Contemporary Scene

Over the following decades, German Americans continued to assimilate, their ethnic identity becoming ever more symbolic. World War II did neither provoke German American loyalty to the German cause nor cause another repression of German ethnicity. It instead overwhelmingly evoked shame of Hitlerism and anti-Semitism and led to a further disintegration of ethnic group consciousness. Even the arrival of political refugees did not inaugurate a long-term restrengthening of German associational life.

Since the 1950s, German America has been represented by numerous organizations seeking to promote the German language and German heritage. Most of these are located in cities with a high percentage of German ancestry. The Deutsch Amerikanischer National Kongress of Chicago (DANK; German American National Congress), for instance, founded in 1959, has a membership of about 800 and offers a wide variety of cultural and educational programs. Deploping the absence of representation of German America on the national level, individuals and delegates from various organizations founded the United German American Committee of the USA (UGAC) in Philadelphia in 1977; in 2006, the association was renamed the German American Heritage Foundation of the USA. This organization, with a membership of almost 18,000, opened an office in Washington, D.C., in 2004 and the German American Heritage Museum of the USA in 2010.

German America, however, does not merely manifest itself in organizations and heritage museums. While the daily use of the German language has almost entirely disappeared among the younger generations, German ethnicity persists in folklore, material culture, and architecture. Particularly visible today are the great number of German festivals (Oktoberfest, Schmeckfest) hosted in numerous towns and cities, celebrating German American culture and heritage. Famous parades, such as New York City’s German American Steuben Parade, named after Major General Friedrich Wilhelm

von Steuben, honor the achievement of German Americans in the United States.

Yet, what Frederick Luebke argued in the 1990s still holds true today: The post–World War II immigration of Germans as well as the persistence of German America in contemporary America have been terra incognita and demand further scholarly investigation.

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See Also: Austrian Americans; European Americans; Jewish Americans; Pennsylvania Dutch; World War I; World War II.

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Gerrymandering

In the process of setting electoral districts, gerrymandering is the political manipulation of legislative boundaries for partisan or incumbency protection purposes. It is one of the oldest political expressions, traceable to the early days of the republic, and still in current use.

At various times, gerrymandering has been used to exclude and include racial minorities in the electoral processes. Following the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and subsequent court decisions, gerrymandering has been used to create majority-minority districts. These are political districts in which members of a racial or ethnic minority (as opposed to white non-Hispanic) make up an effective voting majority. This gives them the ability to participate and elect representatives of their own choosing, and has been the solution of choice in situations where there is, or could be, racial or ethnic vote dilution. In this sense, gerrymandering concurs to improve the ability of minority voters to elect a candidate of their choice in a particular district, increasing their power of representation and helping create a greater multicultural America.

The term *gerrymandering* derived from the name of Governor Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, who, in 1811, signed a bill readjusting the representative districts so to favor the Democrats and weaken the Federalists, although the last-named party polled nearly two-thirds of the votes cast. The word was coined because one of the contorted districts in the Boston area was said to resemble the shape of a salamander. Some historians argue that Governor Gerry, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and one of James Madison's vice presidents, never sponsored the redistricting bill and is said to have signed it reluctantly. But his name has been infamously perpetuated.

In technical terms, the two aims of gerrymandering are to maximize the effect of supporters' votes and to minimize the effect of opponents' votes. One strategy, packing, is to concentrate as many voters of one type into a single electoral district to reduce their influence in other districts. A second strategy, cracking, involves spreading out voters of a particular type among many districts in order to deny them a sufficiently large voting

bloc in any particular district. The strategies are typically combined, creating a few forfeit seats for packed voters of one type in order to secure even greater representation for voters of another type. Throughout the years many states operated a more or less explicit gerrymandering. Congressional majorities in Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Texas significantly reduced the competitiveness of their congressional districts, whereas states such as California, New Jersey, and New York protected the seats of the incumbents. Political scientists agree that one relevant consequence is that in the gerrymandered districts the threat of competition in the primary election often becomes more worrisome than the general election. On the other hand, there is no clear convergence on the case for gerrymandering as a primary source of polarization in Congress.

The Civil Rights Movement

For more than a century, gerrymandering only meant to gain power through partisan boundaries' redrawing of electoral districts. But with the civil rights movement and passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, federal enforcement and protections of suffrage for minorities were enacted. Gerrymandering for the purpose of reducing the political influence of a racial or ethnic minority group was prohibited and some states created majority-minority districts. This practice, also called affirmative gerrymandering, was supposed to redress historic discrimination and ensure that ethnic minorities would gain some seats in government.

Before the Civil War, enslaved people could not vote and freed African Americans were often denied that right. Immediately after the war, black leaders won congressional seats in the south. Following the end of Reconstruction in 1876, however, African American representation diminished as a result of gerrymandering and other tactics such as poll taxes, literacy tests, and intimidation. Only with court decisions interpreting the Fourteenth Amendment and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 as stipulating "one person, one vote," and district lines being redrawn, did American politics enjoy a substantial increase in the number of African Americans entering Congress as well as state and local offices. Between the end of Reconstruction and passage of the Voting Rights Act of

1965, minorities had to struggle for many years against discrimination and political dilution of representation through gerrymandering.

The U.S. Supreme Court

Several of these racial cases have reached the U.S. Supreme Court. In *Colegrove v. Green* (1946), the court refused to intervene in a redistricting case in Iowa, arguing that redistricting was a "political thicket" that the courts should avoid. In *Gomillon v. Lightfoot* (1960), the court looked at a redrawing of the city boundaries in Tuskegee, Alabama, that virtually took all the power away from African American voters. The old rectangular boundaries were changed to a 28-sided figure so that no district had more than five of the 400 African American voters. The Supreme Court struck down the new irregular city boundaries. In *Baker v. Carr* (1963), the Supreme Court ruled against the Tennessee district boundaries by interpreting the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment as saying that there should be "one man, one vote" for congressional elections. Congress had left the states to decide issues related to state and local elections, and the Supreme Court, although it had a history of not making decisions on districts drawn, often took a stand on the issue. Additional principles for constructing congressional districts were generated in *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964). The Supreme Court required "contiguity" and required districts to be "compact." Another principle is continuity. The idea is that districts should be similar over time so that constituents will be in the same district and will maintain familiarity with the community and their representative. The problem is that there's no agreed-upon measure for compactness, so it can be difficult to show whether this preferred characteristic has been satisfied.

The *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986) decision, as well as the 1983 Voting Rights Act amendment, introduced additional rules for drawing lines to create majority-minority districts. In order to create a majority-minority district, the amendment required the presence of a "compact and politically cohesive" minority as well as a white majority who usually vote overwhelmingly as a bloc. Even recently the constitutionality of using racial considerations to create districts has been difficult to assess. In *Hunt v. Cromartie* (1999), the Supreme

Court approved a racially focused gerrymandering of a congressional district on the grounds that the definition was not pure racial gerrymandering but instead partisan gerrymandering, which is constitutionally permissible. However, in *Vieth v. Jubelirer* (2004), the Supreme Court declared itself incompetent in disciplining gerrymandering. In theory, the U.S. Congress could legislate on the topic, but this has never been done. Therefore, the power of redistricting is still placed at the state legislature level.

Preclearance States and Redistricting

Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 requires that the U.S. Department of Justice or a three-judge panel of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia requires that areas with a history of voting discrimination and low turnout submit and receive approval for any voting change, including redistricting, before implementing the change. States whose redistricting plans require preclearance are Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Virginia. States that want to obtain preclearance must demonstrate that a proposed voting change does not have the purpose or effect of discriminating against an ethnic or “language minority group,” which includes African Americans and “persons who are American Indian, Asian American, Alaskan Natives, or of Spanish heritage.” The curious case is that 2012 was the first time for a Democratic administration to retain such a final word. In 1972, this power was granted to President Richard Nixon, in 1982 to President Ronald Reagan, and, in 1992 and 2002 to the two President Bushes.

Majority-Minority States

Racial data from the 2010 U.S. Census show that four states are majority-minority: Hawai‘i (which is the only state that has never had a white majority), New Mexico, California, and Texas. Additionally, the percentage of non-Hispanic white residents has fallen below 60 percent in Arizona, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Nevada, New York, New Jersey. The District of Columbia reached a majority black status during the latter stages of the Great Migration.

The process of redistricting that followed the 2010 census is effective since the 2012 congressional elections and new majority-minority districts have been drawn. The issue is particularly contentious in the south, where the GOP controls most of the state legislatures and so also the redistricting process in many states. The Democrats’ fear comes from the observation that, historically, the implementation of majority-minority districts led to a jump in safe Republican seats in surrounding districts that had been drained of minority voters who might otherwise have formed the core of a competitive opposition. Both parties apparently notice that majority-minority districts tend to help Republicans and hurt Democrats overall.

In the early 1990s, the Republican National Committee pushed for the creation of more black and Hispanic districts as part of a strategy to win additional seats in the House. And the successful Republican strategy of coalescing with African Americans to pack minority residents into overwhelmingly majority-minority districts, thereby diluting Democratic strength in surrounding districts, contributed to the dramatic Republican gains in the 1994 election. More recently in Georgia and New Jersey, Democrats sought to reduce the number of safe minority districts in order to improve the party’s chances overall. In doing so, both parties were acting contrary to their general positions on race-conscious lawmaking.

In 2012, there were 58 electoral districts classified as majority-minority electoral districts: 27 were formed by an African American majority, 30 by Hispanics, and one Asian American majority-minority district in Hawai‘i. Statistics from the 113th Congress show the presence of 44 African American representatives, 28 Hispanics, and 12 Asian American congressmen. The good news is that some of these representatives have been elected in white districts. However, full representation of minorities is yet to come. If the number of representatives were to be proportional to the population, in Congress there would be 31 Asian American and 86 Hispanic representatives.

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See Also: African Americans; Category Controversies (Essay); Civil Rights Movement; Minority Group/

Majority; Pluralism; Poll Taxes; Supreme Court, U.S.; Voting Rights Act.

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Ghetto

The term *ghetto* originally referred to areas in Venice where Jews were forced to reside. Since the time of the Roman Empire, Jews have often been forced to live in isolated communities. Gradually, the term began to refer to any area of a city where particular minorities made up the bulk of the population. The term brings to mind the horrible abuses during the Jewish Holocaust, when many lived in ghettos. In America, the term has come to describe a severely distressed part of a city where African Americans make up the vast majority of the population. Ghettos are usually characterized by poorly maintained structures, high poverty rates, high crime rates, high rates of imprisonment, dysfunctional family units, poor education, and high unemployment. There is often a stigma attached to those who live in ghettos. People often incorrectly view all people living in a ghetto as people who display many of the negative characteristics of the ghetto.

After the urbanization of the United States accelerated in the 19th century and immigrants were settling in the cities in great numbers, some ethnic enclaves were referred to as ghettos. Certainly the neighborhoods in American cities that were predominately Jewish were often referred to as ghettos. Often people who were ethnically similar would settle near each other. Racial barriers as to where blacks could live exacerbated the growth of ghettos. Many of the European immigrants were assimilated into varied neighborhoods. Prejudice was a barrier to this kind of assimilation of blacks.

For decades after the Civil War, blacks in the north made up a small percentage of the population of cities and were not highly segregated. In the south many blacks lived in rural areas, and even in the cities they were somewhat interspersed with the white population. At the end of the first decade of the 20th century a massive migration began. In the south, the mechanization of farms, the decline of the sharecropper economy, and harsh treatment by whites led many blacks to begin migrating to northern states to find jobs and a better way of life. In the north, new factories were being built and there was a large demand for unskilled labor. Millions of blacks made their way to northern cities. Prior to the beginning of this migration there were few, if any, ghettos found in the cities of the north. By 1930, in Chicago, the majority of blacks in the city lived in areas where the neighborhood was overwhelming black. This growth of ghettos was happening in cities throughout the country. Demand for additional housing caused these neighborhoods to expand into white neighborhoods. Many of the whites who had the resources moved away from these areas.

Racial attitudes deteriorated in both the north and the south, and specific efforts were made to keep blacks from moving to white areas. Racial zoning and restrictive covenants were used to prevent blacks from moving into white neighborhoods. This led to the growth of ghettos. Additional waves of blacks moved to the north in the era of World War II as more jobs opened up in the industrialized cities. It was in the 1960s that the term *ghetto* came to be used to refer primarily to distressed areas of concentrated black populations in cities.

White flight from central city areas left even more ghettos as people who were financially able to contribute to the economy of these neighborhoods left. City governments became less interested in these racially concentrated areas of their cities. Loss of manufacturing jobs impacted the ability of residents of ghettos to find jobs. Conditions steadily deteriorated as ghetto areas expanded. Even middle-class blacks moved to more desirable locations. The civil rights movement and the elimination of legal segregation removed some of the legal barriers that kept people in ghettos, but ghettos remained a practical reality in American cities.

Characteristics of Ghettos

Black ghettos are often isolated physically from the rest of the city. This may be because of barriers such as railroad tracks, large highways, or industrial areas. One of the distinguishing characteristics of a ghetto is the concept of concentration. There is a concentration of people of a particular race, and in the current use of the term in the United States, that concentration is of blacks. However, ghettos can contain people of other races as well, especially whites and Hispanics. There is also a concentration of poverty. The majority of the residents tend to have much lower incomes. There is also a concentration of residents who, in many ways, are unable to escape the ghetto. In the past it was discriminatory housing practices that contributed to this problem. Now it is more related to the financial condition of the residents. They are not able to afford housing, which would be more expensive in other areas of the same city. Sometimes the children of ghettos are unfamiliar with even their own city outside the ghetto.

There is a concentration of poorly educated people, and educational opportunities are limited. There is also a concentration of hopelessness. Many residents see no way to achieve a way of life that leads to escape. Children have few role models in the ghetto. This leads to an overpowering sense of nihilism. Nihilism refers to the state of living with no sense of purpose, or believing that nothing really matters. This can lead to an abandonment of moral restraints and a view that so devalues life that the taking of life becomes common. In spite of the plethora of problems in

the ghetto, there are those who excel and escape, and even those who make it and stay in the ghetto to make a difference in the lives of others.

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See Also: African Americans; Barrio; Civil Rights Movement; Class and Ethnic Diversity; Desegregation/Integration; Ethnicity; Great Migration; Harlem Renaissance; Holocaust, The; Jewish Americans; Race; Race Riots.

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Ghost Dance

The Native American Ghost Dance (*Natdia* in Indian language, the "circle" or "round" dance) was a ceremonial ritual practiced among Native Americans that called for dancers to move zealously in a circle and chant, calling for the regeneration of the Earth and communion with the spirits of their ancestors, or ghosts. It became a widespread movement among Native Americans toward the end of the 19th century, when Indians and their culture were facing destruction. This dance had existed since prehistoric times, but the newer version originated with the Paiute Indians in the western United States around 1870 and had a revival in 1889. It was a spiritual ceremony that combined elements of Native American customs with Christian practices. These indigenous people had been subjugated by the U.S. government and, as a result, faced annihilation because of poverty, illness, and hunger. These observances provided them with hope and were often magical, according to many accounts. Today the dance is still practiced

privately among some tribes, but it has primarily become obsolete, replaced by Christianization and adaptation to white culture.

There were often regional conflicts among many of the Indian tribes, which led to intense fighting. However, the emergence of the Ghost Dance, which promoted peace, diluted this and brought about a unity among the tribes that made U.S. government officials nervous. This bonding together gave them strength in numbers, which in one circumstance led to the defeat of General George Armstrong Custer. U.S. authorities were wary of this now-peaceful nation.

These hunter-and-gatherer tribes didn't have political leaders but followed shamans (medicine men) instead. These self-proclaimed, spiritually anointed men organized rituals for the betterment of the community that took place at certain times of the year, aligned with hunting parties or harvests. These spiritual conduits had a great deal of influence throughout the tribes, so when two prophets emerged with the Ghost Dance philosophy, their words carried weight. Even as their numbers and culture diminished in the late 1800s, the Indians honorably relinquished their societal place by displaying and promoting peace.

Decimation of Native Americans

In 1867, a debilitating typhoid epidemic struck the Nevada region. Along with other European diseases, it wiped out one-tenth of that population, leaving the people emotionally and psychologically scarred. It also crippled their economic system, forcing the majority to abandon their itinerant lifestyle and settle in Virginia City, Nevada, for work. It was not long after, only two years, that prophet Hawthorne Wodziwob (Gray Hair) had a vision of going to the land of the dead, where he received messages from the *Numu* (ancient ancestors).

They communicated that they would return in three to four years to help their descendants. In order to acknowledge the ancestors and bring them to contemporary times, Wodziwob suggested the circle dance, which, when performed, achieved a religious ecstasy for the participants and supposedly conjured up the ancestors, who healed some participants and left them with new songs as gifts. One of the advisers to Wodziwob was a "weather doctor" named Tavibo, the father

of Jack Wilson, who would lead the second and strongest Ghost Dance movement.

New Vision

The second influential soothsayer, Wovoka (or Jack Wilson), during a solar eclipse in January 1889, claimed to have a vision of dying for a short time, during which he had an apocalyptic vision of Native Americans being lifted up to the sky while the Earth swallowed the white man and replenished itself. The Natives were then dropped back down to the new Earth after visiting the ancestors (including Jesus) during their ascension. Wovoka taught that if there was peace among tribes, the buffalo and harvest would be renewed and the white man would peacefully vanish. This gospel spread rapidly, uniting formerly warring tribes. This did not sit well with government officials, as they'd seen the results of indigenous unity before: Little Bighorn.

The Empty Plains

One of the duties of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was to convert Indians to Christianity, so it is ironic that they responded with fear to the Christian-like unity that started to permeate the tribes. When the Lakota started practicing the Ghost Dance, the Bureau of Indian Affairs grew alarmed at their supposedly "militaristic" behavior. In preparation for any retaliation by the white man, they made "ghost shirts," which were



Published in the December 6, 1890, issue of Harper's Weekly, this illustration by Frederic Remington was sketched at the scene of the Ogallala Sioux performing the Ghost Dance at the Pine Ridge Agency in South Dakota. This ritual, often accompanied by periods of trances, exhortations, and prophesying, includes a circular community dance held around a ceremonial leader.

supposed to deflect bullets. The tribal police were discharged to arrest Sitting Bull, the respected leader of the Lakota Sioux. A skirmish broke out and several policemen were killed as well as the revered Indian leader. The ghost shirts were useless in the face of real violence. On December 29, 1890, after a deaf youth accidentally discharged his weapon, the military opened fire on the camp, killing 300 Lakota, primarily women and children, in what became known as the Wounded Knee Massacre. Participation in the movement drastically diminished after this incident because participants feared retaliation by U.S. government officials.

Today, the dance is still practiced privately, with the Caddo Nation one of its torchbearers.

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See Also: Bureau of Indian Affairs; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Native Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Sioux; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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Giant

Giant, released by MGM in 1956 and based on a 1952 novel by U.S. author Edna Ferber, introduced a national audience to the inequalities in Mexican/non-Mexican white race relations in the southwest. The lasting legacy of the film, directed by George Stevens, has become one about race.

The film opens in the 1920s, when west Texas rancher Jordan “Bick” Benedict (Rock Hudson), marries young Leslie Lynnton (Elizabeth Taylor)

while visiting her Maryland estate. So smitten is he that he tolerates observations like “We really stole Texas from Mexico, didn’t we?”

Leslie quickly learns that Bick disapproves of her appreciative response to the welcome by the Mexican residents of his ranch, Reata. It is Bick’s belief that these people are not their equals.

At Reata, the film introduces Jett Rink (James Dean), a poor white ranch hand resentful of Bick, enchanted by Leslie, and staunchly defended by Bick’s sister Luz. Returning Leslie to the house after a day on the range, he accedes to her demand to see the Mexican worker village. Horrified by their living conditions, particularly the illness of a baby named Angel, she demands that Jett take her home to deal with this “scandal.” They arrive to discover that Luz has died in a riding accident. Luz bequeathed Jett the small land parcel on which he has been living and drilling for oil. Rejecting a buy out, Jett hits a gusher, ushering in oil wealth on Reata.

Bick soon discovers that his own family is not the family he expected. In a violent scene Bick forces young Jordy, his son, to ride his birthday pony, resulting in a screaming fit by the child, made all the more galling for Bick when little Angel, now healthy, thanks to Leslie’s efforts on behalf of the Mexican rancheros, leaps onto the pony and rides flawlessly. Scenes like this regularly reinforce the distance between the white Texas aristocracy and the Mexican Americans, who are treated as peons, despite their skills.

For young adult Jordy (Dennis Hopper), becoming a doctor faces great resistance from Bick. He pursues his vocation and returns to Reata. He meets Juana (Elsa Cardenas), a Mexican nursing student, with whom he begins a romance, shocking his family when, after a secret wedding, Jordy announces their marriage during a large party at the main ranch house.

Continued business with Bick leads the Benedict family to attend the opening of Jett’s grand hotel and airport. Events turn ominous when the hotel salon refuses Juana service, on Jett’s direct orders that there be no Mexicans be allowed. Jordy confronts Jett, only to be knocked senseless. Bick beats the drunken Jett to the point that he drops his fists in disgust.

Jordy and Bick then argue intensely as Jordy rages at his father for the racism he has displayed

over the years. Bick's protestations hold little sway. The family, sans Jordy, leaves together for Reata.

Upon their return, the Benedicts stop at a diner. Tensions rise when the owner "Sarge" notices Juana and her dark-skinned toddler, the youngest Jordan Benedict. All ignore the rude owner, until Juana tells Bick that little Jordan "wants ice cream, Grandpa." Bick affectionately orders the treat. Sarge, responds by saying he thought "that kid would want a tamale." Bick is stilled by his family. It is when a Mexican family enters the diner, only to be refused service and forcibly ejected by Sarge that Bick intervenes, using his name and reputation to insist that the family be treated with respect. Sarge ignores him. When he manhandles the elderly Mexican man in the family, Bick pushes him away. An extended and violent fight scene begins. Bick is beaten brutally and downed, with a sign reading, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone" dropped on his chest as he is covered in food and broken dishes.

Once home, Leslie comforts the dejected Bick. After a lifetime, only that "glorious" fight in Sarge's Diner made Bick her hero and she declares their family a "great big success." He finally sees the world through a different racial lens. Even though Bick then expresses frustration that the youngest Jordan Benedict "doesn't even look like one of us" but rather, looks "like a little wetback," he speaks with affection, and laughs when the toddler rattles his playpen as if in protest, admiringly noting that the "little *muchacho* sure fires up, don't he." The film ends with alternating shots of the grandchildren's cherubic faces.

Giant grossed more revenue for MGM than any other film until *Superman* in 1978. The film met with critical success. *New York Times* movie critic Bosley Crowther noted that, "Thanks to Mr. Stevens' brilliant structure and handling of images, every scene and every moment is a pleasure." *Variety* magazine compared the film favorably to the earlier indictment of anti-Semitism in the film *Gentleman's Agreement*. It has become an important illustration of Mexican/white race relations for Latino artists as well, with Tino Villanueva's award-winning prose-poem *Scene From the Movie Giant* employing the fight scene in Sarge's Diner as a vehicle for exploring his own experiences of prejudice and discrimination.

The poem has since become part of the Mexican American Studies canon.

Nominated for 10 Academy Awards, including a win for director George Stevens, *Giant* continues to find audiences through special editions on DVD and the continuing interest in James Dean's career, having been his final performance before his untimely death. As a representation of regional multicultural race relations, *Giant* serves as an enduring portrait of a highly significant time period presaging the beginning of slow but steady efforts to improve the status of Mexican Americans in Texas.

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See Also: Academy Awards; *Gentleman's Agreement*; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Inter marriage, History of; Mexican Americans; Motion Pictures; Racism.

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Global Education

Global education seeks to prepare students to be citizens of the global community. Much as public education curriculums have always included elements aimed at preparing students to participate in a national community by requiring English fluency and nationally minded history and civics classes, global education goes one step further, focusing on the rest of the world more than on traditional American education. Public education flourished in part because of the desire of Americans to teach English and cultural norms to the children of immigrants. The world is increasingly globalized and interconnected, not only

politically and economically, but also culturally. Events illustrating this have been as diverse as the global outcry over the financial crisis of 2008 and the commodity price shocks of the surrounding years to the uprisings of the Arab Spring, which in part inspired Occupy Wall Street. Further, climate change has become a severe enough problem that even with remedies that are significant and immediate, the world over the next century will be facing a common challenge in dealing with new and extreme weather patterns, regular commodity crises, and likely shortages of fuel and potable water.

Global education is most commonly found in Europe, where discussion of the topic has been necessitated by the many challenges of the evolving and growing European Union. In the United States, the term *multicultural education* is more commonly discussed and encompasses many of the same aims. The declaration produced by the European Global Education Congress, held in Maastricht, the Netherlands, in 2002—called the Maastricht Declaration on Global Education—admitted that there was debate about the term *global education*, but that it was a generally useful umbrella term that “is understood to encompass development education, human rights education, education for peace and conflict prevention, and intercultural education; [these] being the global dimensions of education for citizenship.” Global education is a direct address to the world’s diversity and to the challenges of global citizens achieving some baseline understanding of the world in which they live.

Sustainability

An increasingly globalized world requires new and different competencies, which global education seeks to provide. It requires an understanding of the complex relationships underlying ecological, social, political, and economic issues. One of the key elements of global education is the integration of the concept of sustainability: the capacity of ecosystems to endure, and, by extension, the characteristic of a system or behavior that allows it to continue, eschewing reliance on nonrenewable fuels and other unsustainable systems. Sustainability is integrated into education not only through the adoption of sustainable practices but also by teaching sustainable practices in the appropriate subjects. Sustainability economics,

for instance, is a branch of ecological economics; sustainable architecture is one of the most vibrant fields in 21st-century architecture.

Urban planning, legal studies, international relations, and the sciences all encompass areas where sustainability can be explored and illustrated. The goal of sustainability is not as simple as avoiding further ecological damage and climate change or avoiding the exhaustion of certain resources; it is a guiding principle, seeking improvements to the quality of human life without incurring an expense against the accounts of future human lives. Sustainability is also necessary to make the world livable in future generations as the population grows and as developing nations match pace with the developed world, increasing their resource use in the process. This concern goes far beyond the economics and ecological impact of energy use. At the heart of sustainability education is the idea of environmental management, an awareness of the impact of human actions on the climate, atmosphere, water systems of the Earth, carbon cycle, and other systems of the environment.

The U.S. Partnership for Education for Sustainable Development (USPESD) was founded in 2003 in Washington, D.C., by a group of educators, scientific researchers, conservationists, and religious leaders in order to respond to the United Nations declaration of 2005–14 as a Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. Rather than develop programs, USPESD helps connect interested parties and foster collaboration. Ithaca College (New York) and Ramapo College of New Jersey have shown a particular commitment to sustainable education.

Systems Thinking

Sustainability education tends to focus on systems thinking, the understanding of the working of systems, whether natural systems like those of the natural environment or human-made systems like social systems and structures of a business or other organizations. Systems thinking has especially been promoted as an approach to problem solving, but this is like billing mathematics as a way to solve equations—mathematical truths have a reality independent of their use in equation solving, and systems thinking is not just a trick to manage offices more efficiently.

A system is comprised of parts, and while it is bounded, it also interacts with the environment beyond that boundary—in fact, it is often made up primarily of the processes that turn inputs from the environment into outputs transferred back to that environment, as with the respiratory system of the human body, which transfers oxygen and carbon dioxide back and forth between the bloodstream and the external environment. Systems are both dynamic and complex, and their components are often best understood as seeking equilibrium. Systems thinking is an especially apt toolbox in global education, providing tools for considering the goals, inputs and outputs, and interdependence of the systems in the global community and the planet's environment.

Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is an approach to education that acknowledges and addresses the unique diversity of the United States and that seeks to move beyond the traditional white-centric view of history that dominated American curriculums for so long. Its concerns are not limited to history and are forward thinking, acknowledging the reality that the United States is moving from a country with a white majority to one with a white plurality; and furthermore, that white Americans are not a monolithic homogenous ethnicity but instead are made up of many different individual immigrant groups and their blending.

Multicultural education punctures the myth of a single American culture and instead embraces, investigates, and celebrates the many American experiences and the many kinds of Americans, rather than dividing them into “us” and “the other.” It also seeks to provide equal educational, cultural, and career opportunities for all students, regardless of ethnic, cultural, or religious background, a goal that encompasses more than just funding for special needs and English as a second language teachers, and which requires teachers to understand that many of their students come from drastically different backgrounds than they do. Typically, advocates of multicultural education also seek to reform the college admissions process, which tends to favor students from certain backgrounds, and the standardized tests used in the admissions process, which possess a demonstrable bias toward certain backgrounds.

Multicultural education was advocated even before globalization became a priority. It provides students with some of the best tools for dealing with globalization, as they are introduced to other cultures early, and have a better understanding of their personal culture by understanding its uniqueness, rather than assuming that it is simply a universal or default culture. Multicultural education ideally provides a learning environment that is fair for all students. There are many competing views on how multiculturalism should be taught and what values and norms are assumed. These include whether “whiteness” is considered an ethnicity, whether cultural groups should assimilate into a mainstream culture (and what is meant by “assimilation,” beyond some near-universally agreed-upon basics like language fluency and participation in institutions like schooling and the political process), and whether the differences or similarities of cultures should be emphasized.

Most multicultural education is pluralist: It acknowledges that in the foreseeable future, white Americans will be a plurality rather than a majority; it does not problematize whiteness or Eurocentrism; it focuses on culture and ethnicity, more than social class; while openly discussing the many different cultural and religious backgrounds of students, it is silent on the issue of class backgrounds; and it treats ethnicity almost more as a private matter than as a cultural product.

Global education is a growing priority for American educators. The Consortium for Global Education is a group of private U.S. universities that have committed to the cause of global education. Beginning in 1987 with eight founding members, it has grown to 40 consortium universities. In 2007, the Early Development of Global Education (EDGE) was founded by three businesswomen to raise environmental awareness and teach conservation through a branded preschool certification program. Harvard University recently began offering a special program in global education issues through its Graduate School of Education, aimed at K–12 teachers and administrators, policy makers, and social entrepreneurs. Faculty involved in the program include Fernando Reimers, the Ford Foundation Professor of International Education and Harvard's director of the international education policy master's degree program, as well as

Harvard professors, nonprofit organization directors, and high school principals.

Bill Kte'pi
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See Also: Critical Pedagogy; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Curricular Integration; Diversity Assessment Instruments; Diversity Training; English as a Second Language Education; Higher Education; Intercultural Education; Interculturalism; International Education; Multicultural Education; Multiculturalism; Special Education.

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Glory

Glory, a 1989 movie about the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, a regiment of black soldiers, around half of whom were killed in a Union attack on Charleston's Fort Wagner in 1863, won praise as a serious movie about the U.S. Civil War and earned criticism for its failure to present the 54th with historical accuracy. Although the screenplay is based in large part on the letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, the white commander of the regiment, *Glory* is most significant as a historically symbolic movie that recaptured a forgotten moment in American history and awakened new interest in the role of African Americans in the Civil War.

By the time the Civil War ended, African Americans comprised 10 percent of the total Union forces. The 54th was among the first African American fighting units. The unit's volunteers included some with well-known connections: one of its officers was Garth Wilkinson James, younger brother of philosopher William James and novelist Henry James; and Lewis H. Douglass, son of the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass, was one of the earliest enlistees. The 54th proved a disciplined, courageous group, particularly in the attack on Fort Wagner, at the mouth of Charleston Bay, on July 18, 1863.

Kevin Jarre based the screenplay for *Glory* on the letters of Shaw and on two modern works: *One Gallant Rush* (1965) by Peter Burchard, also based on Shaw's letters; and "Lay This Laurel," (1973), Lincoln Kirstein's essay on the regiment and the Boston Common memorial monument sculpted by Augustus Saint-Gaudens in 1897. Shaw is the central figure in all these sources. Saint-Gaudens's monument shows Shaw on horseback with rows of unidentified African American soldiers marching with him. William James at the dedication of the memorial paid tribute to Shaw and his "nameless comrades" who perished with him in the assault on Fort Wagner, but names of the African American casualties at Fort Wagner were readily available. Survivors of the assault who marched in the dedicatory procession certainly could have provided some of the names.

It is hardly surprising then that Jarre repeats this focus, as can be seen in Matthew Broderick, who plays Shaw in the movie, receiving top billing. Some critics accused Edward Zwick, who directed the Tri-Star movie, of unconscious racism, in a glorification of Shaw that was sometimes at odds with historical accounts. Shaw's letters reveal that he was not free of the racist attitudes prevalent in 19th-century America. Such incidents as Shaw's sending his personal physician to attend private Trip after a flogging and Shaw's tearing up his pay voucher to protest the inferior pay of his troops are examples of the dramatic license taken in the film.

Critics were also quick to point out inaccuracies in *Glory's* characterization of the African American volunteers who made up the 54th. Rather than the nameless cast of foot soldiers in the Saint-Gaudens sculpture or a selection of



Although there was significant criticism regarding the historical accuracy of the portrayal of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry in the film *Glory*, there was a renewed interest in these soldiers after the film was released. In 1998, Ed Hamilton's nine-foot bronze statue of African American soldiers was erected at the African American Civil War Memorial in Washington, D.C.

historically accurate African American soldiers, Jarre uses four fictional characters to represent all the 168,000 African Americans who fought in the Civil War. Of the four men the script highlights, three are former slaves, whereas in the real 54th, four-fifths of the African Americans had been free men all their lives. But the four actors in the movie are cast in roles that represent the full spectrum of African American types who fought for the Union, and the consensus is that they do so without descending into stereotypes.

Private Trip is the rebellious escaped slave who feels trapped in a war not his own. Denzel Washington received the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor for his performance in this

role. Some critics argue that Trip's is the necessary modern sensibility in the movie. Sergeant Major John Rawlins, a middle-aged grave digger turned soldier (portrayed by Morgan Freeman), is the wise voice that is the film's conscience. Private Jupiter Sharts, played by Jihmi Kennedy, a stuttering crack shot, is a country boy. Corporal Thomas Searles (Andre Braugher), a boyhood friend of Shaw's, is a free man and a proper Boston intellectual. Civil War historian James McPherson cautions against small complaints that can undermine the accomplishments of the film. McPherson praises *Glory* for showing the racism in the Union army in the person of an Irish drill sergeant who slings racial epithets as he teaches the 54th how to march and in the African American regiment from Kentucky whose white commander refers to them as "little monkey children."

Although *Glory* may be deemed a critical success, it was not a smash at the box office. The movie grossed a modest \$26.8 million in the United States. But its success in informing the public about the valor and sacrifice of soldiers whose story was rarely mentioned in history books cannot be measured in movie tickets. The documentaries about the 54th that followed the film suggest increased interest. A modern edition of Shaw's letters was issued, and a reissue of Burchard's *One Gallant Rush* sold 10 times more copies than its original publication. In the summer of 1998, the African American Civil War Memorial Freedom Foundation dedicated *Spirit of Freedom*, a sculpture portraying uniformed African American soldiers and a sailor. The memorial is encircled on three sides by the Wall of Honor that lists 209,145 names from the official records of the Bureau of United States Colored Troops at the National Archives. The memorial was inspired by *Glory*.

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See Also: African Americans; Armed Forces, U.S.; Civil War, U.S.; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures.

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Go Tell It on the Mountain

Go Tell It on the Mountain (1953) is the first published novel by James Baldwin and is often regarded as his best. One of the most important African American writers of the postwar era, Baldwin was born James Arthur Jones on August 2, 1924, in the black ghetto of Harlem in New York City. Baldwin’s own life experience in Harlem enabled him to have a profound insight into extreme poverty and pervasive white oppression and discrimination that his fellow people were forced to face. He is universally considered to be one of the most important and influential African American writers of the postwar era, powerful as a novelist, essayist, playwright, and polemicist.

Baldwin’s works include six novels, four plays, and more than 10 essay collections. From his 1953 autobiographical novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, to his final essays in *Playboy* and other magazines, his works demonstrate the indomitable will to face historical identities, injustices, and tragedies. Baldwin is most remembered for using his writing to encourage social change, having the courage to live outside racial boundaries, and remaining true to his homosexual identification. James Baldwin’s widely acclaimed works have profoundly altered America’s social and literary consciousness. Among his awards are the Partisan Review Fellowship, a National Institute of Arts and Letters Award, and a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Plot of the Novel

Based on the author’s early experiences in a small church in Harlem, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* traces and elaborates upon the events that occur to John Grimes, the son of a preacher, on his 14th birthday. Through the use of flashbacks, the novel examines the struggling lives of John, his stepfather Gabriel, his mother Elizabeth, other members of his family, and his Sunday school teacher, Elisha, for whom John has great admiration.

The events span two days and a night with the Grimes family, with the hero being the 14-year-old John and his stepfather, Gabriel. James Baldwin divides his novel into three distinct parts. The first section of the novel, “The Seventh Day,” witnesses John’s confusion over his future. It opens with John lying in bed on the morning of his 14th birthday, brooding over the family’s expectation that he should be a preacher like his father. This part is where the novel’s central action is and centers on John’s maturing into manhood. John cannot figure out why his father hates him that much and gives all fatherly affection to his younger brother Roy. He struggles bitterly between his desire to win his father’s love and his hatred for him. In so doing, the religious inclination of the boy makes him believe that he has committed the first major sin of his life, which eventually escalates into his religious crisis.

“Florence’s Prayer” is the first prayer to be treated in Part Two, “The Prayers of the Saints,” which is broken into three stories that focus on the history of John’s family: his stepfather Gabriel, his mother Elizabeth, and his aunt Florence. Florence, Gabriel’s sister, recalls her childhood times when she resented her mother’s favoritism over Gabriel and her dislike of her brother’s treatment of his present and former wives.

In “Gabriel’s Prayer,” Gabriel is found to be a callous and religious man who experienced a rebirth after his youthful life of sin. While married to Deborah, he started an affair with Esther, and withstood the death of his illegitimate son, Royal, believing Roy to be his new hope in life.

In “Elizabeth’s Prayer,” Elizabeth recalls her bitter childhood with her unloving aunt and later her failed love and marriage to Richard. She marries Gabriel and is naïve enough to believe his promise that he will treat John, her son with Richard, as his own. In the third part, “The Threshing

Floor,” John’s hallucinatory experience and his spiritual rebirth are discovered.

The novel ends the next morning, John having come back from the church following a long and tumultuous evening. This final note of optimism, typical of Baldwin, leaves the reader with a powerful sense of hope. In sum, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* not only narrates the experience of growing up in poverty, but also demonstrates the themes of race, religion, and the search for self-identity.

Commentary

Baldwin’s reputation rests largely on his first novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), now an American classic. His style is at once delicate and intense; the language of the novel echoes that of the King James Bible modified to suit a modern audience. The style of the novel is evocative of the slave spiritual tradition that, according to Baldwin, “Americans are able to admire because a protective sentimentality limits their understanding of it.”

Critical praise for the success of *Go Tell It on the Mountain* has not faded since 1953, when the book was first published. One of the earliest reviews, by J. Saunders Redding in the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*, told potential readers that the book was more than just entertaining, and that “even the most insensitive of readers will put the book down with a troubled feeling of having ‘looked on beauty bare.’” *Saturday Review* praises it as “masterful,” and the *San Francisco Chronicle* declares that this important American novel is “brutal, objective and compassionate.” *Harper’s* writes, “It is written with poetic intensity and great narrative skill,” and *Commentary* writes that it is “the most important novel written about the American Negro.”

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See Also: African Americans; Ethnic Studies; Ghetto; Literature and Ethnic Diversity.

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GobiernoUSA.gov

GobiernoUSA.gov is the official Spanish-language Web site and information portal of the U.S. government. It provides access to government services, transactions, and information in Spanish online, intended to serve the Hispanic community by highlighting pertinent government programs and initiatives for Spanish speakers. It was launched on October 16, 2003, and is managed by the U.S. General Services Administration’s Office of Citizen Services and Innovative Technologies.

History

GobiernoUSA.gov was established in a joint context with the gradual adoption of online service delivery by the government in the early 2000s, and the policy development that has sought to minimize discrimination and increase language access. Three especially relevant policy steps were pertinent in this direction. First, the early initiation of the process can be traced back to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which had the intention of minimizing discrimination by country of origin. Second, in line with this provision, Executive Order 13166 was signed by President Bill Clinton in August 2000 and legally required government agencies to ensure that the services they provide are meaningfully accessible to persons with limited English proficiency. Finally, this mandate of providing multilingual information on government services was reaffirmed in a 2011 memorandum

to the Heads of Federal Agencies from Attorney General Eric Holder. This memorandum cited the 2010 Decennial Census as evidence of the need for equitable language access and highlighted the importance of providing more equitable service access for both routine government matters and emergency government communications.

In April 2003, the government launched an initial Spanish-language Web site called FirstGov en Español. Later that year, a press release described the service as a central portal for the then 28.1 million Spanish-speaking residents of the United States to access government information, communicate with government agencies, and complete official transactions in their native Spanish language. U.S. General Services Administration's Office of Citizen Services and Innovative Technologies manages both the Spanish-language Web site and the English-language Web site, USA.gov.

Rather than simply translating its English-language counterpart, the Spanish-language Internet initiative is intended to cater to the cultural sensitivities of the audience it serves. In 2005, a research effort was initiated—utilizing surveys, Hispanic focus groups, and public feedback—to increase the general utility of the site and promote its credibility, trustworthiness, and acceptance by the Spanish-speaking community. This research supported a name change for the Web site to GobiernoUSA.gov. The Web site was redesigned to include official government imagery and a color scheme that is distinctively different from the English-language version. A new publication policy rapidly followed, which maintained native-language standards by prohibiting linking poor machine-translated text. This research and its resulting developments brought the Web site in line with the apparent cultural sensitivities of its Hispanic users.

Current Functioning

The potential outreach of GobiernoUSA.gov is shown by the contemporary growth of the Hispanic population and the sizable proportion that uses the Internet. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Hispanics became the largest minority group in 2000, and by 2010 came to represent 50.5 million people, or 16.3 percent of the total U.S. population. Moreover, the Pew Hispanic Center's report "Latinos and Digital Technology, 2010" found that 65 percent of Hispanics,

generally, and 47 percent of Spanish-dominant Hispanics, in particular, access the Internet. Regarding online activity specifically, the Office of Citizen Services found in 2008 that social media Web sites are disproportionately used by Hispanic Internet users (77 percent) as opposed to Internet users from other groups (42 percent). In light of the unprecedented growth of the Hispanic population in the United States, which increased by over 40 percent in 10 years, facilitating interaction between the government and Spanish-speaking users has become increasingly relevant.

GobiernoUSA.gov leverages both its Web site and social media to serve this sizable and rapidly changing population in a language in which they are most comfortable. The Web site developed a social media strategy aiming, in addition to the basic objectives of the initiative, to expand awareness of the online availability of Spanish-language government services and to leverage networking features of social media platforms. GobiernoUSA.gov has accounts on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, allowing its users to interact with the government in an easier fashion. A smartphone version of the site was also launched in 2011.

Although both GobiernoUSA.gov and USA.gov maintain a unified strategy when communicating to their respective audiences, GobiernoUSA.gov recognizes the particular needs of the Hispanic population. Both Web sites provide information about government programs and services, and offer a directory of local, state, and federal government information. Yet GobiernoUSA.gov has adapted its content to deliver targeted resources, including immigration advice, visa services, and access to residence forms. Additionally, it supports bilingual language education and aims to increase the quality and quantity of Spanish-language content available on government Web sites.

Acknowledging American Multiculturalism

As the official Spanish-language counterpart to the Internet initiatives of the U.S. government, GobiernoUSA.gov is significant for the contemporary study of American multiculturalism. With the growth of Hispanic Internet use, existing government services and information can be meaningfully complemented through online platforms. Of equal significance, the presence of a resource that is distinct from the English-language Web site

recognizes the United States as a plural rather than a monolithic society. Such electronic democracy initiatives, tailored not only to a specific minority language but also to cultural needs and sensitivities, are evidence of an important convergence of technological development in government and the recognition of the distinct civic needs of multicultural society.

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See Also: Civil Rights Acts; Digital Divide, The; Estadounidismos; Hispanic Americans; Hispanic-Serving Institutions; Internet; Language Brokers; Language Usage in the United States; Latinos; Media, Foreign Language; Official English Movement; Spanglish; Telemundo; Translators/Interpreters; Univision.

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Godfather, The

The Godfather is a feature film directed by Francis Ford Coppola, based on a book by Mario

Puzo, with cinematography by Gordon Willis. It is a Paramount production. The film is fictional and follows the life of Michael Corleone (actor Al Pacino) as emerging head of a family crime syndicate established by his father Vito Corleone (Marlon Brando).

The film is set in America in 1945, when Michael is a war hero returning from active duty in World War II. At his sister Connie's (Talia Shire) wedding celebration he introduces his girlfriend Kay (Diane Keaton) to his family and tells her that they are gangsters. He is keen to distance himself from their activities, telling her, "That's my family, Kay. It's not me." Michael is equally keen that Kay, a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, be included in the photos of his Italian American Catholic family.

Both Michael and his father Vito implicitly agree that Michael will not join the established crime syndicate, much to the disgust of his impetuous brother Sonny (James Caan). However, when his father is the victim of a near-fatal shooting by a rival gang member, Michael emerges as the natural leader. He orchestrates the killing of a police chief, which results in a war with rival Mafioso. Michael takes refuge in his father's hometown of Corleone, Sicily; there he meets, falls in love with, and marries Apollonia (Simonetta Stefanelli). Shortly after their wedding day she is killed in an attack intended for Michael.

Michael returns to the United States, rekindles his relationship with Kay, and marries her. Michael convinces Kay that he aims to make the family business legitimate, but as his gangster status rises their relationship becomes more strained. Through the course of Michael's 10-year ascendancy, his brother Sonny is killed, his brother Fredo (John Cazale) betrays Michael, and adopted brother Tom (Robert Duvall) becomes Michael's *consigliere* (adviser). When Vito Corleone dies, Michael emerges as the new Mafia Don.

Audience and Acclaim

The Godfather was critically acclaimed from the outset. It was nominated for 11 Academy Awards and won three: Best Picture, Best Actor (Marlon Brando), and Best Adapted Screenplay (Mario Puzo and Francis Ford Coppola). It has consistently appeared in lists of the top 10 films ever made, often alongside its sequel *The Godfather*

Part II (1974). A later sequel, *The Godfather Part III* (1990), was critically derided and is usually dismissed from academic study.

The film established Coppola as an auteur director and key figure of the New Hollywood cinema that emerged in the 1970s. Other notable films directed by Coppola include *The Conversation* (1974), *The Godfather Part II* (1974), and *Apocalypse Now* (1974). Often using the same cast and production crew, Coppola's films portray America as a country that is discomfited in the light of past transgressions, such as the Vietnam War. *The Godfather* demonstrates this in its narrative style, which, particularly when considered with *The Godfather Part II*, is nonlinear and lacking a neat resolution.

Cultural Commentary

As a key text of an established film canon, *The Godfather* has been the subject of considerable academic study and cultural debate. Whether as an example of genre, narrative structure, cinematography, stardom, directing, or acting, it is hard



Francis Ford Coppola discusses his experience with *The Godfather* at the Capodichino Ciao Hall in Naples, Italy, November 21, 2006. Initially, Coppola was concerned that the 1972 screenplay, which features a powerful New York crime family, would glorify the Mafia and reflect poorly on his Sicilian and Italian heritage.

to find an English-language film studies text that does not refer to this movie. In creating a portrayal of the Mafia that was both convincing and enduring, *The Godfather* perpetuated many of the stereotypes of Italian American culture. The success of both the film and the book ensured that several Italian criminal terms (such as *Cosa Nostra*, “going to the mattresses,” and “sleeping with the fishes”) became known to an English-speaking audience and entered a wider cultural discourse.

In *The Godfather Part II*, Al Pacino reprised his role as an older Michael Corleone reflecting on his ascent through the Mafia. In a series of flashbacks, Robert De Niro plays a younger version of his father Don Vito Corleone, showing his own emergence as head of the crime family. The collaboration of Pacino and De Niro in one film, directed by Coppola, was seen by many as the pinnacle of American cinema. Although the film has often been cited as a negative representation of Italian American culture, it has been given a greater amount of credence by the collaboration of many Italian Americans to create it.

The term *the godfather effect* was coined to refer to the way that American cultural consciousness in the 1970s appeared to turn inward, reflecting on the unattainability and failure of the American Dream. In *The Godfather*, the Mafia are presented as gangsters who are ultimately no more corrupt than many of the legitimized members of American society, such as governors, politicians, and clergy, that they encounter. The film's opening line: “I believe in America,” can therefore be read as a damning indictment of American society in the mid-20th century.

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See Also: *Annie Hall*; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Italian Americans; Little Italy; Mafia; Motion Pictures; Sicilian Americans.

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Gold Mountain

Gold Mountain, or Gum Shan, is the Chinese name for western North America. After the discovery of gold in California in 1848, thousands of men from the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong (Canton) Province made their way to the American west to escape civil war, flood, and famine, hoping to send support to their families and one day return home. The term *Gold Mountain* originally pertained to California, and a few years later also to British Columbia when gold was discovered there. After the North American Gold Rush declined over the next decade, Australia's gold fields became the New Gold Mountain for another group of Chinese sojourners. As a metaphor denoting the hopes and struggles of the early immigrants, Gold Mountain is as ubiquitous in Chinese American literature as the Ghost Dance is in Native American literature or the Statue of Liberty in works by European immigrants.

The Yellow Peril

Ceded to the United States by Mexico in 1848, California was home to some 30 indigenous cultures before the Gold Rush, as well as a small minority of Californios (Mexican colonists of Spanish descent), Russians, Brits, and other Europeans. After gold fever hit, Native populations were decimated by disease and violence as people poured into the region. Those seeking their fortunes were mainly European Americans from the American east and south, but prospectors also included African and Native Americans, Mexicans, Central and South Americans, western Europeans, Russians, Australians, and Asians. At first welcomed, by the 1850s Chinese laborers were deemed the “yellow peril” invading America to offer cheap labor and take jobs from whites. Chinese were also legal outcasts, like blacks and Indians, unable to testify against whites, which led to ever-increasing anti-Chinese violence.

Almost all Chinese had left the mines by 1868. Some joined the new influx of Chinese immigrants who came to build the western portion of the transcontinental railroad over the Sierra Nevada. The Chinese also contributed to agricultural development in the region, building levees in the Sacramento Delta like those of their homeland, establishing orchards, and growing vegetables.

They were also fishermen, cigar makers, cooks, restaurateurs, merchants, laundry owners, domestic servants, and nannies.

Chinese culture arrived with the first sojourners. Theater groups and roving minstrels entertained fellow immigrants. Chinese operas were also presented for white audiences. In 1854, the *Xinwenlu* (Golden Hill News) became the first Chinese-language newspaper in North America. Gambling halls, temples, herbalists, fortune-tellers, laundries, restaurants, and boarding houses, along with Chinese churches and benevolent associations, created bustling Chinatowns.

Major cities in the west, including Sacramento, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Victoria (British Columbia), have been important community hubs, but none have held the significance of San Francisco, the port where émigrés were processed at the infamous Angel Island, and where the city's densely populated Chinatown offered immigrants critical resources. San Francisco itself has been known as Gold Mountain.

In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act halted Chinese immigration and prohibited Chinese from becoming U.S. citizens. Previously, only prostitutes and “morons” were excluded. Because white Americans assumed that all Chinese women entering the United States were prostitutes (most who arrived before the mid-1870s were in fact forced to become sex slaves), women were excluded early on and remained a small minority of the Chinese in America, though exempt classes—merchants, diplomats, students, clergymen, and travelers—could bring their families. Exclusion laws, violence against migrant workers, and the illegality of interracial marriage limited the possibility of Chinese men putting down permanent roots. Nonetheless, the 25,000 Chinese émigrés by 1852 grew to 4 million claiming full or partial Chinese heritage in the 2010 U.S. Census, making Chinese Americans the largest Asian group in the United States.

Today, as a trope appearing throughout Chinese American literature, Gold Mountain insists on the remembrance of the significance of the past. Marlon K. Hom's translation of 220 songs originally published in 1911 and 1915, *Songs of Gold Mountain: Cantonese Rhymes From San Francisco Chinatown*, for example, opens readers' eyes to the wide variety of concerns of early Chinese immigrants, including poverty, sex, and

frustration with American bureaucracies. Maxine Hong Kingston's fictional *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book*, set in the beatnik era, offers a comical window into how generations of Chinese immigrants helped shape the San Francisco Bay Area. Lisa See's family history, *On Gold Mountain*, inspired a 2000 exhibit at Los Angeles's Autry Museum of Western Heritage that traveled to the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C., in 2001 and was touted as the most significant show ever mounted in the United States on Chinese American life in the American west.

In an ironic twist, for investors today, the Gold Mountain is China.

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See Also: Angel Island; California Gold Rush; Chinatowns; Chinese Americans; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Yellow Peril.

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writer and comedienne Gertrude Berg, who also starred. *The Goldbergs* was one of the most successful situation comedy programs on radio, premiering on the NBC network on November 10, 1929, and running weekly for 20 years. In 1948, Berg created a Broadway play, *Me and Molly*, adapted from the radio comedy, which ran for two years, and in 1949 the CBS television network premiered *The Goldbergs* as a weekly series, which ran until 1955.

Gertrude Berg played the matriarch Molly in all of the show's incarnations and was also the major writer for both series, composing some 10,000 scripts over the years. *The Goldbergs* also appeared as a comic strip, originating in the *New York Herald Tribune* newspaper, one of the few American comic strips to feature Jewish characters. *The Goldbergs* was an important piece of American popular culture, a respectful and successful depiction of an ethnic family in a popular medium crowded with stereotypes, and one of the first sympathetic depictions of Jewish life in American broadcasting.

Set for most of its radio and television run in the Bronx, where the Goldbergs lived in apartment 3B at 1038 East Tremont, in a neighborhood where immigrant Jewish families often moved after achieving the first level of financial success in America, *The Goldbergs* opened with Molly talking to her neighbors from the window of the family's apartment. (Her greeting, "Yoo-hoo, Mrs. Bloom," became a well-known catchphrase.)

The Goldbergs was one of the first family situation comedies in American media, and the longest running before Lucille Ball's *I Love Lucy*. Unlike Ball's character, mother Molly was a resourceful anchor at the center of the family, a problem solver who helped not only her family but those of her neighbors in the community. Her family included husband Jake, who owned a clothing business (on radio, actors Himan Brown and James R. Waters; on television, Philip Loeb, Harold Stone, and Robert H. Harris), Molly's retired Uncle David (Menasha Skulnik and Eli Mintz), who helps run the household, son Sammy (Alfred Ryder; on television, Larry Robinson and Tom Taylor), and daughter Rosalie (Roslyn Silber; on television, Arlene McQuade).

For most of its run, the radio show ran for 15 minutes daily or thrice weekly, featuring

Goldbergs, The

The Goldbergs was a humorous comedy series about a Jewish family in New York created by

serialized, continued story lines. The television adaptation began its run as a half-hour program on the CBS network; Berg received the first Emmy Award for Best Actress for this version in 1950. The show later moved to NBC, then the Dumont network, and finally Berg independently syndicated the show, becoming a pioneer in this form of distribution, ending in 1956.

The Immigrant Experience

Berg conceived her show as a portrait of the immigrant experience of her own life and family and of the Jewish community in New York where she grew up. The first episode of the radio show and the plot of the Broadway play featured Jake failing to get family financial support for opening his own clothing business, and Molly literally saving the day with her own secret funds. She later explained, "The saved money idea came from my grandmother, who was always putting away a penny here and a penny there for when something would be needed. Jake's desire to be his own boss was that of my father and grandfather."

The Catskill Mountains of New York became the major destination for vacations for the Jewish communities of the northeast, filled with summer camps and popular hotels featuring recreation and entertainment, sometimes called the Borsht Belt. *The Goldbergs* featured a fictional Catskills hotel, Pincus-in-the-Pines, based on Fleischmann's, a resort run by Berg's grandfather.

The success of the *Amos 'n Andy Show*, featuring white performers enacting stereotypical comedy about African Americans, paved the way for Berg's success in bringing *The Goldbergs* to radio. Stereotypical, and often offensive, depictions of racial and ethnic minorities have been a part of American popular culture since the 19th century, from blackface minstrel shows to vaudeville comedians like Gallagher and Sheahan and plays like *Abie's Irish Rose*.

Although employing ethnic stereotypes of Jews, Berg intended her shows to depict a cross-generational immigrant experience: "The children," she explained, "Sammy and Rosie, were . . . first generation Americans, who were trying to make sense of growing up in one world, America, but coming from another, the European world of their parents . . . they helped teach their immigrant parents how to become American."

Berg's Molly was a competent, adaptive mother and member of her community, one of the strongest feminist images of Jews in American popular culture, and also a verbally adept social commentator in the tradition of wise ethnic fictional characters like Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley and Langston Hughes's Jess B. Simple. Vaudeville dialect humor mocked its caricatured speakers, but Molly's use of malapropisms was not only popular (the public called them Molly-propisms) but expressive, satirical, and emotionally resonant of the feelings within her family and community.

McCarthyism and the Red Scare of the 1950s particularly targeted the popular media, and when a magazine called *Red Channels* published a list of supposed communists in Hollywood, these and others were barred from working through the blacklist. Philip Loeb was blacklisted, and when Berg refused to remove him from the show, CBS dropped it. Berg resisted, but finally replaced Loeb in order to move to NBC, but the show's appeal had been damaged and advertisers were frightened. When the show moved to the small Dumont network, the name was changed to *Molly*, and the family moved to a suburb, Havemore, losing much of its ethnic quality.

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See Also: *Abie's Irish Rose*; *Amos 'n Andy Show*, *The*; Anti-Semitism; Jewish Americans; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Radio; Television.

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Gone With the Wind

Gone With the Wind, the 1936 novel by Atlanta native Margaret Mitchell, is the best-selling novel of the 20th century. It begins with talk of secession and follows Scarlett O'Hara through the U.S. Civil War and the early years of Reconstruction. Successful almost from the moment of publication, the 1,037-page novel has continued to sell in impressive numbers into the 21st century. Central to the novel's popularity, and almost inseparable from it in the popular imagination, is David O. Selznick's 1939 film adaptation, one of the most popular films of all time. Both novel and movie have frequently been the center of controversy surrounding the inherent racism of the work. Less attention has been given to the treatment of class and the Irish identity of the title character.

Early reviewers may have compared *Gone With the Wind* to William Makepeace Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, but Margaret Mitchell's only novel has generally been looked upon with disdain by the literary establishment. Even though the novel won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1937, it has been viewed by most academic critics as popular fiction, flawed and trivial. Nevertheless, it broke publishing records, selling more than two million copies by the time its 21-month run on the bestseller list ended. It has been translated into 40 languages, and more than 75 years after it was first published, it continues to sell around 75,000 copies each year.

Margaret Mitchell was born in 1900 and came of age in a region, in urban areas no less than in rural ones, where racial violence was a fact of life and prejudice against Jews and Catholics as well as African Americans was entrenched. In presenting slaves as happy, sometimes childlike, creatures whose identity rested in their relationship to their white owners or as bestial beings less than human, Mitchell was replicating the moral blindness of

a system that owed its existence to slavery. The communist newspaper the *Daily Worker* accused Mitchell of inciting race hatred, but by and large, protests against the novel's racism were linked to the film.

The Film

Selznick paid Mitchell \$50,000 for film rights and hired Pulitzer Prize-winning dramatist Sydney Howard to write the screenplay. Aside from omitting background and two of Scarlett's children, Howard followed the novel in most respects. However, he and Selznick decided that racial elements must be toned down. They decided to remove references to the Ku Klux Klan and racial epithets. But these changes were not enough to stop the public outcry. Several African American organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), opposed the film's production and release. Others saw it as a showcase for African American actors. While the actors themselves, particularly Butterfly McQueen, who played the simple-minded slave girl Prissy, were unhappy with the degrading stereotyping of African Americans, most were happy to have work in the 1930s.

Selznick's problems with the African American community increased once the film was complete. The Atlanta premiere was a three-day extravaganza. Selznick planned for all his actors to participate in the event. He was particularly eager to showcase Hattie McDaniel, whose Academy Award nomination for her performance as Mammy was the first such recognition for an African American actor. But Selznick was warned that while southern whites would receive the African American actors warmly on stage, they would not be seated with them in the theater or share dinner with them after the showing. Selznick chose to bring only the film's white actors to Atlanta.

Reviews of the film were generally generous, with Vivien Leigh's embodiment of Scarlett O'Hara and Hattie McDaniel's portrayal of Mammy as the moral force of the film receiving particular praise. The *Daily Worker*, on the other hand, called the film insulting to African Americans and Mammy "loathsome" in her love for her owners. Picketers in Washington, D.C., Chicago, and New York charged that the film

glorified slavery. A small band protested at the Oscars, but Hattie McDaniel's win was widely celebrated. Protests had little effect on audiences in 1939 or later. The movie has grossed approximately \$4 million; adjusting this for current value places the total at \$3 billion to 5.3 billion, making it one of the highest-grossing films of all time.

While prevailing racist attitudes toward African Americans have been a significant part of discussions about *Gone With the Wind* as book and film, consideration of the O'Haras' Irish ethnicity is often overlooked. Ellen O'Hara is from an aristocratic coastal family, but Gerald O'Hara is an Irish Catholic immigrant who has infiltrated the ranks of southern aristocracy through money and marriage. Rhett Butler, a product of Charleston aristocracy, calls him a "Mick on the make" and assures Scarlett that their daughter Bonnie with the blood of Butlers and Robillards in her veins is too good to associate with Scarlett's crowd of Irish, Yankees, white trash, and carpetbaggers.

Scarlett is her father's daughter. She is named for her paternal grandmother, whose family fought at the Battle of the Boyne. Her love for Tara, which is named for the ancient hall in County Meath (Gerald's home) where legendary Celtic figures gather, is inherited from her father, whose forebears placed high value on the land. Scarlett, who knows she is unlike her lady mother, is aware of how thin the barrier is that separates her from the white trash Slatterys, the common Bridget Flaherty, and her sawmill manager Johnnie Gallegher, who is willing to beat and starve a gang of convicts in order to increase profits. India Wilkes, sister of the man Scarlett loves for much of her life, tells Scarlett that she is not and never has been "one of us."

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See Also: African Americans; Civil War, U. S.; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Irish Americans; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Motion Pictures; Racism; Slavery; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Gospel Music

Gospel music generally refers to songs that are expressions of Christian faith, or songs that provide religious alternatives to secular genres of music. Its purpose may be for worship, ceremony, proselytizing, education, or entertainment. Gospel audiences often expect performers to lead lives that match the expression of faith of their music. Structurally, gospel music varies across its many subgenres. Generally, strong vocals, either solo or ensemble; lyrics expressing messages ranging from inspirational to overtly religious; and syncopated, often ad libitum, rhythms comprise the fundamentals of gospel music.

Origins of Modern-Day Gospel Music

During the 17th century, spirituals, the precursors to gospel music, developed from the Christian hymns and sacred music imported from Europe, and the oral traditions that survived the Middle Passage, brought to the Americas by the enslaved peoples of West Africa. Because many practitioners were illiterate, first spirituals (and later gospel music) utilized repetition and call-and-response sections to facilitate memorization and participation. The lack of instrumentation available to African Americans at the time allowed for the development of complex rhythmic and harmonic elements.

By the 1870s, the music that had developed out of spirituals was known as gospel. The revival movement of the late 19th century facilitated the exportation of gospel music throughout the United States and made famous early gospel singers and songwriters, including Fanny Crosby, P. P. Bliss, and Charles H. Gabriel. In 1930, the National Baptist Convention formally endorsed

gospel as the music of the church. Mainstream acceptance of black gospel occurred in 1950, when Joe Bostic produced the Negro Gospel and Religious Music Festival at Carnegie Hall. Mahalia Jackson, the Fisk Jubilee Singers, and Thomas A. Dorsey were among the successful performers of traditional gospel music.

Contemporary Christian Music

Contemporary Christian music, or inspirational music, as it is sometimes known, is represented on *Billboard Magazine's* Top Christian Albums and Hot Christian Songs charts. This genre has been exemplified by a group of artists that includes Amy Grant, Jars of Clay, and dc Talk. A reaction to the libertine counterculture of the era that embraced radicalism, substance abuse, and sexual exploration, contemporary Christian music developed from the so-called Jesus music of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The genre's two foundational albums, Larry Norman's *Upon This Rock* (1969) and Mylon LeFevre's *Mylon—We Believe* (1970), evince its roots in folk and rock music. Initially, the music's secular sound was off-putting to some audiences. However, younger listeners gravitated toward the music, which facilitated the acceptance of more contemporary-sounding religious music. Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, contemporary Christian music grew into a financially successful genre that received consistent airplay on mainstream radio stations. By the 2000s, contemporary Christian music was out-selling classical, jazz, and Latin recordings.

Christian Country Music

Christian country music is closely related to secular country music, sharing artists, instrumentation, and content. The genre is an outgrowth of both southern gospel and country music, developing in the southeast and midwest during the 1950s and 1960s. The work of disc jockeys like Bob Wilson helped cement the genre's popularity. Christian country music has been featured prominently on television on shows like *Grand Ole Opry*, *Hee Haw*, and *Ozark Jubilee*. Among the most popular Christian country performers are Barbara Mandrell, Tennessee Ernie Ford, and Allen Frizzell. Several Christian country music songs have had considerable mainstream success, including Dolly Parton's "The Seeker" (1975), Cristy Lane's "One



Carrie Underwood performs at the World Arena in Colorado Springs, December 2, 2006. Her Christian country music song "Jesus, Take the Wheel" (2005) was a major crossover hit.

Day at a Time" (1980), and Carrie Underwood's "Jesus, Take the Wheel" (2005).

Urban Contemporary Gospel

Urban contemporary gospel has its roots in traditional black gospel, Protestant hymns, and spirituals; it was established firmly as an independent genre by the late 1970s. It is marketed primarily to younger African American audiences as its sound has mirrored contemporaneous rhythm and blues and soul music. The primary audience for urban Christian music is black, while contemporary Christian music genres principally are listened to by white audiences. They have separate charts in *Billboard* magazine, are recognized at different awards shows, and have different artists who seldom collaborate with one another. Traditionally, the instrumentation of urban contemporary gospel has comprised keyboards, percussion, electric

guitar, and bass; increasingly, the influence of hip-hop can be observed as drum machines, samplers, and 808s have become commonplace.

Like most genres of African American music, urban contemporary gospel has its roots in spirituals, which were born out of West African musical forms mixing with Western Christian expression during American slavery. Although sometimes spirituals were used sometimes as a means of coded communication between enslaved people, their primary function was one of Christian praise and worship. Its syncopation, elaborate harmonies, stylistic freedom, and emphasis on virtuosic singing distinguished it from Protestant hymn singing. Soul singers, like Al Green, Aretha Franklin, and Wilson Pickett, further blurred the lines between secular and nonsecular black music with their vocal styles and by adapting gospel themes, musical elements, and phrases into non-religious music. Among the genre's most successful artists are Yolanda Adams, Mary Mary, and Donnie McClurkin.

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See Also: African Methodist Episcopal Church; Appalachians; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Hip-Hop; Jazz and Ethnic Diversity; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Slavery.

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Gran Torino

Gran Torino (2009) is a highly praised film that navigates the American multicultural scope and raises critical issues pertaining to racial discrimination, assimilation, generational difference, violence, and multicultural understanding. It

reveals a contrast in the demographic composition of the American urban setting, illustrated by a Detroit neighborhood in which most of the film's actions take place. The neighborhood is increasingly dominated by Asian migrants, who are rapidly replacing predominantly white residents. The film's protagonist Walt Kowalski (Clint Eastwood), one of the neighborhood's few white residents refusing to relocate, finds himself living at the intersection of homogenous past memories and a heterogeneous current reality, magnifying a critical crossroad for Americans to wrestle with.

Kowalski is a dying old American widower grieving the loss of his lifetime partner. He rejects any suggestions to move to a nursing home and chooses to lead an independent lifestyle. He struggles to find inner peace, but is unable to achieve it through church, family, or friends. His wife's death only increases his sense of anger and restlessness, which have already been stirred by his participation in the Korean War, his inability to adapt to the younger generation's way of life, and his difficulty interacting with the new racially diverse neighbors. As a self-reliant handyman, and a strong believer in work as a prerequisite for success, he suppresses his longing for inner peace by retaining his Ford Gran Torino, which is much sought after by his family, friends, and neighbors. It is through this Gran Torino that he eventually manages to secure peace for his soul.

Kowalski's young Hmong adolescent neighbor, Thao (Bee Vang), is coerced to join a neighborhood gang. For his initiation, he is asked to steal Kowalski's Gran Torino. The latter is alarmed and rushes to save his car. The next day, the gang members come back to convince Thao to steal the car. Thao refuses and attempts to run away. They all find themselves in Kowalski's yard and are scared away by his threatening rifle. The next morning, Kowalski finds himself hailed as the neighborhood hero for saving Thao and is swarmed with gifts. Later on, when Thao's sister, Sue (Ahney Her), is harassed by a small gang of African Americans, Kowalski rushes to her rescue. As a token of appreciation, Sue invites him to a birthday party, where he starts to learn and appreciate the Hmong culture and traditions.

This is a dramatic shift from Kowalski's earlier attitude toward them. In his earlier encounters,

he views them with disgust and contempt. He sees them as undesirable bodies unable to reflect, if not celebrate, any sense of assimilation to the American cultural codes. They congregate in big numbers, which makes him wonder, “How many swamp rats you can get in one room!” He constantly uses denigrating racial slurs when referring to them, spits to the ground with derision when looking at them, and thinks of them as dog-eaters and barbarians. He demonstrates a sense of ignorance of the Hmong as he chooses to call them Koreans and jungle dwellers, using his war frame of reference. He even passes on to them other fixed stereotypes like the ideas that Asians are education oriented and good at math. Constantly seeing them as a cultural other, Kowalski fails to recognize their embrace of American values.

Now, Kowalski exhibits more awareness of the differences between Hmong and other Asian ethnicities. He sees Thao’s commitment to success through hard work and secures a construction job for him at one of his friend’s construction sites, purchasing the necessary tools for him. He offers to lend him some of his tool collection when he learns that Thao has been beaten and lost his tools. He becomes more committed to Thao’s well-being and encourages him to take the girl he likes to a date. He even offers his *Gran Torino* as the ride for the date. Kowalski is infuriated when learning about the beating and raping of Sue that he is ready to offer himself as a sacrifice, offering redemption to his restless soul and salvation to Thao’s family. He even leaves the *Gran Torino* to Thao in his will.

The film, produced and directed by Clint Eastwood, presents a story line that delves into the racial tension that still generates misfortunes for people of color in the United States, and concludes with a touching reminder of the American pride in multiculturalism and ethnic diversity. It champions awareness of other cultures as a necessary component for American reconciliation with a history informed by racial divide, fear, and intolerance. Meanwhile, the film showcases the power of the individual by introducing new meanings to one’s salvation that can be realized through America’s multicultural promise.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Americanization; Asian Americans; Epithets, Ethnic and Racial; Ethnicity; Generations and Ethnic Diversity; Hmong Americans; Melting Pot; Motion Pictures; People of Color; Pluralism; Race; Racism; Yellow Peril.

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Grandfather Clauses

A grandfather clause is a statement in law or policy granting specified exceptions to new regulations, based on preexisting practices or guarantees.

The term in its original usage specifically addressed free male U.S. voting rights in the 19th century. In their initial form, grandfather clauses in states such as Louisiana exempted voters who may have otherwise failed to meet either literacy or property requirements necessary to vote. A male voter whose father or grandfather voted prior to January 1, 1867, or was a war veteran, was exempt from these stipulations. Such clauses were often referred to as “old soldier” or “grandfather” clauses.

Thus, the terminology of “being grandfathered in” derived from the practice of allowing landless or perhaps illiterate white males the right to vote while disenfranchising African Americans male voters. The practice would stifle not only black voter representation in the south; it would also disenfranchise several thousand poor, white

voters. Along with numerous other strategies, undesirable voters of many ethnicities would be affected by such clauses. Suppression of their votes would have a lasting effect on the American political process and would not be adequately addressed until the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Background

In the aftermath of the Civil War a critical debate arose among members of Congress regarding the full enfranchisement of newly emancipated blacks. Northern Republicans and southern Democrats were unilaterally divided. The passage of the Thirteenth Amendment (abolition of slavery, 1863), Fourteenth Amendment (guarantees citizenship of blacks, 1868) and Fifteenth Amendment (the right to vote, 1870) to the U.S. Constitution, sometimes referred to as the Reconstruction amendments, reflected Republican ideals and demonstrated the party's dominance by the end of the Civil War.

Remaking America along Republican lines would mean a greater inclusion of African Americans not only as free black citizens but also as voters willing to forge a partnership with the Republican Party. The Reconstruction amendments posed a tremendous threat to many southern Democrats' view of African Americans as inferior. The attempt at enfranchisement sought by the Fifteenth Amendment jeopardized the political power of the Democratic Party within Congress.

In a show of force, the 1867 Reconstruction acts, with radical Republicans at the helm, established a military presence within former Confederate states by dividing the south into five military districts, with federal troops dispatched to each; requiring southern states to draft state constitutions that allowed black male suffrage; and prohibiting former Confederate states from taking their seats in Congress until their ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. The humiliation of southern failure during the Civil War was further exacerbated by these congressional defeats.

The Rise of a New South

Following the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln in 1865, President Andrew Johnson sought to placate southern states by softening the requirements necessary for reentry to the Union. However, a mostly Republican Congress felt the south

should receive harsher punishment for its secessionary actions. Johnson's efforts, while endearing him to southern Democrats, were largely ineffective and nearly cost him the presidency.

The election of 1876 once again shifted political power between the north and south. The hotly contested presidential race between Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democratic candidate Samuel Tilden ended with Tilden receiving the popular vote and Hayes a majority of electoral votes. Hayes was, however, allowed to take office contingent upon his agreement to push for pro-Democratic reforms. Often called the Compromise of 1877, such reforms included the removal of all federal troops from Confederate states. Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida would be the beneficiaries of this decision.

This compromise, which brought an end to the period of Reconstruction, would prove detrimental to black political power throughout the final decades of the 19th century and into the following century. Throughout Reconstruction the military presence of federal troops stemmed the tide of racial violence that many newly freed blacks had experienced. In addition, there had been a tremendous flowering of black political involvement during this period. Military personnel provided a modicum of law and order and, where necessary, presided over civil matters as well. Elected black congressmen like Hiram Rhodes Revels, Blanche Bruce, Richard H. Cain, and Robert C. DeLarge emerged throughout the 1870s. However, events like the 1877 compromise marked the beginning of a new era, the end of Reconstruction.

In 1869, Mississippi alone had 87,000 registered black voters. A little more than a decade later that number had dwindled to half. At the same time, the black politicians that filled local, state, and federal positions were no longer in office. The factors responsible for this decrease would be the federal government's diminishing involvement in southern states' lawmaking, the nation's growing engagement abroad, and Supreme Court rulings upholding black disenfranchisement. What occurred in Mississippi would set an important precedent for the establishment of grandfather clauses and other tactics aimed at stifling the black vote. When the Mississippi convention of elected state officials convened in 1890 to draft the state's new constitution, the purpose was clear. In the

words of the convention president, they had gathered to devise a strategy to exclude black voters.

The establishment of literacy requirements, poll taxes, and the grandfather clause offered a legal route to circumventing the Fifteenth Amendment. The grandfather clause served as the penultimate choice, prior to full-out intimidation, to enable state legislators to ensure enfranchisement only for whites. While prospective white voters may have failed to meet the literacy requirements or were unable to pay a two-year retroactive poll tax, they would most likely still qualify to vote. The grandfather clause, applying only to males whose fathers or grandfathers were eligible voters prior to January 1, 1867, would undoubtedly exclude the majority of black voters. The following states soon adopted similar clauses: Louisiana (1898), North Carolina (1900), Maryland (1908), Georgia (1908), Virginia (1901), Alabama (1901), and Oklahoma (1910).

The passage of state constitutions and laws that excluded blacks from the voter rolls had its desired effect of disenfranchising African Americans. By 1892 in Mississippi alone, only 6 percent of the state's black population were registered to vote. Mississippi would first invoke an "understanding clause." Such a clause enabled illiterate whites to vote despite their inability to read. Election officials would read a passage from the U.S. Constitution. Upon their own discretion, the officials then decided whether prospective voters had significant understanding of the Constitution to allow them to cast their ballots. This loophole, however, invited voter fraud, and other southern states considering such measures believed they were too risky. The drafting of these states' constitutions reflected their attempts to build off the Mississippi model, while avoiding its mistakes.

Louisiana

For example, in 1898 Louisiana ratified its state constitution, which included the first reference to a grandfather clause. Under this clause, males, their sons, and grandsons born prior to January 1, 1867, were exempt from literacy and property requirements. Separate lists of white and black voters were generated. Louisiana's grandfather clause was meant to remedy even the appearance of the fraudulent practices inherent in Mississippi's understanding clause. It was effective in

purging the majority black voters from the rolls. In 1896, there were 130,334 black voters in Louisiana; by 1910, only 710 black registrants were eligible to vote.

North Carolina

By 1896 North Carolina's white Democrats sought to reestablish control of local and state government. In that year's elections, candidates ran on a platform of white supremacy and black disenfranchisement. In subsequent elections this goal was achieved. The North Carolina state legislature would meet in 1900 to effectively bar blacks from voting by adopting its own version of the grandfather clause.

The rationale for the grandfather clause's use was combined with the party's white supremacy dogma. Committee chairman George H. Rountree openly stated that barring blacks from voting through such clauses was necessary to the maintenance of whites' hereditary superiority in self-governing. Thus, in extending exemptions to the poll tax only to those entitled to vote prior to January 1, 1867, Rountree and others concluded that the proper hereditary rights of certain individuals would be maintained. The North Carolina regulations were especially effective in attaining their goals; from 1896 to 1904, virtually no African American voters went to the polls in that state.

Alabama

When Alabama legislators met in 1901 to create a new state constitution, they were influenced by the barriers to black voting in the Mississippi constitution, Alabama lawmakers sought to replicate these tactics. Like Louisiana and North Carolina before them, and to avoid a federal injunction for failing to uphold the Fifteenth Amendment, Alabama lawmakers stated their grandfather clauses more implicitly.

Article VIII, Section 180 of the Alabama constitution clearly specified its grandfather clause by placing voters into three categories: (1) a class of soldiers; (2) descendants of the soldiers' class; and (3) a class of people who were neither soldiers nor descendants of soldiers. Categorically the third class subjected potential black voters to significantly greater scrutiny when registering to vote. Forced to read difficult passages of the Constitution or interpret its most onerous passages,

black voters were often left to the whim of white registrars. However, the first two classes, by reason of their white descent, avoided such barriers to voting.

These voting practices were replicated in other states. So while Mississippi led the way in black disfranchisement, other southern states further formalized the process by including and refining grandfather clauses in their newly ratified state constitutions and laws. This paved the way for the establishment of several more Jim Crow laws and the beginning of the Jim Crow era in general.

Opposition to the Grandfather Clause

From their inception, grandfather clauses came under a storm of criticism. Republicans would rightly claim that these clauses sought to quiet black congressional voices that had arisen during Reconstruction. While largely unsuccessful, some like U.S. Representative Edgar D. Crumpacker offered proposals and legislation meant to curb such voter fraud and punish southern states for their attempts to implement such practices. Black leaders like Booker T. Washington financed several legal battles on behalf of southern black voters.

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a string of state and federal cases sought to end grandfather clauses and other discriminatory voting practices. The 1898 case *William v. Mississippi* set a precedent in its attempt to challenge the Mississippi constitution's voting practices. Henry Williams was convicted and subsequently found guilty of murder by an all-white jury. His defense attorney argued that because of black voter suppression through literacy requirements, poll taxes, and the understanding clause, Williams's rights under the Fourteenth Amendment were violated, disallowing a trial by a jury of his peers. The Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Melville Fuller who ruled in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) case, ruled in favor of Mississippi. The court concluded that such voting practices did not in fact target African Americans. Subsequent cases *Giles v. Harris* (1903) and *Giles v. Teasley* (1904) met with the same ruling.

The End of Grandfather Clauses

In 1915, grandfather clauses in the states of Oklahoma and Maryland were ruled unconstitutional

in *Guinn v. United States*. Chief Justice Edward D. White, who also ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, found the states' clauses to be in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. The court's ruling would be the first among several court briefs filed by the recently formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). As the first successful federal ruling against grandfather clauses, *Guinn v. United States* ultimately ended such state constitutional barriers to voting in Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, and North Carolina. However, these states soon ratified new laws and conceived other methods to disenfranchise black voters.

Twenty-three years after the *Guinn v. United States* decision, the Supreme Court once again ruled on behalf of black voters in *Lane v. Wilson*. In response to the *Guinn* decision, Oklahoma had enacted a new law whereby anyone not registered to vote before 1914 was forever barred from voting unless they registered within 12 days. In the majority opinion written by Justice Felix Frankfurter, the Supreme Court saw this law as a thinly veiled attempt at circumventing the 1915 ruling that did away with grandfather clauses.

The state law was struck down. However, the *Lane v. Wilson* case demonstrates the continued attempts by state and local officials to suppress the black vote. The end of the grandfather clause only marked the inception of similar laws and devious practices meant to continue disenfranchisement efforts.

The 1965 Voting Rights Act addressed grandfather clauses' other voting abuses, providing one of the most sweeping legal rulings on the matter in the 20th century. While *Guinn v. United States* addressed grandfather clauses specifically, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 addressed all such discriminatory practices by prohibiting the use of any voting qualifications or prerequisites aimed at denying the right of any person on the basis of color or race.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil War, U.S.; Constitution, U.S.; Constitutional Amendments; Gerrymandering; House of Representatives, U.S.; Jim Crow Laws; National Association for

the Advancement of Colored People; Poll Taxes; Reconstruction; Voting Rights Acts.

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Great Depression

The American Great Depression was a complex event that unfolded over more than a decade and affected different cultural and ethnic groups unevenly. The most typical index of the Depression, the general unemployment statistics, hovered consistently between 14 percent and 25 percent in the 1930s, but for minorities living during this period it was often much higher. For example, for African Americans who moved north during the Great Migration of the 1920s, unemployment was often above 50 percent.

Racism, Immigration, and Labor

Racism, exclusion, and poverty were an integral part of life for minorities and ethnic groups at every level of society, and manifested in multiple ways. The conditions of American life changed dramatically for everyone, with more than half of the population living in cities rather than on farms, and the electrification of a majority of homes for the first time. But these changes did not have the same effects for the more than 120

million Americans who experienced the 1930s. Those African Americans who did not leave the south had the lowest life expectancy in the nation, averaging 45 years in contrast to the national average of 60 years. These differences between region and population demonstrate the need to focus attention on the specific experiences that characterized life for American minority groups.

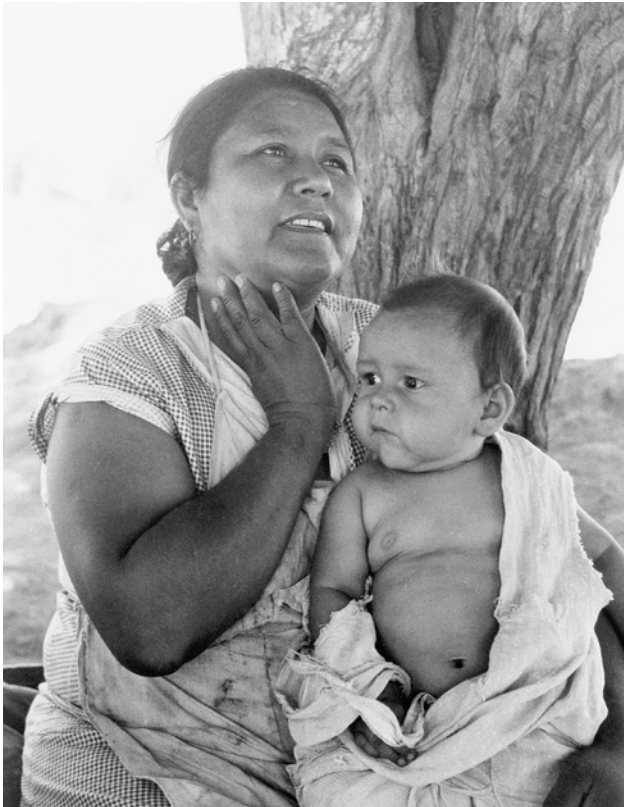
One of the most significant changes to occur during the Depression was the leveling off, then reversal, of the large-scale immigration of minority groups that had characterized the previous three decades. The economic hardship that caused many recent immigrants to return to their country of origin in the 1930s was compounded by the new immigration legislation that made it significantly more difficult for ethnic minorities to enter the United States or to naturalize. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 set quotas based on the theories of "scientific racism," which held that a pseudo-anthropological group called the Nordics was inherently superior to other "races." In accord with these eugenicist principles, white Protestants from northern Europe were encouraged to emigrate to the United States, while those from other regions were discouraged by restricting immigration from countries such as Italy, Greece, or Poland. These eastern and southern European white ethnic groups comprised distinct social categories in American sociopolitics, and were considered eugenically inferior for the same reasons that people originating from Africa and Asia were deemed "dysgenic."

These quotas dramatically restructured minority communities that had previously been shaped by patterns of immigration. On the West Coast, the large Japanese community continued to grow despite restricted immigration, with more than half of all Japanese Americans born in the United States by the 1930s. The significant number of Japanese women coming to the United States in the previous decades (some years as high as 40 percent of total Japanese emigration) meant that many Japanese Americans began families. With over 130,000 Japanese Americans in the United States, most of whom lived on the West Coast, this group comprised one of the few minority populations to significantly grow during the Depression.

This population growth stands in marked contrast to the experience of Chinese Americans, a

group that was predominantly male because Chinese women had made up a very small proportion of emigrants in the previous decades. Consequently, population growth among Chinese Americans came almost exclusively from immigration, and there were very few Chinese Americans born in the United States between the wars. Strictly enforced antimiscegenation laws in California deriving from the same eugenicist principles behind immigration restriction were also used to block marriage between minorities and the predominantly white population. This resulted in a very stable Chinese American population of about 75,000 over the period of the Depression.

Although the 1924 Immigration Restriction Act specifically contained an Asian Exclusion Act that continued earlier quotas on the number of immigrants from countries like China and Japan,



During the Great Depression in June 1935, a Mexican mother in California says she tells her children that "I would like to go to Mexico, but they tell me, 'We don't want to go, we belong here.'" The Great Depression was marked by a decade of racism, exclusion, poverty, and unemployment at every level of society, but affected U.S. cultural and ethnic groups unevenly.

the law's quotas did not include nations in the Western Hemisphere such as Mexico. Because of this lack of restriction, by the Great Depression, over one million people of Hispanic origin lived in the United States (mainly in Texas and California). This group, which had previously been considered "white," took on minority ethnic status for the first time with the 1930 U.S. Census. Along with these categorical distinctions came racism and exclusion. Between 1930 and 1932, more than a half-million Mexican and Mexican American laborers were deported or repatriated, sometimes in cattle cars. The combination of deportations and severe work shortages significantly reduced the Mexican American population during the Depression.

The Effect of the Dust Bowl

The Dust Bowl in Oklahoma and neighboring states brought more than one million ethnically white workers from that region to the agricultural fields of the West Coast in the 1930s, creating a serious shortage of work for the Japanese American and Mexican American groups that had previously provided the majority of agricultural labor. Mirroring the high unemployment of African American workers in the industrial northeast, these minority communities were seriously affected by the deeply ingrained discriminatory practices dictating that white laborers should be hired first and paid more. This was part of a common strategy among employers during the 1930s and earlier to use the antagonism between different ethnic communities to lower wages, increase workloads, and discourage the formation of unions. It was not uncommon, for example, to fire an entire workforce of Japanese American laborers to import Filipino workers at lower pay.

Labor Unions, Strikes, and Interethnic Collaboration

Because wages for agricultural labor dropped by almost half in the early 1930s, many ethnic minorities formed unions and went on strike. In an effort to reduce the ethnic antagonisms that benefited employers, these strikes frequently resulted in unprecedented cooperation among different groups of laborers. The 1934 strike organized between Filipino Americans and the mainly white American Federation of Labor (AFL) produce

packers was an important attempt at interethnic collaboration for higher wages and better working conditions. One of the most significant strikes of the Great Depression, the 1933 Cotton Strike in California, involved Mexican American, African American, and white labor. The resulting higher wages of this and other successful strikes on the West Coast in the 1930s were possible because inter-ethnic cooperation ended the struggles between ethnic minorities that employers had promoted to control wages. Conversely, these strikes often failed where ethnic conflict was reintroduced, as with the 1934 Filipino American and AFL strike, in which the white packers eventually chose to negotiate on their own while Filipino Americans were evicted from the fields by vigilantes. While the mainly ethnically white Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) achieved significant legislation protecting rights and wages in the 1930s, the predominantly minority agricultural laborers struggled throughout this period for even modest wage increases.

John Steinbeck's celebrated *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) follows the struggles of a family of migrant workers from Oklahoma, the Joads, without addressing the minorities who were displaced by white laborers like the Joad family. The vigilantes who terrorize Steinbeck's protagonists were an important part of the landowner's strategy for displacing these minority laborers. The use of this kind of violence to break agricultural strikes normalized racist aggression, political disenfranchisement, and inhumane deportation, establishing a precedent for the internment of more than 100,000 Japanese Americans after the United States declared war on Japan in 1941. While openly racist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) lost most of their membership in the 1930s, these extra-legal forms of racist exclusion and abuse continued throughout the decade in areas like agricultural labor.

The eugenicist attitudes underlying this extra-legal racism also found official sanction at the government level with compulsory sterilization laws that disproportionately affected minorities. California, along with Virginia and North Carolina, forcibly sterilized tens of thousands of people based on vague categories such as "feeble-mindedness" or "sexual perversity" that were often interpreted according to the prevailing biases of race and class.

According to these eugenicists, the effects of class and environment were insignificant compared to the innate qualities imparted by racial heritage. The ramifications of this attitude were in turn a major factor in exacerbating these same economic and environmental conditions for minorities in the United States during the Great Depression.

The New Deal

During his presidency from 1933 to 1945, Franklin Delano Roosevelt brought together an uneasy coalition of voters that redefined the Democratic Party. Before the 1930s, the Republican Party, which had been the party of Abraham Lincoln, tended to garner the minority vote, especially among African Americans. Roosevelt effected a shift in this voting demographic by bringing together the minority vote of the industrialized north and progressive factions in both parties to form the powerful New Deal electorate. In contrast to the traditional Democratic south, where only 5 percent of African Americans were registered to vote, industrial labor and immigrant minorities dominated the north. Organizations representing minorities such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Anti-Defamation League also became influential political organizations with the emergence of professional interest groups in Washington. These and other factors contributed to shaping a New Deal policy that was unprecedented in its visible effects for minorities.

Just as the Great Depression is commonly understood in terms of its economic effects, the New Deal is frequently viewed as a mainly legislative undertaking. A remarkable number of important laws were passed during Roosevelt's tenure, many of which positively affected minority groups. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 designed by John Collier was the first legislation to reverse the Dawes Act of 1887, which had dispossessed Native Americans of land and livelihood for generations through forced assimilation. In a reversal of this procedure, Collier's act had the stated goal of maintaining Native cultures on communally owned land. This established self-government for Native American tribes and protected the land and people from the process of assimilation that had been under way since the colonial period.

Failures of the New Deal Legislation

Alongside successful programs like the Indian Reorganization Act, New Deal legislation frequently failed to establish the parity among ethnic groups that it had promised. The Social Security Act of 1935 excluded agricultural and domestic service, areas of work predominantly filled by minorities. This omission was especially egregious because these groups often had little savings and were especially vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the economy. Similarly, while the early version of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (often called the Wagner Act) prohibited racial discrimination, the AFL successfully campaigned to eliminate this clause, resulting in diminished opportunities for minorities to negotiate with employers. Without the legal protection of the Wagner Act, minorities experienced a significantly higher unemployment rate and a pay rate notably below the national average.

Some important legislation affecting minorities was never enacted. The Anti-Lynching Bill of 1937 never came to a vote in the Senate because of political infighting as the southern Democrats struggled for control over Roosevelt's policy. The failure of this bill was a strong index of the continuing racial tensions that characterized the south, an ongoing conflict dramatized in the Scottsboro Boys trial of 1931.

When nine young African American men were accused of raping two white women, they were nearly lynched, then arrested and tried under dubious circumstances. Although the defendants were never fully acquitted, their wrongful conviction was overturned several times in a series of court cases, in part because of the support of the American Communist Party, which was highly active in recruiting and aiding African Americans in the 1930s. Despite the Scottsboro trial's demonstration that racism was a national problem, no legislation explicitly protecting minorities would be passed until after the Great Depression.

New Deal Programs and American Minorities

Legislation was not the only avenue by which the New Deal altered life for American minorities. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was one of the largest employers during the Depression era, supporting everyone from the unskilled

to the artisan. Because it focused on the unemployed, the WPA greatly helped minorities, who made up a disproportionate percentage of those without work. The WPA was not without its controversies, however. Critics felt that it fostered leftist art and unduly supported minorities. Conversely, the employment policies of the WPA specifically discouraged women from becoming the primary breadwinners, suppressing emerging forms of gender equality that had resulted from the changing economic roles brought about by the Depression.

More than anything, these controversies were a mark of the program's wide-ranging influence and remarkable importance for Americans. Begun in 1935, the WPA increased in size and scope every succeeding year of the 1930s to employ more than 8.5 million people at a total cost of \$11 billion. The projects supported by the WPA included parks and recreational areas that improved urban life, where most minorities lived, and subsidiary programs like the Federal Art Project, which aided many minority artists and helped document folk art and traditions.

In its charter, the WPA stated, "There shall be no discrimination on account of race, creed or color." This egalitarian ethos was realized in a variety of its programs, which carried forward the remarkable project of self-documentation and self-scrutiny that characterized the Depression era. The Federal Writers Project interviewed former slaves and recorded the experiences of minorities in more than 3,000 interviews. Thirty-five of these were gathered in *These Are Our Lives* (1939), which told the representative stories of Americans living in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. The Federal Music Project accomplished a similar documentation of American folk music and provided thousands of free concerts in urban settings across the United States.

Another major component of this documentary spirit was expressed through photography. In particular, the photographs by Margaret Bourke-White in *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937) and Walker Evans in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941) recorded the lives of poor rural minorities and whites. These and similar projects were part of a larger efflorescence of culture and entertainment that helped reshape the role of minorities during the Great Depression.

Culture and Entertainment

In the 1946 trial of Major General Karl Brandt for crimes against humanity, the Nazi war criminal defended himself by pointing out that the eugenicist principles underlying his murder of the disabled and racially “inferior” were first advocated and practiced in the United States. Like the German Reich, many Americans supported the theory that innate qualities were dictated by a vaguely understood concept of race. A decade before Brandt’s trial, Hitler had his greatest opportunity to demonstrate these eugenicist theories of racial superiority on the world stage as Germany hosted the 1936 Summer Olympics. In this event, the Nazis sought to corroborate their “scientific racism” with undeniable proof of German athletic superiority. However, African American athletes Jesse Owens and John Woodruff won celebrated gold medals in running and jumping events, victories that were widely perceived to undermine German and American eugenicist theories.

The Olympics was not the only area in which African Americans shone in the 1930s. Boxing was a tremendously popular sport when Joe Louis took the heavyweight championship by defeating, among others, the Jewish American boxer Max Baer. Undoubtedly, Joe Louis’s most important competitor was the German Max Schmeling, who beat Louis in their first meeting in 1936. The Nazis were quick to claim this victory as proof of Aryan superiority, but in the 1938 rematch, Louis decisively won one of the most famous boxing matches in history. Widely touted as an allegorical struggle between minority America and Aryan Germany, the fight was attended by more than 20,000 African Americans. More than 70 million Americans listened to the fight, about twice as many as had voted in the 1936 presidential election. In the rush of excitement at Louis’s victory, people of all ethnicities spontaneously joined together to celebrate in large cities and small towns across the United States.

The Mainstreaming of Minority Culture

Celebration was especially intense in Harlem, the town that the Jamaican American author Claude McKay called “the Negro capital of the world.” Although the Harlem Renaissance had suffered from the economic downturn, many important writers and artists continued to live in this

epicenter of African American culture. Among the important achievements of the later Harlem Renaissance was Zora Neale Hurston’s *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), which is set in the context of the Great Depression. Other important works include Langston Hughes’s *Not Without Laughter* (1930) and George Schuyler’s *Black No More* (1931), both of which are critical of the internal and social racism that characterized the commodification of black culture in the 1920s.

This commodification of black culture continued and intensified during the Depression in events like the New York World’s Fair. Attended by one in three Americans, the fair was a showcase for American science and technology, which were glorified alongside African American dance. Swing, jazz, and the popular new Lindy Hop dance were put on display at the fair, adapted from famous Harlem venues such as the Cotton Club. These displays struck a delicate balance between cultural exchange and co-optation, as a mainly white clientele enjoyed the spectacle of African American performers. In the 1930s, some artists played with this tension to produce fresh responses or generate new material. Orson Welles’s famous production of *Macbeth* with an all-black cast at the Harlem Lafayette Theater complicated Shakespeare’s familiar play by overlaying its performance with American categories of race and ethnicity. On the other hand, George Gershwin’s “American folk opera” *Porgy and Bess* premiered in 1935 with a black cast that had been trained in classical opera as opposed to the kind of music on display at the Cotton Club.

At the same time that African American art and entertainment were becoming a part of a shared American culture, radio and cinema became important avenues for exploring questions of minority identity and experience. Jewish Americans like Jack Benny and the Marx Brothers brought vaudeville and Yiddish traditions of humor to their films, while radio programs like *The Goldbergs* gave listeners an image of New York immigrant life. As important as these media were, they were just as often part of a discriminatory and racist culture that persisted throughout the 1930s. The immensely popular *Amos ‘n Andy* radio broadcasts used racist caricature drawn from the southern minstrel show. In Hollywood, the onset of the Motion Picture Production Code

(or the Hays Code) prohibited the depiction of “miscegenation” or “sexual perversion,” provisions specifically targeting minorities and members of the queer community.

The Great Depression in Perspective

Although immigration greatly slowed during the Great Depression, the 1930s were a time when many minorities began to explore identity through art and culture. These communities contributed importantly to the shaping of an American culture that became significantly less assimilationist, despite the continued prevalence of eugenicist laws and attitudes. In many ways, the Depression brought people from different ethnic groups together in the shared project of overcoming the economic and social challenges of this tumultuous decade.

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See Also: *Amos 'n Andy Show, The*; Anti-Defamation League; Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Boxing and Ethnic Diversity; Cotton Club; Eugenics; *Goldbergs, The*; Great Migration; Harlem Renaissance; Immigration Acts; Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Picture Production Code; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; *Porgy and Bess*; Scottsboro Boys Trials.

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Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission

The 2010 U.S. Census reports that indigenous populations in the United States have risen by 9.7 percent since 2000. The Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission (GLIFWC) is an organization dedicated to serving Ojibwe (Anishinaabe or Chippewa) indigenous nations in the Great Lakes region of the United States. Michigan ranked among the top 10 most populous states for American Indian peoples, and its geographic boundaries contain three of the 11 GLIFWC tribal nations. The 2010 census also recorded a total number of 170,742 people identifying either alone or in combination with another grouping as Chippewa, the name the U.S. government applies to Ojibwe or Anishinaabe people. The GLIFWC is responsible for regulating services and agreements between the states and Native peoples.

History

Formed in 1984, the GLIFWC serves its 11 member Ojibwe (Anishinaabe) tribes in the management of off-reservation resources and treaty harvest seasons throughout the ceded territories in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. It exercises powers delegated by its member tribes. Services include conservation enforcement, legal/policy expertise, natural resource management programs, and public information. Annual reports are available from the GLIFWC regarding Manoomin (wild rice) management and research, fish population assessments, trapping and animal harvest activities, management of invasive plants and plant-harvesting, and spear fishing records.

Governance

The GLIFWC's main office is located on the Bad River Reservation, just east of Ashland, Wisconsin. A satellite office is also maintained in Madison, Wisconsin, and enforcement personnel are stationed throughout the ceded territory. The GLIFWC's work is divided among the divisions of Administration, Biological Management, Enforcement, Intergovernmental Affairs, Development and Planning, and Public Information.

In the 19th century, a set of four important agreements with the U.S. government was

concluded based on cession of lands. These agreements are referred to as treaties, or legally binding agreements made between nations, and the rights kept by Ojibwe people to hunt, fish, and gather on land they sold are referred to as treaty rights (or usufructuary rights). The treaties in question were established in 1836, 1837, 1842, and 1854, respectively.

According to the GLIFWC, the 1836 treaty ceded land in Michigan and parts of the Great Lakes, the 1837 treaty ceded land in north-central Wisconsin and east-central Minnesota, the 1842 treaty ceded land in northern Michigan and Wisconsin as well as the western part of Lake Superior, and the 1854 treaty ceded land in northeastern Minnesota and created reservations for many Ojibwe bands. The Ojibwe ceded an abundance of land to the U.S. government but retained the rights to fish, hunt, and gather on those lands, as these were traditional means of feeding Ojibwe families. Most of these treaties were established before the state boundaries of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota existed. Because of a variety of government policies, including assimilation and termination, Ojibwe people did not challenge these usufruct rights until the early 1970s.

The court battle over fishing rights in Michigan began in 1971, continuing for over a decade and a half. However, 1983 legislation in Wisconsin resulted in the creation of the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, comprised of state and tribal members, to regulate Indian fishing and wildlife actions in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

The formation of groups like the GLIFWC is an acknowledgment by state, federal, and tribal people that Indigenous issues are real and present. The GLIFWC is also representative of the exercise of sovereignty within the boundaries of Indigenous nations. It is recognition that Indigenous nations do supersede state boundaries, resulting in the intertribal, interstate commission.

The GLIFWC's board of commissioners, comprised of a representative from each member tribe, provides direction and policy for the organization. The GLIFWC has two standing committees: the Voigt Intertribal Task Force (VITF) and the Great Lakes Indian Fisheries Committee. The VITF was formed following the 1983 Voigt decision and makes recommendations regarding

the management of the fishery in inland lakes and wild game and wild plants in the 1837 and 1842 treaty-ceded territories. The Lakes Committee addresses matters pertaining to the management of the Lake Superior fishery and related issues.

Mission

GLIFWC's mission is fourfold: (1) to assist member tribes in the conservation and management of the ceded territories' natural resources, ensuring access to traditional Ojibwe pursuits; (2) to facilitate development of tribal self-government, ensuring continued sovereignty of member tribes; (3) to protect the ecosystems, ensuring survival and abundance of the natural resources; and (4) to infuse traditional Anishinaabe culture and values into the GLIFWC's programs.

Member Tribes

The following are member tribes of the GLIFWC:

- Misi-zaaga'iganiing (Mille Lacs)
- Nagaajiwanaang (Fond du Lac)
- Bikoganoogan St. Croix (Danbury)
- Gaa-miskwaabikaang (Red Cliff)
- Mashkiigong-ziibiing (Bad River)
- Ginoozhekaaning (Bay Mills)
- Waaswaaganing (Lac du Flambeau)
- Gete-gitigaaning (Lac Vieux Desert)
- Zaka'aaganing (Mole Lake/Sokaogon)
- Gakiiwe 'onaning (Keweenaw Bay)
- Odaawaa-zaaga'iganiing (Lac Courte Oreilles)

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See Also: Native Americans; Ojibwe; Reservations, Native American.

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Great Migration

The Great Migration of the early 20th century is part of a historical continuum of the story of black movement and mobility. Primarily initiated by the international slave trade, the movement of blacks throughout the Western Hemisphere has been a persistent theme in African American history. However, it was not until the Civil War and emancipation that massive numbers of blacks moved on a voluntary basis. Foreshadowed by World War I and running a course that lasted for nearly 20 years, the Great Migration changed forever the population distribution of blacks in the United States. This movement transformed blacks from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban population. It not only reflected the long river of the black quest for freedom, jobs, and social justice but also contributed to profound social, economic, demographic, cultural, and political changes throughout the United States.

Following emancipation in 1865, the first wave of black mass movement was their resettlement within and throughout the south. A significant portion of this movement was that of farm laborers. Generally dissatisfied with stifled work opportunities, between 1890 and 1910, black farm laborers set in motion three migration streams that initiated a larger web of black movement in the 20th century. In one stream, black farm laborers moved to towns in search of industrial employment; another stream migrated to the southwest to Texas and Oklahoma for higher seasonal wages; and a final stream migrated to the newly opened iron and coal mines in Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee.

Researchers have estimated that 1.5 to two million blacks fled the south during the period from 1910 to 1930. Estimates suggest that over 500,000

left between 1910 and 1920. Following the migration streams of farm laborers, a variety of factors underlay massive black population movement. Most historical accounts have explained the rapid population shift in terms of a set of concurrent push-pull factors. The primary argument for black movement and resettlement was their desire to seek alternatives to the racial injustices of the south that included physical terror and violence, political disenfranchisement, and limited educational and economic opportunities. Plantation agriculture and the sharecropping system operated as an extension of enslavement, which relegated most rural blacks to landless tenants. Within this system, they had little to no opportunity to improve their livelihoods or change their economic plight.

World War I and the U.S. adoption of more restrictive immigration laws served as the impetus that forced northern employers to consider southern blacks (and whites) as a source of inexpensive labor to replace European immigrants. As a result, it was these newly created economic opportunities combined with a desire to escape Jim Crow laws that provided the motivation for many blacks to migrate throughout the United States. Additionally, greater access to the rights of citizens, improved wages in northern industries, and access to better health care, schools, and the vote all encouraged the movement of blacks into northern cities.

Migration

A major contributor to relocation was labor conditions in the south. Researchers have noted that in 1910, over 60 percent of the black population was engaged in agriculture, 18 percent in domestic and personal service, and only 20 percent in all other occupations combined. These labor conditions and limited economic opportunities created a groundswell for black movement.

The Great Migration was not simply a move from southern agricultural work to northern businesses and trades. In fact, black movement had specific regional and subregional components, with the most important feature being that blacks moved from rural to urban locations. During the first half of the Great Migration, more blacks migrated to southern cities like Birmingham, Charleston, Jacksonville, Memphis, New Orleans, and Savannah prior to moving to

northern cities like Boston, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. Most blacks who migrated from Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas traveled to Chicago and other midwest destinations, while those migrating from Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia primarily traveled to East Coast states that included New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and even farther north. After arriving in northern cities, black populations usually engaged in further movement as they settled in surrounding cities and towns that may have provided even more opportunities.

In 1910, over 90 percent of the entire black population of the United States resided in the 14 states of the south. Southern economic underdevelopment and race-based policies severely limited black labor opportunities. Given its economic versatility, the north offered labor opportunities in a variety of trades and skills that the south could not match. The great majority of the southern black population were common laborers, working in the newly developed factories of the south in tobacco manufacture, lumber, coal, cotton oil refinement, and iron and steel production. The remainder were engaged in skilled and semi-skilled trade. Also, wages in the south were low, comprising about three-fourths of northern wages and, in general, could not compete with the labor and economic opportunities provided in northern cities. Therefore, many unskilled black laborers could earn better wages by moving north than by staying a skilled laborer in the south.

In addition, high unemployment and job scarcity in the south forced blacks to face increased levels of racial competition for jobs. This competition became entrenched in the southern political atmosphere whereby laws were enacted that prohibited blacks from holding skilled positions and working in numerous occupations. Thus, black employment opportunities were threatened and jeopardized. Racialized labor competition and political disenfranchisement severely limited and disadvantaged black workers in the south. These economic realities were used routinely as recruiting incentives by recent migrants, northern business owners, and black periodicals to encourage black movement to the north.

Many northern companies used labor agents to recruit workers; these agents traveled to southern cities advertising various employment

opportunities. Labor agents were soon replaced by the expansion of black familial and communal networks that informed other blacks about transportation, jobs, and housing beforehand. Many members of black communities also were made aware of opportunities in the north through advertisements in black periodicals, such as the *Chicago Defender*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, and several others. The black press played a critical role in helping create an atmosphere for a general pull of blacks to northern cities.

Impact

In moving north, African Americans were more attracted to areas that offered stronger social support networks, which helped ease their adjustment. These networks included a variety of African American churches and African American newspapers, community organizations, and businesses as well. All of these worked to create a substantial foundation for black communities across northern cities.

As African Americans moved into northern cities in growing numbers, a black industrial working class emerged, which significantly altered the landscape of race relations throughout the United States. In cities like Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh, the percentage of black men employed in industrial jobs increased from an estimated 10 percent to 20 percent of the black labor force in 1910 to about 60 percent to 70 percent in 1920 and 1930. African American women also entered industrial jobs, although their gains were far less than those of black men. Although jobs in urban industries provided blacks with increased opportunities, they entered the industrial economy at the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder. With northern industries steadily expanding, increased competition for housing and jobs created pressures of overcrowding and often resulted in racial conflicts. Blacks faced increased restrictions in housing, education, and access to social and public services. These newfound racial tensions manifested themselves in race-based politics and policies, such as residential segregation, that have engulfed northern cities to the present time.

The Great Migration significantly changed the black family, redefined the geographic location of blacks in the United States, and bolstered the

economic futility of blacks throughout the country. As new challenges emerged, African Americans intensified their communal efforts by building religious institutions, mutual aid societies, and social clubs; in addition, they established new businesses, joint ventures, and various organizations to meet their labor, civil rights, and political needs and interests. These efforts helped foster a dramatic period of change that gave rise to the Harlem Renaissance and the Garvey movement throughout the north, the prominence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as a civil rights organization, and the growth and development of a black middle class, and they created great momentum for the mid-20th-century black freedom movement. Quite clearly, the impact of the Great Migration is still felt today.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Great Depression; Harlem Renaissance; Jim Crow Laws; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Urban League; World War I; World War II.

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Great Plains Tribes

The Great Plains is a geographic region that includes parts of Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming, Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico. Environmentally speaking, the climate is one of extremes, including excessive heat and cold and other forceful weather patterns. The region's terrain is comprised of mostly treeless, semiarid plateaus with seemingly endless short-grass vistas. Although modern agriculture and ranching have transformed the area, this region was once thought to have supported more than 10 percent (two million) of the total Native American population. By the time the early explorers William Clark and Meriwether Lewis visited the region in 1803, however, deadly epidemics such as smallpox had wiped out most of the indigenous communities living there.

The image of the tepee-dwelling Plains Indian warrior riding his horse and wearing buckskin clothing and a feathered headdress is the dominant stereotype of American Indians in the United States. But this image does not accurately represent Native Americans as a whole nor the numerous tribes inhabiting the Great Plains. There are six different linguistic groups represented among the indigenous Plains people. They lived in earthen lodges, woven-grass lodges, or buffalo-skin lodges (the stereotypical tepee). At the time of European contact, many Plains people were nomadic big game hunters, while others were agriculturalists living in semipermanent dwellings. The former include the Blackfoot, Arapaho, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Comanche, Crow, Gros

Ventre, Kiowa, Lakota, Lipan, Plains Apache (or Kiowa Apache), Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwe, Sarsi, Nakoda (Stoney), and Tonkawa. The latter include the Arikara, Hidatsa, Iowa, Kaw (or Kansa), Kitsai, Mandan, Missouriia, Omaha, Osage, Otoe, Pawnee, Ponca, Quapaw, Santee, Wichita, and Yankton Dakota. Both groups possessed religious systems based upon complex ceremonial cycles that were often connected to the natural world.

Like most Native American nations living in the United States today, Plains Indians (which include more than 28 culturally distinct groups living on countless reservations and off-reservation land trusts) continue to fight legal battles involving tribal sovereignty and treaty rights, strive to improve living conditions through economic developments, and work to maintain traditional cultural knowledge through art, education, and religion. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, there are approximately 495,032 individuals who culturally identified themselves with one of the federally recognized tribal nations comprising what is referred to here, in this overarching category, as Great Plains Indian.

Horse and Buffalo Culture

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado's Spanish expedition in the 1540s and the later Spanish herds of horses kept in the southwest after the Juan de Oñate expedition probably demarcate the introduction of horses to certain Native American groups. Some Spanish horses escaped and bred in the wild, producing what are known as "Indian" horses that were smaller than the modern riding horses of today. These smaller horses were later bred with larger animals acquired from Spanish and, later, European American herds. In the 17th century the Plains tribes received horses in trade with the Navajo, Apache, and Ute. By 1750 horses could be found as far as Montana, used for transportation and as valuable commodities in trade and as signs of wealth or status.

Horses transformed the Plains Indians' way of life, becoming an essential part of their culture. Horses made economic life on the Plains more tenable by enabling them to follow and hunt buffalo herds as well as supporting their already nomadic lifestyle in other ways. Prior to the arrival of horses Plains people regularly moved



Some Great Plains tribes lived in earthen lodges like those at Four Bears Park on the Fort Berthold Reservation in northwest North Dakota. The origin of the earthen lodge is generally attributed to the Mandan tribe, who were sedentary farmers and traders located in the upper midwest.

their villages, walking alongside dog-pulled travois (a cart- or wagon-like mode of transportation made of timbers) loaded with their homes and property. Horses made this routine task easier and extended their territorial range.

Villages could be moved up to 30 miles in a given period, while warriors could cover 100 miles or more in a few days. Horses changed some of the Plains tribes' housing styles from fixed lodges to mobile tepees whose size also increased over time. Many Plains tribes became rich in horses, owning herds of up to 20 or more horses, while many individual tribal members achieved status by acquiring horses by raiding and capturing other tribes' horses.

In the early 19th century there were great herds of buffalo—American bison—roaming the Great Plains. The buffalo was a central component of the Plains Indians' economy and spiritual world, providing them with hides for clothing and shelter; various body parts such as the bladders, gall and blood, bones, and droppings were used for pouches, paints, utensils, and heat, respectively. By the 1870s the buffalo herds (between 50 and 75 million) on the central and southern plains had vanished, and by the 1890s less than a thousand buffalo remained, mostly on private ranches. Hide hunters and the growing railroads in America,

along with ill-advised decisions by the U.S. government, contributed to the extermination of the buffalo. For the Plains Indians, the disappearance of the buffalo destroyed their economy and way of life and, ultimately, forced them onto reservations with government handouts.

Sun Dance Ceremonies

The anthropological term *sun dance* is used to identify a number of similar or related ceremonies practiced by a variety of Great Plains tribes, such as the Lakota Sun Dance, referred to as *wiwan-yag*, which means to dance looking at the sun. Although the Sun Dance can vary, there are several common features. Most Sun Dance ceremonies last for four to eight days and include the construction of the lodge around a specially chosen center pole, preparatory sweat lodge rituals for purification (which could also include Vision Quests), prayers, songs, and dancing. Sun Dance ceremonies are practiced today, usually held during the summer months over a four-day period. They are supervised by religious authorities known as sacred persons, or *wakasa wakan*, who are responsible for the performance of the ceremony, including the various activities that begin with the selection of the sacred ceremonial location. For the Plains people who practice the Sun Dance, it is one, if not the most, important ceremony within their calendar of religious rituals.

Picturing History

Historically, the accomplishments and status Plains men achieved through combat or hunting were visually captured as pictographs (a visual language of symbolic images) on rock walls and also in pictographic drawings rendered on clothing items such as shirts and leggings, and wearing robes (also known as bragging robes). The surfaces of these garments, which often contained various episodes from several different events or battles, were covered with biographical details pertaining to the owner's activities and experiences. Although humans were often rendered as simplified stick figures, select details such as hairstyle and weaponry clearly identify the cultural affiliation of those depicted.

After the late 19th century when most Plains people were confined to reservations, warfare ceased, and the buffalo were gone, warriors

recounted earlier achievements in battle and documented tribal traditions as well as other notable events in their experience with modern American society on paper (often the paper from ledger books). The long-standing tradition of pictorial arts by Plains men has continued into the 21st century through the work of well-known artists like Oscar Howe (Yanktonai Sioux), Stephen Mopope (Kiowa), Dick West (Cheyenne), and Arthur Amiotte (Oglala Lakota), to name a few.

Women's Work and Cultural Identity

Traditionally, Plains women achieved status and success through their creative skills and industriousness in producing and decorating the hides used to make clothing, lodgings, and other material items. Training began early and the skills or knowledge required to perform certain decorative tasks was controlled by women's societies or guilds, such as the quilling societies among the northern Cheyenne and the Lakota Sioux. A woman's skill at beadwork and quillwork benefited the entire community (which was always a priority) while also bettering her own family's economic and social situation through trade and, later, participation in a cash economy.

Increasingly throughout the 19th century, as Plains people were forced onto reservations and pressured to give up their tribal identity in order to assimilate into American society while having most of their cultural traditions and practices outlawed or banned, beaded clothing visually expressed group solidarity and individual tribal identity through choice of colors, patterns or designs, styles of particular clothing items, and technique; for example, Crow beadwork historically favored designs dominated by pastel pink and blue triangle shapes outlined in white, whereas Cheyenne beadwork often depicted nested rectangles in red, yellow, and blue. Today Plains women continue to produce beaded items for personal use, such as the clothing needed for participation in powwows, as well as for a commercial market.

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See Also: Arapaho; Blackfoot; Cheyenne; Comanche; Crow; Kiowa; *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903); Native American Church; Ojibwe; Osage; Powwow; Red

River War; Reservations, Native American; Sand Creek Massacre; Sioux; Sweat Lodge; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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Great Sioux War

The Great Sioux War, also known as the Black Hills War, was a series of military campaigns and diplomatic efforts between 1876 and 1877 involving the United States and the Lakota (Sioux) and Cheyenne. Under the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, the Sioux were granted exclusive rights to the Black Hills and 26 million acres of land for the Great Sioux Reservation, as well as unlimited use of territory in the Powder River Country. Sioux territory was also to be protected from military or settler incursions.

The Fort Laramie Treaty had four key parts. The first pledged peace between both sides. The second part reserved territory west of the Missouri River and east of the Rockies for the Sioux, indefinitely and with unrestricted use. This land became the Great Sioux Reservation and included the Black Hills. The treaty also recognized the area around the Bozeman Trail as “unceded Indian territory,” upon which no U.S. military posts or white settlements would be permitted to exist. The third component was the U.S. government’s agreement to support the Sioux by establishing schools and providing basic necessities for farmers on the reservation. Reservation agencies were set up to distribute government aid. The final part, and perhaps the most important to this date, was that the treaty stipulated its terms could not be changed by the U.S. government without

the approval of three-quarters of the adult male Sioux population.

In 1874 George Custer led a U.S. military expedition investigating the mineral resources in the Black Hills while gold prospectors flooded the area. The United States did little to stop the incursions, offering instead to buy the Black Hills. The United States also wanted to relocate the Sioux to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). The Black Hills contained important hunting grounds and, because they held them sacred, the Sioux refused to sell. After the U.S. government failed to negotiate agreeable terms for the sale of Sioux land, it embarked upon a military campaign against the Sioux and Cheyenne. In 1877 U.S. Congress changed the terms of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, which had guaranteed the Sioux possession of the Black Hills forever, and with it secured that land.

At the center of the Great Sioux War were the Black Hills, but also the issue of treaty rights and tribal sovereignty.

The Black Hills, Failed Diplomacy, and War

The Black Hills are a small mountain range extending from western South Dakota into Wyoming. The Black Hills encompass the Black Hills National Forest, with the highest point, Harney Peak, rising to 7,244 feet. Today the Black Hills are home to numerous national parks and mountains, Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Custer State Park, Wind Cave National Park, and the Crazy Horse Memorial to name a few. The name *Black Hills*, referring to their dark tree-covered appearance, is translated from the Sioux word for them, *Pahá Sápa*, meaning Black Mountains. Native Americans have occupied the Black Hills area since at least 7000 B.C.E. The Sioux, who arrived from Minnesota, and before them the Cheyenne, occupied the territory encompassing the Black Hills since at least 1776. Both cultures asserted the importance of the Black Hills as the sacred center of the world.

After news of gold brought miners into the area, violating the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty, the U.S. Army was called upon to stop the incursions. The Ulysses S. Grant administration decided to purchase the land from the Sioux. In 1875 Sioux delegations went to Washington, D.C., in hope of finding a peaceful resolution. The Sioux expected

President Grant to uphold the conditions of the existing treaty (curb the flow of prospectors encroaching into their territories); instead, they were offered \$25,000 for their land and were expected to relocate to new land in Indian Territory (where the Five Civilized Tribes had previously been relocated in the 1830s). The delegates refused to sign a new treaty, and after a U.S. commission also failed to secure support among the Sioux and Cheyenne people, war seemed inevitable. The U.S. government justified war by issuing a mandate that all nontreaty Sioux and Cheyenne turn themselves in to Indian agents in the region or face military actions.

The Great Sioux War that ensued was a combination of battles (Battle of Powder River, Battle of the Rosebud, Battle of the Little Bighorn, Battle of Slim Buttes, Dull Knife Fight, Battle of Wolf Mountain, to name a few) that resulted in the defeat of the Sioux and Cheyenne, many of whom turned themselves in to agents in the region, with the exception of Sitting Bull, who fled with his people into Canada but finally surrendered in 1881.

In 1980 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. Sioux Nation* that the United States had illegally taken Sioux land (by violating the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868) and was ordered to pay monetary restitution plus interest (more than \$100 million). The Sioux refused payment and have continued to argue for the return of the Black Hills.

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See Also: Black Hills Dispute and War; Cheyenne; Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); Great Plains Tribes; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Sioux.

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Greek Americans

Following the 2010 Census, Americans of Greek (or Hellenic) descent accounted for 0.4 percent of the total U.S. population; that is 1,315,775 individuals, mainly residing in New York, California, Illinois, and Florida. Greek Americans, with their temperament, dynamism, and ethnic culture, have uniquely stamped the multicultural landscape of the United States.

Among the Pioneers

Greeks can trace their presence on American soil back to 1528. It was then that the sailor and ship caulker Don Teodoro or Theodoros, who participated in the Panfilio de Narvaez expedition, offered himself as a hostage to the Native Americans and went ashore. Another plausible, but not fully proven theory, underlines the Greek origin of the famous Spanish admiral and explorer Juan de Fuca. De Fuca gave his name to the strait that he explored in 1592 located between Vancouver Island, in Canada, and Washington State, in the United States. Following this theory, de Fuca, tracing his lineage to the famous Foka Byzantine family, had been born in Greece on the island of Cefalonia.

The first organized Greek attempt to migrate in America is noted in 1768 and the ill-fated New Smyrna colony in Florida. The Scottish doctor Andrew Turnbull and his Greek wife Maria Gracia Rubini, born in Smyrna in Asia Minor, were among the 1,400 colonizers, 500 of whom were Greeks from the arid region of Mani in the Peloponnese. Though the majority of the colonizers were decimated because of famine and horrible work conditions of indentured labor, the Greeks who managed to survive were incorporated in the Saint Augustine community.

The Early Nineteenth Century

In 1821, Americans proved their love for ancient Greece and its culture by actively supporting the Greek War of Independence. They held fund-raisers, sent supplies, and even enlisted. In this spirit of philhellenism, that is, love for anything Greek, 40 war orphans were brought to the United States to be educated and returned to Greece to help its development. Among them were important figures in Greek history like Christodoulos

Evangelides, founder of an American-style school in Asian Minor, and Alexander Paspatis, prominent Byzantine scholar. The mid-century saw the advent of more Greeks, mainly sailors and merchants. The latter were involved in the import and export businesses in key port cities like New York, Boston, San Francisco, New Orleans, Savannah, and Galveston. A few years later, in 1864, the first Orthodox church in New Orleans was built, the Holy Trinity.

Mass Migration

The Greek mass migration mainly refers to the period between 1890 and 1924. In the beginning, the immigrants were mostly male. Raised in a strict patriarchal milieu, Greeks left their homeland, driven away by poverty, squalor, and the successive wars of the expanding Greek state. Destitute Greek men were intrigued by the economic possibilities of America, the vastness of the country, and the stories they heard. Apart from those who had lost their homelands through war (like the Greeks of Asia Minor in the beginning of the 20th century), most of the Greek migrants intended to return and enjoy the fruits of their labors with their loved ones. The love and duty toward one's family, sisters, and daughters, waiting for their dowries so as to marry well, were frequently the central reasons fueling the migratory movement. As soon as the newcomers realized they would be staying longer in America, women started joining them: sisters, wives, daughters, and mail-order brides.

Group migration was officially initiated in the 1880s with 2,000 men, mostly Spartan Greeks. Those safely arriving would usually write back to their relatives and compatriots, urging them to join them. For those without any relatives, labor agents, scouring Greece for laborers to exploit, promised passage money and a job in the American Paradise they promoted. Moreover, the exclusion of Greek raisins (currants) from the European market in 1890 resulted in a migratory flow of a further 15,000. The number would culminate with the flood between 1900 and 1915. In this period one in every four Greeks ages 15 to 45 left for America. In this period of mass migration approximately 450,000 Greeks migrated, mostly originating from the Peloponnese and the south.

Migrant Poles and Times of Change

Until the first two decades of the 20th century Greeks were mainly headed in three directions: the western states, to work in railroad gangs and mines; the New England mill towns, to work in textile or shoe factories; and the large northern cities, like New York and Chicago, to work as factory workers, busboys, fruit peddlers, or dishwashers.

As far as the West is concerned, two pioneer women recorded the Greek migration experience for posterity. In 1914, the intrepid reporter Maria S. Economidou described the life conditions of Greeks in her work. Toiling in mines and smelters of Utah and Colorado and in the railroads of California since the late 19th century, Greeks participated in the big upheavals and mine strikes that occurred between 1912 and 1914. Later, Helen Papanikolas, folklorist, historian, author, and scholar, saved from oblivion the testimonies of first immigrants, male as well as female. In her writings, which date back to the late 1920s, Papanikolas underscores the racist reception of the immigrants, as well as their upward mobility from hand-to-mouth existence to middle class suburbia.

In the early days of settlement the Greek communities centered around the coffeehouse. As the community multiplied a church and school would typically be added. The author Harry Mark Petrakis, whose father was among the first priests for the Greeks in America, depicts through his novels the early Greek experience.

While initially Greeks were received often with skepticism and xenophobic reactions, their reception in American society was gradually altered. The Greek bravery shown at the Albanian front during World War II and in the Greek Resistance, along with the enlistment of several soldiers of Greek origin in the American army, placed the Greek American in a more favorable light. The 1950s saw the coming of age of the American-born second generation. Their education and their upward mobility further improved the status of Greek Americans in American society.

Rediscovering Ethnicity: 1960 to 1980

The end of World War II, the Greek Civil War, and the political instability and junta between 1967 and 1974 renewed the flow of immigrants

to the United States. Coming from different class and educational backgrounds, compared to the indigent and illiterate arrivals of the early century, Greek migrants were received differently. Following the civil rights movement, the ethnic awakening movement, characterized by the rediscovery, exploration, and appreciation of one's ethnic background, strengthened pride in one's heritage. The feminist struggles helped diminish the gap between the traditional Greek female roles and the demands of American self-representation. As some Greeks excelled in the spheres of arts and science, like the director Elia Kazan, the soprano Maria Callas, the conductor Dimitri Mitropoulos, the doctor George Papanikolaou (known for his Pap test), ethnic pride swelled among the Greeks.

The Turkish invasion of Cyprus and its tragic repercussions were met with vehement reaction from the Greek organizations in America. Often led and organized by the church and the powerful Archbishop Iakovos, massive demonstrations took place. In politics, Greek American representatives like John Brademas and Senator Paul Sabanes played a dynamic role protecting Greek and Cypriot international rights and interests. Thus, the beginning of the 1980s saw a more organized attempt to reconnect with roots and heritage with the discovery of the photographic archive of Leon Pantioti and Georgios Kalogeras's doctoral dissertation that foregrounded, classified, and discussed Greek American literary production.

Greekness in America

Overall, the Greek American experience of migration is centered on the goal of social ascension. In their struggle to improve their living conditions and maintain a sense of identity, this ethnic group has kept strong bonds with its church as well as the diverse fraternal associations it has created in the United States, like the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA) and the Greek American Progressive Association (GAPA). Uniquely stamped by both cultures, Greek Americans are often noted for their industry and initiative in business, especially food and tourist sectors, as well as their passionate temperament and love for family, tradition, and Greek customs. With huge parades on Greek Independence

Day, March 25, in big cities like New York and Chicago, unique Orthodox Easter Day celebrations, and local religious festivals, especially on Saint George's Day and Assumption Day, Americans of Greek descent proudly affirm their ethnic identity. Traditional delicacies like *moussaka*, *tzatziki*, the Greek salad, and feta cheese, as well as the benefits of the Cretan diet, based on olive oil and the consumption of greens, are familiar to Americans and available in the numerous diners owned by Greek Americans all over the country. The heartfelt sounds of the *bouzouki* chords as well as dancing are definitely some well-known trademarks of Greek culture, which by no means belittle their depth and richness.

The first publications by Greek Americans were Greek-language newspapers such as *Atlantis*, the *National Herald*, and Chicago's *Greek Star*. In 1945, Mary Vardoulakis published the novel that would be the first to discuss the Greek experience of migration in the United States, her trailblazing book *Gold in the Streets*. Besides the 2002 Pulitzer Prize-winner Jeffrey Eugenides and his *Middlesex*, Greek American fiction is represented by important authors such as Ariadne Thompson, Theano Papazoglou-Margaris, Demetra-Vaka Brown, Tom T. Chamales, Thomas Doulis, Nicholas Gage, Daphne Athas, Stratis Haviaras, Eleni Spanidou, and Nicholas Flokos, to name but a few. Some of the Greek Americans who have been publishing their poetry, either in English or Greek, include Konstantinos Lardas, George Koutoumanos, Olga Broumas, Nikos Laides (Paul Nord), Antonis Decavalles, Rae Dalven, Kimon Friar, Byron Vazakas, and Evans Chigounis.

Among those Americans of Greek ancestry who have had important careers in the performing arts are actress Olympia Dukakis; actor, screenwriter, and filmmaker John Cassavetes; actor Telly Savalas (Kojak); Hollywood screenwriter A. I. Bezzerides; and film director and Academy Award winner Alexander Payne. A blockbuster film that displayed the life of the Greek immigrant family was Joel Zwick's 2002 *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, written by Greek Canadian Nia Vardalos.

Contemporary Scene

In the 1980s and 1990s political stability and improved living conditions in Greece further curtailed immigration in the United States. Following

the 2010 U.S. Census, only 9.8 percent of immigrants entering the United States in the 1990s were Greek. With 80.9 percent of immigrants permanently living in the United States before the 1980s, one out of four Greek Americans (25.4 percent) above 5 years old speaks only their native tongue at home. As proof of the value on education Greek Americans have always displayed, 40.3 percent have a bachelor's degree. Almost half of the Greek American workforce (47 percent) are employed in management, business, art, and science occupations and another 24.2 percent work in sales and office occupations. The vast majority of Greek Americans own their home (71 percent).

Even though they frequently enjoy material and personal success in the United States, Greek Americans cherish their ancestral home, which they actively support and remember through diverse institutions and organizations like AHEPA, Orthodox Archdiocese of America, National Hellenic Museum, and diverse local associations like the PanCretan Association, the Paepirotic Federation, and the PanArcadian Federation.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Cypriot Americans; Ethnic Studies; Ethnicity; European Americans; Food; Identity Development; White Ethnics; World War II.

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Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848)

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is a treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico that ended the Mexican-American War (1846–48). It is the oldest treaty still enforced between these countries. Based in Manifest Destiny, President James Polk (1845–49) was successful in growing the U.S. landmass by one-third through these southwest territorial acquisitions. The treaty upholds the annexation of the northern frontier zone of Mexico, which became U.S. territory that includes today's states of California, New Mexico, Nevada, and parts of Texas, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Wyoming, and Oklahoma in exchange for \$15 million. With the ratification of this treaty, Mexico lost over 50 percent of its prime land. This loss of land is one reason why Mexico remained an underdeveloped country well into the 20th century.

The treaty detailed specific instructions for property and citizenship rights for Mexicans in the ceded territory and many claim that the spirit of the treaty was not upheld when it came to the treatment of Mexican Americans. Rodolfo Acuña notes that this acquired U.S. territory is an example of how Mexicans and Mexican Americans have been the subjects of colonization because of Euro-American occupation of Mexican land, which has fundamentally shaped the history of Chicana/os. The treaty also negatively affected indigenous groups.

Spirit and Violations of the Treaty

Nicholas Trist largely negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. A Virginia lawyer with strong political ties, Trist was appointed as the chief clerk for Secretary of State James Buchanan in 1847. Under Buchanan's guidance, Polk sent Trist on a special mission to Mexico to negotiate a peace. At the time, there was growing disenchantment by U.S. politicians regarding the Mexican-American War in terms of both U.S. military occupation in Mexico and fears regarding the consequences of land expansion in non-Anglo-populated areas. Despite U.S. military victories, peace was not in sight. As a concession of good faith, Trist forwarded a Mexican negotiation for

annexation at the boundary of the Nueces River instead of the Rio Grande, which he knew Polk would not approve. Upon receiving these negotiations, Polk relieved Trist of his diplomatic duties, which Trist did not obey despite potential professional, economic, and criminal consequences. Claiming that following the Mexican presidential elections was the time to negotiate peace, Trist was successful in negotiating the treaty with Mexican officials in February 1848. When the treaty arrived in Washington, peace already existed and only needed confirmation by U.S. officials. On February 23 the treaty was placed before the Senate and ratified by a vote of 38 to 14 on March 10.

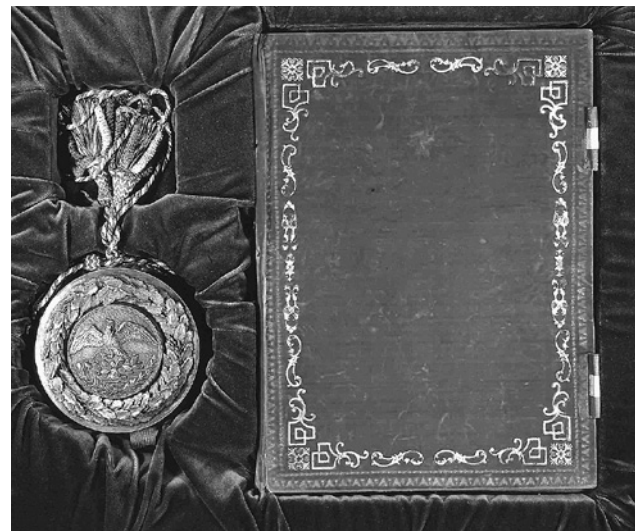
Because the treaty was modeled on language taken from other landmass acquisition treaties like the Treaty of Louisiana and the Treaty of Florida, the United States had set precedent in how inhabitants were to be incorporated into the nation. However, as the area ceded was occupied by people considered to be a backward race, the U.S. courts did not seek to protect the rights of the now American Mexicans. Articles VIII and IX of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo set the terms by which the former Mexican citizens and their property would become a part of the U.S. political landscape.

While the treaty is written to embrace Mexican citizens as Americans in the newly ceded territories by enabling them to retain their land rights and gain the benefits of U.S. citizenship, the local courts and Congress lacked the commitment to protect the Mexicans. This lack of commitment was due to a desire to further Euro-American land ownership during a time in which people of color in the United States were not considered to be equal to whites. One result of the ill interpretation of Article VIII was that the United States declared portions of its new territory as public domain. Instead of the United States determining the distinction between public land grants versus private estates, Mexicans were required to pay for their own surveys and for the drawn-out processes of litigation to prove individual titles.

Many barriers were placed between the Mexicans and their rights to claim their land in the new U.S. southwest, including the following: the creation of governing bodies to assess claims that resulted in high costs for the Mexican Americans

to prove their legitimate land grants; confusion over the validity of land claims prior to 1848; short time frames in which to prove land titles validity; the continuation of Manifest Destiny, which entitled Euro-American citizens to force their way onto private lands through the process of homesteading; and interpretations of the treaty that were not congruent with the power it should have held. Many people lost their land because of these prohibitive measures. Because Article X of the treaty—which had guaranteed protections to all prior and pending titles to property of every description—was stricken, Mexicans in the United States were subject to defending their land in U.S. courts, which had a vested interest in delegitimizing the treaty so as to gain more land. Both President Polk and the Senate agreed that Article X granted too many protections to Mexican landowners and impeded Texas's ability to discern land ownership rights.

Similar experiences related to citizenship were also violated. This treaty affected 100,000 Mexicans. According to Article VIII a person had one year to “elect” their preference for either Mexican or U.S. citizenship. If a claim was not filed within this year, the United States would automatically consider permitting the remaining Mexicans to



A copy of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty was preserved by its signers, the United States and Mexico. The United States acquired the Rio Grande boundary for Texas, ownership of California, and a large area comprising New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado.

become U.S. citizens, which will be determined by Congress at some future date. Furthermore, while Mexican Americans were guaranteed protection by the treaty, indigenous groups in the U.S. southwest were not afforded such rights in neither action nor rhetoric. Because of the complex definitions of race, whiteness, and citizenship at the time, Mexicans were in an interesting position. Governing bodies acknowledged that Mexicans might be discriminated against because of their skin color, but the treaty afforded them rights that other minority groups did not have. For instance, in California, the framers of the state constitution wrote the document in such a way as to grant citizenship to “white male Mexicans” while specifically excluding African Americans and indigenous groups despite their previous Mexican citizenship status. Mexicans in the ceded territories were not granted full citizenship rights because of varying levels of statehood; in New Mexico Mexicans did not become full citizens with the right to vote until the territory gained statehood in 1912. According to Chicana/o scholars, these continued violations of the treaty have systematically created a legacy of racial discrimination and contributed to the second-class status of Mexican Americans.

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See Also: Aztlán; Chicanos; Citizenship; Hispanic Americans; Mexican Americans; Mexican-American War; Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán; *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*.

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Guatemalan Americans

According to 2010 U.S. Census data, the Guatemalan population in America is 1,044,209, making it the second-largest group of Central Americans and the fifth-largest of Hispanic origin overall in the United States. The Guatemalan population increased almost threefold from 2000 to 2010, according to census data. Today Guatemalan Americans are one of the most diverse and fastest-growing groups among the Hispanic population, despite facing discrimination in the United States and poverty and violence in their country of origin.

Ethnicity and Language

Guatemala, located south of Mexico and north of El Salvador and Honduras, holds the largest population of the isthmus: 14,713,763 (2011 Guatemalan census). Its population is multiethnic and multilingual, with the most numerous indigenous population of Central America. The majority of Guatemalans share the Ladino (Mestizo) ethnicity, closely followed by indigenous Mayan, Xinka, Garifuna, and a minority of white ethnicities. There are a growing number of minorities in Guatemala of Asian, Arab, Jewish, and other ancestry.

It is important to bear in mind that rather than a purely racial classification, the term *indigenous* is based on group culture and language. Most Guatemalans speak Spanish, the official language of the country. However, Guatemala officially recognizes 21 Mayan indigenous as well as two non-Mayan languages; the former are spoken mostly in the rural areas, while Xinka is mostly spoken in eastern Guatemala, and Garifuna, an Afro-diasporic language, is spoken in the Atlantic coastline region of Guatemala.

Demographics

The ethnic composition of Guatemalans in their country of origin is largely reflected in the communities they have formed in the United States, as they tend to cluster according to ethnicity; Kanjopal Mayans from the region of Huehuetenango, for example, congregate mainly in specific regions of central Florida and North Carolina. According to the 2010 census, the largest populations of Guatemalans in the United States are located in the following states: California, Florida, New

York, Texas, New Jersey, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Virginia, and Massachusetts. There are also growing Guatemalan populations in Georgia, North Carolina, Arizona, and Virginia.

In the United States, as has been the case with many Latin Americans, Guatemalan Americans have endured discrimination based on their lack of English fluency as well as on their phenotype. Most of the current discrimination stems from Nativist attitudes among segments of the American population, which are exploited by some politicians. In general, Guatemalans have been willing to take on employment at below-minimum wages in the United States, which has contributed to their economic marginalization. Nevertheless, Guatemalan Americans have become an important source of economic development for Guatemala, via the remittances sent back by immigrants, as well as an engine of production for many regions in the United States.

History and Culture

Though there has always been some Guatemalan immigration to the United States, the numbers increased greatly in the 1970s and 1980s because of the exacerbation of violence against the indigenous peasant population by United States–backed military dictatorships. In the 1980s, in retaliation for popular uprisings and guerrilla activity, the military harassed rural communities to the point of genocide. Other Guatemalans, such as students, intellectuals, and union leaders, were also targeted and many immigrated to the United States. After the Peace Accords of 1996, Guatemalans have continued to migrate to the United States impelled by widespread poverty.

Guatemalan American culture is rooted in Mesoamerican pre-Columbian and Spanish colonial cultures. Immigrants have brought their regional gastronomy with them. Guatemalan cuisine specializes in dishes such as black beans, maize tortillas, tamales, chilies, plantains, and indigenous stews. These become particularly important when immigrants celebrate many Guatemalan religious holidays, such as the Day of the Dead, the Day of All Saints, and Good Friday. Although there are no official census numbers for religious affiliation among Guatemalans, major religious organizations such as the Episcopal Conference of Guatemala and the Evangelical Alliance calculate that

about 65 percent of the population are Catholic and 35 percent are Protestant, followed by a minority of the population who practice Judaism, Islam, indigenous religions, and others (2010).

Guatemalan Americans have contributed to cultural and technological development. Some major figures include Luis Von Ahn, inventor of the Captcha and Recaptcha systems and in 2006 named one of the 10 most brilliant scientists by *Popular Science Magazine*, and Francisco Goldman, best-selling author and prominent journalist who writes often for *The New Yorker* and other American publications. Guatemala counts two Nobel Prize laureates: Miguel Angel Asturias, Nobel Prize in Literature (1967), and Rigoberta Menchu, Nobel Peace Prize (1992).

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Día de los Muertos; Food; Hispanic Americans; Indigenous Transnationality; Language Usage in the United States; Latinos; Mestizo; Migrant Workers.

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Guess Who's Coming to Dinner

Produced and directed by Stanley Kramer in 1967, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* is groundbreaking in its approval of interracial marriage between a black man and a white woman and noteworthy for how it persuades audiences to agree. While guilty of selective stereotyping, this romantic comedy is significant for its place in social and film history and its influential responses to racial prejudice.

A box office success, the film's budget was almost \$4 million and it grossed over \$70 million. Nominated for 10 Academy Awards, it won Best Actress (Katharine Hepburn) and Best Original Screenplay (William Rose).

Its star appeal includes Spencer Tracy (as Matt Drayton) and Katharine Hepburn (Christina Drayton) as the white parents of the prospective bride. The role of John Wade Prentice, the prospective groom (played by Sidney Poitier), is an endorsement for a black husband. John is educated (*magna cum laude* Johns Hopkins) and highly successful. He is also deferential enough to ask his fiancée's parents for approval to marry their daughter, Joanna (played by Hepburn's niece, Katharine Houghton). Although his success and deference generated criticism (he's too perfect; he's an Uncle Tom), Poitier's character is an effective way to focus on race. John Prentice is a black man no one could object to—except on the basis of race.

Historical Significance

Significant in social history, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* takes place in 1967 and appeared in theaters December 12, 1967, just six months after the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on June 12, 1967, that state bans on interracial marriages are unconstitutional.

Important in film history, the film challenges the racial stereotypes of black men as hypersexual and dangerous that were codified in D. W. Griffith's influential film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Kramer revised Griffith's story to counter old ideas with new ones. Like Griffith's black villains Gus and Silas Lynch, John Prentice wants to marry a white woman. But where Griffith's characters won't take no for an answer, John asks

Joanna's parents to approve, and she loves him. Unlike Griffith's villains, John is restrained. He tells his mother he wants Joanna desperately, but he does not have premarital sex and he is not just after her because of her race. In fact, he was previously married to a black woman and had a son, but both died in an accident. It is also noted in the film that he is attracted to black women, including Dorothy, a Drayton employee. Akin to Silas Lynch, who rises from slavery to become a Lieutenant Governor, John is the son of a retired mailman and rises to Assistant Director of the World Health Organization. But whereas Lynch wants to disenfranchise whites, John wants to help Africans practice medicine in Africa. Unlike Griffith's villains, John is no threat to anyone.

Both films test white liberalism. In Griffith's film, Austin Stoneman, a white statesman who helps Silas Lynch rise to power, is tested when Lynch announces he wants to marry Stoneman's daughter. Stoneman adamantly refuses. In Kramer's film, Matt Drayton is a newspaper owner known as "a fighting liberal" against racial discrimination. Matt's liberalism is tested, but by film's end he champions his daughter's marriage and becomes a new cinematic role model for white fathers.

Obstacles and Antidotes

Following the romantic comedy premise that nothing can hinder true love, Kramer's film guides viewers beyond obstacles facing John and Joanna. While John, who is 37, is concerned for her welfare, Joanna, at 23, foresees no obstacles because she does not recognize racial difference. John explains: "It's not just that our color difference doesn't matter to her. It's that she doesn't seem to think there is any difference." Her white friends and the friendship between Dorothy and a young white deliveryman echo Joanna's view. Together, they embody the idea that the younger generation will inevitably create a color-blind, postracial America.

Matt and Christina Drayton are both color conscious. At first shocked by John's color, Christina quickly approves of the marriage, recalling teaching Joanna it's "wrong to believe that white people were somehow essentially superior." Matt initially disapproves, noting the discrimination they will face. John's answer, that Joanna thinks their children will be U.S. presidents but he would settle for secretary of state, is humorously prophetic in

light of the political careers of Barack Obama and Condoleezza Rice. To Matt's idea that blacks have "a special sense of rhythm," John explains differences as cultural, not racial: "It's our dancing and our music. We brought it here." A humorous metaphor recommends familiarity: Matt orders ice cream, gets an unexpected flavor, and likes it. As Matt concludes the couple will have only "a problem of pigmentation," he concurs with Christina that skin color is only skin deep.

Although he fills the role of a privileged white male who decides for everyone, Matt's approval, at the dinner comically referenced in the film's title, derives from John's mother. Mary Prentice (Beah Richards) and John Prentice, Sr. (Roy Glenn) are surprised that Joanna is white, and offer differing positions. John's father cites state bans on interracial marriage (still in effect during film shooting) and attitudes that will not change automatically if the law changes. In response, John aligns himself with the younger generation: "You think of yourself as a colored man. I think of myself as a man." Matt's own approval is in response to John's mother. She contends that he and her husband are old men who have forgotten what it's like to be passionately in love. Realizing he has not forgotten, the film's message that interracial marriage is the answer to prejudice is the decision of a white father prompted by a black mother.

The film dismisses blatant racial prejudices. White prejudice against John, expressed by the woman who manages Christina's art gallery, is dismissed as wrong as she is fired. Black prejudice against John, expressed by the Draytons' maid Tillie (Isabel Sanford), is also dismissed as wrong, but Tillie is not fired. Tillie's role is to humorously disarm white fears, ironically, as the voice of antiblack racism. As Tillie argues against the idea, declaring, "civil rights is one thing. This here is somethin' else," the film suggests interracial marriage is a civil right. Tillie also deflects fears of the Black Power movement, warning John to leave Joanna alone or she'll show him "what black power really means." Tillie is a stereotypical Mammy, happy to serve whites and protect their daughter from black men. Tillie's sarcasm and racist rants substitute for an examination of institutionalized racism, including the socioeconomic conditions that would explain her situation as a live-in maid. Her self-demeaning prejudice is so ludicrous that she

becomes the target of the film's humor, ensuring the Draytons will ignore her and audiences will dismiss her in favor of the film's happy ending.

Film and Multiculturalism

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner records the changing racial attitudes that it helped influence. Census data show that interracial marriages are increasing and biracial children are blurring the old racial boundaries that the post-civil rights generation dismisses as fictions.

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See Also: Academy Awards; Anti-Miscegenation Laws; *Birth of a Nation, The*; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement; Colorism; Constitutional Amendments; Intermarriage, History of; Intermarriage Court Decisions; *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Motion Pictures; Mulatto; Multiracial Movement; Race Mixture in the United States; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Whiteness Studies.

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Guyanese Americans

Guyana sits on the South American coast but is a Caribbean country and a former colony of the United Kingdom (UK). There were two main waves of immigrants from Guyana and the other nations of the British West Indies. The first wave

was from approximately 1900 to 1924, the year the Immigration Act of 1924 was passed. The act restricted immigration based on race, ethnicity, and literacy and included a quota.

These restrictions were lifted in 1952 with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and this ushered in the second wave of immigration from Guyana. As the UK tightened immigration law in 1962, immigration of Guyanese to the United States grew. In the 1960s and 1970s, Guyanese entered the United States in unprecedented numbers, helping counteract the American labor shortage. Economic change in Guyana in the 1980s and 1990s further intensified immigration. Since their lifestyle in Guyana was mostly urban, Guyanese Americans settled in the northeast, primarily in New York, New Jersey, and Maryland.

Guyanese American Culture

Guyanese Americans have a variety of beliefs that originate in Guyana, and these inform their day-to-day actions. For example, it is a Guyanese American custom to turn and enter a house backward when it is late at night. Guyanese Americans also enjoy an embarrassment of riches vis-à-vis proverbs. This colorful language helps maintain a notable Guyanese American character.

Guyanese Americans enjoy a cuisine that is flavorful and pungent; a typical Guyanese American dish and the national dish of Guyana is pepperpot, a sort of stew eaten with rice or bread. Most Guyanese American food is based on economizing and stretching food as far as it will go, so all parts of animals are used and spices add panache to what might otherwise be bland entrees.

Creole, a blend of English and African dialects, is the spoken language of Guyana. English is used for formal matters. After the first generation of Guyanese American immigrants, few spoke Creole in their day-to-day lives, although colorful idioms remain a strong component of the speech of Guyanese Americans.

Family, Religion, and Community Dynamics

First-generation Guyanese Americans were likely to see extended families as their social center. Endogamy was a strong preference, although like most Caribbean ethnic groups, Guyanese Americans did see themselves as having an overall English-speaking Caribbean ethnicity. This would



Alvin Chea, a Guyanese American, is the bass singer in an a cappella gospel music sextet called Take 6. In 2001, they performed for President George W. Bush and First Lady Laura Bush during a Black Music Month celebration at the White House.

therefore make intermarriage with other Caribbean immigrants fairly common. Ceremonies for weddings, funerals, and baptisms were shared community experiences and served to preserve the community's cultural identity.

As in Guyana, most Guyanese Americans were Episcopalian, and Guyanese American churches have always served as hubs for social networking. Churches also provided much of the community's educational opportunities for the children, and Guyanese Americans typically preferred that their children receive private schooling designed to preserve cultural identity rather than favoring complete assimilation.

Early Guyanese Americans settled in northeastern urban environments in order to access work, which was commonly low paying; later generations were more educated and more likely to hold more lucrative jobs. Entrepreneurship was valued by the community, and therefore many Guyanese Americans ran their own family businesses. This allowed for more preservation of Guyanese traditions as well as more secure economic status for Guyanese Americans.

Early Guyanese Americans remained politically active in Guyanese issues, although this political

involvement did not often extend into local American matters. To address problems within their local American communities, Guyanese Americans preferred grassroots social efforts more than getting involved in problem solving with American officials. In more recent years, however, Guyanese Americans have inserted themselves into local politics.

Guyanese Americans preserve close ties to Guyana, and like many other immigrant groups, a good portion of Guyanese Americans' earnings go toward their kin remaining in Guyana. Guyanese Americans coalesced to send relief money back home to Guyana in times of more serious struggle and helped offset economic crises in their home country. The ongoing stream of academic conferences between Guyana and the United States allowed for scholarly development of Guyanese Americans and this stream is still flowing.

Notable Guyanese Americans

Although Guyanese Americans by the numbers make up only a tiny portion of the total population of the United States, there are many notable examples of Guyanese American contributions to the scholarly, cultural, literary, musical, and political realms of American culture. E. R. Braithwaite has achieved international literary status with his autobiographical *To Sir With Love*. This memoir and the film that was based on it provided a poignant, frank exploration of race. Guyanese American authors such as Edgar Mittelholzer have depicted the tumult of Guyanese history in ways that have gained international acclaim. Alvin Chea is a singer famous for his work with a cappella group Take 6. Colin Moore, an unsuccessful New York gubernatorial candidate, was a

founder of the Freedom Party, which advocates for African Americans. Arman Shields is a professional wide receiver in the National Football League. Finally, musicians Rihanna and Eddy Grant are Guyanese Americans.

Current Scene

Guyanese American immigration norms are no longer following the traditional patterns of immigration to the United States; these patterns generally show men settling in the United States first and then sending for their families. Women are now "principal alien" in Guyanese American culture and are largely responsible for immigration trends. Guyanese Americans continue to populate urban centers and improve their economic outlook by pursuing higher education.

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See Also: Caribbean Americans; Immigration Acts
West Indian Americans.

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Hadassah

Henrietta Szold founded Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, in 1912. It is the largest Jewish organization in America. Szold visited Palestine in 1909 and returned to the United States determined to address the need for medical care in the region. From the beginning, Hadassah has focused on both health care and the young. The organization has built two medical centers in Israel as well as schools of medicine and nursing and has supported other health care and education programs. The group also supports youth, public health, and advocacy groups in the United States. Despite the fallout from having been defrauded in 2008 and concerns about the paucity of members under 40, Hadassah's 300,000 members remain committed to the vision of their organization's founder.

Before that first visit to Palestine, Henrietta Szold was already a dedicated Zionist and an experienced activist. Before she was 30, Szold had organized a night school where Jewish immigrant laborers from eastern Europe and Russia were taught English and vocational skills. It was among the first of such schools in the United States.

When her mother suggested that practical philanthropy was the proper response to Szold's concern over the absence of modern health care in Palestine, Szold took the idea back to her study

group at home. They agreed to raise funds for nurses to visit the districts of Palestine. In February 1912, at a meeting in New York City, the Hadassah Chapter of the Daughters of Zion was born. Less than a year later, the first two nurses supported by Hadassah sailed for Palestine.

Communication between Hadassah and Palestine was cut off during World War I, but Hadassah continued to grow. By 1916, it had almost 2,000 members. By 1918, when it was possible to send another medical team to Palestine, it sent 45 doctors, nurses, dentists, and sanitary workers with the mission of bringing American-style medical care to serve all, regardless of race, creed, or ethnicity.

By the mid-1930s, Szold was involved with the Youth Aliyah, an organization that rescued thousands of Jewish children from the Nazis. Between 1935 and 1938 alone, the Aliyah had settled 3,100 European Jewish youth, ages 15 to 18, in 35 youth villages and three technical schools in Palestine. In 1942, the U.S. State Department named Hadassah as one of the five largest contributors to overseas relief.

Hadassah has continued to expand internationally and domestically. The organization has funded two medical centers in Israel, along with schools of medicine and nursing and an array of health care, education, and youth programs. Academicians and senior government officials

from the United States, Britain, Australia, and Israel have even nominated the Hadassah Ein Kerem and Hadassah Mount Scopus Hospitals in Jerusalem for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize. The hospitals have been praised for the equality they practice during treatment, the ethnic and religious diversity of its staff and patients, and their efforts to build peace. In the United States, Hadassah has supported such issues as public health, voting rights, immigration, and stem cell research.

Hadassah's effectiveness was threatened in 2008 when the Bernard Madoff Ponzi scheme was revealed. Introduced to Bernard Madoff Securities in 1988 through a \$7 million gift from a French donor, Hadassah invested an additional \$33 million with Madoff between 1988 and 1996. In the months following the Madoff scandal, Hadassah made sharp cuts in its contributions to the Israeli hospitals and domestic programs. The organization insisted the cuts were planned and that Hadassah, although affected by the economic downturn, was not in financial difficulties.

Public Participation of Jewish Women

Although Hadassah is perhaps best known for its work in Israel, the organization has also played a significant role in promoting participation of Jewish women in the public sphere and involving them in the American political scene. From its beginnings, Hadassah was engaged in advocating

the Zionist cause in America, and as early as 1936, the group began sponsoring youth organizations committed to developing Jewish identity and Zionist beliefs among the young. Since 1967, when Hadassah merged Junior Hadassah with Young Judaea and restructured the summer camp activities, leadership training, and study scholarships in Israel that it had sponsored since 1940, the organization has been financially responsible for all Zionist youth organizations. Hadassah has also advocated liberal causes in the United States, ranging from women's suffrage to abortion legislation. Through formal policy statements and through the actions of individual members, the organization has taken a stand against illiteracy, hate crimes, and domestic violence.

Public Health has been a particular concern of Hadassah. In 1992, the organization initiated Hadassah Cares, an ongoing breast health awareness and education program for American women of all ages. The program includes Hadassah's award-winning Check It Out program for high school girls. It later added a testicular cancer education program for teenage boys. The organization was especially effective in its support of the Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act of 2008, which prohibits group health plans and health insurers from denying coverage to a healthy individual or charging that person higher premiums based solely on a genetic predisposition to developing a disease in the future. The



This hospital, in Ein Kerem on the west side of Jerusalem, is one of two built by the Hadassah organization. They were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for maintaining equal treatment for everyone regardless of religion, ethnicity, or nationality. They were also acknowledged for setting an example of cooperation and coexistence by maintaining a mixed staff of people of many faiths and creating bridges of peace even during periods of active conflict between Israel and one of its neighbors.

legislation also bars employers from using individuals' genetic information when making hiring, firing, job placement, or promotion decisions.

The public image of Jews and of Jewish women in particular has been another area of great concern to Hadassah. In 1992, the group established its Curriculum Watch program to help guarantee the factual correctness of TV and radio programs, novels, textbooks, and other school materials relating to Judaism, anti-Semitism, the Holocaust, and Israel. In 1997, Hadassah established the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute (originally the Hadassah International Research Institute on Jewish Women at Brandeis University), the first university-based research institute devoted to the study of Jewish women, and in 1998, Hadassah founded the Morning Star Commission to advocate a healthier diversity of portrayals of Jewish women in the media and entertainment industry.

An aging membership and a failure to attract younger women in significant numbers are problems confronting Hadassah in its second century. More than 80 percent of the 300,000 members are over 45. But the organization has survived war, terrorism, and economic crises. Resilience is part of the Hadassah legacy. The organization celebrated its centennial year in 2012 with the opening of the 19-story, \$363 million Sarah Wetsman Davidson Hospital Tower at Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center in Ein Kerem.

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See Also: American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; National Council of Jewish Women; World Jewish Congress; World War II; Zionism.

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Haitian Americans

Haitian Americans are an emergent group among recent immigrants to the United States. Haitians are the second-largest black immigrant group, after Jamaicans, with strong transnational connection to their homeland. An estimated 830,000 self-identified Haitians currently live in the United States, though this number does not include those here illegally, recent immigrants, or the children of Haitian immigrants.

Even before the official establishment of the United States, there was a history between the future super power and its southern Caribbean neighbor. During the American Revolutionary War, a group of free black men from Saint Domingue (not yet Haiti), known as the Chasseurs-Volontaires de Saint-Domingue, fought on the side on the French against the British in the Siege of Savannah of 1779. Haitians also were a part of the Tuskegee Airmen during World War II. During the 1940s, an ad was placed in Haitian newspapers recruiting at least 40 Haitian Army pilots to begin training at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

Four Waves of Immigration

Haitians immigrated to the United States in primarily four waves. Migration began during the first U.S. occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934 to avoid the hazards of the occupation. While the number of immigrants was not considerable, these first immigrants fully integrated into the black community. Under the dictatorship of Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier and his son Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier from the late 1950s to the mid 1980s, significant waves of Haitians, particularly intellectual and professional political opponents of the regime, fled to the United States for safety. After the middle class had made its exodus, less-prominent individuals and sectors of the society began to immigrate to the United States, legally or illegally. Upon arrival, they tended to congregate in particular areas of the United States, such as Florida, New York, and Massachusetts, though there has been movement to other nongateway cities.

Triple Minorities

Because of language barriers, Haitians are often seen as triple minorities. They are immigrants,

black, and speak a foreign language. Haitians commonly speak Creole, though both Creole and French are the national languages in Haiti. Haitian Creole, a blend of French and African languages, is spoken only in Haiti, which makes language assimilation in the United States, as well as retention of the language, a bit difficult.

Immigrating to the United States subjects Haitians to a new social system in which they are judged on their physical appearance and race, rather than other culturally important criteria such as skin color, money, and education. The racial category of “black” for Haitians does not have the same negative connotations as it does in the United States. Haiti won its independence from France, emerging as the first successful slave rebellion and the first independent black nation in the Western Hemisphere. Haitians do not come from a society with white dominance, thus they are accustomed to seeing blacks in positions of power. Consequently, “black” does not mean inferior but is equivalent to pride and dignity.

In an effort to combat the negative American understanding of blackness, Haitians keep their Haitian identity, choosing to identify by nationality instead of race. Haitians will attempt to recreate the world they left behind by having social clubs based on hometowns and dances known as *bals*. The ethnic enclaves, often known as Little Haiti, are filled with Haitian businesses that cater to the Haitian population. They participate in major cultural festivities such as Haitian Independence Day (January 1st), Haitian Flag Day (May 18), and the anniversary of Dessaline’s Death (October 17).

There are two major, state-recognized religions in Haiti: Catholicism and voodoo. Protestant churches are present and active in Haiti as well. Though the religions are separate, many practitioners of Catholicism also engage in voodoo. Creating a religious syncretism, practitioners blend aspects of both voodoo and Catholicism such as correlating the saints of the church with the lesser gods, or *loa*, in voodoo.

Though Haitians have made progress in various arenas, they still face adversity in the form of discrimination. During the fourth wave of immigration, many poor Haitians attempting to flee the military government’s repression often tried to reach the United States by boat. Because of different government policies toward illegal

immigration, Haitians were not able to reach American soil and were often stopped en route or detained and deported back to Haiti—unable to file for asylum. Haitians were also falsely accused of bringing human immunodeficiency virus to the United States, which ultimately led to the Food and Drug Administration’s (FDA) excluding Haitians from donating blood. Haitians, and African Americans, fought against this unfair exclusion and the FDA rescinded its ban on Haitian blood donation.

Despite the negativity, Haitian Americans have made progress and had success in various areas. Founding members of the Fugees, Pras and Wyclef Jean, are notable Haitian American musicians in American society. In 2010, Jean attempted to run for president of Haiti, though he was deemed ineligible because he had not lived in Haiti for the past five years as required. There are other famous Haitian Americans, such as Edwidge Danticat, author of several novels depicting Haitian life in Haiti and abroad, and Garcelle Beauvais and Jimmy Jean-Louis, who are actors. Haitian Americans have also made strides outside the entertainment realm, including several professional athletes in football, basketball, and boxing. In the political arena, Philippe Deroose was the first Haitian American to be elected to public office in the United States in 1993. He was elected councilman in Miami-Dade County in Florida. In 2000, he was also the first Haitian American to be elected as mayor of Village of El Portal.

Based on achievements in the face of discrimination and stereotypes, Haitian Americans have made a contribution to American society in an impactful manner.

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See Also: Armed Forces, U.S.; Caribbean Americans; Creoles; Dominican Americans; Immigration, Illegal; Jamaican Americans; Slave Revolts; Slavery.

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Halakha

Translated as “the path,” halakha refers to the inclusive body of Judaic law and has been a fluid, living repository of tradition for more than 2,500 years. Many of the judicial opinions in the halakha have been passed on for hundreds of years. It comprises the 613 *mitzvot*, Talmudic and rabbinic law, and even customs and traditions in the community. There is no classic difference between religious and secular life in Judaism; this is the reason that halakha provides such extensive guidance for everyday life and why it plays such a crucial role in maintaining Jewish culture despite the Diaspora. Halakha itself differs geographically and historically for different Jewish communities. But, despite these differences, any understanding of Jewish culture is based in part on an understanding of halakha. As the comprehensive guide to Jewish life, its tenets concern an enormous range of issues; halakha represents the extrapolated message of the Hebrew Bible.

Because halakha is constantly developing as it is interpreted and discussed by Jewish authorities, it displays a high level of dynamism. Different Jewish communities throughout the world can have different interpretations of halakhic principles; controversies based on these differences contribute to the intellectual rigor of rabbinic literature. As there is no one formal authority on halakha to which Jews may appeal opinions they find unsatisfactory, it is up to the individual to choose rabbis, synagogues, and other sources of authority. For the most part, acceptance of any one opinion is dependent upon the social stature of its *posek* (author), along with the kind of reception it receives in the scholarly community.

Specifically, the halakha is made up of the practice springing from the mitzvot and the interpretation of that practice in rabbinical literature. The Talmud indicates that there are 613 of these mitzvot in the Torah; 248 of them are positive

(you must do A, B, and C) and 365 are negative (you must not do D or E). Positive mitzvot allow the actor to emulate God and negative mitzvot create distance between God and the actor. Obviously, as the goal of life is to be as close to God as possible, the mitzvot must be carefully observed.

Categorization of Halakha

Halakha can be categorized by study of distinctions in areas of its laws. One such distinction is that between laws received directly from God via the Pentateuch and laws that originate with humans, such as rabbinic opinions. Practically speaking, those laws coming directly from the word of God are not subject to debate or revision, except in extraordinary circumstances (matters of life and death). Another major distinction within the halakha is between the written law (the Torah) and the oral law (laws that are memorialized in the Mishnah, the Talmud, and rabbinical opinions).

Another distinction is that between *chukim*, or decrees; *mishpatim*, or judgments; and *eduyot*, or testimonies. *Chukim* are laws without obvious connection to character or morality. An example of a *chok* (singular form of *chukim*) is kosher eating. *Mishpatim* are laws with obvious moral roots, such as the prohibition against killing. Finally, *eduyot* are commemorations such as the Shabbat. Another way to classify halakha via distinction is to characterize laws as being either in relation to God or in relation to other people. Within the Talmud, Jewish law is further classified. There are the six orders of the Mishnah, which are defined by their subject matter; this would include, for example, the category of *nashim* (women) that deals with laws of marriage and divorce.

The Jewish faith sees mitzvot as sins. There are three types of sin in the halakha, categorized by the intent of the actor. *Pesha* (rebellion) are intentional sins, considered to be purposeful defiance of God’s will. *Avon* (desire) are sins of lust or indulgence. The actor knows they are sins but does them anyway based on indulgence of desires. *Chet* are unintentional sins; the translation of *chet* is “missed the mark.” In Judaism, sin does not condemn an actor to damnation; however, in a sense, failure to follow the path to repentance, *teshuva*, does. The Talmud also says that providence will apply halakhic principles even if man cannot or will not.

Rabbis and communities differ wildly on how they interpret and change the halakha. There is a clear tension between early and more recent opinions, which challenges innovation; the concepts of binding precedents and responsibility of contemporary *poskim* to ensure the just thing happens along “the path” can come into conflict. In practice Judaism and its authorities take care not to upset precedents unless needed while granting *poskim*, a sort of judicial discretion.

These tensions are thrown into sharp relief with a comparison between more Orthodox practices and reformative practices. Orthodox positions on use of electricity are connected back to rules on fire and therefore there are Orthodox prohibitions on using electricity at times. However, Conservative and Reform *poskim* see electricity use as more akin to water use in modern society; you turn the tap or flip the switch and both water and electricity flow as needed.

The different schools of Judaic thought also see precedent and authority differently. For Orthodox Jews the halakha is divine law laid out in the Torah, rabbinical law, and community customs. As a result, change to any of those areas is not permitted. Conservative Jews see halakha as normative and binding, though not absolute; for them, halakha is necessarily changing and must be subject to interpretation by rabbis, especially across historical time periods. Both Reform and Reconstructionist Jews believe that rabbinic Jewish law is no longer binding on Jews. Traditionalists believe that each Jew must interpret the Torah and Talmud for themselves. Of course, some Orthodox Jews see these latter ideas as heretical.

The traditional purpose of halakha has been to maintain Jewish culture despite the Diaspora and other cultural calamities. In the modern United States, halakha still fulfills this purpose by providing a sense of community and ethnic identity for many Jews living within the larger, mainstream American culture. At the same time, elements of halakha have become integrated into American culture. One such example is the widespread acceptance of Jewish holidays and Shabbat (Jewish day of rest) in the American workplace.

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See Also: Abrahamic Religions; Anti-Semitism; Beth Din; Diaspora; Gentiles; Israeli Americans; Jewish Americans; Kosher; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Yeshiva; Zionism.

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Halal

Halal (Arabic for lawful or permissible) refers to an action or object that conforms to Islamic law. This term is frequently used in regard to food. The opposite of halal is *haraam*. Pork, carrion, and foods slaughtered in the name of anything but God are a few things considered *haraam*.

Dhabihah is the way meat is slaughtered in order to be considered halal. This does not apply to fish or seafood. The method involves using a sharp knife to cut the throat of the animal, slicing through the carotid artery, jugular vein, and windpipe without puncturing the spine. The animal is then placed so the blood drains and it exsanguinates. The prayer “in the name of God” should be uttered while this is performed and the head should be turned in a direction in accordance

with Qiblah. Apparently, this ritual prevents blood clots and gives the meat a longer shelf life.

Halal applies not only to food, however, but also to lifestyle and everyday living. Most people associate the word with meat, but it also applies to nonfood items like cosmetics that can contain animal by-products, pharmaceuticals, and processed foods.

Halal in the United States

Established in 1974, Midamar Corporation was the first halal company in the United States. It was also the first company to distribute U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) approval-stamped protein products to the Middle East and south-east Asia. Another first for this Cedar Rapids, Iowa-based company was slaughtering halal beef. Midamar is located where the oldest mosque in the United States still stands. The descendants of Muslims who settled in Iowa in 1900 recognized a need for the production of halal beef and chicken products for American Muslims, so this area has since been a U.S. center of production of halal products.

Major hotels, airlines, restaurants, and hospitals purchase halal-certified products. Manufacturers of pharmaceuticals, grains, soups, and cosmetics also have an interest in these products for their customers. The appeal of the halal market took off in 1991 and has grown ever since.

The Islamic Certification Agency (ISA) was established in 1975 but applied for nonprofit status in 2004. There have been many investigative reports done on Midamar and ISA because of an apparent conflict of interest. Three of the four ISA board members are members of Midamar's Aosse family. Some questions have also been raised about Midamar's slaughtering methods. Do they just supply the products or actually slaughter and produce them according to Islamic law? It is not only necessary for food to be approved to be shipped within the United States, but it is important that halal-certified foods are accepted by foreign governmental approval bodies, too.

Two other U.S. halal-certified companies are the Stockton, California-based Islamic Meat and Poultry Company and the Halal Products Certification Institute, also located in California. Established in 1986, the Islamic Meat and Poultry Company does hand-slaughtering and meat



A halal meat market in Chicago, Illinois. Efforts to create halal-certification companies for Muslim American consumers go back to 1974. The market has been pursued by mainstream manufacturers of soups, grains, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, prepared foods, and other products.

processing according to Islamic sharia. Halal Products Certification Institute, formed in 2011, became the first company to globally distribute halal consumer products such as perfume, cosmetics, and toiletries. The company was started by Muslim scientists and intellectual scholars well versed in Islamic law.

In Dearborn, Michigan, which houses the largest Arabic and Muslim population in the United States, some fast food chains have started offering halal food items. For example, fast food giants like McDonald's offer halal chicken nuggets. In New York City, halal food trucks can be found all over the city. They offer gyros, chicken and rice, and other fast food dishes for reasonable prices.

In 2005, a county in Ohio issued a law banning the sale or distribution of any food mislabeled as halal. If it does not meet the dietary standards of Islamic law, it is not halal. There are similar policies

that protect kosher products. Many often confuse the terms *kosher* and *halal*. The terms are similar, as kosher means “proper” or “fit.” But, this is where the similarity ends. Their spiritual roots are completely different. Both are based on scriptures, with halal associated with the Qur’an and kosher rooted in the Bible and the Torah. When the slaughtering of the animals occurs, Jews do not say God’s name over each animal—only the first and the last ones. They think to do more is wasteful. With halal, any normal, adult Muslim can perform the process. With the kosher ritual, however, only a particular rabbi, a *Sachet*, can do it. They also have different notions about what parts of the animal fall under their law. Muslims consider the whole animal halal if it is slaughtered according to Islamic sharia. Jews consider only the fore quarter of the animal kosher. Halal customs prohibit alcohol, whereas kosher traditions allow all wines.

Treatment of Animals

The way that the animals are slaughtered has not gone unnoticed by animal welfare organizations. According to several studies, animals suffer greatly when experiencing the halal and kosher rituals. The Farm Animal Welfare Council (FAWC) confirmed this research in 2003, stating that livestock had to bleed a full two minutes before dying. Halal and kosher butchers have denied this, however, and several sources have supported them, including Humane Society International and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

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See Also: Food; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Kosher; Muslim Americans; Nation of Islam; Qur’an; Sharia.

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Hapa

Hapa is a term that is Hawai’ian in origin and loosely translates to “half” or “mixed.” It came into widespread use in the United States during the 1990s as a way to refer to people of multi-racial Asian descent. Entering mainstream usage at a time when multiracial activism and visibility was reaching a zenith before the 2000 U.S. Census, *hapa* was adopted by people of multiracial Asian descent as a concise, novel, and affirmative way to claim an identity in the face of a U.S. racial schema that, until then, had few positive terms to accommodate them.

However, its etymology is connected with the history of settler colonialism in Hawai’i, and critics in the early 2000s began to question the power differentials implicated in its mainstream usage, decrying it as a language-based form of colonialist appropriation. Regardless of terminology, people of multiracial Asian descent made up almost 1 percent of the total U.S. population in 2010, their numbers growing at a rate faster than mono-racial Asians in the United States

Categorization of Race

People of multiracial Asian descent have a long history in the United States. But their existence is often grouped within Asian American history and sidelined in discussions of race category and multiracial identity within the United States. In contrast to a long, explicit history on the part of the American legal institution to clarify and reinforce the boundaries of whiteness and blackness via naming and category—including the “one-drop rule” and the terms *mulatto*, *quadroon*, and *octoroon*—official state discourse has either evaded or had difficulty naming people of multiracial Asian descent outright (with the notable exception of “Amerasian,” explained below). This is not to say that there has not been state legislation against interracial mixing with Asians in the United States. All western states in the United States except Washington and Colorado had antimiscegenation laws that prohibited marriage to Asian people, and the 1907 Expatriation Act and 1922 Cable Act forced any woman who was a U.S. citizen to give up her citizenship upon marriage to any “alien,” a term that applied to almost all Asians in the United States at the time. State antimiscegenation laws were reversed

on a piecemeal basis in the mid-20th century and nationally by the *Loving v. Virginia* Supreme Court decision in 1967.

A Difficult History of Naming

People of multiracial Asian descent have been the object of various labels that come from a plethora of cultural sources, almost all of which have had derogatory connotations at any given time. The term *Eurasian*, originating in the context of British colonialism, has a history of association with colonial power structures as well as tragic or villainous literary figures, and encompasses only white and Asian multiracial identity. The blanket terms *half-breed* and *half-caste* are considered offensive, while “halfie” or *haafu* carry the connotation of being less than whole. The Vietnamese term *bui doi* (dust of life, or children of dust) as well as the Korean term *honyol* have derogatory in-group connotations and associations with the U.S. imperial presence in those countries.

The term *Amerasian* was invented in 1930 by American author Pearl S. Buck, referring explicitly to the Asian-born children of white American men, almost always servicemen, and Asian women. In her book *East Wind: West Wind* (1930), she describes Amerasians as “the most needy children in the world”; many people of multiracial Asian descent avoid this term for this connotation. This term entered official state discourse in 1982 under Public Law 97-359, or the Amerasian Act of 1982, which granted special immigration status—but not citizenship—to children of U.S. male fathers born in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia (Kampuchea), or Thailand between 1950 and 1982.

In the Native Hawai‘ian language the original meaning of *Hapa* was “part” or “half,” frequently used in the phrase *hapa haole*, signifying a person who was mixed Native Hawai‘ian and “foreigner” (white). This original meaning did not include reference to Asian heritage. It is also important to note that, used in this sense the term *hapa* is an adjective, not a noun, as it is often used in mainland U.S. discourse. The term had a derogatory connotation. Over time, its meaning shifted to encompass multiracial people of Asian heritage, in addition to (and sometimes instead of) multiracial people with Native Hawai‘ian heritage.

The Hapa Movement

The 1990s saw an upswing in multiracial activism and visibility, largely centered on a campaign to alter the race categorization schema of the 2000 census. Through a concerted and organized activist movement, many multiracial people of Asian heritage claimed *hapa* as a positive and inclusive term that described their heritage and that, to them, was free of the complicated political terrain of naming outlined above. The term was viewed as a concise way to articulate an identity that signified collective experience and struggle, responding to a long institutional history of difficulty with terminology as well as in-group prejudice from mono-racial Asian Americans.

A concerted activist effort to draw attention to this new identity, located largely on college campuses on the West Coast of the United States through the creation of student groups such as the Hapa Issues Forum, garnered national attention. Works such as Kip Fulbeck’s *Part Asian/100% Hapa* (2006) art installation and subsequent book as well as May-Lee Chai’s *Hapa Girl: A Memoir* (2007) are evidence of this movement. A new emphasis in scholarly research on the experiences of multiracial Asian Americans developed concurrently, resulting in works such as psychologist Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu’s *When Half Is Whole* (2012). Perhaps more than any other term, *hapa* has been the most widely embraced by multiracial people of Asian heritage.

Critics in the early 2000s, however, asserted that this usage was itself a form of colonialist appropriation and domination via language. Stripped of its original Native Hawai‘ian meaning and instead transformed to accommodate exogenous groups’ interests—the very same groups, Asians and mainland Americans, that have a history of settler colonialism in Hawai‘i—it was viewed as another instance in a long history of settlers wielding power through manipulation of Native Hawai‘ians’ own control over and access to the Hawai‘ian language. As of 2012, the term was still in popular usage, though with less concerted political organizing around it as a common identity than in decades past.

A Snapshot in 2010

Of the approximately nine million people who indicated more than one race in the 2010 U.S.

Census, 2,646,604 people reported “Asian in combination” with one or more races, which represents 0.9 percent of the total U.S. population. This is a 59.8 percent increase from the 2000 census, which reported 1,655,830 people who were “Asian in combination” with one or more races.

This is a higher rate of growth than the population that reported “Asian alone” between 2000 and 2010; in other words, the multiracial Asian population is growing faster than the monoracial Asian population in the United States. According to the 2010 census, multiracial Asians comprised about 15 percent of the total Asian population in the United States. This is the third-highest percentage of multiracial people within a racial group, behind white and black, respectively.

Among the approximately 2.6 million people who reported “Asian in combination” with one or more races in 2010, 1.6 million, or 61 percent, reported Asian and white, the most frequent combination. Asians and “some other race” followed, comprising 9 percent of multiracial people of Asian heritage, Asians and black at 7 percent, Asians and Native Hawai‘ian or Other Pacific Islander at 6 percent, and Asian and white and Native Hawai‘ian at 5 percent of multiracial people of Asian heritage. The Asian and white population was the most significant source for the growth of multiracial people of Asian heritage between 2000 and 2010, almost doubling in size. Almost half of all multiracial people of Asian heritage in the United States live in the west, though this proportion has decreased slightly from 2010 and increased slightly in the south. The highest concentrations of multiracial people of Asian heritage in 2010 were in California, followed by Hawai‘i.

Among specific Asian groups, Filipinos claimed the highest number of those reporting two or more races. However, the group with the largest proportion of people claiming identity with one or more other Asian groups or races were Japanese, with 41 percent of Japanese respondents identifying with multiple Asian groups, another race entirely, or all three. Asian Indians had the lowest proportion (11 percent) of identifying with other Asian groups or other races.

The first year that the U.S. Census allowed respondents to select more than one option for

race was 2000. Statistics before that year are not as specific or reliable as those from 2000 and later.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Eurasian; Hawai‘ians (Native); *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); Multiracial Movement; Pacific Islander Americans; Pacific Islander Categorization (Essay); Polynesian Americans; Race Mixture in the United States.

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Harlem Globetrotters

Born out of the Chicago amateur basketball scene in the late 1920s, the Harlem Globetrotters, comprised of African American male athletes, morphed from a semipro basketball team into an international sensation. Their journey from barnstorming tours in the midwest to playing sold-out venues abroad was not without controversy as the Globetrotters have been criticized for perpetuating stereotypes of African Americans. Despite this scrutiny, the Globetrotters have overcome many barriers facing African Americans and succeeded in becoming a world-renowned organization.

Initially, the Globetrotters grew their fan base through barnstorming tours around the midwest region from Illinois to Montana, often playing in small, predominantly white towns. It was during this time that the Globetrotters perfected not only their basketball skills but also the showmanship that set them apart from other barnstorming basketball teams. For example, hidden-ball tricks, skits, and the Magic Circle became significant components of their skill set, as both basketball players and entertainers. These routines, however, led to criticism in later years.

Eventually, their on-court success secured the Globetrotters a place in nationwide competitions such as the College All-Star tour and victories against the Harlem Rens in 1947 (another highly successful African American team) and National Basketball Association (NBA) champion Minneapolis Lakers in 1948. Though these victories situated the Globetrotters as one of the preeminent teams of the time period, they still endured discrimination. During the College All-Star tour, the African American players on the Globetrotters were paid less than their white counterparts on opposing teams and stayed in segregated housing. Until the NBA integrated, the Globetrotters still suffered the indignities of racism and discrimination.

The integration of the NBA was crucial in that the Globetrotters faced increased competition for the best African American players while playing a diminishing number of games against quality opponents. Prior to integrating, the NBA was a fledgling league during the late 1940s and often played doubleheaders with the Globetrotters, who

actually were the main attraction. This changed in 1950, when the Boston Celtics chose Chuck Cooper, the Washington Capitols selected Earl Lloyd, and the New York Knicks selected Nat “Sweetwater” Clifton, all former Globetrotters, during the NBA draft. The Globetrotters no longer held a monopoly on the best African American players and it began to affect the organization financially.

By the 1970s, ownership had changed several times and, following the death of owner Abe Saperstein, the Globetrotters were in financial trouble. As popularity of the Globetrotters began to wane, the team could not maintain the financial success they experienced during the previous decades. After two decades of instability, the Globetrotters set a new precedent, becoming the first major professional sports franchise in the United States to have an African American owner and chief executive officer (CEO), when former player and successful businessman Mannie Jackson purchased the team in 1993.

Symbol of Race Relations and Identity

Throughout their history, however, the Globetrotters have played an important role as a symbol of race relations and identity in the United States. For example, the government utilized the Globetrotters’ international tour in 1950 as a public relations tool to counter communist claims of racism in the United States. The tour had heightened media coverage and set a record when 75,000 people attended their game in Berlin, Germany, at Olympic Stadium. Unfortunately, after being celebrated as heroes for representing American ideals of freedom abroad, the players returned home to the United States to face the same discriminatory practices against African Americans in housing, education, and business that existed prior to their departure.

During the 1960s, with their emphasis on pre-game antics and showmanship, some African Americans argued that the Globetrotters reinforced stereotypical images of black men as “Uncle Toms” or “clowns” because they attracted predominantly white audiences. This characterization emerged as the Globetrotters played against decidedly inferior competition and emphasized showmanship to keep the crowd involved as opposed to basketball skills and strategies. Some perceived that African American players were

being exploited for so-called entertainment purposes at the expense of the dignity of the African American community. While the visibility of the Globetrotters during the 1940s and 1950s was viewed positively for African Americans, this changed as civil rights activists criticized the caricatures and antics that the Globetrotter organization reproduced.

Eventually, what started out as a local Chicago barnstorming basketball team turned into a global attraction. By recruiting top-level African American athletes such as Marques Haynes and later Wilt Chamberlain, the Globetrotters played an up-tempo, unique brand of basketball accompanied by comedy routines designed to entertain primarily white audiences. As a result, the Globetrotters achieved commercial success through movies, cartoons, and a variety show that reflected their crossover appeal to white audiences. This was not without problems in later years as they were drawn into the debate over whether they were “goodwill ambassadors” or an example of minstrel show designed to appeal to white audiences. Ultimately, the Globetrotters played an important role in providing visibility to and opportunities for African American men during segregation as the players became internationally recognized.

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See Also: African Americans; Basketball and Ethnic Diversity; Identity Development; Intercultural Communication; Sports and Ethnic Diversity; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Harlem Renaissance

The Harlem Renaissance began after World War I and lasted through the 1920s and 1930s. The early renaissance coincided with the peak of the Great Migration of southern rural blacks to northern cities during and shortly after the war.

During Reconstruction, although slavery was abolished, freedom proved ephemeral for African Americans as white supremacists instituted a modification of the old system quickly and violently. Ninety percent of American blacks lived in the “new south” of social, political, and economic repression. By around 1890, many blacks had enough of disenfranchisement, Jim Crow, hate, sharecropping, boll weevils, and general misery. The north offered jobs in industry, with factory owners recruiting everywhere for cheap labor. The industrial north remained after World War I a magnet for blacks from the economically depressed and industrially backward agrarian south.

Hundreds of thousands moved to northern cities, where they found that they had common histories and experienced common racial discrimination. The new migrants were squeezed out of white-dominated workplaces and neighborhoods, and squeezed into dilapidated older neighborhoods.

The largest of the old neighborhoods was Harlem in New York City. While blacks went to cities such as Chicago and Detroit for work in automobiles or meatpacking, they went to New York to work in that city’s primary industry—culture. In Harlem gathered writers, artists, actors, and musicians, all bent on celebrating black traditions and creating new ones. They discovered that they had reasons for pride in their culture. They demonstrated their pride in the Harlem Renaissance.

The “New Negro”

The Harlem Renaissance is, in the narrow definition, the flowering of black culture in Harlem in the 1920s and early 1930s. Blacks encouraged to celebrate their new freedom came under the label “the New Negro,” coined in 1925 by Alain Locke, sociologist and critic. Some use the phrase “Harlem Renaissance” interchangeably with “New Negro Renaissance” and apply the term to African American cultural flowering regardless of geographic setting.

The Harlem Renaissance is noted for poetry, novels, painting, and sculpture. The Harlem Renaissance brought recognition that black literature and art were legitimately a part of world culture. Blacks from the Caribbean and the southern United States came to Harlem, and the blending of cultures helped nourish the arts.

The New Negro demanded inclusion and empowerment within American society, and just about all major cities had a group of elite blacks. Although centered in Harlem, the flourishing of the arts—literature, drama, music, and movies—and the outpouring of protest spread its influence to black artists, Americans and other people in the diaspora, particularly Afro-Caribbeans in Paris. But the major flowering of black artistic expression was centered in Harlem.

The father of the Harlem Renaissance was Hubert Harrison, born in the Virgin Islands and transplanted to New York at age 17. Harrison attended night school while working as a bellhop. He was a socialist and worked with other black radicals, lecturing about socialism and civil rights, advocating unity, education, and Afrocentrism. Among those he influenced was Marcus Garvey.

A Musical Renaissance

The postwar increase in black writing, music, and visual arts in the city attracted attention from middle-class white New Yorkers. Black artists felt conflicted between being true to their art and altering it to the tastes of the dominant white society. Cultural tourists went to the Cotton Club in Harlem for the floor shows, somewhat debasing to performers but nevertheless an opportunity for black artists to develop ties to white entertainment entrepreneurs.

Jazz drew white and black audiences, although not usually at the same time. The Cotton Club featured the convention-spurning syncopated improvisational music of Duke Ellington, music that was never the same twice. Vocalists included Billie Holiday and Bessie Smith. Other jazz players included Louis Armstrong and Jelly Roll Morton.

The Apollo Theater, which opened in 1914, was the takeoff location for musicians such as Billie Holiday and Benny Carter, but it was also noted for live performances of dance, comedy, and instrumental music. The Apollo was home

to the live *Amateur Night Hour* broadcast on radio from 1934, and Ella Fitzgerald was an early winner.

There were black composers of symphonies and sonatas between the wars, but the significant music was nightclub style, which translated to the musical show. For instance, *Shuffle Along*, with music written by Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle, ran for more than 500 performances beginning on May 23, 1921. The chorus line included Josephine Baker and Ethel Waters, and Paul Robeson was in a barbershop quartet that had a brief run in the cast. The show's hit song was "I'm Just Wild About Harry." *Shuffle Along* is sometimes considered the first musical comedy.

Marian Anderson gained her initial recognition in Europe. In 1939, the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) refused to allow Anderson to perform in Constitution Hall. In response, Eleanor Roosevelt resigned from the DAR, and Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes offered the Lincoln Memorial for the concert. On Easter Sunday, over 75,000 people heard Anderson sing. She won the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) Spingarn Medal later in 1939. Her efforts helped diminish the barriers for black performers in the arts.

Harlem Renaissance Literature and Film

The black experience received treatment from writers of poetry, short stories, essays, and novels that attracted both black and white audiences. Claude McKay, a native of Jamaica, dealt with immigrant nostalgia and African American rage and pride. He wrote three novels, two autobiographies, and books of poetry. One best-selling novel won the Harmon Gold Award, and his first book of poetry was among the first publications of the Harlem Renaissance. McKay demanded that blacks stand up for their rights.

Langston Hughes was one of the most prolific and versatile of renaissance writers. He rejected white influences and wrote in blues and jazz rhythms. He wrote a play in poetry about the Scottsboro Boys. Countee Cullen was the adopted son of a Methodist minister, and he trained at New York and Harvard Universities. His poetry includes "Color" (1925), "The Ballad of the Brown Girl" (1927), and "Copper Sun" (1927.) Cullen's work focused seriously on the

poet's identity as well as the identity of the black collectivity. He doubted that a benevolent creator would have made race such a mixed blessing. Sterling Brown was a longtime professor at Howard University. His 1930s poems were sometimes light, sometimes pessimistic, and they were written in both standard English and black vernacular and in both black and European forms. Many of



Zora Neale Hurston beats a hountar, or mama drum, in 1937. Hurston was an American folklorist, anthropologist, and author during the Harlem Renaissance. She is best known for her novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937). The Harlem Renaissance redefined how America, and the world, viewed African Americans.

his poems feature strong individuals holding out against poverty, racism, and fate.

Another highly versatile writer was Zora Neale Hurston. Born in Florida, she was also a folklorist and anthropologist, trained at Morgan Academy in Baltimore, Howard University in Washington, D.C. and Barnard and Columbia Universities in New York. Her writings are many, among them *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (1934), *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), *Moses, Man of the Mountain* (1939), and her autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942). Some of her folklore materials are at the Library of Congress. Hurston's stories of black southerners helped refute stereotypes about marriage and family. One spirited comment from Hurston indicates the influence the Renaissance had on African Americans at the time: "Sometimes I feel discriminated against, but it does not make me angry. It merely astonishes me. How can anyone deny themselves the pleasure of my company? It's beyond me."

Nella Larsen was born in Chicago. Her mother was Danish, her father West Indian. After her father died, her mother married a Dane. Larsen was educated at Fisk University in Nashville and the University of Copenhagen, as well as in schools of library science and nursing. She wrote novels and articles; her novels include *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929). She exemplifies the difficulty of being a product of two worlds, one white, the other black.

Jean (Eugene) Toomer wrote plays and short stories that captured the spirit of his times. He was the sole renaissance representative of the Symbolist avant-garde. He was light enough to pass for white. After a brief flirtation with the Harlem scene, he became a follower of G. I. Gurdjieff and inner development and passed into the white world.

The Harlem Renaissance also involved film. After D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1915) stereotyped blacks negatively and made the Ku Klux Klan a heroic organization, black directors, particularly Oscar Micheaux, released films featuring black life and struggles in the United States. Micheaux was responsible for over 40 movies, and he launched the careers of Evelyn Preer, who made 10 movies before Hollywood discarded her for being too light-skinned, and Paul Robeson, whose many accomplishments included starring

as the first black Othello in an otherwise all-white cast. Micheaux's treatment of race relations led many of his movies to be banned.

The Harlem Foundation

Promoting the efforts of Harlem Renaissance artists who otherwise would have struggled financially was the Harmon Foundation, established in 1922. The foundation built playgrounds nationwide; provided vocational guidance and tuition for students; funded nursing programs; and presented achievement awards in business, education, religious service, science, race relations, music, literature, and fine arts.

The renaissance influenced subsequent generations. Writer Robert Hayden taught at Fisk and the University of Michigan and served twice as the consultant in poetry at the Library of Congress. Gwendolyn Brooks had her first success in 1945 with *A Street in Bronzeville*, and her 1950 *Annie Allen* won a Pulitzer Prize, the first book of poetry by a black poet to win that prize, the last for nearly 40 years. Brooks was an exceptional technician, and her poems dealt with the interior lives of black people. She later came under the influence of the radical Black Arts movement in the 1960s.

The Harlem Renaissance provided opportunities for blacks to gain white notice. This success was one element in the post-World War II civil rights movement, as was the influence of renaissance figures on civil rights leaders such as Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. Many artists themselves were active in the civil rights movement.

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See Also: Apollo Theater; Art and Ethnic Diversity; Civil Rights Movement; Gospel Music; Ghetto; Great Migration; Jazz and Ethnic Diversity; Jim Crow Laws; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Passing/Covering; Sharecropping; White Ethnics; World War I; World War II.

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Harpers Ferry Raid

The 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, of white and African American men led by abolitionist John Brown was a failed attempt to inspire a major insurrection of enslaved African Americans. John Brown and his contempt for slavery led to an unprecedented event in American history, one that would cause many individuals in various economic, social, and political situations to reconsider the institution of slavery.

The leader of the Harpers Ferry Raid, John Brown, was considered one of the most outspoken and active abolitionists in the country. John Brown was the descendant of Peter Brown, one of the original English settlers who arrived at Plymouth Rock in 1620 on the *Mayflower*. Brown's grandfather, Captain John Brown, and his father, Owen Brown, were uncompromising abolitionists. Owen Brown raised his son John to adhere to a strict Calvinist faith. Raised during the Second Great Awakening, John was deeply affected by religious revivalism and the abolitionism that grew in this era, to which many of his own writings attest. As an adult, Brown developed a reputation as an abolitionist willing to use violence to oppose and eradicate the evil of slavery.

John Brown's Plan

On October 16, 1859, John Brown led 18 men to Harpers Ferry, located near the Potomac River in western Virginia near the Blue Ridge Mountain

Trail. The site for numerous battles during the American Revolution, the area around Harpers Ferry appealed to Brown as an ideal location for his raid. Initially, Brown intended the Harpers Ferry raid to cause little bloodshed. Brown planned to capture the slave owners and promise to release them once the slave owners freed the African Americans they had enslaved. Once this had been accomplished, Brown assumed that his small army of 18 men would grow to 150,000 able-bodied men. According to Brown's plan, the newly freed people would either assist in the freeing of additional enslaved people or they would march to the north in order to increase the number of people on the Union side. Brown's plan is often critiqued because Brown did not clearly define what the freed people or members of his army were to do once the raid had been completed.

John Brown ordered his men to take control of three structures: the armory, which was also the fire engine house; the arsenal; and Hall's Rifle Works. Meanwhile, Brown and Hayward Shepherd headed toward the train depot. Brown believed that if he were to forestall any trains arriving or departing from the depot then the area would be cut off, and there would be little to no interference with his plans. Brown's seizure of the depot took place during the night, which limited visibility and made it difficult to determine who was friend or foe. As a result, Shepherd, a freed person, became the first casualty of the resistance, shot by one of Brown's own men. During the incident, Brown and his men had also decided to secure an area called Kennedy Farm as a make-shift base camp.

The Kennedy Farm

The Kennedy Farm is where Brown and his men planned to meet, trade whites (particularly slave owners) for enslaved people, and orchestrate the rebellion. One of Brown's captives led to the demise of the short-lived rebellion: Colonel Lewis W. Washington, a descendant of President George Washington. Colonel Washington and his men would eventually assist in the proceedings that would lead to Brown and his followers being captured. Brown hoped a captive of such status would lead to victory for the raid and the abolitionist movement. However, Brown would later be forced to surrender based on the connections

and weaponry obtained from Washington. After Brown had successfully taken Washington, President James Buchanan sent in General Robert E. Lee with the U.S. Marine Corps. Lee and his troops quickly ended the raid and captured Brown and his followers; the raid lasted a total of 14 hours, during which time 10 men were killed, seven were captured, and an unspecified number escaped. After a speedy trial, Brown was found guilty of treason against the state of Virginia and was sentenced to die by hanging; he was executed on December 2, 1859.

The Ramifications of the Harpers Ferry Raid

Historians disagree as to whether John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry was ultimately a success or a failure. Some have argued that the raid was a success in that it contributed to Brown's goal of ending slavery. According to this theory, the raid hastened the onset of the Civil War and led to the end of slavery, while also inspiring future African American civil rights activists to oppose racial injustice. However, Brown's raid has been deemed unsuccessful by others because the execution of his plans was so poorly done, and, more significantly, his acts set into motion future laws that were created based on southern whites' fears in the aftermath of the raid. Whites were faced with the possibility that, if given the opportunity, enslaved African Americans could rise up in a violent, bloody revolt to destroy the institution of slavery.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; Civil War, U.S.; Emancipation; Slavery.

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Haskell Indian Nations University

Founded as the United States Indian Industrial Training School in 1884 in Lawrence, Kansas, Haskell Indian Nations University began as a boarding school for American Indian youth. Today it is a North Central Association of Colleges and Schools–accredited university that serves members of all federally recognized American Indian tribes and Alaska Natives. Haskell is one of two postsecondary schools that operate under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is one of the oldest continually operating American Indian schools in the country.

The Indian Industrial Training School was renamed the Haskell Institute in 1887 for Representative Dudley C. Haskell of Kansas, who had served as chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs.

Academics and Athletics

The original enrollment of 22 students quickly rose to 300 students in 1885; the school now averages about 1,000 students per year. In addition to English and mathematics, early trades taught at Haskell for boys were tailoring, wagon making, shoe making, and blacksmithing; for girls, classes were taught in sewing, cooking, and homemaking. Early students grew their own vegetables on the school farm and were expected to participate in a variety of industrial chores. Today, students study a variety of topics ranging from business and American Indian studies to communication, education, math and sciences, physical education, and social work.

In 1894, the school expanded its curriculum beyond elementary levels to secondary, or high school, and a "normal school," or teacher's college, was added because of the high demand for teachers on Native lands. In 1927, Haskell was accredited by the state of Kansas and the school began offering postsecondary courses at the same time. By 1935, the school had evolved to a postsecondary vocational school curriculum, and in 1965 the school graduated its final high school class.

In addition to academics, early Haskell students often excelled in athletics and its football teams from the early 1900s are legendary, especially the play of stars John Levi (1921–24), Mayes McClain (1925–27), and Louis "Little Rabbit" Weller (1929–31), consistently beating teams such as Brown University, Michigan State, Nebraska, Texas, and Oklahoma. The school's emphasis was returned to academics in the 1930s and athletics at the school were decreased. Today, Haskell is the home of the American Indian Athletics Hall of Fame, and students play football, women's softball, men's and women's cross-country, track and field, basketball, women's volleyball, and men's golf.

Despite its academic and athletic success, like the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and others, Haskell was initially a boarding school that, as historian David Wallace Adams said, was established "for the sole purpose of severing a child's cultural and psychological connection to his native heritage . . . a method of saving Indians by destroying them." Many American Indian children were sent to boarding schools against their wishes to eradicate old loyalties and instill them with a Eurocentric view. Children were not allowed to speak their native languages nor practice their religious beliefs; instead, they wore military-style uniforms with the goal of assimilating the Indian youth into the white-dominated society.

Continuing Development

Haskell became Haskell Junior College in 1970 when it began offering a junior college curriculum. The National Board for Haskell recommended the current name in 1992 to reflect its vision of Haskell as a center for Indian education, research, and cultural preservation. The name change was approved in 1993.

In the 21st century, the school has developed a variety of relationships with schools and governments, including partnerships with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a working group on climate change, and the University of Kansas. Primary scientific research includes genetics, medicinal plants, social relationships, and environmental fields.

Thanks to its relationships with many partners and its 60-acre setting, which includes wetlands of the Wakarusa River, Haskell is able to help students cut through the financial and cultural problems facing young American Indians and Alaska Natives by assistance with on-the-job experiences that complement their studies. This frequently involves mentors—Haskell alumni and federal employees—primarily in the fields of forestry, ecology, range management, soil conservation, landscape architecture, and wildlife and fisheries management. The system is, as explained by Gail Sloan and Bill Welton: “Working in partnership, federal agencies, tribal organizations, and Haskell recognize shared needs and collaborate to enhance students’ educational and employment opportunities.”

Today, as part of the federal land-grant university colleges under the Morrill Act, Haskell’s vision and mission statements reflect the need to serve Native Americans and Alaska Natives implementing both student learning and tribal sovereignty through academic programs and research, creative activities, and culturally diverse student experiences. Haskell embraces the concept of tribal sovereignty and self-determination through a culturally based holistic lifelong learning environment that promotes and upholds respect, rights, and responsibility among all Native peoples.

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See Also: Educational Achievement; Eugenics; Higher Education; Indian Boarding Schools; Native Americans.

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Hate Crimes

The kinds of criminal acts that qualify as hate crimes include threats, intimidation, violence against a person, or destruction of property, which itself may include cross burnings, institutional vandalism, criminal mischief, and trespassing. With that noted, definitions and scope of hate crimes differ from source to source and have evolved as hate crime legislation has evolved. Likewise, hate crime definitions have evolved in response to cultural movements (such as civil rights, women’s rights), and high-profile cases (such as the killings of Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr.).

Originally developed to combat anti-Semitism, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) drafted model legislation that sought to address all hate crimes, including “race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation or [as of a 1996 amendment] gender of another individual or group of individuals.” The model also criminalizes institutional vandalism “aimed at houses of worship, cemeteries, schools, and community centers.” The legislation outlines a civil action clause aimed at the offenders as well as the payment of punitive damages to victims. It also requires that state police and other law enforcement agencies “establish and maintain a central repository” of information, records, and statistics regarding bias-motivated crimes and provide hate crime training to officers, especially in identifying, responding to, and reporting such crimes. Finally, the legislation

provides a penalty-enhancement clause, which increases a convicted offender's sentence when there is proof of bias or prejudicial motivation.

In 2009, President Barack Obama signed into law the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crime Prevention Act. This act increased the power of the U.S. Department of Justice by extending its jurisdiction in the investigation and prosecution of hate-motivated violence. The act also increased the number of grants allotted to state and local communities that train agents in the criminal justice system in the management, investigation, and prosecution of bias-motivated crime. As of 2011, 45 states and the District of Columbia have laws against bias-motivated violence and intimidation.

Hate Crime Statistics

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) most recent report from the 2010 calendar year represented a total of 14,977 participating agencies in hate crime reporting. The agencies reported a total of 6,624 single-bias hate crime incidents, involving 7,690 offenses, 8,199 victims, and 6,001 offenders. Most offenses reported were crimes against persons (62.7 percent). Crimes against property represented 37 percent of the total offenses and the remainder included crimes against society. The most common crime committed against persons was intimidation (46.2 percent), followed by simple assault (34.8 percent) and aggravated assault (18.4 percent). There were seven murders/non-negligent homicides and four forcible rapes. Among the 8,208 victims, 48.1 percent were victims of racial bias, 18.9 percent were victims of religious bias, 18.7 percent were victims of sexual-orientation bias, and less than 1 percent were victims of a disability bias.

The FBI also provides information about the offenders. White offenders accounted for 58 percent of all offenders, while 18.4 percent were described as black. Offenders were more often motivated by a racial bias (48.4 percent) than by biases of sexual-orientation (19.1 percent), religion (18.3 percent), ethnicity/national origin (13.5 percent), or disability (0.6 percent). Of the racial-bias offenses, 69.8 percent were antiblack, while 18.2 percent and 5.1 percent were antiwhite and anti-Asian/Pacific Islander, respectively. The religious-bias crimes consisted of 65.4 percent anti-Jewish and 13.2 percent anti-Islamic. Anti-Catholic,



Danny Chen, a Chinese American U.S. Army soldier, was found shot to death on October 3, 2011, in a guard tower in Kandahar Province, Afghanistan; suicide was suspected. The target of ethnic slurs and physical attacks on a daily basis for six weeks, Chen's final victimization was being forced to crawl on gravel while carrying equipment and being hit with rocks.

Protestant, atheism/agnosticism and other all fell below 10 percent of the religion-motivated victims. Among the sexual-orientation-bias crimes, 57.9 percent were antimale homosexual bias, 27.4 percent were antihomosexual bias, and 11.4 percent were antifemale homosexual bias.

Despite the high number of "participating agencies," around 85 percent of the agencies report zero hate crimes occurring in their jurisdictions. Researchers suggest this problem is due to the inconsistent definitions of hate crime and the ambiguous nature of laws written in response to hate crimes. The ambiguity and inconsistent definitions cloud the consistency of reporting across participating agencies. There is also a lack of hate crime investigation, training, and understanding among police departments.

Two Opposing Viewpoints

If it can be agreed that human rights are characterized by principles of human integrity, equality, and freedom, then it can be agreed that hate crimes are an egregious violation of human rights. It is apparent that the impact of hate crimes is harmful not only to the individual victims but also to the target community and society as a whole.

Frederick Lawrence argues that bias crimes are especially severe due to the psychological impact on the victim. Specifically, an individual victim is chosen or identified by an offender due to his or her race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability.

Research has shown a wide array of negative outcomes aside from the physical harm, including vulnerability, violation, psychological symptoms (such as extended emotional distress, depression, withdrawal, anxiety, feelings of hopelessness, and isolation), stigmatization from humiliation, isolation, and self-hatred, and clinical symptoms (such as high blood pressure or increased use of narcotics and alcohol).

Furthermore, the impact on the target community, or “in-group” effects, involves an experience of shared victimization. The target community shares the race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability of the victim as the effects spread beyond the victim and his or her immediate family. Community members experience shared victimization with the individual victim/target and experience fear that they could be the next victim. For example, members of the gay and bisexual community reported “vicarious traumatization” effects after the brutal murder of Matthew Shepard.

Last, hate crimes have a distal effect on society as a whole unit. Lawrence again argues a twofold effect on society. First, victimized families withdraw from the community as a direct outcome of the crime. Second, society distances itself from the victimized family in order to avoid harm.

Regardless of these negative proximal and distal effects, hate crime laws continue to be debated in the public and legal arenas. Some individuals argue against the protective nature of the hate crime laws, suggesting the law further isolates individuals and reinforces society’s rejection and indifference. Tom Streissguth, for example, noted that hate crime laws violate the ideals of citizens identifying themselves as Americans first, and members of other groups (such as ethnic or socioeconomic groups) second.

Opponents also argue against these laws based on the First and Fourteenth Amendments. For example, the First Amendment protects a citizen’s right to the free expression of thought, and as defendants are charged with crimes of hate, they

tend to claim protection by the Constitution, especially of their rights to free expression and free speech. The due process clause also requires clear descriptions and guidelines of criminal behavior in order to prevent arbitrary or inconsistent law enforcement. Litigants suggest hate crimes are a violation of this clause because of the inherent vagueness in the statutes. Last, some litigants have argued under the equal protection ground. Specifically, defendants suggest hate crime statutes provide the criminal justice system with the ability to treat people differently predicated on their personal beliefs.

Courts have consistently rejected these arguments and justified sentence enhancement because of the greater harm the crimes have on the safety and welfare of citizens. In the landmark case *State v. Nye*, the Montana Supreme Court rejected the first two arguments based on free speech and due process. First, the court claimed free speech does not include the right to cause substantial emotional distress by harassment or intimidation. The First Amendment does not protect activities that are intended to embarrass, annoy, or harass an individual, as was the case here. Second, the court said the hate crime statute does not seek punishment for offending or annoying a victim because of the victim’s race, religion, or national origin. On the other hand, the statute seeks punishment “for assaults and damage to property when that conduct is done with the intent to annoy or offend another individual because of that individual’s race, religion, or national origin.”

Conclusion

The question might be posed: How will the trend toward greater racial and cultural diversity affect the incidence of hate crimes and the harm that it causes? Will there be more victims like Private Danny Chen, who was the victim of racial-motivated taunts, or Amanda Cummings and Joel Morales, who both committed suicide after persistent bullying from classmates? The outcome will depend in part on whether growing multiculturalism results in a growing clash between cultures or a growing tolerance of other cultures.

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See Also: Anti-Defamation League; Anti-Semitism; Civil Rights Movement; Constitutional Amendments; Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity; Epithets, Ethnic and Racial; Feminism and Ethnic Diversity; Gender/Sex (Essay); Hate Crimes Laws; Hate Speech; Ku Klux Klan; Race; Racism; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Hate Crimes Laws

A hate crime can be defined as a criminal act motivated by bias toward a victim's real or perceived group affiliation. A victim of a hate crime may be targeted based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and/or religion. Hate crime incidents include acts such as physical assault, bullying, harassment, and intentional damage to property. Most hate activities do not involve crimes. Examples of noncriminal hate group activity directed at targeted groups include organizing and attending marches, rallies, speeches, and meetings; distributing leaflets; and maintaining Internet Web sites. These actions, by and large, are considered hate speech, which is very different from a hate crime. Although disturbing, most of the aforementioned hate group activity is within the limits of the law and protected as freedom of speech. Individuals or groups who cross the line into criminal behavior can face prosecution for their offenses.

Enactment of specific hate crime legislation was not without a great deal of debate. Those against specific hate crime laws believed that enactment of such was tantamount to criminalizing thought because it makes thoughts, beliefs, and religious ideologies illegal. Others felt that all crimes could be labeled hate crimes as all violent crimes include a disregard for or bias against the victim. Further, hate crime law detractors believed that these statutes tend to pit one protected group against another, one being the victim and one being the perpetrator.

Those in favor of enacting laws to specifically deal with hate crimes cited various arguments for enacting specific legislation to address hate crimes. First, hate crime law proponents asserted that victims of hate crimes tend to experience an additional degree of suffering that nonhate crime victims do not have to endure. This additional trauma may be emotional or psychological, because the victim's very identity is being attacked. The trauma may also be physical, as some research suggests that violent hate crimes tend to produce greater degrees of injury than similar nonhate crime offenses. In addition, hate crime legislation was touted as a means to prevent retaliation by the victim's group against the perpetrator's group, since retaliation was more likely following a hate crime than a nonhate crime

incident. Proponents also noted that the victim's group can be considered a victim as well. Therefore, punishment of hate crimes through distinct legislation provides a sense of justice to the whole group, not only to the specific victim. Specific deterrence by the same perpetrator and general deterrence by the greater society were additionally seen as reasons to support hate crime laws. Finally, it was believed that enactment of hate crime legislation sent a message to the public and to past and present victims that hate crimes of any type would not be tolerated.

History of Hate Crime Laws

Unofficial hate crime laws have a long history in the United States. The first hate crime laws were passed after the Civil War beginning with the Civil Rights Act of 1871. This law was passed to deal with the growing number of racially motivated crimes being committed by the Ku Klux Klan. Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 made it illegal to force, threaten, injure, intimidate, or interfere with anyone who was engaged in six specified protected activities, by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin. The specified protected activities included voting, traveling, applying for employment, attending school, patronizing a public place/facility, or acting as a juror in a state court.

The first official "hate crime" law was enacted in California in 1978. Shortly thereafter, other states began to follow suit. Prior to this time, hate crime laws as such did not exist. Typically, an offender was charged for the overt offense, such as assault. For example, if one spray-painted a swastika on a Jewish temple, he/she would likely be prosecuted for trespassing and vandalism because there was no law that characterized such an act as a "hate crime."

State Legislation

Current hate crime laws at the state level generally fall into one of four categories. The first deals with laws defining specific acts as distinct crimes. This includes some states that allow any overt offense to be considered a hate crime, while other states only recognize certain offenses, such as vandalism or assault, to be categorized as hate crimes. A second category of hate crime laws provides for enhancement of criminal penalties. For example, if a person is convicted under a hate crime statute,

he/she is subject to a greater punishment than if the offense were not considered to be motivated by bias. A person convicted of an aggravated assault that was not motivated by bias toward a particular group would receive a lesser punishment or sentence than an individual convicted of the same type of crime that was motivated by bias toward race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or disability.

A third category of hate crime laws deals with the requirement of a governmental agency to collect and maintain statistics on reported and suspected hate crimes. Presently, 28 states have laws requiring some type of data collection on hate crimes. A fourth category of hate crime laws creates provisions for action in civil court. Regardless of the outcome in a criminal case, a victim may also choose to pursue the case civilly, thus potentially holding the perpetrator financially responsible for any damages the victim sustained from the hate crimes. Although not necessarily mandated by law, some states have administrative regulations that require training for law enforcement personnel in the area of hate crimes.

At present, 45 states and the District of Columbia have hate crime provisions. These statutes criminalize acts against both persons and property that deal with race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, and disability. Not all states are uniform in their criminalization of these discriminatory factors. Though 44 states have hate crimes statutes dealing with race, ethnicity, and religion, only 27 states currently criminalize unlawful activity directed at individuals or groups based on gender.

Federal Legislation

The Hate Crimes Statistics Act was enacted in 1990. It was the first federal law dealing specifically with hate crimes. The law requires the federal government to obtain hate crime statistics from local law enforcement agencies throughout the country. The data are published in an annual summary and made available to the public. By compiling statistics and charting the geographic distribution of these crimes, law enforcement officials are able to discern patterns in individual jurisdictions.

The Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act went into effect in 1994. This law required the U.S. Sentencing Commission to revise statutes to include a penalty enhancement when prosecution

could prove the victim was chosen because of his/her real or perceived group affiliation. Thus, a perpetrator can receive a significant increase in the federal prison sentence if it is determined that the offense was a hate crime.

In 1994, the Violence Against Women Act was passed by Congress. It allowed victims of gender-based crimes to sue the perpetrator for damages in civil court. This act was deemed unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2000.

The Church Arson Prevention Act was passed in 1997 in response to the rash of arsons that destroyed over 200 black churches in a three-year period. It provided for federal prosecution and increased penalties for intentionally damaging or defacing churches, temples, synagogues, and other houses of worship. This act increased the penalty from 10 to 20 years in prison.

Most recently, the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act was signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2009. This federal hate crime law included crimes motivated by a victim's race, color, religion, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability. It also included attacks on members of the military. A clause within the act specifically protects freedom of speech.

The Future of Hate Crime Legislation

As previously noted, the 50 states and the District of Columbia are not uniform in their hate crime laws. At last count, five states did not have specific criminal penalties for bias-motivated violence and intimidation. Eighteen states did not have laws providing for civil action in hate crimes. With regard to race, ethnicity, and religion, six states lacked hate crime statutes. Twenty states did not have hate crimes laws that included sexual orientation. Gender was not included in hate crime laws in 24 states, and disability was not considered in 20 states.

New groups are being included in select state hate crime statutes. Some of them restrict bias-motivated crime based on age, homelessness, immigration status, transgendered identity, military membership, or political affiliation.

Combating Hate

Several antihate organizations have advocated the punishment and prevention of hate crimes. One

way in which they achieve their goals is through legislation. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the Simon Wiesenthal Center (SWC) are both Jewish organizations that have fought anti-Semitism. The Simon Wiesenthal Center was established in 1977 and the Anti-Defamation League was founded in 1913. The Anti-Defamation League was also instrumental in the development of early hate crimes legislation in the late 1970s.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), established in 1971, is dedicated to fighting hate and bigotry, and to seeking justice for the most vulnerable members of society. It uses litigation, education, and other forms of advocacy to combat racial and social injustice. This is done by tracking activities of hate groups and using lawsuits to disrupt and destroy them. The SPLC uses the courts as a means of winning reforms on behalf of victims. It has won multimillion-dollar judgments on behalf of its clients against the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, Church of the Creator, and other hate groups. The SPLC also provides educators with antihate materials to use in classrooms. Finally, the SPLC is responsible for conducting law enforcement training on hate groups and how they operate. The work of the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League serves to keep the issues of hate crimes and legislation against those crimes in the forefront of the American criminal justice system.

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLT), established in 1973, seeks to promote the civil rights of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people. This is achieved through lobbying, advocacy, and education. The NGLT also tracks and documents antigay violence.

These groups continue to locate hate groups, document hate incidents, lobby for increased legislation, and fight for the rights of the victims of hate crimes. Only time will tell if the actions of these antihate groups will continue to positively impact state and federal hate crime legislation.

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See Also: Anti-Defamation League; Anti-Semitism; Civil Rights Movement; Constitutional Amendments; Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity; Hate Crimes; Hate Speech; Ku Klux Klan; Law and Ethnic

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Hate Speech

Hate speech refers to any utterance that by design attempts to belittle or vilify another individual on the basis of race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or other accidental characteristics. In the United States, the articulation of hate speech as a specific category of speech has largely taken place in, but is by no means limited to, the sphere of American jurisprudence during the 20th and 21st centuries.

The potential value hate speech represents to contemporary public discourse remains hotly contested, especially as the definition of hate speech has been expanded in recent years to include disenfranchised groups made visible during the culture wars of the 1990s and 2000s. At present, hate speech is largely regarded as a protected form of speech, although significant challenges are still being presented.

The History of a Controversy

The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that the term *hate speech* was coined as recently as 1988, but the debate about what has come to be called hate speech began to emerge during the first half of the 20th century. As various critics have noted, First Amendment protections of free speech had been viewed prior to the 1920s as exclusively for the protection of the upper classes of American

society against the potential subversive power of racial and political minorities. This began to change as groups like the Jewish League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)—groups whose membership had been subject to unequal First Amendment protection during the preceding decades—began a full-throated call for the protection of all speech in the 1910s and 1920s. In the face of a tacit public acknowledgment that some speech was clearly offensive to society writ large, these groups acted on the belief that limiting oppressive speech might also provide an avenue to limiting the kinds of countercultural speech central to their own aims.

These efforts to expand First Amendment free speech protections to groups generally found odious by the larger public—particularly the ACLU’s push to protect the speech of the Klu Klux Klan and members of socialist political groups—were challenged in the 1930s in the time leading up to the outbreak of World War II. In 1938, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (sometimes called the Dies Committee) was charged with investigating potentially subversive activities, including speech, by individuals or groups suspected of having communist or fascist ties. The Dies Committee in many ways stifled the call for First Amendment protections by the ACLU and its associates. The resultant movement toward restricting some speech was perhaps most evident in the now-famous 1942 “fighting words” decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Chaplinsky v. The State of New Hampshire*. This decision created “narrowly limited classes of speech” that could be prohibited on the grounds that some words “by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace.”

The articulation of “fighting words” in the Supreme Court decision in the *Chaplinsky* case was followed in successive decades by some additional, but scattered, attempts at further proscribing potentially offensive speech in American culture. Perhaps the most notable examples of these attempts were the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee (1947–75), a successor to the Dies Committee of the late 1930s, and the rise of group libel laws. Despite such attempts, by the start of the 1970s *Chaplinsky* had been revisited and severely limited in scope,

and any libel laws put on the books were never actually put into use.

By the early 1980s, the discourse around offensive speech had largely faded into the periphery. While there were some important exceptions—most notably, the national outrage and debate surrounding a proposed Nazi demonstration in Skokie, Illinois, in 1978 during which the ACLU once again defended what it felt to be the importance of unfettered speech—the national debate on hate speech did not reemerge in a significant and sustained way until the discourse surrounding hate speech on college campuses across the United States in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Following a number of hate speech incidents on American college campuses in the 1980s, a number of universities enacted hate speech provisions in their university codes of conduct. The most famous of these were found at Stanford University and the University of Michigan. These hate speech policies again called into question whether words that were designed to harm should be accorded the protection of the law or be prohibited to protect disenfranchised groups. The majority of these statutes were either removed or (several) were limited in the wake of lawsuits, but the rash of campus hate speech incidents and policies once again thrust the discussion of hate speech into the national spotlight. Even more important, they introduced many of the concerns that have dominated more recent discussions on hate speech.

Hate Speech in Contemporary America

Contemporary discussions of hate speech thus occur in the context of a long-standing debate that seeks to balance the impetus to protect the vulnerable but, at the same time, not foreclose one of the most productive routes to social change: speech. Of particular interest to recent critics in the hate speech debate has been the growing recognition of the various ways in which hate speech might affect previously ignored groups. This has effectively expanded the scope of the discourse surrounding hate speech beyond more traditional racial and political concerns and has led to growing concerns, especially within the academy, about the status of groups that emerged as part of the public debate following the culture wars of the 1990s and 2000s—perhaps most visible have been the



A U.S. House of Representatives committee headed by U.S. Rep. Martin Dies of Texas is appointed to probe un-American activities and foreign propaganda throughout the country, June 1938. The Dies Committee had the power to subpoena and travel from coast to coast in its investigations; it was a notable early example of attempts to proscribe potentially offensive speech in American culture.

LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning) community and Latino immigrants.

The expanding scope of hate speech concerns has been joined in recent legal and academic discussions by a growing complexity in approaches to hate speech regulation. Replacing the either/or tenor of earlier discussions have been two principal distinctions rooted in the parsing of how speech is understood. First was the concept of “low-value” speech, which in many ways echoes the discussions surrounding the *Chaplinsky* case and seeks to recognize that certain kinds of speech (such as racial epithets) should be proscribed because their potential value necessarily falls short of their potential harm (especially to the disenfranchised). Second was the idea that speech might be separated from its manifest effects in the world. This argument has drawn on distinctions made in modern and postmodern philosophy, and most pointedly in the work of J. L. Austin, to suggest that speech can be proscribed on the grounds that the real-world effect of speech makes it an action that exists apart

from the speech itself. Such a conception of speech splits the discursive from the physical and yields the potential to regulate speech in a way that does not seek to censure content as prohibited by the First Amendment.

Given the complex genealogy of hate speech and the extent to which the debate continues to expand in modern discourse, both in terms of interested parties and complexity, there is little agreement as to how things will develop in the coming years. What seems clear is that the debate will remain vibrant as critics and scholars continue to consider the sometimes opposed value of free speech and the protection of disenfranchised individuals.

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See Also: Anti-Defamation League; Anti-Semitism; Civil Rights Movement; Constitutional Amendments; Discourse; Epithets, Ethnic and Racial; Hate Crimes; Higher Education; Immigrants, Undocumented; Law

and Ethnic Diversity; Political Correctness; Racism; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity; Speech Codes; Stereotypes/Generalizations; White Supremacy.

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Havasupai

The Yuman-speaking Havasupai (Havsuw' Baaja) are descendants of the easternmost branch or band of the Hualapai (Pa'a or Pai) in the Grand Canyon area in Arizona. The Pai were comprised of three subtribes—the Plateau People, Middle Mountain People, and Yavapai Fighters. Each subtribe was divided into seven bands, which themselves were broken up into regional bands or local groups. Each local group consisted of a network of kinship and marital groups organized

around patrilocal, extended families who lived in a community that moved seasonally; there were 10 local communities of about 28 people each in the Havasupai band in the 1850s.

The Havasooa Pa'a was the regional band (or local group) of the Nyav-Kapai (Eastern People) of the Plateau People subtribe of the Hualapai. The Havasupai lands were in the Grand Canyon area and along the south rims on the high plateau; they have lived there for at least 1,000 years. Each community had autonomy and their own traditional lands, which they had the right to use, and met annually for a harvest festival and occasional social dances and funerals. The Havasupai consider other Pai their relatives and neighbors but the Yavapai their traditional enemies. The Havasupai call themselves Havasúwe 'Epá, the People of the Blue Green Water.

The Havasupai became separated from other Hualapai bands during the Hualapai Wars (1866–69) when families were moved to more confined parts of their original territories. Thereafter the federal government thought of them as a distinct culture and society. In 1880 the federal government assigned the Havasupai a reservation of 518 acres at the bottom of Cataract Creek, or Havasu Canyon, where the Havasupai traditionally farmed during the summer months, and a small area along the southern rim of the Coconino Plateau. This represented a significant decrease in their traditional subsistence areas and a collapse of their economic system. For years the tribe had to fight encroachment from miners and ranchers as well as the U.S. Forest Service and, after 1919 when the Grand Canyon National Park was established, the National Park Service. They fought to regain the right to use their traditional lands and to protect sacred sites. In 1975 they gained over 185,000 acres south of the rim. At the same time, 95,300 acres within the park were designated as Havasupai traditional-use area.

Federally Recognized Nation

The Havasupai Tribe has been transformed from loosely allied families and winter camp groups into a federally recognized nation with a group-wide organizational structure and internationally recognized sovereignty. The Tribal Council was created in 1939 under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. It included four elected members

and three chiefs appointed in a traditional manner. The chiefs were hereditary positions but each man had to earn the right to lead. By 1960 there were few men who could meet the criteria and the government was reorganized in 1964. The seven-member tribal council, elected every two years, establishes policy and has a very important influence on the tribe's economy. Most Havasupai live in the village of Supai, located on the floor of Havasu Canyon. A magnificent spring 10 miles north of Supai has a cascading waterfall that annually attracts thousands of tourists who make the trek down an eight-mile winding trail.

Tourism has been the Havasupai's major industry since the 1960s. Visitors stay at a tribally owned lodge that also operates a restaurant. The Havasupai Tribal Arts Enterprise and Tourist Enterprise employ several tribal members. In the mid-1990s, tourism generated 60 percent of the \$2,800 per capita income of the tribe. Many Havasupai also work for the federal government as concessionaires at the Grand Canyon or for area ranchers. They have a small, tribally owned cattle herd that supplies meat for members and visitors. Supai residents also farm, irrigating about 200 acres of rich river bottomlands. They still follow older seasonal subsistence patterns and speak Pai. Others have had to leave the reservation in order to find employment. The tribal Havasupai Trading Company operates a general store. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) provides police services and electricity, but water is provided by a tribal utility company. The tribe also has a community center, library, resort, senior citizen center, museum, school, and an athletic field.

Supai's precarious position on the Colorado River makes it susceptible to devastating floods, one of which occurred in 2010. Equally precarious has been the unearthing along the southeastern reservation boundaries in the late 20th century of uranium deposits, which have been the center of heated debate. The community has been unsuccessful in stopping off-reservation speculators in ensuring that the mines do not pollute their water sources or desecrate sacred sites.

In 1995 the Havasupai had a tribal enrollment of 433 people, up from a low of only 166 in 1906 after the tribe had been decimated by epidemic disease. In 2010 they had a population of 639 members, with about 200 others claiming

descent but who are not on the official tribal rolls. Because of its small size, the community relies on government services at Peach Springs, the capital of the Hualapai Nation.

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See Also: Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Epidemiology and Ethnic Diversity; Native Americans; Reservations, Native American.

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Havurot

The word *havurot* comes from the Hebrew word *chaver*, which means friendship or fellowship. Because of its translation from Hebrew, the word is sometimes written *chavurah* or *havurah*; several *chavurah* are called *havurot*. In order to understand the concept of *havurot*, it is helpful to understand what *havurot* are, the origins of the creation of such groups, and the unique position they continue to hold in promoting friendships based on a shared religious and cultural heritage.

Definition

A *havurah* is a small group of Jews, affiliated or not affiliated with a specific synagogue, who gather, usually on a monthly basis, to read, discuss, and talk about Jewish topics. For some groups it can be the gathering together of like-minded Jews to participate in secular activities. Each group is self-directed and places an

emphasis on gender egalitarianism. This forum allows Jews to be more autonomous than they normally would be in attending services conducted by clergy. The purposes are manifold, often promoting the development of friendships and commitment to Jewish issues, somewhat akin to an extended family. Members celebrate the holidays together, life cycle events, sometimes study the Torah, and sometimes discuss how Judaism is relevant to their lives.

Influences on the Creation of Havurot

Although the first havurah was created in Whit-tier in 1960, the flowering of the movement was in the late 1960s and owes its origins to several factors: pietistic fellowships of the Pharisees, the development of Reconstructionist Judaism, countercultural trends in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the publication of *The First Jewish Catalog: A Do-It-Yourself Kit* that influences Jewish Renewal and Humanistic Judaism. Pietistic fellowships of the Pharisees (loosely dating from 140 to 37 B.C.E.) were in some historians' views a school of thought (sometimes a social activist group) whose beliefs were nondogmatic in relation to Jewish texts. Their emphasis was more on the common man than the priestly class and they wanted to look at how the Torah applies to contemporary Jewish life. Because some Jews in the middle of the 20th century felt that Judaism was not spiritual enough for them and focused too much on the synagogue and the clergy, they harkened back to the pietistic Pharisees who supposedly promoted an emotionalism and a self-direction in their religious involvement.

Mordecai Kaplan from the 1920s to the 1940s developed the Reconstructionist branch of Judaism, which focused on Judaism as a civilization that is constantly evolving because of new developments in science, philosophy, and history. It is incumbent on Jews to be a part of this evolutionary process. Halaka (Jewish law) is not binding but should be upheld whenever it is appropriate. Havurot found these ideas appealing: Judaism can be a cultural experience; belief in a supernatural God is not essential to learning Jewishly; it is not necessary to live a life following restrictive commandments.

Another inspiration for the development of havurot was the unrest occurring in the 1960s

and 1970s in which many established mores were evaluated and found to be unacceptable for modern life. Questioning of much of the structure of authority in schools, in the military, in race relations, and in family life resulted in cataclysmic changes, and these changes affected Judaism as well. One particular response was Jewish Renewal, an effort to redefine the modern practice of Judaism by including more mystical and meditative practices than traditional Judaism. This reinvigoration included not only specific Jewish practices but multicultural spiritual practices as well. It incorporated some of the tenets of feminism, the emotionality of Hasidism and the self-directed energy of the emerging havurot movement. These "friendship fellowships" were formed for prayer and study with the goal of making 20th-century Judaism more spiritually meaningful to its participants.

During the 1960s another movement emerged, Humanistic Judaism, emphasizing the cultural and historical experiences of the Jewish people rather than the theology. Adherents to the Humanistic movement felt that the Jewish culture was the umbrella, with religion being just one part of the culture. Thus, the "ethics" of this movement excluded prayers and any references to God and emphasized the freedom of all peoples to shape their own lives rather than be beholden to prescribed and preordained regulations and rules. The varying movements were shaped by the publication in 1973 of *The Jewish Catalog: A Do-It-Yourself Kit* by Michael and Sharon Strassfeld. This book was directed toward young and unaffiliated Jews who wanted to know more about food, meditative practices, and politics.

All of these forces worked together with the havurot movement. They served not only as an impetus for havurot to strengthen their "mores" of self-determination and self-direction but they also encouraged Jewish Renewal and Humanistic Judaism to expand beyond traditional religious prescriptions. All indications are that havurot are strengthening in numbers and will continue to be an integral part of the Jewish experience for Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist Jews.

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See Also: Feminism and Ethnic Diversity; Halakha; Identity Development; Intercultural Communication; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Zionism.

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Hawai'i, Annexation of

The annexation of Hawai'i in 1898 and then its official incorporation as a U.S. territory via the Organic Act of 1900 brought approximately 40,000 native Hawai'ians into the United States as citizens, along with a significant number of Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese immigrants. Despite the islands' ethnic diversity, a few haoles (white elites descended from missionary families) dominated the islands' economy and politics until the immigrants' citizen children began exercising their voting rights.

Historical Development

Americans and Hawai'ians influenced one another long before Hawai'i became part of the United States. From the first days of European contact in 1778, the islands captured Americans' imagination, compelling missionaries from New England to travel there to convert the people to Christianity. A Hawai'ian diaspora likewise followed, with a few Hawai'ians taking jobs aboard whaling ships, moving to the mainland United States, and even fighting in the U.S. Civil War.

But a greater association between the islands and the United States occurred once haoles overthrew Queen Liliuokalani in 1893 and sought

annexation to the United States. Although native Hawai'ians protested, along with others on the mainland, annexationists argued that whites controlled the local government and that affiliation with the United States was necessary to prevent Japan from overtaking the isles. Once the Spanish-American War commenced, haoles and their allies successfully persuaded American legislators that the islands were essential to American success. Even so, an official treaty was never passed and Hawai'i instead became a part of the United States via the Newlands Resolution in 1898, which required only a majority of votes in both houses of Congress to annex the islands.

Although Native Hawai'ians initially provided most of the labor for the haoles' booming sugar and pineapple plantations, their population rapidly declined because of their lack of immunity to new diseases. Haoles therefore encouraged the immigration of people from China, Japan, Portugal, Scotland, Germany, Russia, Spain, India, and other parts of the world to replenish their workforce. Ten years before annexation, approximately 45 percent of the population claimed Hawai'ian heritage, with 14 percent coming from Japan, an equivalent percentage from Portugal, 19 percent who were Chinese, 6 percent white, and a few people from other parts of the world. Three decades later, even as U.S. exclusion laws began restricting who could immigrate to the isles, Hawai'i had become even more diverse, with people of Japanese descent becoming the dominant ethnic group (43 percent) and Filipinos, Koreans, and Puerto Ricans joining the existing mix of peoples.

Impact on Multiculturalism

Prior to statehood, the haole population dominated the island as they maintained control of the most arable land and access to markets. Although they heeded some concerns of the Native Hawai'ian citizen-voters, haoles held more influence with mainland government officials who had the authority to make political appointments. U.S. naturalization laws prevented Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian immigrants from becoming citizens and thus from voting or holding major offices. Over time, this restriction mattered less to the immigrants because their U.S.-born children were citizens who could exercise voting rights when they came of age.



Hawai'ian President Sanford B. Dole proclaims the Republic of Hawai'i, Iolani Palace, Honolulu, July 6, 1884. Once a republic, the government intended to campaign for U.S. annexation, which it eventually accomplished on July 7, 1898, again with a ceremony at Iolani Palace. Most Hawai'ians spurned the ceremony and instead mourned for Hawai'i's independence and monarchy.

Hawai'i's great diversity did not imply harmonious interaction or equality. As early as 1896, haoles required that all private and public school instruction be taught using the English language. To discourage any type of class alliance among the various ethnic groups, they fostered differentiation in terms of jobs, pay scales, and housing locations, depending on one's ethnic group. In 1915, the typical pay for the few white Americans laboring on a plantation was \$2 per day, whereas Hawai'ians of mixed heritage earned daily wages of \$1.26, Chinese and Japanese immigrants received \$1.02 each, and Filipinos a mere 93 cents per day. Housing was also hierarchical, with the owners/managers (generally haoles or Scotsmen) living at the top of the hill, Portuguese supervisors in the middle, and laborers segregated by ethnic group at the base.

But the diverse population did make its mark in the cultural realm in terms of a variety of foods, religions, and especially with the tolerance of intermarriage. While social interaction

among various ethnic groups and classes was minimal, and there was tension and competition, especially between Hawai'ians and the Chinese and Japanese (Hawai'ians perceived these immigrants as a future threat to their tenuous alliance with haoles since they—as citizens—could vote and be appointed to modest political positions), intermarriage was high among all groups. Between 1912 and 1934, 20 percent of all Native Hawai'ians who married did so with someone outside their ethnic group. In the same period, 45 percent of haole grooms married nonwhite women. This practice resulted in the failure of a movement in the 1920s to segregate schools because there was much confusion over how to classify ethnicity and which groups would share schools. Yet other kinds of social segregation and oligarchic power and rule endured until more of the immigrant children acquired voting rights and political power in the 1940s.

Current Status

In 2010, over 50 years after statehood (1959), the Hawai'ian Islands continue to have a diverse population, with nearly 10 percent of the population claiming a Native Hawai'ian/Pacific Islander background, 40 percent asserting themselves as of the Asian race, approximately 25 percent choosing white, a small percentage selecting either African American or "Other" for their background, and nearly 25 percent claiming to be in two or more racial categories. The current president of the United States, Barack Hussein Obama, is emblematic of the continued diversity of the islands. The son of a white woman from the mainland and a Kenyan man, President Obama was born in the new state of Hawai'i in 1961 and attended the island's most prestigious private school—Punahou High—which had roots to the haole oligarchy.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Chinese Americans; Civil War, U.S.; Eurasian; Hapa; Hawai'ians (Native); Intermarriage, History of; Japanese Americans; Native Hawai'ian Categorization (Essay); Pacific Islander Americans; Pacific Islander Categorization (Essay); Polynesian Americans; Presidency, U.S.; World War II.

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Hawai'ians (Native)

Native Hawai'ians are the descendants of the indigenous Polynesian people of the islands of Hawai'i, of whom there are 527,077 as of the 2010 U.S. Census. Most self-reporting Native Hawai'ians are of mixed heritage; 140,652 identify Hawai'ian as their only ethnic background. About two-thirds of Hawai'ians live in Hawai'i, with most of the remainder in California and populations in Washington and Nevada, as well as others scattered throughout the rest of the country. The Native Hawai'ian population is smaller today than it was in 1778, the year Captain James Cook arrived in Hawai'i and introduced it to Europeans.

Hawai'i was settled hundreds of years before Cook's arrival, but how many hundreds is an open question. After Cook's arrival, the islands united under a single monarchy for the first time, with Kamehameha I as the first king. The Kamehameha dynasty ended in 1872 and was succeeded by the Kalakaua dynasty, which was overthrown

by Americans—including military and diplomatic representatives later determined to have "abused their authority," in the words of the report commissioned by President Grover Cleveland. A later report commissioned by the U.S. Senate contradicted these findings, and though Cleveland attempted to restore the Native monarchy, he was unsuccessful. His successor, William McKinley, annexed Hawai'i over the protests of other countries (including the Empire of Japan). Shortly after annexation, the first Dole pineapple plantation—owned by the cousin of the first Hawai'ian president, Sanford Dole—began business. Hawai'i was admitted as a state in 1959.

Hawai'ian sovereignty movements have persisted since the overthrow of the monarchy. Following statehood, some of these movements redirected their efforts toward keeping Native Hawai'ians involved in state politics and in supporting congressional candidates who would best represent Native interests. The flourishing of Hawai'i's sovereignty movement immediately following statehood helped catalyze the Hawai'ian Renaissance, a reclaiming of Hawai'i's traditional cultural identity and the distancing of that identity from tourist culture. Interest was renewed in the Hawai'ian language and traditional Hawai'ian crafts, as well as the study of the ancient hula dance, traditional Hawai'ian music, and a renewed interest in Hawai'i's place in greater Polynesian culture and history. Though the renaissance peaked in the early 1980s, many would deny that it has ended.

The Office of Hawai'ian Affairs (OHA), a department of the state government, was created in 1978 as a result of the state's constitutional convention, in which sovereignty activists were a strong force. The OHA represents Native Hawai'ian interests in administering the lands that belonged to the Hawai'ian government and the royal family before annexation. Ceded to the United States upon annexation, control of those lands was then passed to the state government in 1959. Creation of the OHA was one of the major successes of the sovereignty movement, but the office has been weakened over the decades by factional bickering.

The sovereignty movement and other activist groups succeeded in obtaining an apology from the federal government in 1993 for the

American government's role in the overthrow of the Hawai'ian people. In 2009 the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed that the apology contains no binding clauses that change the title of Hawai'i's public lands.

Native Hawai'ians and Native Americans

Although they are a population indigenous to a region now included in the United States, Hawai'ians are not generally considered Native Americans. They are generally listed as a separate category in demographic forms, including the census, and the general public typically differentiates the two groups. Until 1974, Hawai'ians were not eligible for federal assistance programs offered to Native Americans; even today, they are not eligible for all of them. There is some valid reason to differentiate: though Native Americans are not a single ethnic group nor a monolithic culture, they have a more interconnected shared history among themselves than they do with Hawai'ians; further, there are parallels and commonalities in the relationship and history between Native Americans and European settlers that do not exist in the relationship between Hawai'ians and Europeans. Acknowledging that difference does not imply any difference that should render Hawai'ians ineligible for the same benefits other Native groups are entitled to, however; and there may be no reason the differences should be reflected in American legal institutions, any more than is the difference between European American groups.

The government has also been inconsistent in the relationship between Native Hawai'ians and other Pacific Islander Americans. Originally counted as Asians, Pacific Islanders were given their own ethnic category by the Census Bureau in response to activist concerns.

In 2000, the Supreme Court reversed the existing federal policy, which recognized a "special trust relationship" between Native Hawai'ians and the U.S. government, on the basis that the Constitution prohibits such relationships when based on racial identity. The two senators from Hawai'i, Daniel Akaka and Daniel Inouye, introduced the Native Hawai'ian Government Reorganization Act almost immediately in order to promote raising the legal status of Native Hawai'ians to the same level as Native Americans. After seven years, the House version of the bill passed; in

2010, the Senate version failed. As a result, the legal status of Native Hawai'ians remains dangerously ill defined.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Chinese Americans; Eurasian; Hapa; Hawai'i, Annexation of; Inter-marriage, History of; Japanese Americans; Native Americans; Native Hawai'ian Categorization (Essay); Pacific Islander Americans; Pacific Islander Categorization (Essay); Polynesian Americans.

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Head Start

During the mid-1960s, President Lyndon B. Johnson launched a variety of Great Society programs, all focused on areas of domestic need such as education, health care, transportation, and urban renewal. Head Start, which was originally designed to be a remedial summer school program for at-risk children, has been one of the most significant, and enduring, of the Great Society programs, lasting as it has for nearly 50 years. Head Start programs provide a variety of services to at-risk children and their parents, including comprehensive educational, health, and parenting services as well as parent involvement programs.

While initially intended only for low-income children, Head Start has expanded to include other groups, although it remains dedicated to breaking

the cycle of poverty. To that end, Head Start provides a comprehensive program of services designed to meet the emotional, health, nutritional, psychological, and social needs of children.

While popular with a broad constituency, including educators, families, politicians, and others, Head Start is not without its critics. While students enrolled in Head Start programs make certain academic and socialization gains compared to children from similar backgrounds who are not participants, the size of these gains and the length of time they persist are open to debate.

Background

In the midst of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, President Johnson famously declared a War on Poverty, and created a number of programs to assist with this goal. In the aftermath of the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision to desegregate schools, attention focused on some of the disparities facing children from certain backgrounds as they entered school. For both white and black families, the poverty level was quite high during the 1960s, something that was seen as hindering children of those families once they came to school. It was hoped that proper guidance and education would allow the next generation to enjoy a greater standard of living and more choices regarding employment.

Johnson assembled a panel of experts to help design Project Head Start. This panel included educators, pediatricians, and psychologists. In particular, these experts attempted to target those communities that seemed to evidence the greatest need. Head Start was designed to help preschool-age children who came from impoverished communities with little assistance or educational discipline. The program would help these children gain a “head start” that could influence not only those children who participated in the program but also the community in which they lived.

Launched during the summer of 1965, Head Start was initially an eight-week summer program that focused on helping families assist their preschool-age children grow in a variety of ways, such as physically, emotionally, nutritionally, socially, and psychologically. Although targeted to serve 250,000 children during its first year, Head Start had over 560,000 children enroll. The following year enrollment had grown to 700,000

children. Soon after Head Start’s launch, it became apparent to Jule Sugarman, the program director, that eight weeks of preschool immediately before kindergarten was inadequate to make up for five years of living in poverty. As a result, Congress expanded Head Start into a year-round program in 1966.

In 1968, Head Start began funding a project to develop a television program directed at low-income children, which would eventually evolve into *Sesame Street*. *Sesame Street* was developed by the Carnegie Corporation Preschool Television Project and became a major success for Head Start, as well as one of the most popular programs on public television.

Head Start was initially administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), specifically through its Community Action Program. The OEO, whose first director was Sargent Shriver, managed other Great Society programs such as Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) and Job Corps. Administration of Head Start was transferred in 1969 to the Office of Child Development, an administrative agency in the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), which later evolved into the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Today Head Start is managed by the Administration for Family and Children within HHS.

Services

Since it began, Head Start has sought to promote a positive and progressive learning environment for young children, a situation that includes developing strong family relationships and community support. There is an individuality that comes with the Head Start program as well because each child gets personal attention in terms of getting focus on things that he or she might need work on depending on their family heritage or community roots. Head Start does provide some overarching services that are available to all participants. These include educational, health, and social services, which are available to children and their families.

Educational services include a preschool education designed in accordance with the program’s national standards. The Head Start approach to preschool devises a curriculum that is consistent with developmentally appropriate practices and focuses upon four distinct aspects. First, the Head

Start curriculum must establish goals for children's development and learning. Second, the program designs experiences through which the children will meet their development and learning goals. Third, Head Start defines roles for staff and families to assist children in achieving these goals. Fourth, Head Start provides the materials necessary for supporting the implementation of a curriculum.

Children are eligible for Head Start services chiefly through an income-based means test. If a child's family earns less than 130 percent of the federal poverty level, he or she qualifies for Head Start. Additionally, a variety of other eligibility criteria exist that allow Head Start programs to provide services to children whose family income exceeds the cut-off amount. For example, children who are disabled, or who have family members who receive certain government services, are eligible to participate in Head Start. All Head Start programs are required to serve children with disabilities, with up to 10 percent of each program to be made up of such individuals.

Additionally, since the Head Start reauthorization bill in 2007, local programs are directed to make special efforts to serve homeless children, including those who live in shelters, motels, cars, or shared housing with nonfamily members. If a child qualifies for Head Start services, the program must also make available those programming options that are appropriate for the younger and older siblings of that child.

Head Start's approach to preschool education is different from that of some other programs. The program looks to provide the following specific features in its schooling:

- Comprehensive domains of learning
- Specific learning goals
- Well-designed learning activities
- Responsive teaching (and teachers)
- Culturally and linguistically responsive teaching
- Individualized instruction
- Ongoing assessment
- Family involvement
- Appropriate involvement for program staff, children, and families

To meet the criteria, the curriculum must address all the domains of learning, including

cognitive, psychomotor, and affective/socioemotional. Specific learning goals and objectives help specify precisely what is to be taught to children enrolled in the program. Activities in the classrooms address the specific learning goals and objectives, including through designing learning environments, materials, and interactions. When teaching, interactions are child-responsive, built around a child's interests, and child-focused. Teaching is responsive both culturally and linguistically, so that the classroom is representative of the children enrolled within it.

At all times teachers in Head Start classrooms must feel free to arrange environments, adapt materials, and choose instructional strategies that best meet the needs of the individual child. Ongoing assessment is used to drive the curriculum within the Head Start classroom, insofar that what is taught is based upon the demonstrated needs of the children. Every opportunity is taken to communicate with families regarding what is taking place in the classroom and involving those families where possible. Finally, the curriculum used in the Head Start classroom needs to be research-based whenever possible, and supported with adequate funding for materials and professional development.

Head Start's preschool programming is available to low-income children between the ages of 3 and 5. All services are tailored to reflect each child and family's culture and experience, and preschool programs attempt to influence all aspects of a child's development and learning.

In addition to preschool, Head Start offers a variety of other services to the children and families it serves. The Early Head Start program works with mothers and other caregivers to promote healthy prenatal outcomes and healthy families, and to provide appropriate infant and toddler development. Family and community partnerships seek to offer opportunities and support to parents as they identify and meet their own goals; attempt to provide ways for parents to nurture their children in a manner that is consistent with their family and culture; and advocate for communities within which the children served by Head Start live. Head Start Target is a special program that works with American Indian children and their families. To better reach the children of migrant and seasonal farmworkers, Migrant and

Seasonal Head Start provides services to target children beginning at six months and continuing through to those five years of age.

Health services provided include screenings, medical checkups, and dental checkups. Social service agencies cooperate with Head Start programs to provide family advocates who are able to work with parents and assist them in accessing community resources available for low-income families. In order to assure a high degree of quality and consistency across the many sites where services are offered, Head Start programs frequently examine the fidelity of implementation of services in individual classrooms. Specifically, supervisors check to ensure that curricular lessons are being implemented with regularity and fidelity, specific goals identified in lesson plans are focused upon, and recommended materials and instructional strategies are being used.

Ongoing professional development opportunities, including those offering classroom teachers coaching and consultation services, are made available to teachers and schools. As part of this professional development, teachers are regularly provided feedback regarding their performance, as research demonstrates that feedback is necessary for teachers to show continued growth.



A child enjoys painting at the city of Phoenix, Arizona, Head Start program. As part of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society campaign, Head Start was launched as an eight-week summer program in 1965. The following year, the program was authorized by Congress to operate year-round.

Ongoing assessment is used to determine whether curricular and other services are an appropriate match for the children being served. As part of this assessment, children's learning over time is documented, and procedures for reviewing student growth are developed. In addition to cognitive performance, teachers document students' behaviors during activities and make appropriate modifications and adaptations to better support those children who may have special needs. Appropriate language support is always made available for English-language learners (ELLs) and their families.

Controversy

Over time, Head Start has grown into a large federal program that serves nearly one million children per year. These children are served by more than 200,000 teachers and 1.2 million volunteers. Head Start's annual budget now exceeds \$8 billion, at least 85 percent of which must be spent on direct services to children and their families, with no more than 15 percent to be spent on administration. These federal funds are augmented with the requirement that local government agencies must provide a 20 percent cash or in-kind match. Those local grantees that receive more than \$500,000 in annual federal support must also receive an annual financial audit. Despite these safeguards, Head Start has received increasing levels of criticism regarding the qualifications, or lack thereof, of many of its teachers as well as a number of studies suggesting that the program is ineffective.

Studies critical of Head Start have been especially critical of the low levels of education possessed by many of the teachers who work for the program. As a Great Society program, Head Start has since its inception placed a priority on hiring parents of the children it serves. Because the neighborhoods in which many Head Start-eligible children reside have lower levels of education than other areas, Head Start has frequently employed teachers without college degrees, or sometimes even high school diplomas. Disputes have consequently arisen regarding the ability of such teachers to instruct children in "standard" English.

To remedy this perceived problem, Congress has introduced guidelines for the credentials required of Head Start teachers. Beginning in 2013, all Head

Start teachers must have an associate's degree in early childhood education or a related field, and half must possess bachelor's degrees.

Other studies examining Head Start historically found that it creates positive outcomes regarding the cognitive, social-emotional, and physical health development of children enrolled. A meta-analysis of studies regarding Head Start suggests that children involved in the program saw immediate and measureable increases in their intelligence quotient (IQ) scores. Supporters of Head Start suggest that opposition to programs serving children from diverse backgrounds, especially children of color, English-language learners, and students from low-socioeconomic-status backgrounds, are the focus of criticisms of the program.

In 2011, however, an HHS study, "Head Start Impact," concluded that children enrolled in Head Start showed fewer behaviors associated with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) than did children who were not a part of the program. While a number of studies have demonstrated that upon entering kindergarten, children who have completed a Head Start program perform better than other children, the effectiveness of the program seems to diminish over time. Children who complete the Head Start program and then go on to attend low-performing schools perform less well than their peers who did not receive such services before kindergarten. These studies suggest that only by isolating former Head Start students from their neighborhoods, such as by sending them to better-performing schools, could such benefits be sustained.

Head Start remains one of the largest and most popular programs providing educational support to children age 5 and younger. Since its creation in 1965, it has served over 20 million children and countless additional family members. Despite this popularity, demands for accountability and demonstrated efficacy have increased demands for changes in the program to make it more academic. Additional examination of the efficacy of certain practices is under way and will undoubtedly influence the future direction of the program.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Bilingual Education; Compensatory Education; Constructivism, Intercultural; Cooperative/Collaborative Learning; Desegregation/Integration; Educational Achievement; Multicultural Education; Special Education.

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Health Beliefs and Practices

Culture and an individual's worldviews influence the experience and causal explanations of health, well-being, and illness, as well as the expected treatment and who to turn to for help, such as a primary care physician, traditional healer, and/or clergy. A client's belief systems about illness and health care delivery expectations from providers are based on culturally constructed views of reality that inform health-related behaviors.

Culturally based health beliefs, including religious/spiritual, orientation, and ethnic beliefs about health and wellness, are the products of socialization or socially shared codes that do

not always align with Western biomedicine. For example, religious groups, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses are against blood transfusions, a belief system that often clashes with conventional medical practices. Other illustrative cases have demonstrated how patients from other cultures who espouse certain belief systems often mistrust Western practitioners and their prescribed treatments.

For instance, in Anne F. Fadiman's compelling real-life account in the book titled *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures*, the author relates how a non-English-speaking Hmong (Laotian) immigrant family of a young epileptic girl in the United States refused anticonvulsant medication to treat the child's epilepsy because, from their cultural lens, her illness was due to a soul-flight from her body. This was seen as a sign of distinction, possibly an omen that she had been called by the spirits to be a shaman or healer and her treatment required ceremonial care from a folk healer. This was in stark contrast to the treatment she received from physicians in a California health care facility, who explained the child's illness in terms of physiochemical and biological processes that required the use of Western interventions, including the use of pharmaceuticals.

Illness conditions and beliefs are sometimes unique to particular cultures (and referred to as culture-bound syndromes). For example, some Mexican Americans believe in *susto* (such as the experience of fright, shock, scare, or soul loss) or *mal de ojo* (evil eye) as ideological causes of illness that require the use of medicinal plants, prayers, and purifying ceremonies from a *curandero(a)*, who is a traditional healer and culturally sanctioned to assess and intervene.

Meaning-Making and Belief Systems

According to Arthur Kleinman, the illness experience is "always culturally shaped." In a model proposed by physician John S. Rolland (derived from Kleinman's writings), health practitioners need to examine the totality of their patient's experience, with belief systems as the mediators of meaning about the illness experience. The author explains this concept in the following excerpt:

Health professionals are trained to live in the world of biological diseases, focusing attention on medical diagnosis and treatment. Patients and their families live in the world of their human experience of symptoms and suffering, typically in some symbolic form that represents a synthesis of biological, personal, family, and cultural meanings.

This model includes the influence of societal forces on health and illness, such as macro-institutional, political, and economic realities. Thus, health care providers need to assess their patients' beliefs and assumptions about what caused an illness (etiology) and what will influence its course and outcome, including the meanings ascribed by the family, ethnic group, community, and religious affiliation.

Several experts have noted that race, ethnicity, and religion play a major role in determining health beliefs, and meaning-making typically emerges around several themes: personal control (or what has been termed "health locus of control" or "mastery over health problems"); decision making around who should be included in the provision of care; and the types of prescribed rituals at different stages of an illness.

According to surveys conducted in the United States, the majority of Americans believe in God; more than half claim to belong to a religious body or institution and most believe in the healing powers of prayer. Furthermore, studies conducted on patients with life-threatening illnesses found that patients have a desire to speak with their physicians about spiritual or religious concerns, even though physicians generally avoid such topics with patients as these are often viewed by Western practitioners as incompatible with their roles. Invariably, humans will construct an explanation, story, or narrative that helps organize an event to provide meaning; in this case, meaning-making in terms of illness, which will then influence an individual's course of action or response.

Complementary and Alternative Medicine

Western allopathic medicine (mainstream or conventional medicine) is thought to treat symptoms on a physical level, whereas eastern and indigenous traditional medical approaches (Native American), among others, view health as

holistically integrated, whereby body, mind, and spirit are interconnected. Complementary and alternative medicine (CAM), such as acupuncture, homeopathy, medical herbalism, and the use of essential oils, takes a more holistic approach to health and is being sought by many contemporary Americans from the general public, and specifically by adult American Indian, Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, African Americans, and whites. Complementary medicine is used to supplement conventional medicine and does not require that a patient hold certain beliefs in order for it to be effective, whereas the use of prayer for alleviating health concerns is only effective for those individuals who have corresponding belief systems.

Various forms of traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) are practiced in the United States and are founded on the ancient Chinese principles of health, defined as a harmonious relationship between the heavens, Earth, and people, through *qi* (vital energy) and *li* (order). For instance, acupuncture involves the practice of thin needles being inserted at specific points on the human body along a system of meridians that is thought to stimulate the flow of *qi* and has curative properties for an array of medical problems. Yoga (originally from India) is another form of holistic healing with a long philosophical tradition from the East that is very popular across the globe and transcends cultural belief systems.

Folk and Faith Healing

Causal explanations for illness around the world, including in the United States, have been suggested by various authors as belonging to one or more of the following loosely defined categories: natural, such as microbiological infection, organic deterioration, or the result of an accident or human violence; supernatural or animistic, involving the soul, spirit, ghost, ancestor, or acts of God; magical, including sorcery or acts of witchcraft by a malicious human being that are thought to be the root causes of illness; or mystical, explanations utilizing constructs of fate and destiny.

Causal factors can include more than one system and various treatments—including conventional medicine—that can also be used simultaneously. Folk and faith healing systems contain the following common elements: the healer's use of intuition to assess the problem; the use of prayer,

meditation, ritual and ceremony; and healers often entering into altered states of consciousness, such as dramatic dissociative or trance states.

One example of faith healing practices that are common to several American Christian ministries or Pentecostal denominations (such as Assemblies of God) is the use of "spirit-filled deliverance." This is a type of prayer intervention in the context of highly emotionally charged congregational groups led by a charismatic leader-healer. This intervention is carried out as an intense, group-oriented ceremony during church services conducted with the aim of restoring an individual's spiritual and physical healing through the calling of Christ's presence to help the patient battle demonic forces that are thought to be contributing to his or her ailments.

Another example of traditional healing is *curanderismo*, a term used to describe a system of beliefs and practices of folk healing among many Mexican Americans that it is a blending of Catholicism (Iberian-Spanish Catholicism) and indigenous Mexican traditions. Healing is thought to be a gift (or a spiritual calling) and healers use religious paraphernalia and amulets to honor the sanctity of a healing ceremony. *Curanderos* (male) or *curanderas* (female) may have several specialties and work in various realms; for example, some are herbalists who are intimately familiar with botanical remedies (herbs and plants), others specialize in massage, others are psychic mediums and/or read tarot cards and have powers of divination.

Herbs in the form of powder, salves, ointments, and oil are used to treat a variety of physical conditions, such as *empacho* (intestinal problems), burns, cough, arthritis, cancer, human immunodeficiency virus, and diabetes, to a name a few. Herbs and plants are also part of a regular diet and although many herbs are safe for human consumption, some have serious side effects or can produce deleterious consequences when combined with prescription medication.

Healing techniques are usually comprised of a combination of healing rituals, prayer, invocation of spirits, and herbal infusions as well as the involvement of others in healing ceremonies, such as family and members of the community. Typical traditional illnesses—what conventional medicine refers to as "culture-bound syndromes"—that are often treated by curanderos consist of *susto* (soul

loss). This is often translated as a form of mental illness where the soul has left a person's physical body because of a traumatic event. *Mal de ojo* (evil eye) or illness is caused by another person (perpetrator) staring at the victim and *envidia* (intense envy or jealousy) by another person who then causes the victim to fall physically and/or mentally ill. Studies have demonstrated that Mexican Americans also turn to conventional medical practitioners for assistance; however, they will often not report their use of folk remedies to their physicians.

Last, "rootwork" refers to beliefs and practices used to heal physical and psychological effects of malignant magic (hexing) mostly used in the southeastern part of the United States. Experts claim that its origins are based on a mixture of European and West African witchcraft along with West Indian voodoo. The perpetrator is often thought to be the jilted lover or an envious coworker of the "rooted person" (the victim of a hex). An array of physical symptoms (such as nausea, abdominal pain, and vomiting) and psychiatric symptoms (such as persecutory delusions, hallucinations, and agitation) strike the victim, and a "rootworker" (healer) is sought out who, through ritual and purging with herbal medicines, counteracts the spell and rids the victim of the "poisons" delivered by the antagonist. Similar to the use of *curanderos*, the rootworker is also used by individuals in conjunction with visits to a conventional medical physician.

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See Also: Epidemiology and Ethnic Diversity; Ethnopharmacology; Feng Shui; Folklórico; Food; Herbalism; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Jehovah's Witnesses; Medicine and Ethnic Diversity; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Shaman; Sweat Lodge.

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Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity

Historically, the concept of health disparities included broad and varied definitions. On November 22, 2000, President Bill Clinton

signed the Minority Health and Health Disparities Research and Education Act, as Public Law 106-525. This law defined health disparity populations as those with “. . . a significant disparity in the overall rate of disease incidence, prevalence, morbidity, mortality, or survival rates in the population as compared to the health status of the general population.”

The first comprehensive U.S. government report on the health disparities among ethnic minorities in America was released in 1985 by the Department of Health and Human Services. The report noted the increases in scientific advancements and overall health status juxtaposed against significant, unremitting health disparities within the American minority populations. According to the National Institutes of Minority Health and Health Disparities, life expectancy for the average American in 1980 was 74 years, which was 25 years longer than at the beginning of the 20th century. These increases, though, were not consistent across ethnic groups. For example, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians, and Pacific Islanders experienced shorter life expectancy, higher rates of diabetes, cancer, heart disease, stroke, substance abuse, infant mortality, and lower birth rates. Since this first report, the nation responded with a variety of direct care and community-based prevention interventions. However, the “Healthy People 2010 Report” found that health inequities continued to persist.

According to predictions by the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. ethnic minority populations are expected to constitute half of the U.S. population within three decades. From the rise of the public health movement in the mid-19th century, the United States recognized the need for documenting the social patterns of disease. Now in the 21st century, the importance of understanding and addressing health disparities across racial and ethnic groups is at the forefront of the public agenda.

Barriers to Health Equity

There are several significant barriers to health equity. They include health care disparities; disparities in America’s health care infrastructure and workforce; disparities in the health, safety, and well-being of Americans; and disparities in scientific knowledge and innovation.

Health care disparities. In 2002, the Institutes of Medicine (IOM) identified the lack of health insurance as the primary causative factor of disparities in health care. In the United States, over 25 million ethnic minorities remain uninsured. In comparison to white patients, ethnic minorities lack sufficient access to primary care doctors; receive reduced quality of health care; and experience obstacles in the reception of preventative care, critical care, and the management of long-term illnesses. When compared to white patients, minority children lack physician continuity of care, are hospitalized twice as often, and die four times more frequently from asthma-related complications.

Disparities in the U.S. health care infrastructure and workforce. A 2008 report from the American Association of Medical Colleges identified that less than 6 percent of Hispanics are physicians, and a little more than 6 percent of physicians are African Americans, even though the minorities account for 16 percent of the U.S. population. This lack of diversity in the health care professions creates negative patient–provider interactions, especially for minorities whose second language is English. The general health and well-being of ethnic minorities is further affected by the shortage of physicians and health care providers in rural and underserved locations. Ethnic minorities are not included in scientific research and clinical trials, which adversely impacts their overall health status.

The lack of the cultural competency by health care providers contributes to health disparities. Cultural competency is defined as the ability to effectively work with and interact with others in multicultural situations. Patients with limited English proficiency receive fewer preventive services than those without language barriers. For ethnic minorities, the paucity of easily accessible interpreter services creates barriers to health care, prevents the patient’s maximum use of the available health care services, and increases patient dissatisfaction with their health care provider.

Disparities in the health, safety, and well-being of Americans. Individuals who live at lower socioeconomic levels tend to lack access to healthy lifestyle activities and options. Therefore, these

individuals experience higher rates of illness and mortality compared to their counterparts in higher income levels. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), minority populations whose life span is shorter than other groups include African American, Asian American, American Indian, and Alaska Native populations. Furthermore, health inequalities exist between ethnic minorities. For example, significantly larger numbers of African Americans die from cardiovascular disease than Caucasians. Ethnic minority children suffer higher incidences of obesity and diabetes than Caucasians.

Disparities in scientific knowledge and innovation. According to an IOM report, the Office of Management and Budget and other federal agencies did not use standardized methods of data collection with American Indian, or Alaska Native, black or African American, Native Hawai'ian or Other Pacific Islander, white, and Hispanic populations. Standardized data collection methods ensure quality and strength in research and scientific study. The lack of reliability and rigor in collection methods prevents accuracy in gathering, analyzing, and tracking important health disparities data and information.

Best Practices: Policy, Research, and Programs

There are several best practices, policies, research efforts, and programs in place to tackle health disparities among ethnic groups, including the following:

A national commitment and plan. In 2010, the U.S. Congress highlighted its commitment to health equity by calling the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities (NIMHHS) to lead and oversee the efforts toward this end. Subsequently, in 2011, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) solicited input from individuals across the health care system to create the Health and Human Services Action Plan to Reduce Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities. This plan created a unified approach for the department, in collaboration with other federal departments and local communities, to promote health equity. In addition to the Action Plan, the HHS Office of Minority Health convened almost 2,000 stakeholders across America

at the National Leadership Summit for Eliminating Racial and Ethnic Disparities. As a result of the summit, the National Partnership for Action to End Health Disparities emerged. This initiative brings together community and faith-based organizations, federal agencies, health care and insurance organizations, businesses, academia, cities, counties, states, and tribes to collaboratively address the issue of health equity.

President Barack Obama signed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) into law on March 23, 2010. A primary focus of this highly controversial health care bill is to assist all Americans to obtain affordable health insurance. Sections 1311 and 2201 are designed to increase affordability of care as well as access for underserved populations such as ethnic minorities; Section 10503 employs health centers and health teams to expand community-level care; Section 4004 is designed to increase prevention initiatives for underserved groups; and section 4201 intends to support community-based strategies for eradicating barriers to health by promoting community infrastructures and efforts to foster health in schools, workplaces, and neighborhoods.

Community-based participatory research. Community-based participatory research (CBPR) has emerged as a valuable tool for promoting health equity. These initiatives are increasingly receiving support within the NIH because of their effectiveness in reducing or eradicating ethnic health disparities. The CDC and other foundations recognize the effectiveness of these approaches and have also made substantial investments in CBPR initiatives. In addition to support from national government organizations, CBPR has recently gained traction in academia with the Institute of Medicine recognizing it as one of eight new competencies recommended for all health professions students.

The Kellogg Foundation Community Health Scholars Program states that community-based participatory research “equitably involves all partners . . . with a research topic of importance to the community with the aim of combining knowledge and action for social change to improve community health and eliminate health disparities.” As a result of the collaborative nature of the process, participants have ownership in the findings of the



Harlem Globetrotter Anthony Blakes shoots hoops with kids attending a "Let's Move!" family fun fair at the Harlem Children's Zone, New York City, February 12, 2011. The free event celebrated the first anniversary of First Lady Michelle Obama's Let's Move Initiative, which addresses the increase in childhood obesity and its many adverse health effects as a serious public health concern. Ethnic minority children suffer higher incidences of obesity, respiratory disease, and diabetes than Caucasians.

research and are invested in implementing and creating practical results. CBPR is designed to serve as a bridge between professional knowledge and cultural communities, promoting engagement, mutual benefit, reciprocal knowledge sharing, and social action.

Programs and initiatives. There are numerous programs and initiatives that have been developed to address the issue of health disparities among ethnic minorities in the United States. Recruiting and retaining ethnic minorities in the health care and scientific research field is essential. One program that has been developed to address this issue is Bridges to the Future, which helps students in associate's or master's degree programs take the next step into higher levels of training. Another initiative is a loan repayment program that helps scientists who are focusing their research on minority health or health disparities advance their careers in basic, clinical, and behavioral research.

Health education programs are emerging to address the gap in health knowledge in the areas

of key issues where health disparities exist. One is First Lady Michelle Obama's 2010 Let's Move campaign that addresses the epidemic of childhood obesity, which disproportionately affects minorities. Medicine Plus and other outreach initiatives educate the public about healthy lifestyles and other diseases that disproportionately affect minorities. Additionally, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention announced a \$103 million Community Transformation Grants program through which grants to local organizations and states can work with their communities to develop and implement initiatives proven to decrease incidences of heart disease, diabetes, and other chronic conditions.

Including ethnic minorities in clinical trials is essential to ensuring that health care research and practice have roots in the experiences, attitudes, and unique needs of all Americans. The NIH's Clinical Trial Networks are committed to enrolling a diverse population in clinical trials to ensure access and representation of the populations most affected by human immunodeficiency

virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome. This is one of many examples of increasing inclusivity of ethnic minorities in scientific research.

Future Trajectories

In light of the increasing diversity of the American population, the HHS Action Plan to reduce racial and ethnic health disparities holds great promise. It addresses many of the key barriers to health equity and is designed to leverage America's tremendous capacity and resources across industry, cultural, disciplinary, professional, and political communities. This collaborative approach—combined with a focus on engaging ethnic minorities in the research, practice, and implementation of health care initiatives—is addressing the social and cultural determinants of health, and building infrastructure to remove barriers to health care. The HHS Action Plan is expected to lead to significant strides in promoting health equity in the United States.

Implementing the plan will be a challenge. The roots of health disparities are deep and widespread. Additionally, despite the important contributions of the Affordable Care Act, it is receiving pushback from some states and industries. Furthermore, debates regarding fiscal issues in the United States may impact the implementation of the act. Strong leadership and an enduring commitment from the government, science, academia, business, and civil society are essential to overcome these challenges.

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See Also: *E Pluribus Unum*; Epidemiology and Ethnic Diversity; Ethnopharmacology; Health Beliefs and Practices; Herbalism; Intercultural Competence; Medicine and Ethnic Diversity; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

The Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR), the oldest Jewish seminary in North America, continues to train rabbis in the tradition of Reform Judaism to the present day. It has four campuses, each with a distinct history.

Its contributions to Jewish life in the United States and in the world are numerous. To understand the HUC-JIR's multicultural impacts, it is important to note the role the institution has played in the emergence and development of the American Reform movement.

History

Rabbi Issac Mayer Wise, who had the goal of educating American rabbis for American pulpits, founded the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1875. It was originally intended for general rabbinical training, but changes were taking place within American Judaism in the late 1800s that led to significant internal changes in American Jewish thought and practice.

Influenced by German Jewish reformers, a convention of liberal American Jewish rabbis met in 1885 and issued the "Pittsburgh Platform." This statement called Jews to modernize their approach to faith practices. The Pittsburgh Platform was controversial and divisive, in part because it called for Jews to consider themselves to be a religious community within the nation of the United States, rather than advocating a future Jewish state in Israel. (The Zionist movement forming at that time, by contrast, strongly advocated the foundation of a permanent Jewish nation-state in the Land of Israel.)

The progressive Reform movement began to break away from traditional Judaism in the United States after the Pittsburgh Platform was issued. After 1885, the Hebrew Union College became the first seminary in the Reform Jewish tradition. Rabbi Wise also founded the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1889, which became a major voice in the American Reform movement.

In 1922 Rabbi Stephen S. Wise founded the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR) in New York City with the goal of supporting Jewish ministries, research, and community service. This organization was intended to serve all streams of Judaism. When the JIR faced financial difficulties just after World War II, HUC president and archaeologist Nelson Glueck proposed a merger, and the two institutions combined in 1950. The Los Angeles campus opened in 1954 to serve the growing Jewish communities on the West Coast. It maintains close academic ties with the



The West Fourth Street, New York City, location of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Established in 1875, the institution trains rabbis, cantors, educators, and communal workers in Reform Judaism—a modernized movement of Judaism.

University of Southern California. The Jerusalem campus, which is Israel's only Reform rabbinical school, opened in 1963. It also serves as a post-doctoral institution for biblical and archaeological studies.

Contemporary Impacts

Today, Reform Judaism is the largest Judaic tradition in the United States, with over 1.1 million practitioners. The rabbis who serve this population have been trained primarily at the HUC-JIR. The HUC-JIR's four-campus system is an international seminary and network for graduate studies in the Reform tradition. Their programs

have ordained over 3,000 Reform rabbis since the 1880s, making the seminaries' graduates the primary intellectual professionals of Reform Judaism worldwide.

The HUC-JIR's Cincinnati campus library holds one of the largest Jewish print collections in the world, putting the seminary at the center of international Jewish Studies research. Holding over 700,000 volumes, the collection is second in size and importance only to the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem. As Jewish Studies departments have been established in higher education institutions over the past two decades, this collection has taken on new value, as scholars travel to the HUC-JIR in order to study primary documents and publish on the ongoing development of their faith tradition.

All students in the rabbinical, education, and cantorial programs are required to spend the first year of their schooling at the Jerusalem campus in Israel. The intent of this requirement is for participating students to build community and to gain a deeper understanding of the State of Israel. In the past 125 years, a plurality of opinions about the relationship between Reform Judaism and the State of Israel have led to diverse streams of thought within Reform Judaism about the best solution to the ongoing international crisis between Israel and Palestine.

Reform Judaism's relations with Orthodox Judaism are both religious and political within Israel. For example, the State of Israel does not recognize marriages performed by Reform rabbis as civilly valid without an additional ceremony, because Orthodox Jews do not recognize the authority of Reform rabbis to perform marriage ceremonies. These internal faith relations also directly impact Reform Judaism in the United States, theologically and politically. Thus, future American Jewish leaders trained by the HUC-JIR are asked to understand and experience the complexity of the situation firsthand.

Graduates of the HUC-JIR have been responsible for several important achievements in diversity. The HUC ordained the first female rabbi in the United States, Sally Priesand, in 1972, and the first black female rabbi in the world, Alysa Stanton, in 2009. The HUC-JIR has been instrumental in welcoming gay and lesbian Jews to full participation in synagogues and in encouraging the

welcome of same-sex couples. Its work in shaping the future of progressive Judaism continues.

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See Also: Beth Din; Halakha; Higher Education; Jewish Americans; Jewish Theological Seminary; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; World War II; Zionism.

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Hegemony

In modern discourse, hegemony most often refers to the cultural, economic, and political domination of a subject population (subaltern) by a group (a hegemon) that wields the power to shape the society's values, mores, and structures of thought. In addition to overt policing of established cultural norms, the reinforcement of hegemonic ideology also finds expression in subtler forms in everyday life, internalized in the minds of the population as common sense or appropriate moral judgments, socioeconomic ambitions, interpersonal relations, religious practices, physical presentations of self, and even mental constructs of reality. These subtler channels of hegemony continue to shape a society long after the originators of the hegemonic values fade into history. In other words, the long-term consequences of a group's hegemonic influence on a subaltern population rest largely on the degree to which that population internalizes as "natural" or "normal" the cultural elements supplied to it by the dominant society. Understanding the functioning and influence of hegemony in a modern republic requires examination of all of that

society's widely held notions—even its most fundamental concepts regarding the nature of reality and the distinction between right and wrong.

In ancient Greece, hegemony referred to the economic and cultural domination by one city-state of another, less powerful city-state. Since the 19th century, hegemony has usually referred to the nature of European and American political and economic domination over colonial conquests in Africa, the Americas, Asia, and the Pacific.

In recent years, a third notion of hegemony has arisen, which now stands as the most common usage in academic and political discourse. In this most recent version, hegemony refers to cultural domination beyond the realms of politics and economics. The hegemon—a class of sociocultural elites rather than a state—dominates the culture not of a related foreign state nor of a conquered distant colony, but primarily other classes of people within its own society. This modern hegemony is in many ways the most profound and subtly nefarious, for it seeks not to dominate from afar but rather literally to shape the reality of those so dominated. It can be extremely difficult to identify specific hegemonic influences within a society, as would-be critics within the society are themselves formed as individuals by the foundational ideological and social constructs previously established by past hegemonic elites.

Hegemony in the United States

As the world's most multicultural contemporary society, the United States is the exemplar of this most recent concept of hegemony, as well as of the earlier definitions. In daily life, most upper- and middle-class, American-born, phenotypically “white,” European-descended Americans (the class hegemon in the United States) neither experience nor recognize the existence of hegemony in their society. Raised to believe in the established psychological construction of reality presented by American culture, most do not realize that the rhythms and meanings in their lives have been passed down to them from the elites of previous eras, or that those patterns are neither more rational nor more desirable than many “foreign” notions rooted in other societies. As in other societies, Americans come to see the “American” ways of doing and believing—as defined largely by Euro-American elites and tastemakers over

generation—as the “normal” or most “natural” ways. Thus the expectations Euro-Americans hold for members of other groups within American society seem to them to be based on perfectly reasonable observations of reality, rather than oppressive and arbitrary impositions of one group's subjective social conventions upon another group.

In contrast, members of subaltern (socially subordinate) ethnic, racial, and religious groups, whether born and raised within the United States or immigrants, often experience acute tensions between hegemonic Euro-American expectations and their own cultural norms. In such circumstances, hegemonic influences exert intense pressure on individuals to conform to accepted Euro-American norms, which are presented as more real and rational than those of the subaltern culture. In addition to reinforcing the hegemonic power of the dominant culture, this process also essentially delegitimizes subaltern cultures, defining them as less rational and therefore inferior. This establishes hegemonic domination in a feedback cycle and further discourages future attempts by subalterns to resist cultural homogenization.

Hegemonic ideology so permeates society that individuals must conform almost entirely, at least publicly, to achieve material and social success in mainstream America. Religious beliefs and practices, ethnic clothing and accoutrement, and a plethora of other markers of “difference” constantly threaten the subaltern individual with exclusion and socioeconomic hardship. As individual members of subaltern groups eventually give in to these pressures of conformity, they become new, even more powerful channels through which hegemonic influence flows into their communities because the notions that flow through them are thereby stripped of some of their alienness.

In the United States, cultural hegemony demands that American Indians accept land ownership and hyper-individualism against the values of their cultures; that immigrants subordinate the values of their home cultures to American beliefs whenever the two conflict; and that black, Latina/o, Asian, and all other citizens of the United States strive to achieve material and social goals defined by Euro-American elites by means prescribed by Euro-American elites.

Effective hegemony convinces subaltern individuals that elite values are objectively proper and

rational, rather than representative merely of one group's history and interests. Cinema, literature, television, news media, and a multitude of other conduits deliver and reinforce this notion. Contemporary American hegemony can be expected to continue long after Euro-Americans become a minority population, due to internalization. Perhaps, however, examination of hegemonic influences will lead to self-conscious reassertions of subaltern cultural values, forms, and norms, creating a truly multicultural America.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Culture Shock; Discourse; Ethnic Studies; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Identity Development; Knowledge Construction; Oppositional Culture; Perspectivism; Race; Textbook Treatment of Ethnic Groups; Whiteness Studies.

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Help, The

The Help (2009), the first novel of white author Kathryn Stockett, tells the story of Eugenia “Skeeter” Phelan, a white, upper-middle-class woman who returns to Jackson, Mississippi, in 1962 after graduating from the University of Mississippi. Seeing her segregated town through new eyes, Skeeter, an aspiring writer, launches a plan to interview black female domestic workers for a book that will reveal life from their perspective.

Over the course of two years, Skeeter grapples with the growing division between herself and her white racist friends, her mother's progressing terminal illness, the mysterious disappearance of her childhood maid Constantine, and a turbulent relationship with a senator's son. These

elements, however, primarily serve as a backdrop to the novel's exploration of the inequities of southern segregation during the civil rights movement.

After successfully pitching her idea to Elaine Stein, an editor at Harper & Row, Skeeter solicits the help of Aibileen Clark, a friend's maid. As Aibileen's faith in the project grows, she attempts to recruit other maids, the most notable being the outspoken Minny Jackson, who often finds herself unemployed because of her unwillingness to accept abuse from whites. After a maid is arrested for theft, 10 other women finally agree to participate. The relationships between Skeeter, Aibileen, and Minny (the book's three narrators) unfold what, according to Stockett, is the novel's most salient point: we must recognize the fundamental similarities and humanity of all people.

Because of proscriptions against interracial socializing, or any form of civil rights agitation, the interviews are conducted in secret, a necessity that highlights the black women's desire to claim a voice, even at great risk to themselves and their families. Were they to be discovered, the white community would certainly respond with both physical and economic violence. Key events in the civil rights movement woven into Stockett's narrative set the larger context for the maids' stories. These events include James Meredith's integration of the University of Mississippi (October 1962); the assassinations of Medgar Evers (in Jackson, June 1963) and John F. Kennedy (November 1963); Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, “I Have a Dream” speech during the March on Washington (August 1963); and the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama (September 1963).

Although the manuscript becomes an open secret in the black community, the whites only learn of the project after the book—titled *Help: Colored Domestic and the Southern Families for Which They Work*—is published and begins to receive media attention. Despite Skeeter's attempts to disguise real names and location, the white community in Jackson soon recognizes itself in the book's pages and attempts first to identify the maids and then to exact revenge. Their efforts are curtailed, ironically, by Hilly Holbrook, who is the most racist of Skeeter's friends, the president of the Jackson Junior

League and the force behind the Home Help Sanitation Initiative, which would require separate bathrooms for the “colored help” in all white homes. Hilly must vehemently deny the book is set in Jackson because it (strategically) reveals that she had eaten two slices of a chocolate pie into which Minny had mixed her own feces after being unjustly fired by Hilly.

Following *Help*'s success, Skeeter and Aibileen are each given a copy of the book lovingly signed by hundreds of the black community. At Aibileen's and Minny's urging, Skeeter accepts a job at *Harper's* magazine in New York and exits the novel concerned for the maids' safety but also hopeful for her future. Minny, whose job is protected in part because she has earlier saved the life of the white woman for whom she works (Celia Foote), exits the novel pregnant with her

sixth child and having left her abusive husband. Aibileen, falsely accused of stealing silver by Hilly, is fired. Although she has the promise of some steady income from continuing on her own a domestic advice column that she had been helping Skeeter write—as well as her one-13th share of profits from *Help*—Aibileen exits the novel unsure of how she might earn enough to survive but also optimistic about beginning anew.

The Film

The movie *The Help*—starring Viola Davis (Aibileen), Octavia Spencer (Minny), Emma Stone (Skeeter), Bryce Dallas Howard (Hilly), and Jessica Chastain (Celia Foote)—was released in 2011. Tate Taylor wrote the screenplay and directed the film, which generally follows the novel's primary plot lines. However, it eliminates some of the



A black maid cleans fireplace tools in a home, circa 1942. The roles of these “negro maids” had changed little by the 1960s in the south, which is the setting for the novel *The Help* and the film of the same name. The story revolves around a young white woman, Skeeter, and her relationship with several black maids during the early 1960s. Skeeter, an aspiring journalist, decides to write a book from the point of view of the maids, referred to as “the help.” In so doing, she exposes the racism they face as they work for white families.

racial violence, including the beating and blinding of a young African American man, the assassination of Medgar Evers, and the reference to the 16th Street Church bombing. It thus lessens the novel's emphasis on the risk the women are taking by telling their stories. The film also makes several of the white characters more sympathetic by portraying them as remorseful for their past racist acts, and it allots whites more agency in key scenes: Skeeter conceives the idea for the book rather than adapting an idea that had originally been Aibileen's son's; Skeeter, rather than Minny, names the book; and Celia Foote (rather than Aibileen) motivates Minny to leave her abusive husband. The screenplay also eliminates a scene of racial passing that is the key to Constantine's disappearance.

The novel has been published in at least 35 countries and in three languages. It spent over 100 weeks on the *New York Times* Best Seller list and has sold over five million copies. It has received numerous awards, including the Townsend Prize for Fiction (2010) and the *Christian Science Monitor's* Best Book Award (2009). The film, too, was highly successful. It grossed over \$211 million and received four Academy Award nominations, including Best Picture, Best Actress (for Davis); and Best Supporting Actress (for Chastain and Spencer). The film's one Oscar went to Spencer. The film also won the Screen Actors Guild Award for Outstanding Performance by a Cast in a Motion Picture (2012) and several Golden Globe, BET, and Black Film Critics' Circle awards, among others.

However, the novel and film have been criticized for their representation of black vernacular (most of the maids, including Aibileen, speak in dialect); for their general inattention to the sexual exploitation of black domestic workers; and for the absence of positive portrayals of black men. Another criticism stems from Stockett's claims that the novel is her imagined answer to what her own childhood domestic, Demetrie, would have said had she been asked what it was like to be black in Mississippi and to serve whites. The novel thus actually reproduces once again only the white imagining of the black voice. In 2011, Stockett was sued by Ablene Cooper, an African American woman who worked for Stockett's brother for 12 years. Cooper claimed

that the character Aibileen was based on her life. Cooper's lawsuit was dismissed because she filed after the one-year statute of limitations. Stockett denied the charges.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Desegregation/Integration; Freedom Riders; "I Have a Dream" Speech; Jim Crow Laws; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Montgomery Bus Boycott; Motion Pictures; Racism; Segregation.

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Herbalism

Herbalism—the study or use of medicinal herbs and plants for promoting health and preventing and treating illness—has existed in most cultures for centuries, if not millennia. Also known as “botanical medicine” or “phytomedicine,” herbalism ultimately led to the development of modern medicine. In fact, many of the drugs currently in use have been derived from plant components, including aspirin, digitalis, ephedrine, and opium. Today, sales of herbal supplements in the United States have reached \$5 billion.

Early History

The first written records of the use of herbs in healing were made by the ancient Sumerians who jotted down lists of hundreds of medicinal plants on clay tablets. Egyptian hieroglyphs reveal physicians treating digestive disorders

with peppermint and caraway, and there are numerous references in the Bible to a wide variety of herbs. The Emperor Shen Nong of China's Han dynasty was said to have tasted hundreds of herbs to test their medicinal value. In addition to traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) and Kampo, its Japanese adaptation, India's Ayurvedic medical system includes the extensive use of herbs, as do the native healing systems of South America, Africa, and Australia. In North America, Native Americans used approximately 2,500 of the 20,000 native plant species for medicinal purposes, and there was prevalent use of herbs in early colonial America and in Appalachian folk medicine.

Trade and war did much to help spread herbs, plants, and spices to new places, including to Greece, where Hippocrates (the father of Western medicine) included some 400 herbal remedies in his writings. Perhaps the most influential treatise on herbs—and a precursor to all modern pharmacopeias—is the *De Materia Medica*, written in the 1st century C.E. by the Greek physician Dioscorides, who identified and described the healing properties of more than 500 plants.

In the Middle Ages herbs and plants were the only drugs available, and many of these had to be dried before they could be used. Various parts of the plant (including the root, seed, bark, flower, and leaf) were used for different purposes; they were made into infusions, decoctions, ointments, syrups, and poultices. For example, fennel was prescribed as a cure for colic, headaches, and as an appetite suppressant.

Much of what is known today about the use of herbs in the Middle Ages is derived from Benedictine monks who compiled and copied herb lore in the written form of “herbals.” Many purveyors of this knowledge were “wise women,” some of whom worked within their communities, while others were wanderers.

Herbalism and the Treatment of Disease

The practice of herbalism is as available as backyard gardens, and it was gardeners down through the ages, probably through trial and error, who discovered which plants were safe for consumption and for healing. Those early medieval apothecaries and physicians grew herbs in their own gardens, but so did most ordinary citizens of the

time. What people learned about these plants (folk medicine) was passed down from generation to generation in homes and villages.

Herbs can be either farm grown or wild grown. The harvesting of herbs from their natural habitats is called wildcrafting. In addition to the uses mentioned above, herbs can be made into therapeutic teas, tinctures (alcoholic extracts of herbs), essential oils, and inhaled as in aromatherapy.

In 2010 U.S. Census data, herbalists fall under the category of “miscellaneous health practitioner.” There are no precise figures as to the number of practicing herbalists in the United States. Most are self-employed and are often also naturopaths. There is currently no licensure for herbalists in the United States. Instead, most reputable herbal studies schools give graduates a certificate documenting the number of hours they have successfully studied in the field.

Herbalists may grow herbs; harvest or collect herbs (wildcrafting); teach or advise people in how to use herbs as medicine; or use what they know as adjuncts to other health care fields such as naturopathy, nutrition, acupuncture, etc. They work under a variety of titles, including native healers, naturopaths, holistic medical doctors, herbal pharmacists, medicine makers, wildcrafters, harvesters, and herbal farmers.

Herbalism Among Native Americans

In America, the first settlers arrived in a country already inhabited by 2,000 Native American tribes. Most, if not all, of these tribes practiced their own unique brand of herbalism, which varied according to tribal traditions and region.

It should be noted that traditional Native American medicine was and is not simply about the use of herbs for healing. It takes a more holistic approach that seeks to balance the physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual components of a person. The medicinal herbal formulas prepared by the tribe's healer were just one component of healing that included ritual purification (such as the sweat lodge), traditional smudge or burning of certain herbs, as well as chanting and prayers. One especially important herb used in healing rituals was tobacco. The tribe's healer (medicine man or woman) would blow smoke on the person who was ill, and this was believed to dispel evil spirits. Tobacco smoke was also seen as a

mediator between the human and spirit worlds. It was a means of requesting permission to gather the herbs needed for healing.

Remarkably, Native American tribes chose plants to use for medicine that are in those families of plants that modern phytochemical studies show contain the most bioactive compounds.

Herbalism in Modern Times

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that 80 percent of the population of some Asian and African countries depends on traditional (herbal) medicine for primary health care, and Europe and China are ahead of the United States in using natural products such as herbs. In America the use of herbs has often been eclipsed by dependence on modern medications, such as antibiotics, but that has not always been the case. For example, echinacea, derived from a plant called coneflower, was once a widely prescribed medication in the United States and continues to be used by herbalists as a way to fight infection and boost immunity.

Traditional Chinese medicine, as well as India's Ayurvedic medicine, are both popular approaches to healing prevalent in the United States today. Both of these holistic healing approaches—as with Native American medicine—take a holistic view. For example, Ayurvedic medicine seeks to achieve a balance in body, mind, and spirit through a number of treatments that include herbal medicines, specific diet and exercise protocols, and therapies such as purification treatments and massage.

The future of herbalism is promising. Less industrialized countries are discovering that it can be profitable to conserve their rain forests for the responsible harvesting of herbs, rather than slashing and burning them for agricultural use. For example, thanks to the large demand for the Peruvian rain forest herb *uña de gato*, the Peruvian government has taken steps to conserve their rain forests.

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See Also: Epidemiology and Ethnic Diversity; Ethnopharmacology; Feng Shui; Folklorico; Food; Health Beliefs and Practices; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Lore; Medicine and Ethnic Diversity;

Native Americans; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Shaman; Sweat Lodge.

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Hernández v. Texas (1954)

Latinas/os have brought cases before the highest court in the United States on a number of important issues throughout the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. In particular, Latinas/os have challenged restrictions on treaty rights, educational access, immigration, housing, equal employment, and criminal justice. *Hernández v. Texas* (1954) challenged the notion of what constituted a “jury of one’s peers.” The American G.I. Forum and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) provided attorneys to support the petitioner prior to the establishment of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) in Texas in 1968. The *Hernández* case paved the way for later challenges under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution for other American groups.

Prior to *Hernández*, Latinas/os had petitioned the court on several other occasions, the first involving land grants in both California and New Mexico protected under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

(1848). In 1922, a case involving Puerto Ricans' right to a trial by a jury of their peers was heard by the court. *Balzac v. Porto Rico* (sic) found that U.S. citizens residing on the island were not entitled to a trial by jury because Puerto Ricans were members of a U.S. commonwealth and, although U.S. citizens, were not entitled to the full protections of the Constitution. Perhaps best known was the case of *Mendez v. Westminster* (1945), one of the precedents for the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case challenging "separate but equal" education.

Background of the Case

In 1950, Pete Hernández, a cotton picker in Edna, Texas, was accused and found guilty of murdering Joe Espinosa by an all-white jury who were not of his economic class. No one with a Spanish surname had served on a jury for 25 years in Jackson County, Texas, where the small town of Edna was located. The jury provided to Pete Hernández was no exception. When his client was found guilty, Hernández's attorney, Gustavo "Gus" García, brought the case to the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, which upheld the conviction, paving the way to the Supreme Court. The Texas court found that because Mexican Americans were "white," there was no violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. García argued before the U.S. Supreme Court that the exclusion of Mexican Americans from juries in Texas was historic and institutional, and a matter of economic status or class, not just race. The court, under Chief Justice Earl Warren, found that Hernández's rights were violated through the systematic exclusion of jurors of his class, and mere chance could not have produced this outcome. His case was remanded to the state to be retried by a jury selected without regard to race or class.

The ruling in *Hernández* was subsequently replaced by *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District* in 1971, which found that Mexican Americans were an identifiable minority group in Texas. *Hernández* moved the court beyond the understanding of the equal protection clause as solely defining race in a white-black binary. It addressed the complicated, and as yet still unresolved, issue of whether Latinas/os are an ethnic or racial group. The U.S. Census considers race and ethnicity separately, with Hispanic origin being a unique identifier. The ability for

Latinas/os to identify multiple racial origins beginning with the 2000 census clarified, yet simultaneously complicated, the simplistic binary definition of race prior to the *Hernández* case, particularly where Hispanic ancestry was involved.

The *Hernández* case did not end the problem of jury exclusion of Latinos/as. Factors that continue to limit Latino/a juror selection include poverty, citizenship, and language requirements. The disproportionate representation of Latinas/os among the poor continues to limit their ability to serve on juries. The minimum requirement that jurors be able to read, write, understand, and speak English also challenges the equal protection of those who live in communities with large immigrant populations. The exclusion from juries of convicted felons whose rights have not been restored perpetuates disparities in the criminal justice system.

The inclusion of Latinos/as on the Supreme Court to adjudicate cases like *Hernández* has been of more recent debate. During the 2009 confirmation hearings of Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor, congressional members, the media, and the general public raised concerns about her ability to be objective on matters involving Latina/o civil rights given her Puerto Rican heritage. The implication that Sotomayor would be uniquely challenged because of her race and ethnicity in a way that white judges were not similarly ethnically divided by cases involving non-Hispanics indicated need for further education and dialogue on some of the fundamental issues of race, ethnicity, class, and equality raised by *Hernández v. Texas* in 1954.

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See Also: American G.I. Forum; Citizenship; Constitutional Amendments; Hispanic Americans; Latinas; Law and Ethnic Diversity; Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Mexican Americans; Naturalization Language Requirements; Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund; Puerto Ricans; Segregation; Supreme Court, U.S.

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High Yellow

High yellow is a term used to describe very light-complexioned people of African descent. More specifically, the expression refers to the pale, almost yellow, undertones to their skin, usually due to admixture between black and white individuals. It was in usage in the United States between the second half of the 19th century and the first few decades of the 20th century. When written in dialect, it is sometimes written as “high yella,” “high yeller,” or “high yaller.”

High Yellow in Pigmentocratic America

“High” refers to the privileges accorded to light-complexioned African Americans, who more closely resembled white Americans in terms of phenotype, that put them atop the pigment-based societal system in the United States during the antebellum, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow eras. According to Zora Neale Hurston’s *Glossary of Harlem Slang* (1942), that system was constituted in the following manner: high yaller; yaller; high brown; Vaseline brown; seal brown; low brown; dark brown. The advantages that light-skinned blacks sometimes enjoyed ranged from better access to resources to greater acceptance by whites. Some individuals with lighter complexions and phenotypes atypical of most individuals of African descent posed as white (particularly Mediterranean), Native American, Arab, or Asian to avoid the discrimination African Americans faced.

Some lighter-complexioned African Americans from mixed-race families were freed, educated, and/or bequeathed property prior to emancipation. This accumulation of wealth and education afforded them distinct social advantages over darker-skinned African Americans. A number of institutions, ranging from fraternal organizations

to churches to New York City’s famed Cotton Club, instituted “paper bag” policies that limited membership or admittance to individuals whose complexions were at least as light as a brown paper bag.

There were even several communities comprised of light-skinned African Americans, including in Charleston, South Carolina; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Charles City, Virginia, that mirrored contemporaneous white communities in many ways, including in their rejection of darker-complexioned blacks. Accordingly, high yellow was employed sometimes as a colloquial term for the lordly behavior associated with some light-skinned blacks during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In the contemporary United States, “high yellow” is considered an antiquated, and even pejorative, expression. According to 2010 U.S. Census data, 2.9 percent of Americans, or more than nine million people, identify as multiethnic, and approximately 1.8 million Americans identify as biracial of black and white ancestry; since the 1960s, most of them commonly have self-identified as biracial, multiracial, multiethnic, or mixed race. As of 2012, the term has not disappeared entirely, although it is frequently employed in an ironic manner or for rhetorical flourish.

The Cultural Legacy of High Yellow

In abolitionist literature beginning in the 1840s, light-complexioned blacks were used to evoke sympathy from white audiences for the plight of black Americans; these stories featured characters who looked like the white readers but suffered as African Americans did. These stories often featured a biracial heroine who was light-complexioned enough to pass for white. She struggled because she was unable to find full acceptance with either the black or white communities. Once her true ethnic background was made public, she lost her comfortable station in society and was reduced to bankruptcy, sexual victimization, slavery, or death. These plays and novels were aimed at white women readers; their aim was to warn audiences of the dangers of racism by way of identification with a character who shared their social class and appearance. Some of these works include *Imitation of Life* (a 1933 novel by Fannie Hurst that was twice adapted for the screen, in 1934

and 1959), Reginald Marsh's 1936 painting titled *High Yaller*; the 1949 film *Pinky* (based on the 1946 novel *Quality* by Cid Ricketts Sumner); and Larry Buchanan's 1965 film *High Yellow*, which concerns racial passing.

The title of the 1858 American folk song "The Yellow Rose of Texas" refers to the complexion of eponymous heroine Emily D. West, a biracial woman who helped General Sam Houston and his troops win a decisive victory in the Texas War of Independence. More recently, the term *high yellow* has been used in Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* in 1983 (as well as its 2005 musical adaptation); Spike Lee's 1987 film *School Daze*; Dael Orlandersmith's *Yellowman*, a Pulitzer Prize finalist in drama in 2002; and in rapper Jay-Z's 2009 song "Off That." Some versions of the popular 1929 Irving Berlin song "Puttin' on the Ritz" use the related phrase "high brown."

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See Also: African Americans; Colorism; Creoles; Mestizo; Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Mulatto; Pigmentocracy; *Pinky*; Quadroon; Race Mixture in the United States.

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Higher Education

The history of diversity in American higher education is turbulent and still evolving. In the United States, colleges and universities currently serve students from a wide variety of ethnicities, classes, genders, sexualities, abilities, and ages. There are currently almost 4,500 two-year and four-year institutions of higher education serving over 20 million students. Some of these institutions were established well before the American Revolution.

The earliest colleges and universities in North America were established as seminaries and religious institutions for the training of clergy. Institutions of higher learning in the 17th and 18th centuries focused on the liberal arts and served white European colonists. The emphasis on occupation-specific majors was nonexistent.

The curriculum of American colleges and universities has changed along with shifts in the country's economic and sociocultural realities. In the early 20th century, Harvard University introduced the first college majors to prepare students for work or advanced study in specific fields and disciplines. These kinds of programs have become the standard for universities around the world.

To cope with the sociocultural realities of students from more diverse ethnic, sexual, and economic backgrounds, many colleges and universities created programs toward the end of the 20th century. These programs included centers for the study of specific ethnicities and sexualities; campus organizations that allowed students to learn more about diverse backgrounds; and programs to assist students whose parents had not graduated from or even attended college.

Moving into the future, colleges and universities are going to have to cope with lower budgets and still find ways to address falling graduation

rates among college students from almost all social-cultural and economic backgrounds.

Ethnicity-Based Colleges and Universities

In the wake of the Civil War, colleges and universities in former confederate states refused to admit African Americans to their universities. In response, schools began to open to serve this group of potential scholars.

Today, historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) have hundreds of thousands of students enrolled, though not all of them continue to have a student body made up primarily of African American students.

HBCUs have a considerably higher graduation rate for their African American students than predominantly white institutions' (PWI) campuses. This has been linked to numerous factors including a higher ratio of African American professors to African American students; more programs designed to facilitate retention of students; and heightened awareness of the unique needs of African American college students. Ultimately, even at HBCUs the graduation rate among African American students is below the national average across all ethnicities, indicating a need for more efforts to equalize academic achievement.

More recently, colleges and universities have opened with the intention of providing improved education to other underrepresented minority students, including Native Americans, Latinos/as, and Muslims. These institutions report similar results to those of HBCUs, with higher than average graduation rates for the minority groups they serve.

The Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU) has championed Hispanic-serving institutions (HSI) in Congress and helped gain recognition and funding from the federal government. HSIs are those colleges and universities with 25 percent or more Hispanic students. HACU currently has 243 member HSIs across the country.

In April 2013, technology billionaire Hun Loo Gong announced his plan to open the first Asian-American university, which will offer online courses and be headquartered in San Francisco.

Many ethnicity-based universities have partnerships with PWIs to provide some of the courses for their students. Students are often required to

enroll in a certain number of credit hours per semester or complete their general education requirements at the larger institution.

Ethnic Studies

Ethnic studies programs were designed to expose students to the histories of specific racialized ethnic groups. These interdisciplinary fields of study diverge from traditional anthropological and sociological approaches to studying culture in that their approaches lack the Eurocentric lenses common to more traditional disciplines.

The first ethnic studies programs were established at San Francisco State University and University of California, Berkeley in the late 1960s. Students and faculty alike wanted to study their own histories without white cultural interpretations. Today colleges and universities across the United States have ethnic studies programs focusing on areas such as Asian American Studies, Africana Studies, and Mexican American Studies.



James Meredith, accompanied by U.S. marshals, walks onto the campus of the University of Mississippi, October 1, 1962. Motivated by President John F. Kennedy's stance on civil rights, he fought to become the first African American student admitted to the segregated University of Mississippi.

Desegregation and Affirmative Action

After World War II, the American civil rights movement began, as did efforts to racially integrate colleges and universities in areas that still had segregation laws, particularly in the southern United States.

Integration of Caucasian and African American students in colleges did not happen overnight or without struggle. Many Caucasian groups protested or tried to physically stop African American students from attending classes. Over the decades since integration, colleges and universities have embraced diversity, welcoming all demographic groups and providing places of learning for all. Higher education campuses tend to have more racial harmony than the surrounding areas.

Affirmative action began in the 1960s under the John F. Kennedy administration and was intended to level the playing field for people of all ethnicities and genders in terms of academic and employment opportunities. In higher education this meant taking race and/or gender into account when evaluating potential students for admission. This led to decades of criticism.

Proponents of affirmative action believe that it allows students who come from various ethnic and economic backgrounds to have the same chance of at least getting into college. Some argue that legacy admissions and athletic recruitments already favor some students over others, possibly allowing them to gain admission without having competitive grades or standardized testing scores.

Opponents of affirmative action programs argue that taking any physical traits into account privileges one group over another. Some argue that this is tantamount to racism. Others argue that affirmative action has the potential to take college admissions away from deserving students who do not fit into whatever gender or ethnic quotas the university is trying to fill. They fear that Caucasian students will not be able to attend colleges and universities with affirmative action programs. Ultimately, data indicate that Caucasian women benefit from affirmative action far more often than men or women from any other ethnic group.

Some states have outlawed affirmative action programs. In 1996, the residents of California voted to approve Proposition 209, which

prohibited any state-run agency from considering race when determining eligibility to work or attend school. This meant that private colleges and universities could retain their affirmative action programs, but the California State University and University of California systems would have to shut such programs down. Proposition 209 passed due in large part to arguments that it would effectively remove racism from the system.

Graduation and Retention

In contemporary higher education in the United States, admission rates for varying cultural groups tend to be fairly representative of the demographics in the area primarily serviced by the college or university. Graduation and retention rates, however, remain fairly low.

Only about 50 percent of students entering college as freshmen will ever complete a four-year degree. This percentage is based on all ethnicities and genders. However, many social and economic factors lead to vast discrepancies in graduation rates between ethnicities and even between genders within ethnicities. At some universities the overall graduation rate may be 50 percent, while the graduation rate among African American men is as low as 0 percent. These same schools might post graduation rates for African American women that are as high as 25 percent.

It may be tempting to interpret the data as indicating certain ethnicities perform poorly in higher education. This is too simplistic for two reasons. First, it does not take into account differences within an ethnic group. Second, whether a student's parents went to college has far more bearing on his or her success than any other determining factor. All first-generation college students lack the social resources that come with parents who at least graduated from a four-year university.

Diversity Master Plans

In response to rapidly diversifying student populations at colleges and universities that were not set up to account for ethnic and socioeconomic differences, many institutions have composed diversity master plans to account for differences in the way they have traditionally run and to meet the needs of their current students. These plans became popular in the first decade of the 21st century.

Colleges and universities tend to engage in long-term strategic planning when it comes to over-seeing budgets, enrollments, academic changes, facilities construction, and other services. Institutional diversity plans take the model of strategic planning and develop ways to engage in active appreciation of diverse viewpoints, experiences, and identities.

These plans set policies, create programs, and allocate funds for promoting a richly diverse campus that is welcoming and inclusive beyond the physical presence of students, faculty, and staff who look different from one another. They often include policies for curriculum changes that foster in students an awareness and appreciation of disparate identities. Other policies include creation or expansion of programs on campus that promote cocurricular activities related to various identities, the establishment of a Chief Diversity Officer, or policies on recruitment and retention of diverse faculty and staff.

Academics have not yet studied the long-term effectiveness of these plans on graduation and retention of students. But with a national attrition rate of 50 percent, these plans may be needed by more colleges and universities in the near future.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Anti-Racist Education; Chief Diversity Officers; Diversity Assessment Instruments; Ethnic Studies; *Fisher v. University of Texas* (2013); Haskell Indian Nations University; Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Intercultural Education; Multicultural Education; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978); School Desegregation; United Negro College Fund.

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High/Low Context Cultures

High context and *low context* are terms that characterize the ways individuals in a culture relate and communicate with each other, and the amount of explicit information that they need in a given situation. In simple terms, individuals in high context cultures rely on context and implicit understandings due to relationship more than words in a communication setting. Individuals from low context cultures rely on words to define and clarify communication, relationships, or the amount of information needed for a successful communication experience. Edward T. Hall defined this concept in his 1976 work *Beyond Culture*. The level of context affects each participant in a communication experience.

Generally speaking, individuals from the dominant culture in the United States are considered low context, sharing that designation with people from Germany, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. The Asian, Arab, and Hispanic cultures are considered to be more high context. With the 2010 U.S. Census, the proportion of individuals from high context cultures is increasing.

High- and Low-Context Interactions

The consequences of interactions between people from high versus low context cultures within the United States can be significant. As the 2010 census reveals, the United States has seen an increase in the Asian and the Hispanic-Latino population, as well as an influx of refugees and immigrants from Arab and African countries. By 2030, the United States will be a minority-majority culture, so there is value in considering the differences in high context and low context interactions.

People from a high context culture do not consider it necessary to have a lot of data or detailed information about an event, as the tight network of personal relationships provides opportunities to learn about an event, a decision, or a situation. Low context communication is characterized by more information, discomfort with silence, a preference for explicit meaning and direct and assertive language.

For individuals from a high context culture, meaning can be provided through silence, inference, nonverbal communication, and shared common experiences. The status of the participants in a communication exchange may include title, family background, associations, education, gender, and age. The tightness and often homogeneity of the high context facilitates implicit understanding. Indirect communication, as opposed to assertive and direct communication, is essential to maintain harmony, to acknowledge authority, and to save face.

Implications for a high context person or members of a community interacting with members of a low context community can be subtle or dramatic. Methods of address also vary. For Japanese or Chinese, greeting protocol and terms of address are important as they reflect the presentation of self and face. The subordination of the individual to the group in collectivist and high context cultures leads to a different communication style. In business, on first meetings, and in organizational settings, who speaks and how people are addressed count. First names are generally not used but rather titles or honorifics acknowledging the status of the participants. The use of first names for terms of address may be offensive to individuals from a high context culture, particularly in a business or religious setting. Knowing the protocol for greeting behavior and terms of address facilitates the success of a communication situation.

The majority of business practices in the United States are characterized by the low context reliance on a substantial amount of explanation, copious data to support a proposition or initiative, detailed contracts, rich use of vocabulary, and assertive language. Silence is perceived as disagreement, boredom, or ignorance. However, silence and patience in deliberation is generally valued by individuals from low context cultures—and

people who talk a lot may be considered shallow, insincere, or ignorant. Silence, therefore, may be a strategic weapon or deadly when trying to accomplish a goal in most American business and enterprise. The manner of handling authority, disagreement, and conflict is also affected by high and low context communication styles.

With the increased diversity that characterizes the culture of the United States, there will be a need for increased training in culturally competent communication between the dominant low context culture of American social discourse and the many variations of high context cultures, whether Asian, African, or Hispanic.

It may be that individuals from low context American businesses must learn to take time building relationships, having meals, sitting in silence when doing business or communicating with individuals from high context American businesses. It may mean that low context health care workers may have to get to know a high context patient's entire family or ethnic community, listen well, and be aware of the implications of direct versus indirect communication, particularly of bad news.

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See Also: Cross-Cultural Psychology; Intercultural Communication; Intercultural Communication Institute; Intercultural Competence; Interculturalism; Intergroup Contact Theory; Intersectionality; Speech Codes; Translators/Interpreters.

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Hijab

Hijab is the most general term for Muslim women's practice of covering their hair. Most women who wear hijab cover their hair with a scarf and wear clothes that cover their hands to the wrist and their legs to the ankles. These may be Western-style clothes, garments from their cultures of origin, or clothes that are identified with Islam, including the often-depicted outer wraps called the *abaya* or *chador*. Some women also wear the *niqab*, a cloth that covers their face below the eyes; this is often called a *burqa* in the west, but that is a misnomer, since *burqa* refers to either the blue face-covering robe worn in Afghanistan or the metallic face-jewelry worn in the Arab Gulf. In the United States, women who wear hijab or niqab are generally called *hijabis* or *niqabis*.

Debates Over Hijab

Muslims in general disagree about what forms of body covering women should wear, in which contexts, and whether or not it is required. Some feel that wearing hijab is required for all Muslim women, and others feel it is optional. The majority think that teenage and adult women should wear loose clothing that reveals only their faces, hands, and feet in public, and that they can only be seen uncovered by closely related men, other women, and children. However, there are many Muslim women who cover and identify as hijabis, but still reveal some hair, do not cover their necks or wrists, or wear tight-fitting clothing. Muslims frequently disagree about whether or not certain garments or dressing practices are sufficiently modest, culturally appropriate, or meet the requirements of hijab.

Hijab is a frequent source of debate among Muslims and non-Muslims. For some, the practice of hijab is considered a marker of the low status of women in Islam, and is closely associated with women's exclusion from the public sphere, their limited role in public life, and

male domination. For others, hijab is meant to encourage women's participation in public life by allowing them to be respected publicly. It is usually worn voluntarily and is a personal act of devotion a woman makes to God. (There are both Muslims and non-Muslims who take both positions.) The experiences of women who wear hijab are diverse. Many emphasize their own desire to cover themselves and how it makes them feel closer to God. However, many women have faced social pressure to cover themselves, or to cover themselves in a particular way, or behave a certain way when covered (particularly to not interact with unrelated men). There is a growing segment of women who identify with the concept of "dejabing," or ceasing to wear hijab after an extended period of doing so.

Hijab as a Cultural Marker

Hijab is a potent marker of community identity for Muslims, both men and women. Many American women who cover say that part of their reason to do so is to publicly affiliate themselves with the Muslim community and be identified as Muslims by non-Muslims in daily life. However, this high level of visibility has also made hijabis and niqabis the target of discrimination by non-Muslims. The Council on American-Islamic Relations reports that, of all anti-Muslim acts of discrimination reported to them in 2008, 5.61 percent had hijab as a precipitating factor, and 0.59 percent had niqab as a precipitating factor, making covering the fifth most common factor. (By contrast, fewer than 2 percent of all discrimination incidents were seen as caused by men's Islamic garb.)

Common reports involve women being required to remove hijab at work, having hijabs pulled off in public, or being the target of anti-Muslim language, specifically deprecation of their hijab; in some cases, hijabis have been the target of violence because of their scarves. Because of the threat of violence and discrimination, many Muslim families encouraged women who cover themselves to either temporarily stop or to stay inside away from non-Muslims after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Few hijabis, however, chose to stop covering at this point in time, although some have changed their travel habits (choosing not to take airplanes, for instance).

Bans on Hijab and Niqab

The United States has not seen any successful attempts to ban niqab (often referred to as “burqa bans”), unlike Europe, and no North American attempts to restrict the circumstances in which Muslim women can cover have been as strong as those in France or Turkey. The United States’ legal freedom of religion and strong protection of civil rights have created an unfavorable legal environment for anti-hijab and -niqab laws, and the right to wear religious clothing is considered a protected freedom. Most Muslims view legal restrictions on the wearing of hijab or niqab as highly discriminatory. However, there is occasional conversation about restricting niqab or hijab in public spaces (such as insisting women uncover their faces for ID photos, or that women cannot cover their heads in courtrooms), which has led to a sense of threat among some more conservative Muslims.

The Future of Hijab

A growing trend in the United States (and elsewhere) has been the rise of “hijab fashion,” focusing on looking cool while still wearing hijab. Video tutorials for different ways of wearing scarves, daily fashion photography, and explanations of how to translate current mainstream fashion styles into hijab-friendly forms are a major part of this culture. This integration of Western fashion and femininity norms with Muslim modesty norms represents an interesting new type of Muslim femininity.

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See Also: Clothing and Ethnic Diversity; Feminism and Ethnic Diversity; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Muslim Americans; Nation of Islam; Qur’an; Sharia.

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Hindu Americans

In 1900, there were approximately 1,700 Hindu Americans living in the United States. By 1980, that number had grown to approximately 387,000; by 1997, the figure was approximately 1.1 million. By 2008, there were at least 2.3 million Hindu Americans in the United States, and most of them were of Indian or Indo-Caribbean origin. The Hindu American Foundation estimates that there were 1 million additional practicing Hindu Americans in 2013 who were not of Indian or Indo-Caribbean origin.

By 2011, there were 258 traditional Hindu temples in the United States, used by approximately 268,000 Hindu Americans. There were also 400 temples serving Hindu subtraditions, used by approximately 282,000. By 2011, there was at least one Hindu worship location in each U.S. state, mostly located in Indian American communities. This concentration is reflected in the fact that Hindu temples were only located in 13 percent of American counties in 2011. About one-third of all Hindu Americans live in concentrated groups in California, New Jersey, and New York.

In 2013, only around 8 percent of Hindu Americans were not proficient in English, which was lower than almost any other immigrant group in the United States. Only about 12 percent of Hindu Americans had not finished high school, and at least 64 percent had earned a college degree. At least 12 percent of Hindu Americans had earned an advanced degree, and some sources indicate that 48 percent do. These educational demographics place Hindu Americans far beyond any other demographic group in the United States for educational attainment. Hindu Americans also

enjoyed the highest rate of employment in highly skilled occupations.

Before the mid-20th century, Hindu Americans were isolated, and Hindu thought was rarely expressed as a part of public discourse. Those years saw mostly students, intellectual and religious visitors, and merchants in the United States. In the 19th century, translation of texts such as the Bhagavad Gita saw the introduction of Hinduism in the United States. Ralph Waldo Emerson hosted P. C. Mozoomdar, the first Indian teacher in the United States.

In 1893, Hindu leader Swami Vivekananda ventured to Chicago for the World's Parliament of Religions. This began a two-year lecture tour for the swami, during which time he also visited Boston, Detroit, and New York. Starting in 1902, the United States saw another two-year Hindu lecture tour, this time presented by Swami Rama Tirtha. His topic was the philosophy of Vedanta. In September 1907, intolerance and bigotry for Hindu Americans and Indian Americans raged into the Bellingham riots in Bellingham, Washington. The next major public showing of Hindu thought was not until 1920, when the International Congress of Religious Liberals featured Paramahansa Yogananda as the Indian delegate to the Boston event. The Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 stopped the growth of the Hindu American community.

In 1965, the Immigration and Nationality Services (INS) Act was passed. This was the first real chance for Hindu immigrants to come to the United States, bringing workers, families, and religious leaders. Many such Hindu religious leaders and teachers found an important place in the American counterculture of the 1960s, a radical movement springing from Hinduism that included groups such as the Swami Prabhupada's International Society for Krishna Consciousness. Other major Hindu thought leaders during this time included Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and Chinmoy.

Hindu Americans and their beliefs are gaining more visibility. In 2000, the prime minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, visited the United States. In honor of the visit, Venkatachalapathi Samudrala read a Sanskrit, Hindi, and English prayer before a joint session of the U.S. Congress. This prayer was supported by Sherrod Brown, congressman from Ohio. Brown also asked the House Chaplain of the U.S. Congress to invite the

Parma, Ohio, Hindu priest from the Shiva Vishnu Hindu Temple.

In 2007, another Hindu prayer came to Washington, D.C., this time to the U.S. Senate, courtesy of a Hindu priest from Nevada, Rajan Zed. Self-titled "Christian patriots," a couple and their daughter interrupted Zed twice, condemning him as "wicked." This episode eventually led to criticism of various candidates in the next election, based on their failure to defend Zed and the prayer or condemn the "Christian patriots."

President Barack Obama has celebrated Diwali in the White House since 2009, issuing a statement each year. The first year, in 2009, he lit a traditional Diwali lamp; the lamp symbolizes the triumph of light over darkness. In 2010, the First Lady danced with students celebrating Diwali. In 2011 and 2012, his message went out on YouTube, and he spoke at a Diwali event.

Many aspects of Hinduism have become mainstream in American culture. Examples of this are karma, reincarnation, and yoga; approximately 24 percent of Americans believe in reincarnation. Yoga is extremely popular all over the United States. Finally, especially with the acknowledgment of the president, Diwali has become a popular holiday among Americans.

Diwali, or the "festival of lights," is a five-day Hindu festival that always falls between mid-October and mid-November because of its placement on the Hindu lunar calendar. Diwali is an official state holiday in most major Hindu nations. For Hindus and many Hindu Americans, Diwali is one of the most important festivals of the year. Typically celebrated together by families, festivities often take place in the home. There are many regional and religious variations that impact the more specific meanings of Diwali for various Hindus, and this in turn will change the activities that accompany each celebration. It is common, however, to see candles and other light-related festivities for Diwali.

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See Also: Asian American Movement; Asian Americans; Caribbean Americans; Indian (Asian) Americans; Indonesian Americans; Presidency, U.S.; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Senate, U.S.

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Hip-Hop

The genre of hip-hop emerged in the 1970s in the South Bronx. It cannot be attributed to a particular individual, but music historians have cited that the socioeconomic problems of minority neighborhoods in the Bronx incited the youth to create outlets of expression. Initially, it was a way for the youth to have fun; later, it became a political and social tool that gave a voice to minority youth in the United States.

Hip-hop has generally been associated with African American youth and “blackness,” yet it has strong multiethnic influences. Aside from borrowing from African American and African cultural practices, hip-hop also benefited from Latino and Caribbean influences. The Bronx was, and still is, very diverse, and the shared, urban ghetto experience of immigrant and African American youth resulted in a collective group identity. This fostered the cultural appropriations so essential to the beginnings of hip-hop.

Hip-Hop Culture

Hip-hop refers to both the culture and the musical genre associated with that culture. It is important to make this distinction because hip-hop culture encompasses much more than rap music. The elements that comprise hip-hop culture are graffiti art, break dancing, DJ-ing, and MC-ing, better known as “rapping.” Graffiti art is made by drawing on or spraying aerosol cans on various public surfaces, such as the outside walls of

buildings. Though it has been criticized as being an obstruction to the beautification efforts of city government officials, it is generally considered mainstream now and has been celebrated in various art museums. Notably, one can find graffiti memorial art in various urban minority neighborhoods that commemorate deceased residents of that specific area. Break dancing is another visual art that reached prominence within the culture before branching out into the mainstream. It is an athletic form of dancing that borrows from martial arts forms. Today, “hip-hop dance” is seen as its own category and it differs in aesthetics from traditional break dancing. DJ-ing and MC-ing are the musical accompaniments to hip-hop dancing. DJ-ing is an example of the West Indian influence on the culture. Mobile disc jockey units were very popular in Jamaica, and Jamaican immigrants who settled in the Bronx brought this equipment with them. MC-ing, or “rapping,” is the stylistic lyricism that complements the DJ’s music. It heavily borrows from African oral traditions and the Puerto Rican genres *décima* and *plena*.

Hip-Hop as Music

The commercialization of hip-hop began in 1979 with the release of Sugar Hill Gang’s “Rapper’s Delight.” Not only did the song garner success but it also motivated other musicians to add rap



A dancer in San Francisco, California, shows off his b-boy skills to a crowd in 2007. B-boying, also called breaking, is one of the major elements of hip-hop culture. It borrows heavily from many other cultures, including 1930s-era street dancing.

to their music. When black hip-hop group Run D.M.C. collaborated with white rock group Aerosmith in 1986 for a remix of "Walk This Way," the media deemed it to be musically groundbreaking and a sonic testament to the breaking of racial barriers. It further proved that rap could have crossover appeal and be marketed to white audiences. White artists would continue to incorporate rap into their music, but the first white hip-hop group, the Beastie Boys, would release their first rap album in 1986 and subsequently become rap icons. Another notable white rapper is Eminem whose first single in 1999 was an immediate hit. He is currently one of the biggest-selling hip-hop artists of all time.

Hip-hop music has a social justice and political history as well. Many rappers have used the genre to shed light on the plights that faced their communities. Grandmaster Flash's 1982 song "The Message" epitomizes this function of the genre because it details the struggles of residents in urban, low-income neighborhoods. Throughout the history of the genre, rappers have drawn attention to police brutality, racism and prejudice, important black public figures, and the hopes and dreams of black youth, among other subjects.

The Future of Hip-Hop

Hip-hop music has become the face of the culture and is internationally known. Hip-hop culture, specifically the music, has not avoided criticism, however. Some black public figures have derided it for being a negative depiction of black American life and culture. The media and social justice groups have emphasized the sexism and homophobia that can be expressed in various hip-hop songs. Supporters of hip-hop respond to these claims by emphasizing the positive aspects of hip-hop, such as its ability to give voice to the underrepresented in society.

Artists outside the United States have also embraced hip-hop and some of them have used it to broaden the reach of their sociopolitical messages. The documentary *Slingshot Hip-Hop* documents the lives of Palestinian rappers who use hip-hop music to educate others about the conditions of their country and to bring together other young Palestinians. Many other examples exist in countries such as France, Israel, and England. Hip-hop is stereotypically seen as being

"black," but in reality, it crosses race and ethnicity while also being the platform for black youth to be heard.

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See Also: African Americans; Art and Ethnic Diversity; Caribbean Americans; Ghetto; Karaoke; Latinos; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Puerto Ricans; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity.

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Hispanic Americans

The 2010 U.S. Census counted 50.5 million Hispanic Americans, or Latinos, who comprise 16 percent of the total U.S. population. The federal government officially defines a person of "Hispanic or Latino" heritage as "a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race." A rapidly growing segment of American society, Hispanics/Latinos accounted for more than half of the total growth in the U.S. population between 2000 and 2010. In 2003, the Hispanic/Latino population surpassed that of African Americans. This population growth is attributed to current immigration patterns, a slightly higher

birthrate among Hispanics/Latinos than the overall U.S. population, and the relatively young median age of the Hispanic/Latino community.

A Diverse Population

Hispanics, or Latinos, do not constitute a singular, homogenous, or unified group; rather, these labels are umbrella terms that encompass 20 different ethnonational heritages from Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. These different ethnic populations each have their own unique migration and social histories, sociocultural dynamics and idiosyncrasies, and social identities, an important point that may be easily lost in mainstream media discourses that homogenize or conflate the diverse sociohistorical and contemporary experiences of Hispanic/Latino communities. Mexican Americans comprise the single-largest ethnic population, accounting for 63 percent of the total Hispanic/Latino population of the United States, followed by Puerto Ricans (9.2 percent) and Cuban Americans (3.5 percent). Persons of Dominican heritage represent 2.8 percent of the total, comprising the fourth-largest Hispanic/Latino population. Central Americans and South Americans, respectively, comprise 7.9 percent and 5.5 percent of the total Hispanic/Latino population.

The geographic distribution of Hispanic/Latino communities correlates strongly with specific ethnic origins. The vast majority of Mexican Americans live in the six southwestern states, whereas the majority of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans reside in New England and the mid-Atlantic region. Recently, however, sizable numbers of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans have settled in Florida. The overwhelming majority of Cuban Americans live in Florida, and to a lesser extent, other southern states. Central Americans, particularly Guatemalans and Salvadorans, are primarily concentrated in the southwest, while the majority of South American-origin Latinos disproportionately reside in the northeast. Despite traditional geographic residential patterns, however, the 2010 census documented that the midwest and the south experienced the sharpest increases in Hispanic/Latino population during the first decade of the 21st century.

Such geographic diversity has produced a plethora of distinct, regionally based cultural identities among various Hispanic/Latino communities. For

example, persons of Puerto Rican heritage born and raised in New York City may use the term *Nuyorican* to distinguish themselves from Puerto Ricans living on the island or in other regions of the United States. Many Mexican Americans living in Texas self-identify as Tejanos to express regional pride in being a Texan while also acknowledging their ethnic ancestry, while some Mexican Americans, particularly in California, may refer to themselves as Chicanos, a name that became popular during the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. Among Mexican immigrants, however, the term *Chicano* is often used specifically to distinguish an American-born citizen of Mexican ancestry from a Mexican national. Along similar lines, the label *Dominican York* distinguishes Dominicans who have been socialized and acculturated to life in New York City from their island counterparts.

Other manifestations of cultural diversity characterize the Hispanic/Latino population as well. For example, while the majority of Hispanics/Latinos are Roman Catholic in their religious affiliation, sizable numbers of members of Protestant denominations, particularly Pentecostals, Evangelicals, Baptists, and Jehovah's Witnesses, also exist. Additionally, some Caribbean-origin Latinos in the United States practice *santería*, a hybridized Afro-Latino religious tradition that blends elements of Catholicism with African animism. Furthermore, some Latinos practice Judaism and Islam, or hold no particular religious affiliation. Similarly, Hispanics/Latinos vary widely in linguistic proficiency, depending upon one's socialization, family history, and/or length of time in the United States. Many Latinos speak only English, while others exhibit varying degrees of bilingualism in both English and Spanish. In addition, some Latinos are fluent in Spanish with limited to little or no English proficiency.

Additionally, Hispanics/Latinos do not share a common skin color or phenotype. Non-Hispanic Americans are sometimes unaware of this important fact, as many lighter-complexioned or darker-complexioned Hispanics/Latinos claim to have been told that they allegedly "do not look Hispanic/Latino." However, a vast range in physical diversity exists throughout Latin America and, consequently, among U.S. Latinos. Some Hispanics/Latinos exhibit strong European features, with relatively light skin, blonde or red



Members of the South Central Farm protest for amnesty at the immigrant rights march in downtown Los Angeles, California, on May Day, 2006. The banner translates in English to "No human being is illegal." By the 1990s, Mexican immigrants had become key sources of labor in the U.S. agricultural, construction, and services sectors. Today, Mexico is the largest source of both legal and illegal immigration to the United States, and Hispanics or Latinos form the second-largest ethnic group in the United States.

hair, and blue or green eyes, while others display strongly African physical features with respect to hair texture and skin color. While many Latinos may display an intermediate complexion, dark hair, and dark eyes, this appearance is in no way reflective of the overall Hispanic/Latino population. The tremendous range in physical diversity among Hispanics/Latinos derives from extensive amalgamation that occurred during the colonial heritage of Latin America in the 16th and 17th centuries, whereby European (primarily male) colonizers, indigenous inhabitants, and Africans inter-mated on a scale that far exceeded that of the British and French colonies.

History of Hispanic/Latino Communities

Mexican Americans have been part of the U.S. population since the middle of the 19th century,

when the Texas Revolution (1836) and the U.S.-Mexican War (1846–48) profoundly shifted the borders of the two nations. Under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which officially ended the U.S.-Mexican War, Mexico ceded more than 50 percent of its territory to the United States. The annexed territory, located north of the Rio Grande, encompassed the present-day states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and parts of Wyoming. The number of Mexicans living in this region at the time of the cession is difficult to gauge precisely, but one such estimate by historians put the population of this newly acquired territory at the time at around 50,000 inhabitants. In any event, little migration occurred from Mexico to the United States during the remainder of the 18th century. By 1900, Mexican Americans numbered

approximately 150,000, with the largest ethnic communities residing in Texas.

Mexican immigration substantially increased during the early decades of the 20th century, resulting from a complex interplay of push and pull factors. The violence and sociopolitical upheavals stemming from the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) prompted hundreds of thousands of Mexican refugees to flee their homeland for a new life north of the border. At the same time, a series of immigration restrictions encouraged by various presidents and approved by the U.S. Congress, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), the Gentlemen's Agreement (1907), the National Origins Act (1921), and the Johnson-Reed Act (1924), sharply reduced the entry of immigrants from Asia and southern and eastern Europe. Fueled largely by Anglo-Saxon "racial" fears, the enactment of such policies particularly affected Italians, Jews, Poles, Hungarians, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, who constituted the largest immigrant groups at the time. Mexicans, however, remained exempt from the restrictive immigration legislation of the era, and employers in the southwest soon began recruiting Mexicans as a migrant labor force in the agriculture, railroad, and mining industries. Labor shortages during World War I further increased demand for workers from Mexico. By 1930, approximately 750,000 persons of Mexican descent lived in the United States, and around this time, California surpassed Texas as the state with the largest Mexican American population.

Although the U.S. government conducted large-scale deportation campaigns during the 1930s and again in the 1950s, each of which resulted in several hundreds of thousands of Mexican-origin persons being deported, high rates of Mexican immigration continued throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century. The Bracero program, implemented by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in June 1942 to alleviate massive labor shortages in various industries stemming from increased production demands to meet wartime needs, led to the influx of hundreds of thousands of Mexican migrant workers. By the 1990s, immigrant workers from Mexico had established themselves as key sources of labor in the nation's agricultural, construction, custodial, hotel, and restaurant services. Today, Mexico

is the largest source of both legal and illegal immigration to the United States, and Mexican Americans currently represent the third-largest ancestral group in the nation, behind German and Irish Americans.

The United States acquired the islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898, and the Jones Act of 1917 conferred American citizenship upon birth to all inhabitants of Puerto Rico. Consequently, Puerto Ricans are not immigrants but rather U.S. citizens. This significant fact is not widely known by many Americans, as illustrated by the comments issued by a prominent California State Assemblyman, who called for a crackdown on illegal immigration from Puerto Rico during the debate over Proposition 187 in 1994.

Like Mexicans, Puerto Ricans have been recruited as a labor force in certain industries throughout history. In the first decades of the 20th century, for example, sugar entrepreneurs in Hawai'i recruited workers from Puerto Rico to serve as sugarcane cutters; Puerto Ricans were regarded as a highly desirable workforce for this occupation because of their familiarity with a tropical climate and their experience with cutting sugarcane in their homeland. During the 1920s and 1930s, small numbers of Puerto Ricans settled in New York City's East Harlem and Red Hook districts, located in Manhattan and Brooklyn, respectively.

However, Puerto Ricans only began to relocate to the mainland United States in large numbers during and after World War II, facilitated by an increase in airline transportation from Puerto Rico to New York City, growing demand for Puerto Rican laborers on the U.S. mainland during the war, and Operation Bootstrap, by which the U.S. and local Puerto Rican governments encouraged residents of Puerto Rico to migrate to the U.S. mainland as a means of reducing overpopulation and overcrowding on the island. The largest Puerto Rican communities on the mainland during the 1940s and 1950s emerged in New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

During World War II, the Campbell's Soup Company, headquartered in Camden, New Jersey, heavily recruited Puerto Ricans to work in the tomato fields of south Jersey amid acute labor shortages. This recruitment led to the formation

of a sizable Puerto Rican population in Philadelphia, with the largest community taking root in the Spring Garden neighborhood of the city. Also during the 1940s, the establishment of a farm labor recruitment camp in Berks County, Pennsylvania, fostered the development of the first Puerto Rican communities in south central Pennsylvania's Reading, Allentown, Lancaster, York, and Gettysburg regions. However, the vast majority of newcomers from Puerto Rico settled in New York City, where men and women found employment in the local manufacturing, garment, and service sectors. East Harlem and the South Bronx quickly emerged as the largest and most socially and culturally influential Puerto Rican communities in the mainland United States. All told, nearly one-third of the island's total population relocated to the U.S. mainland between 1945 and 1970.

The large-scale entry of Cubans began in 1959 following Fidel Castro's overthrow of dictator Fulgencio Batista, upon which Castro implemented a communist regime in Cuba. Successive waves of Cubans sought refuge from Castro throughout the 1960s and 1970s, beginning with the former officials of the Batista administration, followed by the island's upper class and monied elites, and middle-class professionals. The U.S. government enthusiastically welcomed the Cubans amid the height of Cold War tensions and anti-Castro sentiments. The federal government generously assisted Cuban refugees with a host of benefits that no other migrant or refugee group in U.S. history has received, such as reimbursement for transportation expenses from Cuba to the United States and job recertification training.

The vast majority of Cubans settled in the Miami metropolitan region because of the area's proximity to Cuba, separated only by 90 miles of water. Whereas these early waves of refugees from Cuba consisted primarily of lighter-skinned or "white" professionals, approximately 125,000 additional Cubans—many of them working-class and darker-complexioned Afro-Cubans—entered the United States during the 1980 Mariel boatlift, prompting a backlash among a segment of southern Florida's non-Cuban population who resented the changing demographics and the growing Cuban social, cultural, and linguistic influence on Miami.

Large numbers of other immigrant and refugee groups from Latin America have entered the United States both legally and illegally since the late 1970s, particularly from the Dominican Republic and Central America. Although smaller numbers of Dominican migrants fled their Caribbean nation during the 1960s to escape political instability following the assassination of dictator Rafael Trujillo and the U.S. military's five-month occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965, the vast majority of Dominicans have migrated since the 1980s in search of better economic opportunities or to reunite with family members already living in the United States. Dominicans currently comprise the largest immigrant group to New York City.

More than 2 million Central American refugees fled civil war and political persecution in their homelands during the 1980s, including large numbers of Nicaraguans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans. Unlike the warm welcome extended to Cubans following Castro's takeover of Cuba, however, the United States denied political asylum to Central Americans, prompting large numbers to settle in the United States as undocumented aliens. Nicaraguans fled the left-wing Sandinista regime, while Guatemalans and Salvadorans escaped right-wing regimes that were each backed by the U.S. government. Most Nicaraguans settled in Florida, where the established Cuban American community provided moral support and eased the newcomers' social and cultural transition to life in the United States. The majority of Guatemalans and Salvadorans took up residence in Los Angeles, although some Guatemalans settled in Florida, and Salvadoran communities also emerged in Long Island and Washington, D.C. In fact, Salvadorans make up the single-largest Latino community within the nation's capital.

The Guatemalan migration of the 1980s also included an estimated 250,000 indigenous Mayans, descendants of the original inhabitants of the Mesoamerican highlands, who were disproportionately impacted by the Guatemalan civil war. The epic 1983 motion picture *El Norte*, directed by Chicano filmmaker Gregory Nava, highlights the trials and tribulations of a pair of Mayan siblings who attempt to flee their war-torn village and make it to Los Angeles, which they envision as a de facto promised land.

Often overlooked in discussions of the nation's growing Latino population, a significant number of immigrants from South America have made the United States their home since the 1970s. According to the 2010 census, the largest South American populations in the United States include Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Peruvians. More than half a million persons of Ecuadorian or Peruvian descent and slightly under 1 million of Colombian heritage are part of the American mosaic, as are approximately one-quarter of a million Argentines and Venezuelans. Nearly 80 percent of South American Latinos reside along the nation's eastern seaboard, with New York City, Miami, and Washington representing the largest communities.

Latino Influences on U.S. Society and Culture

The growth of Hispanic/Latino communities across the United States in recent decades has altered the demographic composition of many large cities and small towns alike, infusing a Hispanic vibe into local language, politics, and cultural life. Today, persons of Mexican descent account for the single-largest ancestral group in



Salsa dance instructors demonstrate some moves during the Fort McPherson and Fort Gillem Hispanic American Heritage Month celebration at Fort McPherson, Atlanta, Georgia, September 30, 2009. The celebration was designed to educate attendees about the many contributions made by Hispanic Americans.

Los Angeles, while Cuban Americans comprise the largest ethnic population of Miami. Puerto Ricans and Dominicans represent two of the largest ethnic groups of New York City; additionally, the Big Apple boasts sizable communities of Central and South Americans and a rapidly growing Mexican population. Chicago also features a large Mexican American population that dates back to the early 20th century when employers recruited Mexicans as laborers in the city's railroad industry. The Windy City is home to the second-largest Puerto Rican community on the mainland United States as well. The lively Puerto Rican Day parade has become one of the largest and most vibrant annual displays of ethnic pride and identity in New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia, with parades also occurring in smaller communities in New Jersey, Ohio, and Florida. A yearly Dominican Day Parade also takes place in New York City.

Throughout the southwest, the Mexican holiday Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) has emerged as a major public celebration, while the traditional Mexican holiday Cinco de Mayo (May 5), which commemorates a Mexican military victory over the French army during the Battle of Puebla in 1862, has attained such mainstream popularity and crossover appeal that it is now a popular festival among non-Mexican and non-Hispanic Americans. A minor historical footnote: Cinco de Mayo in the United States parallels St. Patrick's Day as a major public celebration of both ethnic pride and nonethnic partying.

The Hispanic/Latino influence on American political life has generated considerable media attention in recent local, state, and national elections. The nation's second-largest city, Los Angeles, elected Antonio Villaraigosa, a Mexican American, its first Latino mayor in more than 130 years in 2005, and Tomás Regalado, who fled Cuba during his teenage years, became mayor of Miami in 2010. Sonia Sotomayor, of Puerto Rican heritage, became the first Latina to serve as a U.S. Supreme Court justice when President Barack Obama appointed her to the high court in 2009. Several Hispanic/Latino candidates have been elected to the U.S. Senate in recent years, including Democrats Ken Salazar (Colorado) and Bob Menendez (New Jersey) and Republicans Mel Martinez (Florida) and Marco Rubio (Florida).

The increased power of the Hispanic/Latino vote, fueled by the growth of the Latino electorate, attracted much media spotlight during the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections. Two-thirds of Latino voters cast their ballots for Barack Obama in the 2008 election, enabling Obama to carry traditionally Republican states such as Florida, Colorado, Nevada, and New Mexico. During the 2012 campaign, Republican nominee Mitt Romney's low levels of support among Latino voters generated headlines.

Political scientists and partisan pundits have scrutinized the voting patterns and preferences of Hispanic/Latino voters and the standing of both major political parties with this voting bloc. Generally speaking, most Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Dominican Americans support the Democratic Party, while Cuban Americans have traditionally affiliated themselves with the Republican Party. Obvious exceptions exist, with many older and higher-income Hispanics/Latinos voting Republican, and many younger-generation Cuban Americans born and raised in the United States who have no recollection of pre-Castro life in Cuba supporting the Democratic Party. The staunch support among many Cuban Americans for the Republican Party, which dates to the 1960s, is attributed to the perceived betrayal of the Cuban exile community by the Kennedy administration, which failed to remove Castro from power, as well as the strong anticommunist positions of Republican presidents Richard M. Nixon and Ronald Reagan. Scholars also note that partisan affiliation often correlates with socioeconomic status, as members of the upper middle class customarily vote Republican. As a whole, Cuban Americans exhibit the highest levels of median income and per capita wealth of all Latino ethnic populations.

On the other hand, political scientists attribute the decline in support for the Republican Party among other Hispanic/Latino voters, particularly Mexican and Central Americans, to shrill rhetoric and draconian proposals calling for tighter immigration controls over the past two decades. In 1994, 59 percent of California voters approved Proposition 187, an anti-illegal immigration referendum that called for the denial of public education to undocumented immigrant children and encouraged citizens to report suspected "illegal

aliens" to law enforcement agencies. Although a federal judge blocked its implementation, the California Republican Party, along with Governor Pete Wilson and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, expressed strong support for the measure, while many Latinos, particularly the younger generation, perceived the referendum as a manifestation of anti-Latino resentment. Proposition 187 galvanized Latino voters in California, prompting large numbers to register with the Democratic Party, and since 1994, only one Republican candidate (Arnold Schwarzenegger) has won a statewide election in California.

The legacy of Proposition 187 looms large for the Republican Party, with several high-profile Republicans who espouse moderate views on immigration, such as President George W. Bush, former New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani, and former Florida governor Jeb Bush, concerned that measures such as Proposition 187 and Arizona's S.B. 1070 threaten to alienate the Latino electorate from the Republican Party for years to come. Mitt Romney's low support among Latinos has been attributed primarily to the staunch support he expressed for S.B. 1070 and his disapproval of the DREAM Act legislation during the 2012 Republican Party primaries.

Nevertheless, concern over the social and cultural impact of legal and illegal immigration from Latin America has emerged in many communities with growing Hispanic/Latino populations across the country. Perhaps no other issue raises more concern or outrage among non-Latinos than the presence of the Spanish language, which can be heard spoken in public almost as often as English in some local settings across the nation. In November 1980, voters in Miami-Dade County approved a referendum declaring English the official language in response to a large influx of Spanish-speaking Cubans. This referendum became the template for similar legislation in other cities and states throughout the 1980s and 1990s. California voters approved Proposition 227 in 1998, which attempted to end bilingual education for students with limited English proficiency. The U.S. Census Bureau estimated that more than 35 million U.S. residents spoke Spanish at home in 2009, and Spanish speakers comprise more than 60 percent of all non-English speakers in the country. However, approximately half of all Spanish speakers

were born in the United States, and the majority of Spanish speakers also indicated that they spoke fluent English, thus demonstrating bilingualism rather than Spanish-language displacement of English.

Nevertheless, 31 U.S. states have declared English as their official language. A Spanish-language rendition of “The Star-Spangled Banner,” released in spring 2006, generated intense anger and criticism among right-wing elected officials and pundits on talk radio and cable news outlets. However, the federal government of the United States has never declared an official language, despite repeated efforts among proponents of making English the official language to pass such legislation in Congress. As the nation’s Spanish-speaking population has increased, so too has the presence of Spanish-language media outlets. In addition to pioneering networks such as Univision, Telemundo, and Galavisión, mainstream American television outlets such as HBO, CNN, MTV, and ESPN now offer Spanish-language channels that market entertainment, news, music, and sports programming to Latino consumers.

The growth of the Latino population in recent years has also spurred numerous legislative proposals across the nation to enact tighter immigration controls. In 2006, the town of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, implemented a local ordinance requiring landlords to verify the citizenship or immigration status of their tenants before renting out their properties; a federal judge struck down the ordinance as unconstitutional in 2007. In 2010, Arizona passed S.B. 1070, which required all foreigners within the state to carry proof of immigration status on them when in public and to require law enforcement officers to check the immigration status of suspected illegal immigrants during routine stops. Critics of S.B. 1070 asserted that such policies would lead to racial profiling on the basis of one’s name, physical appearance, and/or linguistic features. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled most of S.B. 1070 unconstitutional in June 2012. Ironically, experts note that illegal immigration from Mexico and elsewhere has actually declined since 2007, due in large part to increased unemployment and the effects of the recent recession on the U.S. economy.

Concern over immigration and the impact of the rapidly growing Latino population on the

future of the nation has led to the publication of several books predicting doomsday scenarios for the United States in the coming years, such as Samuel Huntington’s *Who Are We? The Challenges to America’s National Identity*, Tom Tancredo’s *In Mortal Danger: The Battle for America’s Border and Security*, and Patrick J. Buchanan’s *Suicide of a Superpower: Will America Survive to 2025?* Sociologists and anthropologists discount such fears, however, pointing out that similar nativist concerns were previously directed toward German immigrants during the 18th century, Irish immigrants during the 19th century, and Italian immigrants during the 20th century.

Linguists point out that while immigrants may, in fact, struggle with the arduous task of learning a new language, the U.S.-born children and grandchildren of immigrants acquire English as part of their socialization process and exhibit rapid rates of Spanish language loss across generational lines. In short, the presence of Spanish in the United States is the result of a large, current influx of immigrants from Spanish-speaking societies, rather than an alleged reluctance on the part of U.S.-born Latinos to learn or speak English. All major immigrant groups to the United States throughout the nation’s history have undergone a multigenerational period of linguistic, social, and cultural transition before becoming thoroughly incorporated into the fabric of American economic and political life.

Nevertheless, Hispanics/Latinos have achieved a high degree of visibility in American pop culture over the past two decades. During the media-dubbed “Latin Explosion” of the late 1990s, several Hispanic/Latino celebrities emerged as mainstream stars in movies, music, and sports, such as actors Antonio Banderas and Benicio del Toro; actresses Jennifer Lopez, Salma Hayek, and Cameron Diaz; recording artists Ricky Martin, Marc Anthony, Enrique Iglesias, Fat Joe, and Big Punisher; comedians John Leguizamo, George Lopez, and Carlos Mencia; and professional athletes Oscar de la Hoya, Sammy Sosa, and Alex Rodriguez.

These luminaries have been joined in more recent years by a new generation of celebrities, including recording artists Selena Gomez, Demi Lovato, Pitbull, and Daddy Yankee; actresses Eva Longoria, Eva Mendes, and Michelle Rodriguez; and NFL

quarterback Mark Sanchez, further illustrating the growing influence of Hispanics/Latinos on the pop culture of the United States. The number of Latino figures in American politics and the arts and entertainment will only increase exponentially in the coming decades, as Latinos comprise one of the fastest-growing segments of the U.S. population.

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See Also: Amnesty; Caló; Congressional Hispanic Caucus; Congressional Hispanic Conference; Cuban Americans; Día de los Reyes Magos; Dominican Americans; Estadounidismos; GobiernoUSA.gov; Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, U.S.; Hispanic-Serving Institutions; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Latinos; Mariel Boatlift; Mexican Americans; Migrant Workers; National Hispanic Media Coalition; Penitentes; Puerto Ricans; Quinceañera; Salvadoran Americans; Santería; Spanglish; Tejanos; Telemundo; Univision.

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Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, U.S.

Hispanic-owned small businesses are growing faster than any other in the United States. Hispanic communities have continuously sought support in the development of business relationships and partnerships. In 1979, the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce (USHCC) was created as a national organization led by Hispanic leaders who dedicated themselves to the support of Hispanic communities. The USHCC was established in New Mexico. Its aim was to provide Hispanic communities with business networks, cohesion, and strength by promoting the economic growth and development of Hispanic entrepreneurs.

For the past 30 years, the USHCC has advocated for almost three million Hispanic-owned businesses while implementing its mission. The organization believes that Hispanic economic development serves to create sustainable prosperity for the benefit of American society. The USHCC consists of chamber members, corporate partners, and Hispanic business enterprises who are expected to effectively communicate the needs and potential of the Hispanic community while exemplifying the group's mission in their own daily lives.

The organization advocates for businesses in both private and public sectors by implementing and strengthening national programs that assist the economic development of Hispanic companies; increasing business relationships and partnerships between the corporate sector and Hispanic-owned businesses; promoting international trade between Hispanic businesses in the United States and Latin America; monitoring legislation, policies, and programs that affect the Hispanic business community; and providing technical assistance to Hispanic business associations and entrepreneurs.

Umbrella Organization

The USHCC serves as an umbrella organization for over 200 local Hispanic chambers of commerce and businesses across the United States. Local Hispanic chambers represent the interests of over three million Hispanic-owned businesses throughout the United States. Some of these chambers are relatively new organizations, while others have long been established.

USHCC provides basic resources to assist members attain business certifications by meeting simple government requirements. In addition, USHCC has developed a program in collaboration with the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce Foundation designed to provide small businesses with the tools they need to succeed.

The USHCC Foundation is dedicated to providing Hispanics with educational opportunities that will nurture their entrepreneurial spirits. In 2010, the USHCC Foundation collaborated with the University of Notre Dame's Mendoza College of Business to provide support in order to foster the prosperity of Hispanic-owned businesses in Hispanic communities. Both organizations are committed to ensuring that aspiring Hispanic entrepreneurs gain access to and achieve success in the business world.

In 1993, the USHCC and USHCC Foundation established a Chamber Training Institute. The institute's goal is to provide training targeting those Hispanic communities in which opportunities to achieve success in business are not readily available. Training is offered at hub locations throughout the United States. Additional resources provided by USHCC include conducting surveys and research to help chambers identify best practices, facilitating certification processes, and business-to-business matchmaking for Hispanic businesses.

Although a great deal of attention has been paid to the growing population of Hispanics in the United States, there still seems to be a gap in the knowledge of Hispanic small business owners across the country. As a result, this creates barriers for Hispanic-owned small businesses and Hispanic entrepreneurs to attain success. With Hispanics being the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States, the USHCC has closely examined the changes in the Hispanic community since its inception and has continually responded to these changes.

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See Also: Congressional Hispanic Conference; Ethnic Studies; GobiernoUSA.gov; Hispanic Americans; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); House of

Representatives, U.S.; Minority Business Development Agency; Senate, U.S.

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Hispanic-Serving Institutions

The idea of Hispanic-serving institutions surfaced in the 1980s, when educational law and policy makers from all levels (local, state, and federal) recognized that few institutions enrolled large numbers of Hispanic/Latino students. The U.S. Department of Education, under Title V of the Higher Education Act, defines a Hispanic-serving institution (HSI) as an institution that is (1) an eligible institution and (2) has an enrollment of undergraduate full-time equivalent students that is at least 25 percent Hispanic at the end of the award year preceding the date of application. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) adds an additional criterion to the definition of HSI. It specifies that HSIs provide assurances that not less than 50 percent of the institutions' Hispanic students are low-income individuals.

The mission of HSIs was not explicitly to serve the large numbers of educationally

disenfranchised Hispanic students; instead, numbers and demographic data define these institutions. Over half (53 percent) of Hispanic/Latino graduates were enrolled in HSIs in 2010 and 2011.

Integral to the definition of HSI is the definition of Hispanic. NCES defines a person of Hispanic/Latino race or ethnicity as a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race. If an individual is considered biracial, with one race or ethnicity category as Hispanic, he or she is assigned to the Hispanic/Latino category. For example, if a respondent self-identifies as Hispanic/Latino and also as Asian, black, or African American, this respondent is reported only in the Hispanic/Latino category.

As of September 2012, the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU), established in 1986, reported 240 member HSIs. For HACU's membership purposes, Hispanic-serving institutions are defined as colleges, universities, or systems/districts in which total Hispanic enrollment constitutes a minimum of 25 percent of the total enrollment. "Total enrollment" includes full-time and part-time students at the undergraduate or graduate level (including professional schools) of the institution, or both (head count of for-credit students). Currently, there is no list provided by the U.S. Department of Education or federal government of official HSIs.

HSIs are primarily found in the southwest United States; 75 percent of HSIs are located in three states and Puerto Rico. California has 98 HSIs, Puerto Rico and Texas each have 56, and New Mexico has 23. HSIs serve over 1 million Hispanic students yearly.

White House Initiatives

According to the U.S. Department of Education, the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans was established in September 1990 by President George H. W. Bush to provide advice and guidance to the secretary of education on education issues related to Hispanics, and to address academic excellence and opportunities for the Hispanic community. Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, under Executive Orders 12900 and 13320, respectively, continued the initiative.

President Barack Obama's administration has embraced the Hispanic education endeavor, and Obama has communicated his dedication to this issue through continuation of the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans. The president's commitment to the initiative was illustrated by the issuance of Executive Order 13555 on Hispanic Higher Education and the establishment of a presidential commission that will work with community leaders to glean advice on issues important to the critical role of Hispanic Americans. As part of Obama's executive order, his administration has emphasized the importance of direct work with local communities serving Hispanic youths, development and implementation of policy designed to impact Hispanic communities, and an exchange of resources that addresses the sociocultural aspects of the lives of Hispanic Americans in the United States. Specifically, Obama prioritized the following three new elements:

1. Working directly with communities nationwide in public-private partnerships, linking together key individuals and organizations from within and outside the education system to increase capacity and announce community-wide education initiatives
2. Establishing a presidential advisory commission and national network of community leaders that will provide real-time input and advice on the development, implementation, and coordination of education policy and programs that impact the Hispanic community
3. Forming a federal interagency working group to exchange resources and address issues impacting the lives of Hispanics nationwide, including housing, health, finance, employment, and education, among others

In September 2012, Obama declared September 16 to 22, 2012, National Hispanic-Serving Institutions Week.

The president's executive order focuses on increasing the college-degree attainment of Hispanic students. This is imperative because of the fact that higher education attainment for

Hispanics is lower than any other group, as only 19 percent of Hispanic adults have earned an associate degree or higher; and the Hispanic/Latino population is rapidly growing and by 2020 will represent over 20 percent of the 18-to-64-year-old U.S. population and nearly 25 percent of the 18-to-29-year-old U.S. population. This projected increase in the Hispanic population is supported by the U.S. Census Bureau's information on the growing Hispanic population.

The U.S. Census Bureau released a 2010 Census Brief on the nation's Hispanic population. This brief details the substantial growth of the Hispanic population and offers important trend data. The brief shows that the Hispanic population increased by 15.2 million between 2000 and 2010 and accounted for more than half of the total U.S. population increase of 27.3 million. Between 2000 and 2010, the Hispanic population grew by 43 percent, or four times the nation's 9.7 percent growth rate.

Social Justice Perspective

Approaching HSIs from a social justice perspective, it is important to understand the difference between representational and pluralistic diversity. Representational diversity focuses on having different groups (whether racial or ethnic, by gender, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, etc.) represented in different areas of university/institution life, including but not limited to leadership, departments, programs, policy, student life, and academics. From a social justice perspective, it is arguable that in light of participation, representational diversity can be operationalized as a problem, as it is aimed at gathering, or collecting, numbers of people as opposed to integrating diverse Hispanic participation for systemic and paradigmatic change.

Pluralistic diversity, especially at an HSI, is imperative. The tenets for pluralistic diversity are (1) inclusion of diverse representation in the various facets of the university/institution, (2) diversity is nurtured and engaged, (3) the university/institution works toward creating a community of belonging, (4) participation is democratic and deliberative, and (5) each individual is a stakeholder in the success of the university/institution. The benefit of pluralistic diversity at an HSI is that it champions diversity from an integrative

and mission-based focus, so that the university/institution can transform, progress, innovate, and thoughtfully engage each of the necessary constituents at the HSI. Moreover, pluralistic diversity serves the public interest. As all 240 members of HACU are public universities, it is important to serve the public through this type of reciprocal relationship.

Hispanic "Collecting" Institutions

A controversial idea comes from theorizing the intersection of HSIs and social justice. If little empirical research continues to exist regarding the successes and barriers of HSIs for Hispanic students, and the definition is based on numerical data and "body count" as opposed to mission-driven imperatives, how can the public be assured that HSIs are actually "serving" and not simply "collecting" Hispanic students? This problem is exacerbated by the obtuse definitions and outcomes of multiple-race reporting, and subsequent confusing categorization. Again, according to the NCES, if a student self-reports as Asian and Hispanic (a biracial ethnic identity), that student for fiscal purposes will be designated in the Hispanic/Latino racial/ethnic category.

The financially manufactured definition of HSI's is evolving and changing with student enrollment, demographic data, racial categorization, and socioeconomic patterns. Thus, it is important to problematize whether the institution is simply "collecting" numbers of Hispanic bodies for representational diversity or actually embracing the institutional identity and working toward pluralistic diversity.

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See Also: Category Controversies (Essay); Diversity and Inclusion; Educational Achievement; Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Higher Education; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); Pluralism; Presidency, U.S.

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Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) are a diverse group of 105 institutions. The enrollments vary from several hundred students to over 10,000 students. Prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, 90 percent of African American postsecondary students were enrolled in HBCUs. The competition that HBCUs currently face in attracting and educating African American and other students presents both challenges and opportunities. Despite the fact that numerous studies have found that HBCUs are more effective at retaining and graduating African American students than predominantly white colleges, HBCUs have serious detractors. Perhaps because of the increasing pressures on state governments to ensure that public HBCUs receive comparable funding and provide

programs that will attract a broader student population, several public HBCUs no longer serve primarily African American students.

Historically black colleges and universities represent the roots of black participation in American higher education. Early efforts to provide higher education for blacks began in the north. In 1837, a Quaker philanthropist founded the Institute for Colored Youth (now Cheyney University) as a teacher training facility in Pennsylvania. Wilberforce College was founded in Ohio in 1856. Lincoln University was founded in Pennsylvania in 1854 as the Ashmun Institute and renamed in honor of President Abraham Lincoln in 1866. In addition, some African Americans were permitted to attend white colleges in northern states in small numbers. The activities of missionary and benevolent societies at the outbreak of the Civil War led to the founding of black colleges in the south.

The American Missionary Association (AMA) alone was responsible for founding seven black colleges and 13 normal schools between 1861 and 1870. The federal agency known as the Freedmen's Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands also was instrumental in educating ex-slaves. Notably, Howard University, named for the commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, was established on land owned by the bureau in Washington, D.C. During this early period, the term *college* was misleading. An examination of the curriculum reveals that the institutions were teaching elementary and secondary skill training and remediation to students who had little or no rudimentary education.

Decisions at Capon Springs

In 1898, a conference on the state and direction of black higher education was held at Capon Springs, Virginia. Attended by influential northern and southern educators, philanthropists, clergy, and industrialists, it began to chart the course of a separate system of education for blacks and whites in the south. Hampton Institute, founded in 1868 with the help of the AMA, was held up as a model for its commitment to industrial education. Founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881, Tuskegee Institute joined Hampton to exemplify the Hampton-Tuskegee industrial education model.

In addition to the Capon Springs conference, philanthropic foundations such as the General

Education Board, the Peabody Fund, the Slater Foundation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund worked in concert to define “black education” as industrial education pursued in a segregated setting. Government funding came from the Morrill Act of 1890, which extended the opportunity to southern states to found colleges for blacks and whites based upon the industrial model. The goal was to increase the nation’s productivity in agriculture and farm goods and to educate an essentially rural population. This affected the funding of private black colleges (either secular or denominational). The Morrill Act of 1862 had given support to Hampton because there were no public colleges in Virginia during or immediately after the Civil War. With the founding of Virginia State College for Negroes in 1882, however, the funds went to a public university versus a private school (Hampton). Black private and public colleges established before 1890 now competed with institutions backed by white money, political support, and federal funds.

Debate Over the Curriculum

Before 1890, the goals set for black education included cleanliness, character-building, Christian faith, and instruction in both liberal and industrial (manual arts) subjects. In the debate over the curriculum, however, black leader and ex-slave Booker T. Washington advocated vocational training for the black masses. W. E. B. Du Bois, a free black who grew up in the north, advocated the development of a “talented tenth” to lead, teach, and exemplify the black race. Whereas Washington wanted to prepare blacks to survive in the south, Du Bois’s view was more global and based upon the acquisition of civil and political rights. Du Bois’s ideas were considered too radical for the status quo and the industrial model prevailed.

While missionaries had often favored a classical liberal education, the general consensus was to limit black education to vocational training in the late 1890s. The proponents, largely white northern philanthropists and southerners, thought that blacks could help rebuild the south by industrial training and become socialized to their place on the lower rung of the new southern social order. This was codified by the

ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), in which the U.S. Supreme Court established the right to set up separate public institutions for blacks and whites. The argument over the curriculum was less clear-cut to college administrators, however. In the first place, there was concern over the meaning of industrial education. In addition, students, some black leaders, and even white northern philanthropists preferred the liberal arts model offered at private, missionary-founded colleges. Some colleges, in fact, offered a blended curriculum in order to attract financial support. Black education was debated as being necessary for black leadership and professional (teaching, legal, medical, etc.) training versus a means for the masses to be able to sustain themselves in an industrial society.

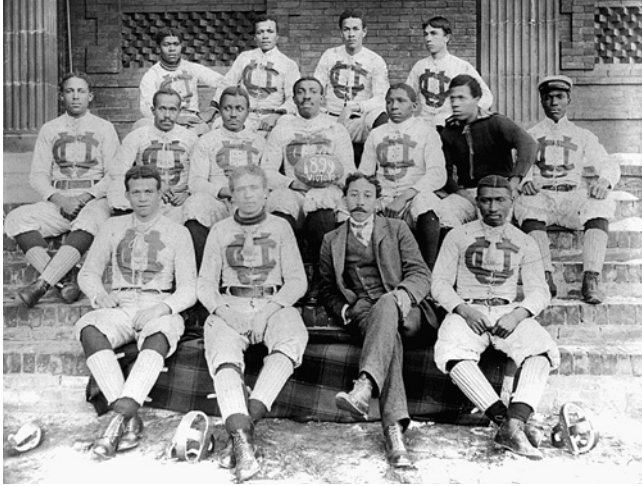
Surveys of Black Education

Between 1900 and 1954, seven major surveys were conducted to assess the quality and variety of education offered by black colleges. One survey was sponsored by a large foundation, two by a research component of Atlanta University, and four by the U.S. Office of Education. Du Bois undertook two surveys of black education from 1890 to 1910 as part of the annual Conference for the Study of Negro Problems held at Atlanta University. The first surveyed 34 institutions while the second ranked a sample of black colleges according to curricula and the number of students enrolled.

The 1932 Survey of Negro Education by the Phelps-Stokes Fund made seven far-reaching recommendations in regard to funding; strengthening industrial and agricultural training and teacher training; deemphasizing liberal arts; eliminating some private black institutions; coordination among colleges, church boards, and foundations; and closer associations between white educators and government officials. The surveys generally criticized the duplication of black colleges as being inefficient and straining scarce resources that could go to the strongest institutions. But they also spurred interest in institutional accreditation.

Influential Government Surveys

The following reports describe the more influential government surveys and findings:



Two examples show how historically black colleges and universities have withstood the test of time: The football team in 1899 at Claflin University (left), which was founded in Orangeburg, South Carolina, in 1869 by Methodist missionaries to prepare freed slaves to become full American citizens. Today it is a liberal arts and sciences institution with an enrollment of about 1,800 students. On February 11, 2009, First Lady Michelle Obama visits Howard University (right), which was founded in 1867 as a “university for the education of youth in the liberal arts and sciences.” The Freedmen’s Bureau provided most of the early financial support.

- *Negro Education—A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (1920)*: Conducted by Thomas Jesse Jones, it was controversial for its recommendations regarding student living conditions and activities; changes in finance, accounting, administration, and governance; improving personnel; and modifying the curriculum. It encouraged teacher preparation and agricultural and mechanical training.
- *Bureau of Education’s Report on Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges, 1917 to 1918*: A survey of the course offerings and number of students enrolled in A & M (agricultural and mechanical) institutions.
- *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities by Arthur J. Klein (1928)*: Similar to the Jones report, it included the same institutions and made largely the same recommendations.
- *National Survey of Higher Education of Negroes (1942) by the Office of Education, Federal Security Agency*: Requested by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, the findings revealed that these schools ranked low in quality, general education, advanced

education, and professional and technical education.

The Klein study is illustrative of the reports and surveys of black colleges during this period. It included 79 black colleges and universities. It arranged them into the following categories according to government: (1) colleges and universities owned, governed, and controlled by independent boards of trustees and privately supported; (2) colleges and universities under the ownership and control of northern white denominational church boards and privately supported; (3) privately supported colleges owned and governed by black-denomination church organizations or conferences; and (4) publicly supported institutions under state ownership and control, including land-grant colleges and normal and teacher training institutions. Examples of institutions in the first category are some of the best-known historically black institutions, such as Tuskegee, Howard University, and Fisk University. These colleges were founded largely by benevolent societies and philanthropists after emancipation. While the instructional programs at Hampton and Tuskegee were practical in nature, other institutions such as Howard and Fisk offered liberal arts and professional curricula in medicine and law.

In the second category, a number of privately supported colleges and universities were under the control and ownership of northern white denominational boards. Eleven colleges were controlled by the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, including Philander Smith College (Little Rock, Arkansas), Rust College (Holly Springs, Mississippi), and Bennett College (Greensboro, North Carolina). Six colleges were controlled by the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS), including Morehouse College (Atlanta, Georgia) and Shaw University (Raleigh, North Carolina). Six were controlled by the American Missionary Association, including Straight College in New Orleans and Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, Mississippi. Two were controlled by the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Barber College of Women in Anniston, Alabama, and Johnson C. Smith in Charlotte, North Carolina). Knoxville College (Knoxville Tennessee) was controlled by the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. The United Christian Missionary Society (Disciples of Christ) controlled Southern Christian Institute (Edwards, Mississippi) and Jarvis Christian Institute (Hawkins, Texas). The American Church Institute for Negroes of Protestant Episcopal Church controlled St. Paul Normal and Industrial School (Lawrenceville, Virginia) and St. Augustine's School in Raleigh, North Carolina. Finally, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament of Pennsylvania (Catholic) controlled Xavier College, in New Orleans. These colleges initially stressed instruction in the liberal arts and sciences, theological and religious training, and eventually teacher training and preprofessional studies, home economics, nursing, and social services.

In the third category, the private colleges owned and governed by black denominational church organizations or conferences were founded during 1870–90, which was the beginning of efforts by blacks themselves, either independently or in conjunction with other groups, to establish and administer their own colleges. With the exception of Wilberforce, which was located in the north and operated by whites, there were seven colleges that were owned, administered, and financed by blacks and whose teaching forces were comprised entirely of blacks. Some representatives are Morris

Brown University (Atlanta, Georgia), Lane College (Jackson, Tennessee), and Paul Quinn College (Waco, Texas). The governing boards tended to be large, since each church district was entitled to representation on the board of trustees. The executive committees consisted almost entirely of clergymen. From the beginning, these institutions emphasized a classical liberal arts curriculum and theological training. As the emphasis on the latter began to wane in the early 1900s, more attention was focused on preprofessional studies and teacher training. Eleven of the 17 schools were administered by the African Methodist Episcopal Church through its state conference; five by the Colored Baptist Church; and one jointly by the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and white Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In the fourth category, the period from 1890 to 1920 marked a rapid growth of state normal schools, teachers' colleges, and other institutions with strong teacher training objectives. The land-grant institutions were governed by relatively small (four to 12 member) boards of trustees appointed either by the governor of the state or elected by state legislatures. In most cases, the boards involved leading white citizens of the states and prominent members of the communities in which the colleges were located. Fifteen of the 17 black land-grant colleges in the United States and seven state normal and teacher training institutions participated in the Klein survey. Two (State Agricultural and Mechanical Institute for Negroes of Alabama and State Industrial College of Kentucky) did not participate. Examples of the publicly supported and controlled black institutions include Winston-Salem Teachers College (North Carolina), Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, (Prairie View, Texas), and Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College in Alcorn, Mississippi.

Effects of *Brown v. Board of Education*

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) declared that racial segregation in public schools deprived black students of equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Reversing *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), it stated "in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place." Although blacks generally accepted the *Brown* decision, some educators

worried that services designed specifically for black students would disappear and existing patterns of discrimination could be perpetuated under the guise of equality. But despite the concerns of black educators and officials, there were also immediate benefits for the black colleges as a result of the decision. Funding for physical improvements became available and many black colleges initiated building programs despite the strong possibility that funding may have been intended, at least in the case of state funding, to prevent implementation of the new desegregation order. College enrollments also grew as a result of the increased financial aid for students.

Civil Rights Activity

Students in the black colleges were an important force in the civil rights activity of the early 1960s. In February 1960, four black college students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University sat down at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, and refused to leave until they were served. This sit-in was the first highly publicized direct action in which college students participated. Direct-action protests exploded across the south after the Greensboro sit-in. Public policy officials responded in two ways to the civil rights protests and the black power demands for equality. One response was a renewed attempt to achieve a more precise and comprehensive definition of the policy of desegregation through judicial and legislative channels. Another was to extend funding programs aimed at correcting past practices of discrimination against the black colleges, such as through Title III of the Higher Education Amendments of 1968.

Current Issues

According to the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, there are currently 105 institutions that award 11 percent of degrees earned by African American students.

A recent article in *Diverse* magazine listed five threats facing HBCUs and five opportunities that could define their future. Threats include the following: (1) the lack of funding and development. As state legislatures try to contain costs, there are efforts to merge institutions to cut costs. Endowments and low giving by alumni are concerns as well; (2) low graduation rates and the number of

students who take six years to graduate; (3) new competition, especially from for-profit and online institutions that enroll a majority of minority students; (4) a conservative and constricting campus culture that continues the tradition of paternalism; and (5) incidents of insolvency and loss of accreditation that erode morale and enrollment as white critics question the relevance of HBCUs in a desegregated society. Opportunities include the following: (1) black campuses provide a safe and supportive environment where students are not an underrepresented minority; (2) HBCUs have the opportunity to be a research haven for the root causes of racial disparities; (3) the institutions could expand specialty programs, thus becoming the source for in-demand talent such as science technology, engineering, mathematics, and teacher education; (4) the institutions could reach out to other underserved students such as Hispanics; and (5) HBCUs could have a more global influence by linking to the African diaspora.

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See Also: African Americans; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Educational Achievement; Freedmen's Bureau; Freedom Schools; Higher Education; United Negro College Fund.

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History/Heritage Months

Ever since its colonial period, the United States has been a nation comprised of many distinct

ethnic, religious, and cultural groups. Although the enslavement of Africans and the subjugation of American Indians tainted the original optimism and commitment to freedoms enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, the United States has long boasted a reputation as a nation of immigrants, while its governing document ensured Americans the right to religious liberty. Approximately 450,000 enslaved Africans were brought to the United States, and more than 60 million immigrants have entered the nation from around the globe over the course of the nation's history, making the United States one of the world's most ethnically and culturally pluralistic societies.

The first 175 years of the nation's history were marked by a strong ideology toward assimilation, whereby immigrant and ethnic minority groups moving to U.S. shores faced intense public pressure to shed their respective cultural identities and heritages as quickly as possible in order to adopt those of the larger Anglo-Saxon society. Sometimes termed "Anglo-conformity" by sociologists, this assimilation-based paradigm began to shift following the success of the civil rights movement during the 1960s and early 1970s. By the mid-1970s, the United States began to embrace its multiethnic roots and pluralistic nature much more readily. This gave rise to multiculturalism, a social philosophy that views pluralism positively as a source of enrichment and strength. Under multiculturalism, individuals are encouraged to take pride in both their common identity as Americans while also retaining a sense of identification and pride in their distinct, respective ethnic heritage(s).

The shift toward a multicultural American society has produced efforts to raise awareness of the important historical and contemporary contributions that various immigrant, ethnic, and religious groups have made to the nation, such as the accomplishments that distinct groups have made to the U.S. military; the American political process; American literature and popular culture; and to the U.S. economy, education, and science/technology. The drive to raise public awareness of the accomplishments and contributions of ethnic minority groups has led to the implementation of various ethnic studies courses as part of the general education curriculum at many colleges

and universities across the nation, along with the designation of several ethnic history and heritage months in commemoration of America's pluralistic nature. Major history/heritage months include Black History Month, Hispanic Heritage Month, Native American Heritage Month, Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month, and Jewish American Heritage Month.

These designations have been established by the federal government and are annually reissued via presidential proclamation, with strong encouragement of states and local municipalities to pay homage to the respective heritages during the corresponding time of the year. History/heritage months are celebrated in various manners, including teachers giving lessons to students on ethnic history and literature, the highlighting of specific works of art in museums and books in libraries, or the airing of movies and documentaries chronicling an ethnic heritage on television.

Black History Month (February)

Arguably the best-known ethnic heritage month is Black History Month, which is celebrated in February. The annual recognition of African American history and contributions to the nation began as Negro History Week in 1926, which was initiated by historian Carter G. Woodson to address the widespread absence of black historical experiences from the mainstream canon of U.S. history. Woodson was particularly disturbed by the content of the popular film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), which depicted black men as savage and lustful of white women, while also glorifying the Ku Klux Klan. The son of former slaves, Woodson became the second African American (after W. E. B. Du Bois) to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1912. He founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 and began publishing *The Journal of Negro History* in 1917.

In 1926, Woodson promoted the idea of a Negro History Week to be held during the second week of February. Two central figures in African American history, abolitionist Frederick Douglass (February 17) and President Abraham Lincoln (February 12) have birthdays in mid-February, which served as Woodson's basis to designate this week in commemoration of black history. Although not officially recognized by the

federal government until the 1970s, Negro History Week quickly became popular among African Americans and progressive whites across the country. The ASNLH provided black and white educators with posters, lesson plans, and other teaching materials to be used in the classroom. By the height of the civil rights movement in the early 1960s, several mayors nationwide recognized the week.

In 1976, Negro History Week was expanded into Black History Month by the ASNLH, which the federal government now officially recognized through President Gerald Ford's message on observance that year. Ford declared the following:

In the bicentennial year of our independence, we can review with admiration the impressive contributions of black Americans to our national life and culture . . . Freedom and the recognition of individual rights are what our Revolution was all about. . . Yet it took many years before these ideals became a reality for black citizens . . . I urge my fellow citizens to join me in tribute to Black History Month and to the message of courage and perseverance it brings to all of us.

Today, Black History Month is also celebrated in Canada and the United Kingdom, two nations with significant Afro-Caribbean populations. In the United States, the federal government designates an official, specific theme annually for Black History Month. Recent themes have included "Carter G. Woodson and the Origins of Multiculturalism" (2007), "African Americans and the Civil War" (2011), and "Black Women in American Culture and History" (2012).

Irish American Heritage Month (March)

The world's first Saint Patrick's Day Parade took place in New York City on March 17, 1762, showcasing Irish soldiers who were serving in the English army. However, the large influx of Irish Catholics to the United States did not occur until the middle of the 19th century. Initially confronted with intense nativism, stemming largely from their Roman Catholic religious heritage in an overwhelmingly Protestant society, Irish Americans played significant roles in the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846–1848 and the Civil War of

1861–1865, as well as the westward expansion of the nation.

President George H. W. Bush issued the first proclamation of Irish American Heritage Month in 1991, and Congress officially declared March as "National Irish American Heritage Month" in 1995. The selection of March corresponds with Saint Patrick's Day, a national holiday in Ireland commemorating the death of Saint Patrick, the Irish patron saint who introduced Christianity to the sons and daughters of Eire. Saint Patrick's Day is arguably the biggest ethnic holiday in the United States today, highlighted by the wearing of green and an annual parade along Fifth Avenue in New York City that features more than 150,000 participants and 2 million spectators. Upon proclaiming March as National Irish American Heritage Month in 2007, President George W. Bush commented as follows:

Since our founding, Irish immigrants have come to America's shores in search of better lives. Today, millions of American citizens are of Irish descent, and they and their forbears have helped shaped our way of life, strengthened our economy, contributed to the arts, and protected our Nation. Irish Americans have shown their devotion to our country by serving in our Armed Forces. America is especially grateful to these brave men and women for the sacrifices that have helped preserve the ideals of our country and made the world a safer place.

Asian/Pacific Islander Heritage Month (May)

The origins of Asian/Pacific Islander Heritage Month date to the mid-1970s when Jeanie F. Jew, a Congressional staffer and board member of the Organization of Chinese Americans, sought to establish a week in commemoration of the contributions of Asian/Pacific Americans to the United States. Jew was displeased that the 1976 bicentennial celebration of the nation's immigrant and ethnic diversity largely overlooked persons with heritage from Asia and the Pacific Rim. Her efforts to found a week of recognition for Asian/Pacific Americans were also driven by her personal desire to commemorate her great-grandfather, who helped build the transcontinental railroad. Jew found a supporter for her cause in Frank Moy, an administrative assistant to

Republican Congressman Frank Horton of New York.

In June 1977, Horton and Democratic Congressman Norman Mineta of California introduced H.J.R. 540. This House resolution called for the first 10 days of May to be declared Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week. Mineta, the son of Japanese immigrants, was interned during World War II and is the first Japanese American on the U.S. mainland to be elected mayor of a metropolis (San Jose, California) and to win election to the U.S. Congress. Mineta also played a significant role in the passage of the 1988 Civil Liberties Act, which issued a formal government apology to Japanese Americans for their forced relocation under Executive Order 9066 and provided \$20,000 compensation to persons who had been interned during World War II.

In July 1977, Hawai'i's duo of Democratic senators, Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga, both of Japanese American heritage, introduced S.J.R. 72. This legislation likewise called for the first 10 days of May to be designated Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week. The first 10 days of May were selected because of the historical significance of these dates for the nation's two oldest Asian American communities. The first record of Japanese immigrants to the United States occurred on May 7, 1843, and the transcontinental railroad—built with the labor of large numbers of Chinese immigrants in the western states—was completed on May 10, 1869. President Jimmy Carter signed the congressional resolution into law on October 5, 1978, and the first Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week was observed in May 1979.

President George H. W. Bush signed a bill on May 14, 1991, that expanded Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week into the entire month of May. Since then, each U.S. president has issued an annual proclamation declaring May as Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month. In his 2012 proclamation, which coincided with the 70th anniversary of Executive Order 9066, President Barack Obama remarked the following:

Generations of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have helped make America what it is today. Their histories recall bitter hardships and proud accomplishments—from the

laborers who connected our coasts one-and-a-half centuries ago, to the patriots who fought overseas while their families were interned at home, from those who endured the harsh conditions of Angel Island, to the innovators and entrepreneurs who are driving our Nation's economic growth in the Silicon Valley and beyond.

Jewish American Heritage Month (May)

The most recently established heritage month commemorates the history and achievements of Jewish Americans. The U.S. Congress approved H.C.R. 315 in February 2006, which called upon the president to issue an annual proclamation designating Jewish American Heritage Month. President George W. Bush signed this measure into law shortly thereafter, with May serving as the month to commemorate Jewish experiences in the United States. Two Jewish American legislators, Democratic Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz of Florida and Republican Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, were instrumental in the efforts to establish Jewish American Heritage Month.

Between 1980 and 2005, various presidents issued annual proclamations designating a week in either April or May as Jewish Heritage Week. President Jimmy Carter issued the first proclamation in April 1980, which in the Jewish calendar marked the anniversaries of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Israeli Independence Day, and the Days of Remembrance of Victims and Survivors of the Holocaust. In his proclamation, Carter made the following observation:

Ever since the first Dutch Jew set foot in New Amsterdam in 1654, Jews have been contributing bountifully to the culture and history of our country . . . American Jews have made their heritage—a heritage of struggle for freedom, knowledge, and human dignity—part of the inheritance of all Americans.

Hispanic Heritage Month (September 15 to October 15)

Spanish conquistadors were the first to explore much of the western United States, and the Spanish language has been spoken in the United States a century longer than English. In 1848, the United States annexed its southwest region from Mexico,

and it annexed Puerto Rico and Cuba at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898. The Hispanic legacy on American society is evident in the names of many U.S. cities and states, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Antonio, Colorado, Florida, Nevada, and Arizona.

In 1968, Congress approved a resolution honoring the week including September 15 and 16 as National Hispanic Heritage Week. These dates were selected because five Latin American nations (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua) celebrate their independence days on September 15, while Mexico's independence day falls on September 16. Chile celebrates its independence on September 18. President Lyndon Johnson issued the first presidential proclamation designating Hispanic Heritage Week in September 1968, but in 1988 Democratic Senator Paul Simon of Illinois sponsored legislation to expand the commemorative week into an entire month. A bipartisan coalition cosponsored Simon's amendment, and on August 17, 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed this bill into law. Since 1989, National Hispanic Heritage Month has been observed annually from September 15 to October 15.

President Bill Clinton spoke of both the historical significance and increasing social influence of Hispanics in American society during his 1999 proclamation of Hispanic Heritage Month:

Hispanics were among the earliest European settlers in the New World, and Hispanics as a people—like their many cultures—share a rich history and great diversity. Hispanic Americans have roots in Europe, Africa, and South and Central America . . . This diversity has brought variety and richness to the mosaic that is America and has strengthened our national character with invaluable perspective, experience, and values.

At the time of Johnson's initial proclamation of Hispanic Heritage Week in 1968, the nation's Hispanic population was comprised almost entirely of three specific nationality groups: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. By the early 21st century, the Hispanic community had diversified considerably as a result of increased immigration from the Dominican Republic, El Salvador,

Guatemala, Colombia, and other nations in Central and South America.

National Hispanic Heritage Month exists in addition to several more specific and regionally based holidays and traditions that derive from the Hispanic legacy in North America. Cinco de Mayo and Día de los Muertos are Mexican-themed customs that are celebrated widely throughout the southwest, while northeastern and midwestern cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Cleveland host an annual Puerto Rican Day Parade. New York is also home to an annual Dominican Day Parade, and Miami's Calle Ocho Festival occurs each March in the city's Little Havana neighborhood and celebrates southern Florida's Caribbean Latino cultural influences.

Italian American Month (October)

Italy was a leading source of immigrants to U.S. shores during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although Americans of Italian descent live throughout the nation, Italian ethnic heritage is particularly strong in the metropolitan regions of the northeast, where large numbers of Italian migrants entered through the port cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia during the 19th and early 20th centuries. New York City and Philadelphia remain the two cities with the most residents of Italian ancestry. In addition, Chicago is home to a large Italian American community, as is the San Francisco Bay area. New York has the largest Italian American population of any state, followed by New Jersey, California, and Pennsylvania.

Although migrants from southern Italy and Sicily encountered strong prejudice and discrimination (termed "Italophobia") in the United States, and were often characterized as members of an allegedly inferior Mediterranean race upon their early years of arrival on American shores, their U.S.-born descendants eventually came to be regarded simply as white and much of the virulent anti-Italian bigotry diminished. Stereotypes of, and prejudice toward, Italian Americans have not completely disappeared, however, prompting the importance of history/heritage month for Italian Americans. Occurring in October to correspond with Columbus Day, which President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared a national holiday in 1937, Italian American Heritage Month grew out of

New York City Mayor Abraham Beame's designation of May 17–23 as Italian Culture Week in 1976. In 1985, this event was moved to October, and mayors and governors across the nation with large Italian American constituencies soon began to pay homage to this ethnic heritage. Annual presidential proclamations refer to this October commemoration as National Italian American Heritage Month.

Native American Heritage Month (November)

The first official federal government recognition of Native American heritage occurred in 1976, when President Gerald Ford signed Proclamation 4468 designating the week of October 10–16 as Native American Awareness Week. Ford's proclamation, signed on October 8, followed resolutions approved by the U.S. House of Representatives (on September 30) and the U.S. Senate (on October 1) that called upon the president to recognize a week devoted to American Indian heritage. Support for Native American Awareness Week had been buoyed by the nation's bicentennial celebration in 1976, which highlighted the nation's vast ethnic and cultural diversity. Ford declared in his proclamation:

It is especially appropriate during our bicentennial year to recall the impressive role played in our society by American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts. Native Americans have made notable contributions in education, law, medicine, sports, art, the military, science, and literature.

Native American Awareness Week was officially expanded to a full month in 1990 when President George H. W. Bush signed a proclamation designating November as National American Indian Heritage Month. The following year, Bush signed another proclamation that declared 1992 as the Year of the American Indian. As the nation prepared to celebrate the 500-year anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the Americas, public protests staged by indigenous and nonindigenous activists drew attention to the position held by Native peoples that Columbus's legacy is not one of honor and admiration. These protests also aimed to raise awareness in mainstream society over the potentially offensive nature of

sports team logos, such as the Washington Redskins and Cleveland Indians, and the ethnocentric bias contained within the historical narrative that "Columbus discovered America." While some within the Native American community engaged in social protests throughout 1992, others used its Year of the American Indian designation to educate greater American society about Native peoples' diverse histories, customs, cultural practices, and contributions to the United States.

In 2009, President Barack Obama issued two caveats to federal recognition of indigenous heritage. On June 26, Obama signed a proclamation designating the Friday after Thanksgiving (the very next day) as National Native American Heritage Day. In October, Obama renamed the month National Native American Heritage Month.

Criticism

Despite the proliferation of ethnic history/heritage months, both liberal and conservative opposition to such months has been expressed in recent years, albeit for different reasons. Conservative opposition typically criticizes the celebration and acknowledgment of ethnic pluralism as allegedly divisive and undercutting of assimilation efforts that unnecessarily divide Americans, while some liberals contend that limited and occasional



On May 17, 2011, President Barack Obama greets Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel at a White House reception in honor of Jewish American Heritage Month. Obama lauded Jewish Americans' accomplishments in "the arts, science, the military, business and industry, and in public and community service."

displays of ethnic pluralism, such as history/heritage months, trivializes diversity by reinforcing white Anglo-Protestantism as the default socio-cultural norm of American society. According to this perspective, ethnic and religious minority groups represent “condiments” who provide “flavor” to the nation’s “salad bowl,” while the “lettuce” itself remains the nation’s central core.

Actor Morgan Freeman expressed these latter sentiments in a December 2005 interview with CBS’s *60 Minutes*. Freeman referred to the idea of Black History Month as “ridiculous” because it allegedly reduces the historical experiences and accomplishments of African Americans to one month. Instead, Freeman advocated a comprehensive account of U.S. history that is fully integrated, uncensored, and incorporates the histories of ethnic minority groups within the larger national framework. “I don’t want a Black History Month,” Freeman declared. “Black history is American history.”

Former CNN commentator Lou Dobbs, an ardent critic of multiculturalism and an advocate of stricter immigration controls, has criticized ethnic holidays and heritage months as allegedly undermining national unity. During his March 17, 2009, radio broadcast, Dobbs declared on air, “I’m against St. Patrick’s Day. I’m against St. Columbus Day. . . . I’m against all of those things. . . . I mean what is with all of these ethnic holidays? How about an American Day?”

Supporters of ethnic holidays and heritage months do not see such celebrations as un-American, but rather as celebrating the nation’s proud tradition as a society that has welcomed peoples from all across the world to its shores. Numerous holidays, including Independence Day, Memorial Day, Veterans Day, Labor Day, Flag Day, Presidents Day, and Thanksgiving, honor the United States in a variety of other manners. Supporters of history/heritage months maintain that the multicultural celebration of American society is necessary to counter the traditional Anglo-centric bias of accounts of U.S. history, which has marginalized the experiences and contributions of others and rendered them nearly invisible, and also to provide the public with a more comprehensive understanding of the United States by raising awareness of the influences that historically overlooked groups have had on the nation’s development.

A “White History Month?”

Some opponents of ethnic heritage months controversially allege that such months are, by their very nature, racist and operate within a double-standard matrix. Proponents of this view express resentment that Black History Month and Hispanic Heritage Month, for example, have been established, but an official White History Month does not exist and, if efforts to establish such a month were initiated, would be heavily criticized as racist. While such viewpoints are rarely published in the mass media, they are not a fringe perspective, as numerous online blogs, talk radio discourses, and discussions among students on college campuses express these perspectives. Whether invoked mockingly or as a serious proposal, a certain segment of white society perceives an unfair, or reverse racist, standard by which ethnic minorities are free to collectively organize under the banner of their group identities, while whites face social opposition to collectively organize under the banner of whiteness.

In October 2012, Mercer University in Macon, Georgia, generated national attention after anonymous fliers posted in residence halls around campus declared that the upcoming months of November and December would be designated “White History Months.” Featuring a portrait of Thomas Jefferson, the fliers encouraged students to “Celebrate White History Months” and stated, “Since there is too much white history to squeeze into one month, we will settle for two.” The fliers also presented their rationale for a two-month celebration of whiteness, indicating resentment at multiculturalism on Mercer’s campus, with the following statement:

There are African American societies, black student organizations, and Indian heritage associations; however, there is not one white society of engineers, white student organization, or Caucasian heritage association. Why? Because if there are, various individuals will say this is racism.

The incident inspired a student-led rally condemning the fliers and expressing support for Mercer University’s ethnic diversity. Approximately 40 students of various racial and ethnic backgrounds attended the rally, and university

president Bill Underwood declared in a campus-wide e-mail that the fliers “demeaned efforts to promote education about people of diverse races and cultures and their contributions to our society. The ignorance reflected in the poster is a reminder of the imperative of these efforts.”

Black nationalist freelance journalist Mychal Denzel Smith expressed his belief that American society needs a White History Month in an October 2012 op-ed piece published in the British newspaper *The Guardian*. Smith opined that a White History Month is necessary because many white Americans are unaware of the socially constructed nature of race, as well as the pervasive history of racial supremacy associated with whiteness in American society. Smith asserted, ironically, that America needs a White History Month precisely so it can educate its public as to why it does not need such a month.

Opponents of the idea of a White History Month point out that because whiteness in the United States has been hegemonic and normative since colonial times, the nation’s mainstream culture and educational curriculum already reflects the perspectives, ideals, and experiences of white persons. Antiracist activist Tim Wise has stated the following:

White history has been made the normative history, the default position, and when your narrative is taken as the norm—indeed, when it gets to be viewed as synonymous with American history—the need to racially designate its origins is obviously a less pressing concern. White folks’ contributions have never been ignored, diminished, or overlooked. As such, to now demand special time to teach about the people we’ve already learned about from the start seems a bit posterous.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; César Chávez Day; Cinco de Mayo; Columbus Day; Día de los Muertos; Higher Education; Hispanic Americans; Holocaust, The; Identity Development; Indigenous People’s Day; Irish Americans; Italian Americans; Jewish Americans; Martin Luther King, Jr. Day; Multiculturalism; Museum of Tolerance;

National Civil Rights Museum; National Museum of the American Indian; Native Americans; Political Correctness; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; St. Patrick’s Day; White Ethnics; Whiteness Studies.

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Hmong Americans

The Hmong are an ethnic minority from mainland southeast Asia. The Hmong’s implication in Laos’s so-called Secret War led thousands to seek resettlement after the United States withdrew in 1975. Currently, 260,076 people of Hmong descent reside in the United States. Since their arrival, they have integrated into mainstream American society and gained political influence, all while maintaining their cultural heritage.

The Vietnam War and Immigration

The political and ideological turmoil leading to the Vietnam War affected the Hmong in various ways. Although certain Hmong groups supported the communist force Pathet Lao, others were directly recruited and deployed by CIA-paid special forces or served as U.S. allies in the Royal Lao Army. After the Pathet Lao gained power in 1975, however, thousands of Hmong sought refuge in neighboring Thailand in fear of retaliation.

The first group of 3,466 Hmong arrived in the United States in December 1975 within the framework of the Indochinese Parole Program.

The same year, the Indochinese Migration and Refugee Act was signed into law, and it provided the Hmong access to financial assistance as well as health, employment, and education services. With the enactment of the Refugee Act in 1980, Hmong immigration reached its peak when an estimated 27,242 Hmong were admitted into the country. In the following years, the numbers decreased until 1987 to 1994, when more than 56,000 Hmong were resettled. With the official closure of the last Thai refugee camps in 1994, the resettlement process was terminated.

During the resettlement process, Hmong were dispersed across 50 U.S. states via Refugee Resettlement Voluntary Agencies that were affiliated with the U.S. Department of State. This policy of dispersal was believed to enhance assimilation and reduce costs for receiving states, yet it severely undermined traditional clan and family networks. Beginning in the late 1980s, many Hmong left their assigned place of settlement and moved closer to their kin. Accordingly, the Central Valley in California emerged as the largest Hmong settlement with Fresno as its capital. A few years later, in the mid-1990s, a tertiary movement toward the midwest, Texas, and South Carolina took place. Prospects of better-paid employment and a higher living standard led more than 20,000 Hmong to move to Minnesota in 1998.

The first group of Hmong refugees predominantly comprised the followers of the Hmong military leader, General Vang Pao, and were accustomed to elements of an American lifestyle and technology. The majority of the latter immigrant groups, however, were illiterate, lacked English-language skills, and any professional qualifications that were transferable to the American labor market. As the majority of Hmong arrived during a time of economic stagnation and dwindling empathy for southeast Asian refugees, they faced discrimination and open rejection and were considered competition for low-skilled jobs, scarce public resources, and welfare payments. Additionally, many Hmong were traumatized by war, displacement, and the prolonged stay in Thai refugee camps, and thus suffered from psychological stress. Accordingly, adjustment to an urban postindustrialized environment proved difficult and affected the traditional patriarchic gender order as well as relationships between generations.

Culture

The Hmong language is a tonal language consisting of eight tones. Until the mid-1950s, when Western missionaries developed the Romanized Popular Alphabet in Laos, the language relied on oral traditions rather than a written system.

Although many Hmong converted to Christianity, approximately two-thirds of the Hmong in the United States adhere to the traditional Hmong religion, which builds on animistic beliefs and ancestor worship, and demands particular rites for important occasions such as births, weddings, and funerals. The most prominent festivity is the Hmong New Year, which is celebrated throughout the United States between October and November. The ritual festivity was adapted to the new environment and currently includes commercial, educational, and political activities as well as beauty pageants or sports tournaments.

The circumstances of Hmong resettlement and their adaptation to U.S. society received greater recognition in the American public with the Clint Eastwood drama *Gran Torino* (2008), the first Hollywood production that starred a largely Hmong cast.

The Contemporary Scene

Between 2004 and 2006 another 15,000 Hmong refugees from the Buddhist Wat Tham Krabok in Thailand were admitted under the auspices of the Family Reunification Program. More than half of these new arrivals were younger than 17 years of age and many lacked any English and educational skills. This influx increased local concentrations particularly in Minnesota (66,181) and Wisconsin (49,240), two states that taken together account for the highest concentration of Hmong. As of 2010, another 91,224 Hmong reside in California, 10,864 in North Carolina, while smaller groups can be found in Michigan, Colorado, Georgia, or Alaska forming heterogeneous, socially and regionally divergent communities. Minneapolis/St. Paul thereby emerged as the largest ethnic enclave with 64,422 Hmong, who established various organizations, mutual assistance associations, Hmong media, and thriving businesses.

Over the course of a few decades, the Hmong achieved social mobility. About 62 percent have

finished high school and 12 percent hold at least a bachelor's degree. Of the 65 percent of Hmong who are in the labor force, about 30 percent are employed in manufacturing, 18 percent in educational and social services, and another 12 percent in retail trade. However, 25 percent of Hmong families are below the poverty level.

Leading figures include Lormong Lo, the first Hmong American to serve on an American city council, in Omaha, Nebraska (1994); Joe Bee Xiong, who was elected to public office in Wisconsin (1996); Mee Moua, who served two terms in the Minnesota senate from 2002 to 2010; and Cy Thao, who was elected to the Minnesota House of Representatives in 2002.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Eurasian; *Gran Torino*; Media, Ethnic; Refugee Act (1980); Refugees; Vietnam War.

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Ho v. San Francisco Unified School District (1994)

The *Ho v. San Francisco Unified School District* case was a class action suit brought in 1994 by several students of Chinese descent who were denied admission to schools of their choice because of their race. The students alleged that the school district violated the Fourteenth Amendment, and sought an injunction to stop the school district from using quotas and a system of racial classification to determine which students would be admitted.

At the time of the case, the San Francisco Unified School District, which controlled all of the public schools in San Francisco, California, operated under a consent decree, which was agreed upon by the parties in a prior lawsuit and approved by the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California in May 1983. The lawsuit that culminated in the consent decree was brought on behalf of all San Francisco schoolchildren and was issued in order to encourage desegregation in secondary and elementary schools in San Francisco. The consent decree included a provision prohibiting any racial group from exceeding 45 percent of a school's total enrollment in any public school, or 40 percent in any alternative school. This decree ultimately allowed the school district to use a student's race to determine admission to schools in the city. If a school located in a student's neighborhood met its 40 or 45 percent race quota, then the student would be required to attend a different school.

The court in *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S. 81, 100 (1943), stated that legislative classification or discrimination based on race alone has often been held to be a denial of equal protection. This is because race has historically been used as a way of oppressing, persecuting, or discriminating against a group of persons. According to *Regents of University of California v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265, 290 (1978), when a school attempts to place a cap on the number of students of a certain race that can attend a school, the courts will apply strict scrutiny and will typically find the quota or race-based classification system as violating the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Further, quota or race-based classifications by federal, state, or local government actors are unconstitutional unless the measures taken are narrowly tailored and further any "compelling governmental interests."

In the *Ho v. San Francisco Unified School District* case, which was decided by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the Ninth Circuit, the court applied strict scrutiny to determine the constitutionality of the measures taken by the school district. In order to meet this increased burden and have the measures found constitutional, the school district would have to show that the race-based classification was a remedial measure to make up for past racial discrimination. However, the only purpose

of the 40 and 45 percent quota was for racial diversity in the school district. As a result, the district court found that the school district engaged in state action, which subjected students to race-based classification. This confirmed the court's decision to proceed with a trial, thereby denying the students' motion for summary judgment.

The Difficulties of Reporting Race

In order to enroll children in the San Francisco school district, parents were required to report the student's race or ethnicity. However, the forms that the district provided to parents, which were in turn used to determine whether the quota was met and to assign students to other schools in the district, only provided nine race/ethnicity categories. By the end of the five years of the *Ho* case, the school district had increased the number of categories from nine to 13. However, beginning with the 2000 U.S. Census, individuals were given the ability to choose more than one race, with the possibility of identifying themselves with as many as 57 race combinations. Furthermore, the 2010 census provided individuals with the ability to write in their race if one of the 57 combinations was not sufficient.

At the time of the *Ho* case in 1994, Chinese American students had become the largest group in San Francisco. Since the conclusion of the case, the Chinese population has continued to grow, not just in San Francisco but also in the United States overall. According to the 2010 census, there were 3.3 million people in the United States who reported being of solely Chinese descent. Of the entire Chinese population, 49 percent lived in the west. Between 2000 and 2010, the Asian population, which included Chinese individuals, grew faster than any other race group in the entire country.

While the entire U.S. population grew by 9.7 percent, the Asian population grew by 43 percent. Overall, the Asian population grew in every state. In California alone there were 5.6 million Asians, a 33.7 percent increase from the 2000 census. The census reported that San Francisco was one of the four counties in which 25 percent of all Asians in California were located. Of San Francisco's total population of 805,235, the Asian population totaled 288,529.

The *Ho* case is noteworthy because the United States is becoming a more diverse country, with

every succeeding census reporting a higher percentage of combination races. This case ended the school district's quota and race-based classification system, meaning that students are now free to attend any school in the district, regardless of their race.

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See Also: Asian American Categorization (Essay); Asian Americans; Chinese Americans; Constitutional Amendments; Diversity and Inclusion; Law and Ethnic Diversity; Race Mixture in the United States.

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Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity

Throughout its history, Hollywood film music has had a number of influences from various ethnic groups. It moved from the abstract musical universalism of the classical period to the cosmopolitan eclecticism of the present day.

The Classical Period

In the period of classical Hollywood film music from 1933 to the end of the 1950s, movie scores performed many narrative and formal functions. Film music also sought to produce a sort of universalism, the creation of an audience that would react to the emotional stimuli and understand

the film's storytelling in a predictable way. The almost sole influence for this music was the European romantic dialect of the late 19th century.

The first generation of Hollywood composers primarily consisted of European émigrés, such as Max Steiner and Erich Wolfgang Korngold (from Austria), Franz Waxman (Germany), and Dimitri Tiomkin (Russia), who transferred their heritage into the newborn Hollywood music. The tonal, late-romantic dialect was considered the universal musical language. As such, it was applied to every kind of story and setting—especially in the 1930s—no matter how anachronistic it might sound. For example, the medieval British legend *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938, music by Korngold) had a 19th-century Viennese-flavored score.

Music from other ethnic groups was used rarely and in a clichéd way, mostly to denote a locale or the ethnic origin of a character. For instance, such nontonal musical systems as the pentatonic, chromatic, and modal scales were employed to decorate with generic exoticism an otherwise late-romantic tonal score. Mexican music was used in westerns, where some touches of mariachi music or the *deguello*—a slow Mexican figuration for trumpet announcing the imminent battle—would be added to reinforce the ethnicity of the characters, who were mostly Mexican stereotypes.

African American music traditionally had negative connotations in films of the classical period. Jazz was featured in musical numbers performed by noted African American artists. In these numbers, the narrative stopped to create room for sheer spectacle. African American artists were featured as exotic attractions. Besides this racial segregation in spectacle moments, jazz was also linked to criminal characters or disreputable joints. Blues had similar connotations, being typically featured, and played with a sultry saxophone, to depict dark ladies, femmes fatales, gangsters' molls, prostitutes, and the like.

The Postclassical Era

In the 1950s, Hollywood music, like Hollywood cinema itself, was undergoing a series of changes. Influences from other cultures began to have a more prominent and less stereotypical role. As for jazz, two films must be mentioned as seminal. *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951, music by

Alex North) was the first film to feature the jazz dialect in a symphonic score, that is, not as an attraction but as music with a narrative function. *The Man With the Golden Arm* (1955, music by Elmer Bernstein) had a score that featured both the jazz language and the jazz combo instead of the traditional symphony orchestra. Both films, however, retained traces of the old negative connotations: the former is a sordid love story; the latter is about a drug addict. Jazz finally gained a legitimate position with Duke Ellington's score for *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959), in which, jazz music is no longer associated with outlaws.

In the 1960s, Hollywood entered a severe crisis. To survive it, synergistic cross-promotions between films and the products of the burgeoning recording industry were created. Film music now had to be profitable in the record market, and therefore had to renounce the old idea of an eternal universal language and, instead, had to follow the musical tastes of the day. In these years, the various descendants of jazz and blues became frequent options in film scoring. Among the prominent African American musicians working in films were Charles Mingus (*Shadows*, 1959), Quincy Jones (*The Pawnbroker*, 1964), James Brown (*Black Caesar*, 1973), and Isaac Hayes, the first African American composer to be awarded an Academy Award (for *Shaft*, 1971).

Two films were instrumental in popularizing Latin American rhythms and melodies. The first was Walt Disney's *Saludos Amigos* (1942), commissioned by Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration to promote good relationships between the United States and South American countries. The second was *Black Orpheus* (1958), which popularized bossa nova and other Brazilian dances.

Latin American music abounded in the film scores of the 1960s. Sambas, merengues, cha-chas, and the like can be found in many scores by Henry Mancini, one of the leading Hollywood composers of the period. The most prominent Latin American composer emerging during the decade was Argentina-born Lalo Schifrin, who penned the theme for the television series *Mission Impossible* (1966) and such action scores as *Bullitt* (1968) and *Dirty Harry* (1971). He combined sounds and rhythms of his homeland with jazz, becoming one of the forerunners of the Latin-jazz movement.



A. R. Rahman received an Academy Award for his work on *Slumdog Millionaire*, the first Indian native to receive an Oscar. Time magazine describes the composer, singer-songwriter, music producer, multi-instrumentalist, and philanthropist as the world's most prominent and prolific film composer.

An Eclectic World Music

The influence of Asian music grew stronger after the success of Toru Takemitsu's score for *Ran* (1985) and Ryuichi Sakamoto's score for *Furyo* (1983). Both composers provided music for Hollywood films in the following years, including Takemitsu for *Rising Sun* (1993). Following the success of *Farewell, My Concubine* (1993, music by Jiping Zhao) and *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000, music by Tan Dun), Chinese music also moved into the spotlight. These Asian composers made an effective synthesis of their musical heritage with the Western tradition.

Genuine Asian music has since become familiar in mainstream cinema, even influencing two scores by quintessentially American composer John Williams: *Seven Years in Tibet* (1997) and *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005). The Indonesian

gamelan, a traditional group of mostly percussion instruments, also made its mark in Hollywood, being featured in *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1982, music by Maurice Jarre) and being a major influence on composer Danny Elfman's works.

In the 1980s, Peter Gabriel's influential score for *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988) launched the duduk craze for this Armenian woodwind instrument. In the following years, almost every film set in the Middle East or dealing with Middle Eastern characters featured the duduk, including *The Passion of The Christ* (2004, music by John Debney).

Indian music is the most recent addition to film scores, with two landmarks: sitar virtuoso Ravi Shankar's work on *Gandhi* (1982) and the huge success of *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008), which won the Oscar for Best Motion Picture of the Year and thus brought Bollywood cinema and music to Hollywood. *Slumdog Millionaire's* composer, India-native A. R. Rahman, won Academy Awards for Best Original Music Score and Best Original Song.

Contemporary Hollywood film music is highly cosmopolitan and eclectic in style. Film music's universalism now means that music of every genre and from every part of the world can be employed. Definitely gone are the days when film music considered the late-romantic symphonic language as the universal music, and ethnic touches were employed just to create ethnic stereotypes.

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See Also: Classical Music and Ethnic Diversity; *Dances With Wolves*; *Godfather, The*; Jazz and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Opera and Ethnic Diversity; Stereotypes/Generalizations; *Streetcar Named Desire*, A.

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Holocaust, The

The Holocaust, known in Hebrew as the Shoah, was the planned systematic destruction of the Jews of Europe by the Nazi state of Germany during World War II, resulting in the genocide of about 6 million Jews throughout German-occupied territory. This death toll represents approximately two-thirds of the Jewish population before the Holocaust, including 1 million Jewish children. Although the Nazis carried out a program of extinction against ethnic Poles, Romani, and homosexuals, and subjected Soviets, political prisoners, prisoners of war, and the disabled to the same treatment as the Jews, the term *Holocaust* is conventionally reserved to refer to the actions against the Jews. This usage is challenged by a sizable minority of scholars. The term *Holocaust* has been used by scholars and historians in its current sense since the 1960s and was popularized among the general public in 1978, thanks to the TV miniseries *Holocaust*.

Setting the Stage for the Holocaust

Before World War II began, the so-called Nuremberg Laws had been passed in Germany as an early step toward the Holocaust. The Nuremberg Laws, passed in 1935, two years after Nazism became the state ideology, acted on the Nazi Party's codification of anti-Semitism and scientific racism. Various types of heritage were defined, depending on whether one's grandparents were all non-Jewish German, if three or four of them were Jewish, or if one or two of them were Jewish. Rights and privileges were denied to those who lacked sufficient German heritage. Bans were also issued on sex or marriage between Jews and non-Jews and on participation of Jews in German civic life. In contrast with earlier anti-Semitic laws, the goal was not to convert Jews to Christianity—indeed, Jewishness was defined according to birth and could not be altered or escaped through any means.

Depictions of the Holocaust focus on the concentration camps where prisoners were worked as slaves until they died or were killed, but this tends to gloss over the sheer amount of resources Germany expended on the systematic slaughter of the Jewish people. The Nazi state has been called “a genocidal state” by scholar Michael Berenbaum

because of the vast bureaucracy and complex planning necessary to carry out the Third Reich's genocidal mission.

By 1900, the United States had become home to the third-largest Jewish population in the world. In the early 20th century, the Jewish community in the United States had become deeply involved not only in American economic and social life but in the Progressive movement and the major social movements of the era. The African American civil rights movement included many prominent Jewish leaders, as did the labor movement, the fight for women's suffrage, and movements devoted to pacifism, social reforms, ending poverty and hunger, improving health care, and freedom of religious practice. During World War I, the Jewish Welfare Board was founded to assist in enlistment and fund-raising campaigns, as well as to address the needs of Jewish servicemen. Helping the refugees and other victims of World War I brought the disparate elements of the American Jewish community together for the first time. Old World divisions might never vanish completely, but no longer did they seem as sharply drawn as at the turn of the century; indeed, many acknowledged that the difference between American Jews and Jews elsewhere was larger than between different groups of American Jews.

The size of the Jewish middle class grew significantly in the first decades of the 20th century. Many Jews were also particularly interested in international affairs, in no small part because of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Russia, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the organization of political Zionism. As a result, the Jewish community was politically savvy, and numerous social networks existed when concerns began to be raised about the treatment of Jews in Germany and other Nazi-controlled territories. Jews had been mistreated in Europe for centuries, and 19th-century anti-Semitism had motivated the immigration of many Jews to the United States in the first place; in the early 1930s it may not have been clear to many Americans that what was happening in Germany was novel in its evil.

The Jewish community was divided in its response to the Nuremberg Laws and, later, the Holocaust. Jews of eastern European extraction were more likely to be Zionists—adhering to the belief that the Jewish homeland must be

restored. The hostility of Germany to Jews, and the Nazi state's expansionism, made Zionist concerns more urgent: a restored Jewish state with its own military could intervene on behalf of its people. Western European Jews were less likely to be Zionists in the early 1930s—and often were more concerned about the possibility that the growing anti-Semitism in Europe would spread to the United States, where Jews might be subjected to the same institutionalized abuses that African Americans faced—but this changed gradually over time. Large-scale boycotts of German imports were held in the meantime. In the 1940s, when the extent of the Holocaust—a term that was not used until long after the war—became hinted at, many Jewish American leaders who had been openly disdainful of Zionism before the war suddenly pledged their support to the cause. Outside the Jewish community, few Americans discussed the Holocaust or seem to have been aware of it, especially its severity; until 1944, when the first concentration and extermination camps were liberated, the genocide was largely the subject of rumor.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a popular figure in the Jewish community because of the social programs and reforms he introduced as remedy to the Great Depression. His anti-Nazi foreign policy was a relief to those Jews worried about the spread of American anti-Semitism, but when the United States failed to enter the war when it first began, many worried that isolationism would prevail. To this day, the question of whether Jewish American leaders during and before World War II did enough to assist the cause of European Jews is a matter of continued debate, discussion, and reflection in the Jewish community.

In the aftermath of the war, the United States was instrumental in establishing the restored State of Israel and was one of the first national governments to recognize the new state. With Europe in tatters, the United States enjoyed a position it had never attained before: the world's foremost superpower. Similarly, the Jewish community was now the largest and wealthiest in the world, though many expected the restoration of Israel to change that. Liberalized immigration policies allowed the entrance of thousands of Jewish refugees from war-torn Europe. And anti-Semitism,

though never entirely eradicated, declined rapidly after the war; revelations about the extent of the Holocaust increasingly impacted the narrative of Americans' memory of the war, such that to many it retroactively became a campaign to liberate the Jews, even though the United States had entered the war late and had been at war for three years before realizing the scale of Germany's anti-Jewish programs.

Following the war, the Jewish community became increasingly suburbanized and liberal and migrated in large numbers to Sun Belt communities. Fears of a second Holocaust, with Arab enemies as the perpetrators, impacted both the popularity of supporting Israel—even for American Jews with no intentions of relocating to the restored homeland—and the United States' staunchly pro-Israel foreign policy. It also led to ongoing efforts to “liberate” Soviet Jews that resulted in over 100,000 Soviet Jews immigrating to the United States over time.

U.S. Holocaust Museums and Memorials

The United States has a number of Holocaust memorials, including CADLES Holocaust Museum and Education Center in Terre Haute, Indiana; the Holocaust Memorial Museum of San Antonio, Texas; the Kennesaw State University Museum of History and Holocaust Education in Georgia; the William Bremen Jewish Heritage and Holocaust Museum in Atlanta, Georgia; the Baltimore Holocaust Memorial in Maryland; the Dallas Holocaust Museum in Texas; the Children's Holocaust Memorial at Whitwell Middle School in Tennessee; the Desert Holocaust Memorial in California; the El Paso Holocaust Museum and Study Center in Texas; the Florida Holocaust Museum in St Petersburg; the Holocaust Awareness Museum and Education Center in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the Holocaust Memorial Center in Detroit, Michigan; the Holocaust Memorial in Miami Beach, Florida; the Holocaust Memorial at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco; and the Holocaust and Tolerance Museum in Chandler, Arizona.

Other Holocaust museums and memorials include the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center in Skokie; the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, California; the Nebraska Holocaust Memorial in Lincoln; the New

England Holocaust Memorial in Boston, Massachusetts; the New Mexico Holocaust and Intolerance Museum in Albuquerque; the Oregon Holocaust Memorial in Portland; the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation in Los Angeles, California; the Virginia Holocaust Museum in Richmond; the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York; the Holocaust Center of Northern California in San Francisco; the Holocaust Museum in Houston, Texas; the Holocaust Memorial in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; and the Holocaust Memorial in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In San Antonio, Texas, the Holocaust History Project archives documents, images, recordings, and essays regarding the Holocaust and anti-Semitism, working primarily through its Web site. In New Jersey, the bronze statue *Liberation* was dedicated in 1985, in Liberty State Park in Jersey City, portraying an American soldier carrying a Holocaust survivor.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) is located in Washington, D.C., near the National Mall. It was established in 1993 and is supported by both federal funds and substantial private donations. The collection, one of the largest Holocaust materials collections in the world, includes 49 million pages of archives, 80,000 photographs, 1,000 hours of film, and 9,000 oral histories. The museum was established on the recommendation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust in 1979, chaired by Holocaust survivor and author Elie Wiesel. As part of its congressional mandate, the USHMM established the Center for Advanced Historical Studies in 1998, which supports Holocaust research and fellowships, and publishes the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. The USHMM is home to the Committee on Conscience, a genocide think tank, which has become the leading nonpartisan commenter on contemporary genocidal atrocities.

The Holocaust and the American Arts

Jewish Polish American writer Jerzy Kosinski was born Jozef Lewinkopf in Poland and lived under the Jerzy Kosinski name while posing as a Catholic during World War II. He and his family survived the Holocaust due to the help of local villagers, and Kosinski defected to the United States from Communist Poland in 1957. His

semiautobiographical novel *The Painted Bird* was published in 1965, depicting the wanderings of a boy in eastern Europe during World War II; both the boy's religion and the specific parts of Europe he finds himself in are left unknown.

William Styron, in 1979, published *Sophie's Choice*, now probably best known for being adapted into a movie starring Meryl Streep. A best seller, the novel takes place in the 1970s but centers around Sophie's past in the concentration camps, in which a Nazi doctor forced her to choose which of her two children would be killed. One of the lead characters in the novel is an American southerner, and the novel explicitly compares the racial violence of the south with the sufferings of the Holocaust.

American cartoonist Art Spiegelman won the Pulitzer Prize for his 1991 graphic novel *Maus* (originally serialized from 1980 to 1991 as a feature in *Raw*, a magazine published by Spiegelman and his wife). Semiautobiographical, the comic depicts Spiegelman interviewing his father about his experiences as a Polish Jew during the Holocaust, while casting different ethnicities as different animals: Jews as mice, Germans as cats, and gentile Poles as pigs, leading to the powerful visual depiction of mice with pig masks tied to their faces, symbolizing the Jews who tried to hide their Jewishness to survive. It was the first comic book widely accepted in the English-speaking world as valuable literature.

Philip Roth's 2004 novel *The Plot Against America* takes place in an alternate version of the Newark in which Roth grew up. In this alternate history, Franklin Delano Roosevelt loses the 1940 presidential election to Charles Lindbergh, whose isolationism and anti-Semitism greatly impact the treatment of Jews in the United States during the Holocaust and in the aftermath of World War II.

As in other countries, the United States has occasionally dealt with individuals and movements who have been Holocaust deniers. Holocaust denial is the erroneous belief that the Holocaust as we have described it did not occur—that a much smaller number of Jews died, that extermination camps did not exist, and that there was no official policy of Jewish genocide in Nazi Germany. The corresponding claim, explicit or not, is necessarily that a Jewish conspiracy perpetrated a hoax. General Dwight Eisenhower, the Supreme

Allied Commander, predicted in 1945 that someday people would insist that Nazi brutality had been imagined as propaganda, and it is in part because of this fear that we have so many photographs of prison camps today. One of the first well-known deniers was an American, the anti-war activist and historian Harry Elmer Barnes, who claimed in 1962 that the Holocaust had been greatly exaggerated in order to justify American involvement in World War II—and that Germany was a victim of aggression.

More denial books followed by other authors in the United States, including *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* in 1976 by electrical engineering professor Arthur Butz (who was censured by his university 30 years later). In 1978, the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) was founded by Willis Carto, a far-right activist who had assisted in George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign. Describing itself as a research and publishing center operating in the public interest, the IHR disseminates anti-Semitic literature, focusing primarily on evidence that the Holocaust never occurred.

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See Also: American Jewish Committee; Anti-Semitism; Jewish Americans.

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Home of the Brave

Home of the Brave was a groundbreaking 1949 American film examining the problem of racism from the point of view of an African American soldier serving in the Pacific theater. The film was directed by Mark Robson, written by Carl Foreman (from a play by Arthur Laurents), produced by Stanley Kramer and Robert Stillman, and starred James Edwards, Jeff Corey, Lloyd Bridges, Douglas Dick, Frank Lovejoy, Steve Brodie, and Cliff Clark. *Home of the Brave* was both a critical and commercial success. The National Board of Review chose it as one of the best 10 films of 1949, and Foreman's screenplay was nominated for the Robert Meltzer Award given by the Writers Guild of America.

The Origins of the Screenplay

The screenplay for *Home of the Brave* is based on a play of the same name written by Arthur Laurents, which was performed on Broadway from December 27, 1945, to February 23, 1946. The play is set in 1944 in a military hospital in the South Pacific, a setting that allowed the playwright to plausibly bring the diverse characters in the cast into a single confined location where they are forced to interact with each other. Although not a popular success, running for only 69 performances, the play was critically acclaimed. As of 2012, it has not been revived on Broadway, although a television version was broadcast in 1957 in the second season of the series *ITV Play of the Week*.

Producer Stanley Kramer acquired the rights to the source material for *Home of the Brave* for \$35,000. The primary difference between the play and the film is that in the play the central character is Jewish—Private Peter Coen, known as “Coney”—while in the film, this character becomes Private Peter Moss, an African American. Interestingly, Laurents originally planned to make the central character in *Home of the Brave* African American rather than Jewish but discarded this idea because he felt it would be too controversial for an American theater audience in 1945. Despite the fact that it would have been extremely unlikely for white and African American soldiers to serve side by side in a combat unit (the U.S. Armed Forces were segregated until

1948), Kramer made this change because several films dealing with anti-Semitism had already been produced, including the 1947 hit *Gentleman's Agreement*. Kramer also noted the advantage, for a film, in the obvious visual difference between an African American soldier and the white soldiers around him.

Controversy During Production

However, the idea of producing a film directly attacking racism, particularly racism in the military, and with an African American central character who was the equal of the white characters in the film, was extremely controversial. The production was shrouded in secrecy because Kramer feared that segregationist pressure groups might try to disrupt production of the film. *Home of the Brave* was produced under the dummy title *High Noon*; no visitors were allowed on the set; all crewmembers swore an oath not to discuss the film; and the actors, screenwriter, and Kramer himself all ate lunch privately and entered and left the studio by a rear gate to avoid attracting press attention.



*Black troops in Burma stop to read President Truman's victory proclamation in Europe, May 9, 1945. The story of soldiers like these is told in *Home of the Brave*, a 1948 film about the problem of racism from the point of view of an African American soldier.*

Plot Synopsis

The main character in *Home of the Brave* is an African American soldier, Private Peter Moss, who was played by James Edwards. Serving in the Pacific, Moss narrowly escapes death on a mission to an island held by the Japanese army and is traumatized by the death of his only friend in his unit, a white soldier named Finch (played by Lloyd Bridges); part of the trauma is due to guilt, as Moss feels he should have died instead of Finch. Moss becomes paralyzed, without any observable physical cause, and most of the film follows the efforts of an Army physician (played by Jeff Corey) to bring him back to health. Much of the story is told in flashback, as the physician administers drugs to help Moss remember his past life and the events leading up to his paralysis.

Moss, a surveyor, became part of a team led by Major Robinson (Dick), and including the bigoted Corporal T. J. Everett (Steve Brodie), Sergeant Mingo (Frank Lovejoy), and Finch, a cartographer and former classmate of Moss's. Robinson is not pleased at being assigned to work with an African American, but is told by his superior officer that he must be willing to work with anyone who can help the mission.

During the mission, Moss and Finch become close friends and make plans to work together after the war is over; Finch also defends Moss from the racist attacks of Corporal Everett. However, in a fit of anger, Finch deeply hurts Moss by calling him a "nigger" (the first use of that word, forbidden by the Motion Picture Production Code, in an American film since 1934). Under the influence of the drugs, Moss also recalls racial abuse he had suffered from others, including Corporal Everett. Significantly, Moss experiences a breakthrough in his treatment when the doctor uses the word *nigger* while shouting at him. The film ends with an upbeat conclusion that was typical for the time—Moss is cured, is acclaimed a war hero, and makes plans to open a business with Mingo.

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See Also: Armed Forces, U.S.; Epithets, Ethnic and Racial; 442nd Regimental Combat Team; *Gentleman's Agreement*; *Glory*; Jewish Americans; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Motion

Picture Production Code; Motion Pictures; The N_____ Word; Racism; World War II.

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Homestead Act (1862)

The Homestead Act of 1862 catalyzed agricultural development in the American west through the promise of free public land. Both celebrated and criticized as a method of promoting economic and social equality, the act's race and gender neutrality opened opportunities for land ownership to men and women from a range of cultures, including European immigrants, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Mormons. By encouraging settlement and land speculation, it furthered the displacement of Native Americans while permitting some indigenous people to preserve their autonomy.

Legislative History and Text

Embodying the Jeffersonian ideal of a nation of small landholders, homesteading had a wide constituency in the northern United States in the decades before the Civil War. Land reformers viewed farm ownership as a way to save the economic and political independence of urban workers and to stop southern planters from extending slavery into western territory.

The secession of the Confederate states opened the political window for the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862. The politics of slavery and nativism had blocked earlier homestead bills. Southern leaders predicted that free land would disrupt the sectional balance between free and slave-owning states by stimulating western

migration by northern farmers and European immigrants. Following secession, the Republican-led Congress passed the Homestead Act over minimal Democratic and border-state dissent.

Issues of race, alienage, and ethnicity were embedded in the 1862 act. Drafters designed a low hurdle for foreign-born land applicants, who simply had to declare their intention to become citizens to register a claim. More remarkably, in a nation that sharply limited the opportunities for women and racial minorities to hold property, the act did not expressly discriminate on the basis of those identities.

Unlike antebellum "preemption" laws, the Homestead Act did not require settlers to purchase public land, although it did offer a "commutation" provision allowing purchase after a short residency period. For those who sought a patent of free land, the act required the settler to register his or her claim with a local land office, live on the land for five years, make improvements, and prove compliance with these requirements at the end of that term.

Jeffersonian Dreams and Reality

About 20 percent of the approximately 1.442 billion acres of the public domain of the lower 48 states, or over 270 million acres, were privatized by claimants under the residency and commutation provisions of the Homestead Act, producing perhaps 400,000 owner-occupied farms. Most homesteaders settled in the Great Plains, including large swaths of public land in Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, Oklahoma, and Colorado. By 1900, homesteading moved farther west, as amended homestead acts, which permitted larger land holdings, made settlement in arid parts of Oregon, Washington, eastern California, and Arizona viable for ranching.

Historians continue to debate the effectiveness of the Homestead Act as a system of equitable land distribution. Most scholars, following the Depression-era research of historian Paul Wallace Gates, focus on the misuse of the law and its failure to preserve the public domain for actual settlers. In practice, many homesteaders had to purchase their land from private sellers after finding that speculative land purchasers, mining and timber interests, and railroads had already claimed the best public land. And those settlers who staked a

claim to a free homestead often lacked the capital and labor to develop their land.

Recent scholarship has begun to recover the ways that race, ethnicity, and gender shaped the experience of homesteading. If older research focused on the tragedies of homesteading, recent work uncovers its ironies: that a program of public land distribution designed to protect the independence of self-sufficient white male farmers promoted western settlement by collectivities of racial and ethnic minorities and single women.

European Migration

As pressure for land increased in northern and central Europe during the mid-19th century, many Europeans traveled to the United States to take advantage of the Homestead Act. Some of these immigrants were tenant farmers squeezed out of the land market by the expansion of commercial farming, while others came from landholding families without enough property to parcel out to their younger children. Most learned about the Homestead Act through “American letters” sent by family members already in the United States or by promoters from western states who set up offices in European cities. They were also encouraged to move west by their churches and through ethnoreligious colonization organizations, such as the Minnesota Irish Immigration Society, the Swedish Agricultural Company, or the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society.

Though many migrants purchased their land from railroad companies or land speculators, thousands of other families claimed free public land. In the Great Plains states, foreign-born settlers and their children often became the majority of the population on the frontier. While proponents of the Homestead Act expected individual households to drive western settlement, European migrants tended to settle in colonies. Like their countrymen in industrial cities, these homesteaders built ethnic enclaves of varying strength and persistence to respond to the opportunities and hardships of frontier life. Group settlement promoted self-defense, mutual aid, and political power within rapidly changing territories. It also allowed migrants to transfer familiar ways of life or common religious or utopian beliefs to a new land.

Germans—a diverse culture that included Lutherans, Mennonites, and Catholics, merchants

and farmers, and German-speakers from Russia, Switzerland, the Austrian Empire, and Alsace—dominated European homesteading. Russian-Germans became particularly central to the success of Great Plains homesteading, as they imported hardy winter wheat that could survive its climate. British, Irish, and Scandinavian immigrants also formed population clusters in this region, along with smaller settlements of Czechs, Poles, and eastern European Jews.

Exodusters

Joining European settlers in Kansas in the late 1870s and Oklahoma after the 1890s were thousands of African Americans seeking to escape economic, social, and political oppression in the south after the end of Reconstruction.

This “Kansas fever” was triggered by disenfranchisement campaigns in Louisiana in 1879, the introduction of a resolution by Minnesota Senator William Windom encouraging blacks to find political sanctuary in the U.S. territories, and the millenarianism of religious leaders like Benjamin “Pap” Singleton. But it followed on the heels of a considerable black migration in the previous decade and reflected long-standing desires by formerly enslaved African Americans to form self-sufficient households and communities through land ownership.

Western homesteading proved attractive because the overwhelming majority of African Americans could not own land in the south. That path had been denied to the freedmen after the war, as defeated southern planters secured their land from redistribution and replaced slavery with sharecropping and tenant farming. An 1866 Homestead Act geared toward distributing public land in the south had also failed to open land to black settlers in that region. Many Exodusters purchased land sold by promoters, but others were able to claim free land through homesteading.

Mexican Americans

As federal land surveys reached the southwest in the 1870s, Mexican American residents used the Homestead Act to consolidate their property holdings and protect themselves from Anglo-American land claimants. Mexican American homesteaders usually came from families of high status but middling wealth, such as former military or political

officials in the Mexican-era government of Arizona, and they used land ownership as a path to become ranchers and farmers. Land ownership also preserved their political strength in a region where they were quickly becoming a minority.

Mormons

Racially “white” but religiously “other,” Mormons banded together to resist the hostility of outsiders, practice a common faith, and develop collective agricultural practices necessary in their arid settlements. The Homestead Act’s openness to women claimants was a boon to Mormon families, leaving space for wives in polygamous marriages to claim land in their own names. These claims might serve to expand the husband’s landholdings or they could provide a measure of independence for plural wives and their children.

Native Americans

The displacement of Native Americans attendant to the Homestead Act is well known. For example, in Kansas, a center for white and African American homesteading, the federal government shrank the reservation lands of the Kansa Indians in 1859; by 1877, all of the Kansa Indians had been removed to the Indian Territory. Even as the act subsidized their displacement, its provisions allowed American Indians to claim land if they took up settled agriculture. Some Native Americans applied. In 1869, 25 families from the Santee Sioux tribe, which had been removed by the federal government to the Dakota Territory after a bloody rebellion, formed the Flandreau Sioux colony. They surrendered their tribal land claims and, with the help of government officials and missionaries, entered individual land claims under the Homestead Act. A similar Indian land policy would underlie the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887.

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See Also: African Americans; Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; Alien Land Laws; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Civil War, U.S.; Dawes Act (1887); European Americans; German Americans; Great Plains Tribes; Indian Territory; Mexican Americans; Mormons; Native Americans; Reservations, Native American; Sharecropping; Sioux.

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Honduran Americans

The majority of Honduran Americans live in “mini-Honduran nations” throughout the country, in cities such as New York; Houston, Texas; Los Angeles and Miami; Charlotte, North Carolina; Dallas, Texas; New Orleans, Louisiana; Atlanta, Georgia; and Chicago, Illinois. According to the 2000 U.S. Census data, 218,000 Hondurans made up 0.6 percent of the total Hispanics living in the United States. Whereas the overall Hispanic population of the United States grew 43 percent between the 2000 and 2010 censuses, Honduran American population grew 191 percent to a total of 633,401 in 2010.

During World War II, Hondurans began coming to the United States as employees of the United Fruit Company, following the merchant marine trade routes and remaining in port cities such as New York, New Orleans, Boston, and Miami, and cities in New Jersey. They arrived as housemaids, gardeners, and the children of Honduran managers. They learned English, married U.S. citizens, remained in America, and became part of the nation’s growing middle class in the

1950s. Many were not integrated into Latino or Honduran communities, and therefore they assimilated into the “mainstream” U.S. culture, received a college education, and began working as professionals—teachers, nurses, lawyers, and engineers.

In the 1960s and 1970s many Hondurans entered the United States as students, tourists, or participants of family reunification programs. During this time frame, no strong Honduran communities existed; therefore, more resources were necessary to survive in the United States as members of the middle class. The most common immigrants from Honduras were single men between the ages of 20 and 34, considered by many to be the prime working age. Many left children and spouses behind with family members in Honduras to come to the United States to work. After establishing themselves here, some married U.S. citizens and formed families, while others brought their Honduran families to live with them.

In the 1980s, in the shadow of broader global economic restructuring, the Honduran economic market changed drastically. Moreover, civil wars in two bordering countries, El Salvador and Nicaragua, spread into the Honduran countryside. *Campesinos* (rural farmers) moved into the capital city of Tegucigalpa looking for work. When work became scarce across the entire country, many made the journey to the United States (including many who were undocumented, or *mojado*), looking for work to support family members left behind in Honduras.

Hondurans entering the United States during this period depended on family networks and compatriots for work and housing. This was the beginning of the trend of undocumented Hondurans entering the United States for economic reasons that still existed in the early 21st century. In 2012, there were 11 Honduran consulates in the United States serving compatriots. They were located in Washington, D.C.; Atlanta; Belmont, Massachusetts; Chicago; Houston; Los Angeles; Miami; New Orleans; New York City; Phoenix; and San Francisco.

Hurricanes Mitch and Katrina

The effects of Hurricane Mitch, which destroyed the infrastructure of Honduras in October 1998, increased the number of immigrants coming

to the United States for economic reasons. This group of immigrants also tended to stay in established Honduran communities, working in the service and agricultural industries, and not becoming part of the mainstream middle class. In August 2005, when Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans, there were approximately 120,000 Hondurans living there, many of whom had come to the United States to escape the economic disaster of Hurricane Mitch. Many fled the area during the mandatory evacuation and relocated in other mini-Honduran nations like Houston, Texas. Many returned to New Orleans as part of the reconstruction efforts. Some Hondurans were part of the federal government’s Temporary Protected States (TPS) program, while at the same time other undocumented Hondurans experienced heightened fear of deportation during the uncertain economic effects caused by Hurricane Katrina. The TPS program is sponsored by the secretary of Homeland Security for individuals from specific countries that are facing civil war, environmental disasters or epidemics, and other extraordinary and temporary conditions. Employment authorization is generally granted and has been a resource for Hondurans entering the United States for the past several decades.

Garifuna

The Garifuna are descendants of Carib Indians and escaped black African slaves who settled on the island of Saint Vincent. In the 17th century when the British colonized the island, the Garifuna resettled along the Caribbean coasts and islands of Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras. But in 2012, there were mini-nations of Garifuna, mainly from Honduras, living in Chicago, Miami, Los Angeles, and New York City. In the past, the census may have been misleading when counting the number of Honduran Americans living in the United States because the Garifuna may have been counted as blacks rather than Hispanics. The Garifuna community takes great pride in cultural, historic, and linguistic preservation. One of the most famous cultural contributions of the Garifuna is the traditional music and dance called the *punta*.

Culture

Catracho(a) is a nickname that all Hondurans call themselves. The Liga Nacional de Fútbol

(National Soccer League) is an important part of the Honduran American culture, as is displaying flags of favorite soccer teams and the national flag. The Honduran flag is blue and white striped with five blue stars representing all of the Central American countries centered on the middle white stripe. Favorite dishes found at local Honduran restaurants include rice and beans, *baleadas*, *chismol*, *sopa de caracol*, *pupusas*, *mondongo*, *plátanos maduros*, and *carne asada*.

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See Also: Guatemalan Americans; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Nicaraguan Americans; Salvadoran Americans.

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Hopi

The Hopi are a federally recognized tribe whose reservation was created by executive order in 1882. They primarily live on the Black Mesa escarpment in northeastern Arizona. Their 2.5-million-acre reservation is surrounded by the larger Navajo

Nation with whom the Hopi have had varied relationships over the years.

Most recently, concerns have dealt with sovereignty and gaining exclusive control of previously jointly used lands that were not identified by the federal government as exclusively Hopi in the 1882 treaty or subsequent executive orders. This created a jurisdictional problem that has led to years of turmoil and conflict. The Hopi consider their lands to be sacred and believe it is their duty to preserve and ensure that it is not desecrated or overused; they have felt the Navajo had let sheep and cattle overgraze the land.

In addition, the Hopi felt they had not received their share of royalties from the Peabody Coal Mine on Black Mesa in the disputed area. The federal government stepped in and passed the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act of 1974, which led to the generally peaceful partition of 1.8 million acres, a freeze on any development in the disputed area, and the relocation of numerous Navajo and Hopi families. On May 9, 2009, President Barack Obama ended the dispute with the repeal of the freeze so that families can now repair their homes and obtain electricity.

The Peaceful Little Ones

Hopi is an English abbreviation of Hopituh Shinu-mu (The Peaceful People, or Peaceful Little Ones). The Hopi use it to refer to individuals who behave appropriately, are respectful, well-mannered, civilized, peaceable, polite, and follow the Hopi way—a philosophy and set of values that permeates all areas of life, including the setting of political policy and how one learns. The Hopi speak an Uto-Aztecan language that is related to Southern Paiute, Ute, and O'odham; culturally, they are related to Zuni, Acoma, Laguna, and the Rio Grande Pueblos.

Settled agriculturalists, the Hopi are the westernmost Puebloan peoples whose ancestors lived on the Colorado Plateau for thousands of years. They moved to their present homes following a history of clan and band migrations that are well documented in Hopi oral narratives and archaeological record.

The Hopi refer to the numerous sites and cliff dwellings as the footprints of their ancestors. One Hopi town, Oraibi, is the oldest continuously inhabited town in the United States; in the 1540s

the Spanish estimated it was home to between 2,500 and 3,000 people.

Through the years the Hopi have provided asylum for many people. Following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Hopi gave sanctuary to Tewa-speaking migrants who feared reprisals from the Spanish when they returned to New Mexico in the 1690s. The Hopi allowed them to stay but they had to promise to contribute to Hopi culture, assume religious responsibilities, and live the Hopi way. Their contribution was to serve as warriors and protect the First Mesa Hopi village of Walpi from raids by Utes, Navajos, Apaches, and Spaniards and to serve as a buffer against Euro-American intrusions. The Hopi and Hopi-Tewa's calculated resistance to colonization, isolated location, tenacity, and belief in their culture has kept their traditions, language, religious beliefs, and rituals alive.

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the Hopi had a population of 6,946 people, which by 2010 had risen to 12,580, with another 6,000 individuals self-identifying as having partial Hopi heritage, a reflection of increased intermarriage outside the Hopi community and matrilineality.

The Hopi as a sovereign nation is a creation of the federal government, which wanted to deal with a single entity when discussing governance, land, mineral development, educational, and welfare issues. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, the Hopi Tribal Council was established in 1935 and a constitution was written by Francis LaFarge in 1939. This government has been accepted by the Progressive faction, or those who favor working with the federal government by using a democratically elected representative form of government or who have been Christianized. In contrast the Conservative faction feel that the Hopi should follow their traditional theocracy with complete village self-governance. This political factionalism still continues.

The Hopi nation is comprised of village communities located on three mesas and outlying towns. Moving from east to west are First Mesa (Hano a Hopi-Tewa village, Walpi, Sichomovi) with Polocca at the base of the mesa, Second Mesa (Shipaulovi, Mishongnovi, Shungopavi), and Third Mesa (Oraibi, Bacavi, Hotevilla) with Kyakotsmovi at the foot of the mesa. Lower and Upper Moencopi, agricultural summer villages,

are sited near Tuba City and are home to a resort center. The tribal offices are located at Kyakotsmovi (previously called New Oraibi) at the foot of Third Mesa. Indian Service offices are located at Keam's Canyon, east of First Mesa. Today, many families live at the foot of the mesas where they can access amenities like electricity, water, and roads, using the mesa-top villages as ceremonial centers. Others who live off-reservation throughout the United States return regularly to fulfill family, clan, and religious obligations.

The Hopi are one of the best-known and most written about American Indian peoples. Every American has seen their beautiful pottery, painting, basketry, and silver and turquoise jewelry. People have also heard about or gone to see the katsina plaza dances or the famous snake dance, although most parts of Hopi religion are held in private and not meant to be seen by uninitiated individuals. Famous Hopi individuals are also well known: from the potters of the Nampeyo family to historic religious leaders and, finally, to Lori Piestewa, the young soldier who was killed in Iraq.

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See Also: Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; American Indian Categorization (Essay); Apache; Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Native Americans; Navajo; Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute; Reservations, Native American.

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House Made of Dawn

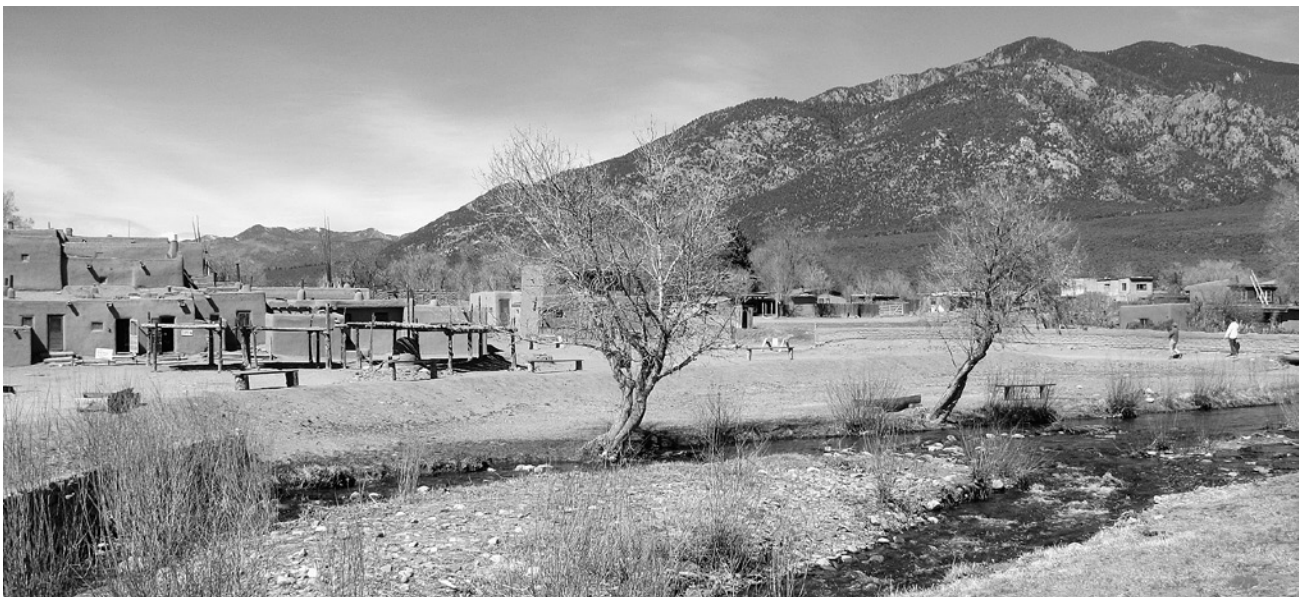
N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968) is usually recognized as the first and one of the most influential novels of the literary movement critic Kenneth Lincoln called the "Native American Renaissance," which includes authors such as Sherman Alexie, Joy Harjo, Leslie Marmon Silko, and others. Momaday's realistic treatment of Native American life and powerful literary language not only made the author's reputation but the work's success helped open doors for succeeding Native American authors, both in greatly expanding publishing opportunities, particularly for novelists, and through an explosion of serious critical and scholarly attention to these new writers. *House Made of Dawn* was unexpectedly awarded the Pulitzer Prize for best novel of 1968—the publisher had already allowed the book to go out of print before the prize was announced.

Native American Renaissance

House Made of Dawn was hailed for its contrast with previous novels about Native Americans, which shared with anthropological works timeless settings in a presumed past that was defined

as more culturally authentic. Focused on Abel, it tells the story of a troubled World War II veteran who returns to the reservation, is imprisoned for murder, relocated to Los Angeles, and ultimately finds his way back to his community, the fictional Pueblo town of Walatowa, Cañon de San Diego, New Mexico. The novel is temporally complex, with the story unfolding through multiple techniques, including flashbacks, visions, songs and stories from oral traditions from multiple Native American traditions, sermons, and passages from a diary.

Momaday has said that the novel is in part based on his memories of growing up among Native American veterans who returned from World War II to face prejudice despite their service. The novel deals with contemporary social issues, including prejudice, relocation of Native Americans from traditional lands and reservations to cities, urban Native American life, and the Native American Church and its peyote rituals. These themes and settings, particularly the contrast of reservation and urban life and the role of traditional religion and ritual in these contrasting settings, all became important in contemporary Native American literature.



Taos Pueblo, New Mexico, is a Native American community that has been continuously inhabited for over 1,000 years. The term house made of dawn refers to the world of spiritual and physical wholeness and connectedness to the land and its people; the land plays an important role in the spirituality of indigenous American people. In the 1968 book of the same name, the protagonist, Abel, becomes separated from that world through his life experiences outside his family's New Mexico reservation.

An important issue in this novel, and also influential for subsequent writers of contemporary Native American fiction and for Native scholars of this literature, is the role of oral tradition in literature and in contemporary life. Momaday is a member of the Kiowa Nation from Oklahoma but spent his childhood in Jemez Pueblo of New Mexico, the model for Walatowa, and on the Navajo Reservation in Oklahoma. Multiple traditions are represented and sensitively combined in the novel, the title of which is taken from a Navajo healing ceremony, the Night Chant. Healing through traditional practices that link Native Americans to community and the natural world is a major theme of the novel, which begins and ends with a traditional run in the Pueblo community that honors the dead.

The religious divisions between urban Native Americans and those on traditional lands are reflected in the major indigenous characters in the novel, including Abel's grandfather Francisco, who participates in Pueblo ceremonies in the kiva, a semisubterranean ritual structure, and John Big Bluff Tosamah, who has adapted to city life in Los Angeles and is a priest in the Native American Church who uses Kiowa traditions as the basis for some of his religious teachings. Momaday's novel represents both traditional Pueblo and Navajo and Kiowa religion and community and the adaptation of these to urban environments, specifically Los Angeles, where Tosamah's sermons can be seen to help Native Americans working low-wage jobs and living marginal lives. Abel is also befriended in the city by Ben Benally, a Navajo who treasures his culture, sharing the House Made of Dawn Night Chant song with Abel, but who also finds pleasure in the life of the city.

Momaday was born in 1934 in Lawton, Oklahoma. His father Al was a recognized Kiowa artist, educated at Bacone College, and his mother Natachee Scott Momaday was an author and illustrator. After graduating from the University of New Mexico, Momaday received his Ph.D. at Stanford University, where he studied writing with famed western author Wallace Stegner and poetry with poet and critic Yvor Winters, who had a deep interest in Native American poetry and a profound influence on Momaday. Momaday has taught at the University of California, Berkeley and the University of Arizona. His other

major books include *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, a collection of Kiowa oral traditions illustrated by his father (1969), and *The Names: A Memoir* (1976).

As the novel opened the way for Native American writers, the 1972 independently produced film of *House Made of Dawn*, although receiving mixed reviews, helped open doors for Native American actors and presaged an important movement in indigenous cinema, including more independent and studio-backed adaptations of Native American Renaissance works. Directed by Richardson Morse, the film starred Native American actors Larry Littlebird (Abel), Jay Varelly (Ben Benally), and Mesa Bird (Francisco). Although he shared a writing credit with Morse for the screenplay and modestly minimizes his contribution to the film, the movie is a landmark as the first Native American novel adapted to the screen after a century of Anglo-American westerns, and it clearly helped pave the way for Native American writer-directors like Sherman Alexie and Chris Eyre. It is arguably a foundational example of contemporary indigenous cinema, or what director Barry Barclay has called the "Fourth Cinema," incorporating indigenous aesthetics and worldview.

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See Also: Armed Forces, U.S.; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures; Native Americans; Navajo; World War II.

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House of Representatives, U.S.

Historically, the demographics of elected federal officials have lagged behind that of the rest of the country when it comes to diversity, though the legislative branch does not lag as far behind as the executive branch. Today, the 113th Congress is the most diverse in history, consisting of 43 blacks (8 percent), 32 Latinos (6 percent), 30 Asians (5.6 percent), four Arab Americans, and one Caribbean American, as well as the first Buddhist senator (Mazie Hirono), the first Hindu representative (Tulsi Gabbard), the first professed atheist (Congresswoman Krysten Sinema), and the first Unitarian Universalist (Congresswoman Ami Bera).

Various European immigrant groups became integrated into the congressional makeup over time. The first Polish American congressman, for instance, was John Casimir Kleczka, elected in 1918 to represent the 4th District of Wisconsin, a state with a significant Polish population. The first Italian American congressman was Foster Furcolo, the son of an Italian immigrant father and an Irish immigrant mother, who moved to Massachusetts from Connecticut after law school in 1937 and was elected to represent the 2nd District in 1948. In 1957, he became the state's first Italian American governor.

Jewish participation in the legislature dates to the colonial period, when Francis Salvador (who was later killed in the Revolutionary War) served in the legislature of the colony of South Carolina. The first Jewish American elected to the U.S. Congress was Lewis Charles Levin, who served Pennsylvania's 1st District from 1845 to 1851. Levin was a prominent Know-Nothing, a mid-19th-century political movement that was principally concerned with limiting immigration and limiting the influence of immigrants already in the country. Levin's own objections were less to immigration itself and more to the increasing presence of Catholicism in the United States. Anti-Catholic concerns, and fears that loyalty to the Catholic pope would override loyalty to the American republic (a fear revived by the second Ku Klux Klan in the early 20th century and the opponents of presidential candidate John F.

Kennedy in 1960), were at the heart of this anti-immigration platform. A lawyer who lectured on temperance, Levin began his anti-Catholic crusade in 1843 in response to a local school excusing Catholic students from Bible study class because the Protestant King James Bible was used by the district. He soon became the leader of a Pennsylvania-based nativist movement and was elected on an anti-Catholic platform, serving three terms.

Most states have been slower to elect female officials. The first female Jewish American elected to Congress was Florence Prag Kahn, only the fifth female congressional representative, serving California's 4th District from 1925 to 1937. Kahn originally ran in a special election to fill the vacancy left by her husband Julius Kahn, who had served from 1899 to 1903 and again from 1905 until 1924; she, too, was reelected numerous times. Both Kahns were Republicans. Julius had been concerned with military matters and national security, and Florence became the first woman to serve on the House Military Affairs Committee. After she left Congress in 1937, she continued for the next decade to encourage women to become more involved with politics.

Diversity in the House

In the 21st century, Eric Cantor became the first Jewish whip in 2009, and after the midterm elections shifted the balance of the House in favor of his Republican Party, he became the first Jewish House Majority Leader in 2011. Elected in 2000, Cantor serves Virginia's 7th District and is one of the highest-ranking Jewish figures in American political history. Notably, he attained this high office in the same era in which Nancy Pelosi became the first female Speaker of the House (2007) and Barack Obama became the first African American President (2008), with the most diverse cabinet in history.

There were no African Americans in elected office until the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1868) established their citizenship and the Fifteenth Amendment (1870) forbade abridgment of voting rights on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Even in the north, blacks had held very few elected offices—Wentworth Cheswell had served as a school board official and justice of the peace

in New Hampshire in the 18th and early 19th centuries, Alexander Twilight had served in the Vermont state legislature from 1836 to 1857, John Mercer Langston had served as a clerk in Ohio in 1854 (elected by an abolitionist political party), and Edward Walker and Charles Mitchell had served as Massachusetts state legislators in 1866.

But after the Civil War, newly enfranchised blacks were the majority population in several southern states, including South Carolina, where Joseph Rainey became the first directly elected black member of Congress in 1870. (Hiram Revels had been the first black member of Congress when he was appointed to the Senate earlier in the year.) Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia all elected black congressmen in the Reconstruction era. The end of Reconstruction saw various laws passed to attempt to restrict the voting rights of blacks or make it more difficult for them to vote, which in turn resulted in fewer blacks being elected to office. When John Mercer Langston was elected to Congress in 1888, he was the first African American congressman from Virginia. The second, Bobby Scott, was not elected until 1992, more than a century later.

The end of the 19th century has been called the nadir of American race relations, a period in which blacks were denied voting and economic rights at the state and local levels, lynching reached an all-time high, racist caricature was an everyday staple of entertainment, immigration laws were enacted to exclude or limit members of certain races or ethnicities, and enormous numbers of African Americans fled the south in the Great Migration to the industrial cities of the north and the midwest. For 28 years after the expiration of the term of George Henry White of North Carolina in 1901, no African American served in Congress. Not until the 1970s was an African American again elected from the southern states.

The first Hispanic American congressman was Romualdo Pacheco, elected in 1876, who had previously served as California's first (and still only) Hispanic governor. He had been preceded by Hispanic nonvoting delegates from American territories.

The first Asian American congressman was Dalip Singh Saund, an Indian American elected

by California's 29th District in 1956. Born in India, Saund moved to the United States in the 1920s to study agriculture and remained in the country as a permanent resident after his studies. He was part of a campaign to allow south Asians to become naturalized citizens, and he applied for citizenship by naturalization after the Luce-Celler Act successfully passed in 1946. Saund was elected seven years after becoming a citizen in 1949. His stroke at the end of his second term contributed to his losing his attempt at reelection. Prior to Saund, several Asian American nonvoting delegates had been sent to the House of Representatives by American territories, including Robert William Wilcox (1900–03), the Hawai'i-born son of a white captain from the mainland and a native Hawai'ian mother, and Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole of Hawai'i (1903–22).

Keith Ellison, elected in 2006 to serve Minnesota's 5th District, is the first Muslim member of Congress. A member of the Minnesota affiliate of the Democratic Party, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (created by the 1944 merger with the Farmer-Labor Party), Ellison was raised Catholic and is the brother of a Baptist pastor, but had no active involvement in religion until his conversion to Islam while in college at Wayne State University. His religion did not receive much national attention until the official photo session after the swearing-in ceremony, where he posed with his hand on an English translation of the Qur'an, a volume that had once belonged to Thomas Jefferson. Though numerous American officials had taken their oath of office without a Bible, including several presidents as early as John Quincy Adams, Ellison was criticized for his choice by members of the conservative punditry and accused of disloyalty to the Constitution.

Native Americans are one of the most underrepresented groups in Congress, and in 2013, only Tom Cole, serving Oklahoma's 4th District, is a registered member of a Native American tribe (the Chickasaw Nation). Charles Curtis, elected in 1892 to serve Kansas's 4th District, had three Native American great-grandparents on his mother's side, from the Kaw, Osage, and Pottawatomie tribes, and the rest of his ancestry was western European. He later served in the Senate and was the first Senate majority leader of Native American background—still later

he served as vice president to Herbert Hoover, another first.

Middle Eastern Americans have also rarely served in Congress. Most have been Lebanese, one of the Middle Eastern groups with the longest history in the United States. The first Middle Eastern American congressman, George Kasem (elected in 1958), was a Lebanese American, as are three current congressmen—Nick Rahall, Darrell Issa, and Charles Boustany.

Congressional Member Organizations

Within the House of Representatives, members belong to a number of Congressional Member Organizations, often called caucuses or coalitions, and governed by rules set by the House. These range in focus from the ideological—the Tea Party Caucus—to particular interests, like the Congressional Bike Caucus. Caucuses often include senators, though some separate senate caucuses are maintained as well. There are a number of caucuses for representatives of a particular ethnicity or religious affiliation, or to represent the interests of that group.

The Congressional Black Caucus was formed in 1971 by 13 African American representatives. It has included a small number of African American senators—six all told—in its lifetime. Though nonpartisan, in practice the CBC's membership has been predominantly Democratic, and its founding succeeded the Democratic Select Committee (DSC), which pursued similar aims. When the CBC was founded, the participation of blacks in public office was seen as inherently radical by some—Charles Diggs, who chaired the DSC and was the first chair of the CBC, was included in Richard Nixon's "enemies list" for this reason, despite a moderate political ideology and career. The CBC later helped found TransAfrica, a foreign policy advocacy group, and was instrumental in the Free South Africa movement and eventual drafting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which passed in 1986.

The CBC was originally a legislative service organization and, as such, received a small amount of federal funding and use of federal resources such as office space. After the "Republican Revolution" of the 1994 midterm elections, remembered today largely for the Contract With America, newly major House Republicans abolished a large

number of legislative service organizations that it considered to be wasteful expenditures. The CBC was one of them, and it reestablished itself as a Congressional Member Organization, funded mainly by corporate donations.

The CBC has elected to maintain an exclusively black membership, though this is not officially part of its bylaws and may change, subject to the whim of its future membership. This issue has rarely required an address, but in 2006, white Congressman Steve Cohen, representing the predominantly black community of Tennessee's 9th District, applied for membership and was denied.

Like the CBC, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus was founded as a legislative service organization and later reorganized as a Congressional Member Organization. The CHC was founded in 1976 by congressmen from Texas, California, Puerto Rico, and New York in order to address the needs of Hispanic Americans. Its chairs have included presidential candidate and New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson. It maintains the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, an independent nonprofit, nonpartisan organization.

The CHC was originally bipartisan. In 2003, the Republican members left the CHC in order to form the similarly named Congressional Hispanic Conference, a Hispanic Republican caucus. The split occurred as a result of the nomination of conservative Miguel Estrada to the Washington, D.C., Circuit Court of Appeals, and the new caucus was announced in an open letter published by the *Wall Street Journal* on March 17, 2003, in order to protest the Democratic CHC's opposition to Estrada's nomination. The Republican CHC has pursued support of faith-based initiatives in light of its constituency's generally conservative religious beliefs, and tax reductions for small business owners. Membership comprises both representatives and senators, including Tea Party conservative Senator Marco Rubio of Florida. Former members include Senator John E. Sununu, whose ancestry is Lebanese and Irish, but whose father was born in Cuba.

The Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus was formed in 1994 by Japanese American Congressman Norman Mineta to serve the interests of Asian Americans and

Pacific Islanders. It includes a number of non-Asian American associate members, especially those serving districts with significant Asian American or Pacific Islander populations. It also includes delegates from the United States' Pacific territories, American Samoa and the Northern Mariana Islands.

The American Sikh Congressional Caucus was formed in 2013 to address the interests of American Sikhs in the wake of post-9/11 discrimination, such as the 2012 shooting at an Oak Creek, Wisconsin, Sikh temple. Judy Chu (D-California), the first Chinese American woman elected to Congress, founded the caucus; she also serves as chair of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus.

The Congressional Caucus on Turkey and Turkish Americans was founded in March 2001, and consists not of Turkish American representatives but of (in 2013) 67 Democratic and 90 Republican congressional representatives whose constituencies include large numbers of Turkish Americans. Issues addressed by the caucus include both Turkish American issues and U.S.-Turkey relations. This focus on foreign policy and trade issues with the ancestral home country is common in many of the congressional caucuses organized along ethnicity-related issues.

A number of smaller caucuses exist as well, including the Armenian Caucus (formed in 1991) and the Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues (2006), the Bangladesh Caucus (2002), the Caribbean Caucus (2003), the Congressional Azerbaijan Caucus (2006), the Congressional Brazil Caucus (2006), the Congressional Caucus on Central America (2006), the Congressional Caucus on Hellenic Issues (2006), the Congressional Caucus on the Netherlands (2006), the Congressional Caucus on Sri Lanka and Sri Lankan Americans (2006), the Congressional Caucus on Uganda (2006), the Congressional Croatian Caucus (2006), the Congressional Czech Caucus (2008), the Congressional French Caucus (2003), the Congressional Iraqi Women's Caucus (2006), the Congressional Morocco Caucus (2003), the Congressional Pakistan Caucus (2006), the Congressional Taiwan Caucus (2002), the Diversity and Innovation Caucus (2007), the House Friends of Scotland Caucus (2006), the Friends of Switzerland Caucus (2003), the German-American

Caucus (2010), the India Caucus (2004), the Indonesia Caucus (2004), the Italian American Congressional Delegation, the Kenya Caucus (2006), the Kurdish American Caucus (2007), and the Latino-Jewish Congressional Caucus (2011). Not all of these caucuses limit their membership to members of the ethnic or religious group in question, and in some cases may be joined by representatives whose constituencies include a significant number of that group.

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See Also: Cabinet, U.S.; Congressional Black Caucus; Congressional Hispanic Caucus; Congressional Hispanic Conference; Constitution, U.S.; Constitutional Amendments; Election 2012 and the 2010 Census; Executive Actions; Gerrymandering; Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, U.S.; Law and Ethnic Diversity; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Presidency, U.S.; Senate, U.S.; Supreme Court, U.S.

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Hungarian Americans

Hungarians have long seen the United States as a place where they could make better lives for themselves, initially coming in a series of individual migrations in the 16th and 18th centuries. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Hungarians came in three waves of much-larger group migrations—after the War of Independence in 1848, during the period immediately prior to and after World War I, and as political refugees after the failed Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Data drawn from the 2010 U.S. Census indicate that roughly 1.5 million Hungarian Americans reside in the United States, mostly the descendants of these earlier three waves of migrations.

Historical Development

Sporadic individual migrations of middle- and upper-class individuals occurred from the 1600s to the 1800s, mostly comprised of travelers of the middle and upper classes who settled sporadically in major American port cities. These phenomena made it almost impossible for a Hungarian American ethnic group to form a cohesive identity, as ethnic institutions, churches, and cultural organizations in the United States were nonexistent. The first major group migration of Hungarians to the New World occurred after the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in 1848, comprised

of those who fled the war-torn Austrian Empire. The following two years (1849–50) saw several thousand Hungarian refugees come to the United States, mostly men of the educated gentry who eventually ended up working as laborers in American factories and farms. In the 1860s, thousands of Hungarians served in the Union army during the U.S. Civil War alongside other groups of immigrants from different countries. In the crucible of war, Hungarians blended in with the larger white American population and acculturated to life in the United States, settling in occupations across the economic spectrum.

The second major group migration of Hungarians came at the turn of the 20th century, with almost 2 million Hungarians immigrating to the United States in search of improved economic prospects. These immigrants, unlike their educated gentry counterparts in the first wave of migration, were comprised mostly of the poorer classes seeking to better their lives in factories and mines across the industrialized north and midwest.

John Rosta, a first-generation Hungarian American from New Brunswick, New Jersey, remembered that his parents came to the United States in the early 20th century "for economic reasons mainly. They were peasants at the time, and they had a difficult time, and saw no future there." Like many Hungarians who came to the United States during this period, Rosta's parents settled in an area full of jobs, relatives, and community institutions, eventually raising their children as Hungarian Americans.

World War I had a significant impact on the Hungarian American community as immigration from Hungary was effectively curtailed. Restrictive American immigration laws enacted soon thereafter placed a quota on all European immigrants, with only a minute number of Hungarians allowed to enter the United States compared to the decades prior. The Hungarian Americans and their descendants during this time simultaneously strengthened their community institutions and assimilated into American culture, answering the call to arms during World War II by serving in all branches of the U.S. military with distinction. The third wave of major Hungarian group migration occurred in the 1950s, when nearly 40,000 Hungarians arrived in the

United States after fleeing the forces of the Soviet Union sent to crush the failed Hungarian Revolution of 1956. These political refugees became symbols of “freedom fighters” in American culture for their audacity to demand freedom in the communist system and found ready sponsors in local Hungarian communities across the nation.

From the 1960s on, Hungarian Americans have largely acculturated and can be seen in all walks of economic, political, and cultural life in their new homeland. Notable Americans of Hungarian descent from this period are Frankie Zoly Molnar, who was awarded the Medal of Honor during the Vietnam War; Joe Namath, Super Bowl winning quarterback for the New York Jets; and actresses Zsa Zsa Gabor and Mariska Hargitay.



As a memorial to the victims of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, a flag waves at the Hungarian Parliament Building in Budapest. The declaration of the Republic of Hungary in 1989, a Hungarian national holiday, is also celebrated in the United States.

Culture

Hungarian Americans maintain their culture and traditions in a variety of ways. Hungarian American ethnic and cultural institutions celebrate three major holidays (March 15, Revolution of 1848; August 20, St. Stephen’s Day; October 23, Revolution of 1956), which provide opportunities for younger generations to hear the language and to eat ethnic Hungarian dishes. Foodways have been one of the most visible ways in which the Hungarian American community maintains its ethnic identity, as the preparation and eating of cuisine such as *kolbasz*, *kalacs*, *dios*, *makos*, *palacsinta*, and *szaluna* at festivals and informal gatherings allow the group to celebrate its history and traditions.

Hungarians, in many ways, readily assimilated into American language and culture after the group’s initial three waves of migration to the United States. Although initially pidgin languages of Hungarian and English were used by 19th- and 20th-century immigrants, English has become the primary language spoken by Hungarian Americans in the United States in the 21st century. Hungarian family life usually conforms to American patterns in terms of courtship, marriage, and familial structure.

The Contemporary Scene

The Hungarian American population has remained relatively unchanged since the 1970s, staying in the 1.3 million to 1.7 million range for the past five decades. Despite this stability, a major issue that has arisen among the population during this time period has been the ability to keep Hungarian cultural traditions alive, as later generations lack the ability to speak the language and know little of the modern country of Hungary because of the decreasing number of ethnic institutions, churches, and cultural organizations in the United States.

Notwithstanding this trend, Hungarian ethnic and cultural organizations continue to make important contributions to fostering Hungarian American identity and make a significant impact on the communities of which they are a part. The American Hungarian Foundation, founded in 1955, continues its mission as a national repository for Hungarian American history and holds local and national cultural events each year that make the general American public aware of the

ethnic group's rich history as well as celebrate Hungarian culture.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Austrian Americans; Civil War, U.S.; Refugees; World War I.

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I

“I Have a Dream” Speech

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech on August 28, 1963, as part of the events of the March on Washington. In the speech, King described the ways America’s citizens of color had been denied the freedoms guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, called for African Americans to demand their citizenship rights through nonviolent means, and articulated a vision of equality between blacks and whites. At the end of the speech, King began several statements in succession with the words “I have a dream,” the phrase that became the speech’s moniker, each statement imagining details of the racial justice King hoped to inspire and achieve.

Context Within the March on Washington

Preceded in the civil rights movement by the Montgomery Bus Boycott, sit-ins across the south at segregated lunch counters, Freedom Rides that strived to integrate interstate buses and bus stations, and protests in Birmingham, Alabama, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom brought a racially and geographically diverse crowd of about 250,000 to the National Mall to protest the Jim Crow laws and segregationist practices then in place in the United States. Among other changes, the marchers demanded

civil rights legislation ensuring that Americans of all races would have access to public accommodations, decent housing, integrated education, and the right to vote.

As the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), one of the groups sponsoring the march, King was influential in its planning. There was a full slate of singers and speakers for the protest, and King initially planned to keep his speech to five minutes, the time allotted to each of the other speakers. Organizers convinced him to take more time, given his talents as an orator and his position as one of the last speakers on the program. King delivered the Dream speech late in the afternoon, and his remarks lasted 17 minutes.

Drafting and Delivery

Four days before the march, King brainstormed with advisers and worked with SCLC colleagues on drafts. However, the speech was unfinished when he arrived in Washington, D.C., the night before, and King continued editing his remarks through the night and up until he reached the podium at the Lincoln Memorial. At the end of the speech, King deviated from his prepared version; the celebrated conclusion, which invokes the refrain “I have a dream,” was extemporaneous.

King had a fine baritone voice, and his stately, measured delivery of the Dream speech was



Martin Luther King, Jr., at the August 28, 1963, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which was organized to help support the civil rights legislation proposed by President John F. Kennedy. King and other speakers agreed to keep their speeches calm and avoid provoking civil disobedience. The gripping "I Have a Dream" speech, delivered to over 200,000 supporters, was a defining moment of the American civil rights movement; in a 1999 poll of speech scholars, it ranked as the top American speech of the 20th century.

indicative of his background as a preacher in the black Baptist tradition. When King paused at the cadences of the speech, the crowd shouted responses such as "Yeah!" and "All right!" in the call-and-response style of a sermon.

Structure, Style, and Sources

King began by calling upon the memory of the Emancipation Proclamation, but then spoke out about the freedoms systematically denied to African Americans because of segregation and discrimination. He reminded his audience of the equality promised to all by the founding documents of the United States and emphasized the urgency of demanding these promises become reality for African Americans. King advocated civil disobedience, not physical violence, as a way to achieve these goals. In the improvised "I have a dream" section, King articulated a vision

of national racial harmony, ending by asking that freedom ring from coast to coast.

Stylistically, the Dream speech is marked by frequent use of metaphor, anaphora, antithesis, and biblical and literary allusion. In addition to the books of Matthew, Luke, Isaiah, Daniel, Amos, and Psalms, the speech alludes to the Gettysburg Address and Richard III. King also directly quoted from the hymn "America" and the spiritual "Free at Last."

King claimed he did not know what prompted him to begin the "I have a dream" portion of the speech, although some remember Mahalia Jackson calling out during the speech, exhorting King to tell the crowd about his vision. King had used the phrase "American Dream" in previous addresses; other elements of the speech, such as the quotation of the spiritual, were also in his established public-speaking vocabulary.

Reception and Legacy

Especially because it was nationally televised, the Dream speech secured King's reputation as an exceptional orator. Yet not all agreed with dreaming as a way to gain true racial equality. Nor was the speech a major reference point in the national conversations over the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Despite these victories, King wondered later in the decade, in the face of the Watts riots in Los Angeles and urban ghettoization in the north, whether his dream had become a nightmare. Only after King's assassination in 1968 did the Dream speech make a resurgence in public consciousness and come to represent King's memory and the legacy of the civil rights movement as a whole.

Americans continue to interpret the meaning of King's dream and how it should be realized. Different understandings of King and his philosophy came into play during the debate in the 1980s that ultimately led to the creation of a national holiday in King's honor. King's ideal of color-blindness has also been invoked on both sides of the affirmative action debate. No matter how it is read, the Dream speech endures as one of the great pieces of American oratory.

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See Also: Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; DREAM Act; Ghetto; Jim Crow Laws; March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; Martin Luther King, Jr. Day; National Civil Rights Museum; People of Color; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Segregation; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Voting Rights Acts.

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I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings

I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings is an autobiographical account of the early years of Maya Angelou, an African American writer and poet, one of the most renowned and influential voices of the 20th century. A poet, writer, singer, memoirist, historian, playwright, performer, stage and screen producer, director, and civil rights activist, Angelou was born Marguerite Johnson in St. Louis, Missouri, on April 4, 1928. She was educated at Lafayette Country Training School, George Washington High School, and Mission High School.

Angelou became the first black streetcar conductor in San Francisco, and her love and talents for the arts enabled her to do well in such fields as singing, dancing, and playwriting. She nourished herself upon the works of writers like Paul Lawrence Dunbar, W. E. B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, and Langston Hughes, as well as canonical works by William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, and Edgar Allan Poe.

Her screenplay, *Georgia, Georgia* (1972), based on one of her short stories, was the first short story by a black woman to be adapted for a feature film. Her experience of undisguised racial discrimination during her childhood stamped an indelible mark upon her life, leading to her lifelong career as a civil rights activist.

Introduction to the Novel

I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings was published in 1969 and earned Angelou widespread critical acclaim and enormous popular success. Among her numerous honors for the book, Angelou received a National Book Award nomination. Christopher Lehmann-Haupt in the *New York Times* regarded *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* as "a carefully wrought, simultaneously touching and comic memoir . . . [its] beauty is not in the story but in the telling."

The novel is a good example of how determination, will power, and a love of literature can help one fight against racism and childhood traumatic experiences. The book narrates Angelou's early years in the racist town of Stamps, where her grandmother ran the town's only black-owned

general merchandise store. Angelou vividly recounts the customs and harsh circumstances of black life in the segregated south, where economic hardship, hatred, and denigration were a routine part of daily life.

Many of the problems Angelou confronted in her childhood stem from the overt racism of her white neighbors. As she reflects upon their impact on her early years, she writes, "If growing up is painful for the Southern Black girl, being aware of her displacement is the rust on the razor that threatens the throat . . . it is an unnecessary insult."

Writing Style

Angelou's writing attempts to reenact her own life story and the whole African American experience that shaped her psyche and writing. Her autobiographies are written in a conversational manner, and she tries to appease the pain of her experience by using simple and colloquial language and allowing her readers to participate in her feelings. *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* is a spiritual odyssey about the survival of a black girl in a hostile society. And this is not the story of an individual black girl; it is the story of the whole African American race for whom Angelou is the spokeswoman.

In so doing she is able to infuse into the genre of autobiography fictional elements such as dialogues, full-fledged characterization, sensory details, plot design, and above all the first-person singular narrative point of view of an innocent child, thus creating a unique form of autobiographical style, or what she herself terms "literary autobiography." For example, the characterization of Mrs. Bertha Flowers not only includes her words, but also the vivid descriptions of her appearance, so that the reader knows clearly what kind of person she is.

Sentences found in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* such as ". . . I sopped around the house, the Store, the school and the church, like an old biscuit, dirty and inedible . . . Her skin was a rich black that would have peeled like a plum if snagged. . . ." evoke an undeniable sense of a little, innocent girl's voice speaking to herself and to the readers. When she writes, "I have often tried to search behind the sophistication of years for the enchantment I so easily found in those gifts. . . . Childhood's logic never asks to be proved (all

conclusions are absolute)," a reflecting adult's point of view is clearly presented to the reader.

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See Also: African Americans; Art and Ethnic Diversity; *Go Tell It on the Mountain*; Identity Development; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures; Music and Ethnic Diversity; *Native Son*; Theater and Ethnic Diversity; *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

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I Love Lucy

I Love Lucy was an American situation comedy that debuted on CBS in October 1951 and ran for six years. For four of its six years, it was the highest-rated series on television, and it remained in the top three for the two years that it slipped from first place. During those six years, it earned its place in television history through its innovative production, its challenges to what Americans would accept in family comedy, and, perhaps most significantly, its presentation of television's first multicultural family.

Lucille Desiree Ball was born in Jamestown, New York, on August 6, 1911, into a lower-middle-class, Protestant family. Desiderio Alberto Arnaz y de Acha III was born March 2, 1917, in Santiago de Cuba, the privileged son of the town's mayor until a military coup in Cuba forced a considerably poorer Arnaz family to flee to Miami. They met on an RKO lot where both were filming and were married on November 30, 1940. Ball, failing to find the movie stardom she had sought, was starring with Richard Denning in a CBS radio comedy called *My Favorite Husband* when CBS decided that the comedy about a ditzy woman and her banker husband would transfer to television. They wanted Ball to star, but she was interested only if the deal included Arnaz as her costar. The network didn't think America would tune in to watch a sitcom with a Latino husband. Ball turned down the offer.

She and Arnaz went on the road. They toured the nation, playing six or seven shows a day. Audiences' enthusiastic reception of the team was enough to persuade the network to give them a chance. CBS assumed the show would be shot in New York, as most shows were at the time. The plans were also to shoot in kinescope. Ball and Arnaz preferred to shoot the program in Hollywood, and Arnaz was insistent that it be shot on film, a more expensive proposition. When the network balked, Ball and Arnaz agreed to take \$1,000-per-episode salary cuts. In exchange, their production company, Desilu, would retain full ownership rights to the show.

On October 15, 1951, *I Love Lucy* debuted. It was also Arnaz's idea to use three cameras. He and cinematographer Karl Freund adapted the three-camera system, and the show became the first to

be filmed before a studio audience. Syndication was unheard of in 1951, but Arnaz had ensured the show's endurance and prosperity. Half a century later, the cost of broadcasting a single episode was \$100,000, 20 times what Arnaz paid for half the rights to all the episodes. *I Love Lucy* has been syndicated in 80 countries. Desilu went on to produce other top TV shows as well *Our Miss Brooks*, *The Untouchables*, *Mission: Impossible*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, and *Star Trek* among them. Ball bought out Arnaz's share in Desilu Productions when the couple divorced in 1960. She became the first woman to run a major television studio. She sold the company to Gulf-Western in 1967 for \$17 million.

I Love Lucy was an immediate hit. The sense of intimacy that was part of the television experience was heightened in the case of *I Love Lucy*. The show centered around events in the lives of the fictional characters Lucy and Ricky Ricardo and their friends Fred and Ethel Mertz (William Frawley and Vivian Vance), and reflected the lives of the postwar audience. At the heart of the show were Lucy's ongoing efforts to find a place outside the circumscribed domestic world but always failing and returning to the domestic sphere, an idea that held a particular resonance in a world where high marriage rates, the baby boom, and a push to redefine women's role in traditional ways were at odds with the number of women in the workforce.

Pushing Boundaries

Events such as Lucy's struggle to lose 12 pounds in four days to fit into a dress, Lucy and Ricky's clash over her spending habits, Lucy's fear that the honeymoon was over were all story lines that struck a chord with their audience. The most famous example of this identification occurred when Ball's real-life pregnancy was worked into the show's story lines. Ball became the first visibly pregnant woman to perform on television, thus challenging ideas of what was appropriate. Although censors refused to let the show use the word *pregnant*, they used Lucy's cravings and mood swings and Ricky's sympathetic morning sickness and concerns about impending fatherhood. Arnaz also refused to agree to sponsor Philip Morris's desire to hide Ball's pregnant body behind furniture. On the morning of January, 19, 1953, Lucille Ball gave birth to a son,

Desi Arnaz, Jr.; that night Lucy Ricardo gave birth to “Little Ricky” in an episode watched by 44 million Americans, the highest viewership up to that point. More people watched “Lucy Goes to the Hospital” than the inauguration of President Eisenhower five days later.

Once *I Love Lucy* was established as a hit, writers began using Ricky’s heritage. He sang Cuban songs in Spanish, he cooked *arroz con pollo* (a classic Latin American dish), and Ricky’s Cuban friends and his mother visited him, their Spanish conversations translated into English on the show. In the final season, the Ricardo family visits Cuba and Little Ricky speaks perfect Spanish with his relatives. For many Americans, Ricky Ricardo was their introduction to Latino culture. Ricky Ricardo was accepted on the show and in the living rooms of America without prejudice or discrimination.

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See Also: Cuban Americans; Desilu Productions; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Television.

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I Remember Mama

Based on Kathryn Forbes’s fictionalized family memoir, *Mama’s Bank Account*, *I Remember Mama* is a 1944 comedy-drama by English playwright-cum-director John Van Druten. The play chronicles a close-knit Norwegian American family, led by its stalwart but loving matriarch, in a series of vignettes that explore their lives in 1910s San Francisco. Much of the action concerned Mama’s interventions in the lives of her

family members to help them realize their goals. It is related through the eyes of the eldest daughter, Katrin, a teenager who aspires to become a professional writer. In that Norwegian Americans comprised one of the 10 largest ancestry groups in the United States, *I Remember Mama* had a special, nostalgic appeal to many Americans.

John Van Druten was one of the most prolific and successful English playwrights of the 1920s and 1930s. After a string of successes in London and New York, Van Druten turned his attention to *Mama’s Bank Account* in 1944. Kathryn Forbes, who had worked initially as a scriptwriter for radio programs, based much of the book on the experiences of her grandmother, who had immigrated to California from Norway toward the end of the 19th century. Perhaps for this reason, the work was very adaptable.

Scandinavian immigration to the United States began in the early 19th century and peaked in the early 1880s. Most Scandinavian émigrés came to the United States in search of religious freedom, economic opportunity, or because of a famine in



Toni Campbell played the role of Dagmar on the CBS television program *Mama* in 1956, which featured a Norwegian American family. The popularity of the show prompted a national release of the film *I Remember Mama* in 1956.

Norway during the 1930s. They found the communities in the Pacific northwest and midwest especially welcoming. By the 1910s, during which the novel is set, nearly one million Norwegians had immigrated to the United States, and primarily lived in northern California, Oregon, and Washington, where they were mostly shipbuilders and farmers.

The work was set in San Francisco, which has had a thriving community of Americans of Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish descent since the early 20th century; in fact, as of the 2010 U.S. Census, California has the second-largest population of Scandinavian Americans of any state in the nation. Although many Scandinavian Americans quickly learned English, they still preserved the ethnic traditions of their homelands through various cultural organizations, fraternal associations, and commercial centers. However, Norwegian Americans were the least likely of all Scandinavian immigrants to assimilate and gain English fluency. This tendency toward maintaining Norwegian customs is a recurring theme throughout *I Remember Mama*.

The Broadway production of *I Remember Mama* opened on October 19, 1944, and played 713 performances at the Music Box Theatre. Mady Christians, Oscar Homolka, and Joan Tetzl assumed the leading roles; Marlon Brando made his Broadway debut in a supporting role. The famed composing team of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II produced the play, which was received favorably by critics and audiences alike.

In 1948, George Stevens directed a screen adaptation, penned by DeWitt Bodeen. The film starred Irene Dunne, Barbara Bel Geddes, Philip Dorn, Sir Cedric Hawdricke, Ellen Corby, Rudy Vallee, and Edgar Bergen, with Oscar Homolka reprising his Broadway role. Named one of the year's Ten Best Films by *Film Daily*, *I Remember Mama* was nominated for five Academy Awards and three Writers Guild of America Awards, and Corby won the Golden Globe for Best Supporting Actress. Based on the film's success, a radio version was produced for *Lux Radio Theater*, and it featured Dunne, Homolka, and Bel Geddes in their film roles.

From 1949 to 1957, CBS ran *Mama*, a weekly comedy-drama series inspired by Forbes's and Van Druten's work. It retained the same setting

and characters as the play and film, and starred Peggy Wood, Dick Van Patten, Rosemary Rice, and Robin Morgan, who would go on to be a key player in the women's movement of the 1960s. Sponsored by Maxwell House, the series boasted strong ratings, and Wood was nominated for an Emmy for her role as the family's matriarch.

I Remember Mama was musicalized twice. In 1972, *Mama*, adapted by director Neal Du Brock and composer-lyricist John Clifton, was produced at the Studio Arena Theatre in Buffalo, New York, with Academy Award-winner Celeste Holm in the title role. Richard Rodgers returned to the play when he developed a musical adaptation of *I Remember Mama*. Rodgers contributed the score, with Martin Charnin and Raymond Jessel supplying lyrics, and Thomas Meehan wrote the libretto. The musical faced problems from the outset, and the original director and choreographer were both fired. In spite of strong ticket sales initially, poor reviews doomed the show, which opened on May 1, 1979, at the Majestic Theatre; it closed after only 108 performances. The cast included Liv Ullmann, George Hearn, George S. Irving, Armin Shimerman, and Ian Ziering. Although the production did not produce a cast recording, in 1985, the score was preserved by an all-star studio cast that featured Hearn and Irving from the Broadway version, as well as Sally Ann Howes, Patricia Routledge, Elizabeth Seal, and Ann Morrison.

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See Also: Danish Americans; Finnish Americans; Norwegian Americans; Scandinavian Americans; Swedish Americans; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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I Spy

Airing on NBC from September 15, 1965, through 1968, *I Spy* was a secret agent espionage television series created and produced by Sheldon Leonard. Starring comedian and acting newcomer Bill Cosby alongside veteran television and film actor Robert Culp, the show aired 82 episodes over three seasons. The show's format capitalized on the popular espionage dramas of the time, following the lead of popular hits such as James Bond movies and *The Man From U.N.C.L.E.* TV series. But this series was different. It was a type of buddy movie that had not yet been invented for television, about finding out whether a "black guy" and a "white guy" could successfully team up and be welcomed into the living rooms of Americans. This formula proved to be successful and has been widely imitated on television in shows such as *Starsky & Hutch* and *Miami Vice* and in movies such as *48 Hours* and *Lethal Weapon*.

Two Points of Historical Significance

The historical significance of this show is twofold. First, it featured Bill Cosby, who was the first African American actor to costar in a weekly television series drama. This was groundbreaking for other black actors, and as *Variety* magazine put it, Bill Cosby was the Jackie Robinson of TV. Other programs such as *Amos 'n Andy* had featured African American actors, but those depictions were based on racial stereotyping. In *I Spy*, Cosby's character did not play second fiddle to the main white actor; he was a costar in every sense of the term. His character was a fully realized person. Not only was he a Rhodes Scholar who could speak seven languages, but he could also run, jump, karate chop, and shoot a gun.

Sheldon Leonard is widely quoted as saying that he consciously made the decision to cast an African American actor in this role as a result of the rising civil rights movement. The shifting racial attitudes of the 1960s supported by Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were beginning to be reflected on television. Although the show did not expressly confront racial issues through the use of themes, plots, dialogue, or other production tools, the program strived to be socially relevant. Cosby was aware of the racial implications of his role, but

he did not confront issues head-on because he did not consider that his style. His comedy routines, for example, were nonconfrontational and meant to show people that African Americans were the same humans beings as every other person with any other skin tone.

When *I Spy* premiered, it was shown on 180 stations covering 96 percent of the country. Although widely accepted, it became apparent that not everyone in the country was as forward-thinking as Leonard and his team. Stations in Savannah and Albany, Georgia, as well as a station in Dayton Beach, Florida, refused to air the show. Letters were also received that expressed a backlash against the pairing of white and black actors. Despite these objections, the show did not experience any problems with its sponsors.

The second feature of the show that highlights its significance was the unique use of international locations to film the program. In a rare move, Leonard chose to shoot over one-third of the show on location throughout the world, including locations like China, Greece, and Italy. This strategy made *I Spy* one of the most expensive television series ever produced at the time. This strategy allowed audiences to see an African American actor in a new light: Cosby's character was depicted as a representative of the United States traveling around the world on assignments to protect U.S. interests.

Story lines for the show centered on the two stars as undercover agents for the U.S. government working for the Pentagon. Robert Culp played the role of Kelly Robinson, who used the cover of being an international tennis player. Bill Cosby was Alexander Scott, whose cover was being the trainer.

I Spy was a popular program but was never a hit in the ratings. It never finished higher than 29th place in the ratings for any of its three seasons. Despite the lack of ratings success, the show was honored with several awards. The gamble of choosing a comedian to play a dramatic role paid off for the show, its creator Sheldon Leonard, and first-time actor Bill Cosby. Cosby won three consecutive Emmy Awards for Outstanding Continued Performance by an Actor in a Leading Role in a Dramatic Series in 1966, 1967, and 1968. Upon accepting the award, Cosby thanked NBC for having the courage to cast him. The

show received 15 additional Emmy nominations for a range of categories, including acting by Robert Culp, achievements in music, directing, writing, and more. In 1967 the show was awarded a Golden Globe Award for Best Dramatic Series in the 1966 to 1967 season.

Despite not confronting race issues head-on in the show's content, the implications of the actions by the show's creators, cast, and crew are far-reaching. *I Spy* was a groundbreaking series that influenced the future of television as well as race relations in the United States.

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See Also: African Americans; *Amos 'n Andy Show, The*; *Cosby Show, The*; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Television.

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been founded by Leif's father, Erik the Red. Vinland is attested in the Norse sagas but was not independently confirmed until the 1960s, when the ruins of a Norse settlement were found in rural Newfoundland.

Today there are 42,000 Icelandic Americans, according to the most recently available census information, though the Icelandic Embassy claims the figure is more than twice that high. Some Icelandic immigrants undoubtedly arrived in the early 19th century, or even earlier, in the Revolutionary or colonial periods, and in some cases may have been recorded as Danish immigrants by officials. The first known groups of Icelandic settlers came to the United States in 1854 as part of a small wave of Icelandic immigrants who had converted to the Church of Latter-Day Saints. From the 1850s until the depression of the 1870s, the Icelandic community in Utah grew bit by bit, consisting mainly of skilled workers and farmers.

In the latter third of the 19th century, about 75,000 Icelanders immigrated to North America, but only 15,000 came to the United States; the rest settled in the New Iceland region in the Canadian province of Manitoba. Some of these Icelandic Canadians later relocated to the United States because of internal disputes in New Iceland. Icelandic Americans established communities in North and South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, and continued to build up the Icelandic community in Utah. Plans for an Icelandic colony in Alaska, shortly after its acquisition from Russia, never came to fruition.

The Icelandic community in the Dakotas became the largest Icelandic presence in the United States, with a large number of German and Norwegian Americans as well. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, saw the largest growth of an Icelandic population in an urban area. The community in Washington Island, Wisconsin, was the first Icelandic community settled outside of Utah and today boasts one of the largest Icelandic populations outside Iceland. By 1910, there were at least 5,000 Icelandic Americans, but immigration had slowed nearly to a halt. Exact numbers and rates are unavailable, because the census continued to classify Icelanders as Danes until 1930—the figure of 5,000 is based on the number of Americans who reported growing up in a home where

Icelandic Americans

Iceland is a Nordic European island between the Arctic and North Atlantic Oceans that was settled in 874 by Nordic explorers. From the 14th century until the end of World War I, it was controlled by Denmark, becoming independent in 1918. The formation of modern Icelandic national identity began in the 19th century in the lead-up to independence, with a resurgence of interest in native Icelandic culture and language. The first Icelanders in North America founded Vinland, a Norse colony in northern Newfoundland, around 1000 C.E. They were led by Leif Ericson and departed from the Norse colonies on Greenland, which had

Icelandic was spoken, but in all likelihood, the total must have been somewhat higher.

During World War II, a number of American soldiers were stationed in Iceland, and a small wave of Icelanders immigrated to the United States at the end of the war—local women the soldiers married.

Today, Icelandic Americans are concentrated primarily in the west and midwest. California (6,512) and Washington (5,976) have the largest numbers of Icelandic Americans, followed by Minnesota (3,165), North Dakota (3,161), Utah (2,970), New York (1,427), Florida (1,348), Oregon (1,200), Ohio (1,156), Texas (1,147), and Illinois (981).

Outside of the Latter-day Saints community in Utah, Icelandic Americans are predominantly Lutheran and generally settled in areas already settled by Scandinavian immigrants. Icelandic American cultural organizations include the Icelandic National League of North America, based in Manitoba (Canada); the Society of Icelanders in Arizona; the Scandinavian Club of Sun City in Arizona; the Icelandic American Association of Southern California; the Icelandic Association of Northern California; the Icelandic Association of Washington, D.C.; the Icelandic American Association of South Florida; the Icelandic American Association of Central Florida; the Icelandic Association in Georgia; the Icelandic Association of Chicago; the Icelandic Association in Kansas City, Missouri; the Icelandic Society in Boston; the Fargo-Moorhead Iceland Klub; the Icelandic Hekla Club in Minneapolis, Minnesota; the Icelandic American Association of Minnesota; the Icelandic Society of New York; the Icelandic Heritage Society in North Dakota; the Icelandic Association of the Dallas–Fort Worth Area; the Icelandic American Association of Hampton Roads in Virginia; and the Icelandic Club of Greater Seattle.

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See Also: Danish Americans; Mormons; Norwegian Americans; Scandinavian Americans.

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Identity Development

Responding to the question "Who am I?" answers how individuals perceive themselves personally, socially, and morally. This question encompasses how people act, think, feel, and behave in relationship to a group, society, people, and environment. It focuses on individuals' racial, ethnic, gender, and/or sexual orientation perceptions in relation to the dominant culture group. Identity development model theories have emerged to explain the process of how individuals may develop or grow within society in comparison to the dominant group.

This process is similar to a lifecycle where individuals shed layers of old skin and acquire new skin. These models, influenced by psychologists, educators, and counselors, have illuminated individuals' experiences within the context of their group affinity or affinities (race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation).

Erik Erickson's work on life span development is considered one of the influential studies on identity. He asserted that individuals develop in stages. Within these stages, there is a successful and unsuccessful outcome. The assumption is that the achievement of one stage affects the resolution of later stages to come. However, in recent years, many scholars have asserted that individuals may experience behaviors that reflect different stages at the same time, thus they may not sequentially occur. Consequentially, the terminology has shifted from stage to status.

Additionally, these models are multidimensional. In regard to ethnic identity, several dimensions include the terminologies or labels that individuals tend to self-identify with in relation to their group; their knowledge about their cultural beliefs, customs, and values; and their feelings about group membership, which some may opt to embrace or reject.

Black Identity Development

Events occurring in society influence how individuals view themselves as racial beings. Many of the racial identity development theories gained ground beginning in the 1960s, during the civil rights struggle and that decade's climate of advocating for equity. William Cross's 1971 psychology of "Nigrescence," or the "Nigrescence model," was used to describe the black experiences from a psychological and historical point of view. At that time, Cross identified five stages.

He asserted that many blacks/African Americans experience the beginning process of assimilating and internalizing the beliefs of the white culture (pre-encounter); become exposed to racial issues that trigger some consciousness that

reminds them of their blackness (encounter); begin to explore what it means to be black to the point that some have the tendency to openly display images of blackness (immersion/emersion); experience some comfort in the new black identity (internalization); reach the internalization/commitment status, and are deeply committed to issues and concerns relating to African Americans. Cross, in addition to others like Bailey Jackson, laid the foundation for other scholars to build upon.

White Racial Identity Development

Prior to classic works on white identity, African American scholar William Du Bois recommended that whites "turn their lens of analysis about race around and look at themselves in the mirror." The white racial identity development (WRID) theory is a six-status model (contact, disintegration, reintegration, immersion/emersion, pseudo-independence, autonomy) by Janet Helms that shows how whites move from an unhealthy unconscious color-blindness to a healthy, stable, positive, color/race-conscious white racial identity.

The goal for whites is to abandon their obliviousness of the social value of whiteness and ultimately transform into the autonomist identity where they understand and own the role that whiteness has played in society in oppressing people of color, are open about talking about it, and at a point where they begin to use their privilege as whites to address social injustices. In recent years, many scholars have criticized the WRID theory and continue to engage in new research to develop models that reflect the diversity and more contemporary experiences of whites.

Asian American Identity Development

This group consists of various cultures, ethnic groups/nationalities, religions, and languages. There will be differential experiences between American-born and immigrant Asians. Five different levels characterize this model: ethnic awareness, white identification, awakening to social political consciousness, redirection, and incorporation. Ethnic awareness is developed through an individual's interaction with family members. Those who have a positive sense of cultural identity have more exposure to cultural events and people in predominantly Asian-populated



A Native American demonstrates his cultural identity at the Indian Summer Festival, Henry Maier Festival Park, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 6, 2008. Research has found that identity development is linked to psychological well-being, positive self-evaluation and self-esteem, happiness, and decreased anxiety.

communities. In the white identification level, some people encounter name-calling and negativity, and do not know how to manage these experiences. They alienate themselves from the other Asians and internalize the dominant Eurocentric values and beliefs.

A renewed sense of awareness or consciousness emerges in the awakening to social political consciousness level. Individuals exhibiting this behavior begin to acknowledge the racial experiences of people of color and may seek support from various cultural groups. Individuals who experience redirection begin to embrace the Asian culture, attend programs and activities rooted in Asian experiences and become positive about being Asian, with some negative feeling and anger toward the dominant white group. As individuals become more immersed in their identity at the incorporation level, they develop a positive sense of cultural identity and don't have the desire to either identify with or against people of European descent.

Hispanic Racial Identity

This group is primarily diverse, based on ethnicity and linguistic patterns. Within the context of the United States, the developmental process of Hispanics will vary, based on the different experiences of American-born and recent immigrants to this country. Many more models are emerging that attempt to describe their development, but all agree that individuals will undergo experiences of initially not identifying with the group and transform into identifying and achieving a positive racial and ethnic identity.

Aureliano Sando Ruiz postulated that the process that Hispanics experience may be described within a five-typology model. Individuals at the casual status are influenced by negative, erroneous messages or encounters about the culture, which results in a failure to embrace their culture. They transition into the cognitive level, where they associate their group with poverty and perceive that the only way to functioning or achieving success within "mainstream" culture is to assimilate into the dominant Eurocentric society.

At the consequence level, such people become ashamed of their cultures and distance themselves from various cultural aspects (such as names,

accents, traditions). This results in emotional stress, which is symbolic in that they transition into the working-through level.

As they work through their stress, they are encouraged to embrace their cultural identity that was once disowned. Finally, individuals are able to resolve their cultural identity and feel positive and secure about being Hispanic in the successful-resolution status.

Native American Identity

They represent over 500 federally recognized tribes and are diverse with different clans, family structures, cultures, and beliefs. The diversity is even reflected regarding choices of labels for self or group identification. Some opt to use Native, American Indian, First Nations, or Native American. There is no generic Native American or American Indian development typology and individuals will demonstrate different levels of identity development, which explains the existence of various models, including the Bray Native American border community racial identity development (RID), and the Native American identity models. Michael Garrett and Eugene Pichette described five levels of acculturation that Native Americans experience.

Traditional is when they tend to identify with their traditional tribal values, language, and customs. Marginal is when some consider living between two worlds, are bilingual, but do not embrace the cultural norms of their tribal group or even identify with that of the dominant group. Vance Peavy refers to the marginal status as transitional, where certain individuals are often unhappy, unconscious of their experiences as a Native person, have low self-esteem, and are sometimes abusive.

Bicultural occurs when one adopts their tribal identity and that of the dominant group. For example, one such individual will embrace the collective clan family unit but also engage in the nuclear family pattern. Assimilated exists for people who have been accepted by the dominant Eurocentric group, and thus tends to embrace their cultural norms, behaviors, and values. The pan-traditionalists are individuals who have once assimilated but have consciously decided to return and embrace the traditional tribal customs and heritage.

Perry Horse reminds scholars to avoid generalizing Native Americans, but to approach their experiences as a developmental process that is influenced by five factors: how a person is grounded in their culture, whether one's ancestral heritage is accurate, if one adopts the collectivist view that is rooted in the Indian traditions, how one thinks of oneself as Indian, and if one is an officially enrolled member of a tribe.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; Constructivism, Intercultural; Critical Race Theory; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Culture; Emotional Intelligence; Ethics; Ethnicity; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Hispanic Americans; Intercultural Competence; Melting Pot; Native Americans; Nativism; Perspectivism; Pluralism; Race; Race Mixture in the United States; Relativism; Roles, Social and Cultural; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Time, Differing Cultural Conceptions of; White Ethnics.

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Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996)

The 1990s marked a period of renewed anti-immigration sentiment and fears of terrorism connected to the first World Trade Center bombing (1993), the Oklahoma City Bombing (1995), and tax revolts such as California's Proposition 187 (1994), which proposed removing access to all state aid for undocumented immigrants; it was found unconstitutional. In 1996, Congress passed the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA), which expanded the criminal grounds on which noncitizens, including permanent resident aliens, could be deported, and established provisions to expedite deporting criminal aliens through almost total curtailment of judicial review.

More aggressive policies toward criminal alien removal began with the 1988 Omnibus Anti-Drug Act (OADA). It stipulated that undocumented and permanent resident aliens convicted of "aggravated felonies," including homicide, drug trafficking, arms trafficking, and rape were to be immediately deported, which was legally termed "expedited removal," upon serving sentence. Access to a lawyer was not allowed, and expanded exclusion from reentry was implemented. OADA and subsequent law applied retroactively, and removed due process rights for noncitizens. An Institutional Removal Program (IRP) was organized to remove noncitizens who committed aggravated felony crimes upon sentence completion.

The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) classified an additional 50 categories of crime as aggravated felonies and mandated retroactive deportation or removal upon sentence completion. Under IIRIRA, any crime committed by an alien resulting in a sentence of more than one year, even a misdemeanor like drug possession, could result in removal. Although unauthorized entry over the U.S.-Mexico border or other land, sea, and air borders had previously been handled by deportation, IIRIRA established that mandatory detention should precede deportation. It mandated that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (now

under the Department of Homeland Security, with a subcomponent, the Immigration and Customs Enforcement) detain both unauthorized entrants and asylum applicants. Daniel Kanstroom has identified the impact of aggravated felonies and related deportation law on permanent resident and undocumented resident aliens as “post-entry social control.”

To implement identification of undocumented and criminal aliens, IIRIRA began the 287(g) program, in which state and local police can enter into a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with ICE. Officers trained for four weeks by ICE at the federal law enforcement training center are allowed to enforce immigration law. In the fall of 2011, 68 state and local MOAs were active, a low rate of cooperation.

The impact of changes in immigration law has been referred to as a “deportation regime” by Daniel Kanstroom. ICE has developed the Secure Communities program, which prioritizes criminal alien removal, and does not require a 287(g) MOA. It operates in 3,000 jurisdictions. ICE uses the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) criminal database to match the records of criminal offenders and immigration databases to determine if an offender was unlawfully present or removable on criminal grounds. A chief objective of Secure Communities and ICE’s overall removal strategies is to remove violent offenders, although it has primarily deported nonviolent offenders.

During the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) has enforced the law with record levels of deportation. After September 11, 2001, in 2002, 71,686 criminal aliens were removed. Figures moved slightly higher until the Great Recession of 2008, when removals peaked at 114,415 (2008); 136,348 (2009); 195,772 (2010); and 216,698 (2011). In 2011, 396,906 noncitizens were deported. Reflecting aggravated felony provisions, 54.6 percent were criminal offenders. Other prominent categories were repeat immigration violators (19.6 percent), border removals (11.6 percent), and immigration fugitives (4.7 percent). Targeting noncitizen criminals is an ICE goal; offenders removed in 2012 included those who had served terms for homicide (1,119), sexual offenses (5,848), drug-related crimes (44,653), and driving under the influence (35,927).

Immigration advocates have raised many issues about the denial of due process rights to noncitizens, detention conditions prior to deportation, and removal’s impact on birthright children, families, and communities. All U.S. citizens, including birthright children born to undocumented or permanent resident aliens, have the constitutional right to due process. One aspect of due process is legal representation. The expedited removal process denies court-appointed representation, and many detainees are unable to afford it. Further impediments to due process were built into ICE detention operations: transfer of detainees between detention facilities before family or legal advocates could contact them, and failure to notify detainees of the date of their judicial review, other than that they had been “denied.” This resulted in major issues in contacting families, and immediate deportation prior to notification that an appeal had been turned down. After removal, the United States considers that there are no legal grounds for contesting deportation because the individual is outside the country and has no legal status.

2011: Major Change in Procedures

During the Obama administration, a major change was made in procedures. In the fall of 2011, it was announced that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) would focus on convicted felons and national security risks, and exercise judicial discretion in noncriminal cases. This was partly to reduce the caseload in the overburdened immigration court system. Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano later initiated deferred action covering noncitizens who came to the United States before reaching age 16, continuously resided in the United States for five years, were attending school, had graduated high school or the equivalent, had served in the armed forces, did not have felony or significant misdemeanor convictions or multiple misdemeanors, and were younger than 30. Eligible individuals could apply for deferred action over a period of two years. Despite this change, the legacies of aggravated felony targeting and the expedited removal process that voids judicial discretion continue.

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See Also: Customs and Border Protection, U.S.; Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration Acts; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.; Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986).

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Imitation of Life

Imitation of Life, Jewish writer Fannie Hurst's 1933 best-selling novel exploring issues of race, gender, and class, was initially serialized in 1932 under the title "Sugar House" in the *Pictorial Review*. Universal Studios adapted the novel into a film twice, in 1934 and 1959, the latter becoming one of the most important 20th-century "race films."

Set in the 1910s to 1930s, the novel follows the young, white, widowed Beatrice Chipley who, to support her daughter, continues her husband's business of selling maple syrup to Atlantic City boardwalk hotels. Overwhelmed, Bea hires the black Delilah. Trading on Delilah's cooking talent and the "Mammy" image, Bea opens the B. Pullman pancake restaurant, which grows into a national chain. A decade later, Bea falls in love with her younger business manager, Frank Flake, who in turn falls in love with Bea's daughter, Jessie. At novel's end, Frank and Jessie are

married with three children, while Bea, plagued with loneliness, continues to build her business internationally, having lived only an "imitation of life."

Racial Subplot

The subplot follows Delilah and her light-skinned daughter, Peola. Citing her white skin, Peola resists a black identity and repeatedly passes as white, much to Delilah's despair. After attending a black southern college, Peola moves to Seattle and becomes a white librarian. Years later, Peola returns to announce her decision to marry a white engineer, move to Bolivia, and pass permanently. Having had herself sterilized, she argues that the intermarriage will not be a sin because there will be no children. With Peola gone, a heart-broken Delilah dies, and thousands, black and white, attend her grand funeral.

Imitation of Life was both a commercial success and, partly because of its sentimental style, a critical failure. The one element that many white critics praised was the "authentic" depiction of Delilah. Conversely, African American critics such as Sterling Brown objected to the novel's reproduction of derogatory racial stereotypes, particularly the faithful Mammy and the tragic mulatto. Although her image, labor, and recipe underwrite Bea's fortune, Delilah only desires to remain Bea's servant. Additionally, Delilah is the primary advocate of racial hierarchy, continually placing Jessie above Peola and insisting that Peola accept a second-class status. Peola's denunciations of racism offer a counternarrative to Delilah's subservience; however, as tragic mulatto, Peola is tortured by her own self-hate and racial betrayal. Although writers Zora Neale Hurston and Langston Hughes both initially praised the novel, Hughes later parodied it in *Limitations of Life* (1938), a play in which a white woman is willingly subservient to a black woman, and Hurston noted that the term *Mammy* is always derogatory to black Americans.

Director John M. Stahl's 1934 black-and-white film is more socially progressive in representing a single woman as a successful entrepreneur. Relying equally on business instincts and feminine charm, Beatrice Pullman (Claudette Colbert) first opens a pancake restaurant and then becomes rich by boxing and distributing Aunt Delilah's

Pancake Flour. When Jessie (Rochelle Hudson) falls in love with Bea's secret fiancé, ichthyologist Stephen Archer (Warren William), Bea indefinitely postpones her engagement in order to preserve her relationship with Jessie. Although Stahl's Bea temporarily sacrifices her romantic happiness, she is not burdened with the same sense of regret over the lost domestic sphere that haunts Hurst's Bea. She exits the film as a successful mother and businesswoman, with the promise of a future reunion with Archer.

The 1934 film also revises the racial subplot, so much so that Peola's struggle with her racial identity becomes the primary referent for the film's title. As in the novel, Peola (Freda Washington) repeatedly passes as white and is each time traumatically exposed by Delilah (Louise Beavers). When Peola declares her intention to pass permanently and flees, Delilah collapses and dies. A repentant Peola returns to beg forgiveness on her mother's casket. Peola's final acceptance of her blackness was generally lauded by black and white audiences.

Although panned by some critics as mere melodrama, Stahl's *Imitation of Life* was nominated for three Academy Awards, including Best Picture. The film was one of the first from Hollywood to represent "black issues" seriously and to offer comparatively complex black characters. Certain scenes also visually highlight racial inequities, as when Bea ascends the stairs to her bedroom while Delilah descends to her room below, following an all-white party in their home. The towering neon sign with Delilah's face and "32 million pancakes sold last year" looming over the mansion also reminds viewers that Bea's wealth was produced through the commercialization of black labor and the nostalgic romanticization of the Mammy image. Also notable, Peola is played by an African American actress, rather than a white actress. For many, however, these progressive moments do not balance the film's reproduction of racial stereotypes.

In director Douglas Sirk's better-known 1959 color remake, business mogul Beatrice becomes ambitious actress Lora Meredith (Lana Turner), while Delilah becomes Annie Johnson (Juanita Moore). No longer the dialect-speaking commercialized Mammy, Annie continues to serve as devoted maid; however, now she does so to

support her daughter Sarah Jane (Susan Kohner), rather than from a slavish devotion to a white mistress and ignorance over the importance of economic empowerment.

Despite such changes, Sirk's version arguably stays closer in spirit to Hurst's novel in critique of Lora's sacrifice of family for fortune. Lora has several chances for romantic happiness with Steve (John Gavin), now a photographer, but rejects them all to pursue greater individual fame. Near the film's close, Lora's daughter, Susie (Sandra Dee), admonishes Lora for her maternal failures and rejects her dramatic offer to release Steve, telling Lora to "stop acting" the martyr. Such scenes highlight Lora's vanity and reflect the growing post-World War II pressure for women to return to the domestic sphere.

Passing Subplot

The passing subplot, now even more central to the narrative development, is also updated to reflect the tension of the civil rights era. In a scene recalling Kenneth and Mamie Clark's doll experiments that were key in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case overturning segregation, a young Sarah Jane rejects the black doll offered by Susie. Later, when Sarah Jane's passing is discovered by her white boyfriend, Frankie (Troy Donahue), he violently beats her, enacting a simmering white anger against blacks during the 1950s.

The initial compassion that Sarah Jane receives after the beating is suspended when the details of the situation are revealed, and the incident is framed as a foreseeable, and perhaps even just, punishment for her racial transgression. After she is discovered passing again, Sarah Jane runs away to California, then returns, as does Stahl's Peola, to weep dramatically on her mother's casket and beg forgiveness. In the final scene, Steve watches approvingly as a more maternal, contrite Lora comforts Sarah Jane and Susie. The images of the reformed Lora, the repaired family, and the repentant Sarah Jane, however, remain only possibilities as the film ends.

Universal released the film simultaneously in black and white theaters in the south, an unprecedented but successful strategy. It became Universal's biggest moneymaker to date. Both Moore and Kohner were nominated for Academy

Awards for Best Supporting Actress, and Kohner won a Golden Globe (Moore was also nominated). However, not all reactions were positive. Some moviegoers resented a nonblack actress (Kohner is of Jewish Mexican heritage) being cast as Sarah Jane. Her passing, which generally manifests itself as a form of self-hate and envy of whites, also sparked anger in audiences. Furthermore, while Annie does voice a poignant critic of racism and segregation, many disliked her continued subservience.

Film critics disparaged the film's heavy melodrama, finding the acting stilted and dull, and overlooking what later critics have understood as deliberate irony and self-reflexive commentary on 1950s rampant consumerism. Despite such criticism, the film made over \$25 million by 1970, and a 1995 readers' poll in the *New York Daily News* ranked it as a top 10 all-time favorite. In 2007, it was ranked by *Time* as one of the 25 Most Important Films on Race.

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See Also: Academy Awards; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1854); Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Motion Pictures; Mulatto; Passing/Covering; Race Mixture in the United States; Racism; Segregation.

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Immigrants, Undocumented

Undocumented immigration refers to the indefinite residence of persons in the United States without U.S. authorization. Individuals who reside in the United States without proper authorization are known as undocumented immigrants, unauthorized immigrants, illegal immigrants, or illegal aliens. While these terms are perceived as synonymous, there is significant debate over which term is most appropriate. In particular, many groups have pressed for use of the terms *unauthorized* or *undocumented* in the mainstream press, arguing that "illegal" and "alien" are unnecessarily pejorative terms.

Frequently, the division over terminology parallels divisions between advocates for and adversaries of unauthorized immigrants. "Illegal" is understood by advocates as a pejorative term that links entry into the United States with criminal behaviors, and that wrongly targets certain racial and ethnic groups. Adversaries, however, often express a preference for the term, noting that this is the proper legal terminology for persons who are unlawfully present in the United States. In recent years, while "unauthorized" or "undocumented" have become commonplace, "illegal" continues to see mainstream usage. As recently as 2012, many large media outlets such as the *New York Times* have weighed in on the merits of using the word *illegal* in reference to immigration. While the *New York Times* and others have acknowledged the merits of both arguments and rejected the use of the terms *alien* and *illegal*, neutral usage of the term *illegal immigrant* is accepted practice.

A lack of consensus over the proper terminology for this class of immigrants is in part because unauthorized entry is a relatively new political concept. The concept of illegal or undocumented immigration did not emerge until the 20th century, with changes to immigration policy and law. Moreover, while unauthorized entry or residence is unlawful, it is not necessarily a criminal offense (removal hearings and detention proceedings, for example, are not criminal proceedings). As a result, debates over terminology reflect the continually shifting nature of immigration law and, by extension, what or who is unauthorized.

Early Immigration and Policy

Until the 20th century, immigration into the United States was relatively open because of the vast employment needs of industrialization and settlement. Congress first created the Bureau of Immigration in 1891. Prior to that period, the United States had open borders and relatively few mechanisms to deport unwanted arrivals. Some states had laws to remove the poor, however, and the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798–1801) allowed for political expulsion during wartime. Labor was in short supply, and thus many migrants arrived coercively, either as indentured servants or through the transatlantic slave trade. Moreover, it was not until the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) that a border between the United States and Mexico was legally established, alongside the transfer of a significant proportion of Mexican territory.

Congress passed the first federal restrictions on entry in 1875, barring persons convicted of crimes of moral turpitude and prostitutes from entry. A short time later, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which was the first formal effort to restrict immigration. In 1917, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1917, which excluded all immigrants from the continent of Asia, as well as the poor, gays and lesbians, those with mental and physical handicaps, and various other “undesirable” persons. A literacy test and medical evaluation were also imposed, significantly extending deportability.

When World War I slowed European immigration, Mexicans were excluded from restrictions and were recruited for labor throughout the war period. When recruitment died down following the end of the war, Mexicans were required to apply for entry, but were still able to migrate unrestricted throughout the 1920s. The Canadian border was equally permeable during this period.

The war shifted international views on national borders, resulting in the introduction of passports and visas as normal immigration procedures. In the United States, restrictionist views became increasingly popular, and in 1924, Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Act (also known as the Immigration Act of 1924). This act formalized undocumented immigration, making all forms of entry without visa or inspection illegal; instituted quotas for immigrants from various countries

who were not in a nonquota category; and established the U.S. Border Patrol. Under the 1924 act, all persons ineligible for citizenship were barred from entry. Shortly thereafter, visas and passports replaced medical inspection in the country of origin, and deportation became a key activity of the immigration service.

The Illegal Immigration Period

It was not until 1929, however, that unauthorized entry could be subject to criminal punishment. Congress made unauthorized entry a misdemeanor, punishable by a \$1,000 fine or one year imprisonment. A second attempt doubled fines and imprisonment, and was classified as a felony, barring future reentry. Mae Ngai notes that this process served to introduce criminal prosecution into a civil violation, effectively depriving unauthorized immigrants of constitutional protections while simultaneously rendering them subject to more comprehensive punishment. The stock market crash in 1929 and subsequent Depression ramped up fears about immigrant workers, resulting in the first wave of Mexican deportation. Douglas Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan Malone note that a coordinated set of campaigns resulted in the expulsion of thousands of Mexicans from the United States, reducing the Mexican population by over 40 percent.

Restrictionist policies remained in place until the 1940s. The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943 and replaced with a token quota. At the end of World War II, European refugees were also admitted under a series of Displaced Persons Acts from 1945 to 1953. The postwar period ushered in an economic boom that relaxed restrictions at the borders and incentivized the federal government to rethink its immigration policy. The McCarran-Walter Act in 1952 (also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act) unified all of the previous immigration legislation under a single quota system, establishing some special categories for admittance, including special talent and relatives of citizens and residents. In the mid-1950s, however, undocumented immigration became a major issue among citizens, as the end of the Korean War, a recession, and the McCarthy era mobilized citizens to push for border control and the monitoring of undocumented immigrants.

In 1954, Congress passed Operation Wetback, in which the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began militarizing the border with Mexico. For the first time, the number of people apprehended rose to one million. This was coupled with the Bracero program, which recruited Mexican laborers on temporary visas. This strategy successfully removed undocumented immigrants while increasing documented flows across the border.

Immigration Reform Period

By the 1960s, the tide of opinion on immigration had shifted. The civil rights movement and related congressional reforms highlighted what was increasingly perceived as racist immigration policy. As a result, President Lyndon B. Johnson urged Congress to pass the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965, which took effect in 1968. Under this law, the quota system was abolished in favor of a hemispheric allocation system, in which national preferences were removed. Preferences for certain classes of individuals were retained, such as family members, spouses, skilled immigrants, and refugees, with family reunification later becoming prioritized. The Bracero program also ended in this period.

While this diversification of the visa process removed restrictions for many migrants to come to the United States legally, Mexicans were subject to restriction for the first time. They had to compete for visas and were no longer admitted under special labor programs. At the same time, economic stagnation resulted in new restrictions to legal entry, including barring U.S.-born children from sponsoring their parents for entry until they reached the age of 21. Mexico was also moved to the 20,000 per-country visa limit.

By 1981, Mexican visas had been sharply curtailed. Douglas Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan Malone report that between 1965 and 1986, nearly 28 million Mexicans entered the United States without documentation, compared to 1.3 million legal entries and 46,000 contract workers. As the number of undocumented immigrants became more visible, Congress attempted to legalize the growing undocumented population, while simultaneously discouraging future unauthorized entries.

The Immigration Control and Reform Act of 1986 (IRCA) offered amnesty to undocumented

immigrants who had been residing in the United States continuously before 1982. It also made knowingly hiring undocumented immigrants illegal, and increased enforcement through the militarization of the border. Increased border enforcement, however, meant that future undocumented migrants would choose to stay in the country longer rather than risk apprehension, resulting in a boom in undocumented residents, rather than the reduction it intended. In an effort to manage concerns over this growing population as well as national security, the last comprehensive immigration reform bill was passed in 1996, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA), which reorganized several provisions for increased border patrols and enforcement and changed the procedure for deportation, including rules pertaining to terrorism and national security.

Economic growth in the 1990s tamped down concerns over illegal immigration until September 11, 2001, when terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were executed by men who had obtained legal visas. Shortly thereafter, immigration became a major national security concern, also fitting into a wider narrative of panic and anti-immigrant sentiment. This linking of immigration enforcement to national security again shifted federal priorities regarding immigration, pushed states to deauthorize access to drivers' licenses through the REAL ID Act, increased funding for enforcement, reorganized immigration agencies under a new Department of Homeland Security, and contributed to the rise of local-federal enforcement partnerships. Congress also made efforts during this period to criminalize any form of unauthorized presence in the United States. (As of 2012, only a very limited set of immigration violations constituted a felony violation, such as reentry after deportation.) This anti-immigrant narrative stalled further efforts at comprehensive immigration reform. Instead, some of the toughest measures against undocumented immigrants ever were proposed.

Undocumented immigrants and their communities were not silent in response to this backlash, engaging in a 2006 series of coordinated marches and demonstrations across the United States to protest widespread anti-immigrant sentiment. While this brought widespread attention to the

issue, it failed to tamp down anti-immigrant sentiment. Moreover, the global recession of 2008 only served to ratchet up anti-immigrant sentiment, inspiring several states to engage in local immigration policing for the first time through policies such as Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 and Alabama's House Bill 56.

Contemporary Patterns and Policies

Under the Barack Obama administration, the federal government has engaged in a patchwork of punitive and integrative policies. Deportations reached a record high, while at the same time the administration backed congressional efforts to pass the DREAM Act and comprehensive immigration reform. It also brought suit against several state and municipal enforcement efforts and issued a federal mandate for deferred action against persons who arrived in the United States as children. This executive order, known as the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Program, provides two years of relief from deportation for eligible undocumented young adults and makes them eligible for employment authorization. In the first six months of the program, over 100,000 applications were approved. While some were critical of the policy, others saw it as a welcome interim step to immigration reform and passage of the DREAM Act. Deferred Action has also served as a talking point to reintroduce the issue of comprehensive immigration reform, an issue that has not seriously been addressed by Congress since 2001.

The Department of Homeland Security estimated that the unauthorized population of immigrants in the United States was 11.5 million in 2011, down from a peak of 11.8 million in 2007. Mexico was the highest source of undocumented migration at 59 percent (6.8 million), followed by El Salvador with 6 percent (660,000), Guatemala (520,000), Honduras (380,000), China (280,000), the Philippines (270,000), India (240,000), Korea (230,000), Ecuador (210,000), and Vietnam (170,000), representing 85 percent of unauthorized migrants.

Scholars find that most unauthorized immigration is motivated by economic or structural concerns. Most unauthorized immigrants come in search of work, often due to the structural conditions or economic decline in their home

country. In her analysis of the history of American immigration policy, Mae Ngai argues that unauthorized entry has been the most common form of illegal immigration since the 1920s. Many arrive by vehicle or on foot through the United States' borders with Mexico or Canada. Others enter legally, often as tourists, but overstay their visas. As many as half of unauthorized immigrants arrived in the United States through legal means. In recent decades, there has also been an increase in unauthorized immigration because of migrants fleeing war, fear of persecution, high levels of crime, or civil unrest in the home country. Many immigrants choose to flee, seeking asylum in the United States, rather than risk violence at home. Often, however, if migrants are not granted asylum, they prefer to remain in the country without authorization rather than return.

Illegal Immigration, Race, and Incorporation

Although undocumented immigrants represent a large sector of the U.S. workforce, they have often been racialized and marginalized. In addition, many families are of mixed status, meaning that some members of the family are authorized while others are not, so that all members may be impacted by anti-immigrant views and punitive immigration policies. As a result, immigration policy continues to play an important role in the incorporation process, even among the second and third generations.

Scholars find that undocumented migrants who arrive as children experience life in the United States differently than those who arrive as adults. Roberto Gonzales reports that among youth, the transition to adulthood is especially difficult because their status becomes more complex once they graduate from high school. Without access to legal employment and limited access to higher education, their aspirations are often cut short, disrupting their ability to integrate into U.S. society successfully.

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See Also: Customs and Border Protection, U.S.; Deportation (Repatriation); DREAM Act; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility

Act (1996); Immigration, Illegal; Immigration Acts; Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986).

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border (though not exclusively of Mexican immigrants), conducted by "coyotes" who are professionals in the art of sneaking people past border checkpoints using a combination of bribes, off-road transit, and mechanisms for hiding passengers during inspections.

The Lure of Illegal Immigration

The United States is one of the most popular destinations for illegal immigration, for a variety of reasons. Its proximity to Latin America, many countries of which have suffered from waves of political oppression and economic turmoil, is certainly one factor. But the promise of economic opportunity beckons immigrants from farther afield as well, including eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. These economic incentives depend both on the United States' reputation as a land of prosperity and opportunity and on the willingness of employers to hire illegal immigrants.

Typically, the circumstance motivating illegal entry is one in which the employer is willing to pay a wage that is lower than what he would pay a legal resident but greater than what the immigrant could earn in his home country. A 1970s study of illegal migrant workers from Mexico in Oregon—workers who repeatedly illegally entered the United States for a season of work and then returned with their earnings to Mexico—found that even after deducting the cost of seasonal travel and the much higher cost of living in the United States, the workers earned a minimum of three times as much as they could have earned doing the same work in Mexico. In many developing countries, remittances (the money sent home by immigrant workers) are a significant source of foreign income and a key factor in economic stability.

Sanctions against employers who hire illegal immigrants are fairly mild, especially compared to the consequences to the workers so hired. As a result, being undocumented does not pose the difficulty in finding a job that it might in other countries, where penalties to employers are more severe. Historically, the labor needs of the American economy have made it politically difficult to change this. In the 21st century, the evidence suggests that because of the global financial meltdown, increased border security, and a

Immigration, Illegal

The population of undocumented immigrants in the United States is estimated to be between 11 and 20 million, about three-quarters of whom are from Latin America and about a quarter of whom are found in California. Since the 1990s, the illegal immigrant population has remained steadily ahead of the legal immigrant population. Undocumented immigrants are discussed in a separate article.

There are three ways in which a person can be considered an illegal immigrant. They may enter the country by unauthorized means, may enter legally but overstay their authorized period of visit, or may violate their terms of entry after arrival. About half of illegal immigrants are believed to have entered the country legally. Illegal entry is most strongly associated with the human smuggling operations along the Mexican



Immigrant rights marchers demonstrate for amnesty in downtown Los Angeles on May Day, 2006. The sign reads, "Today we march, tomorrow we vote." Illegal immigration, a long-standing issue in the United States, has created immense controversy, especially over U.S. citizens losing jobs to undocumented immigrants.

more vigorous crackdown on illegal immigration in key regions of the country, illegal immigration is diminishing.

Legislation and Restrictions

Not until 1986 were there any legal penalties for employers who knowingly hired illegal immigrants, unless some other criminal action could be demonstrated, such as conspiracy or forgery (and even then, prosecutions were seldom). The United States has a long history of limiting immigration as well as a considerable body of past legislation devoted to preserving a particular balance of ethnicities in the population, favoring western Europeans. It has an even longer history of importing workers for cheap labor in ways that limit or

eliminate their rights, beginning with indentured servitude and slavery and persisting today in the widespread practice of hiring illegal immigrants while limiting their legal rights.

The lack of sufficient access to legal immigration is a major contributing factor to the prevalence of illegal immigration, as immigration reform advocates have pointed out for decades. Despite the groundbreaking Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, there are still considerable limits placed on legal immigration, including an annual quota (not counting spouses, parents, and unmarried minor children of citizens) of 675,000. Only 140,000 visas are issued for employment-related preferences, which makes legal entry for low-skilled workers difficult to impossible unless they can enter with one of the 480,000 visas issued under family-preference rules.

This is especially true since the 1964 termination of the Bracero program, which allowed entry to Mexican workers in the agricultural industry. The flow of workers did not stop; no incentive was created to encourage employers to hire legal workers instead, nor were means created by which these workers could easily obtain visas or become American citizens. The workers were simply turned into illegal immigrants instead of legal temporary workers.

Apart from the Fourteenth Amendment, which endowed U.S.-born children with citizenship, most 19th-century immigration legislation was created to restrict immigration, channel legal immigration toward a specific demographic profile, or restrict the rights of immigrants. Asian immigrants could not become naturalized citizens, for instance, and Chinese immigration was restricted after white workers felt threatened by western employers' reliance on cheap Chinese labor to work mines and build railroads. Immigration of other specific types of persons was also outlawed, notably "lunatics" in 1882 and anarchists in 1901.

This restrictiveness continued in the 20th century. The Emergency Quota Act passed in 1921 enforced quotas based on country of origin, intended to freeze the demographic makeup of the country in place, and remained in force until 1965. The Supreme Court case *United States v. Bhaghat Singh Thind* classified Indians as nonwhites and thus changed their eligibility

for immigration, which retroactively designated many Indian Americans as illegal immigrants. Even when the 1965 reforms were passed removing these country-of-origin quotas, Senate subcommittee chair Ted Kennedy promised, “It will not upset the ethnic mix of our society.”

While immigration legislation has not increased in restrictiveness since, treatment of immigrants has become increasingly harsh. In 1996, the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act increased the variety of crimes for which immigrants can be deported, and imposed mandatory detention in some deportation cases, resulting in 2 million new deportations in subsequent years. The latter act also greatly increased the Immigration and Naturalization Service’s power in immigration proceedings by allowing the introduction of “secret evidence” if the evidence is classified but considered relevant.

Passed in part as a response to the 1990s terrorist attacks, the acts were further strengthened by legislation passed in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, notably the REAL ID Act of 2005, which encouraged the building of border fences and made visas more difficult to obtain. Further, the USA PATRIOT Act empowered the federal government to deport illegal immigrants based on suspected (rather than proven) terrorist activity or affiliation with organizations designated by the secretary of state or attorney general. Affiliation even with undesigned organizations could be punished if it was deemed sufficiently suspicious, and the attorney general was empowered to declare specific illegal aliens threats to national security, a “certification” that bypasses due process because the immigrant is given no opportunity for a hearing.

In the mid-2000s, a series of bills were proposed in both the House and the Senate to raise the penalties for illegal immigration as well as to felonize the aiding and abetting of those remaining in the United States. The bills were highly controversial and led to a series of protests calling for a reconsideration of immigration and attitudes toward immigrants, illegal or otherwise, in the United States. A March 10, 2006, demonstration in Chicago by about 100,000 protesters was followed by a march of half a million protesters

in Los Angeles on March 25, and half a million more in Dallas on April 10, called a nationwide day of protest. The organization of this opposition helped lead to the progress toward immigration reforms seen in 2012 and 2013.

While many parts of the country, notably Arizona, have become increasingly concerned with illegal immigration and have strengthened their approach to it, other cities have become “sanctuary cities” in which law enforcement and city officials have been instructed not to respond to immigration crimes. Sanctuary cities include New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Miami, Washington, D.C., and, despite the concerns about illegal immigration, in Houston, Dallas, and many other parts of Texas.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Boat People; Citizenship; Hispanic Americans; Immigration Acts; Immigrants, Undocumented.

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Immigration Acts

Throughout its history, the U.S. government has adopted legislation aimed at regulating immigration. Immigration acts adopted in 1917 and 1924 arose from the nativist and xenophobic sentiments of many American citizens who particularly disliked the influx of immigrants from Asia and southern and eastern Europe. The Immigration Act of 1952 reflected similar concerns about foreigners, including eastern Europeans who might be communists. However, the

nation's often harsh immigration policy was softened by new immigration laws adopted in 1965 and 1990.

Immigration Act (1917)

The Immigration Act of 1917, also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, was passed by the U.S. Congress on February 5, 1917, overriding a veto by President Woodrow Wilson the previous December. The desire of this legislation was to control and curtail unwanted immigration into the United States. "Unwanted immigrants" included homosexuals, idiots, criminals, epileptics, alcoholics, beggars, polygamists, anarchists, and feeble-minded, insane, mentally and physically defective, and illiterate people.

This act was controversial since it called for the exclusion of immigrants who primarily came from Asia and the Pacific Islands; the mandate to restrict immigrants from these places was known as the Asiatic Barred Zone. Prior efforts to curtail Asian immigration were directed mainly at Chinese immigrants, under the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), which disqualified immigrants from gaining entry to the United States. Unlike other restrictive immigration efforts, the Immigration Act of 1917 introduced literacy testing in order to exclude immigrants from entering the country. Although Wilson vetoed this requirement for newly arrived immigrants, it was later upheld by Congress.

Immigration Act (1924)

The Immigration Act of 1924 was signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge in May 1924. This piece of legislation contained additional efforts by U.S. government officials to control the number of immigrants coming from particular national territories. Under this law, also known as the National Origins Act, U.S. officials reduced the number of immigrants that could be admitted to the nation, decreasing the percentage of immigrants, based on national origin, from 2 to 3 percent of the number of people from a given country already living in the United States. This act also reduced the percentage of potential immigrants previously established by the Emergency Quota Act (1921). In a similar spirit to the Immigration Act of 1917, this law excluded Asians.

One of the primary aims of the National Origins Act was to further restrict southern and

eastern European migration. In particular, the government sought to curtail the entry of Jewish immigrants fleeing persecution in Poland and Russia, and began to prohibit immigration from India and Middle Eastern and east Asian countries. Some argue that the main purpose of the law was to preserve a homogeneous notion of American identity.

The act included provisions that gave preference to immigrants who were 21 years and older, and to agricultural laborers, their wives, and children. In addition, the law attempted to establish an official visa system that would be supervised by the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. As a result, no immigrant would be allowed to enter the United States without a valid visa issued by American consular officials. Those ineligible to enter lawfully were Japanese and Chinese immigrants. The law also imposed a fine on all companies that unlawfully transported undocumented immigrants to American soil.

This act was designed to uphold a homogeneous ideal of American identity, which nativists maintained was being threatened by immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Nativists sought to ensure a homogenous balance (racial and ethnic) of native-born Americans over outsiders. A dominant ideology of this time was that the native-born were superior to immigrants who were starving, sick, and less able to contribute to American economy and culture.

The act controlled unwanted immigration through quotas and altogether barred people from Asia, including Japanese, Chinese, Philippine, Thai, Laotian, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Singaporean, Korean, Indonesian, Burmese, Indian, Sri Lankan, and Malaysian immigrants. Because these immigrants were nonwhite, they were disallowed from obtaining citizenship. Although the act was explicit about curtailing immigrants from particular national regions, it remained silent on limiting immigration from Latin American regions.

The law drastically reduced the number of Italian immigrants while giving preference to German, British, and Irish immigrants, since they had the highest quotas.

The restrictive nature of this law was also felt by southern and eastern European immigrants,

since a greater number of people had left these countries than were allowed to enter the United States. The national origins quotas established by this legislation would remain in place until they were challenged by the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965.

Immigration Act (1952)

Congress enacted the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 in June of that year, despite its veto by President Harry S. Truman. Truman vetoed the measure because he deemed it discriminatory and un-American, and he argued it was “isolationist” in nature like the Immigration Act of 1924. However, his veto was overridden by a House of Representatives vote of 278 to 113 and a Senate vote of 57 to 26 in favor of adoption. This piece of legislation is also known as the McCarran-Walter Act, after Senator Pat McCarran (D-Nevada) and Congressman Francis Walter (D-Pennsylvania), who were concerned with the high levels of eastern European immigrants. McCarran argued the law was needed because Asian and European immigrants were an unassimilable enemy that poisoned the American haven.

An important contribution made by this law was the elimination of gender and race as categories to restrict and discriminate against potential immigrants. Instead, the U.S. government used nationality and region as criteria with which to control which ethnic groups were allowed entry. Preference was given to immigrants with special labor skills and to relatives of citizens who were exempt from the quota restrictions. The act also barred potential immigrants who were or had been affiliated with the Communist Party. Notable Latino public figures excluded under the act for their ideological character were Mexican author Carlos Fuentes, Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez, and Chilean poet Pablo Neruda.

A provision of this legislation allowed territories like Puerto Rico and Guam to be included as part of the United States. In this respect, the act stated that individuals born after December 23, 1952, would gain American citizenship. Portions of this law remained in place in 2012, but it had been amended many times since its adoption and modified substantially by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

The Immigration and Nationality Act (1965)

President John F. Kennedy criticized the nation’s harsh immigration policies during the civil rights movement, calling the quota system of immigration “intolerable.” Following Kennedy’s assassination in 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, also known as the Hart-Cellar Act.

The majority of Americans opposed this piece of legislation because of concerns that immigration reform would lead to ethnic, racial, and linguistic changes. Despite public sentiment, there was widespread political support for the act and it easily passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 326 to 70 and the Senate by a vote of 76 to 18.

In an effort to alter negative public opinion, political figures like Johnson and U.S. Senator Ted Kennedy assured the public that this legislation would not significantly alter the nation’s demographic composition. Legislators forecast that the primary applicants benefiting from this reform would be Europeans, not immigrants from other places.

The significance of this piece of legislation was that it served to abolish the national origin quotas that were in place since the 1920s. Instead of focusing on nationality as a category of admission, the Hart-Cellar Act gave preference to immigrants’ skills and whether potential immigrants had family ties with existing U.S. citizens. Although the act did establish a formula that capped immigrant visas for each country at 170,000 annually, it did not include immigrants in this quota if they were relatives of U.S. citizens.

The Hart-Cellar Act did away with the previously established harsh immigration policies that served to exclude Asian, African, and southern and eastern European immigrants. In conjunction with this legislation were other political and economic factors that contributed to spikes in immigration from Latin America and Asia, such as the end of the Bracero program (which resulted in increases in documented and undocumented migration from Mexico) and Cuban migration after the Fidel Castro revolution (which encouraged the Cuban elite and professional classes to flee an emerging socialist government).

Immigration following the Immigration and Nationality Act served to further diversify national demographics through greater inclusion

of immigrants from the Mediterranean area, Latin America, and Asia. Prior to the Hart-Cellar Act, population growth via immigration accounted for roughly one-tenth of the total population increases in the nation. By the 1990s, immigration would account for one-third of American population growth, with undocumented immigration making up one-quarter of this increase. The law also increased and diversified the ethnic composition of the nation, with a greater portion of foreign-born citizens coming from Latin America and Asia.

Immigration Act (1990)

On November, 29, 1990, President George H. W. Bush signed the Immigration Act of 1990. This piece of legislation made significant changes to immigration policies by increasing the limits of documented immigration. A secondary impact was that the law reviewed the criteria for exclusion and deportation of individuals. Among other important impacts this legislation had on immigration reform was the granting of temporary protection status to individuals of selected nations, reworked admissions categories for non-immigrants, and a modified visa program. This act also resulted in a review of previous naturalization requirements.

Among its notable changes, the act banned the use of homosexuality as a cause for excluding potential immigrants from entering the United States and made exceptions to the English-only testing requirement needed to achieve naturalization established under the Naturalization Act of 1906.

Following the enactment of this legislation, roughly 700,000 new immigrants were able to enter the United States, an increase over the numbers of entrants who arrived before this law. In a similar fashion to previous immigration laws, the Immigration Act of 1990 gave preference to immigrants who already worked in the United States and to highly skilled immigrants. Other barriers that were used to exclude potential immigrants were struck down by the act, including banning immigrant entrants who were victims of the human immunodeficiency virus.

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See Also: Customs and Border Protection, U.S.; Deportation (Repatriation); DREAM Act; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Immigration, Illegal; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.; Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986); Naturalization Language Requirements.

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Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.

The Department of Homeland Security's major internal policing subagency is Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). ICE is responsible

for detection of unauthorized immigrants and terrorism suspects.

ICE has over 20,000 employees who carry out mandatory detention and removal, and deported record numbers of immigrants. In 2011, ICE statistics indicated 396,906 noncitizen removals. A primary goal is the removal of "criminal aliens" through the Secure Communities program and 287(g) Memorandums of Agreement (MOAs) with local and state law enforcement to expand such enforcement through state or local police cooperation.

After September 11, 2001 (9/11), ICE was conceived when a major reorganization of immigration enforcement occurred. When the Department of Homeland Security was created, the former Immigration and Naturalization Service was broken into separate divisions, including ICE, and was placed under the Director of Homeland Security. Within ICE, Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO) is the primary unit involved in arrests for immigration law violations. It is responsible for the apprehension, arrest, and removal (deportation) of undocumented immigrants. Removals include noncitizens who are convicted criminals, national security threats, immigration fugitives (individuals who fail to report for deportation), and unauthorized border crossers. ICE supervises individuals in custody or detention alternatives and transports individuals ordered to be deported for any reason, procedural or criminal. During removal, deportees are shackled until they are deposited in the country of origin.

ICE contains the Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) directorate, and its mission is criminal operations. It investigates international and domestic movement of people and goods, including immigration crime, human smuggling, and human rights violations. Internal enforcement has over 10,000 employees, including 6,700 special agents assigned in more than 200 U.S. cities and 47 overseas locations.

ICE Strategies

Daniel Kanstroom, an immigration lawyer, refers to a major operational function of ICE as post-entry immigration social control. This involves determining the location of workers, students, and permanent resident aliens approved to be in the country but determined removable after

committing a crime. ICE also carries out extended border control when it detains and removes individuals who entered without authorization from the Department of the Interior.

Policing strategies used by ICE have included worksite, community, and home raids. Citizens are legally protected from noncriminal raids. During the George W. Bush administration, workplace raid targets ranged from meatpacking to small businesses. A Bedford, Massachusetts, raid that separated immigrants mothers from their children, including a breastfeeding child, generated notoriety. Home raid searches are made for immigrants in violation of civil immigration laws, and are conducted without a court warrant or protection of the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution. Officers look for individuals who have committed civil immigration offenses, including entry without inspection or failure to report for a deportation hearing.

In his 2012 publication on deportation law, Daniel Kanstroom indicates that ICE has conducted predawn raids into private households, and that it is not always clear that informed consent was given. These raids have often involved bad information, targeting the wrong individuals or address, and ICE officers have had difficulty in separating immigration law violators from legal residents. Exclusionary rules regarding the legality of seizure of evidence are less likely to be applied in deportation hearings, and ICE agents are known to be willing to take advantage of home raids for extralegal evidence gathering. Concerns have been raised about the social and psychological impact of these raids on both citizens and noncitizens, especially U.S. birthright citizen children. During the Barack Obama administration, workplace and home raids declined but did not fully stop.

Since 9/11, ICE has forcibly removed or facilitated the voluntary departures of hundreds of thousands from the United States. These removals have caused social turmoil and population turnover in immigrant communities. One ICE goal has been the removal of criminal aliens through the operation of the Secure Communities program. It uses the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) national criminal offender database to match the fingerprints of arrested individuals to immigration records. In the case of convicted immigrants, whether undocumented or permanent resident

aliens, ICE picks them up and deports them after they have served a criminal sentence. ICE prioritizes deportation based on the severity of the crime committed, but has primarily deported nonviolent offenders, repeatedly increasing the number of criminal offender deportations. In 2011, ICE removed 1,119 noncitizens convicted of homicide, and 5,848 convicted of sexual offenses. Other major crime categories for removal were drug-related crimes, including possession (44,653), and driving under the influence (35,927).

ICE has made the removal of criminal aliens its top priority. It began expanding enforcement with an invitation to state and local police agencies to participate in the 287g program with Memorandums of Agreement. Immigration enforcement training would be provided to officers. A total of 68 law enforcement agencies in 24 states have participation agreements, and are credited with identifying 279,311 noncitizens who were potentially removable—mostly at local jails. ICE expanded upon 287g with the stand-alone Secure Communities program, which seeks to remove individuals considered a threat to public safety and repeat immigration law violators. In 2008, Secure Communities was started in 14 jurisdictions, and it has spread to over 3,000 jurisdictions. Over 50,000 immigrants convicted of aggravated felonies designated under various immigration acts have been removed under this program.

Criticisms of the Program

Concerns about the Secure Communities program include whether it uses racial profiling and how it impacts immigrant communities. Several states and municipalities have attempted to restrict the operation of the Secure Communities program on the grounds of civil rights violations and, most importantly, that it primarily detains and removes nonviolent offenders. Immigrant advocates have weighed the impact of removal for nonviolent crimes and argue that the negative consequences for families and U.S.-born children should be considered by immigration judges, who have repeatedly been denied discretion because of mandatory detention and removal policies. The governors of New York, Illinois, and Massachusetts, all states with gateway cities as primary immigrant destinations, requested termination of operating agreements. In 2011, ICE announced that it was

terminating all state agreements but that it would continue to operate the Secure Communities program because it viewed its activities in the states as a federal requirement.

A central criticism of ICE mandatory detention and removal focuses on detainees' lack of due process rights under the Constitution. Citizens have the right to legal representation and full review of their cases but noncitizens, including legally admitted permanent resident aliens, are not recognized as eligible for due process. Whether they resist or give up, potential deportees at the border and in the interior face a situation in which noncitizens do not have the following rights: representation by court-appointed counsel if they cannot afford a lawyer; bail (because detention is mandatory); suppression of illegally seized evidence; protection against ex post facto/retroactive laws; and protection from selective prosecution on the basis of country of origin and political beliefs.

For noncitizens convicted of a crime classified as an aggravated felony, judges are not allowed to consider a range of discretionary concerns, including impact on economic and emotional

support of families and U.S. birthright children, or whether deportees had social and cultural ties to the sending nation to which they would be deported. As a result, both major family providers and youth who left their origin nations too young to have knowledge of its culture or social ties have been deported.

Detention Procedures

ICE detention procedures and the associated judicial review process administered by the Department of Justice are controversial. Until late in 2012, during the Obama administration, ICE transferred detainees to available beds in remote locations, often other states, without notice to families or legal advocates. An online detainee locator system has been operationalized for searches involving individuals over the age of 18. It allows searches by name and by the ICE A-number in conjunction with country of birth. Other concerns about detention have involved psychological and health conditions in ICE, and outsourced jail or prison facilities. Although noncitizens who have violated immigration law are technically not imprisoned criminals, they are subject to being stripped of their clothing and having personal possessions taken away and replaced by prison clothing, being placed in handcuffs and leg constraints, and being contained in large barracks-like rooms for from two weeks to one year.

Particularly when detainees are housed in jails or prisons, they are treated the same as other prisoners. Physical, sexual, and psychological abuse of detainees has been alleged, and the Obama administration has responded to criticism by creating the Office of Detention Policy and Planning. ICE has since issued performance-based national detention standards. The high number of noncitizens detained has made additional oversight critical. For example, in 2010, 517,000 foreign nationals were apprehended, 83 percent of whom were Mexican citizens. Illustrating the massive caseload, 363,000 noncitizens were detained. Although Mexican nationals constituted 61 percent of detainees, their stays were shorter, and they accounted for 36 percent of bed days. The continued detention of Mexican and other foreign nationals is posing serious fiscal and social costs.

ICE reports detention costs at \$122 per day, but when ICE operational expenses are included,



On December 11, 2008, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Removal Operations (ERO) officers arrest (and later deport) Carlos Garcia-Hernandez, a Mexican citizen and Houston, Texas, gang member, whom Mexican officials believe was involved in a double murder.

the cost is \$166 per day. Daily costs are \$5.5 million, and the DHS budgetary request was over \$2 billion. ICE operates six detention facilities and contracts for bed space at 250 jails and prisons. Private businesses such as the Corrections Corporation of America operate over 14,500 beds, and GEO Group, Inc., has over 7,000 beds. Considering detainee turnover because of removal, immigrant detention is primarily privatized or subcontracted to local and state authorities. The advocates at the National Immigration Forum suggest that less carceral alternatives would cost from 30 cents to \$14 a day. These include telephone and in-person reporting, curfews, home visits, and especially electronic monitoring. ICE uses electronic monitoring for individuals who pose no danger and are not a flight risk. Because only 11 percent of ICE detainees have committed violent crimes, National Immigration Forum advocates estimate that 80 percent of current spending—\$1.6 billion—could be saved annually through use of technological and caseload alternatives.

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See Also: Customs and Border Protection, U.S.; Deportation (Repatriation); Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (1996); Immigration Acts; Immigration History Research Center; Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986).

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Immigration History Research Center

The Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) at the University of Minnesota began as a collaboration between academic researchers and a Minnesota working-class community in the mid-1960s and remains, in the 21st century, a site of community-engaged, multidisciplinary research and archival initiatives in immigration studies. In 1965, when the IHRC was founded, the University of Minnesota had already for four decades supported a distinctive "Minnesota school" of scholarship on immigration. Since the 1920s, historians Theodore Blegen (1891–1969) and George Stephenson (1883–1958) had emphasized the importance of creating publicly accessible archives that privileged immigrants' viewpoints, and collaborative scholarship that fostered interdisciplinarity, international partnership, community engagement, and history "from the bottom up." In the early 1960s, historians Clarke Chambers, Hy Berman, and Timothy Smith discovered a rich trove of materials during their research into the multilingual immigrant miners and industrial workers of northern Minnesota's Iron Range. They created the Immigrant Archives and the Center for Immigration Studies, which merged in 1965 to form the Immigration History Research Center.

Development

Between 1967 and 2005, the IHRC developed under the long-term directorship of Rudolph J. Vecoli, whose immediate vision was to collect and research the immigration to the United States of 24 immigrant and ethnic groups from southern and eastern Europe and western Asia. By the 1980s, under curator Joel Wurl, the IHRC began to collect and foster research on mid-20th-century

refugees and displaced persons from Europe and, eventually, also refugees from Africa and Asia. Vecoli and Wurl worked with ethnic community partners, formalized as the Friends of the IHRC in 1977. The IHRC became one of the most important centers for immigration research in North America. Its archives continue to attract scholars, archivists, and students from both local and international research communities.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Vecoli continued Blegen and Stephenson's focus on combining archival, research, and programming activities that were deeply embedded in community outreach and networks of international and interdisciplinary collaboration. In addition to working with local ethnic organizations and the Friends of the IHRC, Vecoli fostered transnational partnerships, worked to keep scholarship on older and newer European migrations in dialogue, and made the IHRC an important site for Atlantic studies of migration. During these years, the IHRC publication, *Spectrum*, pointed community- and library-based researchers to large interdisciplinary themes—language, autobiography, refugees, and the performing arts—to be explored in its collections.

As new waves of refugees began to reshape Minnesota's population, the IHRC collaborated with a new generation of scholars who inaugurated the Southeast Asian Refugee Studies project, later transformed into the Center for Refugee Studies (CRS). During its two decades' existence, the CRS numbered among a handful of university centers documenting post-Vietnam refugee movements and collected rich materials on both refugees from southeast Asia and the organizations that worked with these migrants. When the CRS was disbanded in 1998, the IHRC incorporated the CRS archives; materials on forced migrations and refugee settlement after 1945 soon comprised a third of IHRC holdings. In the late 1990s, the IHRC engaged in a fruitful collaboration with American Studies scholar David Roediger, focusing on whiteness among working-class immigrants and hosting the innovative and interdisciplinary "Race, Ethnicity, Migration" (REM) seminar and conference in 1999 and 2000.

In 2005, historian Donna R. Gabaccia succeeded Rudolph J. Vecoli as director of the IHRC. Under her leadership, the Immigration History

Research Center has expanded long-standing IHRC traditions (documentation, research, education, community engagement, and international collaboration) through work with the post-1965 immigrants and refugees. Strengthening the center's international networks, the IHRC embarked on the Digitizing Immigrant Letters project, which digitally archives letters written and messages recorded primarily between 1850 and 1970 by and to immigrants, translated from their native languages. In summer 2012, the IHRC will meet with more than 20 U.S. and international community partners in Vienna to discuss future steps for international collaboration and digitizing letters of migration.

During Gabaccia's tenure, the IHRC revived the interdisciplinary networks briefly fostered in the late 1990s through an innovative collaboration with the Institute of Global Studies that offered, and continues to offer, seminars and programming conferences focused on "Global REM," which bring together the more than 100 faculty members at the University of Minnesota whose research or pedagogy engages race, ethnicity, migration, or refugee life, as well as the IHRC's many international and local community partners. In addition, the IHRC brought together demographers, historians, and anthropologists to explore the topic of "gender ratios and global migrations," using the Minnesota Population Center's (MPC) digital archives of population records (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series [IPUMs] or IPUMs International). A 2007 conference on world migrations cosponsored by the IHRC, the German Historical Institute, and the Institute for Social History was coedited by Gabaccia and Dirk Hoerder, *Connecting Seas and Connected Ocean Rims* (2011). Essays from a conference on migration and belonging are being edited for publication, as are essays from a transatlantic workshop for graduate students from Europe and North America on "Europe—Migration—Identity."

Because Minnesota's foreign-born populations now include sizable numbers of refugees from Africa and southeast Asia and labor migrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the Minnesota school's legacy of intellectual partnership and archive building has been revitalized by students expanding their research on immigrant youth culture and digital humanities. The IHRC's

Minnesota 2.0 project created a digital archive documenting and interpreting how 1.5- and second-generation Mexican, Somali, and Hmong youth use social networking sites. The IHRC partnered with a team of Somali students to collect over a dozen video interviews with young Somalis living in Minnesota and London. Their “Sheeko: Somali Youth Oral History Collection” is a digital archive of interest to youth, the Somali community, and researchers in many disciplines.

As Gabaccia ends her directorship in summer 2012, the IHRC enjoys wide collaborative relations with scholars, students, immigrant and refugee ethnic communities, and researchers from Minnesota, the United States, and the world. The mission of the IHRC to foster interdisciplinary research, develop collections documenting immigrant life, and engage communities in research activities will continue into the 21st century.

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See Also: *Different Mirror*, A; Ethnic Studies; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*; Refugees.

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Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986)

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) was sponsored by Senator Alan Simpson (R-Wyoming) and Representative

Romano Mazzoli (D-Kentucky) and signed by President Ronald Reagan. The primary features of IRCA are the procedures for legalization of undocumented immigrants already living in the United States and, for the first time, sanctioning employers for knowingly hiring undocumented immigrants. Each of these two points has generated controversy: the provisions for legalization have been characterized as an amnesty for undocumented immigrants, and the employer enforcement provisions have suffered from a lack of enforcement.

Origins of the Act

The legislation that became IRCA developed over several sessions of Congress. The aftermath of the 1965 legislation that opened the way for Eastern Hemisphere migration and an increase in undocumented immigrants were two of the major issues that developed. In 1979 then-president Jimmy Carter appointed the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (SCIRP) to deal with immigration reform. Observing the vast increase in undocumented immigrants and other challenges in the aftermath of the 1965 reforms, recommendations were made in a report issued February 1981. The report recommended legalization of a large number of undocumented immigrants, clearer and possibly higher quotas for migration from North America, greater border control and security, and the inclusion of sanctions on employers as an aspect of immigration policy for the first time.

Legislative History and Passage

Immigration legislation was considered seriously beginning in 1981. Business groups worried about access to an affordable workforce, whereas nativist groups sought to restrict immigration; groups representing the Latino community and labor groups were all involved. The lead sponsors of the legislation, Senator Alan Simpson, a Republican from Wyoming, and Representative Romano Mazzoli, a staunchly pro-life Democrat from Kentucky, may have been able to succeed because neither came from a state where mass immigration (documented or undocumented) was an issue. The Simpson-Mazzoli bill went through several incarnations. Even within interest groups and partisan factions, there was often substantial disagreement.

After several attempts to comprehensively reform the process, final passage of IRCA occurred in 1986. The final legislation included several attempts to resolve the competing interests and various factions involved in disputes and problems arising from immigration. For employers, knowingly hiring a person not authorized to work in the United States, continuing to employ someone not authorized to work, and hiring someone without requiring them to prove their eligibility became illegal. Several procedures were also created for legalization. Undocumented immigrants in continuous residence since January 1, 1982, became eligible for temporary legal status and a pathway to permanent residency. The Special Agricultural Worker Program gave certain agricultural workers permanent residency. Other programs were created for temporary agricultural labor shortages, opportunities for permanent residency for long-term unauthorized residents and for Cuban and Haitian entrants. Provisions were also made to increase Border Patrol funding, enforcement, and security. The conference report for the final bill was approved in the House of Representatives 238–173 and on October 17, 1986, in the Senate by a vote of 63–24. The bill was signed by President Reagan on November 6, 1986, and became Public Law 99-603.

IRCA provided for legalization of undocumented immigrants, increased border security, allowed certain exemptions for the agricultural industry, and created employer sanctions for the first time. However, it did not create a continuing guest worker program and it did not resolve the question of the status of people who immigrated to the United States after the deadline for legalization. The Immigration Act of 1990 implemented SCIRP recommendations relating to visas for highly skilled employees and increased the number of legal immigrants allowed, but challenges remained. In 1996 the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act created many restrictions on undocumented immigrants. Nevertheless, attempts to comprehensively reform the process have failed since 1986.

Impact and Legacy

IRCA has a complex legacy. The employer enforcement portion of the bill was constrained

by a severe lack of financial resources and a large-scale potential for fraud. The I-9 form, a ubiquitous feature of beginning legal employment in the United States, was established as a result of IRCA but enforcing key provisions proved difficult.

The most enduring legacy of IRCA involved about 3 million people legalizing their status and becoming permanent residents. The majority of the immigrants were residents of California, with Texas, New York, Illinois, and Florida also accounting for a substantial portion. This development, which far obscured the border security and employer enforcement provisions of the legislation, has become the most contentious aspect of IRCA's legacy. Attempts to reform the immigration process are often characterized by fears of an "amnesty." In addition, the legislation left undocumented immigrants who arrived after January 1, 1982, outside the window for legalization, and imperfect implementation also resulted in not everyone completing the path to permanent residency. As a result, supporters and opponents of large-scale immigrant and immigration legalization processes each found a lack of promise in IRCA, a shadow that continues to linger over debates regarding immigration.

Current debates over immigration often use the successes and failures of IRCA, a "grand bargain" that to some has failed to live up to its initial promise. The employer enforcement provisions have been plagued by a lack of resources and a reliance on education rather than the provision of resources for strict enforcement. Though immigration restriction legislation was passed in 1996 and the Border Patrol has been enhanced in resources and personnel, comprehensive immigration reform has proved impossible to pass because of an increasingly polarized Congress. Legislation at the state level has become increasingly contentious as well, with states such as Arizona passing stringent immigration restriction legislation. IRCA shows how often even the most complex and comprehensive policy prescription for immigration serves as part of a continuing process rather than an enduring solution.

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See Also: Amnesty; House of Representatives, U.S.; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Immigration Acts; Senate, U.S.

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Implicit Association Test

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) is a measure of a person’s automatic association of concepts and their favorability. An “attitude” is how favorably a person evaluates something, and “implicit” refers to an indirect or underlying nature. Many different concepts have been measured using the IAT, including those related to the multicultural world. Based on social psychological theories and ideas, it has received considerable research and media attention. Many benefits are purported to be derived from its use, such as understanding the origin and potential eradication of prejudices and discrimination. While there is some empirical support for its validity and reliability, there is also controversy surrounding what can actually be derived from the results and how its usefulness can translate outside the laboratory setting.

Development of the Test

In 1995, researchers Anthony Greenwald and Mahzarin Banaji discussed the idea of implicit and explicit memory extending to other social constructs. If memories outside of consciousness can affect behavior, then attitudes and behavior may also be affected by underlying cognitions. The IAT was first discussed in scientific literature in 1998. It is a measurement of how strong a person

automatically associates concepts with attributes, such as favorability. The strength of these mental associations is based on the rapidness of associations that people make. In some circumstances, a person may not be able to explicitly divulge their attitudes due to lack of self-awareness or due to social desirability bias and an unwillingness to divulge them. A better way to uncover and understand underlying attitudes was needed, and the IAT was developed to meet these needs.

The IAT is a 10- to 15-minute test conducted using a computer. The user needs to pair two concept words or images (such as black and white or Arab and Muslim) with preference words (such as pleasant or unpleasant or good or bad). This is done several times in varying orders with a requirement that the user try to indicate the required pairings as quickly as possible by typing corresponding keys on the keyboard once those pairings are displayed. The idea is that faster responses occur with easier pairings and should indicate a stronger association in a person’s memory. The IAT is readily available to use in research, and the public can access the tests for personal discovery as well as to take part in continuing research in this area.

Research, Application, and Controversy

Much research has been conducted on the validity and reliability of the test. If the test is repeated several times, it is possible to alter a person’s score, and there is concern that a person’s score will be biased in the direction of the first set of pairings. There is some disagreement that what is being measured is not truly about an individual’s implicit attitude but instead is a cultural attitude or awareness of stereotypes. Familiarity with the concepts can also affect the results, as people tend to show preference for things that are familiar. As the IAT is a measure of cognition and speed, those with a decline in cognitive responsiveness tend to show more extreme IAT scores, which may be a measure of cognitive control rather than an implicit judgment. Another possible interpretation of what the IAT is truly measuring is the cognitive development and distinction of in-groups and out-groups.

The IAT has been shown to correlate to a number of real-world decisions and behaviors better than explicit measures, but this is truer

for socially sensitive issues such as racial discrimination. It is possible for a person to fake their responses, but this is relatively difficult and not a common occurrence. Multiple attempts of the same test show a trend toward neutral scores but overall show good test-retest reliability. Altering methodology and assessment computations can take into account some of these known limitations.

The IAT has been used empirically in many areas in psychology, including social, clinical, developmental, and cognitive, as well as other disciplines such as marketing. Over 90 IATs have been developed that assess constructs such as gender, political preferences, races, ethnicities, age, and weight. While in most instances the IAT is given to adults, the Child-IAT uses sound and pictures, which makes it useful to measure underlying attitudes in children 4 years of age and up, as biases develop early. Also, it appears that automatic ethnic and racial preferences are universal.

Results of the IAT can be useful in helping individuals identify unknown underlying associations that may affect their decisions and behaviors. If a person is aware of these unconscious attitudes, the test can prompt him/her to identify areas in which conscious effort needs to be made to produce equal and just choices and actions. Over time, this effort can help reduce the incongruent cognition and create social change, as unconscious attitudes can be altered over time.

There are, however, limitations to how the results should be interpreted and used. Though the IAT developers and researchers have notes of caution as to what the tests mean and can be used for, public accessibility to the tests and results are of some concern if those taking it don't understand the true meaning and limitations of the results they receive. The IAT does not identify causes of biases and discrimination and does not definitively predict behavior.

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See Also: Cross-Cultural Psychology; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Identity Development; Political Correctness; Roles; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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In the Heat of the Night

The 1967 mystery film *In the Heat of the Night*, directed by Norman Jewison, follows two policemen as they track down the murderer of a businessman. However, the plot is invigorated by the fact that it is the first interracial police film. Local police chief Bill Gillespie (Rod Steiger) is white; his opposite number from Philadelphia, Virgil Tibbs (Sydney Poitier), is black; and the setting is Sparta, a small Mississippi town. Unlike the interracial "buddy" pairings of later films such as the *Die Hard*, *Lethal Weapon*, and *Rush Hour* franchises, the relationship between Gillespie and Tibbs is at first antagonistic. Tibbs is passing through town, returning north after visiting his mother, and is picked up at the railway station as an immediate suspect merely because of the color of his skin. When Gillespie discovers Tibbs is Philadelphia's leading homicide detective, he has to resentfully ask him for help; neither experience is conducive to friendship. This discord sets the stage for the film to explore racial prejudice in modern America.

Innovative and Groundbreaking Film

The personnel involved in the making of *In the Heat of the Night* ensured it would be innovative. Predating "blaxploitation" films such as *Shaft* (Richard Roundtree, 1972), with its Quincy

Jones score and signature song performed by Ray Charles, it was one of the first films to have a predominantly African American soundtrack. *In the Heat of the Night* was one of three films on race relations Poitier made during 1967, although the London-set *To Sir, With Love* in which he plays a schoolteacher and the interracial romance *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* are far less challenging.

The Academy Award-winning editor of *In the Heat of the Night*, Hal Ashby, soon became a leading director of the trailblazing “New Hollywood” movement and it is his dynamic work that generates much of the film’s tension. At the outset, when Tibbs is hauled from the railway station to Gillespie’s police station, it is several minutes before both men are seen together in the frame; the perpetual cross-cutting from face to face sets up the crackling atmosphere of antagonism. Similarly, Steiger’s technique of chewing gum faster and faster to denote his nervousness as he discovers Tibbs is his career superior is contrasted with the stillness of Poitier’s style in establishing the power relations between the characters.

Playing a chain-gang escapee in *The Defiant Ones* (Stanley Kramer, 1957), Poitier, insisting that he and fellow convict Joker (Tony Curtis) head north, says: “I’m a strange colored man in a white southern town. How long before they pick me up?” Moving forward 10 years to *In the Heat of the Night*, these seem to be prophetic words for Virgil Tibbs. However, much has in fact changed. Virgil is a well-paid, high-ranking police officer; in Sparta, he is still addressed as “boy,” but in Philadelphia, they call him “Mr. Tibbs.” In this light, *In the Heat of the Night* is not so much an exploration of race relations across America as a critique of an American south that is seen to be out of step with the north, which apparently affords equal opportunities to all.

Sparta is beset by problems, of which racism is only one. Its police force make blunders such as failing to determine whether a suspect is right- or left-handed or to establish an accurate time of death, errors that seem to have been devised for Tibbs to showcase his skills. White locals, such as a young woman who likes to parade at her window naked and a psychotic diner counterman who is the actual killer, are depicted as typically underclass. In contrast, the only northerners that are encountered—Colbert, the murder victim

who is a Chicago businessman seeking to provide jobs for African Americans by opening a factory in Sparta, his dignified widow (Lee Grant) who recognizes Tibbs’s superior policing, and Tibbs himself—are beyond reproach.

Within the film’s context, the south continues to be tainted by its original sin, slavery. There is seen a latter-day version of this, as African Americans pick cotton on the Endicott plantation. Endicott (Larry Gates) is an unreconstructed racist, and the film’s most controversial moment—one that must have been electrifying when seen in 1967—occurs when Endicott slaps Tibbs across the face for daring to question him. Without missing a beat, Tibbs returns the blow, distilling onto the screen the turning point for Hollywood’s representation of race relations and answering the critics who felt Poitier had too often played the “Uncle Tom.” This moment also marks a turning point for Tibbs and Gillespie. Gillespie has long recognized the injustice of Endicott’s economic and class supremacy and Virgil’s action leads him for the first time to think about his taken-for-granted attitudes toward race. The crime—which is really an incidental plot device—later solved, Tibbs returns north, but Gillespie’s thoughtful farewell—“You take care, now, Virgil”—gives understated hope to the civil rights movement.

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See Also: Academy Awards; Blaxploitation Films; Civil Rights Movement; *Defiant Ones, The; I Spy*; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Motion Pictures; *Pawnbroker, The*; Racism.

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Multicultural
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A Multimedia Encyclopedia

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In the Heights

Winner of the 2008 Tony Award for Best Musical, *In the Heights* takes a snapshot of life in the predominantly Dominican neighborhood of Washington Heights in upper Manhattan, New York City. The musical tells the story of immigrants from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and the sacrifices made in the hope of a better life in the United States.

In the Heights was created in 1999, when Lin-Manuel Miranda, who wrote the music and lyrics, was a sophomore at Wesleyan University. The musical has autobiographical elements: The son of Puerto Ricans who moved to New York City, Miranda was raised in Upper Manhattan. He attended the prestigious Hunter College High School before moving on to Wesleyan. After an on-campus production, *In the Heights* attracted the attention of schoolmates, including Thomas Kail and John Buffalo Mailer (the son of Norman Mailer). The play was next presented at the Eugene O'Neill Theater Center in Waterford, Connecticut, in 2005. It ran Off-Broadway in 2007 before moving to the Richard Rodgers Theater in March 2008; it played 29 previews and 1,185 performances before ending its run.

The story takes place on the Fourth of July weekend. The protagonist, Usnavi (named after a naval vessel his parents saw upon their arrival in the United States), is the owner of the local *bodega* (corner store), a gathering space where everyone stops for coffee in the morning on their way to work. Born in the Dominican Republic, he and his brother were raised in New York by Abuela Claudia, the Cuban-born matriarch of the neighborhood. Struggling to keep his business afloat, Usnavi yearns to return to the island of his birth. He also longs for Vanessa, a hairstylist who dreams of moving to the West Village. Vanessa works for Daniela, owner of a hair salon who can no longer afford the rent in the neighborhood and who ultimately moves her business to the Bronx.

The Rosario family lives in the neighborhood: Nina returns from her first year at Stanford University, a first-generation college student. Her parents, originally from Puerto Rico, own a local taxi dispatch and labor to keep it profitable as they sacrifice to pay for her tuition. Overwhelmed by the cultural differences and affluence of many of

her classmates, she contemplates leaving school permanently, only to decide to return. Over the weekend, she falls in love with Benny, a young black man who works for her parents; when they discover the relationship, the Rosarios vow to never accept him. Abuela Claudia dies, leaving an inheritance for Usnavi; though he wants to return to the Dominican Republic, he ultimately decides that his home is in the Heights.

Though there are inevitable comparisons to *West Side Story* (1957, the most successful Broadway musical to feature Latino characters), in interviews Miranda cites *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964), *Rent* (1996), and *The Capeman* (1998) as inspirations as well. For him, the story focuses on questions of home and traditions within a contemporary context. Featuring rap, salsa, merengue, and bachata, the musical updates the mythic tale of the immigrant searching for the American Dream.

Awards

As an Off-Broadway production, *In the Heights* won the 2007 Drama Desk Award for Outstanding Ensemble Performance, the Lucille Lortel Award for Outstanding Musical, the Outer Critics Circle Award for Best Musical, and the Obie Award for Outstanding Music and Lyrics. Miranda was also honored for his acting, winning the Theatre World Award for Outstanding Debut Performance. *In the Heights* was the most-nominated Broadway musical of 2008, garnering 13 Tony Award nominations: Best Musical, Best Book of a Musical, Best Original Score, Best Performance by a Leading Actor in a Musical, Best Performance by a Featured Actor in a Musical, Best Performance by a Featured Actress in a Musical, Best Direction of a Musical, Best Choreography, Best Orchestrations, Best Scenic Design, Best Costume Design, Best Lighting Design, and Best Sound Design. It went on to win five, including Best New Musical, Best Original Score for Lin-Manuel Miranda, Best Choreography for Andy Blankenbuehler, and Best Orchestrations for Alex Lacamoire and Bill Sherman. In addition, it won the 2008 Grammy Award for Best Original Cast Album and was a finalist for the 2009 Pulitzer Prize for Drama.

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See Also: Dominican Americans; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Puerto Ricans; Theater and Ethnic Diversity; *West Side Story*.

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Indian (Asian) Americans

At about 2.9 million people in the 2010 U.S. Census, Indian Americans ("Asian Indians" in census parlance, to differentiate from "American Indians," or Native Americans) are the second-largest Asian American group (after Chinese Americans) and constitute roughly 1 percent of the American population. In older records, Indians are sometimes called East Indians, again to differentiate them from Native Americans. The term *south Asian* is sometimes preferred but would include Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, and perhaps those of Himalayan countries.

Indian immigration to the United States was scant in the 19th century, and in the early 20th

century, it was restricted by immigration quotas and restrictions on Indian Americans' naturalization rights. Until 1946, when a small quota of Indian immigrants was permitted, and the naturalization rights of Indian Americans was restored, many of the ethnically Indian immigrants to the United States immigrated to the United States from other countries—mainly the United Kingdom, Canada, African nations, and Suriname. In 1940, the Indian American population was only 2,405 and had remained within a few hundred of that figure for the previous 50 years. Most immigrants up to that point had arrived at the turn of the century, escaping conditions in British India. Predominantly Sikhs, they settled in California, Oregon, and Washington.

Immigration and Demographic Trends

The immigration stream has been steady, especially in recent decades. The Indian American population is especially densely concentrated in the northeast, with the New York–Newark–Bridgeport statistical area accounting for 573,329 Indian Americans. The San Francisco area, though considerably smaller, has the same percentage of Indian Americans as the New York area: 2.8 percent. The largest Indian American population by percentage is the San Jose, California, metropolitan area; 117,711 of the area's 1.8 million residents are Indian American, a 6.4 percent share. Outside those centers, Indian Americans are well distributed in the country's urban centers: There are large Indian populations in Los Angeles; Chicago; Dallas; Philadelphia; Houston; Washington, D.C.; Miami; Boston; Detroit; Phoenix; Seattle; Minneapolis; San Diego; St Louis; Tampa; Baltimore; Denver; Pittsburgh; Portland; and Orlando.

The 2010 census revealed some trends in Indian American demographics. Although Indian Americans are the fastest-growing ethnic group in the country, with an annual growth rate of 10.5 percent, the growth had been especially strong in Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky—all of which saw more than 80 percent growth from 2000 to 2010—and in California, with a 68 percent growth in that period. In New York City, the Indian American population grew at twice the rate of the general population.

Indian Americans are generally more prosperous than the average American and are better



India Square in Jersey City, New Jersey, is one of at least 20 Indian American enclaves characterized as a Little India within the New York City metropolitan area. Hindi radio stations broadcast in areas with high Indian populations, some in the Tamil and Telugu languages. Many metropolitan movie theaters specialize in Indian movies, and cable and satellite providers offer Indian television.

educated; the median income of Indian American families in 2010 was \$69,470, compared to the national median of \$38,885. About 10 percent of physicians are Indian American, despite the ethnicity making up less than 1 percent of the general population; Indian Americans also make up 7 percent of the country's information technology workers, 3 percent of its engineers, and 8 percent of its surgeons. About two-thirds of Indian Americans over 25 have completed college, more than twice the percentage of white college graduates. There are more than 200,000 Indian American millionaires.

Indian Americans have also dominated the Scripps National Spelling Bee: 10 winners from 1999 to 2012 were Indian American, and in 2005, the top four competitors were all Indian American.

Indians obtain more employment-related green cards—given only to prospective immigrants with specific skills and worth to the labor market—than most nationalities, and thus the Indian American population, filtered through the immigration process, is a more highly skilled population.

Politics and Culture

Although often leaning toward the conservative socially, Indian Americans strongly support the Democratic Party, more so than any other Asian American group. Approximately 84 percent of Indian American voters voted for Democrat Barack Obama in 2008, making them the second-most Obama-supporting ethnic group after African Americans. In summer 2012, President Obama had a 65 percent approval rating with Indian Americans, even before the Democratic National Convention, which traditionally gives candidates a bump in ratings. Despite the presence of two Indian American governors at the Republican National Convention—Louisiana's Bobby Jindal and South Carolina's Nikki Haley—the Republican Party was seen as less and less inclusive, catering increasingly to Tea Party interests and the religious right. Not forgotten is Senator George Allen of Virginia's 2006 slur against Democratic campaign aide Sid Sidarth at a campaign appearance: "Macaca or whatever his name is. Let's give a welcome to Macaca here. Welcome to America." Sidarth had been born and raised in Virginia.

Desi

The term *desi* is often used to refer to members of the south Asian diaspora (although it is also sometimes used for people still in south Asia). Indian expatriates have distinct cultures that include elements of both their country of heritage and their country of residence. “Desi cuisine,” for instance, means the food of the Indian subcontinent, but when used in the diaspora, it especially refers to dishes that have been adapted to local ingredients and customs or that have been Westernized.

The meaning of *desi* depends on where one is, because a *desi* restaurant in India is not one serving Westernized food, but just the opposite: one serving traditional Indian cuisine rather than a more modern, fusion cuisine. Similarly, in India, “*desi* liquor” is native liquor (such as toddy or arrack, as opposed to English whisky or Caribbean rum), and a “*desi* chicken” is any indigenous breed.

Chicken *tikka masala*, while popular in western Indian restaurants, originated not in India but in the Indian community in the United Kingdom (possibly Glasgow or Newcastle). It became the most popular restaurant dish in the United Kingdom (UK) and spread to Indian restaurants in the United States and Canada.

Balti, a curry cooked and served in a specific wok-like dish, similarly originated in the UK’s south Asian community in Birmingham, and soon became so popular enough that *balti* curry seasoning blends became available in the United States.

Desi music and fashion incorporate both Western and Indian elements. MTV *Desi*, which launched in 2005, is an MTV subnetwork carried by some cable and satellite companies in the United States that is targeted at the Indian American population. It broadcasts *desi* music videos and Bollywood movies, comedy and other entertainment content, interviews with Indians and Indian American celebrities, and live coverage of *Desi* house parties. MTV *Desi* began its broadcast with “Bulla Ki Jaana,” a hit song in India by Rabbi Shergill, who fused Western rock music with Sikh and Punjabi influences to adapt the metaphysical poem by the 18th-century Punjabi Sufi saint Bulleh Shah.

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See Also: Asian American Categorization (Essay); Asian Americans; Bangladeshi Americans; Election 2012 and the 2010 Census; Food; Pakistani Americans; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Sri Lankan Americans.

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Indian Appropriation Acts

Each year, the U.S. Congress provides funding for Native Americans as part of its trust responsibilities and treaty obligations for the exchange of native lands that constitute U.S. territory. These appropriations can be included under the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs budget in the general civil appropriations or as special appropriations. In the past, funds were included under the U.S. Army’s appropriation, with special allocations made for treaty negotiations and initial compensation for land and the guarantee of Indians’ welfare. Many treaties stated that payments would continue in perpetuity, although Congress has often expressed that these obligations were onerous and should cease.

Appropriations reflect American attitudes, court decisions about Native American policies, the role of the federal government in Indian lives and cultures, and political, social, and economic agendas. Special Indian appropriation acts have been created in order to fund special programs or address specific issues. Some of these programs dealt with removal from, or the purchase of, land via treaty or executive order. The Cherokee Trail of Tears and the removal of tribes from the eastern United States were funded by a special appropriation, as was the purchase of Osage lands on

which the Cherokee settled. The Navajo removal to Bosque Redondo in 1863 was part of the general Army appropriation, itemized as part of the Civil War budget to keep the lines of communication open to California. The concentration camp for the Navajo and the Mescalero Apache proved to be so costly, however, that the line item was eliminated in 1869 after the 1868 treaty.

Some appropriation acts had far-reaching repercussions and established or implemented policy. The Indian Appropriation Act of 1851 contained funds to establish reservations for Indian groups in the western United States, essentially everyone west of the Mississippi, and is the basis for the modern reservation system. This act was a response to population movements and to expansionism and economic growth as conceptualized in the idea of Manifest destiny. The removal of Indians to reservations was a continuation of President Andrew Jackson's policies, which maintained that Indians needed to be moved for their own protection. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Orlando Brown said that Indian reservations would be in isolated areas, that is, away from Euroamerican settlers and squatters and the lands they desired; be suited to agriculture; and have well-defined boundaries; he also said the Indians should be compelled to remain on the reservations until they were "civilized" and ready for civilization. Brown thought the reservations would protect the Indians (using the trust doctrine and the idea that Indian groups are domestic dependent nations) but also restrict their movements and lead to greater control by the military.

The Indian Appropriation Act of 1871 (25 U.S.C. Section 71) also had far-reaching policy implications. Under this act, the United States would no longer recognize Indian "tribes, nations or powers" as independent nations. This meant that Indian groups would not be treated as sovereign nations with whom the federal government would negotiate treaties, although previous treaties were not invalidated. Fishing rights were also upheld, and the federal government was given the duty of educating Indians, a responsibility that led to the Indian boarding school system. In addition, Congress directed that all Indians should be treated as individuals and legally designated "wards" of the federal government under the trust doctrine. Now all Native Americans were

seen as ignorant children of the government, an alteration in status that gave the federal government more control over Indian lives and a way to break up political entities. The bill also made it easier to secure Indian land cessions, which could now be done by congressional fiat, Supreme Court order, or executive order, thus saving the expense of treaty negotiations.

Other Indian appropriation acts dealt with land, including wresting it from Indian sovereignty. The act of 1885 permitted tribes in Indian Territory to sell unoccupied lands in their possession. It was an attempt to obtain some money from squatters, but it was not very effective because the act did not provide any means or funds to ensure that the transfers were valid. The Indian Appropriation Act of 1889 officially opened any unassigned lands in Indian Territory to white settlers under the Homestead Act of 1862. Originally, squatters who were already settled on or claimed lands were eliminated from participating, but an amendment adopted later in 1889 allowed the "sooners" to gain control over lands and natural resources. Similarly, the Indian Appropriation Act of 1892 opened up the remaining "unused" Indian lands in the northwest region to logging, mining, settlement, and the railroad companies. Like other appropriation acts that "freed" the land, this law paved the way for economic development.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Apache; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Cherokee; Indian Removal Act (1830); Long Walk of the Navajo; Native Americans; Osage; Trail of Tears.

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Indian Boarding Schools

Indian boarding schools were residential educational institutions designed to assimilate Native American children into the dominant American society by using a Western-style educational model while attempting to destroy all traces of Indianness in students. Many boarding schools were run by religious organizations, though beginning in the late 19th century, most were run by the federal government.

At the beginning of the 19th century, this education effort was still largely the domain of mission organizations, though the government set aside funds to support the efforts of these organizations beginning in 1819, with the Civilization Fund Act. Toward the end of the 19th century, however, the government became more directly involved in Western-style education among the Native American population, cutting much of its support and funding to religious schools in order to support its government network of schools.

There were two types of boarding schools: reservation and off-reservation. Reservation boarding schools were usually located at the government headquarters on the various Indian reservations. Normally, students spent nine months of the year in residence at the schools, and then returned to their families for the summer. Off-reservation boarding schools were located away from the reservations in order to isolate students from their home communities. Most of the famous boarding schools, such as Sherman, Haskell, Carlisle, Phoenix Indian School, and Chilocco, were off-reservation boarding schools. Normally, students spent three to five years (or more) at an off-reservation school, without returning home. Although contact with parents or visits home occurred at some off-reservation boarding schools, it was unusual. In theory, the best students from the reservation boarding schools attended an off-reservation boarding school upon graduation.

Once a student progressed from a day school to his or her reservation boarding school, and finally graduated from one of the many off-reservation boarding schools, he or she would have received the equivalent of an elementary through high school education. The system seldom operated so smoothly. Many students entered off-reservation boarding schools with little or no prior education

in the lower schools, and only a small minority of off-reservation boarding school students ever completed the highest levels of coursework.

Organization, Curriculum, and Funding

Almost all boarding schools employed a military-style organization until the 1930s. Schools assigned students military uniforms, organized students into military units complete with officers, and trained students in military drills. Schools employed this military organization in part for pragmatic purposes; some schools had nearly 1,000 students to organize, and most schools remained perpetually understaffed. However, school officials also believed that the military organization would help induce discipline and pride in students. The first off-reservation boarding school, Carlisle Indian School, was organized by a former army officer named Richard Pratt.

Students at boarding schools split the school day between classroom instruction and industrial training. In the classroom, Native American students learned the same topics as students in American public schools such as math, history, and writing. Classroom instruction was almost always in English, and most schools enforced a strict policy against speaking in indigenous languages. In industrial training, students learned a trade, such as carpentry, blacksmithing, tailoring, or domestic science. Some of the more advanced off-reservation schools eventually offered auto repair, stenography, and even business classes. Though some students found ways to use their industrial skills after leaving school, most returned home to their reservation communities, where many of these skills proved impractical, aside from perhaps their training in agriculture or housekeeping.

Almost all boarding schools suffered from woeful underfunding. This had a profound number of effects on the educational mission of the boarding schools. Lack of appropriate funding meant limited classroom supplies, as well as limited clothes, towels, and other personal belongings issued to students. It also meant that many boarding schools had poor-quality food, inadequate living spaces for students, and insufficient medical supplies and personnel. Sickness and death were common at the schools.

Questioning the Goal of Assimilation

The boarding schools fell out of favor beginning in the 1920s, as educational reformers began questioning the wisdom of an educational model that separated children from their home communities for such lengths of time, then expected them to reintegrate back into those same communities. At the same time, many reformers began to doubt the supposed inferiority of Native American cultures and wondered if assimilation was necessary. Consequently, the government closed many boarding schools during the 1930s and 1940s. Those that survived became the target of further scrutiny in the decades that followed, as government officials looked for ways to slash funding spent on the Native American population and encouraged Indian children to attend nearby public schools instead. Several boarding schools still exist, but as tribally run schools, where Native American communities train their students as they see fit.

Ultimately, the boarding schools failed in their quest to fully assimilate Native American children. The schools deeply influenced how students understood the world and themselves, but few decided to reject their home communities and traditions in response to the assimilation demands of the boarding schools. Many students reported difficulties readjusting to life at home after school, but most reintegrated over time.

Some students had a positive experience and recalled their schools days with fondness as a time when they learned new things, made new friends, and sometimes even met future spouses. One of the most important legacies of the boarding school experience is the rise of a new pan-Indian identity as students from various tribes encountered each other and discovered what they had in common. Other students had such a negative experience in the boarding schools that they ran away from the schools (or at least tried to) or suffered for years from the effects of the psychological, emotional, and even sexual abuse that occurred at some schools. Suicide and alcoholism are both reported in surprising numbers among former boarding school students. The boarding schools have left their mark on the Native American communities subjected to them.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Carlisle Indian Industrial School; Haskell Indian Nations University; Identity Development; Indian Education Act (1992); Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975); Native American Languages Acts; Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian.

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Indian Casinos

The rights of Native American tribes in the United States are complex. On one hand, tribes are considered quasi-sovereign entities, subject only to federal power; on the other, tribes have consistently negotiated their relationships with states. Although states do not have jurisdiction over tribes, an overview of the history of federal Indian policy shows that this scheme has been complicated by legislation and other agreements through which the federal government has handed particular types of oversight over tribes to states. Gaming for Indian tribes represents just such a complex relationship.

Tribes began gaming operations in earnest in the 1970s in California and Florida as a means to confront the challenging economic realities of many reservations. Most of these initial enterprises were high-stakes bingo operations. During this time, most states had antigaming laws in place, but the U.S. Supreme Court case *McClanahan v. Arizona State Tax Commission* (1973), which held that state law did not apply within

reservation boundaries, provided the necessary protection (and legal language) for tribes to commence gaming. The reaction on behalf of states was to continue to oppose Indian gaming, particularly because it was open to non-Indian patronage. In California, this long-standing conflict—in which state officials constantly threatened criminal prosecution of Indian gaming, and tribes challenged these threats in federal court—led to the Supreme Court case *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians* (1987).

As stated earlier, the federal government has handed over to states some jurisdiction over tribal matters. One such law, Public Law 280, handed over criminal jurisdiction of tribes to a number of states. California was one such state. Based on Public Law 280, California argued that because it had criminal jurisdiction over tribes, and gaming was prohibited on a criminal basis in California, it had the authority to exercise criminal jurisdiction over Indian gaming in the state. However, the court found that California's power to regulate gaming was not framed as a criminal matter, but was instead a civil regulatory matter as indicated by its allowance of certain forms of

state-sponsored gaming, such as the lottery. If, however, a state outlaws all forms of gaming, then tribes cannot have gaming operations in the state (see *Texas v. Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo*, 220 F. Supp.2d 668).

During this period, tribes, states, and special interest groups were lobbying Congress to act on the matter of gaming. The *Cabazon* case reiterated the need for legislation on Indian gaming. Congress proposed a regulatory act to cover Indian gaming, which initially was opposed by states. States deemed it was already within their rights to regulate gaming operations. However, following the *Cabazon* decision, several states reversed their opposition to the proposed Indian gaming regulations and urged their passage as a way to have some control through compact negotiations between states and tribes, as well as financially benefit from the regulations. On the tribal side, to protect themselves from the states' efforts to limit gaming in courts, tribes sought legislative insurance against an unfavorable court ruling. Thus, in 1988 Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) to regulate tribal gaming.



The Lucky Dog Casino of the Skokomish Tribe in Skokomish Nation, Washington. The National Indian Gaming Commission reports that 460 Native American gaming establishments are operated by 240 tribes in the United States. Most Indian gaming revenue comes from casinos in or near large metropolitan areas, and the populous West Coast represents the fastest-growing sector of the industry. The vast majority are much less financially successful, particularly those in the midwest and Great Plains regions.

Indian Gaming Regulatory Act

Under IGRA, gaming is divided into three categories: Class I gaming refers to traditional/cultural gaming that is solely regulated by tribes; Class II gaming, such as bingo and other noncard gaming, is regulated by tribes; and Class III gaming, which refers to casino gaming, requires state cooperation and is regulated by compacts entered into between tribes and the states in which the gaming operations are located. Specifically, states are obligated to negotiate compacts with tribes for Class III gaming if state law allows for such gaming. These compacts include the regulations and limitations for the Class III gaming operations that a tribe will undertake in the state. Thus, Indian gaming, unlike private gaming enterprises, has specific restrictions and requirements by which tribes must abide. For instance, IGRA requires that 70 percent of gaming profits be used for tribal benefit.

Gaming and Economic Development

The role of Indian gaming in tribal economic development is motivated by high rates of poverty and unemployment on reservations, yet it represents only a small portion of economic development across Indian country. Interestingly, the model of capitalism that has emerged in reservation communities makes the tribal government the main proprietor of major economic development projects such as gaming operations on reservations. Although such types of government-owned and led economic development are discouraged in the mainstream United States, they are the favored model of economic development in Indian country. Scholars of tribal economic development argue that this type of collective capitalism on reservations signals an inclination to apply tribal political and cultural values to economic development, as well as a disapproval of private enterprise on reservations. Gaming is not the major source of economic development for most tribes. Only a handful of tribes near major urban centers generate high revenue for both the local tribes and the surrounding non-Indian communities. For example, 20 Indian gaming operations account for about 50 percent of the revenue generated from Indian gaming. One of the most successful examples of gaming, the Pequots Massachusetts, share up to 25 percent of their revenue with the state, an arrangement unheard of for private enterprises.

In fact, as of 2005, only 224 tribes had gaming enterprises of some sort.

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See Also: *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians* (1987); Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian.

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Indian Child Welfare Act (1978)

The Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) is a landmark bill passed by the U.S. Congress in 1978. The act limits the forced removal of Indian children

from their families and ensures that tribes play an active role in foster care and adoptive placements for Indian children. Though the ICWA strives to protect tribal rights, it has not been well enforced in most states. Indian children are still at high risk of unnecessary removal from their tribes.

The forcible removal of Native American children from their homes has a long history. In the 19th and 20th centuries, government officials, missionaries, and social workers routinely took American Indian children from their homes and placed them with white families or in off-reservation boarding schools to facilitate their assimilation into mainstream American society. These removals terrorized Indian families and threatened the future of tribes. By 1978, 25 to 35 percent of American Indian children had been separated from their parents and placed in non-Indian homes or institutions. The out-of-home placement rates for Indian children were 20 times higher than for non-Indian children. Many state laws also prohibited the placement of Indian children with other Indian families.

The Act's Passage and Provisions

American Indian activists began to rally Congress to pass the ICWA to end forced removals and to protect the rights of tribes and children. They demanded the repeal of state laws that made it illegal to place foster children with other Indian families. ICWA supporters also argued that child welfare officials had used ethnocentric reasoning to justify the removal of Indian children. For example, many children were removed from their homes because social workers deemed parents neglectful when they left children with extended family for long periods of time, a valued kin-care practice in many tribes. Similarly, case workers and state officials removed children not for abuse but because many Indians lived in homes that lacked physical comforts. ICWA activists argued that child welfare legislation must prioritize the emotional, not material, fitness of a home, and the rights of the tribe to raise its children. Supporters asserted that these removal practices amounted to genocide. Not only did families and tribes suffer emotionally from the removal of their children, but they also could no longer pass their cultures down to their displaced children.

ICWA passed with almost unanimous support. It had three main provisions. First, before parental rights are terminated in child welfare cases involving American Indians, states must make "active efforts" to provide rehabilitative services for the child's family. If removal is still necessary after these efforts, ICWA specifies an order of preference for child placement. For adoptions and foster care placements, Indian children should first be placed with a member of their extended family. If this is not possible, children should be placed with other members of the tribe, and then with families from other tribes. Foster care and preadoptive children may also be placed in a foster home that is licensed, approved, or specified by the tribe.

The second set of provisions regards jurisdiction over child welfare cases. The ICWA requires that the tribe be notified when an Indian child is placed in foster care or put up for adoption. The act also allows tribes to assume jurisdiction at any point leading up to legal proceedings. If the state cannot determine a child's parents, the secretary of the Interior must be notified and must make efforts to identify and notify the child's tribe.

The third provision of the act involves cultural sensitivity. The ICWA mandates that the termination of parental rights or the placement of an Indian child in temporary care can occur only after a qualified expert witness, someone familiar with the customs and cultures of the tribe, consults on the case. The ICWA also specifies that consent forms be presented to parents and tribes in a language they understand. These regulations require that child removal proceedings for American Indian children are governed much more intensively and with more attention to cultural heritage than are those for non-Indian children.

Implementing the Act

Although many have called the act a success for tribes and for American Indian children and families, there have been many problems with its implementation. First, caseworkers have faced problems of definition: who counts as an Indian child? This is an increasingly important problem, as more Native Americans live off-reservation than ever before and many claim no tribal affiliation. Second, the loose wording of the act has given judges much discretion in interpreting the law. Third, although tribes have legal authority

to govern child welfare cases, they often do not have the resources. After centuries of oppression, American Indian communities remain some of the poorest in the United States today. Nonetheless, the ICWA marks a unique effort to validate and protect the rights of American Indian tribes and communities.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; Carlisle Indian Industrial School; Indian Boarding Schools; Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975); Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian.

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Indian Citizenship Act (1924)

The Indian Citizenship Act, or the Snyder Act (proposed by New York Representative Homer B. Snyder), was signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge on June 2, 1924. The act, passed by the 68th Congress, authorized the secretary of the Interior to issue certificates of citizenship to American Indians, thus granting citizenship to all Native Americans in the United States. Unlike previous treaties or statutes, which naturalized Indian people on a limited basis under the assumption that U.S. citizenship was incompatible with tribal membership (and tribal citizenship), the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 did not require Indian people to relinquish their allegiance to their tribe.

During the colonial era, the Indian nations' title of self-government was recognized under the law of nations and treaties signed between Great Britain and the colonies, whereby Indian nations were recognized as sovereign nations. The European doctrine of discovery granted the discovering European country title and ownership of the Indian land, turning Indian people into mere tenants; although the federal government recognized tribal ownership of Indian land in the trade and intercourse acts, it turned Indian people into second-class citizens and, through subsequent treaties, stripped Indian people of their property rights.

The Naturalization Act of 1790, targeting mainly white European immigrants, provided that any free white person could become a U.S. citizen after residing in the United States for a period of time, thus excluding both African Americans and American Indians from citizenship. The only Indians considered citizens by birth under the U.S. Constitution had not been born into tribal membership, or their tribe no longer existed. According to the commerce clause in the U.S. Constitution, Congress was authorized to regulate commerce with foreign nations, as well as with Indian nations. Therefore, Indian tribes were distinguished from foreign nations. The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provided that "Indians not taxed" would not become citizens of the United States.

Reinterpretation of Indian Nation Status

In the early 19th century, in landmark Cherokee cases, the Supreme Court reinterpreted the status of Indian nations as independent sovereign nations in the context of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. The Cherokee Nation sued the state of Georgia in the Supreme Court in 1831, using its prerogative as a foreign state to challenge the enforcement of Georgia's jurisdiction within the Cherokee Nation. The Supreme Court declined to recognize the Cherokee Nation's right to sue, as a foreign nation, under the court's doctrine of original jurisdiction.

In the case *Worcester v. Georgia*, from 1832, the Supreme Court ruled that Indian nations were "domestic dependent nations," establishing a relation of wardship between the federal government and the Indian tribes, which Chief Justice

John Marshall called that of a ward to his guardian. In Justice Marshall's paternalistic description, Indian people looked to the U.S. government for protection. Although legally foreign to the United States, Indian tribes became a matter of domestic concern in 1871, when Congress discontinued the practice of treaty-making, denying the further recognition of Indian nations as sovereign entities.

About two-thirds of American Indians were already citizens by the time that the Indian Citizenship Act was passed in 1924. By 1906, approximately 166,000 Indians had been naturalized as U.S. citizens. Before 1924, the sources of naturalization included (1) previous treaty provisions, land allotments, and statutory measures; the stipulations of the Allotment Act of 1887 (which held that Indian allottees would become citizens of the United States and of the state in which they resided, if they adopted the habits of "civilized" life, for which they received certificates of citizenship); (2) after 1906, the granting of a patent in fee simple to Indians deemed competent; (3) Indian children born to United States citizens, as well as children whose mother was Indian and whose father was a white male citizen; (4) special acts of Congress, including provisions in 1901 for Indians in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) to become citizens, and in 1921 for members of the Osage tribe to become citizens; (5) after Indian soldiers served in World War I, a congressional act in 1919 providing that Indian soldiers and sailors could become citizens; and (6) before 1922, marriage (Indian women who married U.S. citizens).

Calling attention to the status of the American Indian as neither a citizen nor a foreigner, a presidential commission aimed at reviewing the legal status of the American Indian was introduced in the House of Representatives by Charles Carter, a Chickasaw from Oklahoma, in 1912. Congressman Carl Hayden of Arizona introduced a controversial new Indian citizenship bill in Congress in 1917 (with stipulations for gradual taxation). Many were concerned whether a uniform U.S. citizenship would allow for retaining federal protection of Indian lands and other rights.

The Indian Citizenship Bill that was eventually signed into law by President Coolidge in 1924 offered that provision. It was first introduced in the House by Representatives Homer P. Snyder

of New York. In the initial draft, the bill provided for issuance of certificates of citizenship to Indians who applied; the later draft eliminated the application part and declared all native-born Indians citizens. For a long time, after the Indian Citizenship Act passed on June 2, 1924, the only direct benefit of the citizenship status for many Indian people was the power to vote in state and federal elections, although many states declined Indians the right to vote in state elections until the 1950s.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Citizenship; House of Representatives, U.S.; Indian Appropriation Acts; Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Indian Claims Commission; Indian Territory; Naturalization; Naturalization Acts.

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Indian Civil Rights Act (1968)

The Constitution does not limit the power of tribal nations to enact and enforce laws within reservation boundaries. This includes the extent to which American Indian civil rights are protected.

American Indians who live outside reservation boundaries are protected by the Civil Rights Act of 1965, while those who lived in Indian Country were not protected until 1968, when the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act. The act adopts many elements of the Bill of Rights, including most aspects of the First Amendment (except the separation of church and state); most aspects of the Fourteenth Amendment (except the right to an attorney, and right to jury trial in civil cases); and the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments. In addition, the ICRA allowed federal courts to habeas corpus review. Several amendments to the ICRA were passed by Congress in 2010, which required tribal courts to provide effective counsel and a defense attorney (if the punishment involved more than a year of incarceration), and that a tribal judge be qualified to be a judge.

Becoming Citizens

In 1924, Congress made all American Indians citizens of the United States. However, the status of American Indian individuals is complex, made of a variety of laws, including those of the United States, the tribal nation, and the state. Prior to the passage of the American Indian Civil Rights Act, the Supreme Court ruled that the U.S. Bill of Rights did not apply in Indian Country. In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled in *Talton v. Mayes* that the Fifth Amendment of the Bill of Rights was not applicable to American Indian nations. In 1959, the Supreme Court ruled that the free exercise of religion or any other tribal government function, as established in the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights, does not apply in Indian Country. As a result of sovereignty, tribes were not subject to any provision of the Bill of Rights because tribes are sovereign entities and precede the Constitution of the United States. In addition, the bill limits the penalty that tribal courts can impose to a \$5,000 fine and/or one year in jail.

The 1960s increased the interest in civil rights. Civil rights abuses were addressed throughout the United States, which included tribal nations. Senate hearings were conducted in which there was anecdotal evidence regarding the lack of individual civil rights protection in Indian Country, which led to the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act. The ICRA did not address the complex issues



The Alabama-Coushatta Reservation near Livingston, Texas, home to the Alabama and Koasati tribes, was formed after they were forced from current-day Alabama around the turn of the 17th century. The original intention of the Indian Civil Rights Act was to protect the rights of American Indians within reservation boundaries, but it came at the expense of tribal sovereignty.

that arise as a result of the demography that exists within reservation boundaries.

The 2010 census reports that 22 percent of individuals who self-identify their ethnic identity as mixed (identified themselves as American Indian and another ethnic identity) and 31 percent of those who identify themselves as having a single ethnic identity (having only an American Indian ethnic identity) live within reservation boundaries, on allotted land, fee land, or tribal statistical areas. This is important because of the jurisdictional issues that arise. The Supreme Court has said that tribes have jurisdiction over members, but tribes do not have jurisdiction over nontribal members, which impacts the ability to protect tribal members within reservation boundaries. Because tribes do not have jurisdiction over non-Indians when crimes are committed on the reservation by non-Indians, tribal courts have no jurisdiction.

Passage of the ICRA led to criticism by many tribal leaders; the act was seen by many as an imposition of individual rights on tribal governments and a limit to tribal powers. The act was seen as limiting tribal jurisdiction and therefore limiting sovereignty. There was concern that the federal government was bringing tribes under the auspices of the U.S. Constitution.

One of the major unintended consequences of the ICRA is the limitation on tribal courts in the sentencing of offenders, which has received extensive criticism. Since the tribal court is limited by the ICRA to one year and a \$5,000 fine, it has become complicated to sentence violent offenders in tribal court. An individual who is convicted of a violent crime faces the maximum penalty of one year of incarceration and/or a \$5,000 fine. This is further complicated by the inability of the court to retain jurisdiction over non-Indian offenders.

Although the original intention of the Indian Civil Rights Act was to protect the individual rights of American Indians within reservation boundaries, at the expense of tribal sovereignty, there was no enforcement authority provided to the federal courts. As a result, tribal courts were able to step in and assert their sovereignty. The Supreme Court has continued to support tribal sovereignty. In 1978, the Supreme Court maintained that the interpretation of the Indian Civil Rights Act was the business of tribal courts, which have interpreted the act in various ways, highlighting the diversity of tribal courts across the country and therefore strengthening tribal sovereignty. Tribal leaders believe that tribes are better at protecting the rights of their members than federal courts.

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See Also: Indian Boarding Schools; Indian Citizenship Act (1924); Indian Education Act (1992); Indigenous People's Day; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay); Reservations, American Indian; Tribal Enrollment.

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Indian Claims Commission

The Indian Claims Commission (ICC), established by the U.S. Congress in 1946, remained in operation until 1978. The ICC was part of a larger federal government effort to terminate its guardianship of Native American tribes and bands to promote their assimilation. The ICC adjudicated Native American claims against the federal government for past wrongs, mainly centered on treaty violations, land cessions, and federal mismanagement of Native American resources held in federal trusteeship. The Indian Claims Commission granted 342 monetary awards totaling \$818,172,606.64 before its adjournment by Congress in 1978.

The U.S. Congress established the Indian Claims Commission in August 1946 under the Indian Land Commission Claims Act that same year. President Harry Truman signed the bill into law on August 13, 1946, in a formal ceremony featuring Native American and federal government representatives. Congress created the ICC to assume the adjudication of Native American tribal claims against the U.S. government that had formerly come under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Court of Claims.

The ICC was an important component in the federal government Native American policy of termination, which lasted roughly from the end of World War II in 1945 until the early 1960s. Termination sought to sever federal guardianship and recognition of many Native American tribes or bands, transfer federal control of reservations

to the states, and move many Native Americans off the reservations, among other measures designed to promote their assimilation into mainstream American society. The federal government also claimed that settling long-standing Native American claims was in part recognition for their service during World War II.

The ICC functioned as a court of law, hearing claims brought by Native American plaintiffs and their lawyers; the U.S. government and its lawyers presented their defense. The ICC's three-judge panel, which was later expanded to four judges, was appointed by the president. Native American tribes and bands had a five-year deadline under which to register their claims before the ICC.

Tribes who brought a claim had to prove that they had title to the land. Acreage used by multiple tribes was sometimes discounted. Once their right to the land had been established, they next had to prove either that the land had been unlawfully seized or that federal compensation for ceded land represented less than its fair market value at that time. Both sides relied heavily on historians and anthropologists to serve as expert witnesses. Tribes whose claims were upheld received awards consisting solely of monetary compensation, as return of ceded lands had been excluded. The amount of compensation was calculated by subtracting the compensation already received from the federal government from the original fair market value.

Permanent Settlement

Native American claimants had to agree to the stipulation that once the monetary award granted by the ICC was accepted, the claim was permanently settled and could never be brought again. Some tribes were also forced to allow the termination of their federal status. Individual tribal member award allotments were often small. Awards that were invested in reservation development or other tribal-level projects received criticism from tribal members who lived off reservation and felt left out of the benefits.

Some Native American tribes refused to register claims before the ICC as a form of protest against their inability to regain lost land; others, such as the Lakota (Sioux) and Taos Pueblo tribes, refused to accept ICC awards for the same reason. Those who accepted the awards were angered over deductions for legal fees and federal

services rendered, federal stipulations on how some awards could be spent, and the fact that the awards did not include interest. They also argued that awards representing a land's fair market value did not account for its cultural or spiritual value as ancestral homeland.

One of the commission's well-publicized decisions involved the Lakota (Sioux) and their 1877 cession of the Black Hills region. The Lakota (Sioux) had initially been awarded \$17.5 million for the loss of the Black Hills, traditionally considered sacred land by several tribes. The decision was appealed, reaching the U.S. Supreme Court in 1980. The Supreme Court ruled that because the federal government had unconstitutionally forced cessation of the Black Hills, interest must be added to the original settlement. The Sioux declined to accept the settlement or interest and continued to demand return of the land itself.

In all, 176 Native American tribes or bands filed 370 claims with the ICC before the 1951 deadline. These claims were then separated into 617 dockets. Some tribes had organized into formal organizations for the first time in order to file claims with the ICC. The most common claims against the federal government involved illegal land seizures, inadequate compensation for ceded land, and mismanagement of tribal monies or natural resources under federal government control. The Indian Claims Commission cleared a total of 546 dockets. The commission granted 342 monetary awards totaling \$818,172,606.64. Individual awards ranged in size from hundreds to millions of dollars. The largest award was \$31.2 million.

The ICC adjourned in September 1978 and was terminated by Congress. The U.S. Court of Claims once again resumed jurisdiction over outstanding Native American claims against the federal government, including the ICC's 170 pending cases. Native American tribes would later use their legal experience while seeking to legally reverse federal termination of tribal recognition, self-determination, and control of natural resources on Native American reservations, as well as in cases involving gambling rights, the repatriation of Native American artifacts, and other contentious modern issues.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; American Indian Movement; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Federal Indian Trust; Indian Appropriation Acts; Reservations, American Indian.

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Indian Education Act (1992)

The Indian Education Act of 1992 may be cited as the Native American Languages Act of 1992 or Public Law 102-524, with the exception of section three, relating to grants. Throughout history, there have been five major phases of federal policies regarding American Indian educational reform. The final phase of reform, including the Indian Education Act of 1992, promotes the idea of self-determination where tribal sovereignty and American Indian activism have increased. In the early 1990s, there was a resurgence of interest in Indian education that paralleled the interest exhibited in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Between 1970 and 1990, the U.S. Census Bureau reported a doubling of the American Indian and Alaskan Native populations. Three specific events indicate that the policy of self-determination was moving forward: signing of the Native American Languages Act of 1990, the U.S. Secretary of Education's Indian Nations At Risk Task Force Report in 1991, and the first-ever White House Conference on Indian Education in

1992, which eventually led to the establishment of the Indian Education Act of 1992.

In the 1990s, about 40,000 native students (10 percent of the total) attended some 170 Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) funded schools, about 10,000 (3 percent) attended private schools, and over 300,000 (87 percent) attended public schools. In these schools, a disproportionate number of native students achieve below national averages. Indian students have a higher dropout rate than all student populations. This prompted a need for a federal task force. The Indian Nations At-Risk Task Force found that schools that respect and support a student's language and culture are significantly more successful in educating those students. In the process of gathering information, the task force learned that there is a direct relationship between students' understanding of their culture and role in society, and their ability to function and achieve academic success. When students' relationships with the larger society are strained, their chances for academic success appear to diminish.

Task Force Recommendations

The task force recommended both establishing the promotion of students' tribal language and culture as a responsibility of the school, and training of native teachers to increase the number of Indian educators and other professionals. Furthermore, it recommended that school officials and educators integrate the contemporary, historical, and cultural perspectives of American Indians and give education a multicultural focus to eliminate racism and promote understanding among all races. In addition, colleges and universities needed to encourage scholarly work on curricula and textbook development that incorporates native perspectives. In the task force hearings held across the country in 1990 and 1991, parents, tribal leaders, and educators stressed the need for a cultural revival in native communities to fight problems of drug and alcohol abuse, unemployment, and dysfunctional families. Another recurring theme was the need for increased funding of native education programs, which led to the White House Conference on Indian Education.

The first-ever White House Conference on Indian Education took place in Washington, D.C., in January 1992. This conference was held

to explore the possibility of establishing an independent Board of Indian Education that would assume responsibility for all existing federal programs relating to the education of Indians, and to develop recommendations for the improvement of educational programs relevant to the needs of Indians. After months of deliberation with state officials, tribal representatives, and native educators, the Indian Education Act of 1992 was established to assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages. The status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique, and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages.

Special status is accorded Native Americans in the United States, a status that recognizes distinct cultural and political rights, including the right to continue separate identities. The traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities, and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values. Title VII was the result of the Indian Education Act of 1992. This portion of the act clarifies the United States' responsibility to the Indian people for the education of their children. This program provides direct funding to the local school system and requires an Indian Parent Committee to give input to the school system. The program was geared toward having Indian educators helping Indian students.

It is the purpose of this part to support the efforts of local educational agencies with a coordinator, or cultural liaison, to keep records for Indian tribes and organizations, postsecondary institutions, and other entities to meet the unique educational and culturally related academic needs of American Indian and Alaska Native students, so that these students can meet the same challenging state academic achievement standards as other students. All Indian students must be documented as being Indian to be included, and paraprofessionals are placed in major Indian population schools to assist with this process.

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See Also: Carlisle Indian Industrial School; Haskell Indian Nations University; Indian Child Welfare Act (1978); Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975); Indian Territory; Native American Languages Acts.

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Indian Health Service

The Indian Health Service (IHS) is the primary federal health care provider for American Indian and Alaska Native peoples. The IHS serves 1.9 million of the nearly 3.4 million American Indians and Alaska Natives (AI/AN) today. Health services provided to members of 566 federally recognized AI/AN tribes are the result of the special government-to-government relationship that exists between Native nations and the U.S. federal government. The basis of this relationship was established in Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution and has been substantiated through numerous laws, treaties, court decisions, and executive orders. This government-to-government relationship is unique among ethnic/racial groups in the United States. The IHS, in partnership with AI/AN communities, provides comprehensive, culturally acceptable health services.

Funds for Health Care

In 1819, the U.S. Congress appropriated \$10,000 to several missionary groups to “civilize” Indians. Although the emphasis was on “civilizing,” which meant Christianization, agriculture, and assimilation of American Indians, some of those funds were used by these groups to provide basic health services. During this time, Indian health and Indian affairs were under the jurisdiction of the U.S. War Department. Health care was provided by military physicians stationed at forts who were commissioned to provide service to military personnel. This often meant that health care for American Indians near military forts was at best unorganized and limited.

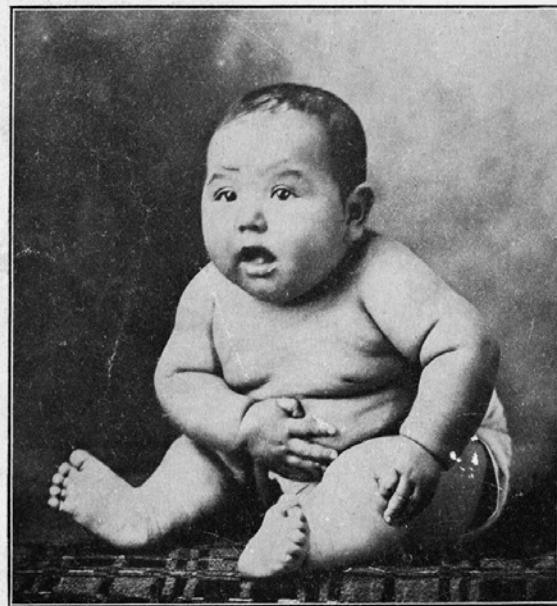
Access to health care was often written into treaty rights signed by tribes and the U.S. government. For example, in Article 5 of the 1837 Sioux treaty, the U.S. government agreed to pay \$8,250 a year for 20 years to provide medicine and a physician for the Sioux. Like the 1837 Sioux treaty, the 1854 treaty with the Oto and Missouri obligated the U.S. government to set aside funds for similar health care services. In Article 13 of the 1868 treaty with the Sioux-Brule, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, Santee, and Arapaho, the United States again agreed to provide a physician. Such examples indicate that the U.S. government well understood the importance of a health policy for Native peoples.

The administration of Indian affairs was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior (DOI) in March 1849. With the change, Congress authorized the expenditure of \$12,000 for public health. Yet, it wasn't until 1873 that the U.S. government developed a Division of Education and Medicine in the hope of centralizing administrative duties and to coordinate medical services. Four years later, the medical section of the division was closed because of a lack of funding. By 1880, the DOI employed 77 physicians to work in Indian country. From 1880 until the Snyder Act of 1921, the U.S. policy on American Indian health moved increasingly toward approaches based on public health models of disease prevention and health promotion. From the late 1880s through the 1930s American Indian health was greatly impacted not only by

the conditions found on reservations but also by the lack of funding.

In 1921, the Congress, via the Snyder Act, authorized funding for physicians and for health/medical services. Funding for American Indian health was at the discretion of Congress; as a result, Indian health policy was largely dependent on funding levels. The Snyder Act is considered the beginning of modern U.S. Indian health policy. With the legislation, the U.S. government gave formal authorization for Indian health services. From the 1920s to 1954, the Bureau of Indian Affairs managed Indian health. In 1955,

INDIAN BABIES HOW TO KEEP THEM WELL



This 1916 Office of Indian Affairs pamphlet for Indian mothers reflected concerns about sanitation and Indian infant death rates (one in three), but some of the advice illustrates the government's assimilationist philosophy. For example, while encouraging breastfeeding, the pamphlet advised clockwork feedings; "Some Indian mothers . . . nurse their babies for two or three years. This is a bad practice, both for mother and baby."

the Indian Health Service, under the Department of Health and Human Services, took responsibility for Indian health.

Congress passed Public Law 93-638 in 1973; the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act gave Native nations the option to assume the administration and operation of health services in their communities or to remain within the IHS direct health system. Under this law, as sovereign nations, tribal governments can develop innovative solutions to their health care delivery challenges. A year later, the Indian Health Care Improvement Act was enacted; it stated that U.S. policy is to elevate the health status of American Indians to a level of parity with the general U.S. population. Since its inception, the act has been reauthorized four times.

The IHS provides preventive as well as therapeutic measures that involve both environmental and educational components. Services can be provided directly by the IHS or through tribally contracted and operated health programs; services can also be purchased from private providers. Under self-determination, the IHS operates or funds reservation-based and urban health programs through 49 hospitals and 600 other facilities in over 35 states. Today the IHS, in consultation with tribal governments, sets program and budget priorities.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Cultural Competence; Federal Indian Trust; Health Beliefs and Practices; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Herbalism; Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975); Native Americans; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity; Sweat Lodge.

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Indian Removal Act (1830)

In the 50 years following U.S. independence, white settlers expanded beyond the Appalachian Mountains onto lands occupied by Native Americans. In response to the growing conflict between settlers and Native Americans, Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act of 1830. The law sought the removal or acculturation of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole Indians, and perhaps more important, it signaled a new phase of national policy whereby the U.S. government would open land, with force if necessary, for white settlement.

The colonists declared independence from England in 1776 for several reasons. Among the most pointed criticism directed at the Crown was the limit it placed on western expansion following the War of Empire with France and Spain during the 1750s and 1760s. English authorities passed the proclamation line of 1763, making it illegal for white settlers to cross the Appalachians. According to the Crown, the measure minimized conflict on the frontier and thus ensured stable trade relations on the coast. However, after independence, settlers (now U.S. citizens) abolished the proclamation line and streamed onto the western frontier, disrupting Native societies in the process. Not surprisingly, violence between settlers and Native Americans broke out, and fighting around the Great Lakes and the midwest cost the new nation much treasury. Moreover, many white citizens believed that God had offered the continent to people of European descent, while others believed that the Native Americans' unwillingness to adopt European customs such as private

property and Christianity rendered them an inferior population who stood in the way of progress.

Upon entering office in 1829, Andrew Jackson held a combination of these beliefs and was determined to use the presidency as means to open the trans-Appalachian west for permanent settlement. In the attempt to maintain their sovereignty, some Native groups like the Cherokee established representative government, adopted private property and sedentary agriculture, and even practiced slavery. However, Jackson maintained his opinion that whites and Indians could not live together; the latter must vacate their ancestral homelands to accommodate white advancement. Despite some contentious debate in Congress, Jackson's Indian Removal Act put these beliefs into practice.

Indian Resistance

Jackson signed the law on May 26, 1830. Shortly after, the United States began to relocate non-complying indigenous people west of the Mississippi River. Months later, the Choctaws, under threat of coercion, signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit. This agreement opened land in the Mississippi territory for white expansion and transferred over 11,000 acres of Choctaw land to the United States. Though the treaty allowed Choctaw Indians to remain in the territory as nominal U.S. citizens, it did not permit the Choctaw to communally work the land, nor did it grant them autonomy over the region's natural resources. As a result, between 5,000 and 6,000 Choctaw decided to walk hundreds of miles to modern-day Oklahoma, a trip that resulted in the death of hundreds if not thousands.

The act also forced the Creek and Chickasaw into negotiations with the U.S. government. The treaties of Fort Jackson and Washington paved the way for additional land cessations from the Creeks and, under threat of military action, the Jackson administration demanded that they too relocate to the newly designated Indian Territory. The Chickasaw agreed to financial compensation but, in violation of the terms, the federal government took nearly 30 years to pay for the land.

Most notably, the Indian Removal Act precipitated the Cherokee Trail of Tears and contributed to nearly 30 years of warfare between the United States and the Seminoles of Florida. The Cherokee, among the most politically organized

and westernized of the so-called Civilized Tribes, appealed their right to territorial sovereignty after a series of encroachments by settlers in north Georgia. After the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Cherokee, it appeared as though they had secured their territorial rights and land claims, yet Jackson refused to enforce the ruling and permitted settlers to encroach further upon Cherokee land. Shortly thereafter, the relationship between the United States and the Cherokee deteriorated until finally, during the Martin Van Buren administration, the U.S. Army forcefully relocated the Cherokees to the west. Armed forces shackled about 15,000 Cherokees and forced them to walk over 1,000 miles to Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Four thousand Cherokee died during the trip from disease, exhaustion, starvation, dehydration, and accidents.

Meanwhile, in Florida, the Seminoles resisted the Removal Act for nearly 30 years. As with the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Choctaw, the act placed tremendous pressure on the Seminoles to move west or risk violent relocation by the U.S. government. Although some did indeed make the move, many others stayed in Florida and fought through the 1850s until the army subjugated the remaining population. In sum, the Indian Removal Act was central to opening land west of the Appalachian Mountains for white settlers; however, the act had a devastating impact upon indigenous cultures as well as on thousands of Native Americans, many of whom died in battle against the U.S. government or in the long and treacherous relocation.

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See Also: Appalachians; Cherokee; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831); Chickasaw; Choctaw; Creek Confederacy; Five Civilized Tribes; Genocide; Native Americans; Seminole; Seminole Wars; Trail of Tears; *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832).

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Indian Reorganization Act (1934)

The federal government legislates and implements policies that affect Indian tribes. Under the U.S. Constitution, the government has the ability to regulate commerce. Under U.S. Supreme Court decisions, Native nations are considered domestic, dependent nations. There have been several important laws with far-reaching effects on Indian Country. One of the most significant is the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), or the Wheeler-Howard Act, often called the Indian New Deal. Signed into law by President Franklin Roosevelt on June 18, 1934, the bill was designed to reverse the General Allotment Act (Dawes Severalty Act) of 1887, which alienated millions of acres of Indian homelands and reservation lands and produced devastating poverty.

The bill was conceptualized by John Collier, the commissioner of Indian affairs, based on findings of the 1928 Meriam Report about social and economic conditions on reservations, the work of several reform groups and the administration's new deal policies. Collier wanted to stop what he called the "twin evils" of assimilation and allotment and help tribes preserve their cultures, which he felt added to the health and heritage of the United States. He also felt the law was a step toward social justice. Collier held that tribes deserved to be able to determine their own sociopolitical organization and how they would live, without being handicapped.

The IRA specifically aimed to stop allotments and change the system of land tenure for trust lands, enable tribal self-government with limited sovereignty, establish court systems, rebuild societies and rejuvenate cultures, and improve the ability of tribes to conduct business as corporations. Unallotted communal lands were returned to the tribes rather than reserved for Euro-American homesteaders. Congress also added provisions

that reduced self-government from Collier's model but still called for the establishment of tribal elections to accept or reject the bill's provisions for establishing tribal governments under the model outlined in the U.S. Constitution and for the acceptance or rejection of tribal constitutions or charters that would enable them to conduct their own business.

Congress insisted that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the commissioner have oversight and approval/veto power for all major governance acts, including leasing authority. This made the act primarily a new form of political organization rather than increasing true self-governance as originally envisioned. The IRA also established revolving credit programs for economic development, to purchase land, educate the young, and aid in establishing political structures. Conservation funds were made available to try to stop erosion and renew overgrazed and overfarmed land that had been hit by the droughts of the 1920s and 1930s. The IRA gave Indians preference in hiring, waiving civil service requirements.

These gains were restricted, however, to federally recognized tribes that accepted the IRA provisions—and not all tribes did, much to Collier's displeasure. Public hearings were held in states and on reservations, and there was opposition from people who wanted to purchase Indian lands or eliminate reservations and the trust status. One of the largest tribes to reject the IRA was the Navajo, who did not trust Collier or the BIA because of their sheep reduction program the year before.

Although the IRA applied to most of the Indian tribes, two other laws were necessary to implement Collier's agenda: the Thomas-Rogers Act, or Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (1936), and the Alaska Reorganization Act (1936). Over 160 tribes and villages accepted the bill and adopted constitutions or business charters, and about two-thirds of Native individuals voted. Ninety-six groups wrote constitutions, although some were written by BIA employees. Many groups improved their economic conditions, garnered funds to employ people during the Great Depression and thereafter, and solidified their land base and bought back some land (about 600,000 acres). More children went to school, and health services improved in many areas. The act also

helped Indians fight for the vote in state elections. Although Indians had been given the right to vote in federal elections in 1924, in acknowledgment of their service in World War I, some states like Arizona blocked these efforts, and it was not until 1948 that most Indians were allowed to vote without artificial barriers.

The IRA is still considered the basis for the existence and organization of tribal governments and business councils today. It is not without controversy, for it has had a continuing effect on many Native nations today. Its requirement of American-style democratic elections and representative government has led to division among groups with factions of traditionalists, those who want to retain their traditional styles of government and those who embrace the American-style of government and corporate-style business. This has been especially hard on groups that are customary theocracies, with inherited leadership positions, dual systems of war and peace leadership, or communal decision making at the national level, and on previously autonomous communities that have been placed together as a single unit, such as Hopi, western Apache groups, and the Lakota.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Apache; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Dawes Act (1887); Great Depression; Hopi; Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Indian Territory; Native Americans; Navajo; Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute; Reservations, American Indian; World War I.

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Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975)

Since the days of Thomas Jefferson, tribes had been considered sovereign nations and were left to operate their own culture while the federal government maintained a paternal overlord status. Legally, they have been classified as "dependent domestic nations" under U.S. law. But in 1943, the federal government conducted a survey of living conditions on tribal lands and found most of the citizens were living in extreme poverty. The report blamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for mismanagement and, 10 years later, the termination policy was born.

In 1953, Congress adopted Public Law 280, a "termination" policy for American Indian tribes, designed to place Indians within the jurisdiction of the territorial limits of the United States. The move was made because government officials believed American Indians were ready to be part of mainstream culture and no longer needed federal protection. As a result, between 1953 and 1963, 109 American Indian tribes were terminated and removed from federal responsibility—jurisdiction over the people and property was turned over to state governments. This translated into approximately 2.4 million acres of land and resources being removed from federal protected status and sold to non-Indians. More than 12,000 people lost their tribal affiliation and culture.

But Native American tribes were not ready to part with their ways of life, their cultures and religions. After years of dissent and major civil rights events such as the takeover at Wounded Knee and the occupation of Alcatraz Island, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (ISDEAA) of 1975, or Public Law 93-638, also known to tribes simply as 638. The law made the following three major changes to American Indian policy:

1. It allowed American Indian tribes the right to determine their own futures by assuming responsibility for federally

funded programs designed for their benefit; these previously had been administered by the BIA. Tribes could now negotiate their own contracts and compacts and deal directly with the federal government in running their own programs and delivering their own services, in much the same way that states operate.

2. It enhanced and empowered local tribal governments and their governmental institutions to preserve and control their own culture. This allowed tribal governments to establish policies and laws specific to their tribes and to use federal program funds formerly controlled by the BIA in ways that would best benefit the specific tribe.
3. It enabled tribes to operate their own educational systems for their children, to teach their own languages and cultural beliefs. This removed the BIA oversight of the schools, which was originally designed to eliminate native cultures; provided for federal-state or territory cooperation with tribes; and provided funding for Indian education. A subsequent amendment created advisory boards comprising parents of Indian children for schools that receive funding through the federal Johnson-O'Malley Act.

This was a significant change from the old law, under which the BIA decided whether a building or service was needed, or how a school curriculum was planned and conducted, and then contracted and oversaw development and operations. Under the ISDEAA, if a tribe wants to build a new school or senior citizens' center, the tribe can make the determination of need and contract with the appropriate government agency, and then the tribe oversees the construction and operation of the infrastructure and/or facilities. Tribes can also operate their own schools and include instruction on their culture in the curriculum.

The ISDEAA has been amended several times, most notably in 1988, when tribes were authorized to negotiate their own contracts outside the federal government, and in 1994, when tribes were able to take over their own health services.



Ada Deer, a Native American advocate and scholar, served as head of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1993 to 1997. She was instrumental in reversing termination and was a leader in regaining tribal status for her Menominee tribe.

Despite the law and its amendments, tribes still complain about confused oversight by both the BIA and the Department of the Interior (DOI).

Still, under the ISDEAA, tribes have been able to foster their own cultures and revitalize native languages and cultural institutions. The self-determination granted by the law has allowed many tribes to improve their financial status by developing industries and services. These tribal-run services include the following:

- Management of electric cooperatives
- Management of services/quasi-government offices, including land title recordings
- Tribal-run programs such as the Safety of Dams
- Significant firefighting services
- Forestry services and products
- Fisheries and wildlife management
- Manufacturing plants that offer products ranging from clothing to food products and other goods
- Tourism and ecotourism
- American Indian-associated gaming or casinos

Thanks to their self-sufficiency under the ISDEAA, many tribes are now assisting their local non-Indian communities in areas including highways and transportation, schools, wildlife habitats, and research grants.

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See Also: Alcatraz Island, Occupation of; American Indian Categorization (Essay); Bureau of Indian Affairs; Indian Casinos; Indian Education Act (1992); Indian Health Service; Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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Indian Territory

Indian Territory is the name given to land to designate a region for the resettlement of members of various Native American tribes during decades of land cession treaties in the 19th century. Ideologically, the origins of the notion of an "Indian territory" stemmed from British imperial

policies of attempting to establish Indian reserves to segregate Native Americans who lived east of the Appalachian Mountains. However, after the American Revolution, the emerging republic established new federal land boundaries, particularly as a result of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and attempted to relocate Native Americans to lands west of the Mississippi River. The Indian Territory geographic borders were codified in the statutes of the Indian Intercourse Act in 1834, which codifies land cession policies. This act defined what became known as "Indian territory" as being "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas. . . ."

Cherokee Legal Precedents

Many scholars assert that President Thomas Jefferson was one of the earliest advocates of relocating Native Americans to western lands as a result of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. Legal scholar Stephen Bragaw describes Jefferson's ideas about federal Indian law as being shaped by 18th-century legal philosophies and Enlightenment-era ideas of the "noble savage." These ideas shaped the political discourse on beliefs about the "Indian question" and justified the belief in the different uses of land by Native Americans, in comparison to the use of the land to expand the institution of slavery.

Georgia's conflict with the Cherokees festered with escalating intensity early in the 19th century. The remaining Cherokee territory was located primarily on lands claimed by Georgia. Contravening earlier treaties, Jefferson signed the Georgia Compact in 1802 in which Congress promised to purchase the remaining Creek and Cherokee lands in the southeast. Conflict ensued, as prior indigenous treaties had encouraged assimilation, whereas the Georgia Compact promoted removal. In 1802, the federal governmental leaders did not expect resistance as a result of the compact. However, because of rapidly increasing white population in Georgia, pressure increased to remove all local Native Americans in the 1820s.

During Andrew Jackson's presidency, the federal Indian Removal Act of 1830 was the pinnacle of treaties that affected various Native American tribes of the 19th century to try to codify the

development of the Indian Territory. Upon Jackson's election, and spurred by the discovery of gold in Georgia, laws were passed to appropriate Cherokee lands and provide a lottery to distribute this land to state citizens. Cherokees combated these policies, and in *Cherokee v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Cherokee Nation was the first to gain sovereignty rights in the U.S. Supreme Court—and then have these rights violated. In addition to the Cherokees, the other members of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes were the Seminoles, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks, who all faced federal removal. A series of state and federal battles occurred during the 1830s pertaining to Indian removal, as federal agents tried to influence tribes to move after gold was discovered in the state and white settlers moved in, despite the *Worcester v. Georgia* decision of the Supreme Court.

Trail of Tears

The process of forcibly removing Native Americans—in particular, the Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast to Indian Territory—led to the long history of what is called the Trail of Tears. After the treaty for removal, the Treaty of Echota, was signed by a faction of Cherokees, over 15,000 were forcibly evicted. Some evidence of the connections between Indian Territory and the lands of Native Americans prior to their removal appears in the names of new towns that bear the same names as towns in their former lands, for instance, in Alabama and Georgia.

The Native American population in Indian Territory included at least 30,000 people who lived in more than 100 villages of these nations, including several thousand African Americans and European Americans, particularly along the Tombigbee River and around the Natchez banks of the Mississippi. The Cherokee Nation was given a large portion of Indian Territory. Other parts were divided by other tribes. However, the Chickasaws, who were not originally given land, purchased land from the Choctaw Nation. After Indian removal, the borders of Indian territory were continually contested among tribes, including the Plains Indians, and as a result of European American and African American settlement. The Chickasaw, for instance, lived along the Texas border. By 1850, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea recommended

the compression of Indian territories by assigning western Indians to reservations away from settlements and immigrant highways.

One hotly contested theme that historians have widely discussed, particularly over the last decade, is slavery in Indian Territory. Historian Celia Naylor described enslaved African Americans who lived in Indian Territory as “denizens” because they were not citizens of the United States and lived outside the national boundaries. She adds that they could be described as African Indians, as opposed to the more popular term, *Black Indian*, which addresses some of the complexities of determining cultural descent.

Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries

In the aftermath of the Civil War and during Reconstruction, Native Americans in Indian Territory faced serious challenges in their relations with Indian affairs. Native Americans did not appear to be included in the passing of the Fourteenth Amendment, which was ratified in 1868, and tribal government laws were not considered valid in comparison to federal and state laws. Furthermore, Congress violated prior treaties and granted large amounts of tribal lands to railroad companies to build new lines through Indian Territory.

During the General Allotment (Dawes Act) of 1887, the territory was changed and the land was broken up, and parcels of land were allotted to individual families as opposed to being held communally. Land that was not allotted was sold by the government and used to build schools. Initially, the Five Civilized Tribe members were exempted by the Dawes Act. In the 1890s, many Native Americans protested allotment. By 1907, Indian Territory became the state of Oklahoma. It was not until 1924, when the Indian Citizenship Act was passed, that Native Americans were federally recognized as citizens.

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See Also: Cherokee; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831); Dawes Act (1887); Five Civilized Tribes; Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Reservations, American Indian; Trail of Tears.

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Indigenous People's Day

Indigenous People's Day was established to celebrate and promote the culture and history of Native Americans. Sometimes referred to as Native American Day, Indigenous People's Day is typically held on the second Monday in October, coinciding with the traditional observance of Columbus Day, which is a federal holiday but is not observed as a holiday in every state. Throughout its 75-year history, and especially in the last two decades, Columbus Day and the man behind it have been a source of controversy, and protests and alternatives to its recognition and celebration have surfaced throughout the country.

Columbus Day Controversy

Resistance to Columbus Day is not a new phenomenon. It dates back to at least the 19th century, when anti-immigrant groups wanted to do away with the holiday because of its association with Catholicism (the Knights of Columbus, the world's largest Catholic fraternal service organization, had lobbied intensely for the national holiday).

The way in which Columbus Day is observed in the United States today varies quite a bit, from large-scale parades and events to total disregard. Three states—Hawai'i, Alaska, and South Dakota—do not recognize it. Numerous states and cities have either canceled Columbus Day—sometimes because of a lack of interest, or for budgetary reasons—while others have renamed and repositioned how the day will be acknowledged. For example, Hawai'i has renamed the holiday Discoverers' Day to commemorate the Polynesian discovery of Hawai'i. In South Dakota, the state has substituted Native Americans' Day, a public holiday that focuses on Native American history and traditions and provides an

opportunity for natives and non-natives to share in the contributions of native culture. In many places, powwows are hosted, with singing, dancing, and socializing.

Because Columbus was believed to be a native of Italy, a source of great pride to many Italian Americans, some have charged that Indigenous People's Day is "anti-Italian," or have criticized it for its "revisionist" interpretation of history. Some cities have chosen to rename Columbus Day Italian Heritage Day, and it has evolved into a celebration of Italian American history and culture. Others have renounced the day entirely, calling into question the traditional depiction of Christopher Columbus as a bold explorer, and pointing to the fact that following his arrival in the Bahamas, he and his men forced the native peoples there into slavery. Still others have sought to appease everyone by honoring American Indians as part of Columbus Day, or by designating two holidays on the same date.

The controversy surrounding how to correctly interpret Christopher Columbus and his impact continues today. It can be seen most recently in plans to place an art installation around the statue of Columbus that stands high above Manhattan's Columbus Circle. Some Italian Americans have expressed outrage over the "living room" installation, which they say makes a mockery of the explorer and trivializes history.

The proposal for an Indigenous People's Day was first put forward at the United Nations-sponsored International Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas, which took place in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1977. The idea gained momentum in the summer of 1990, when 350 representatives from 120 Indian nations from every part of the Americas met in Quito, Ecuador, for the first Intercontinental Gathering of Indigenous People in the Americas to mobilize against the quincentennial (500-year) celebration of Columbus Day. The



New Yorkers, many waving Italian flags, watch members of the U.S. Navy Band march in the city's Columbus Day Parade, October 13, 2008. The 65th annual parade in New York is a distinctly Italian American heritage celebration. Some American cities have either cancelled their Columbus Day observances or renamed them "Italian Heritage Day," as Christopher Columbus is widely believed to be a native of Italy. Some efforts to honor American Indians as part of Columbus Day have been met with protests.

conference was attended by human rights, peace, social justice, and environmental organizations.

The following summer, in Davis, California, more than 100 Native Americans gathered for a follow-up meeting to the Quito conference. The final day of the conference was moved to Laney College in Oakland, California, and was opened to non-native people. There, a task force was formed, called the Berkeley Resistance 500, a group dedicated to promoting the belief that Columbus was responsible for the genocide of American Indians.

The Berkeley Resistance 500 investigated the historical record and concluded that Columbus's journey was not an exploratory expedition, but was rather a scouting mission for purposes of conquest. They petitioned the city council of Berkeley, California, to declare October 12 "a day of solidarity with indigenous people." Berkeley symbolically changed Columbus Day to Indigenous People's Day to call attention to the demise of Native American people and culture through disease, warfare, massacre, and forced assimilation. On October 13, 2012, Berkeley celebrated the 20th anniversary of this historical event with a powwow and an Indian market.

In 1994, the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) designated August 9 International Day of the World's Indigenous People to recognize the first UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations that met in Geneva in 1982. Concerned about offending some member nations, it chose August 9, instead of the traditional Columbus Day, as the day of recognition. In addition to promoting and protecting the rights of the world's indigenous population, this event also recognizes the achievements and contributions that indigenous people make in addressing and improving world issues such as climate change. It is a UN day of observance, not a public holiday. The focus for the 2012 International Day was "Indigenous Media: Empowering Indigenous Voices." Its objective was to highlight how traditional and new media can promote the cultures and languages of indigenous people and communicate that knowledge in a way that is different from mainstream ideas.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; American Indian Movement; Columbus Day; History/Heritage Months; Italian Americans; Native Americans; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Political Correctness; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; Powwow; St. Patrick's Day.

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Indigenous Transnationality

Although the presence of migrants with diverse cultural backgrounds in the United States is widely known, the specific group of indigenous migrants and their descendants is rarely acknowledged as such. However, a considerable number of migrants who arrive in the United States from Latin American countries have an indigenous background, a fact that is frequently overlooked because migrants are normally categorized and perceived according to their nationality. The few existing studies stress that indigenous migrants occupy specific positions within migrant communities in regard to their ethnic categorization. Although migrants share the same national citizenship, they differentiate between mestizo and indigenous migrants. The latter frequently experience diverse social borders and a subordinate positioning, even in their countries of provenance. Indigenous migrants can be discriminated against as migrants in the host country, and as indigenous by other migrants. Other social categories relating to gender, age, economic and educational background, and their

intersections can aggravate discrimination, leading to multidimensional discrimination.

Indigenous transnationality as a phenomenon in the United States derives mainly from migratory processes of indigenous groups, especially from Latin American countries. However, indigenous transnationality is also constituted through other kinds of transnational linkages, such as pan-American indigenous associations.

The concept of indigenous transnationality reveals the complexity and diversity among migrants, who are socially constructed as homogenized groups by the host society. Hence, it goes beyond widespread social categorizations, stereotypes, and conceptions that conceive indigenous people as inferior. This historical perspective has been prevalent in Latin American societies, where indigenous people are perceived as too isolated, earth-bound, and antimodern to leave their villages. At the same time, U.S. society categorizes indigenous migrants just as migrants in concordance to their nationality, and perceives no further diversity. Moreover, for a long time, academic perceptions were constrained, as migration scholars often overlooked the existence of indigenous migrants, and studies on indigenous people neglected the fact that they migrated. In contrast to these perspectives, historical studies show that indigenous people always had to be flexible to survive as such, which include becoming involved in migratory processes since precolonial times. In the paradigmatic case of Mexico, migration to the United States has been part of these strategies for several decades. However, research has just begun to broaden the perspective.

Types of Transnational Phenomena

There are several facets of indigenous transnationality. Transnationality in general encompasses diverse kinds of social, economic, and cultural flows. This results in new arrangements in transnational communities and beyond as cultural elements, ideas, and values flow through transnational networks. In this context, indigenous communities adapt their specific types of self-organization, thus transnationalizing them. This is the reason why the often-discussed relationship between migration and development is peculiar in the case of indigenous migration. Here, the contribution of transnational social and cultural

flows to development, or social remittances, can be highlighted. Newer studies also focus on the emotional elements of transnational migration, such as the nostalgic economy of migration that is frequently related to the idea of community among indigenous migrants.

It is often assumed that indigenous migrants work in farming, taking over positions of other migrants who experienced a social upgrading. However, this is not fully correct. Many indigenous migrants work in rural areas because they are accustomed to it from former experiences in internal migration. Nonetheless, indigenous migrants engage in a broad array of economic activities. In some regions, they work in the tourist industry, in landscaping, or in diverse plants. In several cases, they also own small enterprises or are renowned as traders. Such is the case of the Otavalo, an indigenous group from Ecuador, which built up far-reaching trading networks and gained considerable economic and political weight. These transnational economic activities benefit from their cultural background to maintain links and foster social cohesion and control.

There are several similar phenomena that can be regarded as partly transnational. Among these are indigenous groups that were “split up” by national borders but maintain a common social organization and initiatives, such as Canadian First Nation associations, which engage in development projects for indigenous people in Latin America.

A considerable part of indigenous transnationality is produced in day-to-day interactions. Additionally, most of these practices relate not so much to nations but to specific localities that are interwoven by social links. Therefore, rather than speaking of transnationality, the relevant processes could also be conceptualized as translocal.

Organized Indigenous Transnationality

Typical examples of well-established indigenous transnationality are migrant organizations such as hometown associations, clubs, and overarching unions. The most famous among a multitude of organizations across the United States is the Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB) in California. These organizations had an important part in raising awareness for the rights of migrant workers, including their living

conditions, and engaged in social and political activity in the United States and the respective country of provenance. They are important actors of a migrant civil society. However, it is necessary to distinguish between organizations that were built up from migrant initiatives and those that were fostered by party-connected actors with strong (personal) political interests.

Despite the strong public and academic focus on formal organizations, there are other forms of transnational organization among indigenous migrants. Many migrants neither establish nor join formal organizations for diverse reasons such as insufficient time or a feeling of insecurity among undocumented migrants. Furthermore, this way of organizing often does not fit into their logic of social organization. Studies indicate that this can be especially true for indigenous migrants, who are more used to thinking of their social group as a community. They frequently prefer to organize in a manner that fits the patterns of community-based social organization with which they are accustomed.

Indigenous groups all over Latin America organize themselves as communities on a village level and sometimes even on higher levels. This concept of community entails personal, organizational, social, and political dimensions. For instance, the community provides a formal framework to attend local concerns and organize its members to implement local projects and maintain the infrastructure because the state regularly does not fully attend to these concerns.

The concrete shape of communitarian organization differs from place to place, but it always has certain membership regulations and rules that attend to diverse aspects of communitarian life. These rules, often called *usos* and *costumbres*, are frequently criticized in a stereotypical way as traditionalist, antidemocratic, and patriarchal. In contrast to this perspective, this kind of social organization is very flexible and open and can easily be adapted to new circumstances in migratory contexts. So, even though community members have lived for several years in the United States, they are still regarded as active members and are expected to fulfill their obligations. In return, they preserve their membership and rights in the community. This results in strong social links and a feeling of belonging to the respective community.

As this offers experienced ways to articulate demands in the locality of origin or to contribute to its development, indigenous migrants often do not see the need to establish separate associations. Therefore, a supposed lack of formal organization can be a sign of more far-reaching and intense ways of transnational social organization.

Transnational Identity Politics

The existence of indigenous transnationality has strong political implications, both in Latin America and in the United States. In the last two decades, the situation of indigenous people in Latin America has attracted increasing attention as specific social movements were heard on a global level. This is also reflected in the global reception of alternative development concepts that have indigenous roots, such as *buen vivir* (good living). As a consequence, the perception of indigenous people and cultures has changed as much as their self-perception. Although discrimination and stereotypes prevail, the social categorization of indigenous people is changing in a slow but steady process of social renegotiation. Indigenous transnationality is an important dimension of this process because it grants moments of reflection, resources, and opportunities through which indigenous actors change their socioeconomic position, often defying old stereotypes. Moreover, the self-assuredness of Latin American indigenous groups can be fostered when their migrants interact with Native Americans.

At the same time, the growing awareness of a shared experience of multidimensional discrimination has led to alliances between different indigenous organizations, creating an overarching panindigenous consciousness. For example, FIOB turned from an ethnically defined exclusive organization into one that incorporates members of other indigenous groups, transforming its self-conception. The resulting activities and solidarity, encompassing members of various indigenous groups, is therefore not so much the result of an idea of a similar cultural background but of the consequences of social categorization of indigenous persons in their countries of provenance and in the United States. This created a prospective for successful social and political activism.

Along translocal networks, political experiences are transferred to other localities and

countries. Therefore, in several parts of Latin America, such organizations have achieved political influence on diverse political levels. Local and national state actors and activists from political parties in the countries of provenance also try to adapt to this new situation. Migration often means that persons leave informal political control and learn about political and societal ideas that differ from those they were accustomed to. Because ruling political actors can perceive this as a risk, they try to maintain the migrants' attachment by visiting them or addressing them in public discourses. In several countries, party-friendly organizations seek to transnationally reestablish clientelist networks. This normally corresponds to transnationalism in a classical sense, but in the case of indigenous migrants, a special emphasis is put on the ethnic background to foster political bonds. Therefore, indigenous migrants often tend to rely on their forms of organization, as they are cautious of being politically misused.

Indigenous transnationality is likely to grow for several reasons. Transnational migration between Latin America and the United States will prevail, and a considerable share will be of indigenous background. At the same time, a growing number of migrants are likely to identify themselves as indigenous, then engage in indigenous transnational practices. Finally, although it is uncertain if future generations will maintain links to their parents' places of provenance, indigenous migrants are more committed to activities that aim at assuring these bonds. Because of their community orientation, the practice of sending children "home" for a while, constant circulation of people, and the transmission of elements of indigenous cultural knowledge and practices, future generations are likely to live in transnational networks with strong ethnic dimensions. Moreover, prevailing social categorization and ongoing (occasional) discrimination strengthen the self-perception as indigenous. The existence of villages and quarters in the United States that have a considerable population of indigenous migrants and their descendants indicates that indigenous transnationality is going to be an important and durable element of a multicultural United States.

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See Also: Discourse; Hispanic Americans; Identity Development; Latinos; Mestizo; Mexican Americans; Native Americans; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act (1975)

The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 was created to provide assistance to refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia who had to flee their countries and could not return after the Vietnamese War for fear of persecution. The bill was supported by U.S. President Gerald Ford. In the act, Congress appropriated \$455 million to fund the assistance. In carrying out some provisions of the law, four resettlement centers were set up. From these centers, the refugees were processed and aided in moving to permanent locations in the United States.

When the war in Vietnam ended in May 1975 and the United States withdrew from South Vietnam, there was an immediate flight from the country of tens of thousands of Vietnamese people who feared for their lives in light of the North Vietnamese takeover of South Vietnam. In addition to evacuating by air approximately 7,000 American citizens, the United States airlifted out approximately 40,000 South Vietnamese before the

airports in the country closed. Many other Vietnamese people left their country by boat. Some of these people were picked up by U.S. military ships, some made it to other countries, and many were lost at sea. Some traveled over land routes to Thailand. A humanitarian crisis of immense proportions developed as the refugees fled South Vietnam, depending on other nations to take them in. On a much smaller scale, Cambodians also fled their country as a government sympathetic to North Vietnam took over. Refugees also fled from Laos. The act was amended in 1976, adding Laotian refugees to the provisions of the legislation. The U.S. government granted immediate entry to many of these refugees, initially willing to take in 120,000. That number increased during the year and was raised again in subsequent years.

By the time this act was passed by Congress, Vietnamese refugees were already being brought into the United States. Processing centers were established at U.S. bases in the Philippines, Guam, and Wake Island. Reception centers were set up in the United States at Camp Chaffee in Arkansas, Camp Pendleton in California, Ft. Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania, and Eglin Air Force Base in Florida. The refugees were brought to these locations for further processing so that they might be quickly resettled throughout the United States with the help of nonprofit agencies.

Even though unemployment was high in the United States and many feared that an influx of refugees from southeast Asia would take the jobs of Americans, there was strong support for this legislation. President Ford supported the act, and many felt that helping these refugees was one way of opposing communism. The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act was introduced shortly after the fall of South Vietnam. It was passed by Congress and signed into law by the president on May 23, 1975. The law stipulated that the funds would be available for a relatively short period.

Of the \$455 million that the law set aside to help these refugees, a substantial amount went to the Defense Department as reimbursement for transportation of the refugees out of Vietnam, from ships at sea, from other countries, and into the resettlement centers. The Defense Department was also reimbursed for the cost of resettlement centers located on military bases. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare received a

significant sum for the welfare and medical needs of refugees. The Offices of Refugees and Migration received funds, much of which was given to voluntary agencies that gave direct help to the refugees.

Agencies that helped in the resettlement process included the U.S. Catholic Conference Migration and Refugee Services, American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Church World Service Immigration and Refugee Program, and Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service. These agencies were charged with finding places for the refugees to resettle. The newcomers were scattered throughout the United States to prevent any undue impact on an area where large numbers might settle. In spite of these efforts, Texas and California became the most popular places for refugees to settle.

By the end of 1975, 130,000 refugees had been processed by the resettlement centers and the centers were closed. These agencies aided the southeast Asians in finding sponsors, housing, jobs, financial assistance, and education.

By the time of the release of the 2010 U.S. Census, over one and a half million people with a Vietnamese origin lived in the United States. The Vietnamese population was the fourth largest of the Asian populations in the country. Many centers of Vietnamese populations in the United States still show the strong identity that they have with their culture. The same census showed that over a quarter of a million Cambodians lived in the United States, and almost 200,000 Laotians.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Amerasian; Asian Americans; Boat People; Cambodian Americans; Hmong Americans; Immigration Acts; Laotian Americans; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay); Refugees; Vietnam War; Vietnamese Americans.

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Indonesian Americans

As of the 2010 U.S. Census, 95,270 Indonesian Americans lived in the United States, and about a third of them in southern California. Indonesia is an archipelago of 17,508 islands between southeast Asia and Australia. Known to Europeans as the Spice Islands during the Age of Discovery, Indonesia was colonized by the Dutch for 350 years and regained its independence after World War II. The islands comprise numerous ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups, the largest of which is the Javanese. There are over 300 native ethnic groups in Indonesia, speaking 742 dialects, in addition to groups that originated elsewhere, the largest of which are the Chinese Indonesians, who make up about 3 percent of the population and control a disproportionate amount of its wealth and businesses.

The Indonesian language is a prestige dialect of Malay, and the Malay ethnic group is a significant one in the country (some of the islands in the Indonesian archipelago are divided between Indonesia and Malaysia). Religions in Indonesia include Muslim, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian; most of the country is Muslim, but Hinduism and Buddhism figure largely in the country's history and culture. Christianity is the fastest-growing religion in Indonesia, and the demographics of recent immigrants to the United States reflect this. Chinese Indonesians are usually Buddhist or Confucian; both faiths were introduced to the islands by the Chinese.

A Dozen Different Indonesian Groups

During the Dutch colonial period, Indonesia was known to the West as the Dutch East Indies. Numerous Europeans immigrated to the islands during and after the Industrial Revolution.

Indonesians of mixed Indonesian and European descent are called Indo-Europeans, or Indos, and represent the majority of Indonesia's population of European descent. Very few Indonesians are known to have immigrated to the United States before World War II, and those who did may have been given any number of classifications by immigration officials. The first Indonesians to move to the United States after independence were Indo students who arrived in southern California as part of a program begun in 1953 that allowed Indonesian medical professionals to study at the University of California at Berkeley.

When immigration restrictions were reformed in 1965, more Indonesians immigrated to the United States, and most continued to settle in California. In the 1960s, most Indonesian immigrants were Chinese Indonesians, many of whom were political refugees. Immigration accelerated in response to chaos in Indonesia, tripling between 1980 and 1990. Most immigrants settled in established Asian American communities in large cities; there are no well-established Indonesian American enclaves, because of how recently Indonesians arrived in the United States but principally because of Indonesians' ethnic and cultural diversity. Although there are certainly common elements of culture in Indonesia, it is more difficult to preserve a cultural heritage within a community whose members are drawn from a dozen different Indonesian groups.

Cultural association within the Indonesian American community is conducted less through enclave neighborhoods and more through cultural organizations in cities with large Indonesian populations like Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. There are also numerous Indonesian churches, which function as social centers as well as places of worship. That said, although Indonesians do not live in Indonesian enclaves, neither do they fully assimilate. Marriage to non-Indonesians—though not rare—is discouraged, though perhaps also inevitable given the age at which most Indonesian immigrants arrive in the country and the ratio of Indonesians to non-Indonesians.

Indonesian arts are popular in the Indonesian American community, especially the Bali court dances, puppet dramas, and clothes made of batik, a cloth dyed using hot wax or a printing stamp.



At Maker Faire 2008 in San Mateo, California, Teresa Mak displays her batik art, which is very popular among the Indonesian American community. About one-third of Indonesian Americans live in California.

Indonesian food is highly seasoned, reflecting the many spices indigenous to the Spice Islands, and reflect south Asian influences in the use of curries, coconut milk, and skewer-roasted meats. One significant difference between Indonesian food and the customs of Americans is that Indonesian food, especially when served buffet style, is often served at room temperature—which makes sense in such a hot country.

The United States is an especially popular destination for Indonesian students, and many remain after college; about a quarter of Indonesian Americans are aged 25 to 34 years. The number of Indonesian college students in the United States has steadily grown since 1980.

Many Indonesians work in the import-export business, and trade relations between the United States and Indonesia have long been strong. The United States exports farm goods, heavy equipment, and aircraft and imports commodities like oil, coffee, spices, tin, tea, and rubber. This trade has been encouraged by the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, which was founded in 1949, in anticipation of Indonesian independence.

Since 1988, the *Indonesian Journal* has been distributed free every month through Indonesian cultural organizations, churches, and even restaurants. It is supported by advertisements and printed in Indonesian. The *Indonesia Letter* is a monthly newsletter for Indonesian Americans, distributed nationally from Los Angeles.

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See Also: Chinese Americans; Dutch Americans; Filipino Americans; Food; Hindu Americans; Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act (1975); Muslim Americans; Pacific Islander Americans.

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Intelligence Testing

The first intelligence test was developed by Alfred Binet, from France, in the early 1900s. Binet was charged with developing a tool by which one could differentiate levels of intelligence between different groups of students. The goal was to be able to identify children who were intellectually inferior and intellectually superior so that they could be placed in schools that

catered to students with similar intelligence levels. The Binet scale was created, and a standard was developed based on the data from these test scores, and as a result of this standard, the term *intelligence quotient*, or *IQ*, emerged and entered the education system.

H. H. Goddard believed that Binet's intelligence test should be used to screen students for his school, the Vineyard Training School in New Jersey. He decided that Binet's IQ test was a tool that he could use to label and classify students as normal, idiots, imbeciles, and morons. Goddard believed that intelligence was not only inborn, but also fixed and could be measured. Lewis M. Terman believed that intelligence was fixed and hereditary.

In 1916, the Stanford-Binet test was revised as a result of Terman's beliefs, and the test became the standard intelligence test used in the United States. As a result of Goddard's and Terman's work, American educators believed that this was a universal tool that they could use to measure intelligence and identify students who required special instructional services in their schools. Intelligence testing continues in American schools.

In 1917, the U.S. military gave psychologist Robert Yerkes permission to administer the intelligence test to over 1.75 million army recruits. The Army Alpha test was developed as a group-administered written test for recruits who were deemed literate, and it was meant to measure a variety of parameters, such as verbal and numerical abilities and the ability to follow directions. Another test, the Army Beta test, was a pictorial test for men who were deemed illiterate and had no formal schooling, and who failed the Army Alpha test. Questions on the test were developed to measure aptitude and required recruits to identify what was missing from a picture and to complete number sequences.

Yerkes believed that these tests measured one's native intellectual ability, and that innate intelligence was not affected by one's culture or educational opportunities. On the other hand, Carl Brigham, one of Yerkes's colleagues, believed that people from certain ethnic groups were intellectually superior to others. As a result, people started to believe that genetic differences between races existed and that the intelligence tests could help

identify these innate racial differences among various ethnic groups.

Terman, Goddard, and Yerkes advocated eugenics. Eugenacists believed that people from minority groups were contributing to a national degeneration and they pushed to keep unfit people or degenerates from reproducing, marrying, and entering the United States. The goal for eugenacists was to create a better human race, and the founding fathers of eugenics viewed intelligence testing as a way to achieve this goal. Later, Brigham would develop the Scholastic Aptitude Test, or SAT, which is commonly used as a requirement for entrance into higher education, and Yerkes served as the president of the American Psychological Association.

Goddard, like his fellow eugenacists, argued that the reconstruction of society should be regulated and determined by intelligence test scores because he truly believed that intelligence levels were based on innate fixed abilities. As a result, he concluded that many non-northern European immigrants were morons, despite the fact that they were administered the intelligence test in English, with questions based on American culture and a language that they did not know.

Intelligence Testing on Racially Diverse Groups

The discrepancies in intelligence test scores that exist between whites and racially diverse groups have been contested since World War I, when tests were administered to military recruits. The literature on the measurement of intelligence and levels of ability continue to report a significant divide between Caucasian and minority students, with minorities continuing to perform lower in these areas. Though differences in IQ test scores have been attributed to genetics, no exact cause has been pinpointed, but several variables have been identified that may contribute to lower performance, such as culture bias, language, cultural deprivation, family values, home environment, and/or disadvantages of students from diverse backgrounds. Despite this, intelligence testing continues to be used in educational settings and to place minority students in specialized programs.

Critics claim that these tests are biased because they are normed using mostly middle-class white

children. Other scholars believe that students from diverse backgrounds are culturally different, but not culturally disadvantaged or deficient, and that test performance among diverse students is impacted by their culture.

Therefore, low performance on tests does not mean that students from diverse backgrounds are inferior when it comes to intelligence. However, students from diverse backgrounds continue to be consistently underrepresented in gifted programs and overrepresented in special education programs because of their performance on IQ tests. Educational misplacements because of school officials only looking at IQ test scores and because of deficit thinking and stereotypes about diverse students can be detrimental to students from racially diverse groups.

Research studies between 1920 and 1929 concluded that low performance on tests among Mexican American children was due to heredity and inferior genetics. Examinations of these studies claim that variables such as socioeconomic status and language or limited English proficiency were not addressed. It was not until 1931 that Mexican American scholar George Isidore Sanchez challenged and critiqued research related to intellectual measurement.

Sanchez identified several issues with mental measurements and how they were used regarding Mexican American students. First, tests used to test Mexican American students were not standardized on students whose first language was Spanish. Second, test items on these exams were biased and did not represent the culture of Spanish-speaking students. Third, there is no universal consensus on what intelligence constitutes or how to accurately measure it, especially with students whose first language is not English. Fourth, scholars, educators, and the public continue to accept test scores of Mexican American students as valid, rather than critically reviewing the contents of the tests and without consideration of the fact that the tests do not represent the language or culture of Spanish-speaking students. Fifth, tests that have been revised do not necessarily mean they are better tests and are adequate measures of intelligence. Sixth, tests are used as a result of attitudes and prejudices toward non-English-speaking students and seventh, the educational system continues to be

heavily influenced by the rhetoric behind testing. Years later, these seven issues remain prominent in testing reform.

Research studies between 1916 and 1930 also concluded that low performance on tests among African American children was because of heredity, home environment, and social socioeconomic status. Critics of these studies claim that some tests, like the Goodenough Draw-A-Man test, were culturally biased. African American scholars of the 1920s, such as Horace Mann Bond, Francis C. Sumner, E. Franklin Frazier, Charles H. Thompson, Charles S. Johnson, Howard H. Long, Ira D. A. Reid, Joseph St. Clair Price, and Herman C. Canady, challenged deficit thinking and critiqued studies claiming that African Americans were inferior. It was not until the desegregation mandate and the civil rights movement that the debate over group-administered IQ tests in classifying African American students for special education reemerged at the forefront of testing and education.

Similar to intelligence testing with Mexican American and African American students, research studies concluded that low performance among American Indians was a result of heredity and genetics, particularly inferiority in Native intelligence. Again, the research during this time did not address variables such as socioeconomic status, culture, language, and educational factors.

As a result of discrepancies in research related to intelligence testing and Mexican Americans, African Americans, and American Indians, and the high numbers of these students placed in specialized programs, in 1970, members of these groups fought against the use of intelligence testing to place students in special education. Their fight influenced testing mandates, which now required that multiple data be used to assess students; if a student's first language was not English, assessment must be in the student's dominant language; and all students must be allowed due process. This was not the end of the fighting and critiquing of intelligence testing in education. The concern about intelligence tests being culturally biased because test items are based on white, middle-class experiences continues to be raised. For members of groups who are not white and middle class, these tests place their

children at a disadvantage as a result of accepting test scores as absolute.

Intelligence Testing and Tracking in Education

The development of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale contributed to the practice of tracking because test scores were widely perceived as scientific. As a result, IQ test scores were seen as an objective and efficient way to sort students. This test soon became the standard intelligence test used in the United States, and was used to place students into tracked classes.

With John Dewey's progressive movement in the 1920s, the practice of tracking was questioned. In Dewey's eyes, the use of intelligence test scores was inadequate because they reflected a limited perception of intelligence. Intelligence was more than a test score; it was made up of many different behaviors, some of which could not be measured by intelligence tests. However, proponents of gifted education like Leta Stetter Hollingsworth, a professor at Teachers College at Columbia University, viewed the intelligence test as a valid tool to identify students who were intellectually superior.

Test scores were soon used to identify the intellectually superior from the intellectually inferior, and students were sorted into different tracks like gifted education, remedial education, and special education programs. As a result, more than two million American children were tested to determine the right track for them in schools. It was not until the 1960s, during the civil rights movement, that the educational practice of tracking was once again brought to the forefront and challenged because tracking was perceived to have damaging effects on poor children and children of color.

The practice of tracking resulted in some legal implications. In the case *Hobson v. Hansen* (1967, 1969), the courts ruled against grouping based on one's ability as measured by a student's performance on a standardized intelligence test. Once students were grouped according to their test score, students stayed in their assigned track permanently. Additionally, the court ruled that resources were unequal among tracked groups of students, and the school failed to provide evidence of learning from students grouped by

ability, nor were they able to prove that students had a positive experience in tracked classes. Furthermore, the practice of tracking was defined as an unequal practice because students were permanently placed in tracks based on one test score, and no resources for learning were provided for students placed in the lower tracks.

As a result of the largely accepted belief that intelligence tests were accurate and scientific and could measure one's innate ability and intelligence, the mass use of the Stanford-Binet tests and other tests like it created a multimillion-dollar testing industry. The intelligence test, or IQ test, has been identified as one of the most significant scientific discoveries of the 20th century, along with nuclear fission, DNA, the transistor, and flight by the American Academy for the Advancement of Science. With the publication of the *Bell Curve* in 1994 by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, the idea of differences in innate intelligence and ability was once again brought to the forefront. Intelligence testing still creates considerable controversy.

Practices such as using multiple assessments and assessing multiple intelligences, rather than relying solely on an intelligence test score, are examples of alternatives to testing. According to Howard Gardner, tests scores should be used to help students rather than classify or rank them. Furthermore, Gardner asserts that there are many varieties of intelligences that are ignored by IQ tests, and that multiple intelligences cannot be measured by a single IQ test because IQ tests measure only linguistic and logical/mathematical intelligences, and do not adequately measure human cognitive abilities.

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See Also: African Americans; Armed Forces, U.S.; Civil Rights Movement; Educational Achievement; Emotional Intelligence; Eugenics; Mexican Americans; Multiple Intelligences; Special Education; Stereotype Threat; White Supremacy.

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Intercultural Communication

Intercultural communication is the study and practice of communication across cultural contexts. It applies equally to domestic cultural differences such as ethnicity and gender, and to international differences such as those associated with nationality or world region. Intercultural communication is an approach to relations among members of these groups that focuses on the recognition and respect of cultural differences, seeks the goal of mutual adaptation leading to biculturalism rather than simple assimilation, and supports the development of intercultural sensitivity on the part of individuals and organizations to enable empathic understanding and competent coordination of action across cultural differences.

Communication

Communication is much more than a simple transmission of information: it is the mutual creation of meaning. Information is not, in itself, meaningful; it is only when information is intended and interpreted in some way that it attains significance. For instance, if one person (Jim) is telling another (Susan) about a movie he just saw, Jim probably intends for Susan to understand what the movie is about as well as

something about Jim's experience and evaluation of it. Jim poses the information in a language known by Susan, using references to concepts and other films Susan might know; and in conveying his feeling, Jim assumes that Susan is able and willing to access his experience. For Susan's part, she tries to interpret the information in the way Jim intended it by using common meanings for words and concepts and by recognizing both their common experience of similar events and the uniqueness of Jim's personal experience in this particular event.

Of course, the exchange described above is an ideal that is seldom achieved in one pass (or many). What usually happens is that Susan's interpretation is both more and less than what Jim intended. It is less in Susan's probable failure to assign exactly similar meaning to words and concepts that Jim uses, and it is more in that Susan probably projects many of her own feelings about similar events onto Jim's description. In Susan's response (feedback) to his message, Jim may recognize some of Susan's discrepant interpretation and correct it. Assuming that this is not Jim's first communication with someone like Susan, he may have already anticipated some of her likely misinterpretation by tailoring his message to her in the first place. Therefore, both Jim's intention and Susan's interpretation are in play as they attempt to negotiate a mutually acceptable match. The final meaning of the communication event is neither just Jim's intention nor simply Susan's interpretation; it is their mutual creation of an agreeable position.

Culture

The sense of "culture" used in intercultural communication is that of "worldview." Culture is a generalization about how a group of people coordinate meaning and action among themselves. One way they do that is through institutions such as religious, political, and economic systems, and family and other social structures. But underlying these institutions is a habitual organization of how the world is perceived, and thus how it is experienced. These habits are often referred to as cultural assumptions and values, and they occur in all groups, not just national societies. In general, intercultural communication focuses on this worldview aspect of culture and not so much on the institutions of culture. Human communication

is conducted by people, not institutions. The concern of any study of communication is therefore with the way that human beings organize meaning. All human beings are influenced by the institutional structures that they internalize as part of socialization, and understanding those institutions may give insight into how they habitually organize their perceptions, but in the end it is their human worldviews that generate meaning, not institutional structure.

An essential element of culture is the boundary that distinguishes “us” from “them.” Every human being belongs to groups defined by boundaries. Typical boundaries are those formed by nation-states (Americans, Japanese, Nigerians) or by ethnic groups composed of people with a particular tribal, national, or regional heritage (Kurdish, Jewish, Russian, European, African). Within a boundary, people communicate with each other differently than with people outside the boundary. The difference may or may not involve using a different language or jargon, but it always includes different kinds of agreements on meaning and action. A cultural boundary indicates a greater amount of interaction and need for coordination among those enclosed by it.

In the case of some ethnic heritage, family interaction may be primarily responsible for preserving the cultural agreements, but for many ethnicities there is also likely to be greater interaction with other members of the ethnic group (such as Chinese Americans). This is particularly true if color (race) is involved, since people naturally distinguish themselves by color and thus may group more easily with people who are physically similar. Color discrimination is not necessarily associated with prejudice, but it certainly can be used for that purpose, as can other distinctions among groups.

Skin color is a particularly complex boundary, since in many societies it does represent a particular type of social experience vis-à-vis prejudice or privilege, and that common experience may produce certain agreements on meaning (such as an understanding of “driving while black”). Yet color is not necessarily associated with any particular ethnicity (such as black people of African versus Caribbean heritage, and white people of Anglo versus Teutonic versus Latin heritage). The ethnic boundary is a much more powerful cultural indicator than the color boundary, since it rests

on a deeper set of institutions. For instance, black Caribbean Americans may experience prejudice similarly to African Americans, but that fact does not obviate the significant cultural differences between those two groups.

In multicultural societies, national and ethnic boundaries are often combined to indicate membership in both groups (such as African American, European American, Malay Singaporean, Russian Kazakhstani). In addition to these common distinctions, boundaries are also formed by geographical regions within or across national boundaries (such as southern Italians, Pacific Northwest Americans, western Europeans, Sub-Saharan Africans) Also importantly, the boundaries of organizations often indicate very strong and distinct cultural worldviews (such as corporate cultures, police culture, armed services culture, Peace Corps culture). Within organizations, different functional groups, such as accountants, service people, engineers, or detectives, are likely to share a culture. Within societies, cultural boundaries may also include gender, sexual orientation, generation (age), and other groupings. In these and other cases, the culture is generated not by any particular belief or behavior of the group, but by the need to coordinate meaning and action among more frequently interacting people. For instance, gay culture is not about homosexuality per se; it is about how people communicate with other people with whom they are more likely to be in contact because of shared sexuality. In this same way, some religious or political groups can generate culture, not because of their particular beliefs, but because people in the groups are spending more time with others who agree with them.

When an intercultural approach is used in domestic multicultural situations, it commonly generates some controversy. The argument against the assumption of domestic cultures generally goes like this: Cultural differences, if they exist among different ethnic and racial groups, are not nearly as important as differences in power, privilege, and access to sources of wealth and well-being. So even if they exist, a focus on cultural differences is just a distraction from the more pressing concerns of social and institutional equity. Roughly this same argument is used against focusing on the intercultural communication aspects of gender relations.

One counterargument is to note the “humanizing” effect of worldview. Focusing on the unique experience of a cultural worldview is a direct antidote to an objectification and exploitation of people that is based simply on their color, gender, or heritage. Intercultural communication necessitates understanding the unique experience of others as the key to coordinating meaning and action toward some common goal. Another argument in favor of intercultural communication is that culture must be understood relative to its own context. Culture cannot be judged against an absolute standard of civilization, and therefore people of one culture are not intrinsically superior or inferior to people of another culture. They are just different.

Intercultural Communication

Since “communication” is the mutual creation of meaning and “culture” is the coordination of meaning and action in a group, it follows that “intercultural communication” is the mutual creation of meaning across cultures. This means that intercultural communication is the mechanism whereby people of different groups perceive and try to make sense of one another. Although there is no guarantee that people will be respectful of the differences they encounter in this process, it is



In “hanky code,” a system employed among men in the leather subculture of male homosexuality, different bandana colors indicate different preferences and fetishes. Within societies, culture can be generated by the need to coordinate meaning or action among people who have a common culture or values.

certainly a criterion of good communication that people seek to understand the intentions of each other in nonevaluative ways. For that reason, intercultural communication incorporates particular strategies that encourage people to attribute equal humanity and complexity to people who are not part of their own group.

The most common tactical goal of intercultural communication is to inform one-way cross-cultural adaptations in situations such as teaching in multicultural classrooms, providing social services (including policing) in multicultural communities, traveling for business or pleasure, and some kinds of international study. In those cases, sojourners need to recognize cultural differences that are relevant to short-term communication, to predict misunderstanding that may arise from those differences, and to adapt their behavior as necessary to participate appropriately in the cross-cultural encounter. Central to this application is having a good system for identifying cultural differences that are relevant to communication. Whatever system is used, the outcome of employing tactical intercultural communication is generally to decrease stereotyping of the cultures encountered, increase knowledge of cultural differences, and broaden the behavioral repertoire of the adapters.

A more substantial practical goal of intercultural communication is to contribute to the success of cross-cultural projects such as transferring knowledge, conducting long-term business, or effecting change through community development projects. In these cases, more people involved in the cross-cultural encounter need to make adaptations toward one another in order to coordinate meaning and action adequately. When intercultural adaptation is two-way, or mutual, it tends to create “third cultures” in which two or more cultural patterns of coordination are themselves coordinated. Third cultures are virtual conditions that come into existence for the purpose of intercultural communication and then dissolve when that communication is not active. Third cultures may become longer-lasting when they are constantly employed in multicultural groups or communities, but by definition third cultures do not supplant the original cultural patterns that they coordinate.

The most strategic application of intercultural communication is to derive the value of cultural

diversity. This has long been the goal of multicultural societies, and it more recently is being touted by global corporations. After some mistaken hope that diversity in itself would generate value, it is now accepted that cultural diversity creates the potential but not the actuality of added value. The potential of diversity is to offer alternative perspectives and approaches to tasks, thus contributing to innovation and creativity. However, the actuality is that diversity is frequently suppressed or eliminated in the name of unified action, as exemplified by the phrase “my way or the highway.” This is particularly notable in immigration policies and in corporate mergers and acquisitions, where the rhetoric of added value is generally at direct odds with the practice of demanding assimilation to the stronger culture. Assimilation destroys the potential for added value from diversity. One-way adaptation preserves the potential of added value, but it does not actualize it. Only mutual adaptation can generate third cultures that support the coordination of cultural differences, and it is from those coordinated differences that value is added.

Other Intergroup Relations Terms

Within the context of intercultural communication, the term *multicultural* is used to refer to the multiple cultures represented in a group. For instance, the U.S. workforce has become more multicultural, meaning that there is more diversity of national heritage because of immigration, more variation in domestic ethnic groups, more gender and age diversity, and more representation of minorities such as people with disabilities. Communities become multicultural as immigrants settle there, and teachers face increasingly multicultural classrooms.

The term *diversity* is sometimes used synonymously with the term *multicultural*, referring to the existence of cultural difference. For instance, when a company has a diversity policy, it often refers to how minorities will be actively recruited, thus creating a more multicultural organization. Sometimes the term *diversity* or the term *inclusion* is used more generally to refer to dealing with issues associated with multiculturalism, such as prejudice, stereotyping, segregation, denial of equal rights, and other inappropriate or illegal behavior. Occasionally, the term *diversity* is used

to refer to actual cultural diversity, and diversity training moves beyond prejudice reduction toward recognizing, respecting, and dealing productively with cultural differences.

The term *cross-cultural* refers to contact between cultural groups. For instance, in a company with a multicultural workforce, there is more likely to be cross-cultural contact among the workers. More substantially, expatriate managers or exchange students who live in a different cultural context have significant amounts of cross-cultural contact. Cross-cultural contact in itself is not necessarily contributive to good intercultural relations. Under some conditions, it may generate negative stereotypes or defensiveness, and at best it increases tolerance and reduces stereotyping. Cross-cultural contact may also refer to comparative studies of culture; for example, in a cross-cultural study of smiling, Thai respondents were more likely than Americans to interpret that facial gesture as embarrassment.

The term *intercultural* refers to interaction among members of two or more distinct cultural groups. The term is seldom used synonymously with multicultural, so groups are not described as intercultural unless they are specifically set up to encourage interaction (such as the “intercultural workshop”). The term *intercultural* is usually used as a modifier, as in “intercultural communication” or “intercultural relations.” The term *intercultural sensitivity* has a long history of referring to an ability to make complex perceptual discriminations among cultural patterns, and recently the term *intercultural competence* has been used to refer to an array of characteristics and abilities that seem related to successful intercultural interactions.

The following statement follows the definitions: A multicultural workforce is likely to have a lot of cross-cultural contact that demands more competence in intercultural communication from everyone.

Intercultural Sensitivity and Competence

The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) developed by Milton J. Bennett is a framework that explains how people experience and handle cultural difference. The DMIS is grounded theory; it is based on observations made in both academic and corporate settings about how people become more competent intercultural

communicators. The model uses concepts from constructivist psychology and communication theory to organize these observations into positions along a continuum of increasing sensitivity to cultural difference.

The underlying assumption of the model is that as one's perceptual organization of cultural difference becomes more complex, one's experience of culture becomes more sophisticated, and the potential for exercising competence in intercultural relations increases. By recognizing how cultural difference is being experienced, predictions about the effectiveness of intercultural communication can be made and educational interventions can be tailored to facilitate development along the continuum.

The DMIS continuum extends from ethnocentrism, the experience of one's own culture as "central to reality," to ethnorelativism, the experience of one's own and other cultures as "relative to context." Positions along the continuum define the general ways in which perception of cultural difference is being organized into experience. Generally, developmental movement is one-way and permanent, although there may be retreats from one ethnocentric position to another, and some ethnocentric issues may remain unresolved as people move into ethnorelativism. Nevertheless, each individual or group has a predominant experience of cultural difference, described by the following positions:

Denial: Denial of cultural difference is the experience in which cultural difference is not perceived at all, or it is perceived only in very broad categories such as "foreigner" or "minority." The constructs available for perceiving one's own culture are far more complex than those available for other cultures. People experience psychological and/or physical isolation from cultural difference, and they are disinterested in or perhaps even hostilely dismissive of intercultural communication. It is difficult to recognize the essential humanity of others who are obviously different from oneself, and naïve questions about the other culture may appear disrespectful. In the extreme, power may be used to exploit others without sensitivity to their feelings of degradation.

Defense: Defense against cultural difference is the experience in which cultural difference is

perceived in simplistic stereotyped ways. Cultures are organized into "us" and "them," where typically the "us" is superior and the "them" is inferior. People at Defense are threatened by cultural difference, so they tend to be highly critical of other cultures and apt to blame cultural difference for the general ills of society. Power derived from institutional dominance or from nondominant posturing is used to support segregation.

Defense/reversal: An alternative form of Defense reverses the polarity of "us" and "them," where an adopted culture is romanticized, while one's own group is subjected to greater criticism. Reversal has traditionally been found in nondominant groups as "internalized oppression," in which the dominant group culture is valued more highly than the nondominant one. When dominant group members discover that their own group is the oppressor (externalized oppression), they sometimes switch sides and take on the cause of a nondominant group with extreme zeal. Internationally, this also may happen when exchange students "go native." In both cases, the experience is one of self-criticism combined with "exotification" of other groups.

Minimization: Minimization of cultural difference occurs when elements of one's own cultural worldview are experienced as universal. People tend to assume that their physical or psychological experiences are shared by people of all cultures, and/or that certain basic values and beliefs transcend cultural boundaries. The stressing of cross-cultural similarity reduces Defense, so people here are much more tolerant of cultural diversity, although the tolerance generally does not extend into appreciation of substantial cultural differences. People who move from Defense and settle into Minimization may feel that they have arrived at an enlightened position. They are likely to label any discussion of cultural difference as a form of Defense, because that is their only prior experience of cultural difference. Because they now think that intercultural understanding is based primarily on similarity, they tend to overestimate their sensitivity to people who in fact are quite different from themselves. At this position, people of the dominant group underestimate their racial and cultural privilege—their exaggerated assumption of

similarity leads them to also exaggerate equality of opportunity. Also, dominant group members may engage in certain forms of political correctness that stress similarity, such as being “color-blind.”

Acceptance: Acceptance of cultural difference is the experience in which one’s own culture is just one of a number of equally complex worldviews. Cultural difference becomes important again, this time out of curiosity rather than threat. In accepting difference, people acknowledge that people of other cultures, while equally human to themselves, are in fact organizing their experience of reality differently—according to the different assumptions of their culture. Acceptance does not mean agreement with or liking other cultures—cultural difference may be judged negatively—but the judgment is made in a contextually relative way. The recognition that people are equally complex, but different, is a strong antidote to bigotry. Rather than trying to directly reduce prejudice (which, if successful, just creates Minimization), the move to Acceptance extends the boundary of human similarity and difference to include other groups. In other words, people of other cultures are afforded equal and unique humanity.

Adaptation: Adaptation to cultural difference occurs when people build on their Acceptance of cultural difference by temporarily trying to organize the world in different ways. Using a process of cognitive frame-shifting, people can create a “facsimile worldview” that organizes their perception of events in a way corresponding more closely to that of the other culture. The alternative worldview generates an alternative experience—one that is more appropriate to the other culture. By basing behavior on the alternative “feeling of appropriateness,” people at this position can intentionally modify their behavior to communicate both authentically and effectively in another culture. When both parties to a communication attempt to adapt their behavior in this way, it generates virtual third cultures—new contexts that emerge intentionally from particular cross-cultural interactions.

Integration: Integration of cultural difference is the experience of self that includes movement in and out of different cultural worldviews. People at

this position maintain complex multicultural identities and exist in a kind of liminal state in which they are constantly in the process of becoming something different. This makes them outsiders to most groups and generates ethical ambiguity, but it also pushes them toward cultural bridge-building and sophisticated ethical commitments. Integration is more likely to occur among non-dominant minority groups, long-term expatriates, “global nomad kids,” and others with primary or acquired multiculturality.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Constructivism, Intercultural; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Culture; Culture Shock; Desegregation/Integration; Diversity and Inclusion; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Identity Development; Intercultural Competence; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Tolerance.

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Intercultural Communication Institute

The Intercultural Communication Institute (ICI) is a nonprofit organization based in Portland, Oregon, founded on the idea that everyone shares a

moral and ethical imperative to bridge intercultural gaps. The ICI was founded by Milton and Janet Bennett in honor of Milton's father, Stanton D. Bennett. Stanton Bennett was an international businessman who devoted his life to the pursuit of world peace and international friendship. Bennett's ethical pursuits and his dedication to education are reflected in his endowment, which now supports the Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication (SIIC).

Goals and Aims

The goal of the ICI is to nurture and promote understanding of and appreciation for international, domestic, and local cultural differences. The ultimate aims of this intercultural work are to reduce conflict between people of different cultures; inspire informed, culturally sensitive leadership; and foster understanding across the board.

The ICI offers two main courses of study: the Master of Arts in Intercultural Relations (MAIR), and the Intercultural Certificate Program through the Summer Institute. The MAIR is offered by the ICI as a more traditional graduate program with some residency requirements. The program was designed to give a specialized, intensive education in intercultural studies for people across a variety of professional disciplines.

The annual Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication (SIIC), designed to provide diversity-based professional development opportunities, is the shorter, more practical course of study offered by the ICI. The SIIC course of study is designed for teachers and other educational professionals, trainers, businesspeople, staff groups from businesses, and consultants, and is considered one of the best sources of education on intercultural communication.

The ICI bases its SIIC Summer Institute and MAIR coursework on the understanding that all professionals have an inherent moral duty to promote understanding and reduce conflict between people of different cultures by engaging in intercultural work. Therefore, the ICI sponsors the Summer Institute and master's program as part of its larger intercultural mission. It also offers the largest intercultural research library in the world, which boasts more than 30,000 volumes. Although the Summer Institute happens annually in July, these other programs are available

throughout the year. The ICI also promotes a variety of professional growth activities, provides information, and refers interested parties to professionals who can assist them with their goals.

Students of the SIIC and MAIR choose from more than 40 focused workshops and seminars on a wide range of intercultural topics that also have broader corporate applications. The ICI spotlights diversity issues in each course, including conflict management, global leadership, training techniques, and corporate management. The summer program also features social activities daily and encourages honest, open interaction between participants.

Each cohort of SIIC fellows and MAIR students is made up of professionals from many different countries and from different areas within the United States. Workshops are tailored for intercultural trainers, human resource professionals, diversity trainers, and education professionals.

As technology allows increasing international cooperation in the workplace and migration patterns ensure that diverse groups continue to share workplaces, the mission of the ICI becomes even more relevant.

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See Also: Constructivism, Intercultural; Diversity and Inclusion; Diversity Training; Intercultural Communication; Interculturalism.

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Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence is a set of cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts. What this means is that people will interact more meaningfully with those from other cultures if they cultivate certain abilities. Many researchers have suggested lists of attitudes and capabilities that foster such competence. However, it is important to remember that those capabilities must be integrated and tailored to adapt to different cultures and different contexts, and with different goals. Intercultural competence is a complex undertaking.

Rationale for Developing Intercultural Competence in Multicultural America

For many people in multicultural America, the significance of intercultural competence is not always self-evident. Individuals will sometimes suggest that because various ethnic groups are living inside the geopolitical boundaries of the United States, they belong to a single culture, the American culture. However, there is an extensive list of cultural groups in America that share a national identity that provides unity and differing ethnic backgrounds that provide diversity. Americans are both unified and diversified, a core source of the idea of a multicultural America.

Therefore, intercultural competence is not simply a skill to be used only when traveling or receiving global visitors but a daily requirement in the United States. The social context of Americans provides constant opportunities for interaction across cultures, where a person may negotiate, collaborate, resolve conflicts, and form significant relationships with those from other cultures, whether in business, government, the military, religious organizations, health care, education, or other arenas. That is the gift of living in a multicultural society. The concomitant responsibility is to learn to interact well.

Development of the Concept of Intercultural Competence

Historically, professionals rarely suggested that intercultural competence was a basis for

successful human interaction. As global mobility was building in the 1950s and civil rights thrust cultures together, few considered culture competence intrinsic to the social transformation.

When the field of intercultural communication gained influence in the 1970s, it offered a new way to think about human discourse. Intercultural communication is the interactive process of creating shared meanings between people from different cultures. This communication inevitably takes place in a cultural context, with significant psychological, relational, and physical influences. Culture is learned through communication and, in turn, reveals the individual's cultural identity to others. Humans both create and express culture by communicating.

Whereas other models of communication build on the basis of similar values and beliefs, intercultural communication more often relies on the exploration of differences, a perspective particularly useful for building intercultural competence. For instance, in many places in the United States, people succeed in job interviews because they can clearly explain their accomplishments and enumerate their valuable skills. But there are many group-oriented cultures in the United States that consider forthrightness about one's own talents to be unseemly, and such articulate, self-promoting job seekers may not be hired. Interculturally competent applicants would endeavor to know the difference and adapt appropriately. Interculturally competent interviewers would understand that they should not expect stylistic conformity.

During the 1970s and 1980s, scholars and practitioners in management, psychology, linguistics, education, and communication began developing models of intercultural competence and creating lists of necessary components of a culturally competent mind-set and skill set. Brian Spitzberg and Gabrielle Changnon have enumerated approximately 300 such components. Although no one suggests that all such attributes and skills are essential to achieve competence, there is recognition that certain components are fundamental to becoming effective across cultures. However, the breadth of this listing supports the notion that intercultural competence varies by context; not every competence is essential in every situation.

By the 1990s, professionals were designing assessment strategies, both quantitative and

qualitative, to measure intercultural competence for purposes of selection, performance improvement, coaching, and personal development. In addition, assessment instruments are now being used in research to measure the effectiveness of programming designed to improve intercultural competence. Accreditation agencies for health care, education, and social services have widely adopted measurement of cultural competence as a part of the accreditation process, and many organizations have incorporated it into their mission statements.

Over the last four decades, a variety of terms have been used to refer to various approaches to intercultural competence, including the terms *multicultural sensitivity*, *culture learning*, *cross-cultural competence*, *intercultural effectiveness*, *cultural intelligence*, and *global leadership competence*. Although there are no doubt many other such terms, what they generally rely on—at least in part—is intercultural communication, the interactive process used by individuals and groups to create shared meanings across cultures, whether globally or domestically. The ability to communicate across cultures requires one to temporarily suspend judgment, demonstrate cultural humility, and mutually adapt. The process of effective intercultural communication is intrinsic to the demonstration of intercultural competence. For instance, the teacher who misunderstands nonverbal communication and interprets a student’s lack of eye contact as disrespectful, or silence in class as disengagement, is most likely not educating in a culturally responsive way.

Further, the distinction between what is cultural and what is intercultural is essential. Culture refers to the learned and shared values, beliefs, and behaviors of a community of interacting people. Culture can therefore refer to a community of Native Americans, a group of Somali refugees, a small town of Greek immigrants, a neighborhood of African American families and, of course, a group of European Americans, sometimes referred to as Anglos. Further, the term is commonly applied to nations, ethnic groups, gender groups, age groups, class and education levels, sexual identities and orientations, physical abilities, occupations, and a variety of other groups and their shared values, beliefs, and behaviors.

Research can tentatively describe cultural patterns, knowing that people in any given culture group differ widely in adherence to any given pattern. These descriptions are loosely held generalizations and can support understanding of a culture experienced for the first time. Most often, a majority of members of any culture group will agree with an appropriate, research-based generalization. For instance, it is a generalization that some Native American cultures are more likely to use a softer tone in conversation. Generalizations contrast with stereotypes, which is a “hardening of the categories” that rigidly applies generalizations to every person from that culture group. Using this information as a stereotype, a person would then insist that all Native Americans use a soft tone, an observation that is certainly unlikely.

But knowledge of such cultural patterns does not constitute competence. Competence is achieved through the analysis and understanding of the interaction between a person with one cultural frame of reference and a person with a different worldview, with an application of appropriate skills. What happens when the person raising his voice interacts with the person who whispers? Feeling unheard, does he raise his voice more, intensifying the confrontation? Does she retreat? Does he realize he may be damaging the relationship in unrecoverable ways? It is this analytical perspective that builds competence, in association with the skills and characteristics discussed below.

Components of Intercultural Competence: Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills

Although most individuals will not likely master 300 competencies, it is important to focus on a few core attitudes, knowledge areas, and skills that are frequently recognized as central to becoming more capable across cultures.

Attitude refers to the positive disposition to learn more about other cultures. The most important attitude is curiosity, the capacity to reach the limits of understanding and take advantage of the ambiguity as a teachable moment. Instead of ignoring differences, eradicating differences, or fleeing differences, the interculturally competent person attempts to generate multiple perspectives to achieve a more complete understanding. When



Sandia National Laboratories researcher Elaine Raybourn explores and develops new communication methods using collaborative virtual environments via the Internet. Her unique focus is to create environments that support intercultural communication competence because, as she notes, "differing cultures make for complex and largely misunderstood social interactions."

presented with an unknown cultural situation, the flexible individual can imagine many possible explanations. In addition to curiosity, tolerance of ambiguity, and cognitive flexibility, the affective dimension of intercultural competence also includes such core competencies as suspension of judgment, respectfulness, forgiveness, openness, and cultural humility.

Although knowledge of other cultures is certainly helpful, knowledge of one's own cultural worldview is primary. Therefore, knowledge of others is necessary but not sufficient for developing intercultural competence. People must first have cultural self-awareness, recognizing that their own patterns are not universal but rather only one possible way to do things. Without knowledge of their own cultural patterns, they will be more inclined to view others as inferior versions of themselves, as people who have not yet mastered the "right" way to handle interactions.

Knowledge of cultural patterns allows individuals to adapt behaviorally to nonverbal cues; interaction rituals; communication, thinking, and conflict styles; and value differences. For instance, those who use a narrative, circular

communication style may be perceived as uneducated by those from more linear cultures. Those with circular styles may perceive the more linear cultures to be rude and superficial. Through cultural self-awareness and the use of intercultural skills, mutual adaptation may replace negative evaluation.

Intercultural competence requires more than knowledge, a positive attitude, and being in the vicinity of another culture group. It requires engagement with difference, using a variety of skills that make that engagement effective and appropriate.

The core intercultural skill is empathy, the capacity to understand others by imagining their worldview. According to Tom Pettigrew and Linda Tropp, it is essential for reducing prejudice, counteracting stereotypes, and developing cognitive flexibility, an ongoing need in multicultural America. Empathy is not simply "walking a mile in the other person's shoes" or shifting one's position, but rather shifting one's frame of reference into the other person's perspective. Anyone who has ever experienced the loss of a loved one can readily recall comments from others that were not empathic and did not resonate. Often, such comments are based on an assumption of similarity—how that individual would feel experiencing your loss. Trying to be responsive and supportive, the unempathetic person may say the very thing the recipient least wants to hear. Because intercultural interactions are often grounded in differences, empathy becomes even more challenging across cultures, and yet it is one of the most frequently cited requisite competencies.

The second core skill is anxiety reduction, which mediates reduction of prejudice and fosters a climate of curiosity and inquiry, where forgiveness, not perfection, is the hallmark of a competent interculturalist.

In addition to empathy and anxiety management, the necessary behavioral competencies include the abilities to gather cultural information, build trust, listen, adapt, resolve conflict, and manage social interactions.

The Consequences for Multicultural America

For groups who share cultural patterns that contrast with those of people in power, the result of

intercultural incompetence might very well be what George Renwick termed *depotentialization*, which refers to the opposite of development. In each context, they may be taught to assimilate to the culture in power, which eventually results in a sense of alienation and internalized oppression. Whether in organizations or in classrooms, there is a loss of a resource when this assimilation takes place, with lost opportunities and talent.

In contrast, the interculturally competent organization attracts talent, leverages diversity as a resource, promotes inclusion at all levels, and becomes a more productive and effective component of multicultural America.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Cultural Competence; Culture Shock; Diversity and Inclusion; Diversity Training; High/Low Context Cultures; Intercultural Communication; Intercultural Communication Institute; Intergroup Contact Theory; Perspectivism; Speech Codes.

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multicultural education have retained some of the core principles of intercultural education.

History

The intercultural education movement emerged in the aftermath of World War I as a response to the ethnocentrism that had resulted in the conflict. In the context of the United States, the movement was also informed by a range of internal political, economic, and social tensions. Migration of African Americans from southern to northern American cities, along with increasing numbers of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, was rapidly changing the face of the American public sphere. Fears about whether the new immigrants would be able to integrate into the social, cultural, and political fabric of America were commonplace. These fears were especially pronounced with reference to the assimilation of children—the “second generation problem.” During the 1920s, heightened fear of immigrants led to the enactment of the National Origins Quota Act, which imposed restrictions on the number of immigrants from southern European countries.

During the Great Depression and World War II, conflicts based on ethnicity, religion, and race intensified in the United States. For instance, discrimination against particular ethnic groups such as Japanese and Italians, religious groups such as Jews and Catholics, and racial minorities such as African Americans was institutionalized through segregated schools and housing, anti-Semitism, and biased curricula. It is in this context that the intercultural education movement emerged to address the prevailing prejudices and anxieties in society, and schools were determined to be the ideal places to prepare future generations for peaceful relations.

Philosophy and Intellectual Contributions

Scholars have placed the origins of the intercultural education movement anywhere between 1924 and 1930 and believe that it retained its influence through the 1950s. At its core, the movement sought to promote understanding of, and respect for, difference. It aimed to improve relations among peoples from different ethnic, religious, and racial backgrounds. Intercultural education scholars incorporated findings and

Intercultural Education

Intercultural education refers to an educational movement and ideology that sought to promote mutual understanding and respect among people of different races, ethnicities, cultures, and nationalities. As a movement, it emerged during the interwar period and remained influential through the 1940s and 1950s. During the latter decades, however, it was predominantly known as intergroup education. Contemporary ideologies of

theories from other social science disciplines into education and identified critical sites and issues for further research.

One of the significant contributions of the movement was a critical engagement with, and critique of, the then prevalent models of intergroup relations. Models such as assimilation, amalgamation, and melting pot were discussed and, to some extent, discredited by intercultural education scholars; they pushed for a redefinition of citizenship, such that it incorporated a possibility for people to maintain loyalty to particular subgroups even as they remained committed to the nation-state. This model, also called cultural pluralism (and later, cultural democracy), argued for the creation of a community around a core set of principles but allowed groups to maintain their heritage, languages, and cultures. Intercultural education scholars proposed new theorizations of democracy and viewed the purpose of education as promoting democratic living in society. Democratic ideals, it was believed, would become a set of common principles that different groups could adhere to while maintaining their distinct cultural affiliations. These principles, thus, were to provide a platform around which different groups could unite.

In practice, the philosophy and mission of intercultural education took various forms and appeared from different intellectual locations. Therefore, to locate a single unifying form of intercultural education beyond the general principles would be simplistic. Intercultural education scholars, for instance, held different views about the types of social issues that educational programs must focus on, as well as the location of such programs. Although some believed that adult education sponsored by churches, labor groups, and businesses was best placed to undertake intercultural work, others emphasized that such work should be spearheaded by schools, with youth being the target audience.

In terms of social issues, some scholars saw religious differences as the major cause of conflict and prioritized the creation of a just environment for religious groups to practice their faith. They called for religion to be taught in public schools, not from a devotional and confessional perspective, but from a historical and contextual perspective that saw religion as a system of ideologies

that influenced people. Others focused on issues of racial equality, particularly during the 1960s in light of the continued marginalization of African Americans in the United States. Thus, the core principles of the movement informed a range of different intellectual efforts. It was precisely this diversity that gave the movement its potency.

The movement influenced educational practice in public schools in a variety of ways. Intercultural education scholars pushed educators to engage with issues of racial, religious, and ethnic differences in classrooms. One of the earliest projects was the introduction of ethnic studies curricula in schools. It was envisioned that a study of the history and cultural contributions of the various ethnic groups would help raise the self-esteem of immigrant and minority students, as well as increase awareness about their cultures among other students. Intercultural education scholars undertook wide-ranging curriculum reform efforts and spearheaded the rewriting of textbooks to include a study of international political, economic, and social problems. Organizations provided scholarships to students and teachers so they could travel and study outside the United States. Through these efforts, the movement hoped to increase cultural literacy, engender discussions about contemporary and historical difficulties associated with the integration of minorities in the United States, and promote democratic and participatory styles of learning.

The intercultural education movement, however, has been criticized for promoting diversity only insofar as it concerned the promotion of the cultures and languages of white, European immigrants. Analysis of race in education, especially with reference to the education of African Americans, was lacking until after the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision, which declared the separate but equal education system unconstitutional. In addition, the movement has been criticized for promoting cultural relativism. It is contended that it sought to minimize differences among racial, ethnic, and religious groups by highlighting commonalities. In doing so, it argued for acceptance of cultural minorities in spite of their differences rather than engaging in productive and deep dialogues about differences. In order to reduce tensions and harmonize social relations among different groups,

the movement focused on the creation of a shared mainstream with limited emphasis on how these differences enriched the particular groups or what they meant for those who embodied them.

Leading Organizations

Although a range of different individuals and organizations can be considered pioneers of the intercultural education movement, one educator stands out—Rachel Davis DuBois. In 1934, DuBois, who was then at Teachers College, Columbia University, founded the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations, which is seen as one of the founding organizations of the intercultural education movement. The organization aimed to provide curricular resources to teachers and administrators in New York City, held workshops and trainings for educators across the eastern and midwestern United States, and conducted research on emerging issues related to intercultural education. Renowned progressive education leaders such as Harry Giles and William Kilpatrick, social scientists such as Franz Boas and Margaret Mead, and education specialists such as Stewart Cole, among others, were affiliated with the bureau.

The organization was also briefly connected with the Progressive Education Association but ended the arrangement in 1938 to revive its original mission and was thereafter called the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education. DuBois directed the organization through 1940, after which Dr. Stewart Cole, a professor of religious education at Crozier Theological Seminary, took over its leadership. In 1943, the organization was renamed the Bureau for Intercultural Education, and it remained active through 1954. Other programs and organizations that promoted intercultural education included the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools and the College Study in Intergroup Relations.

These organizations highlighted the contributions of the various racial and ethnic groups to American society. They conducted research to establish a philosophy of democratic living, provided curriculum and teacher training, and drew attention to problems faced by minority groups. The broad scope of the movement, however, is sometimes viewed as its failure by some scholars because it prevented the movement from becoming institutionalized. However, the movement's

core principles remain relevant, and it is viewed as a precursor to the multicultural education movement that succeeded it in the 1960s.

Intercultural Education Today

Although the term *intercultural education* is out of popular use in the United States, it has retained some currency in Europe, where it is primarily used to denote the broader ideas of promotion of respect, cooperation, and understanding through education. It is also sometimes used as an umbrella concept for synthesizing the major concepts within multicultural, human rights, and antiracist education movements, as well as to draw attention to a variety of social justice issues related to race, language, class, ethnicity, and gender.

Several universities and nonprofit organizations continue to take up intercultural education but situate it in the context of promotion of cooperation and understanding among nation-states. The Center for Intercultural Education and Development at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., for instance, provides educational and technical support to individuals and organizations internationally to strengthen democratic values and support sustainable development (cied.georgetown.edu). Other examples include international networks, such as the Society for Intercultural Education Training and Research (www.sietareu.org) and the International Association for Intercultural Education, that bring together scholars, professionals, and activists interested in issues of social justice. These organizations provide curricular resources, host annual international conferences, and publish academic journals, such as *Intercultural Education* (formerly known as the *European Journal of Intercultural Studies*).

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See Also: Anti-Semitism; Ethnic Studies; Great Depression; Interculturalism; Intergroup Education; Multicultural Education; Racism; Segregation; World War I; World War II.

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Interculturalism

Interculturalism is an ideological model for or approach to the political or social management of ethnic and cultural diversity. It is essentially an integrationist vision, based broadly on concepts of cross-cultural dialogue, consensus, and cultural commonality, and can be distinguished in this sense from multiculturalism, a policy that has been criticized for its tendency to result in social fragmentation in the form of separate ethnic ghettos, as well as for encouraging an attitude of relativism that weakens the traditional institutions of a society. Interculturalism is perhaps best known in Canada, especially in Quebec, and in Europe, where it is increasingly seen as an alternative to the perceived shortcomings of multiculturalist policies.

Interculturalism is said by its proponents to embody an essentially pragmatic stance, in that it avoids what is seen as the extreme relativism of the multiculturalist model and the naïve and illiberal universalism of assimilationist ideology. In common with many other political philosophies, interculturalism stresses as a foundational tenet that the cohesive identity of a nation or society requires more than such factors as territory, a unified legal code, or an official language. Myths and symbols are also of paramount importance in creating a sense of national identity, and these are historical concepts, normally transmitted across generations of the majority group by institutions such as education, religion, and the family. At the same time, most Western-style democracies subscribe to a pluralist view with regard to their diverse populations, consciously

opposed to any discrimination based on cultural difference.

The potential ensuing tension between the historical idea of the nation and the different values orientations embodied by minority groups or immigrants therefore requires a political response, the form of which depends to a large extent on a kind of national self-conception, or what Gérard Bouchard, a leading scholar and advocate of interculturalism, has called paradigms, for him the first level of analysis for ethnocultural diversity. Before going on to discuss the special characteristics of interculturalism, therefore, a review of Bouchard's paradigms is necessary in order to define the conceptual environment for any approach to the management of cultural plurality.

Bouchard's Paradigms

Bouchard's first paradigm is diversity, an orientation with an emphasis on individual freedom of expression exemplified by the United Kingdom, the United States, Anglo Canada (excluding Quebec), Australia, and India. Under this conception, the nation is a collection of theoretically equal individuals and ethnocultural groups under one law with no statutory recognition of majority and minority cultures. The diversity paradigm is thus the most likely to be associated with strictly egalitarian multiculturalist policies. In contrast to this situation is the paradigm of homogeneity, in which there is an insistence on a degree of ethnocultural similarity, at least in public life. Bouchard's examples of this mind-set include France, Japan, and Russia. The third paradigm is multipolarity, in which two or more ethnocultural groups are recognized as constituting the nation, as in Malaysia, Belgium, or Switzerland.

Bouchard's fourth paradigm, duality, stands for a conception of diversity as a somewhat unequal relationship between minority or immigrant cultures and a recognized majority culture that he calls foundational, referring to its long-term effect on the structure and outlook of the present society. National identity is therefore strongly influenced by this foundational majority, through its transmission of tradition and the collective memory by means of its institutions. The overwhelming majority of Western nations in the early 21st century, including the United States as well as Quebec, claims Bouchard, is either currently

operating under this dualist paradigm or may be moving toward it. Although this conception of a nation can potentially lead to a divisive, “us versus them” mind-set, Bouchard argues that it is the social divisions that shape the paradigm, rather than the other way around, and that rather than challenging the paradigm itself, a more productive approach would be to tackle the factors that contribute to the existence and perpetuation of the divide. With its emphasis on dialogue and consensus, as well as its acknowledgment of a majority or foundational culture, the interculturalist approach is, Bouchard maintains, the best suited to this task.

Bouchard’s fifth and final paradigm is that of *mixité*, the transculturalist idea that, through miscegenation and other intercultural relationships, the ethnocultural diversity of the nation will over time diminish to the point where a new cultural entity will emerge independent of its constituent elements. Bouchard sees this paradigm as operating primarily in Latin America, especially in Brazil and Mexico.

The paradigms identified by Bouchard need not themselves hold significant long-term cultural importance, but are collective or political decisions that can be changed according to circumstances and evolving attitudes. Between 1960 and 1970, Australia and Canada moved from homogeneity paradigms that produced such initiatives as the White Australia policy to diversity, while Quebec changed from a French-Canadian homogeneity perspective to duality. The debate over the perceived failure of multiculturalist ideologies in western Europe in the second decade of the 21st century has seen both Germany and the United Kingdom moving from espoused diversity paradigms to duality, a shift that may facilitate the introduction of interculturalist policies in those countries.

It is also worth emphasizing that the association of a country with one paradigm can be misleading. In the United States, the diversity paradigm may be officially endorsed, and multicultural attitudes may be widespread, yet the duality paradigm, in the form of the idea of a “mainstream” culture in contradistinction to nonintegrating minorities, is also clearly in operation, as is a homogeneity paradigm expressed in radical assimilationist attitudes.

Integration Within a Common Public Culture

As mentioned above, the first defining characteristic of the interculturalist approach to diversity is its acknowledgment of and concern with the fears and anxieties of the majority and the perception that its culture is being threatened or diluted by immigration. The tensions thus occasioned between the continuity of the foundational culture and the diversity introduced by immigration need to be conciliated by mutual adjustments reached through dialogue based on a focus on similarities and shared concerns rather than on cultural differences. The context for this emphasis on interaction and negotiation, however, is a respect for the traditions of the foundational culture as embodied in legal and traditional institutions, the goal being to integrate all citizens within a common public culture. Interculturalism thus requires that all citizens take responsibility for helping achieve this state of mutual accommodation, with the courts standing only as a last recourse to protect minorities from arbitrary majority discrimination. In this sense, the interculturalist perspective strongly encourages the integration of diverse traditions and cultures, differentiating it from the assimilationist mindset, while simultaneously avoiding the fragmentation or separation that has been said to result from failed multiculturalist policies.

The idea of the courts as a final resort is in keeping with the interculturalist ideal of ad hoc arrangements, in which accommodations between foundational and minority cultures are essentially context-driven, with the involved groups eschewing universalist approaches in favor of temporary solutions reached through flexibility and mutual agreement but guided by precedence and the traditions of the foundational culture. In this way, although respect is accorded to minority traditions and every effort is made to incorporate them into a diverse polity, such traditions will necessarily give way if they conflict with the most important values of the foundational society, such as gender equality in most developed nations, separation of church and state in secular countries like France and the United States, social equality in Scandinavian countries, and the like. Above all, interculturalism seeks to avoid the polarization of, on one hand, rigid adherence to majority tradition, and on the other hand, narrow commitment to minority rights.

A vital element of the interculturalist vision is the notion of a common culture, a dynamic sense of social or national identity that is based on, yet distinct from, original cultural identities. It is inevitable that, over time, minority and majority cultures will change each other to greater or lesser degrees and, given its demographic and institutional advantages, the majority culture will exert the greater influence in this respect. A willingness to evolve, to incorporate new cultural features, is therefore particularly incumbent on members of the majority if the society at large is to avoid either absorbing its minorities into a de facto assimilationist state, or excluding those minorities in disenfranchised and resentful ghettos. The vision of a fully integrated common culture can be realized only through mutually respectful dialogue between parties equally committed to the interculturalist ideal and prepared to adapt and reciprocate in pursuit of that goal.

Critics of interculturalism most frequently make the charge that the dialogue it encourages too often remains at a superficial level, appropriate for solving immediate problems but unable to tackle structural problems of institutional discrimination, poverty, and power inequality. Dominant groups may even conceal an assimilationist goal behind an apparent interculturalist façade, permitting discussion and minor adaptation only to the extent that the continuance of the foundational cultural tradition is not threatened. For this reason, therefore, governments and local authorities, as representatives of the majority culture, need to create spaces and opportunities for interaction that can lead to real changes in attitude, behavior, and policy.

For Bhikhu Parekh, an important advocate of interculturalism (which he calls “interactive multiculturalism”), immigrants and minorities need, as a basic condition of citizenship, to respect the



Tribal members of the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe take part in a ceremony with members of the U.S. Forest Service at the Chippewa National Forest in Cass Lake, Minnesota. Approximately 90 percent of the Leech Lake Indian Reservation lies within the Chippewa National Forest boundary, and the two governments have made significant improvements in their relationships. This cooperation is an example of interculturalism, which requires an openness to the culture of another person or group.

values and traditions of the dominant culture, while at the same time reserving the right to challenge and debate those they find unfair or uncongenial. The dominant culture, for its part, needs to accept that its own culture is both dynamic and internally diverse, and engage in open critical discussion of those elements that may be taken for granted. As an essential precondition to the achievement of a common civic culture, all the members of a society must recognize the value of diversity and the value of interacting with and learning from all their fellow citizens, of whatever ethnic background.

Amartya Sen, another eloquent proselytizer of interculturalist ideas, is particularly critical of the miniaturizing effect of classifying people by means of ethnic or national terms, and also of the dangers of what he calls singular affiliation to a particular identity. Although he accepts the importance of group identification and grants that people should be free to choose if and how they should be labeled, Sen argues that the external attempt to categorize individuals within a limited set of ethnic, religious, racial, or national terms is both absurdly limiting and dangerously divisive, effectively removing the possibility of open dialogue without preconceptions. He is roundly scornful of the “clash of civilizations” views of writers such as Samuel Huntington but is equally concerned that people realize that they have the freedom to choose the extent to which they want to commit themselves to one particular identity among the multiple identities they may simultaneously have. For Sen, an individual member of a pluralist society may be a devout Muslim, a loving father, a passionate football supporter, a volunteer social worker, and a committed local politician, and will prioritize one or more of these identities according to circumstance while still remaining loyal throughout to the ideal of a common civic culture.

Management of Cultural Diversity

In a sense, the interculturalist project has a long historical pedigree in the management of cultural diversity. The multiethnic territory of Mauryan India, under Emperor Ashoka in the 3rd century B.C.E., exhibited many features of an interculturalist polity, as did Islamic Spain in the 10th century C.E. In both of these examples, an integrationist society functioned relatively smoothly

while avoiding the extremes of cultural relativism and values universalism.

Contemporary states may be even more diverse and face greater challenges, but the dialogue-centered focus of interculturalism may represent the best approach to resolving these difficulties. There is a somewhat idealistic component to interculturalism in that its basic requirement is sufficient goodwill and openness on the part of all parties, along with a willingness to interact and engage with those perceived as different, attitudes that may not be shared by all members of a society. Nevertheless, responsible governments and cultural institutions can do much to promote a shared commitment to the interculturalist vision of a pluralist, egalitarian society with the greatest possible amount of individual freedom and justice commensurate with a mutually agreed civic cultural code that pays due respect to the traditions of the foundational culture as well as protecting the basic rights of minorities.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Americanization; Culture; Culture Shock; Desegregation/Integration; Identity Development; Melting Pot; Minority Group/Majority; Multiculturalism; Oppositional Culture.

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Intergroup Contact Theory

Understanding intergroup communication is most pertinent in a multicultural society like the United States. Regular contact among group members can promote understanding and reduces group stereotyping. However, not all contacts increase quality. To promote high-quality intergroup relationships, Gordon W. Allport postulated four conditions that must be present. Contact theorists predict that if intergroup communication is conducted appropriately, prejudice and negative attitudes will decrease. Although the theory has received wide empirical support and debate, much work has been done to extend Allport's work. Contemporary theorists generally agree that intergroup contacts may be mediated or moderated by a more complex process. Thus, there is a need to understand various contextual factors at play.

Intergroup Contact

The United States is a multicultural society characterized by one of the most diverse ethnic and cultural populations around the globe. As the dynamic shifts in the American population following the liberalization of the immigration law in 1965 continue to unfold and enrich America's cultural diversity, understanding intergroup contacts in a cross-cultural context is a research subject of urgency. Although it is imperative for all ethnic groups to live harmoniously in support of unity in the midst of this demographic change, the strategy to preserve high-quality intergroup relationships has always been the focus of a heated debate.

The intergroup contact theory developed by Allport can be used to comprehend the complex contact process that involves members of various groups. Widely used to explain relationship dynamics, the theory is formulated based on the premise that communication through contact is bound to increase understanding. To increase quality of contact, Allport posited four requirements that must be present among the groups. First, both parties must enter the relationship with equal status. Second, both parties must have a mutual goal and work toward the attainment of this common goal. Third, both parties must have the opportunity to become acquainted and

get to know each other at a deeper level, perhaps through the engagement or accomplishment of a similar task. Finally, both parties must share and support similar social norms and customs that govern group behaviors and settings.

Although most of the research on intergroup contact theory originated from World War II, the theory has been expanded and tested pervasively on different ethnic, religious, gender, and age groups. It has also been extended to include different types of contacts such as indirect intergroup contact, imagined contact, and extended contact. However, the theory has also received wide empirical debate since its formulation. Some theorists asserted that intergroup contacts are much more complex than what Allport originally proposed. Some questioned the rigorosity of the research set up to test the theory. But most contact theorists today generally agree that intergroup contact is a multidimensional process that is guided by an array of various elements. In addition to the conditions spelled out by Allport, contemporary contact theorists suggest that the contact process is mediated and moderated by various mechanisms such as group functional relations, behaviors, affect, knowledge, and social representations of the groups. Through this process, group members generalize their perceptions and attitudes toward the group members and the group as a whole.

Although there are varied ways to understand the interactive flow, group members, through contact, may attempt to restructure their group boundaries in order to accommodate the group's goals and needs. It is essential to consider various contextual factors at play that may interfere with the effectiveness of the contact, as a lack of understanding among group members can breed group conflicts. Likewise, conflicts often occur when group members overgeneralize about the out-group members. This generalization is often done without the most accurate and complete information about the opposite party.

In line with this explanation, contact theorists postulated that the outcome of contact is best if the interaction is genuine or if group members see themselves as an integral part of the same team rather than a separate entity. That is, they become interdependent on one another. Hence, a group relationship is most successful in a cooperative

type of relationship rather than one characterized by competition. Similarly, if members constantly have pleasant contact and positive affective reactions toward the other parties, their perception about the group member can generate a better impression that can be extended to the group as a whole.

Multicultural Society

In a cross-cultural nation such as the United States, group members are often characterized by different racial memberships, values, customs, attitudes, and languages. Understanding intergroup contact by assessing multiple cultural factors can offer the advantage of reducing group conflicts and facilitate appreciation of various ethnic groups. Stereotyping and overgeneralization caused by ineffective interaction can prevent group members from fully understanding the other ethnic groups and may result in favoring one and disliking the other group. Social policy planners' and practitioners' attempts to understand social norms and culture at play are imperative so various ethnic groups can be taught to be more inclusive when interacting with one another. Intergroup contact theory can serve as a guideline to understand this complex interactive process.

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See Also: Class and Ethnic Diversity; Critical Race Theory; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Ethnicity; Implicit Association Test; Intercultural Competence; Interculturalism; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Tolerance.

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Intergroup Education

Intergroup education was a program devised during the 1930s to attempt to foster understanding between different groups, especially Christians and Jews. Housed at the University of Chicago, a group of curriculum experts and researchers worked to develop materials to be used by teachers and schools interested in intergroup education. Over more than three decades, intergroup education examined a variety of issues that would later be of similar interest to other progressive educators, including those involved in antiracist education, bilingual education, critical race theory, and multicultural education. During the period it was in use in the schools, intergroup education helped many teachers and students explore issues of equity and equality.

Background

During the Great Depression, competition for jobs, food, and other necessities of life caused stress in the lives of most Americans and negative interactions between members of different groups. Of particular concern were reports of increased racism and anti-Semitism, which were perceived as threats to national unity. In 1934, in an effort to combat these threats, the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ) and the American Council on Education (ACE) entered into a collaboration that sought to reduce prejudice and conflict through education. This collaboration, formally known as the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools Project, worked to create curriculum and provide professional development and training to teachers and administrators interested in the project's goals.

In 1944, Hilda Taba became involved with intergroup education when she was asked to lead a summer workshop at Harvard University. The workshop led to the publication of *Democratic Human Relations*, which was published as a yearbook by the National Council for Social Studies. Born in Estonia in 1902, Taba immigrated to the United States, where she earned a master of arts degree from Bryn Mawr College and a Ph.D. from Teachers College at Columbia University, where she was a student of John Dewey. After receiving her doctorate in 1932, Taba worked as curriculum director of the Dalton School in New York City,

where she met Ralph Tyler, who was in charge of the Eight-Year Study, a major evaluation of how students from progressive secondary schools fared when they transitioned to college work. Taba joined Tyler in this work, moving to the Ohio State University to become part of the Eight-Year Study team. In 1938, Taba followed Tyler to the University of Chicago, where she became director of the Curriculum Laboratory. Taba was appointed in 1945 as director of the Center for Intergroup Education, which was also located at the University of Chicago. Taba served in this role until 1951 and made major contributions to intergroup education's development of curriculum as well as evaluation of its effectiveness. As Taba was a leading proponent of progressive educational thought, her influence on the project was immense.

Implementation and Effectiveness

As the Intergroup Education Center's director, Taba supervised a staff of eight curriculum specialists. Under her direction, they worked directly with the teachers and administrators at 72 schools located in 18 states. Taba was known for her interactive and progressive curriculum, and this was reflected in the intergroup education work. The curriculum devised by the intergroup education specialists featured a variety of progressive instructional strategies, such as conflict resolution, literature circles, and role playing. In keeping with the project's original goal of reducing prejudice and conflict, the intergroup education curriculum addressed a variety of topical issues, including community relations, economic instability, housing patterns, and issues of newcomers. Because much of the conflict and prejudice emanated from patterns of immigration, the intergroup education advocates worked to address these issues and to help students and their families feel a part of the school community, regardless of their place of birth. The intergroup education classrooms featured teachers who acted as mediators who assisted children in learning to think, unlike traditional classrooms where the instructors lectured almost exclusively.

Taba also used her extensive background in evaluation to determine the effectiveness of the intergroup education project. Rather than using traditional models of evaluation, which relied mostly upon student performance on standardized tests, Taba initiated a variety of new approaches that

would better measure children's social responsibility and cooperative behavior. To that end, Taba utilized a series of progressive evaluation tools that were barely known at the time, including anecdotal records, book reviews, field logs, group activities, informal conversations, interviews, and reading logs. In so doing, Taba examined the social phenomena that shaped attitudes and problems in students' lives. In this way, Taba gained information regarding outlooks and perspectives regarding class, ethnicity, and race that would have been all but impossible using traditional methods. These evaluations showed the intergroup education curriculum was effective, although unable to cure all the social ills that existed in the communities in which the schools were located.

Legacy

Although Taba left the Intergroup Education Center in 1951 to take a position at San Francisco State University, the influence of the curriculum she helped develop continues to the present day. Progressive ideas used in the intergroup education curriculum, such as infusing projects with students' heritage and culture and seeking to incorporate students' preexisting knowledge into their work, have remained touchstones of later attempts to craft multicultural curricula. The continued emphasis on interhuman relations and citizenship represented curricular goals very different from those traditionally sought. The idea of a transformative curriculum that involves the families of students being served and members of the neighboring community was revolutionary for the time and reflected the influence of Dewey.

The intergroup education project was not without its critics. Many argued that assimilation and integration into American communities were not merely worthy goals but synonymous with each other. The intergroup education project's efforts to validate and legitimize immigrant culture, for example, were seen as slowing down the inevitable and desired outcome of assimilation. As cultural changes such as the civil rights movement of the 1960s increased interest in curriculum that celebrated multicultural aspects of American society and worked to support social justice, the intergroup education project's efforts continued to be influential. Like intergroup education's researchers, multicultural education proponents believe

that the United States' teachers and administrators should respond to the increasing ethnic, language, and racial diversity that is occurring in their classrooms. Also, multicultural education advocates share a desire to reduce or eliminate racism and prejudice and, like the advocates of intergroup education, are willing to address these issues through the curriculum developed for students. The use of interactive instructional strategies, the emphasis upon equality and equity, and the willingness to embrace more qualitative evaluation tools all have been important legacies of the intergroup education movement.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Anti-Racist Education; Bilingual Education; Civil Rights Movement; Compensatory Education; Critical Race Theory; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Curricular Integration; Equity and Equality; Ethnic Studies; Great Depression; Head Start; Implicit Association Test; Multicultural Education; No Child Left Behind Act (2001).

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ethnic backgrounds, but it can also refer to religion, class, or other status groups. Intermarriage is also referred to as mixed marriage, interfaith marriage, interracial marriage, interethnic marriage, cross-cultural marriage, or, more broadly, exogamy.

Throughout history, social scientists have observed that people tend to marry within their social group or status. Until the mid-20th century, endogamy, or marriage between partners of a similar social group or status, was constrained by both law and social norms. Although partner choice has included marriages across racial, ethnic, religious, and other status lines for generations, such marriage choices were, and often continue to be, grounds for sanction or exclusion from one's family, religion, or social group. Because the United States historically has been most concerned with racial barriers (as opposed to religious or class based), intermarriage in terms of interracial marriage has been of significant interest throughout U.S. history.

Pre-Civil Rights Era

F. James Davis finds that mixed relationships and some intermarriage became common between white indentured servants and slave and free blacks in the 17th century in Chesapeake area colonies. Even though these relationships occurred primarily among the underclass, they were widely condemned and eventually subject to legal sanctions. Moreover, as plantation slavery spread and the number of encounters between free whites and black slaves increased, so did the level of sanctions against mixed-race relationships and intermarriage.

In the wake of the Civil War, most states increased their efforts to maintain the current racial order; this included criminalization of interracial marriage in many states, as well as legal residential segregation, black codes, and other Jim Crow-era policies. Additionally, in 1882, the Supreme Court determined in *Pace v. Alabama* that state bans on interracial marriage were constitutional. Moreover, groups such as the Ku Klux Klan took to terrorizing blacks as a method of preventing social relations between white women and black men. These vigilante efforts to protect white women also extended beyond blacks to enforce social distance between

Intermarriage, History of

Intermarriage refers to marriage between two distinct social groups. Most often, this refers to marriage between two people of different racial or

white women and Mexicans, Chinese, Jews, and other non-Anglo groups.

The world war period, however, introduced a number of challenges to the Jim Crow system, as well as other gender, sexual, and class constraints. The participation of thousands in the war effort resulted in massive residential change, exposure to new countries and populations, a backlash to lynching and other violent terrorist practices, and a broadening of labor force participation for women and minorities in a variety of sectors, including technical and industrial fields, resulting in a boost in the diversification of unions. These shifts were not continuous, however, as Michael Rosenfeld notes; increased suburbanization and residential segregation at the close of the war period temporarily curtailed the expansion of intermarriage until postsecondary education became widespread at the end of the baby boom.

Milton Gordon reports that by 1957, intermarriage even between European ethnics, Catholics, and Protestants was relatively rare, with over 91 percent of Protestants in homogeneous marriages. At that time, 90 percent of minorities were black, distanced from whites by law, social sanction, and often force. Thus, until the 1960s, intermarriage between racial, ethnic, and religious groups was rare.

Contemporary Intermarriage

In the 1960s, a significant shift in the social and legal restrictions on intermarriage greatly expanded the number of individuals who intermarried. In addition to legal shifts such as *Loving v. Virginia*, which fully overturned state bans on interracial marriage in 1967, racial and ethnic minorities and women asserted their rights to equal status, breaking down many barriers to partner choice. Greater social movement during this period, including higher education, military service, and labor force mobility, meant that many young adults were no longer under the strict supervision of their parents. Rosenfeld finds that individuals who experience what he calls the independent life stage are more likely to enter into nontraditional unions because of reduced parental control. At the same time, many religious groups liberalized and lifted traditional bans on the recognition of religious intermarriage. Moreover, the 1965 shift in immigration laws greatly diversified

the racial and ethnic composition of communities throughout the United States, further expanding the possibilities for intermarriage.

Nevertheless, despite significant growth in intermarriage, most marriages continued to occur between persons within their group (endogamy) or close in status (homogamy). Studies indicate that racial endogamy is considerably more persistent than religion and socioeconomic status, which have declined more significantly in importance in marriage choice over time. From 1960 to 1990, the number of same-race married couples declined only from 99.6 percent to 93.1 percent in 2010.

Matthijs Kalmijn explains that although intermarriage is important in that it reflects changes in cultural and social boundaries, marriage patterns are somewhat constrained by both preference and opportunity. Choices can be constrained by a variety of factors, including demographic change, composition of the local marriage market, and residential segregation. Despite these caveats, Kalmijn notes that intermarriage not only can indicate the permeability of boundaries but also provide important signals of intergroup relations. Therefore, slow but increasing levels of intermarriage suggest that although social boundaries, including religion, class, and especially race remain, they have weakened over time.

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See Also: Family and Marital Patterns (Essay); Intermarriage Court Decisions; Intermarriage Demographic Trends; Miscegenation; Race Mixture in the United States.

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Intermarriage Court Decisions

A series of social, scientific, and religious debates about intermarriage between people of different races began in Maryland in 1664, when colonial legislators passed a law that banned white people from marrying black indentured servants or slaves. The arguments persisted for over three centuries. Their evolving nature can be traced through significant court decisions issued between the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 and the 1967 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Loving v. Virginia*, which ended all bans on racial intermarriage throughout the United States.

Laws to ban sexual relationships and intermarriage between black people and white people were primarily used to strengthen white supremacy. In the 17th and 18th centuries, such laws defined marriage as a privilege reserved only for free (white) people and denied to enslaved (black) people. The laws often punished white people who ignored or rejected white supremacy. For example, if a white person married a free black person in Virginia after 1705, the white person could be imprisoned for up to six months.

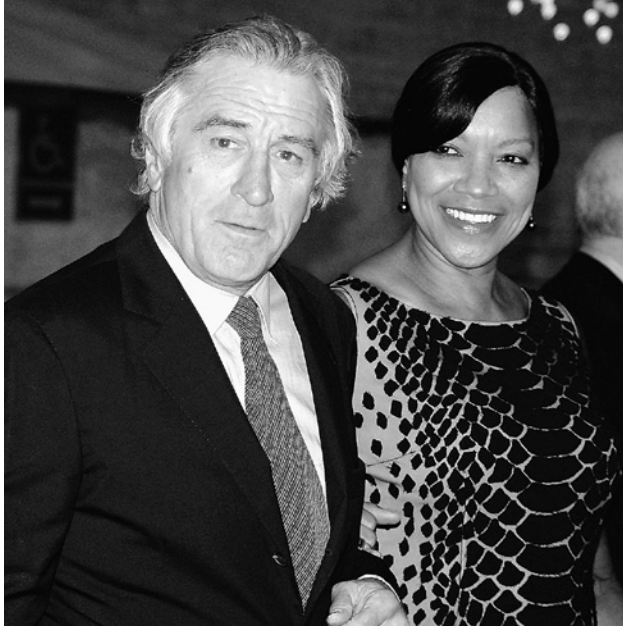
After the Civil War, during Reconstruction, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment, and its charge to the states to uphold "equal protection" of the law for all citizens put racial intermarriage bans to a sharp test. Slavery had ended, and critics of racial intermarriage could no longer define marriage as a privilege reserved for free people. In 1870, a grand jury indicted a black man for violating Indiana's intermarriage ban by marrying a white woman, but the trial

judge dismissed the case, ruling that Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment (the equal protection clause) overturned Indiana's ban on racial intermarriage. The state appealed to the Indiana Supreme Court, which ordered in *Gibson v. State* (1870) that the Fourteenth Amendment could not affect marriage rights, which were traditionally reserved to the states.

The equal protection clause had a different impact in *Burns v. State* (1872), an Alabama Supreme Court case involving a justice of the peace indicted for violating Alabama's racial intermarriage ban by officiating at the wedding of an interracial couple. Proponents of Alabama's ban argued that it did not violate "equal protection" of citizens' rights because all citizens were denied the option of marrying a person of a different race. The pro-Reconstruction judges on the Alabama Supreme Court rejected this reasoning. The judges defined marriage as a contract between two people and ruled that a ban on racial intermarriage violated the newly won right of black citizens to make legally binding contracts with other citizens, including white ones. All citizens were accordingly free to choose racial intermarriage under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Although *Burns v. State* did not affect intermarriage bans in other states, state courts in Texas and Louisiana also overturned their states' bans in the early 1870s, and through other legal processes, four other former Confederate states legalized racial intermarriage. These changes were short-lived. Reconstruction crumbled, and in Alabama in 1876, when white power increased through violent suppression of black voters, legislators ignored *Burns v. State* and created a new law that banned interracial marriage and created heavier penalties for interracial couples committing fornication or adultery. A jury quickly convicted a white woman of violating this statute by marrying a black man. New justices on the Alabama Supreme Court upheld her conviction and incarceration in *Green v. State* (1877).

In *Green*, the justices decided that "equal protection" simply meant that laws had to treat white people and black people identically, and this happened if both races were punished equally for marrying outside their race. *Green* reversed the *Burns* definition of marriage as a civil contract. Marriage was not just a civil contract between



Actor Robert De Niro and wife Grace Hightower, here at the Tribeca Film Festival on April 17, 2012, crossed the racial divide when they married in 1997, 30 years after the Supreme Court overturned Virginia's ban on racial intermarriage in *Loving v. Virginia*. Interracial marriage in the United States has been fully legal in all U.S. states since that decision.

two people, *Green* claimed, as society rested upon harmonious marriages. Alabama could block racial intermarriage to keep families from experiencing the shame of having a family member defy racial norms. *Green v. State* also argued that because bans on racial intermarriage were commonly accepted and found outside the former Confederacy, the Fourteenth Amendment could not have been written to overturn them.

Prejudice against interracial relationships was further reinforced by a second Alabama Supreme Court ruling in *Pace and Cox v. State* (1881). The judges found that just as Alabama's 1876 law had not violated the Fourteenth Amendment in banning racial intermarriage, it did not do so in imposing harsher penalties for those committing interracial fornication or adultery than for those committing monoracial fornication or adultery. Citing arguments that flourished after the Civil War against so-called "mongrelization," the ruling claimed that Alabama had an interest in preventing the birth of biracial children. Pseudo-scientists argued that biracial children

were mentally and physically inferior and created costs for the state. Leaning on *Green v. State*, the court also ruled that disparate punishments for interracial and monoracial couples were not racially discriminatory, since black and white people engaged in interracial fornication or adultery were treated identically.

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld *Pace and Cox v. State* in *Pace v. Alabama* (1882), a crucial ruling affecting racial intermarriage and interracial relationships. Unanimously, the Supreme Court found that states could regulate sexual relationships and marriages. What looked like intimate personal decisions actually were profoundly public, the court reasoned, because they affected society. The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Pace v. Alabama* upheld the Alabama Supreme Court's findings (in *Green v. State* and *Pace and Cox v. State*) that such bans created no racial discrimination because they punished black and white people identically.

State bans on racial intermarriage flourished in the wake of *Pace v. Alabama*. At some time during their history, 41 of the 50 states in the United States banned some form of interracial marriage. Between 1880 and the 1930s, laws expanded to create a wider range of prohibited partnerships. Some prevented white people from marrying people of Asian and South Pacific Islander ancestries or prevented American Indians from marrying black people.

Confusion about racial identification processes also grew, and although no major court decisions between 1882 and 1948 directly dealt with racial intermarriage, courts did define the ambiguous markers used to denote racial identity. Such decisions further complicated marriage rights. For example, courts generally defined Latinos as white and let them marry non-Hispanic white people but blocked Latinos from having black spouses.

Although 30 of the nation's 48 states banned various categories of racial intermarriage by 1940, anti-racist activism increasingly put pressure on such laws. After World War II, general revulsion at Nazi racial policies contributed to growing rejection of arguments about racial purity that courts had routinely accepted in the past. In 1948, a couple (a black man and a Latina) sued the Los Angeles County Clerk when his office refused to issue them a marriage license. *Pérez v. Sharp*

reached the California Supreme Court, where the majority dismissed *Pace v. Alabama* as a precedent and ruled that California's intermarriage ban violated the Fourteenth Amendment, because a person wishing to marry someone of a different race was treated very differently from one wishing to marry someone of the same race. The ruling also thoroughly rejected the "mongrelization" arguments common in earlier court decisions.

During the 1950s and early 1960s, the U.S. Supreme Court avoided addressing the arguments made in *Pérez v. Sharp* by refusing to hear cases that challenged intermarriage bans in Alabama (*Jackson v. Alabama*, 1954) and Virginia (*Naim v. Naim*, 1955). In *McLaughlin v. Florida* (1964), the court did overturn a Florida law that criminalized interracial cohabitation but it explicitly avoided addressing that state's ban on interracial marriage, despite its clear implication in the plaintiffs' argument that they had cohabited because they could not legally marry.

Finally, in 1967, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously overturned Virginia's ban on racial intermarriage in *Loving v. Virginia*. The ruling emphatically reinforced the argument in *Pérez* that intermarriage bans violated the Fourteenth Amendment and rested upon irrational prejudices and traditions. Although honoring the general right of states to make laws about marriage and divorce (voiced by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Maynard v. Hill* [1888]), *Loving* nevertheless sided with *Pérez* in declaring that the right to marry was fundamental and could not be infringed upon by a state. In many respects, the *Loving* decision bore strong similarities to *Burns v. State* (1872), the Alabama Supreme Court decision issued almost a century earlier, but unlike that ruling, which authorized interracial marriage in just one state and for only a few years, *Loving* authorized it in every state and remains in effect in the 21st century.

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See Also: Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Desegregation/Integration; Eugenics; Hapa; Intermarriage, History of; Intermarriage Demographic Trends; *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); Miscegenation; *Pérez v. Sharp* (1948); Supreme Court, U.S.; World War II.

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Intermarriage Demographic Trends

The 2010 U.S. Census determined three large categories of intermarriage status: (1) householders with a partner of a different race—interracial, (2) householders with a partner of a different Hispanic origin—interethnic, and (3) householders with a partner of a different race and/or origin. They are then broken down into two subcategories: (1) husband/wife and (2) unmarried partner household. Of all husband/wife households, the 2010 census reported that a household and spouse of different races constituted 6.9 percent, a household and spouse of different Hispanic origin 4.3 percent, and a household and spouse of different races and/or origins 9.5 percent, increasing respectively from 5.7 percent, 3.1 percent, and 7.4 percent in the 2000 census. The rates of interracial unmarried couples were higher than those of interracial married couples. The rates differed by region, with the west (such as Hawai'i) having the highest rates of intermarriage of the three types, ranging from 7.5 to 15.9 percent, and the midwest (such as Iowa) having the lowest.

In a report published in 2012 by the Pew Research Center, based on the data from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey from 2008 to 2010 and from the center's data collected through telephone surveys with 2,884 adults, Wendy Wang indicated the popularity of

intermarriage that doubled in rates from 6.7 percent of newlyweds in 1980 to 15 percent in 2010. The race with the highest intermarriage rate was the Asian population (28 percent), followed by Hispanics (26 percent), blacks or African Americans (17 percent), and whites (9 percent). By gender, Asian females (36 percent) had higher rates of intermarriage than their male counterparts (17 percent), whereas among blacks or African Americans, the pattern was reversed.

In terms of income, white/Asian married couples (\$70,925) earned significantly higher incomes than both white/white (\$60,000) and Asian/Asian (\$62,000) married couples. As for perceptions of intermarriage, 43 percent of those surveyed reported that it was good for society; 11 percent that it was a change for the worse and 44 percent were neutral. The acceptance of intermarriage increased sharply. In 1986, 28 percent said that it was not acceptable for people to marry different races, whereas in 2010, 63 percent said that it “would be fine” with them for people to marry those outside their races.

Classical assimilation theory has frequently been used to explain increasing trends of intermarriage, arguing that intermarriage is the ultimate assimilation process of minority group members adapting into the mainstream society in terms of language, culture, and politics. When classical assimilation theory was criticized as an ethnocentric and asymmetric explanation, contemporary assimilation theory emerged. As explained in Richard Alba and Victor Nee’s *Remaking the American Mainstream*, this theory suggests that marriages between minority and majority group members are a result of a new trend in contemporary America’s celebration of multiculturalism.

This trend allows members of both minority and majority groups the opportunity to interact more frequently with one another in a two-way assimilation process that reduces social distance between groups, which in turn increases the likelihood of intermarriage. Demographic factors, such as an increase in the biracial population, rapid immigration, cohabitation, and educational upgrading, also play a key role in intermarriage trends. Zhenchao Qian and Daniel Lichter found that educational attainment reinforces intermarriage with whites for Hispanic and Asian Americans, but not for African Americans.

Cohabitation, an indicator for low marriage commitment, was common among African Americans and those with low education, and Qian and Lichter suggested a slow increase of intermarriage between blacks and whites.

Matthijs Kalmijn’s 1998 study is the most cited article in intermarriage scholarly studies. Kalmijn proposed three general notions of intermarriage: (1) individual preferences, (2) structural opportunities, and (3) third-party intervention. In later work, Kalmijn combined these three notions to two: cultural (norms, values, and preferences) and (2) structural explanations (meeting and mating opportunities based on size and residential segregation), finding that both notions played a key role in intermarriage but that cultural explanations were more important than structural explanations.

Regarding marital stability of intermarriage, studies found inconsistent results. Based on a sample of 23,139 married couples, Yuanting Zhang and Jennifer Van Hook found no difference in the risk of divorce between intermarriage and same-ethnic marriage after controlling for couple characteristics. However, Jenifer Bratter and Rosalind King, based on a sample of 5,676 drawn from the 2002 National Survey of Family Growth, found a higher risk of divorce among intermarried couples than among same-ethnic couples.

In terms of relationship quality, Bryndl Hohmann-Marriott and Paul Amato found that diminished relationship quality (as examined by satisfaction, conflict, and perceived relationship instability) was more common among interethnic couples than among their same-ethnic counterparts, regardless of gender and married or cohabitation status. Contributing factors included relationship histories, cultural value differences, and parental support. With respect to intimate partner violence (IPV), Rachel Fusco found that a history of prior IPV, mutual assault engagement that results in perpetrator arrest, was more common among interracial married couples than same-race couples; however, drug and alcohol use before and during the IPV event were more common among white couples than among their interracial couple counterparts.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; African Americans; Critical Race Theory; Desegregation/Integration; Family and Ethnic Diversity; Family and Marital Patterns (Essay); Mixed-Race Americans; Multiculturalism; Race Mixture in the United States; Segregation.

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International Education

In the United States, which has a strong tradition of local political control of education and a long-standing commitment to public schools as a primary institution for cultural integration, the role of international education in preserving ethnic identity and language has been minimal. Rarely have immigrant groups established their own educational systems, and the few traditionally defined private international schools that have developed culturally specific programs have generally served small, elite populations of globally migratory families. However, international education programs and philosophies have, in a few cases, offered minority communities an opportunity to maintain and strengthen their identity. The U.S. government has used international education programs as a tool for minority-focused, comprehensive school reform and desegregation. Increasingly, the aims of multicultural and intercultural education are becoming difficult to distinguish— at both the elementary/secondary and postsecondary levels.

A rapid increase in the number of U.S. charter schools since 1991 has offered communities and local activists opportunities to develop internationally focused programs that provide advanced educational options for minority groups. In East

Los Angeles, urban Atlanta, and inner-city Chicago, schools offer community-based internationalized alternative schools that affirm ethnic identity, preserve indigenous language, or seek to build racially balanced specialized learning communities. Forty-one states make provisions for charter schools.

Two U.S. Department of Education grant programs provide incentives to implement international education programs that serve the interests of minority students in 14 states. Beginning in 1965, the Magnet Schools Assistance Program (MSAP) has offered federal support for implementing court-ordered and voluntary desegregation plans to foster meaningful interaction among students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds in order to improve equal access to high-quality education (20 U.S.C. 7231–7231j, incorporated into Public Law 107-110 [No Child Left Behind Act], Title V/Part C). As early as 1998, international magnet programs received start-up funding as part of various comprehensive school reform initiatives.

In 2004, almost two-thirds of magnet school assistance grants were devoted to international education (mostly for the implementation of elementary and middle school programs developed by the International Baccalaureate Organization). In 2010, 23 public school systems received more than \$125 million to initiate district programs that included international education. Even after the MSAP revised its terms of reference after Parents United, it continued funding for 35 grantees and made two additional awards, one of which supported an International Baccalaureate (IB) program.

Advanced Placement

Local education authorities have also used Advanced Placement Incentive Program grants to implement international education opportunities designed to increase educational opportunities for minority students. School systems in Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, San Diego, Yonkers, and the Rio Grande Valley (Texas) developed international education programs, and a grant to the IB supported the implementation of international education programs in Title I schools. The resulting increase in minority students' access to university education has been the detailed study of



University of Wisconsin students participating in a study-abroad program in Thailand cheer with a group of children, January 6, 2010. At the university level, international education has grown beyond the study-abroad program and is becoming more adept at managing cultural differences inside and outside the classroom.

researchers at the University of Chicago and New York University. Though the advanced academic character of international programs has been the focus of government funding, the programs have found currency especially among large urban school districts characterized by extensive ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity. The programs also resonate with local educational goals that support cultural identity and community integration. Increasingly, the objectives of multicultural (or culturally sensitive) education overlap with values-oriented international education.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) identifies seven aims of international education, including four that are directly relevant for the promotion of multiculturalism: understanding and respect for domestic cultures, communication skills, individual and group rights, and community activism. These and other hallmarks of the international education movement echo the National Association of Multicultural Education's goals for developing programs that are inclusive, represent diverse perspectives, focus the social construction of knowledge, inspire self-knowledge, and promote social justice. International education also offers expertise in managing issues of

student behavior, identity, and pedagogy that arise in internationally diverse multicultural contexts. In their development, international schools have gained valuable experience in building open-minded learning communities that value multiple perspectives and demand critical reflection on personal viewpoints and prejudice.

At the university level, internationalization efforts in curriculum, administrative structure, and educational experiences have also begun to influence U.S. multiculturalism. Originally with a narrow interest in "study-abroad" programs, offices of international education on many college campuses are gaining expertise in managing cultural differences both inside and beyond the classroom.

According to the Institute of International Education's Open Doors survey, new enrollments of foreign students in U.S. colleges and universities increased 27 percent between 2005 and 2010. In 2010 and 2011, 723,277 students from abroad were studying at U.S. institutions of higher learning (approximately 3.5 percent of total enrollment). Almost half of those students were from China, India, and South Korea, a pattern that mirrors broader U.S.-Asian immigration patterns according to the 2010 U.S. Census.

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See Also: Global Education; Higher Education; Intercultural Education; Intergroup Education; Multicultural Education.

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Internet

A global network of computer systems, the Internet has grown extremely rapidly from its origins in the U.S. Department of Defense in the 1960s to one of the most important sites of social and cultural communication in the lives of a majority of Americans. Although access to the Internet is still marked by notable inequalities, the speed, depth, and consistency of interaction it enables are helping reshape, or reinforce, notions about social and cultural identity.

Building on work done at the RAND Corporation in the early 1960s, the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) at the U.S. Department of Defense and the private computer consulting firm Bolt Beranek and Newman began developing the Internet in 1966. The initially small network grew steadily through the development of new technologies, such as the data transmission protocol TCP/IP and common standards for e-mailing, which made the Internet more accessible and useful to more people. Despite these innovations, it remained largely a space dominated by computer scientists and enthusiasts until the early 1990s.

In 1990, while working for the European nuclear agency CERN, computer scientist Tim Berners-Lee developed a computer language known as Hypertext Markup Language (HTML), which dramatically increased the interactive and expressive potential of the Internet. As a result of this new technological development, users could now create

and access personalized "pages" on a global network that was dubbed the World Wide Web.

Even so, the Internet's basic community of users was slow to change, and it was not until 1992, when a change to U.S. "fair use" policy allowed businesses to begin using the Web for commercial purposes, that the network began attracting a broader segment of the population as users. In 1992, for instance, the Web contained less than 100 Web sites, but three years later that number had increased more than 100-fold to more than 10,000 Web sites, mainly commercial.

By the same year, more than 35 percent of Internet users reported that they had three years or less of computer programming experience, and almost 17 percent had no experience at all. These figures illustrate the beginnings of the change in the Internet and its demographics, from a space dominated by computer science professionals and serious hobbyists to one that was used primarily by people without high levels of technical training.

By the same token, the last decades have also seen a rapid increase in the number of people who have consistent access to the network. The 2010 U.S. Census reports that the number of households with Internet access has risen sharply since the 1990s. Whereas less than 20 percent of households reported having access to the Internet in 1997, 68.7 percent of the U.S. population reported having Internet access at home in 2009.

The Digital Divide

Despite the rapid growth of Internet use in American life, there remains a significant segment of the population that has no consistent access to the Internet. As the Internet has become an increasingly important element in everyday social, cultural, political, and economic life, the division between those who have consistent access to the Internet and those who do not has come to be known as the digital divide. This division is an important caveat to the popular notion that the Internet offers a uniformly democratic access to information.

Significantly, the digital divide is structured in many ways by sociocultural distinctions such as race, ethnicity, age, class, gender, and educational attainment. For instance, the 2010 census reports that whereas about 79 percent of adults aged 18 to 44 regularly access the Internet, less than half as many adults over the age of 65 do so. Furthermore,

whereas 79 percent of white non-Hispanics and more than 84 percent of Asian American individuals have Internet access in their home, only 60 percent of African Americans and 57 percent of Hispanics report home access. Finally, whereas around 90 percent of college graduates had consistent Internet access in their homes in 2009, only around 25 percent of people with less than a high school diploma accessed the Internet regularly.

However, the shape of inequality in Internet access and usage has changed significantly in the last decade. For instance, a 1998 survey by the Graphic, Visualization and Usability Center at Georgia Tech found that more than 87 percent of Web users reporting in the survey identified themselves as white, while those identifying as Asian, the next most reported group, represented only 2.9 percent of users. This stands in stark contrast to the much larger percentage of Asian American users reported in 2010. Still, the persistence of the digital divide requires closer attention to the underlying causes of the discrepancy.

Although it is often taken for granted that differences in Internet access are purely a result of economic factors, studies reveal that the actual causes can range widely. While in some cases the underlying issue is economic, in others it can result from cultural or social factors or from physical barriers to access. A 2012 study by the Pew Research Center, for example, found that the most frequent explanation given by adults who do not regularly access the Internet is that they do not feel that the Internet is relevant to their lives.

Interestingly, these findings are also consistent with research on issues of race and gender in the informational technology (IT) field. For instance, in a recent study, Latina IT professionals cited both lower levels of access to computer technologies in their early lives and the pervasive assumption that computers were a male domain as important barriers to their consideration of the IT industry as a relevant and potentially successful line of employment. As this example and the census data suggest, it seems likely that the widespread association of computers with certain sociocultural identities has contributed not only to direct discrimination and inequality in the IT industry but also to a closing off of computer technologies like the Internet as a useful and relevant feature of everyday life.

Finally, disability has also been found to be a significant factor in the digital divide. Recent studies show that 27 percent of persons with disabilities do not regularly access the Internet, and 2 percent of adults report that they are physically unable to access the Internet as a result of disability or illness.

Changes to existing technological infrastructure appear to be contributing to an ongoing shift in the digital divide. Access to the Internet through mobile devices such as smartphones has been particularly instrumental in this shift. Accordingly, studies by the Pew Research Center show that although ownership of a smartphone is generally more likely among younger people, it is also much more evenly distributed by race/ethnicity and gender. However, it is also the case that smartphones are more likely to serve as the main source of Internet access for younger people, racial and ethnic minorities, and those with lower levels of educational attainment and income.

Race and Ethnicity Online

Being composed of many different communication channels and venues, from text-based forums to social media sites like Facebook and Twitter, or video hosting sites like YouTube, the Internet provides a variety of ways for people to interact, exchange ideas, and form a sense of social identity. Because of this variation, it is not possible to define a single way that the Internet shapes the identity or culture of a group. Still, in its capacity to allow for faster, richer, and more continuous levels of communication across great distances, the Internet has become a central force in the landscape of contemporary American culture and society.

However, the Internet has often been characterized as a place where individuals' normal offline social identities cease to be relevant. We can, we are told, be anyone we want to be online. Although this sense of unmoored identity is an important feature of some parts of the Internet, it often belies the more complex systems of identity representation that function in digital environments.

Leaving aside social media sites, where a focus on actual world identity is amplified rather than suppressed, there are also many cases of seemingly identity-free interactions on the Internet that are



To spur economic development in five disadvantaged neighborhoods across Chicago, the city's Smart Communities program created the Business Resource Network, which provides free access to broadband, business software, and technology workshops. Despite the proliferation of Internet use, a significant segment of the U.S. population remains cut off from consistent access. This "digital divide" between those connected and those unconnected to the Internet contradicts the idea of a uniformly democratic access to information.

in fact heavily structured by contemporary ethno-racial politics in a variety of ways. First, notions about ethnicity and race can be encoded directly into the digital infrastructure of online environments. Players of the MMORPG (Massively Multiplayer Online Role Playing Game) "World of Warcraft" (WoW), for instance, are asked to create an "avatar," or digital visual representation of themselves, to represent themselves in the game. These avatars, of course, are not required to reflect the actual appearance of the player but instead are constructed entirely at the discretion of the user. Still, as Americanist Kimberly Lau has observed, the underlying choices available for WoW avatars expose the ways in which ideas about ethnicity and race continue to structure virtual representations. Although users are offered a variety of skin tones to choose for the avatar, almost all of the tones reflect either a "white" racial identity or a fantastic nonhuman one (purple, blue, etc.). By contrast, only one available skin tone could be said to represent a black racial identity. Thus, the racial identity choices provided to players essentially amount to white or fantasy.

This limitation of the racial identities possible for player avatars in WoW ties into a second significant phenomenon in many digital environments—the assumption that unless it is otherwise indicated, all users are white. Perhaps because of the demographic history of the digital divide, studies of users in various role-playing environments reveal that even where the presentation of a nonwhite avatar is made possible by the underlying programming, the assumption of nonwhite avatars is often treated as a cosmetic choice rather than an indication of real-world racial or ethnic identity. In fact, conversation that indicates the nonwhite racial identity of a user in the actual world is often actively discouraged by other users as intentionally divisive.

Old Stereotypes in "New" Media

Thus, although it is often conceived as radically new, the Internet as a communication technology has a great deal of continuity with older forms of media in terms of its relationship to sociocultural identity. Communications scholar Lisa Nakamura, for instance, has pointed out that the way

that users perform online racial or ethnic identities different from their own tends to conform to the same performance “types” that are presented on television, in film, or in literature. Thus, although it is possible to take on a different gender, sexual, ethnic, or racial identity on the Internet, in practice this is often done by emulating the stereotypical ways that these identities have been presented in the past.

The Internet and Immigration

However, in some ways the Internet is opening up radically different cultural possibilities. For example, the wider availability of the Internet as a communication technology has contributed to the increasing development of “transnational” communities among migrants. Through the constant expressive contact allowed by Internet technologies and other digital forms of communication, local communities of migrants in the United States can maintain close, daily social ties to their former local communities. Through this process of close and constant contact, new ideas, beliefs, and practices can be shaped on both ends of the migration. Furthermore, the Internet can also serve as a route by which immigrant parents can provide their children with social and cultural exposure to the sending community.

Besides maintaining existing ties between members of preexisting local communities that have been separated by migration, the Internet is also a place where members of a social group who have no existing offline relationship can come together. Online spaces dedicated to a particular ethnicity or race, for example, are increasingly common features of Internet geography.

One recent study, for instance, has shown that both Trinidadians living on the island and those living abroad in the United States or the United Kingdom have come to use Web sites like Trinidad-Online.org as places to meet and socialize with other “Trinis,” talk about Trinidad, and engage with Trini culture. The location, of these kinds of cultural performances and social interactions on the Internet, however, can subtly shift the ways in which they are done. For instance, the potential that anyone, regardless of whether they know anything about Trinidad, can access Trinidadian Web sites puts these social and cultural encounters in a gray area between intra- and

intergroup interactions. People interacting on the site are simultaneously aware that their cultural performances are explicitly presented to an audience of other Trininis but implicitly presented to the non-Trini world at large; thus, they tend to present a more uniform and idealized picture of Trini identity than one might find in other settings.

Globalization and the Internet

In addition to its role in maintaining or creating social relationships based on shared identity, the Internet also provides an arena for the formation of new types of social identities. For instance, as a major component in the process of globalization, the Internet has helped give rise to pan-ethnic political movements such as the Indigenous People’s Movement, a relatively recent identity movement that is defined by perceived similarities in the historical experiences of “first peoples.” The aims of the movement often include the defense of local communities and “traditional” modes of life against the incursions of homogenizing global culture.

However, the globally accessible online venues in which much of the organizational and conceptual discussion of the movement takes place have at times created a space for the formation of new social alliances that might not have been able to take place in offline settings. For example, as one recent study has pointed out, Palestinian nationalism has become a point of increasing focus on Web sites dedicated to indigenous peoples. This is a notable shift both because the movement originated as an effort to bring together peoples from the Americas, Europe, Australia, and the Pacific Islands and because there is little indication that the shift resulted from actual social or political alliances formed with Palestinian leadership. Thus, the push to include the cause of Palestinian nationalism in the movement’s dialogue demonstrates the extent to which the Internet allows for the expression of ethnic political and cultural solidarities that have their bases in a globalized ideology made possible by global communications rather than in actual social, cultural, or political relationships.

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See Also: Digital Divide, The; GobiernoUSA.gov; Identity Development; Indigenous Transnationality; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Social Media.

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Intersectionality

The term *intersectionality*, as coined by legal scholar and prominent black feminist Kimberlé Crenshaw in her 1989 essay critiquing American antidiscrimination laws, has become a central concept in feminist studies. The application of the term is broad; however, scholars generally use intersectional analyses to study and theorize "intersections," places where markers of differentiation, such as gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, and dis/ability, overlap to create loci where structural inequalities are augmented.

For instance, in the context originally cited by Crenshaw, black women plaintiffs in a number of cases faced structural disadvantage in antidiscrimination legislation because they could not simultaneously make a claim on the basis of race and sex discrimination. Hence, Crenshaw's intersectional analysis sought to make clear the multifaceted ways in which the identities of "black" and "woman" were distinct, yet interlocking. When it came to discrimination on the basis of race or sex in the workplace, the black women

plaintiffs were subject simultaneously to both. Hence, intersectional analyses give attention to the ways in which sociocultural identities create—or are leveraged to produce—discriminatory policies and practices.

Scholarship on interlocking and intersecting social structures preceded discussions of intersectionality, yet the term became widely popular within critical feminist discourses as scholars of color and working-class backgrounds, in particular, contended that white middle-class feminism had not sufficiently raised issues of relevance to other women, including women of color, women of nonbourgeois socioeconomic positioning, and lesbians. In this sense, theories of intersectionality grew out of the challenge to integrate a variety of marginalized perspectives within feminist studies, and to nuance the category of "woman" from what was previously conceived of within a one-dimensional, rather than a multidimensional, framework.

Branching Out From Feminism

From its inception in feminist antidiscrimination and antiracist discourses, the intersectional framework has developed into a popular analytical tool for discussing forms of social disadvantage and discrimination. Intersectionality has garnered currency in an array of fields in the humanities and social sciences, including within law, education, psychology, politics, anthropology, literary and media studies, cultural studies, technology studies, management studies, disability studies, and masculinity studies. Within critical feminist studies, the use of intersectional analysis has become fashionable to such a degree that it is possible to speak of a subfield called "intersectionality studies."

Across fields, intersectional analyses seek to highlight ways in which (1) sociocultural identities are multifaceted or multidimensional and (2) social relations, social structures, and human experiences are often organized according to various intersecting and often hierarchical axes of identity. Hence, intersectional analyses are applied to an array of contexts, from courtrooms to classrooms, living rooms to sports fields, offices to military bases, and beyond. Intersectionality offers an important analytic tool for understanding how homogenizing, discriminatory, or

oppressive structures of various kinds often work in tandem.

Because the concept encourages a dynamic understanding of social relations along shifting lines of power and social privilege, intersectionality is often used in combination with theoretical lenses such as queer theory, poststructuralism, and postcolonial studies. Hence, when it comes to understanding the social fabric of multicultural America, intersectional analyses can help scholars and activists to understand and analyze the experiences of persons of particular identities, for instance, queer people of color or female migrants.

Feminist intersectional analyses often celebrate diversity in human experience as a potentially unifying force in political activism; as such, intersectional analyses can be applied in electoral politics, where multiple factors of identity are in play as coalitions are built around common interests. The concept can also be applied to planning strategic outreach for social service providers or social entrepreneurs, for example, where the needs of a specific population of vulnerable persons are at stake.

Some argue that the framework is particularly susceptible to political or activist manipulations. Others suggest that the concept is rendered too diffuse because of the extensive combinations of variables. There is also concern that multifarious appropriations of the concept occlude the original context in which the term was developed. In response to such criticisms, those who apply intersectional analyses often do so with an overt recognition that it is one in an array of methods to study and analyze a given social reality, but not a complete framework.

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See Also: Age and Ethnic Diversity; Class and Ethnic Diversity; Critical Race Theory; Feminism and Ethnic Diversity; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Knowledge Construction; Privilege; Race; Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity.

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Iranian Americans

Iranian, or Persian, Americans numbered 448,722 in population as of the 2010 U.S. Census. A Middle Eastern nation, Iran was known as Persia until 1935. Persian Americans may so identify themselves either because they or their ancestors immigrated to the United States before the name change, or to emphasize their cultural association with the earlier nation, before the Islamic theocracy took control following the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The term *Persian* is sometimes also used in reference to the ethnic group, which descends from the ancient Indo-Iranians; Persians are not an Arab or Semitic people, a fact often lost on Westerners.

Iran is predominantly Muslim, but before the conquest of Persia by Muslim Arabs, Zoroastrianism was the state religion, and the Zoroastrian community survives to this day as a very small minority. The religious makeup of Iranian Americans differs significantly from that of Iranians. Although Muslims are still the largest group, they are not a majority. Nearly as many Iranian Americans identify as irreligious as Muslim, and a full one-fifth are Christians (mainly ethnic Armenians or Assyrians), Jews, Baha'is, or Zoroastrians.

A Cultural Divide That Is Difficult to Cross

Iranian heritage is important to Iranian Americans, but naturalization is very common—more than 80 percent of Iranian Americans are citizens, and 15 percent are permanent residents. Few return to Iran permanently. Muslim Iranian Americans have the most difficulty with assimilation; though religion is important in the United States, American culture is fundamentally secular, and Islam is a religion with traditions, beliefs, and practices that assume living in a religious culture. The public sphere in the United States is very different for traditional Muslims.

Although this has meant some changes to religious practice—Iranian American women are more active in the community and participate more in the mosque than they did in Iran—it has also created a divide. That separation is sharpest for women. In the United States, it is common for women to work outside the home, but not so in Iran. Women wearing traditional modest garb may attract negative attention and stand out in a crowd in exactly the way such garb was originally intended to prevent. Many Muslim families worry about their teenagers growing up in the culture of the United States, where access to drinking and drugs is easier, and sexual relations are less taboo. Further, though the United States is home to dozens of different Christian groups with very different beliefs, Muslims face an American public that understands and acknowledges few to none of the differences among various strains of Islamic belief.

It is nearly impossible to determine the number of Persian immigrants to the United States before the middle of the 20th century. Because those leaving were not supposed to depart for the West, their destination was recorded as Egypt. Once they arrived in the United States, immigration officials labeled them as Arabs if they arrived before 1900 and as Syrians between 1900 and 1930 or so. Most “Arab” immigrants to the United States before the World War II years were Lebanese Christians; there were certainly some Persians arriving, but their numbers cannot have been great. This changed in the 1950s, after Iran became friendlier with the West (in part because of a coup orchestrated with the help thereof). About 1,500 Iranians a year immigrated to the United States from 1950 to 1977, just before

the Iranian Revolution. Additionally, thousands more students came to the United States to study; the United States was one of the most popular destinations to which well-off Iranian families sent their children for college.

From 1978 to 1980, just before and just after the Iranian Revolution, over 100,000 Iranians a year came to the United States, refugees from the new fundamentalist regime. The immigration during this period is one reason the religious makeup of Iranian Americans differs so much from Iranians, which is not to say that non-Muslims were the only ones with motives to leave Iran. Many of those who departed were the prerevolutionary elite—professionals and skilled workers, well educated and often well-off. Many arrived with a great deal more money than the typical immigrant family. Since the revolution, about three million Iranians have left Iran, many intending to return if conditions improve.

Iranian Americans have faced considerable prejudice in the United States. Plans for an Islamic cultural center in Manhattan attracted controversy in 2011 because of its proximity to the World Trade Center site and a planned cultural center in 1985—in Oklahoma—was protested and eventually abandoned because of Americans who suspected it was a cover for a terrorist group. Even in the State Department, there were some who suspected that the Iranian American community included sleeper cells of state-sponsored terrorists and who advised caution in the U.S. handling of the Iran–Iraq War of the 1980s rather than risk waking those sleepers. Anti–Middle Eastern and anti-Muslim sentiment has been high during much of the time that Iranian Americans have lived in this country, because of unrest in the Middle East, terrorist attacks, and energy crises, and that sentiment has rarely differentiated between different countries in the Middle East, much less between individuals and their home countries.

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See Also: Afghan Americans; American-Islamic Relations, Council on; Arab Americans; Iraqi Americans; Muslim Americans; Naturalization; Refugees; Social Media; War in Afghanistan and Iraq.

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Iraqi Americans

A Middle Eastern country about the size of California, Iraq is a predominantly Muslim country. Known to the ancient Greeks as Mesopotamia, Iraq was a major cultural center of the ancient world and the home of the Babylonian Empire. From 1968 to 2003, Iraq was controlled by the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, a reign that ended with the invasion of American forces. The withdrawal began in 2011 after a seven-year battle with the insurgency. The new constitution defines Iraq as an Islamic democratic federal republic.

The estimated number of Iraqi Americans ranges from the 90,000 reported in the most recent census data to the 350,000 the Arab American Institute considers the outside figure. The discrepancy is due in part to undocumented immigrants and in part to self-reported ethnic identification data. Most Iraqi Americans arrived in the United States in the last few decades. Very few, if any, Iraqis immigrated before the 20th century, and from 1924 to 1965, a maximum of 100 Arabs per year were allowed to immigrate because of ethnicity-based immigration restrictions designed to preserve a certain racial balance in the country. Arabs, including Iraqis,

who did immigrate during that time were motivated mainly by economic opportunities.

Escaping War and Oppression

Iraqi immigration increased somewhat after immigration restrictions were liberalized. Many Iraqis immigrated after the Gulf War in 1991, both Kurds (a minority ethnic group in Iraq) and Shia Muslims who opposed Saddam Hussein's regime. In the 21st century, once the Iraq War began, the U.S. government increased the number of Iraqi refugees who would be admitted from 500 to 7,000 per year. Another 5,000 per year would be allowed to immigrate if they worked for the U.S. government in some capacity during the war or the insurgency. However, neither of those figures has been reached; the State Department has admitted to problems with processing requests quickly and has consistently remained behind in reaching its targets. More than one-third of Iraqi Americans have been granted refugee status either during or after their immigration to the United States.

Although earlier waves of Middle Eastern immigrants had been well educated and in many cases were fluent in English before immigration, and thereby able to become assimilated quickly, the Iraqi immigrants of the turn of the 21st century were very conservative and traditional and resisted assimilation. Some tried to continue practices that are foreign to, or even taboo in, the United States, including arranged marriages of very young girls in order to prevent premarital sex.

It is not necessarily accurate to say that Iraqis are more resistant to assimilation than other groups have been; the Iraqi American story is simply still in an earlier chapter. Many 19th-century immigrant groups were slow to join the melting pot; 200 years later, they are the assimilated "natives" critical of Iraqi immigrants retaining their traditional ways. Another factor is rampant anti-Muslim and anti-Arab sentiment. Although there is a long history of this, it has been especially fierce in the period during which most Iraqi immigration has occurred. Americans as a group have not distinguished well among Arab or Muslim groups, and Iraqis who came to the United States because they opposed U.S. enemy Saddam Hussein were nevertheless received with suspicion by some, even in heavily multicultural, ethnically diverse metropolises.

Chicago is home to the oldest Iraqi community in the United States and only significant Iraqi community established before the 1980s. Chicago is home to the largest Assyrian population in the United States and has long had a large Arab and Middle Eastern population. When Iraqis began to immigrate to the United States after the loosening of immigration restrictions in 1964, ethnic Assyrians from Iraq settled in Chicago, joining the existing Assyrian community. They were joined by nearly 1,000 Assyrian Iraqi refugees in the following decade, during the Lebanese civil war. More refugees joined the community during the Iran–Iraq War of the 1980s and the Gulf War that almost immediately followed. These later war refugees included not only Assyrians—joining a community of over 100,000 Assyrians throughout Illinois, of various countries of origin—but also Muslim Iraqis escaping political persecution.

Those Muslim Iraqis joined a smaller, but distinct, community of Iraqi American Muslims in the Chicago area, and included economic refugees from the late 1970s, former prisoners of war, and members of a failed coup against Hussein. Lacking the existing community to join that the Assyrian Iraqis had, the Muslim Iraqi immigrants founded the Iraqi American Association, which provides assistance and guidance to its members and a social network for new arrivals to the country. Though Chicago also has small Kurdish Iraqi and Turkoman Iraqi populations, they attend the mosques of Arab Iraqis.

Outside Chicago, Iraqis have primarily settled in metropolitan areas with well-established Middle Eastern populations: Detroit, New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. San Diego County is also home to a large number of Iraqi Americans, including over a quarter of the refugee population. Many of them are Assyrian Catholics.

The Michigan area is home to a community of Mandaean Iraqis. There are roughly 60,000 Mandaeans worldwide. An ancient Iraqi religion, they are one of the religions whose practice is permitted in Muslim countries, fulfilling the two basic requirements: that they were founded by a prophet who preceded Muhammad (John the Baptist) and that they have a holy scripture. Mandaeans originally spoke Aramaic, but most of them assimilated into Iraqi culture completely

enough to have lost their ties to that language. The central concern of the Mandaean diaspora today is keeping the religion alive. Marriages to non-Mandaeans are disapproved for that reason.

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See Also: Afghan Americans; Arab Americans; Iranian Americans, Kurdish Americans; Muslim Americans; Refugees; Sharia; War in Afghanistan and Iraq.

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Irene Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia (1946)

In 1944, more than a decade before the legendary bus ride of Rosa Parks, African American Irene Morgan boarded a Greyhound bus in Gloucester, Virginia, heading home to Baltimore. Morgan was able to find a seat at the back of the bus as was mandated by local law and custom, initially by sitting on the lap of an accommodating black female passenger; however, as her journey progressed and passengers shifted seats, she found herself sitting in proximity to a white couple and was instructed by the bus driver to vacate her seat. As Parks would do in a similar situation some years later, Morgan refused to move, and a deputy sheriff was called to arrest her.

Though some of the details of Morgan's story are not altogether clear—in some versions, she was simply sitting too close to the couple, and in others, the couple wanted her seat—what is

discernible in most accounts is the vehemence of Morgan's response to the request as well as Morgan's refusal to capitulate to the prevailing segregationist policies of the day. Some descriptions suggest that Morgan went so far as to bite the sheriff to prevent him from removing her from the seat, while others indicate that Morgan only thought about gnawing the law enforcement officer but did not follow through because "he was dirty," so she "clawed him instead" and "ripped his shirt."

Regardless of her form of refusal, Morgan was ultimately arrested, incarcerated, and charged with resisting arrest. She also stood accused of violating Virginia's Jim Crow transit law, which mandated "separate but equal" accommodations for white and black passengers. She spent seven hours in a county jail in Saluda, Virginia.



Irene Morgan (top left, shown in her later years), was arrested and jailed in 1944 for refusing to give up her seat on a Greyhound bus. Rosa Parks (top right) followed her lead more than 10 years later and became known as the first lady of civil rights. Two of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) lawyers representing Morgan were Thurgood Marshall (left) and Spottswood Robinson (right).

On October 18, 1944, Morgan presented herself in court to Middlesex County Circuit Judge J. Douglas Mitchell. Morgan pleaded guilty to the charge of resisting arrest, agreeing that she had indeed done so. She willingly paid the \$100 fine as a consequence.

However, to the apparent dismay of Judge Mitchell, she refused to pay the \$10 fine and the attendant court fees for violating a 1930 Virginia law requiring separation of white and black passengers; she resolved instead to take the case to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. Her appeal was later denied when the court upheld her original conviction; however, the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling reversed her conviction and, as a consequence, revoked the Jim Crow, or segregation, laws for interstate travel.

Appealing Morgan's Case

Morgan's appeal attracted the attention of members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which had been looking for possible test cases regarding the constitutionality of the state's Jim Crow transit law. Thus, in fall 1944, NAACP lawyers Spottswood Robinson, Oliver Hill, Martin A. Martin, and Thurgood Marshall accepted Irene Morgan's case and filed a further appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Irene Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia*. On June 3, 1946, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of Morgan, less because of moral outrage at the segregationist practices and more because the law placed an unconstitutional burden on interstate commerce. Moreover, in Justice Stanley F. Reed's majority opinion, the court ruled that Virginia could not impose segregation practices that impacted interstate travel. Thus, racial segregation became illegal on public interstate transportation as a result of Morgan's appeal.

Although the decision did not directly condemn segregation, Marshall called his client's victory "a decisive blow to the evils of segregation" and "one of the most momentous decisions in the history of the country."

Significance

Although the *Morgan* case does not have the same historical currency as Rosa Parks's more enduring story of triumphing over intrastate segregated

transportation, the Supreme Court decision was a landmark pronouncement in that it put an end to segregation as a legal practice on bus travel that crossed state lines. For the first time, the Supreme Court overturned a law that enforced segregation on public transportation. Shortly thereafter, in 1947, in order to test the new legislation emerging from her case, 16 civil rights activists took part in the first Freedom Ride, taking buses and trains throughout the south.

Later Years

Long after the resolution of her case, Morgan went on to live an industrious life, pursuing education in her later years and earning a bachelor's degree from St. John's University in 1985. She also earned a master's degree in Urban Studies from Queens College in 1990. Because of her heroic stance on the Jim Crow laws, she was eventually offered an honorary doctorate from the historically black, well-renowned Howard University, but she turned it down, asserting it was inappropriate to receive a degree she had not earned.

More than half a century after her public stand against segregationist laws in Gloucester, Morgan was honored by the community in its 350th anniversary celebration. On January 8, 2001, President Bill Clinton awarded her the Presidential Citizens Medal, the country's second-highest civilian honor.

Morgan passed away in 2007 in Hayes, Virginia, at the age of 90.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Freedom Riders; Jim Crow Laws; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; People of Color; Segregation.

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Irish Americans

The Irish were the first and largest early group of immigrants into the United States. Today, Irish Americans remain one of America's largest ethnic groups, with almost 37 million Americans of Irish descent. They take great pride in both their American identity and their Irish heritage and traditions, elements that have infused the national culture.

Even before the United States gained independence, more than 100,000 Irish, both Catholics and Protestants, had already arrived. One Irish American, Senator Charles Carroll of Maryland, signed the Declaration of Independence (he was also the only Catholic), and another, Representative Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania, signed the U.S. Constitution.

Since most Irish spoke English (however, many were illiterate), they did not face the linguistic isolation experienced by most of the later groups of immigrants. Yet, they soon encountered discrimination based on their physical appearance, on their willingness to take low-paying jobs, and, in the case of Irish Catholics, on their religion. Enmity between the Irish and the British was already deeply entrenched. That enmity quickly influenced American perceptions of Irish immigrants.

Generally poor, most Irish looked for inexpensive places to rent. They quickly clustered into urban neighborhoods in such eastern cities as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Irish urban enclaves often bordered on, or crowded next to, neighborhoods that housed poor, but free, African Americans.

This established a pattern that later immigrant groups would replicate: the creation of

self-contained ethnic neighborhoods, often referred to as ghettos. Over time, many large cities became dotted by ethnic neighborhoods that defended their turf. Those who crossed the lines of demarcation could face possible reprisal from ethnic gangs, some of which were in well-established Irish American neighborhoods.

An Irish American stereotype soon emerged, combining visual representation and pejorative labels. Irish American neighborhoods became viewed as shantytowns, so “shanty Irish” entered the American lexicon as one of the early ethnic pejoratives. Anglo-American cartoonists delighted in exaggerating certain facial characteristics by creating an “Irish” look, characterized by a pug nose, a long upper lip and jaw, and certain curly hair styles. Men were depicted as “paddy,” the cheerful local bartender, or the street tough with a chip on his shoulder. Females were labeled “biddy,” the fumbling and inefficient domestic worker.

Religious Conflict

In 1789, there were only about 30,000 Catholics in the United States, most in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The arrival of postindependence Irish immigrants swelled that number. Although many of the early Irish settlers were Protestants from Ulster, by the 1830s, most Irish immigrants were Catholic. The Catholic Church helped provide a special sense of identity, as well as places to meet, organize, find recreation, and learn of job opportunities, yet it also contributed to Irish Americans becoming a target of prejudice.

America’s first organized anti-immigration hostility focused on the Irish, with the formation of such groups as the Know-Nothing Party and, later, the American Protective Association. Some nativists used anti-Catholic scare tactics, proclaiming that Irish Americans were part of a papal plot to take over parts of the United States. Outraged by the presence of “heathens” in their midst, some Americans responded by burning Catholic churches and convents. In some cities, anti-Catholicism became so severe that the Knights of Columbus escorted Catholic women on the streets.

This animosity contributed to Irish Americans coalescing further into a distinct ethnic group. In the process, they began to reshape Catholicism in America, redefining traditional theology

without totally rejecting it. Private and public schools forced Irish American children to recite Protestant versions of the Lord’s Prayer. This led to student strikes and ultimately to the formation of Catholic parochial schools.

Moreover, conflicts emerged between Irish Americans and Catholics of other ethnic backgrounds. The latter did not always welcome Irish priests, viewing them as uneducated and holding them partially responsible for the drunkenness and violence that were seen as characteristic of Irish American neighborhoods. This was exacerbated by the emergence of mid-19th-century Irish gangs, and ultimately Irish participation in organized crime.

Although Catholics dominated the Irish American public image, Irish Protestants settled in the Appalachian Mountains and took up subsistence farming. Unlike Irish Catholics, they accepted regional mores like prohibitions against dancing, theater, and card playing. This helped them blend in with the larger group known as British Borderers. From this arose the concept of the Scots-Irish.

Immigration and War

Ireland’s Great Famine (1845–52) produced the next major wave of Irish immigrants, numbering approximately one million. Half settled in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. In Boston, Irish American men soon constituted half of all unskilled laborers. In New York, Irish American women became almost three-fourths of domestics.

Between 1860 and 1890, an additional two million Irish arrived. By the beginning of the 20th century, approximately five million first- and second-generation Irish Americans were living in the United States. After 1920, the pace of Irish immigration declined.

Irish Americans fought on both sides during the Civil War. Some 20,000 took up arms for the Confederacy, but the majority fought for the Union. However, many Irish Americans joined the Union Army simply to provide themselves with food and regular wages, not from any commitment to preserving the Union. Since the law allowed those drafted to “hire” a substitute, prosperous men would pay as much as \$300 for a substitute. This served as an inducement to poor Irish Americans to fill the slots.

Irish Americans were in competition with African Americans for jobs. Therefore, they were not generally supportive of President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which they feared would jeopardize their progress. The announcement of a new draft quota from New York City sparked further anger. On July 13, 1863, working-class Irish Catholics took to the streets of New York, wielding weapons in the New York Draft Riots. The following week brought violence and looting, including the burning of an African American orphanage and the lynching of black men from lampposts. By the time that Union troops had quelled the rioting, more than 1,000 people had lost their lives, and the property damage totaled in the millions.

Moving Up and Out

Despite their rural roots, the majority of Irish immigrants remained in cities near their ports of arrival or moved to other port cities. Many men became priests, policemen, firemen, or saloon keepers, while women who aspired to move beyond domestic service became nuns and schoolteachers.

Through hard work and the accumulation of resources, many Irish Americans achieved economic and social success. Some gained fame for their achievements, such as Robert Fulton, the child of Irish immigrants, who invented the first working commercial steamboat. Many who could afford better housing moved out of Irish American neighborhoods. In the process, they became known as "lace-curtain Irish," contrasting with the "shanty Irish."

Westward expansion and the development of industry also provided new opportunities. Soon, many Irish became involved in canal and railroad construction, mining, and the burgeoning textile, iron, and steel industries. Along with this came growing Irish participation in labor protests. Ultimately, Irish Americans took major leadership roles in the labor movement, with such figures as Terence Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, and later Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and William George Meany, president of the combined American Federation of Labor-CIO.

A minority of Irish Americans became known as "two-boat Irish," traveling westward to take up farming along the American frontier as it

advanced from Michigan to California. By the late 19th century, San Francisco became noted for its cluster of shanty and lace-curtain Irish. The late 19th century also saw a surge of Irish American monetary remittances to family members remaining in Ireland.

Politics provided yet another avenue for Irish Americans to participate in American society. They joined, and worked their way up within, local political machines, sometimes becoming political bosses and candidates for elected office. These achievements provided them with access to political patronage, which allowed them to place other Irish Americans in police and fire departments, as well as in lucrative jobs within city bureaucracies. Irish American ward politicians and city bureaucrats could ensure that Irish American companies and workers participated in government-funded construction contracts.

Irish American President

In 1960, a major breakthrough for Irish Americans and Catholics occurred: the election of John Fitzgerald Kennedy as president of the United States. In 1928, another Irish American, Democratic Governor Alfred Smith of New York, had run for the presidency, the first Catholic to do so. He was soundly defeated by Republican Herbert Hoover, with anti-Catholicism playing a significant role in his defeat.

The Kennedy family reflected the history of Irish Americans. John Kennedy's grandfather had emigrated from Ireland during the Great Famine. His father had become wealthy in the liquor business and was appointed by President Franklin Roosevelt to head the newly formed Securities and Exchange Commission.

The Kennedy family was concerned about a possible replay of the Smith campaign. John Kennedy, however, publicly confronted concerns about his religion, assuring voters that the Pope would play no role in American politics. After receiving the Democratic nomination, Kennedy defeated Republican Richard Nixon in the general election. Contributing to his victory were changes in post-World War II American society. Irish Americans, including war hero Kennedy, had acquitted themselves with honor during World War II. After the war, they took advantage of educational opportunities provided by the G.I. Bill.

Kennedy's victory was the culmination of the Irish American dream of becoming an integral part of the United States. Following Kennedy's 1963 assassination, his brother Robert stepped to the plate. At the time of his 1968 assassination, Bobby Kennedy had become a front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination. By the time Ronald Reagan, a third-generation Irish American Protestant, won the presidency in 1980, his ethnic background was not an issue.

Culture

As symbolized by John F. Kennedy, Irish Americans have successfully become integrated into American society, often through intermarriage. At the same time, they have made their mark on U.S. culture. Nowhere is this more evident than in the celebration of St. Patrick's Day. A Catholic commemoration of the man who brought Christianity to the Emerald Isle, St. Patrick's Day has evolved into an annual celebration in which Americans of all backgrounds partake. Because of the day's popularity, it is said that everyone becomes Irish on March 17, while the "wearing of the green" has become almost compulsory for those with as much as a hint of Irish ancestry.

Irish fiddle music is considered to have strongly influenced the evolution of American country music, particularly in the Appalachian area. Irish musical instruments such as pipes, flute, fiddle, concertina, and harp have spread from parlor performances to the stage. Professional dancers perform Irish jigs and reels throughout the country. Irish folklore and humor have merged into the American mainstream.

Irish restaurants specialize in such dishes as Irish stew, soda bread, and black-and-white pudding. Although it has become modernized, the Irish wake is still held to honor the dead.

Irish Americans have had a particularly powerful impact on popular culture. Major figures include playwright Eugene O'Neill, novelists F. Scott Fitzgerald and John O'Hara, composer Victor Herbert, humorist Will Rogers, television host and newspaper columnist Ed Sullivan, and circus clown Emmett Kelly. Many Irish American actors have achieved stage and screen renown, including Buster Keaton, James Cagney, Spencer Tracy, Bing Crosby, John Wayne, Errol Flynn, Maureen O'Hara, Maureen O'Sullivan and her daughter

Mia Farrow, Grace Kelly, Mickey Rooney, Carroll O'Connor, and Jack Nicholson.

Contemporary Scene

The 1980s saw another wave of 100,000 to 150,000 Irish immigrants. Many were well educated, and many were undocumented. Most found work in bartending, construction, and food service in established, Irish-owned businesses.

In 2010, about one-third of Irish Americans held at least a bachelor's degree and some 92 percent of those eligible had finished high school, compared to 85 percent of the total American population. Irish Americans tend to be slightly wealthier than the average American, with a median income of \$52,290, as compared to a national average of \$52,029. Among Irish Americans in the workforce, some 40 percent were in management and professional fields, 27 percent in sales and office work, 15 percent in service occupations, 10 percent in production and transportation, and 8 percent in construction or similar work. More than 70 percent of Irish Americans owned their homes.

Measured by the census and financial standing, as well as their ascension to the highest public office in the land, Irish Americans have arrived.

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See Also: *Abie's Irish Rose*; Acculturation/Assimilation; English Americans; Irish Potato Famine; Northern Irish Americans; Presidency, U.S.; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Scots-Irish Americans; Scottish Americans; St. Patrick's Day; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Welsh Americans.

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Irish Potato Famine

The Irish Potato Famine, also called the Great Famine, the Irish Famine, and other combinations of these phrases, refers to the disaster of the mid-19th century that resulted in the starvation of millions of Irish as well as many others in the European continent. The combined effect of widespread death, lowered fertility rates, and emigration to other countries reduced the country's population by about a quarter.

Setting the Stage for Famine

Barely a century and a half later, it can be difficult to understand how the loss of a single crop could so devastate a country, but Ireland's food supply was deeply dependent on the potato, specifically the Irish Lumper variety. From 1844 to 1847, the Irish potato harvest fell from about 15 million

tons to just over 2 million tons. The expansion of the Irish economy in the late 18th century had been conducted on the back of the potato, which became the staple food of the poor during winter and times of poor harvests because of its long-keeping properties, its ease of production, and its flexibility as a crop. Two-thirds of the country depended on farming for their livelihood, and few farmers were paid a significant wage; most lived off of, or were given a portion of, the crop they raised, which gave them very little flexibility during times of crop failure. Further, they had few choices in what to grow, and Irish farming was nearly a monoculture devoted to the potato crop. Though they knew the crop could be unreliable—the government had recorded 24 failures of the potato harvest of varying severity since 1728, including a total failure in 1839—this was also true of most other crops, and the fungus-like



An illustration in the December 4, 1886 issue of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper depicts Irish peasants seizing the potato crop of an evicted tenant in Kerry. Although the Irish Potato Famine had ended over 30 years earlier, its long-term effects would shape Irish society for nearly a century. The subdivision of small peasant landholdings ended; since access to rural Irish land was essential to support a married couple, landholding fathers arranged their children's marriages. Many remaining, unmarried women emigrated to America.

oomycete responsible for the 1840s potato famine had not previously appeared. Before then, most crop failures resulted from a condition farmers called “dry rot.”

At the start of the famine, 40 percent of Irish tenant farms were under 15 acres, and about a quarter were under five acres. As a result, few Irish had enough land on which to ranch, and few crops available at the time, other than the potato, could be produced in great enough quantities to provide enough reliable sustenance, especially in the winter months. Some potatoes could be kept in cellars, while tubers could lie safely in near-frozen fields and laboriously be dug up as necessary, alongside winter crops like carrots and rutabagas.

Under the 1801 Act of Union, Ireland was directly governed as part of the United Kingdom under the lord lieutenant and chief secretary, both of whom were appointed by the British government. Most Irish legislators in the House of Commons and House of Lords were landowners, and the peasant population had little political voice or power, similar to the Catholic population. Although Catholics constituted at least three-quarters of the population, they had been forbidden by law, during most of the 18th century, from owning or leasing land, voting, holding office, entering a profession, or obtaining an education.

Before the famine, the country had for decades dealt with rampant unemployment, widespread poverty, and a population frequently on the brink of economic calamity. The peasant farmer system, which kept numerous farmers poor and dependent on the land while raising cattle for the British market, was dependent on the potato to feed both its peasants and its cattle and other livestock. About a third of the crop in late prefamine years was used for livestock, which suffered considerably when this crop was lost.

The proximate cause of the famine was the fungus-like organism *Phytophthora infestans*, one of several organisms commonly referred to as blight. One of the reasons the *P. infestans*-induced failure was more serious than previous crop failures may be the degree to which *P. infestans* is contagious. It easily travels from plant to plant, its spores frequently crossing countries on the wind; researchers believe it was introduced to Europe by ships traveling from North America, only to reinfect North America a few years later. Blight

affects all members of the nightshade family, notably potatoes and tomatoes, and especially prospers in cold, damp conditions, as sunlight limits its ability to propagate. *P. infestans* struck Ireland for the first time in 1845. In fact, much of Europe was hit; the potato crop of the Scottish Highlands was lost beginning in 1846, leading to a six-year famine among the Scots. Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, France, Wurttemberg, Prussia, the Netherlands, and Spain were also impacted, though only Belgium's crop was as severely impacted as Ireland's—in most countries, the crop declined by 25 to 50 percent. In all of Europe outside Ireland, the death toll is believed to have been about 100,000. The toll was at least 10 times higher in Ireland, a much smaller geographic area. Fertility fell by about 10 to 15 percent in the affected continental countries and by a third in Ireland.

Response to the Crisis

The government was slow to respond to the crisis. Requested by a delegation of citizens from Dublin to lift a ban on importing foreign grains—one of the remedies used by the Belgian government, facing a smaller version of the same problem—the lord lieutenant responded that their alarm was premature. The government even refused to temporarily suspend distillation of liquor, which could have diverted grains to providing food for the hungry. The Corn Laws, which kept the price of bread prohibitively high through tariffs on imported grain, were finally repealed in 1846, but by that point, the famine had worsened to the point that it was too little help. Some historians have pointed out that food exports actually increased during the famine years; far from indicating that the famine was less serious, it actually points to the declining purchasing power of the Irish at the time. Although bacon and ham were still produced in the country, the domestic market for them had shrunk: poor farmers previously living off potatoes could not afford to buy ham instead.

The Irish prided themselves on not accepting English charity, although unbeknownst to them, the British prime minister had arranged for the purchase of American corn, which was sold on the Irish market at a loss. The effort was to little effect, as the Irish had little experience with dried corn, which is laborious to cook and would have

required stone grinding in grist mills for easier cooking applications. One of the more famous donations to the Irish poor came from a group of U.S. Choctaws, who collected over \$700, having only recently recovered from starvation themselves after the Trail of Tears.

Irish nationalist sentiment—which bristled under the yoke of English rule—strengthened fast during the famine, which the Irish increasingly blamed not on *P. infestans* but on English mismanagement of resources and an inept (or uncaring) response to the crisis. When the young political writer John Mitchel, looking back on events, wrote in 1861 that “The Almighty sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine,” he crystallized both conventional wisdom and dangerous sedition. He was convicted of felony treason and exiled to Bermuda for 14 years. Mitchel had been part of the Young Ireland party, which campaigned for the repeal of the Act of Union and freedom from the United Kingdom. A failed nationalist uprising, the Young Irelander Rebellion was one of the many revolutions of 1848 that transpired across Europe in response to issues exacerbated by famine.

Fleeing Ireland

Legally, landlords were responsible for paying the rent of tenants who weren’t able to pay the full amount of their rent to the government, which resulted in the eviction of their poorest tenants to avoid the burden of growing debt. Some of these evictions were especially unscrupulous: Unpaying tenants could be sent to debtors’ prison, and summoning such tenants to court was usually sufficient to impel them to flee town. In many cases, it was in the landlord’s financial interest to pay to send poor families overseas (usually to Canada), with promises of work awaiting them or money to see them through—promises that were not kept. The Encumbered Estates Act in 1849 also contributed to evictions in Ireland, providing further motivation (or need) for emigration. Although mass emigration from Ireland began in the 1700s and accelerated in the 19th century, the famine contributed to a significant spike.

The steady flow of emigration out of Ireland slowed but did not abate once the famine conditions improved. By the end of the century, 40 percent of people born in Ireland were living in

another country; by World War I, about 5 million had moved to the United States. The steady flow of Irish immigration to the United States contributed to the saturation of Irishness in the population. Although there are parts of the country with larger Irish populations than others, in general the Irish is one of the best-distributed ethnicities, with about one-seventh of the United States identifying Irish as their primary ethnicity.

During the famine years, emigration commonly flowed to England, the United States, Canada, and Australia, countries where English was spoken, cultural ties existed, and fair opportunities could be expected. Many of those who left Ireland sent remittances (a portion of one’s pay) to support their families back home. Despite the common portrait of immigrant groups consisting of a mixture of whole families and single men, just as many women left Ireland as did men, meaning that a surprising percentage of emigrants was made up of single women. Most of the Irish immigrants to the United States in this period settled in eastern cities, and by the 1850s they made up at least a quarter of the population of cities such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore (as well as Toronto, Canada).

About as many left Scotland as Ireland (an estimated 1 million famine refugees), assisted by the government as part of the ongoing Highland Clearances, which had begun in the previous century. The Highland Clearances were a prolonged emigration from Scotland by its native inhabitants over the course of a century, mostly involuntary, in response to economic and political changes forced upon the population by the aristocracy. The Scottish diaspora settled much of eastern Canada (Nova Scotia is Latin for “New Scotland”) and settled in the United States and South America as well.

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See Also: Diaspora; European Americans; Food; Irish Americans; Scots-Irish Americans; St. Patrick’s Day.

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Iroquois Confederacy

The Iroquois Confederacy has long been recognized, studied, and discussed as one of the earliest Native American democracies. The Iroquois Confederacy comprised five original signing nations and a sixth that joined in 1722. The Haudenosaunee, as they refer to themselves, comprised the nations of Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Tuscarora. The Haudenosaunee have been referred to as the Iroquois Confederacy and the Five (and later Six) Nations, historically. The original homelands of the Haudenosaunee are centered in upstate New York, with the Seneca Nation in the west, the Mohawk Nation in the east, and the core centered at the Onondaga Nation in present-day Syracuse, New York.

Treaties and Contact

The Haudenosaunee have long been leaders in indigenous rights and recognition issues, beginning with contact with the early explorers. One of the first treaties negotiated between the Haudenosaunee and a European power was originally made between the Mohawks and the Dutch explorers in 1613. The belt that records this treaty is known as the Guswenta (Two-Row) Wampum. The Guswenta became a tool of negotiation between the Haudenosaunee and those who succeeded the Dutch, including the English, the French, and eventually the Americans. The Guswenta would serve as a model of diplomacy for the next two centuries, arguably even into the modern era. Other major treaties and frameworks between the Haudenosaunee and Western peoples include

the Covenant Chain of Friendship, the Treaty of Canandaigua of 1794, and controversial treaties like the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

Metaphors of the Iroquois Confederacy

Using the metaphors of the great white pine tree, bundled arrows, and notions of consensus in reaching decisions affecting clan, nation, and confederacy, the Iroquois codified these frameworks into the Great Law. At the core of the Great Law is thinking with the Good Mind. Debate has centered on two unique aspects of the Great Law of Peace and the Iroquois Confederacy. One is the founding date of the confederacy. The other debate centered on whether or not the Founding Fathers were influenced or borrowed ideas from the Great Law of Peace in their vision for the United States.

Age of the Iroquois Confederacy

The founding date has long been a source of contention between academics and traditional thinkers and oral historians of the confederacy. Academics have stated the date of the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy as between 1450 and 1650, often preferring the 1650 date. Academics have long believed that the confederacy formed in direct or inferred response to European contact and trade. William N. Fenton, Elizabeth Tooker, Dean Snow, and others spearhead this line of thinking. Barbara Mann, Jerry Fields, and Bruce Johansen have argued for an earlier date of formation, using elements contained in the oral history of the Great Law, placing the date at 1142—far earlier than previously thought.

Some holders of tradition, speakers of the longhouse, and oral historians and leaders of the traditional communities place the date of the formation of the Great Law in the late 10th century, based on the oral culture so heralded for the verbatim recitations recounted by early observers and academics alike of the Haudenosaunee.

Iroquois Influence Theory

A debate has raged for 25 years about the influence of the Iroquois on the Founding Fathers. Donald Grinde and Bruce Johansen are most noted for advancing this argument. All the while, Fenton, Tooker, Snow, and other scholars of the Iroquois have resisted the argument for influence of the Haudenosaunee on the Founding Fathers.

Benjamin Franklin wrote the following in a letter to James Parker in 1751:

It would be a strange thing if Six Nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such an union, and be able to execute it in such a manner as that it has subsisted ages and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interests.

The following quote by Onondaga Chief Canasatego, addressing the British colonists at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744, also points toward the influence of the confederation of the Iroquois as a model for the Founding Fathers:

We heartily recommend union and a good agreement between you our brethren. Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the five nations; this has made us formidable, this has given us great weight and authority with our neighboring nations. We are a powerful confederacy, and by your observing the same methods our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power.

Perhaps the most definitive acknowledgment stemming from, but by no means solving, this long-simmering debate, the House Concurrent Resolution 331 in October 1988, acknowledged the influence of the Iroquois upon the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Seneca scholar John Mohawk once said the following:

Is it possible that the Founding Fathers would have arrived at Confederation as a model for their government, based upon European thinking and ideas alone? It is possible, but given the fact that they were surrounded by seas of Indian confederacies up and down the eastern seaboard, is it more likely they observed functioning models of democracy upon which to build their new government and political thought.

Model of Governance

What was this model of governance as outlined in the constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy? To the Haudenosaunee, decisions were reached through a model of consensus in a true model of participatory democracy. Clanmothers and chiefs represented their clans or extended families involved in this decision-making process that affected the entire Confederacy. Each nation had a set number of clans.

The nations were divided into Younger Brothers (Cayuga, Oneida, and Tuscarora) and Elder Brothers (Seneca, Onondaga, and Mohawk). Any issue facing the confederacy was passed across the council fire for deliberation, finally arriving at a solution. These decisions were not only passed across the fire, but decisions also were always made with those “generations yet unborn” in mind. The leaders would ask themselves, “What will those generations yet unborn say of those decisions we make here today?” This was the guiding principle and aim of the Great Law. The leaders and the people were to always use the good mind in reaching consensus by passing issues across the fire in order to solve them.

The Younger Brothers would take up an issue and, through debate and discourse, arrive at a decision based upon consensus. Once consensus had been reached by the Younger Brothers, the issue was passed over to the Onondagas, who were the keepers of the council fire. At this point, the Onondagas would raise concerns, ask questions, or return the issue to the Younger Brothers for further deliberation.

If consensus was reached among the Onondagas, the issue was passed over to the Elder Brothers (Seneca and Mohawk) for consideration. Here, too, once consensus was reached among the Seneca and Mohawk, the decision was returned to the Onondagas. As with the Younger Brothers, the Onondagas would raise concerns, ask questions, or return the issue to the Seneca and Mohawks for further deliberations before it was passed to the Younger Brothers.

At this point, the proposed solution to the issue facing the confederacy was then passed across the fire to the people for final approval. Only if the proposed solution was agreed to by the people was the issue then considered resolved. When the proposed solution was not agreed to by the

people, then the council and leadership resumed deliberations to solve the issue to the people's satisfaction.

Consensus Among the Iroquois

Consensus was not merely unanimity of thought or majority rule. Consensus was allowing all voices to be heard but arriving at a point where the best outcomes for the people won out, rather than sustained personal objections. The value and genius of the Great Law lay in that all voices were heard, and participation was valued highly, for it affected the future generations. All people were included in this process; men, women, and children were allowed and even encouraged to participate in the decision-making process of the Great Law.

Good Mind, Great Law, and Thanksgiving

A cornerstone of the Haudenosaunee philosophical worldview and framework was the notion and understanding of the Good Mind. The Good Mind brings forth decisions that benefit all, not just the individual. In other words, the Good Mind begins with the extended family, or the clan. The clan, clanmother, and chief use the Good Mind to help make decisions for individual nations. The nations met to agree on the best course forward for the confederacy, all the while keeping in mind those future generations yet unborn.

The root of the Good Mind is acknowledging all the bounty of the natural world and the people with a grateful mind or with thanksgiving at the heart of it. A model for understanding this notion of the Good Mind is contained in the Thanksgiving Address, which was spoken at any event, be it social, political, or ceremonial in nature. Most of these frameworks are also contained in the narrative of creation and demonstrated by those spiritual that created this world around us, which rests upon the Great Turtle's back.

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See Also: Mohawk; Native Americans; Oneida; Seneca.

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Israeli Americans

Israelis have immigrated to the United States since Israel gained independent statehood in 1948. Israeli Americans have, in this relatively short time period, become a culturally and politically powerful force in the United States with unique social and cultural trends that demarcate a much different immigrant experience from what is typical for newcomers to America.

Historical Development

Israel gained its independence in 1948, and soon thereafter Israelis started to immigrate to the United States in two waves. The first wave of Israeli immigration saw more than 300,000 Israeli citizens relocate to the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. The second wave of Israeli immigration started in the mid-1970s and remains in force today. Interestingly, estimates of how many Israelis arrived during that period vary wildly, and U.S. Census data are unreliable on this point; the official 2010 count says that there are approximately 140,000 Israeli Americans, but other sources

think that number is much higher in reality. The Israeli consulate in New York states that there are more than 600,000 Israeli Americans today. One reason for this discrepancy could be that many Israelis are originally from other countries and might have listed their countries of origin when they arrived in the United States. The size of the largest urban populations of Israeli Americans seem to belie the census numbers.

The second (and continuing) wave of Israeli migration to the United States is connected in large part to ongoing political upheaval and violence in the Middle East that results in feelings of insecurity in the region. Israelis are also motivated to relocate to America because the close connections between Israel and the United States render American culture familiar to Israelis. In the 1990s, Sephardic Israelis found ethnic discrimination another factor that made immigrating attractive. Finally, because such a high number of Israelis are well educated and skilled, they have a distinct advantage in the American job market in contrast to the Israeli market, which is more saturated with skilled, educated workers.

Large populations of Israeli Americans are located in New York, California, and Florida, although Israeli Americans can be found all over the United States. Because of chain migration—by which immigrants from certain areas follow others from their home city or neighborhood to a particular city or neighborhood in their new country—New York City and Los Angeles are home to almost half of the Israeli Americans living in the United States.

Israeli American Culture

Israeli Americans have achieved what has probably been an easier transition to American life than has been experienced by most immigrant groups. A very high percentage of Israeli immigrants are highly educated and have discrete occupational skills; this fact sets them apart from most other immigrant groups, which experience the difficulties of ghettoization in low-paying, unskilled occupations. Israeli Americans tend to achieve material independence and the security that comes with it relatively quickly.

Most Israeli immigrants also have both familial and community support networks in place in the United States. These networks aid transitioning

into American culture and also insulate Israeli Americans from feeling alienated by those aspects of the U.S. culture that are more at odds with their past experience. Israeli Americans have formed widespread, active communities within their areas of resettlement and in this way have remained connected to Israel. Hebrew language media as well as hobbyist and professional groups bring Israeli Americans together.

Overwhelmingly, Israeli Americans profess their eventual intent to return to Israel. This protects them from total American assimilation and serves as a protective measure against the backlash they experience from both the state of Israel (which resists Israeli immigration to America) and American Jews. American Jews are generally welcoming toward Jewish immigrants, but the influx of Israelis to the United States tends to contradict the message of Zionist success that has been supported by American Jews. Thus, immigration carries with it a connotation of failure and even disloyalty, as reflected in the Hebrew term *yordim*, applied to Israeli Americans, which means that rather than rising up out of the diaspora and entering Israel (*olim*), they have abandoned Israel in favor of diaspora. Although approximately one-third of Israeli immigrants acquire permanent U.S. citizenship through marriage and many others become citizens through alternative channels, overwhelmingly Israeli Americans identify as Israelis rather than as Americans—probably in large part because of these negative associations with immigration.

Judaism and Israeli Americans

Israeli Americans maintain a stable of traditions that are rooted in Judaism. The Torah is the name for the first five books of the Hebrew Bible and is alternatively known as Jewish written law. The Torah sets forth holidays, the Sabbath, and the 613 *mitzvoh*, or commandments, which are the basis for many traditions. Circumcision of male children, the reading of the *Shema* morning and night, the prohibition of travel on Shabbat, the laws of kosher eating—these all arise from the 613 *mitzvoh*.

Other Israeli American customs are more of an amalgam of Jewish traditions and earlier, geographically based practices. An example of this is belief in the “evil eye,” which is most familiar to mainstream Americans through the image of the

hamsa, the image of the eye with the hand in the palm. Customs like the use of the hamsa spring from designs of fending off evil forces, especially in the context of the birth of a child.

Jewish holidays are important in Israeli American communities. The holidays arise primarily from the mitzvoh but are also influenced by rabbinical mandate and tradition. Shabbat itself, the day of rest on the seventh night of each week, is central to Israeli American culture. Shabbat begins at sundown on Friday and ends at sundown on Saturday. It is often said that “as Israel has kept the Shabbat, the Shabbat has kept Israel.”

Of the holidays that come less frequently, Yom Kippur is the holiest day of the year and focuses on atonement. Most commonly, Israeli Americans will fast and refrain from working on Yom Kippur (with the observance starting at sundown, as with all holy days). Occurring soon before Yom Kippur in autumn, Rosh Hashanah is the Jewish New Year or day of remembrance. Like the “twice a year” Christians that make up much of American culture (attending church only on Christmas and Easter), “twice a year” Israeli American Jews generally attend synagogue on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Passover, which commemorates the Exodus of the Jews from Egypt, comes in springtime. In Israel, Passover is seven days long, and this is most commonly the observance of Israeli Americans as well.

Of the less important holidays celebrated by Israeli Americans, most notable are probably Hanukkah, Sukkot, and Purim. Hanukkah gets extra attention from mainstream American culture because of its proximity to Christmas, but this is incidental and unrelated to the holiday itself, which commemorates the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem after a successful revolt. Although the date of each holiday of import to Israeli American culture changes each year according to the U.S. calendar, the holidays are actually on the same date each year according to the Jewish calendar, which is lunar.

Language and Culture

The official languages of Israel are Hebrew and Arabic, although most Israeli Americans speak Hebrew rather than Arabic. The preservation of Hebrew has historically been an important bonding point for Jews worldwide, and Israeli

Americans are no exception; probably 80 percent of first-generation Israeli Americans speak Hebrew at home. However, compared with other immigrant groups in the United States, Israeli Americans tend to learn English quickly, and only about 5 percent are not proficient with English. Similar to other immigrant groups in America, each generation born in the United States becomes more entrenched in mainstream culture: Those born in second- or later-generation Israeli American homes are much less likely to speak Hebrew in the home. Ashkenazic Israelis (those who originated in Europe, with the exception of the Iberian Peninsula) also tend to speak Yiddish, which is a blend of Hebrew and German. Sephardic Israelis came to Israel from Spain, Portugal, North Africa, and the Middle East, and they often speak Ladino, a sort of Spanish/Judeo language, in addition to Hebrew.

Family and Cultural Values

Given the history of persecution faced by Jews, it is no surprise that family and community are of the utmost importance in Israeli American society. Many traditions such as observing the Sabbath, even when practiced by essentially secular Israeli Americans, in practice bring families closer. Most Israeli American immigrants in the United States marry and have children.

There is at times a tension between the Israeli American emphasis on child rearing and the difficulty of inculcating American-born Israeli American children with more traditional values. Israeli American cultural values are often in conflict with mainstream American cultural values; competitive and materialistic attitudes as well as lack of motivation to succeed (whether real or perceived) are seen as problematic American values that conflict with Israeli American ideals. One result of this struggle to ensure that Israeli American children are exposed to the culture of their homeland has been the creation of various programs designed to involve Israeli American children in the culture of Israel. For example, each summer, many Israeli American young people spend their school break experiencing Israel in programs like Tzofim Chetz V’Keshet. Locally in larger U.S. cities like New York and Los Angeles, the Israeli American community sponsors educational programs and cultural events.

Judaism is a patriarchal belief system and, historically, Jewish women have been restricted to their roles within the family. In the past, they often missed educational and professional opportunities. Today, though, Jewish women worldwide have made significant strides toward equality of opportunity, and most female Israeli Americans are as educated as their male peers. Even so, Israeli American women are more likely to stay at home to raise their children than are women in American society as a whole; this is more of a cultural decision than an enforced norm.

There is an unexpected conflict at times between Israeli Americans and American Jews when it comes to the role of religion in day-to-day life. American Jews generally are more religiously observant than are Israeli Jews, in part because American Jews have had to maintain their culture and belief systems despite outside pressures to assimilate. For American Jews, their cultural space is their religious space; this is different in Israel, because although the broader society is Jewish, the culture exists outside religious groups and gatherings. Israelis are not accustomed to minority cultural experiences and at times see American Jews as overly religious. Not surprisingly, then, American Jews are often offended by what they perceive to be a nonchalance on the part of some Israeli Americans toward Judaism and take it as a personal insult, especially given

widespread Jewish American support for Zionism. Further division is caused by what Israeli immigrants see as a Jewish American adoption of American materialism.

In the final analysis, Israeli Americans find themselves torn between American Judaism, which is largely religious, and Israel's more secular version. This is an uncomfortable dilemma, especially for a people who place the cultural education of their children at a premium. Many Israeli Americans eventually choose to place their children in American Jewish schools or other programs; after all, American Jewish culture is not as far removed from Israeli American culture as is mainstream American culture. Paradoxically, first-generation Israeli immigrants often find themselves in conflict with their children, the parents more culturally traditional and the children more religious.

Contemporary Scene

Israeli Americans continue to have higher average incomes than the rest of the United States. As a group, they are well educated and focused on entrepreneurial success. Israeli Americans have the second-highest rate of self-employment among all immigrant groups in the United States. Even as they transition to life in the United States, Israeli Americans are much less likely than other immigrant groups (or native-born Americans) to



*As a group, Israeli Americans tend to be well educated, are focused on entrepreneurial success, and have higher-than-average incomes. The fame and success of a number of Israeli Americans have impacted American culture. Some examples include Ami Miron (left), entrepreneur and television technology developer; Natalie Portman (center), actress and star of numerous films, including *Black Swan* and *V for Vendetta*; and Yuval Waldman, violinist and conductor, teacher, and professor at New York University.*

use government benefits and tend to have a low unemployment rate.

Israeli Americans generally maintain strong ties to Israel and follow Israeli politics. Israeli newspapers and other publications are commonly found in the American cities with larger Israeli American communities. Even those Israeli Americans who become naturalized U.S. citizens tend to support American politicians who adopt pro-Israel policies.

Israeli Americans impact American culture as they find fame and success in mainstream culture. Notable Israeli American actors are Topol and Natalie Portman, and many Israeli Americans have become producers, screenwriters, and other behind-the-scenes entertainment professionals. Musicians Itzhak Perlman and Gene Simmons have attained international acclaim, and there are many Israeli American political players of note, such as Rahm Emanuel, mayor of Chicago and former White House chief of staff.

Although they do find themselves part of larger groups—immigrants in the United States, Jews in the United States, Israelis worldwide—Israeli Americans maintain a unique cultural identity. Their continued ties to Israel despite the many contributions they have made during their lives in America give the community a unique flavor, characterized in large part by the uncertainty of any final destination as a group.

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See Also: American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Beth Din; Diaspora; Halakha; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; Jordanian Americans; Kosher; Palestinian Americans; World Jewish Congress; Yeshiva; Yiddish; Zionism.

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Italian Americans

By the time the 1921 and 1924 immigration quota acts put an end to the mass influx of Europeans to the United States, Italians had become the second-most-numerous immigrant minority in the country, after Germans. Today, Italian Americans are the fifth-largest ethnic group, as roughly 17.6 million people claimed an Italian ancestry in the 2010 U.S. Census. The number of Italian Americans who acknowledge their national descent has increased in the last three decades, yet their ethnic heritage has acquired a primarily symbolic meaning that expresses itself mainly in leisure-time activities. Instead, as for their hard-core identity, most individuals from Italian background now think of themselves as either Americans or white Europeans.

The Italian presence in North America dates back to colonial times. The Virginia Company sent Italian glassworkers to Jamestown in the early 17th century. Tuscan Filippo Mazzei was a friend of Thomas Jefferson, and his political thought probably inspired the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. The signers of the latter included William Paca, a descendant of Italian Waldensians.

However, the number of Italian immigrants remained negligible until the late 19th century. In 1860, fewer than 12,000 Italians lived in the United States. Most of them were merchants, artisans, music or language teachers, and political exiles who had fled their native land in the wake of the early struggles for the political unification of their nation. They became fluent in English and joined the middle class. As such, they were welcome as the dignified progeny of Dante

Alighieri or the great artists of the Renaissance. Almost nobody doubted that they could be easily assimilated. After all, they demonstrated their attachment to their adoptive country by fighting loyally with the troops of their respective home states during the Civil War.

Mass Immigration and Anti-Italian Prejudices

It was only after the 1870s that immigration from Italy became a massive influx. From 1880 to 1920, more than 4.1 million people from this country landed in the United States, with a peak of some 2 million between 1901 and 1910. Repatriation was high and equaled 30 to 50 percent of arrivals, according to different estimates. Most Italians had a sojourner mentality. They planned to go back to their birthplace and to enjoy there the money they anticipated making in America in a few years of hard work and saving. Yet not many became wealthy. The leading exception was California-born Amadeo P. Giannini, who founded the forerunner of the Bank of America in 1904 and made it the largest privately owned financial institution in the world. His family remained in America. So did the almost 1.8 million Italian immigrants who still resided in the United States in 1930.

The beginning of the mass entries coincided with major changes in the regional origin and training. Contrary to their predecessors, most newcomers arrived from southern Italy and were illiterate and unskilled laborers from agricultural backgrounds who intended to pursue job opportunities in industrializing America. They settled primarily in slums in the major cities of the East Coast where they had disembarked, or moved inland as they got work in road and railroad construction. Living close to relatives and fellow villagers who had sent for them, they turned their neighborhoods into ethnic enclaves that often reproduced the regional or local divisions in the motherland and insulated the residents from the larger host society. The so-called Little Italy was, in fact, an urban patchwork of a Little Sicily, a Little Naples, a Little Calabria, and so on.

Unlike their light-skinned and tall northern fellow countrypersons, southern Italians—especially Sicilians—looked more similar to African Americans than to white Europeans because of their olive complexion, dark hair, sloping foreheads,

and stocky builds. Such traits changed the public perception of the Italians and confined this national minority to a racial middle ground between blacks and fully fledged Caucasians. The few immigrants who took agricultural jobs on southern plantations worked shoulder to shoulder with African Americans, and disregarded racial segregation further blurred the divide between the two groups.

Those physical characteristics and lifestyles corroborated the conclusion of eugenicists' pseudo-scientific treatises, according to which southern Italians belonged to a Mediterranean "race" whose members were inferior to the Anglo-Saxons because of their secular contamination with



Vendors display their wares in Little Italy, New York, during the 1908 Italian Festa. Today, the Little Italy neighborhoods consist of many Italian stores and restaurants, but the areas occupied by Little Italy have diminished over the years.

African blood. Such theories added to the innuendos that Italians were too emotional as well as prone to violence and crime. Catholicism was another liability. Portrayed as hordes of new barbarians who lived in filthy tenements in self-segregated ghettos, broke strikes, accept working for substandard wages, corrupted American democracy by bartering their votes for money and political patronage, undermined the Anglo-Saxon and Protestant fabrics of U.S. society, and were unassimilable, the turn-of-the-20th-century Italian newcomers fanned the flames of nativism, resulting in legislation that closed mass immigration by the mid-1920s.

World War II and Accommodation

The disruption of constant waves of fellow ethnics and the rise of a U.S.-born second generation began to loosen Italian Americans' ties to their ancestral country in the late 1920s and 1930s. Immigrants applied for U.S. citizenship to benefit from the New Deal programs during the Great Depression and World War II, further speeding up their Americanization.

Many Italian immigrants revealed pro-fascist feelings in the interwar years out of nationalistic redress after decades of discrimination. After dictator Benito Mussolini had apparently made Italy into a great power that inspired awe worldwide, Italian Americans thought that they could no longer be misrepresented as an inferior "race." Yet identification with Italy turned from an asset into a liability as soon as Mussolini declared war on the United States. Consequently, Italian Americans disavowed fascism and proclaimed their attachment to their adoptive country.

Roughly a half-million Italian Americans served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II. Volunteers, however, initially enlisted in the Marines to fight the Japanese in the Pacific and to avoid battling in the Mediterranean against Italian soldiers. Such scruples revealed the retention of at least sentimental links to Italy. Actually, as soon as the latter surrendered to the Allies, Italian Americans mobilized under the auspices of the Order Sons of Italy in America and other ethnic organizations to lobby against the imposition of a punitive peace on their motherland and for the shipment of humanitarian aid to the Italian population in the areas under U.S. military occupation.

The war years also eased Italian Americans' integration. The army and the defense plants in which many immigrants and their offspring found jobs broke the insulation of the ethnic communities and enhanced the Americanization of the newcomers and their progeny, including women, whose pivotal economic contribution to the family budget had theretofore hardly resulted from employment outside the home. Furthermore, when race upheavals erupted in cities such as New York and Detroit during wartime, Italian Americans sided with whites in attacking blacks and definitively distanced themselves from African Americans, making their first steps toward the mainstream.

Whitening

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act contributed to the demise of the Little Italys by providing low-cost mortgages that encouraged veterans and their families to move to the suburbs. It also offered the payment of college expenses and loans to start a business, which let the children of working-class Italian immigrants pursue higher education, become professionals, and enter the middle class. At the same time, established Italian occupational niches—such as barbering, tailoring, and shoemaking—shrank.

Against this backdrop, Italian Americans consolidated their white identity in the postwar decades. In the 1960s and 1970s, they joined forces with other national minorities of European extractions in conflict until then because of inter-ethnic rivalries, to oppose the racial integration of public housing projects and schools, to resist busing, and to antagonize affirmative action. In the wake of African American urban riots, Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia (1972–80), a former police commissioner who made himself a name for his controversial strong-arm methods in quelling the activities of the local chapter of the Black Panther Party, became the epitome of Italian Americans' white backlash.

Italian Americans were not impervious to the ethnic revival of the late 1960s and 1970s. As the Vietnam War questioned traditional U.S. values, making acculturation less attractive, and as African Americans took pride in their ancestral roots, the Italian immigrants' descendants, too, rediscovered their ethnic heritage. The renewal

of identification with the ancestral land, however, hardly went beyond such forms of superficial behavior as eating Italian food, wearing Italian fashion, celebrating Columbus Day, attending the San Gennaro Feast in honor of Naples's patron saint, and vacationing in Italy. "Kiss me, I'm Italian" was trendy on T-shirts. Nonetheless, when it came to getting married, in the 1980s at least three-quarters of Italian Americans chose a spouse who was not of Italian extraction but was from European background. Inter marriage went across ethnic and confessional boundaries, but it stopped at the color line, as unions were almost exclusively with other people of European origin.

Culture

The transformation of an ethnic festivity such as Columbus Day into a national celebration and the fact that pizza and macaroni now taste as American as they are Italian offer evidence of the eventual accommodation of Italian Americans into U.S. society. However, their contributions to American culture have not been confined to these lowbrow achievements.

Lorenzo Da Ponte introduced opera to American audiences as well as the teaching of Italian language and literature in U.S. universities. Constantino Brumidi painted the frescoes of the dome of the Capitol Rotunda. Pietro Di Donato's *Christ in Concrete* (1939) was a vivid example of the interwar proletarian novel. Associate Justice Antonin Scalia has established himself as an eminent—albeit contentious—authority on constitutional law.

Popular culture has been a field for further accomplishments. James (Nick) La Rocca was a prominent performer of jazz in the formative years of this musical style. Madonna and Lady Gaga have won acclaim in pop music, as did rocker Frank Zappa. Reflecting the polyhedral interests of numerous Italian American performers, Frank Sinatra was both an outstanding singer and a prominent actor. Cinema is rich with Italian American personalities, including movie directors Michael Cimino, Francis Ford Coppola, Sophia Coppola, Martin Scorsese, and Quentin Tarantino; actors Rodolfo Valentino, Robert De Niro, Sylvester Stallone, and Leonardo Di Caprio; and actresses Mira Sorvino and Marisa Tomei.

The Contemporary Scene

The prejudices that used to affect Italian Americans and to cause their social marginalization have undergone a significant decline since the early 1990s, notwithstanding the survival of Mafia-related and other stereotypes that found echoes in such popular television series such as *The Sopranos* and *Jersey Shore*. In particular, Rudolph Giuliani helped relegate the image of the Italian American as a potential gangster to the dustbin of folklore. Besides displaying his leadership in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, he effectively prosecuted the "Mafia's Commission" as the U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York in the 1980s and successfully wiped the control of organized crime from key local economic activities such as the Fulton Fish Market and trash hauling during his two terms as mayor of New York City (1994–2001).

Income, occupation, and education show that Italian Americans are nowadays a solid part of the U.S. mainstream; their attainments in these areas are higher than the national average. As of 2010, their median household income is over \$64,000, almost 40 percent of the employed are in managerial or professional occupations, and one-third of the population older than 24 years of age holds at least a bachelor's degree. Very few, however, can speak Italian, an additional proof that their acculturation allowed the retention of only a symbolic ethnic identity.

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See Also: Armed Forces, U.S.; Black Panther Party; Columbus Day; Eugenics; *Godfather, The*; Immigration Acts; Little Italy; Mafia; Order Sons of Italy in America; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay); Servicemen's Readjustment Act (1944); Sicilian Americans; World War II.

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J

Jamaican Americans

According to the 2010 Census, there are approximately 994,500 Americans of Jamaican descent, accounting for 0.3 percent of the total population of the United States. Nearly 61 percent of them were born in Jamaica. There are significant communities of Jamaican Americans in New York City, Miami, Philadelphia, Boston, Orlando, Baltimore, Cleveland, Atlanta, and Washington, D.C. In addition, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Maryland also have considerable Jamaican American populations. The earliest Jamaican American communities of note were established in the New York City metropolitan area in the early 20th century.

Unfavorable Conditions in Jamaica Lead to Mass Exodus

As early as the 1850s, the primary factor behind emigration had been a lack of suitable employment on the island. From the mid-19th century to the Great Depression, as many as 150,000 underprivileged Jamaicans moved to other parts of the Caribbean, Central America, and the United States in search of work.

In the years after World War II, Jamaica's economy grew considerably. A rise in the disposable income of many Americans combined with the embargo against Cuba to make Jamaica an alluring tourist destination in the 1950s. Increased tourism

and the success of bauxite production, which is crucial in the manufacturing of aluminum, brought in a steady current of foreign capital. Although the bauxite industry was thriving, it provided few jobs and was almost entirely foreign-owned.

Similarly, tourism dollars primarily went to the foreign entities that owned the resorts. Foreign ownership of the financial sector and lending institutions limited economic growth. For a nation already severely afflicted with widespread poverty, and where more than 80 percent of the available land was too mountainous to be used for agricultural purposes, a poor distribution of the land further contributed to the failure of the farming industry and caused Jamaica to be almost entirely dependent upon imports.

There have been three distinct phases of Jamaican immigration: between 1900 and 1929, between 1930 and 1969, and between 1970 and 1989. There was a somewhat less robust Jamaican presence in the United States prior to those periods. After the abolition of slavery, workers from Jamaica were recruited to work on American plantations in order to assist with annual harvests. Between the 1880s and World War I, nearly 90,000 Jamaicans were sponsored by the United States to assist in building the Panama Canal. During the interwar period, Jamaican men were brought to the United States to work at American military bases.

Between 1962 and 1972, the unemployment rate in Jamaica doubled. The oil crisis and the worldwide economic recession that occurred in the 1970s certainly had an adverse effect on Jamaica's economy. More than 30 percent of children were suffering from malnutrition, and 40 percent of adults were functionally illiterate. Added complications were brought about by the mass exodus of educated and professional Jamaicans from the island throughout the 1970s. As much as 15 percent of the total population left Jamaica in the 1970s; much of this group comprised lawyers, doctors, scholars, and other skilled professionals. The civil rights movement made the United States a particularly appealing destination for this group.

Cultural Contributions of Jamaican Americans

Jamaicans have contributed to increased political engagement and activism in the black community since before the dawn of the 20th century. Influential 19th-century abolitionist writer and Liberian colonial-era leader John Brown Russwurm was of Jamaican descent. Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican immigrant who arrived in the United States in 1916, led a worldwide pan-Africanist, economic empowerment movement known as Garveyism. At its height, his Universal Negro Improvement Association had an estimated six million members in over 700 chapters across the globe.

Since that time, a number of Jamaican Americans have become civic leaders: Colin Powell, former secretary of state and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Susan Rice, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; David Patterson, former governor of New York; Anthony G. Brown, lieutenant governor of Maryland; Kamala Harris, attorney general of California; Congresswoman Yvette Clarke of New York; James S. Watson, one of the earliest black judges in the state of New York; and Kenneth Reeves, mayor of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Jamaican Americans have made many significant contributions to arts and entertainment. Reggae, the Jamaican-imported music that has had a global impact, has influenced various American musicians from Stevie Wonder and Lauryn Hill to Pitbull and Gwen Stefani. Americans of Jamaican descent including Africa Bambaataa, KRS-One, Heavy D, Busta Rhymes, Slick Rick, Missy Elliot, Christopher Reid (of Kid 'n Play), Luther

Campbell, Sandra Denton (of Salt-n-Pepa), Heavy D, Travie McCoy, DJ Drama, and the Notorious B.I.G. have been at the vanguard of hip-hop music since its genesis. Grammy Award winners Gil Scott-Heron and Chrisette Michele have been acclaimed for their jazz recordings.

Jamaican American actors have had extensive careers in film (Harry Belafonte, Delroy Lindo, Madge Sinclair), on television (Kim Fields, Wentworth Miller, Dulé Hill), and on stage (Sheryl Lee Ralph, Corbin Bleu, Lillias White). Several popular fashion models, including Naomi Campbell, Tyson Beckford, and Grace Jones, are of Jamaican descent. The Jamaican American experience has been chronicled on film in *Belly* (1998), *Shottas* (2002), and *Hoover Street Revival* (2002) and on stage in *Reggae* (1980) and *Jamaica* (1957), as well as in novels by Claude McKay, Thomas Glave, and Staceyann Chinn.

Furthermore, American athletes of Jamaican descent have excelled in a number of sports, including basketball (Patrick Ewing, Simone Edwards, Ben Gordon), track and field (Carl Lewis, Sanya Richards-Rodd, Sandra Farmer-Patrick), baseball (Charles "Chili" Davis, Justin Masterson, Rolando Roomes), football (Dwight Freeney), skiing (Errol Kerr), and soccer (Jeff Cunningham, Robin Fraser). In 2007, Barrington Irving became the youngest person to circumnavigate the globe alone at age 23.

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See Also: Back to Africa Movement; Caribbean Americans; West Indian Americans.

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Japanese American Citizens League

The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) is the oldest and largest civil liberties group representing Japanese Americans in the United States. Its existence is the result of the many statutes that restricted the freedom of Japanese Americans in the early 1900s. This group has been instrumental in working with the U.S. government to protect the freedom and rights of Americans, and it has promoted and pursued reparations and education about Japanese internment camps in the United States during World War II. The JACL continues today to advocate for equality and justice for all Americans.

As a nonprofit organization, the JACL has a mission of advocating for the civil and human rights of Japanese Americans and all Americans. Its vision is to honor diversity and to demonstrate and support respect for fairness, equality, and social justice. It aims to support and maintain the cultural heritage and values of Japanese Americans, as well as educate about the lives and experiences of Japanese Americans.

The Japanese American Citizens League was founded in 1929 and held its first national convention in 1930 in Seattle. At that time, the majority of Japanese Americans were living in California, a state that had over 100 statutes restricting their rights. The JACL initially had several aims, including supporting World War I veterans of Asian descent attempting to obtain U.S. citizenship. It also advocated for the right of Japanese Americans to serve in the U.S. military.

The JACL was instrumental in the elimination of legislation that contained discriminatory immigration quotas, antimiscegenation laws, and property rights. It has worked since its inception to eliminate discriminatory language from government and legal documents at the local, state, and national levels.

Response to Japanese Internment

During World War II, a time of anti-Japanese sentiment, the U.S. government adopted Executive Order 9066 in 1942. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed this order requiring people of Japanese descent living in the United States to report

to internment camps with only the few possessions they could carry in sacks. Their placement in a camp was solely based on their ethnicity. At the time, the JACL did not actively oppose this government directive because the organization did not want to increase the already existing distrust and hatred toward Japanese Americans.

However, after the war, the JACL worked to reacquire the rights Japanese American citizens had lost during World War II, including the ability to purchase and own land in California. It assisted those placed in internment camps in dealing with their property losses and pursuing redress for these losses. In 1944, though unsuccessful, the JACL filed a legal brief with the U.S. Supreme Court in support of the *Korematsu v. United States* case, which challenged the legality of the orders that forced those of Japanese descent into relocation camps.

In 1988, after the JACL spent many years pursuing reparations for internees, the U.S. government, under the leadership of President Ronald Reagan, finally issued an official apology and some monetary reparations for those whose rights were violated by the forced segregation and internment during World War II.

Twenty-First-Century Agenda

Many activities represent the direction of the JACL in the early 21st century. Although the organization was founded to advocate for the rights of Japanese Americans, this goal has been expanded to include all Asian Pacific Americans and equality for all Americans, generally. This is demonstrated through the organization's aim of eliminating all discrimination and its support of affirmative action, immigrant rights, and same-sex marriage rights.

The JACL also works to combat anti-Asian hate crimes and is involved in many legal cases in support of this objective. Its encouragement and support of youth and leadership development are demonstrable through the many scholarships, internships, and fellowships offered annually. They provide opportunities for young adults to become familiar with and active in legislation in support of the JACL's goals. The JACL also develops and conducts many types of workshops throughout the United States. These include citizenship workshops to support elderly Japanese in

their efforts to obtain U.S. citizenship. It also has workshops to educate the general public about the Japanese American experience, including the World War II internment camps and related prejudices.

Some of these workshops are designed to aid teachers in their development of curriculum to educate their students on these topics. The JACL also has successfully obtained, and continues to campaign for, federal funding for the preservation of the World War II Japanese internment camp sites and artifacts. To further educate the public about the Japanese American experience, it has published books and other materials with relevant information, including a biweekly newspaper, *Pacific Citizen*.

In 2012, there were over 23,000 members of the JACL throughout the United States. The national organization comprises seven districts based on geographical location. Each district contains many local chapters, with a total of 112 local chapters throughout the country. There are elected leaders at all levels. The national headquarters are located in San Francisco, and there are national offices with locations in Seattle; Chicago; Washington, D.C.; Los Angeles; and Fresno.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Asian American Categorization (Essay); Asian American Movement; Citizenship; Executive Order 9066 (1942); Hate Crimes Laws; *Korematsu v. United States* (1944); Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans.

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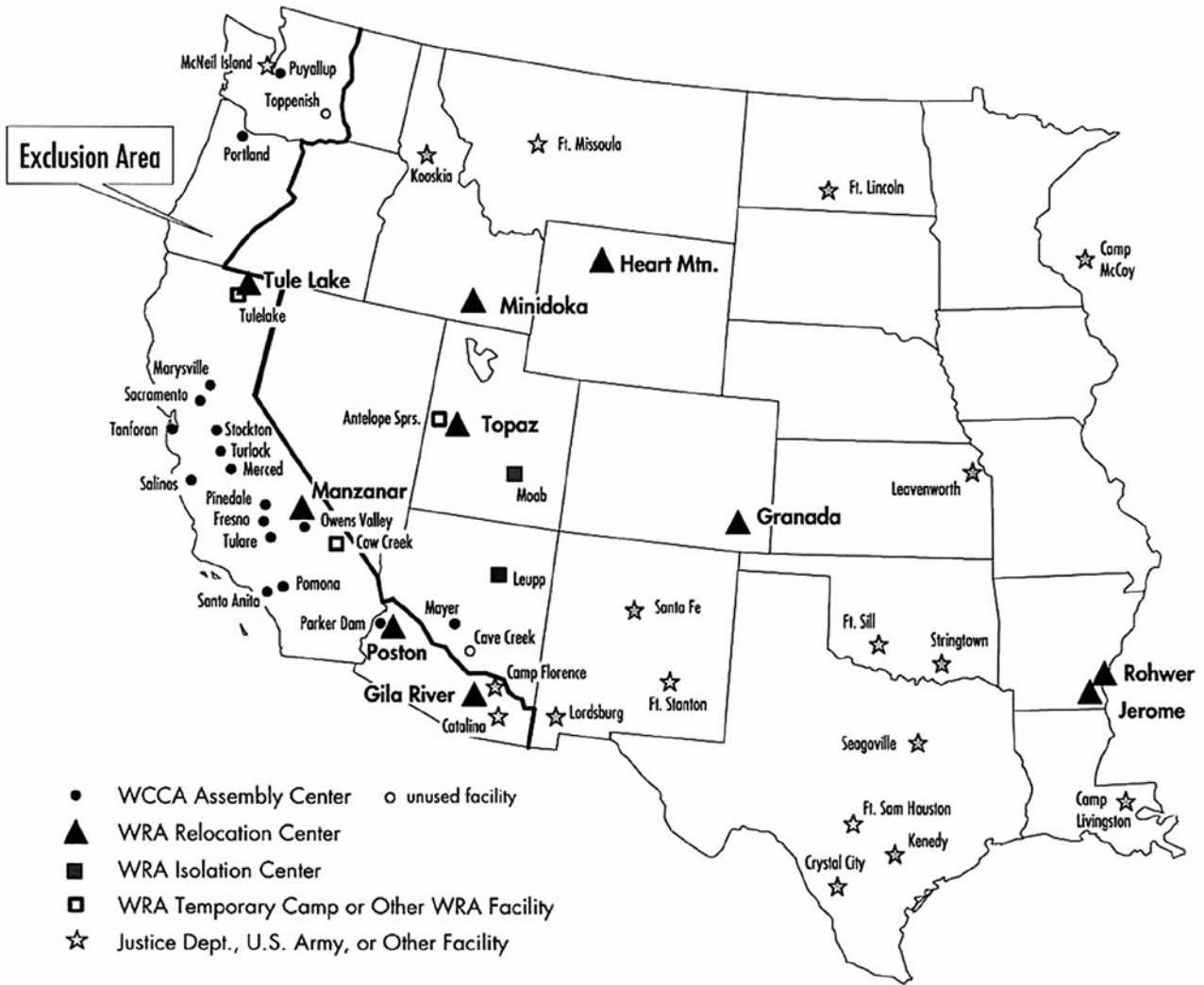
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Japanese American Internment

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the military to relocate nearly 120,000 individuals of Japanese ancestry (two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens) who lived on the coast of the United States to internment camps located farther inland. They were forced to leave their homes as a preventive measure against any sabotage or espionage that might be perpetrated against the United States during World War II.

In 1944, the Supreme Court ruled against the detention of U.S. citizens without cause and rescinded the order. The last camp closed in 1946. A previous study conducted by the State Department had concluded that the people of Japanese ancestry living on the U.S. west coast posed no threat to the United States, but after the assault on Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which placed the matter under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of War. The U.S. Western Defense Command designated the west coast and the border of Arizona as an exclusion zone and issued orders for all Japanese men, women, and children living in the area to be removed to relocation centers.

Under the jurisdiction of the War Relocation Authority, individuals were rushed into temporary quarters arranged at fairgrounds or former racetrack stables. Allowed to take with them only what they could carry, people boarded trains without knowing their destination and were deposited at army-managed assembly centers. With the U.S. victory over the Japanese at Midway in June 1942, and thus the removal of any likelihood of attack by the Japanese on the mainland, the relocation program forged ahead and moved the evacuees from their temporary quarters to 10 relocation centers. They were Heart Mountain in Wyoming, Minidoka in Idaho, Topaz in Utah, Amache in Colorado, Tule Lake and Manzanar in California, Poston and Gila River in Arizona, and Rohwer and Jerome in Arkansas. Because most detainees were evacuated from the west coast and had no idea of their destinations, they failed to pack appropriately for winters like those in Wyoming.



The sparse facilities in the internment camps met international laws but left much to be desired. Many structures were quickly built by contractors during the summer of 1942 and were poorly equipped for family living. Because most detainees were evacuated from the West Coast and had no idea of their destination, they failed to pack appropriately for winter weather.

Many of the dwellings were tar-papered barracks built for soldiers; they were only partially completed and contained no plumbing or cooking facilities. Each block contained a mess hall and facilities for latrines, showers, and laundry. The centers were enclosed with barbed-wire fences and was watched by army guards in watchtowers. The residents faced problems of housing, food, employment, medical care, education, internal security, and religious worship.

In the centers, there were three groups of residents: the Issei, the elders, who had been born in Japan and had come to the United States during

the early 20th century; the Nisei, the second-generation, American-born citizens of the United States; and the Kibei, also second generation and American-born, who had received much of their education in Japan, and were more Japanese than the Issei. Dissatisfaction arose in the close living quarters between pro-Japanese and pro-American residents, whose points of view regarding their lack of freedom, loss of family controls, and pressure from outside extremist groups diverged.

The discontent, fueled by hatred and anxieties, led to physical violence, frequently from

gang-related beatings; consequently, the War Relocation Authority transported 15,000 persons in and out of Tule Lake, the segregation center. Tule Lake was a large center that was the site of two outbreaks of violence and was under military control for a time. Persons designated for detainment at Tule Lake had applied for repatriation to Japan and had not withdrawn their applications; those who had answered “no” on the loyalty oath (some were provided opportunities for reconsideration); those with indications of hostile behavior on their record; and family members who elected to remain with the family.

At the beginning of Japanese American confinement, farm labor was desperately needed, primarily in sugar beet fields. The War Relocation Authority director proposed the formation of a work corps, but when the idea was rejected by the evacuees, a plan was made for seasonal leave. Soon, 10,000 evacuees were on seasonal leave, and some students were granted educational leaves.

Short-term medical or personal leave was also granted, as was indefinite leave for specific jobs in agreeable communities. Also, as many of the 6,000 Nisei in the armed forces had earlier been dismissed as unacceptable, the 442nd Combat Team, a voluntary unit consisting of about 6,000 volunteer Japanese Americans, was organized. During the war, approximately 9,000 Japanese Americans served with the unit.

In 1943, the War Relocation Authority, feeling that there was slight chance of any evacuee posing a threat to the war effort, negotiated with Washington officials to allow the evacuees to return home. The announcement of the closing of all centers came at the same time that the U.S. Supreme Court declared a revocation of the relocation orders.

Returning evacuees faced racist opposition as terrorists burned their property or frequently shot into homes to frighten evacuees off in plots hatched to steal their land. However, through the dissemination of large amounts of factual information about the Japanese Americans to the local communities, and through the press and radio, racial intolerance decreased.

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See Also: Japanese American Citizens League; Japanese Americans; *Korematsu v. United States* (1944); Yellow Peril.

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Japanese Americans

Japanese Americans constitute one of the oldest Asian American groups in the United States; they are also the only group to experience a decline in numbers, beginning in the 1980s. This decline is mainly because of the lack of new, large-scale immigration from Japan and because of the high rate of out-marriage, that is, interracial or intra-ethnic marriages. Japanese Americans have made substantial contributions to American literature, politics, music, law, and other areas of culture and society.

On May 5, 1806, Japanese survivors of the disabled *Inawaka-maru* arrived in Hawai‘i, which at that time was still an independent country. According to Paul Spickard, the first attempt in 1868 to bring Japanese laborers (from Yokohama) to Hawai‘i ended in failure. Another attempt, in 1869, to establish a settlement in Gold Hill, near Sacramento, California, also failed. Large-scale importation of Japanese labor to the Kingdom of Hawai‘i—eventually the 50th state of the United States—began in the 1880s, after Japan legalized emigration, and when the modernizing effort of the Meiji Restoration brought unprecedented social and economic upheaval and distress to the Japanese. Farmers lost their land and merchants their businesses as the country painfully adjusted to its

entry into a global capitalist system by veering from inflation in the 1870s to depression in the 1880s. City wages were low, and the government attempted to suppress labor unrest.

Beside labor activists, emigrants also included political refugees opposed to Meiji policies and draft dodgers after Japan established national conscription in 1873, and then entered a series of foreign wars: the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 to 1895, and the Russo-Japanese War from 1904 to 1905.

Samurai lost their positions and had to subsist on government pensions; some ex-samurai began to emigrate later in the Meiji period, when their fortunes further declined. Recent scholarship indicates that women composed 20 percent of earlier emigration. Many of the emigrants were Christian, establishing communities in Brazil and Peru.

Japanese immigration to the continental United States took place mainly in the 1900s and 1910s, with numbers increasing after passage of the Chinese Exclusion Acts of the 1880s. They came from Hawai'i or directly from Japan, and they took the place of Chinese labor in the mines, fish canneries, and lumber industry. Increasingly, they also took up small-scale farming. The first port of entry in the United States was Seattle; eventually, Japanese migrants could be found throughout the western states.

The rise of Japan affected Americans' perception of Japanese laborers, in that they were more highly regarded than the Chinese. The Japanese government actively sought better treatment for the Japanese in the United States. Nonetheless, virulent anti-Asian agitation resulted in the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, which included the stipulation that the government would limit even further its issuance of travel documents to Japanese wanting to come to the United States.

In the 1910s, the number of female Japanese immigrants increased, while the total number of Japanese immigrants began to decline. With more women arriving, this first generation—the Issei—changed from predominantly male to female family units. The second generation is known as Nisei (born between 1915 and 1940), the third generation is called the Sansei, and the fourth generation is Yonsei. Immigration legislation in 1924 banned all new Japanese immigration.

Japanese Americans in Hawai'i

The decimation of the native Hawai'ian population throughout the 19th century led to plantation owners bringing in Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Rican, Korean, and Filipino labor. On February 8, 1885, 153 Japanese arrived to work on sugar cane plantations exclusively owned by American businessmen. In 1890, the number of arrivals rose to over 12,000. By 1898, 60,000 lived in Hawai'i. Until 1930, that number increased by 30 percent every 10 years.

Life on the plantations was harsh, and workers often had to extend their contracts in order to pay off the cost of the passage and other debt owed to the plantation. Owners sowed division among the ethnic groups that worked for them, primarily by segregating the various groups into separate camps. In the 2000 U.S. census, Japanese Americans—at 201,764—constituted the majority of Hawai'i's Asian-descended population. This number decreased to 185,502, according to 2010 census figures, making Japanese Americans the second-largest Asian group, after Filipino Americans.

Japanese Americans From 1900 to 1941

The Issei relatively quickly became farmers and small-scale merchants. According to Spickard, a 1929 survey in California found that 51,000 independent farmers either owned or leased farmland, while another 13,000 worked as hired field hands. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Alien Land Laws were passed in order to prohibit “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning agricultural land. The Issei tried to skirt these laws, either by leasing the land or by placing land titles in the names of their children, the Nisei. Eventually, such loopholes were closed.

Although the Nisei were born in the United States, they faced discrimination in education, jobs, and other facets of civic life. This led the Nisei to develop a social world that consisted of everything that could be found in Anglo-American society, including baseball and football leagues, ballroom dancing, homecoming events, churches, Boy Scout troops, and beauty pageants. Nisei were fully acculturated Americans, yet they could not find work in mainstream America; antimiscegenation laws further segregated the Japanese American community from mainstream society.

World War II and Executive Order 9066

Pearl Harbor and Executive Order 9066 still came as a shock to the Japanese American community. Approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans were ordered to evacuate to assembly centers, from where they were taken to 10 internment camps scattered throughout the western interior of the United States. Many were forced to sell their shops and belongings at a tremendous loss in order to meet evacuation deadlines. The harsh life of the camps has been vividly depicted in literary and historical narratives. It took the community decades to recover from the trauma of the period. Even though Nisei knew that they had not been disloyal to the United States and that they did not deserve to be placed in concentration camps, many felt shame and anger at what had happened to them and their Issei parents. For decades after the war, many formerly interned Japanese Americans refused to talk about their experiences, even to their children, the Sansei.

Camp conditions were difficult. Conflicts in various camps among the communities made the situation worse. Some Japanese Americans blamed members of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) for their role in the internment; to these Japanese Americans, the JACL had talked the rest of the Japanese Americans into going quietly. In a few camps, inmates attacked JACL members. In the 1960s, the JACL again came under intense criticism from the Sansei for the same reasons. Contrary to popular perception, a small but significant group of Japanese Americans protested their treatment, approximately 18,000, according to Spickard.

Other Japanese Americans—outraged at their treatment—demanded repatriation to Japan. Resistance came in the form of the refusal to sign the loyalty oath, in work stoppages, or in open protests. Some Nisei refused to be drafted into the U.S. Army while their families were still interned. However, 2,355 interned Nisei joined the military; others signed up after their release from the camps. Altogether, 20,000 Japanese Americans served in the armed forces during the war.

By the end of 1944, only 35,989 Japanese Americans were allowed to leave the camps: college students and individuals who could find jobs. In January 1945, approximately 75,000 Japanese Americans were still imprisoned in the camps.

Upon their release, some attempted to return to their prewar homes; most ended up resettling elsewhere. Most communities never recovered from the war or internment. The Redress Movement began in 1976 and concluded in 1990, when the first checks of \$25,000 per person were mailed (the last checks were mailed in 1994). By 1990, most of the Issei generation had passed away. However, the movement brought the Japanese American community together and made the rest of the country aware of the injustice suffered by Japanese Americans during World War II.

Post–World War II to Present Day

Sansei strived to recover from the war: They went to college and did whatever they could in order to send their children, the Yonsei, to better schools and into the professions. Postwar Japanese Americans became the original Asian model minority, even as many of the older Sansei entered the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s opposing the Vietnam War and criticizing American policies at home and overseas. They reacted to the postwar trauma suffered by their parents and grandparents by demanding the truth about the internment and by joining, and helping build, the pan-ethnic Asian American movement. They also began to speak up and to openly oppose racism and injustice. The third generation also began to assimilate more than previous generations by marrying outside their ethnicity in significant numbers. In the 1980s, 50 percent of Sansei married someone of a different ethnicity. This trend has continued in the Yonsei generation.

U.S. Census on Japanese Americans Today

Figures from the 2000 census reveal that over 34 percent of Japanese Americans live in California and 26 percent in Hawai'i. The size of this ethnic group has decreased from about 848,000 in 1990 to 797,000 in 2000. However, in 2002, the U.S. Census Bureau published statistics that showed 1.15 million Americans who claimed at least partial Japanese ancestry. From a different perspective, Japanese Americans have doubled in number from 1970 and have tripled in number from 1950, with two-thirds born in the United States. Japanese Americans who selected for two or more races increased by more than 50 percent, from 296,695 in 2000 to 462,462 in 2010. The

total population of Japanese Americans grew from 1,148,932 in 2000 to 1,304,266 a decade later. In the early 1970s, about 4,000 Japanese immigrants arrived annually in the United States. That number rose to 25,000 per year in the late 1980s.

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See Also: Asian American Movement; Asian Americans; Japanese American Citizens League; Japanese American Internment.

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Jazz and Ethnic Diversity

As a primarily urban genre originating in early 20th century America, jazz embodies the harmonies and tensions of ethnic diversity. Its originality as an art form derives not only from its instrumental ensembles, characteristic chords and key signatures, and use of popular standards but also from its musical enactment of American history, presence, freedom, and multiple possible futures. In its improvisational, collaborative form, as well as the identities of its performers and audiences, jazz lyrically captures histories of ethnic struggle, breaks down ethnic barriers,

and generates possibilities for emancipation and empowerment.

Locations of Jazz in America: Cities, Regions, Ethnic Landscapes, and Race

The earliest jazz thrived in New Orleans in the 1890s and then came into its own as a distinct music from the turn of the 20th century to World War I. Jazz moved up the Mississippi River to Kansas City and north to Chicago. New Orleans Jazz originated not only in clubs but also in the late 19th-century marching band tradition of performance in street parades and funeral processions distinctive of the city. Kansas City jazz in the 1930s was swing. White-owned clubs hosted “battles” of the bands involving intense musical sessions marked by instrumental competitions among the musicians, most of whom were touring African American performers. In Chicago, there existed two jazz cultures in which white musicians developed music borrowed from African American musicians from New Orleans.

The 1920s became known as the Jazz Age in the United States. It was at this time that jazz became popular in New York City, particularly at clubs in Harlem, most famously the Cotton Club in the 1920s and 1930s and the Apollo Theater from the 1930s. At the Cotton Club, jazz musicians were almost exclusively African American, while audiences were predominantly white, but this was not the case with jazz elsewhere in New York City or in other cities. In New Orleans and Kansas City, the spirit of the music was shared among all ethnicities, even as performances typically exhibited stark racial divides between white audiences or owners and black performers. In New York City and Chicago, jazz was often localized to particular neighborhoods, such as Harlem. Another hotbed of jazz in New York City was a single city block on the west side of midtown Manhattan—West 52nd Street between 5th and 6th Avenues. There, in contrast to the Cotton Club some 73 blocks north, racial barriers were erased as both white and African American musicians entertained an ethnically diverse audience of jazz enthusiasts.

U.S. Jazz Cultures Engage the Music of Latin America

The first truly international genre of jazz was bebop, which emerged from New York City's jazz

scene in the 1940s. One of the progenitors of the movement was African American trumpeter John Birks “Dizzy” Gillespie, originally from the American south. He was among the first U.S. jazz musicians to embrace musical styles of other cultures, breaking down ethnic barriers in the process. In performing a genre of Afro-Cuban music, Gillespie introduced Latin American music to the jazz culture in the United States. In 1954, a contemporary of Gillespie, African American jazz trumpeter and composer Kenny Dorham, recorded what he called an “Afro-Cuban” album dedicated entirely to such Latin jazz-centered rhythms, time and key signatures, and melodic and harmonic motifs. The album included an integrated band of African American jazz musicians and Latinos. Gillespie composed music for his own band that incorporated the rhythms of Latin America in songs such as “Tin Tin Deo” and “Manteca.” He recorded such compositions with ethnically diverse musicians, including Latinos.

Latino percussionist Tito Puente composed, performed, and recorded a much more developed Latin jazz throughout his long musical career. He first received recognition in jazz in the 1950s, when he began integrating Afro-Cuban rhythmic and compositional devices into his recorded music.

Sonny Rollins, an African American jazz saxophonist-composer, was born and raised in Harlem, but his parents were from the U.S. Virgin Islands. This ancestry informed his music. His composition “St. Thomas” framed a popular melodic motif from the Caribbean with a calypso structure.

Formative jazz saxophonist and clarinetist Sidney Bechet was steeped in the fin de siècle Creole culture of his native New Orleans. He was a pioneer of Latin jazz in the United States, performing and recording songs infused with Latin American rhythms and compositional motifs for audiences as early as 1938.

The African American Experience of Jazz and Its Political Representations

By the 1960s, avant-garde jazz had emerged as a vehicle for African American musicians to protest racial segregation and institutional racism in the United States. In 1959, bassist Charles Mingus composed and recorded for a major label a song titled “Fables of Faubus,” protesting Arkansas’s

segregationist governor Orval Faubus, who had attempted to prevent the court-ordered desegregation of Little Rock’s Central High School in 1957. African American writer LeRoi Jones (known today as Amiri Baraka) addressed issues of race by hosting a panel on race in jazz that was published by the music’s authoritative trade magazine *Down Beat*. Jones also recited his poetry of social protest and descent in a jazz recording session with the New York Art Quartet in 1964.

African American avant-garde jazz saxophonist and composer John Coltrane wrote a song titled “Alabama” as a response to a Ku Klux Klan bombing of a Baptist church in Birmingham in 1963 that claimed the lives of four girls. Coltrane performed his song during a live recording of an album at the Birdland Jazz Club in New York City in front of an ethnically diverse audience. He also performed the song for an episode of a popular jazz series on television, broadcast to an ethnically diverse audience in 1960s America. In 1961, he penned the composition “Song of the Underground Railroad” for his *Africa/Brass* recording sessions that were released as an album that year.

A group of African American jazz musicians and composers living in Chicago formed an artists’ collective named the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM). It offered educational and artistic opportunities to younger generations of African American jazz musicians.

Female African American jazz musicians also emphasized themes of racism. The jazz popular among African Americans in the 1920s included the songs of African American blues singer Bessie Smith. She grew up in the south in the early 1900s, and her lyrics emphasized themes common in early-20th-century African American culture. The formative African American jazz vocalist Billie Holiday performed a composition titled “Strange Fruit” in the 1930s that protested racism. She first performed “Strange Fruit” in Greenwich Village at Café Society, the first racially integrated jazz club in New York City. African American jazz singer Nina Simone was also a civil rights activist.

Prominent African American bandleaders included Fletcher Henderson, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, and Billy Eckstein. These bandleaders employed African American musicians. A jazz pianist who originally worked in the Fletcher

Henderson band, African American Sun Ra, would go on to start his own band, named the Sun Ra Arkestra, and pioneered a genre of intellectual thought known as Afrofuturism, extending a form of Afrocentrism to American arts and culture.

Contributions of Jewish Americans to Jazz

Jewish American bandleaders in jazz emerged in the 1920s. These included Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw, and Buddy Rich. Goodman was among the first bandleaders in jazz to employ, record, and perform with a racially integrated band. The same night as his famed 1938 Carnegie Hall performance in New York City, his orchestra performed at the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem in a battle of the bands competition with the African American jazz band led by Count Basie. Goodman's orchestra had also participated in the same battle of the bands format a year earlier, at which time the pairing was with the African American jazz musician and bandleader Chick Webb's big band. As on the baseball diamond with exhibitions pitting all-white Major League teams like the New York Yankees against all-black Negro League teams, jazz venues in this era enabled audiences and performers to glimpse all too briefly a possible, desegregated future in America.

Jewish American jazz songwriters and composers were quite common in the first half of the century, including many of the music's most prolific American composers. The Gershwin brothers, composer George and lyricist Ira, were brought up in a Jewish community in Brooklyn, New York. George Gershwin was fascinated with African American music and culture from the American south and devoted his 1935 opera *Porgy and Bess* to that theme. Several compositions from that work became jazz standards performed by instrumentalists and vocalists of diverse ethnicities. These jazz standards, most notably "Summertime," are still performed and recorded today by jazz musicians of all ethnicities.

Another prominent Jewish American jazz composer was Irving Berlin. Like the Gershwin brothers and other Jewish American jazz songwriters, he spent time working at Tin Pan Alley in New York City, an area of Manhattan known as a gathering point and collective for leaders in music lyrics and composition at a time when jazz was among the most popular music in America.

Also popular was Jewish American jazz songwriter Harold Arlen. Yet another who earned wide recognition in the popular culture of the Jazz Age of the 1920s and the swing and big band periods of jazz in the 1930s and 1940s was Jerome Kern. Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart were other notable Jewish American songwriters popularizing jazz in America at the time.

Jewish American saxophonist and composer John Zorn led an avant-garde jazz quartet named Masada in the 1990s and started his own record label named for the Hebrew term *Tzadik* (generally translated as "righteousness" or "justice"). Zorn's record label continues to commission a series of albums devoted to Radical Jewish Culture, some of which are jazz recorded by Jewish Americans. He has often performed ethnically robust music on New York City's Lower East Side, historically home to a significant portion of Jewish Americans and their former generations of immigrants who entered the United States by way of Ellis Island.

Jewish American producer George Wein has been a major patron and promoter of jazz since the second half of the 20th century. He has organized many jazz festivals. Another Jewish American, Norman Granz, produced and promoted concerts known as "Jazz at the Philharmonic" while trying to racially integrate jazz beginning in the 1940s. Jewish American jazz critic Nat Hentoff, formerly of the *Village Voice*, *Downbeat*, and many other publications, is a highly respected name among the music's followers and has historically befriended a group of racially diverse musicians, sharing their stories with jazz audiences.

New Ethnicities Represented in the Jazz of the United States

A significant number of Israeli Americans have emerged on two jazz scenes in the United States. Many originally studied jazz at music conservatories in New York City and Boston. The famed Berklee College of Music in Boston has gained a reputation for training prominent Israeli American jazz musicians. The same is true for the New School for Jazz and Contemporary Music and Manhattan School of Music in New York City.

Indian (Asian) American jazz pianist and composer Vijay Iyer and saxophonist and composer

Rudresh Mahanthappa have emerged in recent years as new leaders in the music. Asian American violinist and composer Jason Kao Hwang and percussionist and composer Susie Ibarra have also recently received critical acclaim from the collective jazz press.

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See Also: African Americans; Apollo Theater; Cotton Club; Jewish Americans; Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Jazz Singer, The

Directed by Alan Crosland and produced in 1927, *The Jazz Singer* was the first feature film to incorporate music and voice into a film. Starring Al Jolson, the film was based on Samson Raphaelson's short story from 1922, "The Day of Atonement." *The Jazz Singer* was a landmark film for two reasons: First, it showcased the rise of sound technology and its integration into the movies in the 1920s, and second, it reflected the general acceptance of jazz music and Jewish immigrants' acculturation to American society.

The story of *The Jazz Singer* is that of a conflict between personal ambitions and cultural tradition. On one hand, it illustrates Jakie Rabinowitz's aspiration to become a popular singer. On the other hand, born to Jewish immigrant parents in New York, he is expected to become

the cantor in their synagogue, as the successor to his father. He defies his family's Jewish tradition by leaving the family to pursue his career in jazz. He changes his name to Jack Robin and experiences enthusiastic receptions from the audience at a cabaret.

With the help of a musical dancer, Mary Dale, he secures his career on the vaudeville circuit. He returns to his father only on his 60th birthday. Jack sings and plays Irving Berlin's "Blue Skies" for his mother on his father's piano. His father tells Jack to stop and leave the house. Jakie's father becomes ill only two weeks after this encounter. His final wish is clear: He wanted his son to sing "Kol Nidre" for Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, as a substitution singer at the synagogue. Jakie, however, was scheduled to perform on Broadway. He manages to fulfill his father's wish and still makes it to Broadway.

Immigrants and their families, especially youth who were born in the United States, undergo difficult decisions about the old world values that their parents subscribe to and the new world values that are frequently more appealing to them. *The Jazz Singer* promotes balancing of ethnic identity and acculturation to the new society to achieve economic success in the early 20th century. For Jakie, the means for such prosperity is jazz, the symbol of American culture, values, and lifestyles.

The Jazz Singer is also significant because of its use of blackface in Jack Robin's Broadway stage production. Jack wears a minstrel costume to prove his American identity. This is a replication of earlier European immigrants' assimilation processes, through which they resorted to blackface in order to integrate into their new American society by participating in a form of popular culture that was prototypically American. It granted them privileged status at the cost of African Americans. Although Samson Raphaelson explains that the film used blackface not as a means for Jews to attain whiteness, but for them to realize modern Jewish identity, it is ironic that the film reinforced stereotypical depictions of African Americans from the 19th century. The author also explains that the inspiration of his short story came from Al Jolson, a Russian-born Jewish performer who performed in the musical *Robinson Crusoe, Jr.*, in blackface.

Critical Response

Critics have reacted to Jack's blackface performance in different ways. Corin Willis recognizes that blackface plays a central role in the film, more so than in other films produced around the same period. W. T. Lhamon discusses that blackface was a sense of agency that Jack found as a Jewish singer. Through blackface, he found his identity in a multicultural society. Lisa Silberman Brenner is sympathetic to Raphaelson. She agrees that blackface was a new form of Jewish identity of the 1920s. Seymour Stark, however, disagrees. He is in agreement with other scholars who argue that *The Jazz Singer* simply underscored African American stereotypes.

The Jazz Singer is often erroneously considered the first sound film. Although the movie's distributor, Warner Bros. studio, was the first company to add sound to movies with music and conversations, an American inventor, Lee de Forest, had produced early sound-on-film movies using Phonofilm four years before *The Jazz Singer* premiered. The film, however, was the first feature-length sound movie. Although it heavily relied on title cards and had limited voice recordings, it effectively used spoken dialogue to capture Jack's struggles between two worlds.

Three additional versions of the film with the same title exist. In 1952, Danny Thomas and Peggy Lee starred in its television remake. In the 1959 television remake, Jerry Lewis played Jack's role. Despite the name, the son was not a jazz singer. Furthermore, there was no blackface in this version. In 1980, Neil Diamond played the role of Jack. The 1952 version, unlike others that portrayed the Jewish family as a lower-class family, positioned it in the middle class. A significant difference between the original version and the 1959 version is that the late-1950s creation incorporated a clown face in lieu of blackface. The 1980 production, however, went back to the portrayal in blackface.

In 1929, *The Jazz Singer* was nominated for an Oscar for Best Writing (Adapted Screenplay) for Alfred A. Cohn and won a Special Academy Award given to Warner Bros.' production chief, Darryl F. Zanuck.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Jazz and Ethnic Diversity; Jewish Americans; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race.

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Jehovah's Witnesses

Jehovah's Witnesses is a religion with origins in late 19th-century America. Of primary importance to the denomination is its focus on evangelism, millenarian beliefs, resistance to many outward forms of patriotism, and biblical literalism. In the mid-20th century, Jehovah's Witnesses became the central figures in several key legal trials that helped reshape American law as it relates to the free exercise of religion, and church and state law. Today, the organization represents a diverse body of believers throughout the world and a variety of ethnic groups within the United States.

Initially, the community that would come to be referred to as Jehovah's Witnesses was known simply as Bible Students. This group united through their mutual respect for the writings of a minister in Pittsburgh, Charles Taze Russell. In 1879, the community began to publish a monthly periodical, *Zion's Watchtower and Herald of Christ's Presence*, the predecessor of the current *Watchtower* newspaper. Between 1886 and 1904, Russell also published his views in a popular six-volume book series, *The Millennial Dawn* (later renamed *Studies in the Scriptures*). His teachings rejected Trinitarian beliefs, the inherent immortality of the human soul, and the existence of

hellfire. Inspired by Adventism, most important to Russell was the message that the millennium was fast approaching. He emphasized several prophetic dates, pruned from his reading of biblical passages but seemingly equally grounded in a belief that the Great Pyramid of Giza represented a blueprint for the last days' events.

In these initial years, Bible Students met in congregations that elected their leadership. In many ways, Russell only led the movement inasmuch as followers accepted his teachings as authoritative. In 1881, the Zion's Watchtower Tract Society, now known as the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, was established as a headquarters for the Jehovah's Witnesses and the publishing house for the society's materials. In 1909, the Watchtower headquarters was relocated from Pennsylvania to Brooklyn, New York.

Joseph Rutherford and Nathan Knorr

Charles Russell died on October 31, 1916, and in time, he was replaced as president and editor of the *Watchtower* by Joseph Franklin Rutherford. Under Rutherford, various moves to centralize the organization and place more control in the presidency were initiated. Rutherford published a seventh volume of the *Millennial Dawn* series, which many Bible Students considered a reversal to some of Russell's theological tenants. Soon, the society determined to cease distributing the *Millennial Dawn* series and Russell's other writings altogether. Schisms broke out in 1917, and by the end of Rutherford's ministry, perhaps only 25 percent of the original followers of Charles Russell remained. Partly to distinguish between Bible Students who had left and those who remained under the Watchtower's leadership, Rutherford renamed his flock the Jehovah's Witnesses in 1931.

Rutherford's ministry saw great growth in membership as a result of an intensified emphasis on proselytization and a new prophetic date. In 1920, he published a book titled *Millions Now Living Will Never Die*, which claimed that in 1925, the world would see the resurrection of various biblical figures and the second coming of Jesus Christ. Although the botched calculation of dates of end times led to some disaffection, the proselytizing campaign garnered both an intensification of belief among Witnesses and extended knowledge of the sect, including new conversions.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Jehovah's Witnesses faced intolerance on both sides of the Atlantic. This was often based on the group's resistance to public demonstrations of patriotism. In Nazi Germany, Witnesses were imprisoned and sometimes placed within concentration camps for their refusal to offer open support to Adolf Hitler's regime. Thousands were executed. In the United States, Witnesses came under fire for refusing to enlist in the war and instructing their youth not to salute the flag. In many locations, laws were established to prevent door-to-door proselytizing and street preaching.

In 1938, a family of Jehovah's Witnesses brought a case against the Minersville, Pennsylvania, School District for the expulsion of their children after their refusal to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. In 1940, the Supreme Court in *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* upheld the school district's decision to enforce a mandatory pledge. However, three years later, the decision was overturned in a similar case: *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943).

Another landmark case involving Jehovah's Witnesses was *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1940). The case was appealed to the Supreme Court after three Jehovah's Witnesses were found guilty of disturbing the peace and proselytizing without a license for soliciting in the state of Connecticut. They denied disturbing the peace and argued that rules that forced them to obtain a license impeded their constitutional rights. The Supreme Court overturned the charges against the Cantwells and for the first time, argued that the First Amendment freedoms of religion should be applied to individual states as well as to the federal government.

In 1942, Nathan Knorr succeeded Rutherford upon his death. Under Knorr, in 1947, the Witnesses set out to produce a translation of the Bible. The first edition of the New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures was published in 1961, and it remains the denomination's official biblical translation. The translation has met criticism for siding with witness theology against more traditional readings of the scriptures. This involves rendering all references to deity as the Hebrew-based word Jehovah, even in the Greek New Testament.

After World War II, Jehovah's Witnesses continued to increase in membership. Perhaps the most important event to have occurred since the

publication of the New World Translation is the expected apocalypse in 1975. As with the 1925 date, Witnesses experienced a rival in membership and participation, leading up to the prophesied date. When 1975 came and went without any apparent fulfillment, hundreds of thousands of Witnesses left the organization. Since 1975, the Witnesses have not established dates for the apocalypse, although they insist on the imminent return of Christ and the establishment of his kingdom.

Beliefs and Organization

Although their core beliefs are distinct from Christianity, Jehovah's Witnesses subscribe to traditional morality shared by many conservative Christian denominations. The society teaches against fornication, adultery, and other extramarital sexual practices. Members are discouraged from drunkenness and tobacco, as well as foods prepared with blood. Witnesses do not celebrate Christmas, Easter, or other holidays that are considered pagan in their origins. In addition, members are warned against idolatry, including the worship of national symbols, as well as lending support to all governments, except Jehovah's Kingdom. Controversially, Witnesses are also well known for their teachings against blood transfusions.

Most distinctive of Jehovah's Witnesses theological teachings is the insistence that Jehovah is God's personal name, as well as an emphasis on specific ideas related to the afterlife and apocalypticism.

The denomination's structure is based largely on geography. Jehovah's Witnesses meet regularly at their local church buildings, which they refer to as Kingdom Halls. These local congregations are led by a body of lay male ministers referred to as elders. In turn, groups of approximately 20 congregations are referred to as circuits. Traveling circuit overseers, ministers who work for the Jehovah's Witnesses headquarters, visit individual congregations regularly. The international hierarchy of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society is referred to as the governing body. This body is seen as a theocracy, consisting of representatives of Christ's Kingdom, directing the larger association.

A key component of Jehovah's Witness practice is proselytizing. This proves such a crucial dimension of the denomination that those who do



Jehovah's Witnesses are perhaps best known for their door-to-door efforts to spread their beliefs. If someone shows an interest in their beliefs, free home Bible studies are offered and are presented with the aid of books, brochures, and magazines. Some of their literature is available in 500 languages. Witnesses are told to devote as much time as they can to ministry and have to submit a monthly report to the elders.

not serve as missionaries are not counted on the official rolls of the organization. Thus, members are divided between those who can volunteer 10 hours a month, who are referred to as "publishers," and those who can volunteer substantially more, who are referred to as "pioneers." A segment of the denomination also volunteers at the national headquarters, where they look after the everyday affairs of the Watchtower Society.

Jehovah's Witnesses are frequently the focus of "anti-cult" or "counter-cult" groups targeting unorthodox forms of Christianity. Criticisms are often focused on the Witnesses' rejection of Trinitarian beliefs and millenarian beliefs, including the failed expectations of 1975. Particular attention is focused on the *Watchtower's* teachings on the 144,000. In 2012, Jehovah's Witnesses numbered roughly 7.5 million worldwide. There are over 1.2 million adherents in the United States. According to the most recent Pew U.S. Religious Landscape Survey (2008), Jehovah's Witnesses are one of the more diverse Christian bodies in the nation. The denomination's membership is 48 percent white, 22 percent black, and 24

percent Hispanic. They are growing at a rate of 2.4 percent, making them one of the fastest-growing denominations in the United States.

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See Also: Health Beliefs and Practices; Political Correctness; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Jewish Americans

In September 1653, 23 Jewish refugees of Spanish and Portuguese origin fled the Inquisition in the Dutch colony of Recife, Brazil, and arrived by boat in New Amsterdam (later renamed New York City by the English). They were not warmly received.

Governor Peter Stuyvesant, a vehement anti-Semite, wanted to deport them at once, but he was overruled by his superiors at the Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam, and the Jews were grudgingly allowed to stay. Thus began the extraordinary saga of the Jewish presence in America, a presence that would prove disproportionately beneficial to every aspect of political, cultural, commercial, academic, philanthropic, and scientific life in the United States. Although the Jewish population of America is small—estimates range between 5.28 and 6.54 million, according to the 2010 North American Jewish Data Bank—their entry into the open and increasingly pluralistic environment of America enabled them to acculturate swiftly and productively.

Educationally, 59 percent of American Jews have completed college or postgraduate education, compared to 27 percent of Americans in general. Approximately 30 percent of all Ivy League students are Jewish, as are 20 percent of all professors at elite universities. After the early years of anti-Jewish restrictions at the university level, many of America's top colleges have been led by Jewish presidents, including Rick Levin at Yale, Judith Rodin and Amy Guttmann at the University of Pennsylvania, Larry Summers at Harvard, James Freeman at Dartmouth, Harold Shapiro at Princeton, Larry Bacow at Tufts, Henry Bienen at Northwestern, Jeffrey Lehman at Cornell, and Stephen Trachtenberg at George Washington.

A total of 47 percent of American Jews report incomes of over \$100,000, compared to 19 percent of Americans in general. About 45 percent of the top 40 of the *Forbes* 400 richest Americans are Jewish, and 40 percent of the partners in leading law firms in Washington and New York are Jewish. A total of 37 percent of all American Nobel Prize winners are Jewish, as are 30 percent of all American Nobel Prize winners in science. Currently, three of the nine justices on the Supreme Court are Jewish, the highest number in the history of the court.

There are 13 Jews in the U.S. Senate and 27 Jews in the House of Representatives, a far higher proportion than Jews in the overall American population. However, the road to Jewish success in America was not always easy. Anti-Semitism, discrimination, quota systems, and occasional violence against Jews—most infamously, the mob lynching of Leo Frank in 1915—caused decades of anxiety and frustration in the Jewish community.

Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews in America

The original Spanish Jewish community (Sephardim) was later joined by German Jews (Ashkenazim) after the failed revolutions in Europe in 1848. By 1880, the American Jewish population reached 250,000, mostly comprises secular, educated German Jews, although a minority of the original Sephardic community in New York remained influential.

It was not until the late 1880s that a massive wave of Jewish immigrants poured into America

from large areas of the Russian empire, home at that time to two-thirds of the world's Jewry. After the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881, an outbreak of anti-Semitic pogroms drove over 2 million Yiddish speaking Jewish immigrants into the free world of America and Canada.

Struggling to break out of the teeming and poverty-stricken ghettos of American cities, the eastern European Jews aroused increasing nativist anger and prejudice, leading ultimately to the passage of the National Origins Quota of 1924 and the Immigration Act of 1924. These anti-immigration edicts remained strictly in effect throughout the entire period of the Holocaust (1933–45), prohibiting entry of desperate European refugees into America and dooming hundreds of thousands of Jews to death in Nazi gas chambers.

Challenge of Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitic attitudes remained very strong in America from the 1930s until the 1960s, as proven by the systematic polls conducted by the American Jewish Committee, and these attitudes affected official American policy against Jewish immigration. America's indirect role in the destruction of European Jewry remains a painful and fiercely controversial issue.

American Jews nevertheless proved deeply loyal to their adopted country: 250,000 Jews served in World War I, and 500,000 Jews served in World War II, half of all Jews in America between the ages of 18 and 50. A total of 11,000 Jewish soldiers died in battle in World War II. A total of 52,000 were given awards for bravery, including three Medals of Honor, 157 Distinguished Service Medals, and over 1,600 Silver Stars.

After World War II, anti-Semitic attitudes subsided, allowing unprecedented opportunities for Jewish professional and commercial advancement. Thousands of Jewish families joined the great American exodus to the suburbs, and thousands more moved further westward, ultimately making Los Angeles the second-largest Jewish community in America. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Jews methodically abandoned the idea of race as a means of group identification, especially after the nightmare of the Holocaust, and embraced the notion of cultural and ethnic identity instead. Jews characterize themselves

as a "people," a global and historical community with a shared history, religion, and cultural heritage, rather than a group defined by race or "blood."

Jewish responsibility for the security and welfare of all Jews became manifest in a vast network of communal organizations, both in the United States and in every country where Jews continued to live. Philanthropic federations in 227 cities in America currently raise hundreds of millions of dollars annually to help Jews locally, nationally, and globally. Hundreds of private Jewish charities benefit the state of Israel, Jewish day schools, Jewish hospitals, Jewish homes for the elderly, Jewish community centers, Jewish family and children's services, and Jewish vocational services. The Jewish community, from its origin in 1653, has been notably self-sufficient.

Jewish Religious Affiliation and Observance

Jews are religiously divided into four basic denominations—Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist—but only 3.4 million Jews call themselves "religious," according to a 2008 American Religious Identification Study. A 2003 Harris Poll puts the number of "strongly connected" Jews at 4.3 million, 46 percent of whom belong to a synagogue. That same study shows that 38 percent belong to Reform synagogues, 33 percent Conservative, 22 percent Orthodox, 2 percent Reconstructionist, and 5 percent other types. At one end of the religious spectrum, the number of Jews identifying themselves as only "culturally Jewish" has risen from 20 percent in 1990 to 37 percent in 2008, and Jews identifying themselves as having no religion rose from 8 percent to 15 percent from 1990 to 2008. At the opposite extreme, the number of Orthodox Jewish members of synagogues rose from 11 percent in 1971 to 21 percent in 2000, and the number of Ultra-Orthodox Jews in America rose from 360,000 in 2000 to 470,000 in 2006—an astonishing 9.4 percent of the total Jewish population in America.

American Jews tend to be significantly more secular than Christian Americans. According to the 2008 American Religious Identification Study, about half of all American Jews—including those who consider themselves religiously observant—claim that they have a secular worldview and see

no contradiction between that outlook and their faith. American Jews tend to be more atheist or agnostic, compared to Christians: A 2003 Gallup Poll found that 79 percent of Protestants and 90 percent of Catholics believe in God, compared to only 48 percent of Jews. When asked if they were “absolutely certain” of God’s existence, 66 percent of Americans said they were, and only 24 percent of Jews said the same. A 2009 Harris Poll showed that American Jews are the religious group most accepting of evolution, with 80 percent believing in the theory, compared to 51 percent for Catholics, 32 percent for Protestants, and 16 percent for born again Christians. Jews were also less likely to believe in supernatural phenomena such as miracles, angels, or heaven.

Jews and Politics

Throughout the 20th century, Jews have been engaged in the American political process with passionate fervor. Their 84 percent voter turnout rate far surpasses that of any other ethnic group, and though Jews account for only 2.2 percent of the American population, 94 percent of them live in 13 key electoral college states, which combined have enough electoral votes to elect the president. Though Jews span the political spectrum, the majority of Jews vote for Democratic candidates. In the 2008 presidential election, for example, 78 percent of Jews voted for Barack Obama, and only 21 percent voted for John McCain, despite Republican attempts to connect Obama to Muslim and pro-Palestinian causes.

Since 1916, when 55 percent of Jews voted for Woodrow Wilson, Jews have never wavered from their support of the Democratic Party: 90 percent voted for Roosevelt, and 90 percent voted for Lyndon Johnson against Barry Goldwater in 1964. Proportionately more Jews than Catholics voted for John Kennedy in 1960, and Hubert Humphrey and Bill Clinton each received an overwhelming 80 percent of the Jewish vote in 1968 and 1992, respectively. Even George McGovern, perceived by many to be potentially inimical to Jewish interests, received 65 percent of the Jewish vote in his race against Richard Nixon in 1972. The majority of American Jews support a liberal domestic political agenda. On any given issue—abortion, gay rights, same sex marriage, church–state separation, gender equality,

affirmative action, civil rights, free expression, and privacy protection—Jews far outdistance the closest ethnic group in support of liberalism.

Popular Culture

Perhaps the greatest Jewish impact on American life is in the field of popular culture. Aside from Walt Disney Pictures, Jewish “moguls” founded every major Hollywood film studio as well as the major radio and television networks—NBC, CBS, and ABC. Other Jews quickly assumed prominence in the fields of popular song, jazz, folk music, vaudeville, Broadway dramas, and musicals. In fact, Jews were so numerous in the Broadway musical and popular song writing fields that they became known as “Jewish industries.” Post-war American fiction was dominated by Jewish writers like Jerome (J. D.) Salinger, Bernard Malamud, Saul Bellow, Philip Roth, Norman Mailer, and Joseph Heller, and American poetry was enhanced by the works of Allen Ginsberg, Karl Shapiro, Charles Reznikoff, and Muriel Rukeyser.

Jews founded the comic book industry and continue to play a leading creative role in that industry. Joe Shuster and Jerry Siegel created the figure of Superman in 1938, and other Jewish writers and artists established Marvel Comics and all the superheroes that currently provide the biggest film blockbusters in contemporary American and global mass entertainment—Batman, the Fantastic Four, Spider Man, the Hulk, Captain Marvel, Thor, Iron Man, and the X-Men. Nor can one discuss the fashion and beauty industry without reference to Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein, Ann Klein, Donna Karan, Isaac Mizrahi, Levi Strauss, Diane von Furstenberg, Kenneth Cole, and Helena Rubenstein.

Jewish Future in America

In America, Jews, like so many people around the world, are seeking personal, ethnic, and spiritual identity. Since the global Jewish population is only 13 million people, Jews worry about their demographic future. Inter-marriage rates in America are over 50 percent, and only one-third of children in these mixed marriages are raised as Jews.

The organized Jewish community has strived to retain Jewish commitment, particularly among the young. Birthright, a free, 10-day trip to Israel

for young Jews up to the age of 26, has graduated 300,000 people from the program, with encouraging results. Orthodox membership has surged, and Young Leadership Development programs in mainstream Jewish social and philanthropic agencies have successfully recruited new generations of communal leaders.

Jewish identity continues to coalesce around the two most important events in modern Jewish history—the Holocaust and the creation of Israel. Commemoration of the Holocaust and political and financial support of Israel have taken on religious dimensions. If the Holocaust represents the physical death of the Jewish people, the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948 represents their resurrection. “Am Yisrael Hai” (“the Jewish people live”) has become the rallying cry at every major Jewish demonstration. Since their quiet arrival in New Amsterdam in 1653, American Jews have overcome all impediments in their drive toward self-fulfillment, and in the process, they have added immeasurable benefits to every conceivable aspect of American life.

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See Also: Anti-Semitism; Gentiles; Holocaust, The; Israeli Americans; Jewish Federation; Jewish Theological Seminary.

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Jewish Federation

A Jewish federation is a community-based organization that raises money to support a variety of programs that provide charitable, cultural, social, and educational services to a local American

Jewish community, as well as to Jews living in Israel and other countries. As of 2012, there were about 200 Jewish federations in the United States and Canada, including federations in 40 states and the District of Columbia.

The federations enable local Jewish communities to organize their philanthropic activities. Beginning in the 1820s, as an increasing number of Jews immigrated to the United States, American Jews set up communal charities to provide these immigrants with food, clothing, hospital care, orphan asylum, and other social welfare services. Each of these services held its own fund-raising events, each agency vying with the others for needed money.

This already unwieldy situation became even more ineffective by the late 19th century, as Jewish communities in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere struggled to meet the needs of a mass influx of eastern European Jews.

In response to this problem, the first Jewish federation was organized in Boston in 1895, creating a new form of “one-stop philanthropy.” For the first time, the city’s social welfare organizations and charities were united under one federation, which raised money in one central appeal and then distributed these funds among all of its affiliated agencies. In this manner, more money could be raised to support these agencies than would be provided if each agency held its own fund-raisers. A similar Jewish federation was founded in Cincinnati in 1896, followed by federations in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, Kansas City, and many other cities.

Founding Principles

These federations for the most part were created by secular Jews who wanted to help newly arrived immigrants assimilate into American life. In its earliest stages, the Jewish federation movement embodied the four following primary characteristics:

- *Autonomy:* Each federation was a separate organization, independent of federations in other parts of the country; each federation ran its own fund-raising appeals and funded services tailored to the specific needs of its community.

- *Localism*: The federations responded to the needs of Jews living in the local communities they served. Although the federations would later expand their activities to assist Jews in Israel and other countries, meeting the needs of the local Jewish community remained a central goal of federations into the 21st century.
- *Americanism*: The programs funded by the federations aimed to provide services that would enable Jewish immigrants to learn the language, culture, and values of their newly adopted country so they could integrate into the mainstream of American society.
- *Communalism*: The federations broadly concentrated on the needs of the communities they served, assisting numerous agencies and the largest possible number of Jewish people rather than simply focusing on any one agency or on the needs of individuals.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the federations supported family, child welfare, and health care organizations, including hospitals and orphanages. They opened Jewish community centers in many cities, which provided cultural, educational, and recreational programs. Many communities also established vocational education or training programs and provided loans to help people start businesses.

In 1932, federations in 15 cities founded the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, which would develop standards, principles, and programming for the local organizations. At that time, there were 70 Jewish federations and welfare funds in the United States, raising less than \$40 million annually; by 1995, federations affiliated with the council operated in 190 cities and generated about \$800 million in annual campaigns.

In the 1930s, as American Jews became alarmed about reports of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany and other places, the federations began to widen their activities to provide funds to rescue and rehabilitate



The Six-Day War had a significant impact on the federations in 1967. The war was fought by Israel and the neighboring states of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Within six days, Israeli forces had taken control of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. A new pride swept the American Jewish community, resulting in an emphasis on Jewish education in North America.

Jews living under discriminatory conditions. This new emphasis on helping Jews who lived outside the United States dramatically expanded after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The federations began to allocate their welfare funds to help the United Jewish Appeal resettle Holocaust survivors from Poland, Hungary, and other countries in Israel. In later years, the federations would similarly finance resettlement efforts for Jews from Ethiopia and the former Soviet Union.

A New Emphasis

The federations underwent a significant change in 1967, after Israel defeated its Arab opponents in the Six-Day War. A new wave of pride, as well as Holocaust awareness, swept the American Jewish community. The federations responded by placing a new emphasis on Jewish education, which would eventually become the single largest component of federation assistance, receiving an average of 25 percent of the funding allocated by each North American federation.

The publication in 1990 of the National Jewish Population Survey resulted in new concerns for Jewish federations. The survey concluded that half of the 5.5 million Jews in the United States were born in 1955 or later, after the Holocaust and the establishment of Israel. With each generation, Jews had become increasingly assimilated, and 52 percent of Jews were marrying non-Jews. Jewish assimilation, once a desired goal of the federations, now seemed to be posing a threat to the existence of the very communities that federations traditionally served.

These findings, as well as a declining donor base, forced many Jewish federations to grapple with questions of Jewish affiliation and identity. With younger Jews expressing less attachment to Israel and Jewish organizations, federation officials worried they could no longer maintain a continued source of funding. They were particularly concerned about the high rates of intermarriage, pointing to research that showed that households in which both partners were Jewish were four times more likely to donate to federations than households of interreligious couples.

Federations were also concerned that the social and human services they helped finance had become increasingly dependent upon government funding, which was being severely reduced. Because many

of the hospitals and other welfare organizations that once served only Jews were now assisting other Americans, federation officials wondered what was truly “Jewish” about these services and whether the federations were obligated to continue supporting them. In addition, federations were placing a new emphasis on strategic investment in Israel, including creation of new models of charitable giving to support Israeli culture and the arts.

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See Also: American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Defamation League; Anti-Semitism; B'nai B'rith; Hadassah; Jewish Americans; World Jewish Congress.

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Jewish Theological Seminary

Founded in 1887, the Jewish Theological Seminary, located in New York City, is the educational and religious center of Conservative Judaism in the United States. The idea for the new school sprang from the 19th-century debate within the ranks of American Judaism concerning the range

of reform. A group of religious centrists thought that Hebrew Union College, founded in 1875 in Cincinnati, Ohio, was tied too closely to the most radical in Reform Judaism: the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) would offer an alternative. In 1902, the seminary was almost ready to close when Solomon Schechter, an internationally acclaimed scholar from Cambridge University, became president. He established the school's reputation. During the tenure of Louis Finkelstein, programs were expanded and ecumenical institutes established. Controversies surrounding the ordination of women in the late 20th century and gays in the 21st century led some Conservative Jews to withdraw their support of the seminary, but it remains Conservative Judaism's most influential higher-education institution.

In the late 19th century, Reform Judaism was moving further away from traditional Jewish theology and practice. In 1883, Hebrew Union College, at the time the only rabbinical seminary in the United States, celebrated its first graduating class with a dinner at which nonkosher food was served. Some guests protested by leaving the dinner. Two years later, the 1885 Pittsburgh Platform, which minimized ritual and emphasized social justice, was adopted by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The combination pushed a group of centrists with both traditionalist and modernist leanings into founding a new school. The first class of 10 students met in the vestry of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue, New York's oldest congregation, in 1886. In its first 15 years, JTS ordained only 15 rabbis. Funds as well as students were in short supply, and the school's history threatened to be a short one.

But half a million dollars, much of it contributed by wealthy German Jewish businessmen, allowed the school to extend an invitation to Solomon Schechter, who was internationally known for his discovery of rare manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza. His acceptance of the presidency of JTS in March 1902 rejuvenated the school. Outstanding scholars joined the faculty, and JTS became a recognized center of Jewish learning. Under Schechter's leadership, a library was added that would ultimately become the largest Judaica library in America, rabbinical training was transformed into a graduate-level course of study, and a teacher-training school was added. Schechter was

succeeded by Cyrus Adler (temporary president, 1915–24, president, 1924–40), who focused on the school's growth. During his tenure, JTS graduated 236 rabbis and 364 teachers. In 1925, with a core collection, he began the school's Jewish Museum.

Adler's most notable achievement may have been the grooming of his successor. He hired Louis Finkelstein in 1925 as a lecturer in theology and steadily promoted him. In May 1940, Finkelstein became president. His long tenure, from 1940 to 1972, saw major changes within JTS and in the larger American culture. His vision for JTS included its playing an influential role in American Jewry and in the broader American society. To this end, he created ecumenical institutes, notably the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, and expanded the school's educational outreach to include radio and television programming. Concern about the vacuum in Jewish knowledge caused by the Holocaust led to the addition of the Cantorial School in 1952. Finkelstein also engaged JTS in cooperative work with neighboring Columbia University. In 1953, the two schools opened a dual degree program for undergraduates. Other expansions under his leadership included a youth leadership program and an honors-level Hebrew high school. Expansion was not limited to the original campus. A West Coast affiliate, the University of Judaism, opened in 1947, and a Seminary Center in Israel began in 1962.

Controversial Years

The Finkelstein years were not without controversy. The 1960s brought an end to JTS's carefully cultivated apoliticism when seminary students joined theologian Abraham Joshua Heschel in the civil rights marches, in the Soviet Jewry movement, and in opposition to the Vietnam War. Finkelstein drew censure from within the ranks of Conservative Judaism for his attention to American and world Jewry at the cost of denominational service. His legacy suggests that the concern of Conservative Judaism's leaders was justified. The service of eminent JTS alumni in other institutions of higher education helped decentralize Jewish learning and end the exclusivity that JTS once held.

Not even the political activism of the 1960s generated the level of controversy that rocked JTS when the announcement was made that beginning in fall 1984, classes entering the rabbinical school

would include women. JTS was under pressure from an increasing number of Conservative Jews to admit qualified women to its Rabbinical School. Gerson D. Cohen, who succeeded Finkelstein in 1972, had been opposed to the change in policy at first, but he became a staunch proponent. In 1983, he succeeded in gaining approval for the reform. Opponents of the change responded by forming a new organization, the Union for Traditional Conservative Judaism. In 1990, the organization, newly named Union for Traditional Judaism, opened its own rabbinical school.

In 2007, Arnold M. Eisen, then chancellor-elect of JTS, announced that the seminary would immediately begin admitting qualified gay and lesbian students into its rabbinical and cantorial schools. The announcement followed a decision in December 2006 by the Conservative movement's legal authorities to reverse the movement's traditional ban on gay clergy. On May 19, 2011, Rachel Isaacs became the first openly gay rabbi of either sex to be ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary. JTS continues to be the premier seminary in training Jewish scholars and professionals within Conservative Judaism.

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See Also: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion; Jewish Americans.

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social customs and norms that arose as a result. For a century following the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, U.S. citizens of African ancestry were targeted by laws denying them the same rights as white citizens, enacted primarily in the former Confederate states of the south but facilitated by the federal government. The slow process of dismantling those Jim Crow laws began in earnest in the 1950s and culminated in the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As recently as the 2012 presidential election, however, remnants of Jim Crow were seen in the creation of voter identification laws that purported to combat voter fraud but were generally acknowledged to impact people of color disproportionately.

President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, ended slavery in the southern states. It did not apply to the north or to border states not officially "in rebellion" against the Union, but it still affected over 3 million people. However, the words didn't have impact as long as Confederate troops remained in control. In Texas, word of the Emancipation Proclamation did not arrive until June 19, 1865, when Union soldiers landed at Galveston, Texas (now celebrated as "Juneteenth"). Even then, it was not widely enforced. The Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlawed slavery in all states when it was adopted in December 1865, following the final surrender of Confederate forces. It was the first time that the Constitution had been amended in more than 60 years and was quickly followed by two more Reconstruction amendments.

Reconstruction was the process of returning the former Confederate states to the Union. Under the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, the Confederate states were required to accept the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The first section of the Fourteenth Amendment declared: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." This definition reinforced the one used in the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and nullified the Supreme Court's earlier ruling, in *Dred Scott v. Sanford* in 1857, that people of African descent brought into the United States as slaves and their descendants were not U.S. citizens. The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 gave men of color the right

Jim Crow Laws

The term *Jim Crow* became the face of the racial segregation in the United States that followed slavery. It is a term that includes both the laws authorizing segregation and the accompanying

to vote. Congress then passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, forbidding discrimination in restaurants, theaters, hotels, trains, and other public spaces.

Although federal legislation and constitutional amendments sought to equalize rights of citizenship for whites and nonwhites, moves at the state level were aimed at changing as little as possible the imbalance of power between the races. Laws known as the Black Codes had been passed immediately following the Civil War. They were based on the earlier slave codes that had given owners absolute power over enslaved people as property. Among other things, the slave codes had made illegal reading or writing by enslaved people (and teaching them to read or write), forbade enslaved people from planting certain kitchen garden crops or keeping farm animals, from owning or operating a boat, or from wearing clothes finer than “Negro cloth.”

As their legal successors, the Black Codes imposed duties and obligations on persons of color that did not apply to whites. For example, South Carolina’s laws required nonwhites to obtain a prohibitively expensive license before becoming an artisan, mechanic, or shopkeeper. Mississippi allowed “freedmen, free negroes and mulattos” to serve on juries and testify in court only in cases involving other people of color. A vagrancy law required African Americans to carry written proof of employment, similar to the written passes required during slavery. One statute outlined the relationship between “master and apprentice,” allowing minors to be compensated for their labors in room and board, not infrequently by their former slave owners. Most states allowed persons of color to marry one another, but marrying a white person was a felony. Black Codes were not limited to the southern states. Some northern states, such as Indiana and Illinois, banned blacks from moving into the state. The character of Black Codes in the south was to imitate the condition of slavery. These laws ended in a convergence of federal and state actions: the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment and the participation of freedmen in state elections under Reconstruction supervision.

Although Reconstruction ended the Black Codes, it did not change attitudes. While the national legal tide was moving to protect former enslaved people, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK)



A sign is displayed for the “colored” waiting room from a Durham, North Carolina, station in 1940. The Jim Crow laws mandated segregation in all public facilities in the southern states of the former Confederacy. This separation led to inferior conditions for African Americans and contributed to economic, educational, and social disadvantages.

demonstrated the limits of the law. Organized as a social club for former Confederate soldiers in 1865, the KKK grew into the “invisible empire of the south,” enforcing through terrorism what could not be accomplished through laws. Violence reached a peak in advance of the 1868 presidential election. The KKK opposed Republican candidate Ulysses S. Grant, who would continue programs for racial equality. However, the murders, violence, and mob riots instigated by the Klan may have galvanized northern opposition. Grant won the election, and Republicans won a majority in Congress. This first era of the Klan ended as new laws made racial subjugation once again legal. It would later return, when legal parity threatened white superiority in the 1960s.

The lesson of the Black Codes and Reconstruction laws was that former slaves and persons of color could not be officially treated as less than equal with whites. Thwarted in attempts to maintain a master–slave relationship, whites moved instead to segregate themselves from nonwhites in parallel societies. Undergirding this separation was the belief that African Americans were inferior in intelligence, morality, and behavior, and therefore whites were entitled to better conditions.

Who Was Jim Crow?

Jim Crow was a character in an early 1830s minstrel show. In such musical stage shows, white men performed in blackface, singing and dancing to lyrics that amused white audiences in their denigration of people of color. The character of Jim Crow was created by Thomas Dartmouth “Daddy” Rice. He pretended to be enslaved, singing “Jump Jim Crow” in an exaggerated imitation of “Negro” vernacular. The character of Jim Crow came to represent the network of laws, social customs, and etiquette that gave lip service to equality while enforcing a rigid racial caste system from 1877 to the mid-1960s. The social norms under Jim Crow prohibited any actions that would make it appear that a black person was in any way equal to a white person.

A black male could not offer his hand to shake hands with a white man because it implied being socially equal; blacks were introduced to whites, never whites to blacks; whites did not use courtesy titles (such as “Mr.”) when addressing blacks, who were referred to by their first names; blacks were never to hint that a white person was lying; blacks were never to claim or demonstrate superior knowledge or intelligence; blacks could never curse or laugh derisively at a white person; and blacks could never comment about a white female. These social customs mirrored laws enacted at the local, state, and federal levels.

Separate and Unequal

The stage for Jim Crow’s segregated society was set by two Supreme Court cases in the late 1800s; both passed with only Justice John Marshall Harlan in dissent. In 1883, the Court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional, which made it possible to again segregate public spaces. Then, in 1896, it upheld a law that required segregated trains in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In a deliberate test case, Homer Plessy was arrested when he tried to board an all-white rail car because the “colored” car was full. Plessy was born free and was seven-eighths white, but he was classified as black under Louisiana law. The Supreme Court ruled that equality of the races did not mean that it was necessary to abolish distinctions based on color, “or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races unsatisfactory to either.” The resulting

separate but equal doctrine encouraged segregation, with no attempt to provide African Americans with anything approaching equality.

Despite the passing reference to social, rather than political, equality, concerted efforts were made to prevent nonwhites from voting through the use of literacy tests, poll taxes, property requirements, and other difficult registration rules. With fewer African Americans able to vote, post-Civil War gains were rolled back, and laws slightly more subtle than, but similar in spirit to, the old Black Codes were passed with impunity. Examples include the following:

All bus passenger stations must have separate waiting rooms and separate ticket windows for white and colored races.

It is against the law to serve food in a restaurant if white and colored people are served in the same room, unless a solid partition seven feet high divides them, and separate entrances are provided from the street.

There were some limits. In *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), the Supreme Court found unconstitutional a Louisville, Kentucky, law that compelled racial segregation in residential housing by prohibiting the sale of real property to African Americans. Efforts to use the common law nuisance doctrine to accomplish residential segregation were also generally unsuccessful at the state court level. As entrenched as the separate but equal attitude was under Jim Crow, exceptions like these kept the nation from devolving into a strict apartheid.

Poignant Protest

Within that segregated environment, entertainment by and for African Americans thrived on the “chitlin’ circuit,” a term for the clubs and halls where nonwhite singers, musicians, and comedians could perform. Not restricted to the south, the circuit included theaters in every major city, in black communities, isolated inside white cities. Others were solitary outposts in small towns across the south. In the 1930s and 1940s, live performances on the circuit were largely unknown to white audiences. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, recordings made it possible to share the music, although buying “race” records was an under-the-counter endeavor. Performers now

famous for blues, jazz, and R&B performed first on the “chitlin’ circuit” before integrating venues in the 1960s. Although they were barred from performing for white audiences and from air play on white radio stations, many white musicians and performers “covered” the work of black artists, profiting from sanitized versions of their works.

One of the most haunting performances from that time is Billie Holiday’s rendition of “Strange Fruit,” a song about lynching written first as a poem in 1937 by a Jewish public school teacher in New York City named Abel Meeropol. He wrote the song after seeing a photograph of a lynching, one of perhaps 4,000 nationwide from 1882 to the 1950s. The lyrics juxtapose the beauty of the trees bending with the breeze and the sweet scent of magnolias with the brutality that hanged black bodies like the fruit of “a strange and bitter crop.” The three brief stanzas evoked such an emotional response that it was called the song of the century by *Time* magazine in 1999. It has been recorded by many artists and has inspired other songs, as well as novels, articles, plays, and television shows.

Presidential Progress

Jim Crow found allies in 14 U.S. presidents, from Rutherford B. Hayes (1877) through Franklin D. Roosevelt (1909). They turned a blind eye as civil rights for African Americans were rescinded and they were disenfranchised.

Theodore Roosevelt was openly opposed to black suffrage, believing that blacks were intellectually inferior. President William Howard Taft perpetuated the idea that blacks should not participate in politics. President Woodrow Wilson segregated federal offices in Washington, requiring that job applications include a photograph. The administrations did little to investigate lynchings or KKK activities. The first voice from the White House in support of civil rights for blacks was that of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, in the late 1930s.

President Harry S. Truman (1945) became the first president to address the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) or to endorse civil rights. He issued executive orders giving African Americans equal treatment in federal jobs and desegregating the military, and the secretary of the U.S. Army was forced into retirement a year later for refusing to desegregate. The slow reversal of Jim Crow laws began

after four new justices were appointed to the Supreme Court, and Thurgood Marshall undertook a case-by-case assault as the general counsel of the NAACP. Finally, in 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education* declared that separate was unequal and that segregation was inherently unconstitutional. That ruling removed the legal justification for Jim Crow laws but did not automatically take them off the books. It wasn’t until 1967 that the Court found laws preventing racial intermarriage unconstitutional in *Loving v. Virginia*.

At the same time that Thurgood Marshall pressed legal challenges, civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., challenged the social customs associated with Jim Crow. Efforts to eat at lunch counters and ride public transportation were met with hostility and renewed KKK activity. President John F. Kennedy took to television in 1963 to commit all three branches of government to supporting civil rights, and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, actively prosecuted voting rights violations. With the support of President Johnson, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 combined to invalidate Jim Crow laws in all states. Almost a century and a half after the Emancipation Proclamation, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution apologizing for the “injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity” of slavery and Jim Crow laws on July 29, 2008.

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See Also: Black Codes; Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Juneteenth; Ku Klux Klan; Reconstruction; Segregation; Slavery; Voting Rights Acts.

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Jordanian Americans

A Middle Eastern kingdom bordering Israel, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, Jordan is predominantly Arab, with roughly 1 percent minorities of Circassians and Armenians. The Arab population includes both Transjordanians, who are native to the region east of the Jordan River and therefore within the current boundaries of the state of Jordan, and Palestinians, who are the Muslim or Christian natives or descendants thereof of the British mandate of Palestine, which existed from 1922 to 1948, west of the Jordan River—the modern territory of Israel. Jordan is predominantly Muslim, of the Sunni denomination.

History

The state of Jordan was created when it became independent from Britain in 1946, having previously been part of the British mandate of Palestine (and briefly, the British-controlled Emirate of Transjordan). Jordan was one of the last Middle Eastern nations to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the political and diplomatic representative of the Palestinians.

It is possible that some residents of the lands that now constitute Jordan immigrated to the United States in the 19th century, when they would have been noted only as Arabs or Syrians. Arab immigration at the time was fairly low, however, and most Arabs immigrating in that era were part of specific groups (largely settling in Chicago or Detroit), especially Christian Arabs. Sustained Jordanian immigration does not seem to have begun until the late 1940s, shortly after the creation of the modern state. There are today about 67,622 Jordanian Americans, according to the most recent figures released by the U.S. Census Bureau.

The first Jordanian American communities were established in the Near West and Southwest Sides neighborhoods of Chicago. Some immigrants returned home to Jordan after working for a few years, but others opened stores and other establishments and put down roots. New York City, with its ample opportunities and general embrace of immigrants, attracted a community as well. There were about 1,000 Jordanian Americans in 1950, split more or less between the cities of Chicago and New York and the Southwest (mainly Phoenix and California). Immigration

categorized these immigrants as “Palestinian/Jordanian,” as both Jordanians and West Bank Palestinians were allowed to use Jordanian passports.

In the 1950s, 5,762 Jordanians immigrated to the United States; nearly twice that many immigrated the following decade; and 27,535 immigrated in the 1970s. Some sought economic and educational opportunities, and some wanted to join relatives who had already settled in America. Others fled the chaos of the Arab–Israeli War. The relaxing of many immigration restrictions in 1964 played a role in accelerating Jordanian immigration and Arab immigration as a whole.

Though many of the early immigrants returned to their homeland after they had earned enough to help out their families, or earned a college degree, as they immigrated in greater numbers, more and more Jordanians remained in the United States, becoming permanent residents or citizens. The Jordanian American population grew quickly.

A definite class divide was present with respect to where these immigrants settled. Wealthy Jordanians, who were more likely to have traveled abroad and were accustomed to urban life, settled in large metropolitan areas or the suburbs thereof, such as in the New York, New Jersey, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., areas. The rest were more likely to settle in the southwest and California.

Major Jordanian American communities include Little Ramallah, or Little Istanbul, in Paterson, New Jersey. Little Ramallah is both the largest Turkish American enclave in the United States and home to large Jordanian, Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese populations. It is located in the 6th Ward of Paterson in the Lakeview section, which includes a variety of ethnic enclaves and numerous Middle Eastern restaurants and markets. This is fairly emblematic of the areas with large concentrations of Jordanian Americans: the neighborhood is rarely exclusively Jordanian but includes a strong support system for Middle Eastern immigrants, including Arabic-language newspapers (and sometimes signs on businesses, and menus in restaurants), restaurants and markets, cultural centers, mosques or churches, and, in general, a social and cultural connection to the larger Arab world.

Most Jordanian American families hope that their children will marry within the Arab American community, but marrying outsiders is not as

frowned upon as it is by some recent immigrant groups. Nor is arranged marriage at all common. However, marriage is treated somewhat differently than in mainstream American society; the groom's family, for instance, pays for the wedding, and divorce is strongly discouraged. Couples having trouble in their marriage can expect to have relatives on both sides of the family intervene to pressure them to stay together and resolve their differences. Though Jordan is predominantly Muslim, the Jordanian American community is predominantly Christian and only 8 percent Muslim. The Eastern Orthodox Church is the most common faith, with Catholics close behind; Protestants, a rarity in the Arab world, are less common.

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See Also: Iraqi Americans; Muslim Americans; Saudi Americans; Syrian Americans.

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third the stories of their daughters. The mothers belong to the generation of Chinese women born at the turn of the century who experienced transition in the society from Confucian to Communist order, World War II and Japanese invasion, immigration to America, and assimilation into the American society. The monologues of the daughters deal with the struggle of Asian Americans to find their identity in the post-civil rights era in American society.

Tan does not present monolithic images of Chinese and American society because her characters come from different families, classes, and regions. This also enables her to counteract negative stereotypes about Chinese Americans. Each protagonist is faced with a task to define herself in a moment of conflict or loss. The mothers have Chinese belief systems that help them to cope with war, immigration, and family crises; the daughters feel divided between Chinese and American customs, which is reflected in their stories through lack of communication and misunderstandings with their mothers.

The form and the structure of the novel are in unison with narrative strategies because they reflect themes of connectedness and disconnect-edness in the novel. The narration shifts between the omniscient narrator in the prologues and first-person narration in the monologues, which allows for relativity of experience. The function of four prologues (with fantastic content that has roots in Chinese culture) is to present a background for each narration and to connect different protagonists and their monologues, their Chinese past and American present. Overlapping of reality and fantasy, history and narration, questions the idea that there is only one version of history. Tan uses historiographic metafiction by focusing on the stories of women and immigrants and by subverting institutionalized national Chinese and American history.

Feminist Themes

The novel bears resemblance to works of other multicultural women writers, not just through structure and form but also through its themes: the search for matrilineal heritage, overcoming of silences, giving voices to women, and narrating the common experience of female oppression. Apart from the feminist discourse, the novel also

Joy Luck Club, The

Amy Tan's novel *The Joy Luck Club* (1989) consists of 20 chapters divided into four cycles of narration. The first and fourth cycles present the stories of four mothers, and the second and

deals with problems of national discourse. The characters are first- and second-generation immigrants, so they question identity, ethnicity, and race. Because of the narrative strategies that put into focus the relativity of history and personal experience, the novel resists the conclusion that it is easy to reach a final definition of ethnic identity. Rather, the narration of each character suggests that it is tentative and subject to change.

Tan's skillful mixing and switching of codes in her usage of English, Chinese, and Chinese American languages is also of crucial importance in the novel. There are several levels of language in the text, of which some serve as language doubling: the standard English of the second generation, the broken English of Chinese immigrants that represents a mixture of Chinese and English, and the fluent English that is a covert translation of their Chinese. In the end, language is an instrument in breaking the silence of Chinese American women.

Their language is a testimony to their will and strength to survive and pass on their story to the next generation. For their daughters, narration is a way to confront parts of their Chinese identity that they have been denying. Sharing stories enables them to start acquainting themselves with their Chinese heritage and to try and understand it. The breakthrough in the novel happens when the daughters start really listening to their mothers, and the mothers decide to reveal the stories about secrets and shameful parts of family history. By showing their vulnerability and narrating stories about past and present, the mothers and daughters finally reach middle ground. The daughters start speaking Chinese American and claim their Chinese names, achieving reconciliation with their ethnic heritage and identity.

The Joy Luck Club became a bestseller and opened the way for new generations of Asian American writers, especially women. It decentralized the American canon, making it a more accurate reflection of the multicultural American society in which the Asian (and especially the Chinese) population grew faster than any other race group. Numerous scholarly works have been written on the novel, and it became part of courses on American literature, American studies, multiculturalism, and anthropology. It was translated into more than 20 languages.

The film was made in 1993, directed by Wayne Wang, with Tan as one of the co-producers and co-screenwriter. Wang successfully conflated images of China filmed on real locations with those of the modern-day United States, using flashbacks and voiceovers. Similar to the novel, the film features a range of different Asian American characters, particularly women played by prominent Asian American actresses. Rather than casting Asian American women solely in stereotypical Hollywood roles of seductresses, mystical objects of desire, or women warriors, the film foregrounds family stories of Asian American mothers and daughters. The film received some negative criticism for its stereotypical portrayal of Chinese men. However, it is notable as a box-office success, breaking ground for other films featuring predominantly Asian American characters.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Amerasian; Asian Americans; Chinese Americans; Feminism and Ethnic Diversity.

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Juneteenth

Juneteenth is a portmanteau of the words *June* and *nineteenth*. The term signifies the day on which the last enslaved persons in the Confederate state of Texas learned of their newly acquired freedom. Those nearly 250,000 bondsmen received word of their liberation only after a ship carrying 2,500 Union troops and General Gordon Granger arrived at Galveston on June 19, 1865.

Black Independence Day

Two months after the end of the Civil War, slaves throughout the state were finally informed of the Emancipation Proclamation, which was first promulgated by President Abraham Lincoln in September 1862. That Texas had minimal Union supervision throughout the war meant that bondsmen in the state knew little about Lincoln's decree and thus their long overdue freedom. When General Granger delivered General Order Number 3 on June 19, word slowly made its way across the state, and since then, many former Texas slaves and their descendants have commemorated that day of jubilee every subsequent year. Presently, black citizens in Texas and all across America celebrate Juneteenth as a black Independence Day.

Early manifestations of Juneteenth celebrations were marked by a host of private and public celebrations, both simple and elaborate. Black Texans paused to reflect on a slave past and to acknowledge whatever triumphs their newfound freedom brought, no matter how modest or fleeting. In fact, some of the first Juneteenth commemorations were both educational and activist in scope. The Texas Freedmen's Bureau and black community leaders, for example, used the day as an opportunity to teach former bondsmen the value of their most basic civic right—the right to vote.

In many Texas towns and cities throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, it was not uncommon for black churches to hold thanksgiving ceremonies and even mixed-race community gatherings on Juneteenth. These spectacles oftentimes included plenty of music, revelry, and, of course, food. In Texas, particularly, barbeques were and still are quintessential staples at most Juneteenth celebrations. Some celebrants also serve strawberry soda and sweet watermelon alongside their

barbeque feasts, as both items were products cheaply available to slaves and freedmen.

Though the focus of the day was to celebrate, the seriousness of and cause for those festivities were not lost. Black activists oftentimes took advantage of the large crowds gathered in local churches or “emancipation parks” to preach racial uplift and self-determination. They encouraged blacks not to dishonor the legacies and hard-won gains of their ancestors.

Today, many municipalities, civic groups, and formalized Juneteenth committees across the state host parades, festivals, and pageants in honor of the holiday. Houston and Dallas, both Texas cities with large black populations, organize well-attended public parades, concerts, and educational seminars for the day. After all, it was a Houston-area state representative, Al Edwards, who in 1979 introduced a bill in the Texas legislature calling for Juneteenth to become an official state holiday. The bill passed, and Governor William P. Clements signed it into law, which made Texas the first state to grant Juneteenth holiday status.

Today, more than 40 other states either observe Juneteenth or have granted it full state holiday status. With Juneteenth a state holiday in Texas, government and some private-sector employees in the state enjoy the day off from work. Though government offices are not closed for the day, staffers have the liberty to use the holiday time at their discretion. Juneteenth celebrations in Texas and elsewhere help energize African Americans and other citizens as the nation gears up to celebrate Independence Day during the month of July. Though meant to honor the long-awaited news of emancipation, Juneteenth has evolved into a holiday that looks not only backward but forward as well.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil War, U.S.; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Slavery.

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Jungle, The

The Jungle is a “muckraking” novel published in the United States in January 1906. Its author is Upton Sinclair. The novel chronicles the struggles of Jurgis Rudkus, a recent immigrant to the United States from Lithuania. Rudkus works at the Chicago stockyards, and the novel uses his immigrant experience to comment on the unfair working conditions for the workers in the Chicago stockyards at the turn of the century. It was the intent of the author, Sinclair, to write a book that would draw attention to this issue in particular.

Upton Beall Sinclair, Jr., the author of *The Jungle*, was born September 20, 1878, in Baltimore, Maryland. Sinclair grew up in a poor family. His father experienced great difficulty in achieving economic success and abused alcohol much of his life. Sinclair’s mother belonged to a family of some affluence, but this in no way provided any benefit to Sinclair’s immediate family.

The family moved to New York City by the time Sinclair was 10 years old. Sinclair began attending school, and by the time he was 14, he was eligible to attend City College of New York (CUNY). Sinclair also began writing dime novels at this time and graduated from CUNY at age 18.

Following his studies at CUNY, he continued to write, attended graduate school, and published several novels. He also became more interested in socialism. In 1904, Sinclair spent seven weeks in Chicago living with the workingmen of the packing plants in the stockyards of Chicago. This experience became the basis for the novel *The Jungle*.

In telling the story of Jurgis Rudkus, the novel is able to convey the story of many eastern European immigrants at the turn of the century. During the period from 1900 to 1910, the number of Lithuanian, Slovakian, and Polish immigrants to the United States increased significantly. This was especially true in the city of Chicago.

As the novel opens, Jurgis is marrying a young teenager he met in Lithuania named Ona Lukoszaite. They both recently immigrated to the United States because of the country’s reputation as a land of opportunity and freedom. Ona’s cousin, Marja, handles the wedding. The opening wedding scene exposes the reader to important traditions of the eastern European culture of Lithuanians and also to the financial challenges that exist beneath the surface for these turn-of-the-century immigrants. This conflict is self-evident as the older Lithuanians observe a custom of providing monetary gifts to the bride to pay for the feast and the wedding. The younger Lithuanian immigrants do not observe this tradition, as they recognize the financial challenges they all face in their new country.

Jurgis and Ona, the new couple, reside in Packingtown. It is a neighborhood in Chicago where many new immigrants reside, but especially individuals and families from Poland and Lithuania. The conditions in the neighborhood are not good, as the community is impoverished and there is little support outside the community. Jurgis begins working in the stockyards in this area to support his family and hopes to support his larger family as well. His job is shoveling animal intestines. Although the work is difficult, Jurgis is strong and feels confident in his ability to withstand the labor.

As *The Jungle* proceeds, the story of the meat-packing industry and the various problems with the industry are revealed. Some workers are paid far less than other workers, and conditions in the plant are less than healthy for the production of beef for consumption by the public. Jurgis is a witness to these practices and is quite disturbed.

Jurgis's own tough work is compounded by the fact that his wife, Ona, also must work due to the financial challenges they face as new immigrants.

There are other challenges for Jurgis in the story. There are fluctuations in wages he receives because of decreased work, political control and influence over the stockyards, labor unions, and difficult days during the cold winter months. There are also the continuing financial challenges the family confronts overall due to the loss of wages and, on occasion, the loss of a job by a family member. The challenges for Jurgis and his family worsen when Jurgis is severely injured on the job and the family loses all of his income for several weeks. This forces several children in the family to leave school and work to earn income as well.

The saga of Jurgis and Ona does not get any better as Sinclair presents life for them in the United States as new immigrants in a very stark form. Jurgis is unable to return to meatpacking, and finding alternate work is very difficult. He has no connections in America as a new immigrant, and his resistance to the union when he first began working proves costly. Jurgis eventually learns that Ona was raped by her boss, Connor, and also had to provide sexual favors to him in order to keep her job and for her family members to keep their jobs. Jurgis confronts Connor, assaults him, and is arrested.

Overall, *The Jungle* is a story of struggle, but also one that seeks to validate the common man

and laborer in the quest for a better, more equal life in America in the middle of the Industrial Age. This is proven true as the novel portrays the triumph of the collective over the forces of exploitation, not only in Chicago but nationwide, politically and socially. When it was finally published, Sinclair, who had already written other novels, became a writer of some note, and it established him permanently in American letters, despite the overt politics of much of his work. Publication of *The Jungle* led to more attention being focused on the meatpacking industry and to the reform of the industry. It is still used today in academia by sociologists and law professors to teach courses in employment and labor law and social history. The history Sinclair presents of immigration by Lithuanians is especially important.

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See Also: Food; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Immigration Acts; Lithuanian Americans.

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K

Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)

The Kansas-Nebraska Act, passed by Congress in 1854, created the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, allowing settlers in these areas to determine through popular sovereignty whether they would allow slavery there. The act arose from proposals in the early 1850s, for the construction of a transcontinental railroad to link the eastern United States with the Pacific Coast. However, there were disagreements on exactly where the railroad should be built. One of the contenders as the eastern terminus was Chicago, which had the backing of Stephen A. Douglas, the prominent Illinois senator who was also chair of the Senate Committee on Territories. However, Douglas's proposed route could not be viable unless the land along which the railroad traveled was organized into official territories.

At the same time, the area that eventually became the state of Kansas had sufficient population to enable it to apply for admission to the Union. This injected into the western territories the recurring question of slavery. Would this new state be a “free” state or a “slave” state? Since the territory in which Kansas was located was part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, it was subject to the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Under that agreement, any states admitted to the Union in the future were to be “free” if they were above the southern boundary of Missouri or “slave” if they were below that line. Thus, Kansas ought to be free.

Southerners, however, vehemently opposed this. For a generation, the Missouri Compromise had worked well, with each free state being offset with the admission of a slave state, but in 1850 California entered the Union as a free state, giving the north two more votes in the U.S. Senate than the south. With no other southern areas ready for admission in the near future, southerners hoped to have Kansas admitted as a slave state to restore the balance of power in the Senate.

Popular Sovereignty

The expansion of slavery into the western territories had, by this time, become a major national issue, dividing pro- and antislavery forces. Increasingly, politicians were called upon to publicly express a position on the issue. In an attempt to end the controversy over Kansas and to facilitate construction of the transcontinental railroad west from Chicago, yet avoid being drawn into the slavery controversy, Douglas proposed that the issue be solved through “popular sovereignty,” a device first agreed to in the Compromise of 1850. Under popular sovereignty, the people in a territory—in this case, Kansas—would vote on

whether they wanted to enter the Union as a free or slave state prior to submitting their application for statehood. Douglas believed this would be an acceptable compromise that would end the stalemate without him having to declare his position on the slavery issue.

Southerners supported the measure because it would effectively end the Missouri Compromise and give them the possibility of adding new slave states in an area where they had previously been prohibited. For southerners, popular sovereignty was an affirmation of their long-held theory of states' rights; that is, the people in a state, or in this case a territory, have the right to decide whether slavery will or will not be legal. Moderate northerners, seeking a compromise to end the growing crisis, rallied behind Douglas to ensure passage of the measure, but the growing antislavery faction in the north regarded this as a sellout and was ruthless in its condemnation of Douglas, whom some labeled a traitor. Opponents took to referring to the principle as "squatter sovereignty."

Although Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the issue of the westward expansion of slavery remained unresolved and continued to grow in importance in the national political dialogue, further sectionalizing the nation. Southerners began moving into Kansas from neighboring Missouri in an effort to boost the proslavery population prior to the upcoming elections, while others, labeled "Border Ruffians" by northern abolitionists, merely crossed the border at election time to vote illegally in local Kansas balloting. Northerners, too, known as "Jayhawkers," began moving into Kansas to boost the free-state vote potential. Ely Thayer formed the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, later known as the New England Emigrant Aid Society, for the purpose of financing people who wished to move west to settle in Kansas on the condition that they vote for a free state. Another New Englander, Henry Ward Beecher, began shipping large crates to Kansas labeled "Bibles," but the contents were later revealed to be muskets.

Violence soon erupted. Proslavery forces attacked the free-state settlement at Lawrence, Kansas, on May 21, 1856, killing men and burning part of the town. Free-state raiders led by John Brown retaliated by dragging proslavery men from their homes in the middle of the night and slaughtering them.

The result was a civil war, referred to in the press as "Bleeding Kansas," that cost over 200 lives in 1856 alone. The ongoing conflict led to a physical attack on Senator William Sumner by a southerner on the floor of the U.S. Senate following a speech he made critical of southerners and slavery; it also led to the rapid growth of a new political party, the Republicans, who attracted disgruntled anti-slavery Democrats, northern Whigs, and others in sufficient numbers to run their first presidential candidate in 1856 on an antislavery platform, and to elect Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

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See Also: Abolitionist Movement; American Anti-Slavery Society; *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1857); Missouri Compromise (1820).

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Karaoke

Karaoke is a popular sing-along form of entertainment in which an amateur singer sings while following the words of a song on a television screen. Typically, the singer has a microphone and the main lyrics of a well-known popular song are dropped, so only the amateur singer can be heard. The singer is guided by lyrics on the screen with a moving symbol or video images. Karaoke originated in Japan in the 1970s, although it has quickly spread around the world as a popular pastime at restaurants, hotels, bars, and home dinner parties. Throughout Japan's history and culture, it was common to provide musical entertainment when entertaining guests in the home.

The development of karaoke caught on quickly in Japan for this reason.

Karaoke can be traced back to the 1970s Japanese singer Daisuke Inoue. Many people wanted to sing along to his songs, so Daisuke made a sing-along tape recorder that would play his music when money was deposited. Although originally regarded as expensive, the fad soon caught on in hotels and bars, which were referred to as “Karaoke Boxes.” Karaoke machines soon began spreading throughout southeast Asia, and eventually the world. In 2004, Daisuke was awarded the Ig Nobel Peace Prize, a parody of the Nobel Peace Prize, awarded to unsuspecting individuals for trivial scientific research, for inventing the karaoke machine. It was said to have provided “an entirely new way for people to learn to tolerate each other.”

While Daisuke was forging ahead with his creation, a Filipino inventor by the name of Roberto del Rosario was also coining a music machine accompanied by vocals in the early 1970s. By 1974, Del Rosario had invented the Sing Along System (SAS), which, in addition to having a microphone and amplifier, could manipulate and add effects to the singer’s voice such as reverberation, which causes a voice to echo. Del Rosario’s machines did not have a visuals screen for lyrics to be displayed, but they often came with songbooks. As the inventor continued to outsource his machines to manufacturers in Japan, he soon saw similar machines being created and entered legal battles for patent rights. He won against Janito Corporation, and in 1985, was awarded the Gold Medal for Best Inventor by the World Intellectual Property Organization.

In the West, the stage was already set for a karaoke invasion. The idea of singing along to music was already a popular one with the 1960s television series, *Sing Along With Mitch*. At the time, the network would superimpose song lyrics to the bottom of the viewers’ screen for them to sing along. By the 1990s, karaoke had made its way to the United States, and the art of the singing phenomenon was brought to a new level. The devices began to sell more in Western markets once they were advertised as not solely karaoke system but also home theater systems that could amplify and enhance television viewing. Cassette tapes have long been replaced by

CDs, DVDs, and interactive video games. A popular game played on home machines is Karaoke Roulette, in which vocalists do not know what popular song will come up next that they must perform.

The entertainment and restaurant industries have found karaoke both engaging and lucrative for business. Many night lounges and bars have karaoke nights on a weekly basis, with televisions around the bar displaying the screens. Since karaoke reached the West, its popularity has only grown, becoming a universally popular pastime in restaurants in nearly every city and in popular culture.

The Singing Bee is a game show that aired in 2007, originally on NBC and later on CMT, which hosts a karaoke singing competition in a spelling-bee format. The show debuted a mere weeks before *Don’t Forget the Lyrics*, another karaoke game show, aired in 2007 on FOX. In this show, contestants are asked to complete song lyrics to win increasing amounts of money. Karaoke has commonly been used in television plot lines in shows such as *Friday Night Lights*, *The Office*, *Ugly Betty*, and *The Sopranos*.

Karaoke has become so popular that competitions are held, involving amateur vocalists from around the world. The pinnacle of competitions is the Karaoke World Championships, which has been in existence since 2003 and to date has 29 countries participating. It is the largest karaoke competition in the world, and in 2011, was home to the American network ABC television series *Karaoke Battle USA*. A representative from each country is sent to compete. In 2012, the event took place in Finland on November 28. Karaoke has evolved from a simple machine to a universally renowned means of music appreciation around the world.

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See Also: Media, Ethnic Participation in; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Popular Music and Ethnic Diversity; Television.

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Karate Kid, The

Martial arts films enjoyed an increase in popularity during the 1980s, but even Chuck Norris, the martial arts star of the period best known by mainstream audiences, never had a blockbuster hit. That status was reserved for *The Karate Kid*, a 1984 film directed by John Avildsen (who also directed *Rocky*) with a screenplay by Robert Mark Kamen. The movie stars Ralph Macchio as Daniel LaRusso, a teenager who moves with his mother from Newark, New Jersey, to Los Angeles, and Pat Morita as Mr. Kesuke Miyagi, a maintenance man with a tragic history who is a karate master. With Daniel's ethnic name and Mr. Miyagi's obvious ethnicity and rich history, something new was added to martial arts films. Mainstream audiences embraced the movie. It was one of the year's most popular films, and it spawned three sequels. Pat Morita's character became an essential figure in the genre. A 2010 remake added new cultural ingredients to the mix.

The first *Karate Kid* movie combined the underdog theme of *Rocky* with a juvenile hero and the wisdom of the benevolent sensei figure. Although the movie assigns no particular ethnicity to Daniel LaRusso, both the character's name and his appearance are in marked contrast to his enemy, Johnny Lawrence, leader of the Cobra Kai (played by Billy Zabka). Lawrence's name, Scots-English in origin, and the character's fair-skinned blondness plus his wealth identify him as the one with the power. Lawrence and his Cobra Kai buddies look like a Nazi youth group. Daniel is smaller, darker, poorer, and weaker. Macchio's ethnic background is a mixture of Italian and Greek. Although Mr. Miyagi teaches Daniel discipline, balance, and nonviolence, it was his defeating the Cobra Kai against all odds plus ending up with a classic car and the girl that had boys all over America signing up for karate

classes and practicing moves from the movie if no classes were available.

It was Mr. Miyagi who made the movie more than an entertaining action film for males under 14. An immigrant from Okinawa, Miyagi left his home to avoid a fight to the death. During World War II, he and his wife were interned in the Manzanar camp. He joined the Army and fought with the 442nd Infantry Regiment, receiving the Medal of Honor. (Manzanar was one of the 10 internment camps for Japanese Americans in World War II, and the 442nd was a Japanese American regiment, the U.S. Army's most highly decorated regiment.) While he was serving his country, his wife died in childbirth; their son died as well.

Morita, the son of Japanese immigrants who spent part of his childhood in a Japanese internment camp in Arizona, played Miyagi with humor, grace, and wisdom persuasive enough to make audiences believe in the benevolence and special gifts of Miyagi. The film industry recognized the strength of his performance by nominating him for an Academy Award as best supporting actor. He reprised his role for the three sequels. *The Karate Kid* earned more than \$90 million. *The Karate Kid, Part II* (1986) took Daniel and Mr. Miyagi to Okinawa, but other than bringing Miyagi's personal story into present time and adding Japanese setting and actors, it did little more than repeat a formula that had proven successful. Nevertheless, box office receipts topped the previous movie, reaching \$115 million in domestic grosses and making it the second-highest-grossing martial arts movie. *The Karate Kid, Part III* (1989) earned only a fraction of the first two and ended Daniel's role. Mr. Miyagi adopted a new mentee in *The Next Karate Kid* (1994). Whether the fourth movie failed because the new protagonist was female (played by Hilary Swank) or because a new audience found the formula less appealing is unclear. Either way, the minuscule \$9 million grossed sent the message that it was time to end the series. By this time, however, Mr. Miyagi's influence on the genre was established: the wizened, benign martial arts master with a touch of mystery had become a convention of the genre.

The remake, which opened in U.S. theaters in the summer of 2010, brought the same story to a new generation while making some cosmetic changes. The student is Dre Parker, played by

12-year-old Jaden Smith (son of African American actors Will Smith and Jada Pinkett Smith), and the master is Mr. Han, played by Jackie Chan (an international star, a veteran of more than 150 films, and a martial arts icon). Dre is younger than Daniel, his move is from Detroit to Beijing, the bully is Cheng (Wang Zhenwei), the action is more violent, and the Chinese maintenance man teaches Dre kung fu rather than karate, but the story essentially repeats the original. The movie received mixed reviews, but box office receipts for its summer run in the United States topped \$176 million. It is too soon to tell, but it seems unlikely that the new Karate Kid, who more accurately should be the Kung Fu Kid—despite the combined charms of Smith and Chan—will attain the cultural significance of Daniel-san and Mr. Miyagi.

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See Also: African Americans; Japanese Americans; Martial Arts; Motion Pictures.

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Kerner Commission Report

In 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders released what was known as the Kerner Report, one of the most important and prophetic government documents of the 1960s. The product of a commission constructed by President

Lyndon B. Johnson, the report was often blunt, and its discerning language spelled out the perils and issues of blackness in America. The commission investigated the circumstances surrounding urban unrest in major cities across the United States.

To urge social and racial change, the commission tried to persuade legislators, politicians, and citizens that, "It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens—urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group." The Kerner Report continues to be an important document whose proposed solutions remain unfulfilled more than 40 years after its release.

The 1960s was a difficult time for the United States. Women agitated for the right to be treated as equals and to have access to the same opportunities as their male counterparts. Young people demonstrated against the Vietnam War, the defenders of the war, and those who sought to limit free speech and civil liberties. By the end of the decade, homosexuals also moved to put an end to the persecution inflicted upon them by society. Great men were assassinated as President John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert F. Kennedy each fell victim to an assassin's bullet. Arguably, however, nothing was as consequential as the movement that sought to rectify the wrongs brought about by America's original sin—slavery.

The Civil Rights Movement

Since the revolutionary era, African Americans had consistently pushed for equal rights and first-class citizenship. The Civil War and its subsequent conflict-ridden era known as Reconstruction succeeded in ending the horrific institution of slavery but failed to deliver upon the basic hopes of the newly freed blacks for fairness and justice. Instead, by the 1890s, states across the south instituted the equally abhorrent system known as Jim Crow. Northern cities moved quickly to subjugate the new arrivals with a northern style of Jim Crow. Police brutality, segregated neighborhoods, and lack of access to public resources characterized these people's lives.

By the end of World War II, African American impatience reached its zenith. Between 1945 and 1968, the civil rights movement moved swiftly to capitalize on the rhetorical promises of the federal

government to preserve democracy and extend freedom through the defeat of Japan and Nazi Germany. Through court cases, sit-ins, demonstrations, and civil disobedience, African Americans made slow yet steady progress. The combination of the Cold War—the Soviet Union’s propaganda damaged America’s reputation as a place of freedom—and changing social mores helped the cause of African Americans. As the civil rights movement reached its climax with Martin Luther King, Jr.’s, soaring oratory at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., young African Americans in northern and western cities, disillusioned with the southern-based movement under King’s leadership, turned to alternatives that deeply shocked and frightened much of white America.

Black Power

By the late 1950s, many African Americans inhabiting urban communities found themselves drawn to the rhetoric and teachings of Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam. Talk of self-empowerment, self-reliance, and defending oneself resonated with an urban community weary of daily struggle and injustice. Combined with the failures of law enforcement to adequately protect the African American community, many became disillusioned and angry with the nonviolent rhetoric of southern-based civil rights leaders.

As the violence and discrimination against African Americans persisted, and federal and state assistance lagged behind, tempers boiled over. Young black leaders such as Stokely Carmichael advocated for what he termed “Black Power.” The Black Panther Party, Carmichael, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, and others sought to fight back. They organized and marched, taught African Americans how to take care of their communities, and issued blistering condemnations of capitalism, militarism, and injustice.

By 1967, scores of American cities had gone up in flames as Watts, Newark, Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, among others, saw their share of urban unrest. It is in this context that the Kerner Report was initiated and completed.

The Commission

In an effort to get the violence and disorder under control and to understand the problems plaguing America’s cities, President Lyndon B. Johnson in

July 1967 created the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to investigate and provide solutions in the form of recommendations. This 11-member body comprised Democrats and Republicans and was chaired by Otto Kerner, the governor of Illinois. For the next year, the commission held hearings, talked with experts, interviewed witnesses, and drew conclusions as to why cities, and America, were descending into violence and anarchy.

The report’s conclusions were shocking to many Americans because it labeled the United States an “apartheid” society. The report blamed white America for creating a situation in which injustice and discrimination were allowed to flourish. Moreover, the commission found that structural, political, and economic barriers, as well as media representations of African Americans, all served to create a climate of hate and distrust. To the extent that the media impacts society, the negative representations of blacks solidified the negative perceptions of many whites.

The ghetto was at the heart of the unrest. As the report emphasized, “What white Americans have never fully understood but what the Negro can never forget—is that that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.” For the twin evils of poverty and segregation at the heart of the urban black experience, the commission maintained that the solution must be the elimination of oppression and repression. In looking at the unrest, the commission found that severe discrimination and segregation, deep resentment and frustration, and lack of opportunity and basic resources had provoked African Americans to violence.

The Kerner Report argued that greater freedom and opportunity had to be extended in the forms of police protection, economic assistance and development, extension of educational opportunity, reform of the welfare system, improvement of federal housing programs and facilities, and an effective justice system. As the report noted, “This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

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See Also: African Americans; Black Panther Party; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement; Ghetto; Race Riots.

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King Philip's War

King Philip's War (1675–76) was an Anglo-Indian struggle centered primarily in New England. It was one of America's bloodiest conflicts, and several scholars have cited it as the deadliest war in U.S. military history on a per capita basis. Approximately 2,500 settlers died, of a total New England population of 52,000. In addition, 12,000 homes, 8,000 head of cattle, and numerous farmlands were destroyed. The adversaries in this clash were the English settlers, mainly Puritans, and a loose confederation of Algonquian tribes, namely the Narragansett, Nipmuc, and Wampanoag, led by the Wampanoag sachem, or chief, called King Philip by the English or Metacom by his people.

In a rapid, massive Indian attack, King Philip's forces attacked about half of the 110 colonial settlements in New England, sowing fear and panic throughout the region. New England faced a substantial population shift as refugees from vulnerable frontier towns flooded Boston and other locations along the eastern seaboard, away from the wilderness. For the deeply religious Puritans who suffered the majority of these attacks, it appeared that God was punishing the chosen people. The war directly or indirectly affected every colonist—and indigene—in New England.

Although the impact of the war was severe among the English, it was catastrophic among the Indians. Approximately 5,000 natives were killed. Because of their smaller population of 20,000, already ravaged by disease, these war casualties were shattering. Furthermore, over 1,000 insurgents were sold as slaves to the West Indies in a reversal of the growing African slave trade, and thousands more left the New England area and headed west into the wilderness because of fears of white retribution. The Native American presence in New England essentially ceased to exist, opening the land for further white colonization.

The causes of the war were many, but they essentially stemmed from issues regarding land and attitude. Indians criticized the insatiable white desire for Native American land, while a new generation of settlers complained of the growing resentment among the Indians to the English, who had brought them civilization and religion. The change in attitude is surprising, considering the relative peace among the Algonquian Nation and the settlers during first contact.

The Indians of New England had tolerated and, it could be said, had welcomed the Pilgrims in 1620. The Algonquian people were instrumental in settler survival during the harsh early years.



The Battle of Bloody Brook was fought during King Philip's War. English colonial militia were ambushed by a band of Indians led by descendants of the Algonquian peoples of Nippenet while escorting a train of wagons carrying the harvest from Deerfield to Hadley, Massachusetts.

Natives taught the newcomers how to fish and to plant, and the story of the goodwill of Samoset and Squanto has become part of American folklore. Massasoit, the Wampanoag sachem, attended the first thanksgiving along with 100 other Indians who brought fresh deer meat and other foodstuffs to the celebration. Massasoit later signed a peace accord with the settlers that would last until the advent of King Philip's War in 1675. Massasoit's son, King Philip (Metacom), would later become sachem of the Wampanoag and the principal actor in the unfolding struggle that bears his name.

Metacom was troubled by continued colonial incursions into Indian land and culture. In addition, he viewed the policies and decisions of colonial leadership as arbitrary and English-centric when it came to handling Indian grievances. For example, disputes regarding land claims or addressing damages caused by roaming colonial livestock usually favored the English. Furthermore, the conversion to Christianity of natives, called "praying Indians" by the colonists, undermined Native American spirituality and culture.

The vast influx of settlers during the Great Migration of the 1630s, when approximately 20,000 Puritans entered New England, increased the demand for land, with the resultant marginalization of the native population as they were pushed farther from their traditional territory. English diseases such as smallpox and mumps decimated the indigenous population. Tension and resentment steadily increased throughout the decades, resulting in open warfare in 1675.

The war started well for the Indians, who used superior tactics and the wilderness to their advantage. Colonial forces were constantly befuddled by Native Americans who quickly emerged out of the wilderness, effectively attacked exposed frontier settlements, and then rapidly disappeared into the woods and swamps. They scored spectacular victories at Lancaster, Medfield, and Sudbury, Massachusetts, to name a few, prompting panicked Boston authorities to consider building a wooden wall around the town. The destruction of Lancaster is significant because one of the captives, Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, would write what is considered by many critics to be the finest captivity narrative in colonial literature: *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, published in Boston in 1682. A devout Puritan, Rowlandson offers a

firsthand account of this Anglo-Indian struggle on a personal and spiritual level.

Eventually, the settlers triumphed because they learned to fight Indians Indian style, allowed praying Indians and other friendly natives to act as scouts and soldiers, and possessed a larger economic and population base than the Native Americans. In addition, the insurgents faced a unified English alliance in contrast to a splintered Native American coalition, wherein several tribes fought against King Philip or remained neutral during the war. The defeat of King Philip's confederates was in some ways inevitable, and the vanquished tribes—depleted by war, disease, and expulsion—allowed white expansion into valuable Indian land.

To many Native Americans, Metacom was and is a hero who dared to protect his people and culture from English hegemony; to many settlers, King Philip was a traitor who deserved his fate. Killed in battle, he was later quartered and beheaded, his head stuck on a pole in Plymouth, Massachusetts, as a trophy and as a warning. It remained for many years.

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See Also: Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Narragansett; Native Americans; Slave Trade; Wampanoag.

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Kiowa

The Kiowa are a southwestern Native American people of the Tanoan language family. The Kiowa are considered among the tribes that best

characterize the Plains Native American culture, one of the last of the Native American cultural groups to develop in the early 1600s. They were known for their raids among other Native American tribes and Euro-American settlers before their settlement on federal reservations in the mid-1800s. Most modern Kiowa reside in and around Oklahoma and seek to preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage.

The Kiowa were historically a nomadic hunter-gatherer culture whose oral histories place their origin in the northern United States along the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers in present-day Montana. Southward migration brought them to their traditional territory in western Oklahoma, northeastern New Mexico, and the Texas Panhandle. Their linguistic similarities with the Pueblo suggest a possible common heritage. Kiowa culture was nomadic, and camps could be quickly packed and transported. They generally lived in tepees, which are easily portable. The Kiowa used dogs and, later, horses to transport goods loaded onto travois.

The buffalo were their primary source for food, clothing, housing, tools, and goods. They supplemented their buffalo meat diet with plants, roots, and berries. Males were warriors, hunters, and guards. Females cooked, tanned hides, made clothing, gathered food, and packed or set up camps. Tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, spear, tomahawk, knife, axe, and needles. Horses became central to the Kiowa's Plains culture shortly after their adoption from the Spanish and other Native American tribes.

Extended families were the main unit of social organization, and clans were nonexistent. A head chief provided overall political leadership, but there were also camp leaders and war chiefs. Military society members were known as Dog Soldiers. Social organizations were based on age groupings. Traditional dress consisted of breechclouts and shift-style dresses of animal skins, leggings, moccasins, jewelry, and fur coats in winter. Hair was worn long, whether loose or in braids. Beadwork was an important traditional Kiowa art form.

The Kiowa practiced a polytheistic religion based on animism and sought supernatural assistance or appeasement. Religious ceremonies also served social functions, helping unify the tribe.

The Sun Dance, held in the early summer months, was the most important of the tribal ceremonies. Peyote worship was also practiced. Oral tales and pictographic calendars preserved tribal histories.

Relationships With Other Tribes and the United States

Kiowa relations with neighboring tribes included a close alliance with the Comanche as well as shifting alliances with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, Flathead, and Sarsi. Spanish records mentioning the Kiowa date back to the early 1700s but are largely references to hearing of them from other tribes. French explorer Rene Robert Cavellier, Sieur de La Salle in the 1680s and American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1804 to 1805 also both recorded hearing of the Kiowa.

Later meetings with the Spanish and trade relations with other tribes allowed the Kiowa to obtain horses, guns, and slaves. Historically, disease and war introduced by contact with Euro-Americans decimated the Kiowa, like other Native American populations. The efficiency of hunting on horseback as well as the widespread U.S. slaughter of the buffalo disrupted the traditional Kiowa lifestyle, resulting in starvation.

The Kiowa were among the Plains tribes that raided U.S. wagon trains across the Santa Fe Trail in the early to mid-1800s, along with the Kiowa Apache, Comanche, Southern Cheyenne, and Arapaho. Kiowa raiders ranged as far south as Mexico and northward close to the Canadian border. The United States dispatched Army troops to the region. One of the most publicized incidents was the Warren Wagon Train raid (aka Salt Creek Massacre) of 1871, for which Kiowa warriors Satanta and Big Tree were tried and sentenced to death in the U.S. court system. The sentence was commuted, and they were later paroled.

Some Kiowa wished to maintain peaceful relations with the United States and/or assimilate. The first treaty between the Kiowa and the federal government was signed in 1837. Many Kiowa moved to an Oklahoma reservation located between the Washita and Red Rivers alongside the Comanche, Kiowa Apache, Caddo, and Wichita in 1868. Many joined the Comanche, Kiowa Apache, and Cheyenne in rebellion

from 1874 to 1875. Much reservation land was lost when the reservation was allotted to family or individual ownership under the 1887 Dawes Severalty Act, with the remainder sold into non-Indian ownership.

Much of the modern Kiowa population resides in Oklahoma, within or around the cities of Anadarko, Fort Cobb, Mountain View, and Carnegie. They hold a variety of occupations. The Native American population grew from the 2000 to the 2010 U.S. census. The 2010 figures count 13,787 people who identified themselves as being of full or partial Kiowa ancestry, out of a total of over 5.2 million Native Americans. The total U.S. population in 2010 was 1.7 percent Native American, 22 percent of whom lived within American Indian areas such as reservations. The Kiowa seek to preserve their cultural heritage through museums, arts and crafts, and language. Notable Kiowa include Pulitzer Prize-winning author N. Scott Momaday, author of the 1968 book *House Made of Dawn*.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Dawes Act (1887); Great Plains Tribes; *House Made of Dawn*; Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian.

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Kirpan

The *kirpan*, in a Sikh American context, challenges the boundaries of multiculturalism in the United States because it directly addresses the free exercise of religion guaranteed by the

Bill of Rights. For Sikhs, the *kirpan* (a type of sword or knife), is an article of faith that affirms their commitment to Sikh values and honors the teaching of their gurus. Along with four other Sikh articles of faith, the kirpan were gifts of love from the divine, which the 10th Sikh guru, Guru Gobind Singh Ji, proclaimed as part of the Sikh physical identity.

On the day of Vaisakhi in 1699, Guru Gobind Singh Ji initiated five men, from varied caste backgrounds, into the Khalsa (army of the pure). The mission of the Khalsa was to uphold Sikh principles of equality and justice. Thus, Guru Gobind Singh Ji's designation of the kirpan as an article of faith means that Sikhs, particularly those initiated into the Khalsa, must display bravery and fearlessness in order to combat oppression. With such an honor comes great responsibility.

The *kirpan* is only to be employed in defense, when all other options have been exhausted, because "failure to do so at that time would be tantamount to complicity in acts of evil and oppression," according to V. Lal. Therefore, the kirpan is not merely a symbol but an article of faith bestowed upon Sikhs to honor their love and commitment to the divine higher power (*Waheguru*). Thus, many Sikhs believe it would be dishonorable to carry the kirpan outside its original form and as instructed in the Sikh *Rehat Maryada* (code of conduct).

The kirpan as an article of faith and not simply a symbol directly challenges American notions of celebrating multiculturalism. Legal issues (in schools, employment, and public spaces) center on the kirpan as a weapon. This perspective makes it a criminal offense to carry the kirpan, although it is a mandated faith-based practice for Sikhs. Thus, balancing the freedom of religious practice and public safety is a constant challenge for Sikh civil rights organizations, American civil society, and the judiciary.

The Sikh Coalition, a Sikh civil rights organization, has defended the right of many Sikhs to carry a kirpan, despite this obstacle. Kirpans can be found in Sikh houses of worship, on display at *Nagar Kirtans* (Sikh parades), and worn on the bodies of Sikh men and women in a *gatra* (strapped sheath) under or over clothes. The Sikh *Rehat Maryada* mandates the wearing of a strapped kirpan but does not specify the length.

Therefore, the length of a kirpan varies from several feet to two or three inches.

Employment Discrimination

Many American schools and employers assert that the kirpan threatens their ability to provide a safe and secure environment. Sikh organizations have sought to protect equal employment opportunities for Sikhs who carry the kirpan as part of their religious identity. The Sikh Coalition has filed lawsuits against state and local governments, as well as private companies. A few new notable interventions include the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), Federal Protective Service (FPS), and AT&T.

Often, immigrant Sikhs encounter compounded discrimination because of their faith-based identity and limited English proficiency. They fear complaining about discrimination because of a system backlash that they would not be able to navigate. Thus, many will pursue job opportunities that are below their skill level but allow them to freely practice their faith. Moreover, when Sikh truck drivers, such as Sahadur Singh, are pulled over by law enforcement for a traffic violation, they are served with a weapons charge for carrying a kirpan.

Sahadur Singh's experience was presented in the form of testimony in March 2009 for AB 504, legislation that would require educating California law enforcement officers on the Sikh faith and the kirpan. AB 504 passed all levels of the California legislature but stopped at the governor's desk. It was vetoed by then governor of California Arnold Schwarzenegger. However, training on Sikhs and the kirpan was still implemented by the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards & Trainings (POST).

Children and Schools

The 1994 case of *Cheema v. Thompson* highlights how the free exercise of religion, a First Amendment right, challenged constitutional notions of American pluralism in a school setting. The Cheema children, Rajinder, Sukhjinder, and Jaspreet, attended school in Livingston Union School District in California. During December 1993, the three children were initiated into the Khalsa, which required the carrying of the kirpan in a gatra. In January 1994, the children returned to school in their mandated Sikh uniform (the five Sikh articles

of faith). A classmate told Rajinder's teacher that he was carrying a kirpan. Soon, all three siblings were questioned by school officials as to why they were carrying the kirpan. The Livingston Union School District was unsatisfied with the children's response that the kirpan was worn for religious purposes, and determined that the children be suspended from school. They were in violation of the California Penal and Education Codes and other district regulations, which classified the kirpan as a weapon that compromised school safety.

Shortly thereafter, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) requested that the school district reconsider its decision. The members of the board refused, and in April 1994, the Cheema family filed a suit under the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA), requesting that Sikh children be allowed to attend school while freely practicing their religion, which included carrying the kirpan. During this time, a bill unanimously passed in the California Senate that would have allowed all Sikh children to carry kirpans to school because it was an integral part of their constitutional right to freely practice religion.

However, Pete Wilson, then governor of California, vetoed the bill because he could not "abandon public safety to the resourcefulness of a thousand school districts." Ultimately, this case was one of the first to be tried under the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) of 1993, which placed the responsibility upon the state to show that restraining the free exercise of religious practice was "the least restrictive means of furthering [a] compelling governmental interest." It was determined that there was no evidence that the school district's policy was the least restrictive means possible. Thus, the Cheema children were allowed to wear the kirpan to school per agreed-upon specifications.

During the Cheema family's legal proceedings, many pieces of evidence were presented from American and Canadian school systems to argue that Sikh students carrying kirpans posed no threat to school safety. For example, administrators from the Selma Unified School District and the Surrey School District in British Columbia (Canada) stated they were not aware of any kirpan-related incidents in their schools that compromised safety. Sikh students were allowed to carry kirpans as part of their faith-based practice.

Thus, the issue of school safety versus free exercise of religion represents America's struggle to be comfortable with otherness.

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See Also: Diversity Training; Indian (Asian) Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Klamath

Culturally similar to the Modoc and other northern California tribes, the Klamath people lived in Oregon, around the region of Upper Klamath Lake, Klamath Marsh, and the Williamson River. The richness of their environment provided them with food, clothing, and shelter, and their seclusion protected them from raids by larger tribes. The first white men who reached Klamath villages were traders and explorers. Within a few decades, settlers, missionaries, and ranchers followed, disrupting the peaceful lifestyle of the Klamath.

In 1864, the Klamath ceded to the U. S. government more than 20 million acres of land, reserving for themselves the rights to hunt, fish, and gather in safety on the lands. Even in the reservation age, the Klamath prospered, but termination of the reservation and the tribe's tribal recognition in 1954 was devastating. With their land lost and their cultural identity disintegrating, the Klamath almost disappeared as a people. It was the battle to protect the land and the water that preserved some sense of identity, a battle that continues into the second decade of the 21st century.

Before the first European contact, the Klamath depended on the land to provide their food, clothing, and shelter. The villages near Klamath Lake consisted of earthen houses; those at the lower end of Klamath Marsh were log houses, built on the water atop stone and gravel foundations. In summer, the Klamath ate antelope and gathered wocus, the seed of a water lily, which they used in soups or mixed with flour. They lived mostly secluded from other Indians.

In 1825, mountain men Finan McDonald and Thomas McKay arrived in the Klamath Basin with a party of 32 men. The Klamath warned the party against the Modocs. McKay returned a year later in a party led by Peter Skene Ogden, famed as a beaver trapper. Ogden's party consisted of two dozen mountain men, who did the hunting and trapping, and their Indian wives, who prepared game and cured hides.

Ogden described the tribe as a "happy race" and regretted the coming intrusions that he predicted would destroy the unique quality of the Klamath. The next recorded contact between the Klamath and Europeans came in 1843, when explorer and map surveyor John Charles Frémont and his party of 25 men, including the famous Kit Carson, met a band of Klamath north of Upper Klamath Lake. Frémont returned in 1846 with a larger party.

Ogden's concern about the intrusions proved well founded. The decades after Frémont's exploration brought a steadily increasing stream of military personnel and civilians into the Klamath's world. Conflicts, some of them violent, became common. In 1864, the Klamath, the Modocs, and the Yahooskin (a band of Northern Paiutes) ceded more than 20 million acres of Native American land to the U.S. government, with 2 million set aside for a reservation. The treaty merged the three tribes into the Klamath Tribes and brought them together on what had been exclusively Klamath territory. The reservation boundaries were redrawn a number of times; the land area was ultimately just over half of what had originally been designated. The Dawes Act of 1887 divided reservation land into allotments, which could be sold. Many were, some of them to non-Indians.

Even with all these changes, the Klamath survived. Revenue from tribal timber provided tribal individual income nearly on a par with the rest

of the population in Oregon, and provided health and social services to tribal members. They were the only tribes in the United States who paid for all the federal, state, and private services used by tribal members. Another blow came in 1954, with federal legislation that terminated the reservation and ended federal recognition of the Klamath Tribes. Poverty became widespread, natural resources were jeopardized, and tribal identity was quickly eroding.

Legal Battles and Victories

Two court decisions in the 1970s helped preserve a sense of cultural integrity. In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Klamath Tribes' fishing and hunting rights survived the termination process. Another legal victory in 1979 guaranteed minimum stream flows in the Klamath River to protect fish and wildlife. Most significantly, on August 26, 1986, the Klamath Tribes officially regained federal recognition under the Klamath Restoration Act. However, the Restoration Act did not restore former reservation lands. Tribal efforts to regain a tribal land base continue, as do their efforts to protect the ecosystem on the land they already have.

The Klamath River is vital to the Klamath's physical and cultural survival. If the flow of the Klamath is interrupted, the fish do not migrate. Dams on the river have resulted in the loss of salmon in the upper Klamath River system, once the third-most-productive salmon run on the west coast. Through all the changes that have shaped the life of the Klamath tribe, their claim to the Klamath's waters has remained one of the few constants. Their legal rights to the river's water have been confirmed over nearly 150 years of legislation, but despite the laws, drought and dams left salmon endangered, the Klamath fishery closed, and an estimated 4,000 jobs were lost.

In December 2011, the tribes won six legal victories for tribal water rights, victories that followed decades of litigation. In April 2012, Administrative Law Judge Joe L. Allen ruled in favor of quantification of the tribes' water rights for two water sources, the Klamath River and Klamath Lake, in the amounts claimed by the tribes and the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. The rulings adopted the water amounts sought by the tribes and confirmed, once again, the tribal water rights.

The total membership of the combined tribes was approximately 3,400 in 2011.

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See Also: Dawes Act (1887); Native Americans; Tribal Enrollment.

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Knowledge Construction

Knowledge construction is the process by which beliefs are incorporated into a curriculum, canon, or society. Study of the knowledge construction process is the second element of James A. Banks's five dimensions of multicultural education, a frequently cited metapedagogical taxonomy. The other four dimensions are content integration, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowerment of school culture.

Multicultural education in general, and the knowledge construction process in particular, challenges the common, but generally unspoken, belief that the content of a curriculum or scholarly tradition is intrinsically bias-neutral, objective, meritocratic, and fair. Instead, study of knowledge construction encourages students to take a revisionist view toward history—examining the role that an author's or tradition's social and cultural context may have played in the development of ideas, and viewing that author or tradition through narrative and hermeneutic lenses that are not necessarily complementary to the author's or tradition's implicit biases.

A conventional U.S. history of World War II, for example, would look at the war primarily from the perspective of American politicians, soldiers (largely white, male, and implicitly heterosexual),

journalists, and war historians. Implementing study of knowledge construction into the curriculum would encourage students to examine World War II from the perspectives of those who are often treated as bystanders, such as civilians in nations that were affected by fighting but were not directly involved in the war, and those who were treated as beneficiaries of Western intervention, but not necessarily as heroes in their own right, such as leaders of the Jewish underground in Germany.

Study of the knowledge construction process also calls attention to the ways in which marginalized voices are often misused to support a dominant narrative. When the Works Progress Administration (WPA) interviewed formerly enslaved African Americans during the late 1930s, for example, oral historians were surprised to learn that many of the elderly interviewees expressed nostalgia for their enslaved lives.

This is frequently interpreted as a sign that slavery was not necessarily unpleasant, a narrative that favors the conventional idea of a dignified but misguided white Confederacy. However, through a different narrative lens, a closer examination of the interview transcripts reveals that former slaves usually discussed slavery as pleasant only relative to their contemporary conditions—as a means of expressing how unpleasant their contemporary conditions were. That reflects more on the prejudice and grinding poverty of the Great Depression than it does on slavery.

A study of the knowledge construction process is generally revisionist, as the authors operating within the Western canon have historically been taught to downplay any personal biases they may have, and present themselves as objective representatives of their respective disciplines. Recontextualizing bodies of knowledge as the products of flawed and biased human beings, rather than as pure data discovered by objective analysis, recenters the discussion in a way that many conventional scholars may find challenging, or even solipsistic.

This is one of the primary reasons why the very idea of multicultural education remains controversial and has inspired a backlash among educators, theorists, and political leaders. In 2010, legislators in Arizona and Texas began targeting ethnic studies curricula that use the study of knowledge construction to critique traditional

white historical narratives, and they were successful in removing much of this material from public ethnic studies curricula.

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See Also: Diversity Training; Intercultural Education; Intergroup Education.

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Know-Nothing Movement

The Know-Nothing movement was an anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic movement in the 1850s led by nativist politicians who were commonly known as Know-Nothings. Drawing widespread support from native-born Protestant Americans, the Know-Nothings achieved substantial electoral success in 1854 with a proscriptive platform against foreigners, especially Catholics. Although the Know-Nothings lost their influence in the political scene within a few years, their nativist language and legislative agenda were inherited by subsequent anti-immigrant movements in the United States.

The origins of the Know-Nothing movement date to the 1840s. In 1844, a secret fraternal society called the Order of United Americans (OUA) was formed in New York City for the purpose

of influencing politics for anti-immigrant ends. Another organization, named the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner (OSSB), was founded in 1850, again in New York City, with a similar objective. The OSSB later expanded by incorporating members of the OUA, and at some point between May 1853 and May 1854, the OSSB came to be known as the “Know-Nothings.” It has been commonly believed that the name *Know-Nothings* came from the members’ alleged practice of saying “I know nothing” to questions about their activities for the protection of their secrecy, but the precise origin of the name has not been identified.

From 1845 to 1854, the United States received approximately 2.9 million immigrants, meaning that more immigrants arrived in America in that decade than in the seven previous decades combined. This unparalleled influx of foreigners, especially poor Catholics from Ireland and the German states, stimulated intense antagonism against Catholic immigrants among Protestant Americans. In 1854, the growing anti-immigrant sentiment resulted in the rise of the Know-Nothings in local, state, and national politics.

In the fall elections of 1854, the American Party—the Know-Nothings’ official organization—won stunning victories as a third party. The Know-Nothings were particularly popular in northern states, not only for their anti-immigrant ideology but also for their antislavery inclination. Disenchanted with the Whigs and Democrats for their failure to prevent the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which opened western territories to slavery under the principle of popular sovereignty, northern voters regarded the American Party as an alternative to the traditional parties. By the end of 1855, the Know-Nothings had captured more than 100 seats in Congress; eight governorships; mayor’s offices in Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago; and thousands of local elected positions.

As they sat down in their new offices, the Know-Nothings started to pursue their nativist policy based on their two principal tenets. First, they believed that Protestantism defined American society and that Catholic immigrants, with their hierarchical and despotic church, were attempting to overturn American society. Second, the Know-Nothings believed that only native-born

Americans could understand and operate American republican institutions.

Following these convictions, the Know-Nothings sought to deter naturalization and curtail the political power of immigrants. Most notably, the Know-Nothings in Congress proposed extending the probationary period before naturalization from the existing five years to 21 years, although this attempt ultimately remained unfulfilled. Nativists were more successful in implementing their policies at the state level. Know-Nothing state legislators disbanded Irish militia companies and reduced the number of judges qualified to administer the process of naturalization, thereby delaying immigrants’ participation in elections. To limit the Catholic Church’s wealth and political influence, the Know-Nothings also enacted church property laws, which required lay boards of trustees instead of diocesan officials to hold title to church real estate.

In Massachusetts, where hostility against Irish Catholics was exceptionally strong, the Know-Nothings were most successful. Nativist legislators required public schools to read the Protestant King James Bible every day. They also appointed a so-called nunnery committee to investigate Catholic priests’ alleged sexual misconduct and torture of nuns at convents and Catholic schools. In an investigation of a convent school, committee members harassed and terrorized nuns and children, only to find nothing after all. Regarding foreigners’ poverty as an economic and moral threat to American society, nativists deported destitute immigrants back to Europe. While pursuing these radical nativist policies, the Massachusetts Know-Nothings promoted antislavery by passing the Personal Liberty Act, which protected fugitive slaves in the state from return to their masters under the federal fugitive slave law.

The pace of the Know-Nothings’ decline was as striking as the swiftness of their rise to power. Divided between northern and southern members over slavery, the national American Party declined precipitously after failing to sustain its 1854 showing in the 1856 presidential elections, which signified the demise of Know-Nothingism as a national political movement. Despite its short prosperity, the Know-Nothing movement demonstrated how nativist sentiment could be manifested in the form of proscriptive legislative action

and set precedents for the activities of later anti-immigrant organizations in the United States.

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See Also: Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854); Nativism; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Korean Americans

Although the first documented arrival of Korean immigrants in the United States dates back to the turn of the 20th century, today most Korean Americans are part of a larger group who are often referred to as post-1965 immigrants. This group of immigrants are a culturally, economically, and racially diverse group who were allowed to legally immigrate to the country as a result of the Immigration and Nationality Services Act (INS Act) of 1965. Prior to that legislation, it was difficult for non-European whites to enter the country. Influenced by the civil rights movement and legislations of the era, the INS Act of 1965 sought to eliminate national origin as the criteria for admission and replaced it with the concept of family reunification and needed skills.

As of 2010, there are about 1.7 million Koreans living in the United States, and their number makes up roughly 10 percent of Asian Americans. Factors like relatively recent immigration history, residential concentration in large urban centers, merging kinship networks, and common experiences shared in the United States as

Americans of Korean descent may have fostered and maintained a strong sense of community among Korean Americans. As members of the larger Asian American community, they face racism directed against Asian Americans as they are perceived to be unauthentic Americans and have job ceilings in their careers.

There were three major waves of Korean immigration to the United States. The first wave took place from 1903 to 1924, when roughly 8,000 Korean laborers arrived in Hawai'i to work on sugar plantations. However, pressure from Japan, which forcibly annexed Korea in 1910, and anti-Asian sentiment, as shown in the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, ended Korean immigration.

The second wave (1952–65) started with the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which allowed Asian immigrants but still adhered to a racist quota system that limited their numbers. Many Korean immigrants of this wave were war brides, married to American men who served in the Korean War. Without adequate educational and cultural preparation regarding the United States and support from established ethnic communities, many experienced difficulties in adjusting to their husbands' country. Others were orphans of the Korean War who were adopted by American families. Also, a small number of



The Ahn siblings, Ralph, Philip, and Susan, were from California's first Korean immigrant family. In 1942, they enlisted in the U.S. military, making Susan Ann Cuddy the first Korean American woman to do so and the first female Navy gunnery officer.

college students came, seeking to earn academic degrees from American universities.

The third wave (1965 to present) came with the enactment of the INS Act of 1965, which lifted the quota system against persons of color. About 92 percent of Korean Americans held a high school diploma or higher, and roughly 53 percent held a college degree or higher, compared to 86 and 28 percent, respectively, of the national norm. However, the median household income of Korean Americans, at \$52,103, is lower than the national norm at \$62,763. Also, more Korean Americans rent (52 percent) than other Americans (34 percent). Additionally, the higher percentage of college-educated Koreans may be misleading because a degree earned in Korea may be of little value in the United States. This may explain the unusually high rate of self-employment for Korean Americans—24 percent, compared to whites (13 percent) and African Americans (5 percent) in 2000.

Koreatowns, often unofficially named, can be found in large cities throughout the United States; however, the largest two, in the greater Los Angeles and New York metro areas, together comprise roughly one-third of all Korean Americans. They often settle in areas near their kin, who serve as resources, and the kinship networks of different families often merge at ethnic religious institutions to play an important role in Korean American communities.

These Korean religious institutions play active roles in transmitting the cultural values of the community to children and serve to endorse the teachings of parents at home. Politically, these churches become a place for mobilizing the group. For instance, these churches and temples mobilized Korean Americans to both financially and socially support Korean shop owners and their families who were caught in the middle of racial protests in the Los Angeles civil unrest of 1992. Soon after the racial protests, the religious leaders organized interracial dialogues with African American and Latino religious organizations.

Though the co-ethnic community helped with achieving a level of comfort in the United States, Korean Americans can find themselves as targets of individual and institutional racial prejudices and discrimination. Like other Asian Americans, many complain about the sense of being

“perpetual guests” in the United States, regardless of length of residence, and a job ceiling in corporate America whereby they are often ignored in promotion considerations.

At the same time, many Korean Americans actively participate in mainstream America. Academics like Elaine Kim of the University of California, Berkeley (Ethnic Studies), and Peter S. Kim of Merck Research Laboratories (Biology) are respected scholars in their fields. In the popular media, there are people like Daniel Chun (co-executive producer of *The Simpsons*) and Margret Cho (comedian and actress). Athletes like Sammy Lee (two-time Olympic gold medalist) and Michelle Wie (professional golfer) are well known. Additionally, Michelle Rhee (former chancellor of the District of Columbia Public Schools) and Herbert Choy (U.S. federal judge) are two notable Korean Americans in public office.

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See Also: Asian American Movement; Asian Americans; Immigration Acts; Race Riots; War Brides.

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Korematsu v. United States (1944)

Korematsu v. United States was a U.S. Supreme Court decision issued on December 18, 1944, that upheld the confinement of individuals of

Japanese ancestry in the United States to internment camps. *Korematsu* is one of the most controversial decisions ever issued by the U.S. Supreme Court because of the racial nature of the decision. It is also the most famous of the Japanese internment cases.

The *Korematsu* case began when Fred Korematsu, an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, was arrested for failing to leave San Leandro, California, an area designated as a military zone by Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34. Korematsu decided to evade and then challenge his confinement by refusing to report for confinement as ordered by the U.S. military. Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34 was issued on May 9, 1942. The order was the result of the military conflict between the United States and Japan, which officially began on December 7, 1941, when Japan attacked the U.S. naval base located at Pearl Harbor, Hawai'i. As a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. Executive Order 9066 authorized the internment of tens of thousands of American citizens of Japanese ancestry and resident aliens from Japan under the policy of military necessity.

It afforded the military broad powers to ban any citizen from a 50- to 60-mile-wide coastal area stretching from Washington State to California, extending inland into southern Arizona. The order also authorized transporting these citizens to assembly centers hastily set up and governed by the military in California, Arizona, Washington State, and Oregon. The same executive order (and other wartime orders and restrictions) was also applied to smaller numbers of U.S. residents of Italian or German descent.

For example, 3,200 resident aliens of Italian background were arrested, and more than 300 of them were interned. About 11,000 German residents—including some naturalized citizens—were arrested, and more than 5,000 were interned. These wartime measures were most sweeping for Japanese Americans because they uprooted entire communities, targeting citizens and resident aliens.

Fred Korematsu

At the time of Roosevelt's order, there were over 125,000 Japanese Americans living in the United

States as citizens. Of that population, over 88 percent resided in the states impacted by Roosevelt's order. Executive Order 9066 led to over 100 military orders of confinement of individuals of Japanese descent in the states, including a May 9, 1942, order that included Fred Korematsu.

Korematsu, at the time of the order, was a factory worker in California, married to a Caucasian woman, Ida Boitano. Boitano was not allowed to accompany Korematsu into the internment camp. Korematsu initially attempted to evade internment following the order by undergoing eye surgery to look Caucasian. However, he was eventually arrested for occupying the forbidden area, was confined to the internment camp, and was charged.

The American Civil Liberties Union refused to accept his case. Korematsu received the assistance of volunteer lawyers who were successful in challenging his confinement all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. However, the U.S. Supreme Court, by a vote of 6–3, ruled that Executive Order 9066 was constitutional.

In upholding the confinement of Korematsu and all of the others in the camps, Justice Hugo Black, a respected U.S. Supreme Court justice, wrote that Korematsu was “not excluded from the Military area because of hostility to him or his race. He was excluded because we are at war with the Japanese empire. . . .”

At the time of his arrest, Korematsu was an American citizen. His parents had immigrated to the United States in 1905. He was born in Oakland, California, on January 30, 1919. He had attended public schools in California and worked in his family's flower nursery. In 1940, he attempted to enlist in the U.S. military but was rejected because of stomach ulcers. He eventually worked as a civilian on the war effort, but following the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, he was fired from all defense-related work for the United States.

Redress

Overall, 120,000 Americans of Japanese descent were forcibly removed from their homes in 1941 and 1942 into internment camps on the west coast of the United States. These individuals and families suffered losses in property and income, and incurred serious psychological damage as a

result of the policy. Following the end of World War II, the internment of individuals of Japanese descent as a result of President Roosevelt's order and the *Korematsu* case entered the phase of redress for the policy and the damage incurred on those who were forcibly removed. In 1948, Congress enacted the Japanese American Evacuation Act, the first piece of legislation designed to correct the wrong of Roosevelt's order. The law was inadequate.

On July 31, 1980, the Commission on War-time Relocation and Internment of Civilians Act was passed by the United States it was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter. The law established a commission to study the removal of the Japanese Americans and the effects upon their lives, and to make recommendations for redress as a result of the policy. On June 16, 1983, the commission concluded that racial prejudice and hysteria led to the internment of individuals of Japanese descent. The commission also recommended presidential pardons for those convicted of crimes relating to the policy and set aside \$1.5 billion to provide compensation for each surviving victim of the policy. On October 9, 1990, pursuant to the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, the federal government began to make its first payments to the surviving victims.

In addition to these efforts to exonerate the victims of the policy, lawyer and political science professor Peter Irons began working in 1982 to reverse the original conviction of Fred Korematsu and others convicted of violating the internment laws. Through a Freedom of Information Act request, Irons uncovered evidence of government cover-up and misrepresentation in the *Korematsu* case that led to his conviction and perpetuated the hysteria surrounding the internment. Irons organized a legal team to assist Fred Korematsu and had his case re-opened in federal court based upon the evidence. In 1983, a federal court overturned Fred Korematsu's conviction.

Irons also was instrumental in reversing the conviction of Gordon Hirabayashi, another well-known internment era defendant. Hirabayashi had lost an appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1943 involving violation of a curfew imposed upon Japanese Americans. As in the *Korematsu* case, evidence had been withheld and suppressed by the government. In 1985, Hirabayashi's

conviction was also overturned by a federal court as a result of Mr. Irons' efforts.

In 1998, Fred Korematsu, the individual who originally challenged the internment policy put forth by President Roosevelt by refusing to leave his isolated area, was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Bill Clinton. The state of California honored Fred Korematsu in 2010, by declaring January 30 "Fred Korematsu Day." Mr. Korematsu and Gordon Hirabayashi are remembered as heroes by many Americans.

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See Also: Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; World War II.

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Kosher

The word *kosher* means "fit" in Hebrew and Yiddish. It holds a place in American vernacular as a procedure or product that has undergone considerable scrutiny to arrive at a quality standard. The actual practice of *kashrut* (Hebrew noun: "keeping kosher") hinges on ancient religious commandments but is subject to later interpretations, numerous technicalities, variations among Jewish communities, and interactions with regulators and the world beyond. Advocates align it with animal rights, (more recently) human rights, and a healthful diet. As verdict and vernacular, then, it may be easier to pronounce something "not kosher" than "kosher."

The Torah or Five Books of Moses, primarily in the Book of Leviticus, first categorized the animals that the Jewish people could eat: those

that chew their cud and have split hooves (cattle, sheep, lamb), domesticated fowl, and seafood with fins and scales. Pork products and shellfish, therefore, are prohibited. It is also forbidden to “seethe a kid in its mother’s milk.”

Consequently, kosher households do not eat meat and dairy products at the same time. With evolving agriculture, food processing, and commerce, the rabbis from the Talmudic period to the present defined how kashrut would be conducted and supervised. Since Jewry throughout most of history has been geographically dispersed, local communities followed the pronouncements of their rabbinic authorities. Leading actors in the process are the rabbis, certification inspectors (sometimes rabbis), butchers trained in ritual slaughter, kosher retailers, the butchers they employ (in the past, some also slaughtered the animals), and consumers.

Kosher in America

Kashrut in the United States went through several stages. Skilled practitioners were in tremendous demand on the western frontier. Polish-born Joseph Newmark, a certified *shochet* (ritually trained slaughterer), arrived in Los Angeles shortly after California attained statehood. With the knowledge of religious tradition required of his profession, he doubled as the first lay rabbi for a community that barely numbered more than a *minyán* (10-person prayer quorum). Rabbis in larger settlements were concerned that their congregations would not be adequately provisioned. New York’s Congregation Shearith Israel hired a *shochet* before opening in 1730—and maintained a monopoly on kosher *schehitah* (slaughter/processing) until 1825, when other congregations adopted the practice.

At roughly the same time that Newmark entered Los Angeles, New York City counted approximately 16,000 Jewish residents. An anarchical commercial system soon arose: certified *shochets* and less trained colleagues could be found working in impure, unsupervised, and substandard conditions. After a bogus certification scandal, 18 New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore synagogues combined their resources to provide stricture and structure to kashrut.

They imported Rabbi Jacob Joseph from Vilnius, Lithuania, in 1888, as author Sue Fishkoff

explains, to become America’s “first and only chief rabbi, a sort of Jewish pope for the New World.” The rabbi hired a cadre of inspectors, or *mashgichim*, who affixed *plumbas* (pins with the authority’s stamp of approval) to the chickens they deemed kosher. Butcher shops had to pay a tax for this service before even undergoing inspection.

The synagogue-based cooperative model died with Rabbi Joseph. (One legacy may be the *hekshers*, or logos, that still designate kosher products). More an episode than a turning point, it nevertheless illustrates some persistent problems; namely, it can be difficult to maintain integrity if the inspectors’ pay is assessed to those who are supposed to be regulated. Depending on economic and other conditions, kashrut also has the potential to factionalize its stakeholders. Such results were visible on a national scale when kosher butchers unionized during the late 1920s and 1930s.

Certification was and remains an expensive proposition for any industry. Fees are required at various levels to support it. Inspectors charge for their services, and kosher business owners pass the cost to consumers, who keenly feel the difference between certified and noncertified products. (A similar situation affects today’s organic poultry and livestock market, except that government regulators set some of the parameters.)

During 1902, again in New York, the price of kosher meat rose from 12 to 18 cents per pound in just a few weeks. Jewish homemakers organized a boycott; the fervor boiled over on May 15, when a mob ransacked kosher butcher shops, igniting and otherwise destroying the products. The incident ended when rabbinical authorities sided with the protesters. Meat prices declined to 14 cents.

Similar demonstrations occurred in other cities with large kosher markets during the 1910s. New York City’s Jewish population by 1910 had grown to 1,250,000, and kashrut subsequently became a consumer issue. In 1915, the state of New York enacted the nation’s first regulation outlining fraud in the sale of “kosher meat and meat preparations, kosher articles of food and food products” and defining such violations as misdemeanors.

Outside the larger east coast and midwest cities, however, the public conceived kashrut primarily

as a quaint folkway. Blue laws prevented kosher butcher shops from being open on Sunday, reducing public exposure and the potential for sales among Jewish customers. Limited ethnic appeal—and, for the first few decades of the twentieth century, unreliable food safety—also rendered production a strictly local affair. Inspection was carried out by various *hashkakhah* (supervisory) authorities, often affiliated with Jewish religious communities. Indeed, even today the regulation of kosher markets, restaurants, and catering establishments is largely conducted in the same localized way.

A National Kosher Infrastructure

Many credit the rise of a national infrastructure to the Orthodox Union (originally an association of Orthodox Jewish congregations organized during the 1880s in response to the fledgling Reform movement), which began a private, nonprofit certifying operation in 1923. The story is more complicated. The U.S. kosher infrastructure may be attributed partially to products that bound together Jews from diverse countries and traditions.

Passover, for example, remains the most commonly observed religious holiday, and few will argue with the centrality of matzoh, the unleavened, cracker-like bread that is the centerpiece on seder tables throughout the world. Although its processing requires some vigilance, the ingredients tend to be few and the expectations of consumers not wildly divergent.

The “Big Three” U.S. matzoh bakeries all arrived early: Horowitz-Margareten in 1884, Manischewitz in 1888, and Streit’s in 1916. By the end of the 19th century, Rabbi Dov Behr Manischewitz traded his then-standard coal stoves for gas-fired ovens, enhancing quality control. He also improved packaging so that his potentially crumbly products could travel, intact, not only to Jewish communities in the United States but also to Europe, Egypt, and New Zealand. Horowitz-Margareten and other matzoh manufacturers used food brokers to bolster their out-of-town sales. Indeed, while Horowitz-Margareten is now part of Manischewitz, all three brands continue—with national name recognition and diversified product lines.

Food technologies continued to impose major changes: They distinguished kosher production

sectors and increasingly made inspection a more scientific operation. Improvements in transportation and growing urbanization, for example, physically separated wholesale from retail operations, particularly in kosher meat. On the other hand, it was not uncommon to see European-born butchers and shop owners in major cities slaughtering and preparing for sale their own poultry well into the 1970s.

Orthodox and Conservative rabbis carefully deliberated standards on such items as commercial wine and cheese. Still, as kosher libations became increasingly popular (culminating today with some truly impressive examples), the inspectors developed a sense for how chemical and manufacturing processes—including “cooking” for less expensive “mevushal” wines—affected both kashrut and taste.

Delayed somewhat by the Great Depression and World War II, demography yielded a more potent influence. The majority of Jewish American adults were native born by 1950. The relatively assimilated, younger folks cashed in their G.I. benefits on suburban homes. While typically enjoying the memories associated with “Jewish food,” they veered away from strict dietary practices. (“Kosher style” delicatessens subsequently became popular.)

For most of the 1950s and until the urban unrest of the 1960s, the kosher retail infrastructure generally remained in the urban areas, catering to older, more observant customers. These neighborhoods no longer glared Yiddish or Jewish-themed signage, leaving the remaining businesses to stand out—and occasionally entice multiethnic neighbors with their food.

Changing Demographics and New Clientele

Two U.S. Supreme Court cases in 1961 challenged blue laws dealing with kosher retail sales. Both were upheld, but state-level enforcement already had grown lax. A few urban retailers, therefore, retained Jewish Sunday (or occasional) customers and, at the same time, developed new clientele. When the author’s uncle reopened his kosher butcher shop in Pittsburgh during the late 1970s after a fire, he advertised the event on an African American music station. Langer’s Delicatessen Restaurant in Los Angeles and Russ and Daughters in New York, both kosher style, have

successfully endured in their old, now multiethnic, neighborhoods.

Beyond local commerce, larger corporations and movements reacted to changing demographics, utilizing contemporary methods to gain market shares across the United States. Some, like New York-based Levy's bread, pursued multicultural advertisement during the late 1960s. Their then-innovative regional campaign featured aficionados dressed in ethnically revealing attire (Irish police officer, Native American with traditional braids)—all asserting that “You Don't Have to be Jewish to Love Levy's Jewish Rye.” A bigger push was through distribution channels.

Today, bagels are considered an American food, yet Lender's began freezing them in 1965, with an eye toward national supermarket chains—a pioneering act, later recognized at a national Jewish Federation conference. As this more welcoming

attitude emerged, Orthodox leaders sought to elevate and impress traditions. They responded to a set of infractions by introducing *glatt* standards, requiring an inspection of the animals' lungs. (*Glatt* pervades all kosher meat certification today.)

Memorable advertising (such as Hebrew National products reporting to a “higher authority”) and supermarket access drew both Jewish and general customers to prepacked kosher products. Like vegetarians, those who followed special diets appreciated clear labeling: meat, dairy, or neutral *pareve*. (Federal regulations more recently have practices with the same consumer-oriented intentions.)

The only two religions to codify animal slaughter, quite similarly, are Judaism and Islam; both prohibit pork products as well. Muslims have been given permission to use kosher meat when no halal is available. A few days before



Workers at Penn State prepare a kosher Passover buffet. Offering kosher food makes students feel more welcomed and included. Kosher foods conform to the regulations of *kashrut*, which is Jewish dietary law. Food that may be consumed according to *halakha* (Jewish law), is termed *kosher* in English, which means “fit.” Food that is not in accordance with Jewish law is called *treif*.

September 11—and after considerable retrofitting—Mount Holyoke College opened a kosher/halal kitchen, one of the first in the United States. It continues today, but few other institutions have been bold enough to embark on the detailed planning and initial expense that such an operation requires.

Relative observance of kashrut among the Jewish population reached its height in the early 20th century, but there are currently more than 1,000 active certifying agencies. With more rigorous inspection, kosher meat and poultry remained high-ticket items. Most large cities witness occasional scandals, often with shop owners substituting nonkosher meat for the real product. These episodes often are self-regulating, uncovered by rabbi-inspectors who, because of price or some other reason, suspect less-than-kosher dealings.

Of a different nature, the most widely discussed recent infraction occurred in 2008, when federal authorities raided the kosher slaughterhouse Agriprocessors in Postville, Iowa. Charges included the employment of undocumented workers as well as numerous health and safety violations. In its wake, advocates from the Conservative movement proposed *Heksher Tzedek*, kosher certification that in addition to traditional standards emphasized ethical treatment of workers and greater consideration of animals.

“Postville” (as this episode and a related book were called) heightened interest in moral aspects of kashrut but did not create them. New ecological, dietary, and ethical concerns became noticeable during the late 20th century. *Mazon: A Jewish Response to Hunger* (1985) derives its name from the Hebrew word for “food.” Backed by strategic initiatives, Mazon uses the Jewish traditions of giving and social awareness to nourish its completely nonsectarian grant-making program.

Not to be confused by the name, Hazon (1999) means “vision.” It raises funds through long bicycle rides and seeks to “create healthier and more sustainable communities in the Jewish world and beyond.” Educational programs, including a farm fellowship for young adults, are part of its organizational menu.

One increasingly associates kashrut with “mindfulness.” Far-flung issues and interests

recently have raised awareness among Jewish Americans at all levels of observance and brought others back to their heritage. It will be interesting to see how future connections—with diverse commercial partners, dietary practitioners, and activists—redefine “kosher.”

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See Also: Food; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Halal; Jewish Americans.

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Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan (also referred to as the Klan or the KKK) constitutes the oldest and best-known hate group in the United States still in existence. Viciously racist and anti-Semitic, the Klan has relentlessly promoted an ideology that merges doctrines of white racial supremacy with American patriotism and Christian religiosity since the 1860s.

The Klan has engaged in numerous incidents of violence, harassment, and ethnic intimidation over the past century and a half. Members of the Ku Klux Klan, referred to as Klansmen, are easily distinguishable through their trademark wardrobe and rituals, which consist of wearing white robes and tall, pointed hoods while frequently conducting nighttime burnings of large wooden

crosses. Klansmen refer to these fiery nocturnal ceremonies as illuminations.

The present-day Ku Klux Klan does not represent a single, unified organization. Rather, the Klan comprised many different state and local chapters that operate independently of one another and feature their own respective membership, agenda, and programming. From its relatively humble origins in Tennessee in 1866, the Klan expanded geographically and splintered into dozens of smaller factions throughout the 20th century.

The size of the Klan's membership, as well as its degree of social influence, has fluctuated considerably over the years in response to larger sociopolitical developments within American society and more local regional contexts. However, the Klan reached its all-time peak in terms of both membership and influence during the 1920s, when more than four million men and women donned the notorious hood and robe. After diminishing in size and scope throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Ku Klux Klan has increased in recent years amid a resurgence of white supremacist organizations across the United States, prompted by new political, economic, and demographic changes throughout the nation.

Early Years

The Ku Klux Klan grew out of the ashes of the remnants of the former Confederacy. Six ex-Confederate soldiers founded the Ku Klux Klan in Pulaski, Tennessee, on December 24, 1866. Originally established as a quasi-fraternity for Confederate army veterans, the organization named itself for the Greek word *Kuklos* (meaning "circle" or "band") and added *Klan*, a Scottish word denoting the strong family-like bond between members that also reflected the heavy Scots-Irish ancestry of white southerners. The Ku Klux Klan shrouded itself in mystery and modeled itself as a secret society.

Members adopted the notorious white hoods and sheets as the Klan's official costume during this time. Claiming to be the ghosts of dead Confederate soldiers, the hooded Klansmen conducted nighttime rides on horseback through black neighborhoods in an effort to terrify newly freed slaves. Although early activities consisted primarily of scaring former slaves and promoting camaraderie for veterans of the Confederacy, the Klan's actions

became increasingly hostile and violent as its membership grew over the next few years.

By the end of the 1860s, the Klan had expanded from the small town of Pulaski into other areas of Tennessee, as well as into other southern states. A convention of Klansmen held in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1867 led to a more rigid structuring of the Ku Klux Klan modeled on a military hierarchy and the use of unique labels to distinguish the varying ranks of members, such as the title "Grand Wizard" for the organization's supreme leader and the label "ghouls" for newly initiated members. The addition of former Confederate army officers, such as Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest and Brigadier General George Gordon, into the Klan's ranks provided the hooded order with the military leadership it craved.

Forrest emerged as Grand Wizard in 1867, marking the start of a more vicious edge to Klan activities. Around this time, the Klan relocated its headquarters from Pulaski to Memphis, and by 1868 it had expanded its membership into eight other states, reaching as far north as Maryland and West Virginia. Humiliated by defeat in the Civil War, resentful of emancipated slaves, and angry at the Reconstruction policies implemented by the Radical Republicans of northern states, the Klan quickly became the nation's earliest domestic terrorist organization and attracted attention from the federal government.

Activities included efforts to intimidate blacks and suppress them from voting in southern elections, and engaging in acts of violence, such as shootings, beatings, castrations, rapes, and lynchings of former slaves and so-called carpetbaggers (a pejorative southern term for northerners) overseeing Reconstruction efforts. In short, the Klan aimed to protect the "white southern way of life" from liberated blacks and northern Reconstructionists. Forrest declared that he was fully prepared to lead his Klansmen into battle with federal troops stationed in the Old Confederacy, should they have infringed on Klan sovereignty:

The Klan is a protective, political, military organization. . . . If the militia are called out [to suppress the Klan], we can only look upon it as a declaration of war. In all the Southern states there are about 550,000 Klansmen. . . . If the militia goes to hunting down and shooting

these men, there will be war, and a bloodier one than we have ever witnessed.

Amid widespread acts of Klan violence toward southern blacks, President Ulysses S. Grant signed the Civil Rights Act of 1871 into law on April 20 of that year. The act, more commonly referred to as the Ku Klux Klan Act, called for the federal government to carry out a more stringent crackdown on Klansmen in order to ensure the rights and freedoms of former slaves.

The act granted the president the ability to suspend habeas corpus, which permitted known or suspected Klansmen to be taken prisoner and held without being formally charged with a crime or tried in court. By 1872, the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan had largely disbanded and receded into greater seclusion as a result of the 1871 act and personnel issues. Forrest left the Klan in January 1869 and futilely ordered the organization to dissolve, although Grant's relentless crackdown on the Klan drove it into temporary submission.

Early-Twentieth-Century Revival

Virtually crushed by the Ku Klux Klan Act and rendered nearly insignificant as a social force in the south following the termination of Reconstruction in 1876 (which gave rise to "separate but equal" Jim Crow segregation), the Klan disappeared during the final decades of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the hooded empire reemerged in 1915, the same year that D. W. Griffith's landmark motion picture *The Birth of a Nation* was released. Griffith's film depicted the Reconstruction-era Klan as a noble and patriotic force committed to protecting the sanctity of white womanhood from the alleged sexual savagery of black men.

One of the most influential movies in Hollywood history, *The Birth of a Nation* sparked a pro-Klan nostalgia throughout the south. Capitalizing on these sentiments, a white supremacist Methodist preacher from Alabama named William Joseph Simmons officially revived the hooded racist organization. Simmons established the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan during an illumination ceremony held in Stone Mountain, Georgia, on October 15, 1915. Simmons held another cross burning in Stone Mountain a few weeks later, on Thanksgiving Day.

During the early 20th century, the United States experienced one of the largest influxes of immigrants in its history. These newcomers came primarily from southern and eastern European societies (such as Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Baltic region) and differed significantly from earlier waves of immigrants who hailed from northwestern Europe (the British Isles, northern Germany, and Scandinavia). Roman Catholics constituted the vast majority of turn-of-the-century immigrants, and approximately 10 percent practiced Judaism.

The ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural differences of immigrants generated fears among many Anglo-Protestant Americans toward the newcomers, resulting in a period of intense nativism. "Racial" concerns also influenced anti-immigrant sentiments, as the prominent anthropologist Madison Grant and various Anglo-Protestant political figures viewed southern and eastern Europeans as belonging to allegedly inferior "Mediterranean," "Slavic," and "Hebrew" races that supposedly lacked the moral integrity and intellectual capabilities of the Anglo-Saxon "Nordic" race. The nation enacted Prohibition in 1919 in a failed attempt to return "moral purity" to America, and World War I had exacerbated antiforeign sentiments among many Americans. The Red Scare of the 1920s generated widespread fears of a communist revolution on American soil.

Amid this cultural backdrop, the Ku Klux Klan reached its all-time high in membership as it expanded beyond the south and established footholds in northern, midwestern, and western states. The Klan's targeted list of enemies also expanded during this era to include Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and suspected communists, in addition to African Americans.

Far from being a clandestine organization during the 1920s, the Klan reflected and tapped into mainstream nativism, racism, and paranoia. The Klan also attempted to soften its image and broadened its appeal by presenting itself as a moral agency protecting America's Protestant Christian religious heritage. By 1925, the Klan had established chapters in all (then) 48 states and claimed a membership of more than four million. Membership included approximately half a million women as well as many middle-class and

educated professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, bankers, businessmen, and intellectuals.

Klansmen wielded tremendous political power over local and state elections during the 1920s through running their own candidates for public office, as well as their voting bloc power. Klan-affiliated mayors, governors, judges, sheriffs, and other officials won elections in numerous states, but the degree of Klan political influence was particularly strong in Ohio, Indiana, Arkansas, and Texas. Rumors even abounded that President Warren G. Harding was secretly inducted into the Ku Klux Klan by Simmons at a White House ceremony.

In a vivid display of its political power, a contingent of 40,000 robed and hooded Klansmen marched down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C., on August 8, 1925. The 1920s marked the final days of the Ku Klux Klan as a national, unified organization; its decline during the 1930s led to a splintering of numerous smaller regionally and locally based Klan offshoots.

The Civil Rights Era

After declining during the Great Depression and World War II eras, the Ku Klux Klan reestablished a foothold in American social and political life during the racial upheavals of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Whereas the Klan of the early 20th century often marched in lockstep with a federal government that generally shared its antiforeign, anti-immigrant, and isolationist ideals, the Ku Klux Klan during the mid-20th century found itself at sharp odds with and under the surveillance of the U.S. government.

The mandated desegregation of public schools under the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, along with efforts to ensure social equality and voting rights for African Americans and efforts to overturn state bans on interracial marriage, put the Klan on the defensive, thereby prompting members to take violent offensive measures.

Arguably the most notorious case of violence occurred in September 1963, when four members of the United Klans of America used explosives to blow up the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a prominent black church that served as a focal point for civil rights activists, in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four adolescent black girls—Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Carole

Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley. Members of the United Klans of America also murdered Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights activist from Michigan, 20 miles outside Selma, Alabama, on March 25, 1965. Another notorious act of violence occurred on June 21, 1964, when members of the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan beat and lynched three civil rights activists—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner—near Philadelphia, Mississippi. All told, more than 225 bombings and 1,000 incidents of racial violence occurred in southern states between 1955 and 1965.

The Klan's reign of violence and terror sparked governmental action. President Lyndon B. Johnson launched a federal investigation of the Ku Klux Klan following Liuzzo's murder, and the triple murders in Mississippi galvanized support for the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began infiltrating the most violence-prone Klan chapters under its COINTELPRO program in September 1964, ultimately weakening the "Invisible Empire." During a national address in 1965, Johnson said of the Ku Klux Klan:

. . . [They are] the enemies of justice who for decades have used the rope and the gun and the tar and the feathers to terrorize their neighbors. . . . My father fought them many years ago in Texas, and I have fought them all my life because I believe them to threaten the peace of every community where they exist. I shall continue to fight them because I know their loyalty is not to the United States, but instead to a hooded society of bigots.

David Duke's Legacy and Recent Years

The Klan declined considerably throughout the 1970s and 1980s, wounded by passage of civil rights legislation and court decisions that outlawed racial segregation, ensured blacks the right to vote, and rescinded state bans on interracial marriage. However, during this time period, David Duke, arguably the most high-profile Klansmen that mainstream America has ever known, emerged as a national figure. Duke founded the Louisiana-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in 1975, and just four years later its membership had increased to 1,500.

Duke attempted to modernize and mainstream the Klan by wearing business suits in place of hooded robes, eradicating the Klan's anti-Catholic stance, and appearing frequently on network television programs such as *Donahue* and *The Jerry Springer Show*. Duke drew nationwide attention for his foray into politics, winning election to the Louisiana House of Representatives in 1989 and losing the 1991 Louisiana gubernatorial election, in addition to running unsuccessfully for president in 1988 and 1992. Duke remained an avowed anti-Semite and white supremacist despite his clean-cut image, however, proposing in a 1984 issue of his self-published newsletter that the United States be reconfigured into distinct "racial districts" to quarantine specific racial and ethnic minority groups in peripheral regions of the country. Duke is also a notorious Holocaust denier.

Scholars contend that the number of Klan chapters, Klan members, and white supremacist organizations in general have increased considerably over the past decade as a result of a changing social and political landscape in American society. Specifically, experts cite three factors for contributing to the resurgence of the white supremacist movement: the worsening of economic conditions and increased unemployment, the large numbers of Latino and Asian immigrants entering the nation, and the election of the first black president in U.S. history.

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See Also: Anti-Semitism; Caucasians; Nativism; White Supremacy.

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Kurdish Americans

The Kurds are an Iranian people without a state of their own. They are indigenous to Kurdistan, a region of about 100,000 square miles to 150,000 square miles that includes parts of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Armenia. The closest Kurds enjoy to self-rule is the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan established within Iraq in 1970, after years of conflict.

The Iran–Iraq War, which transpired over most of the 1980s, was followed by an uprising of Iraqis against Saddam Hussein during the 1991 Gulf War; both events wreaked havoc on Iraqi Kurdistan, driving many refugees to the surrounding areas and into the Kurdish diaspora. Since the end of the Hussein regime in 2003, many Kurds have immigrated to Iraqi Kurdistan, which has also attracted a number of non-Kurdish immigrants drawn to the region's relative stability.

There are about 10,000 Kurdish Americans as of the most recent statistics released by the U.S. Census Bureau, most of whom are Sunni Muslims. Many of them immigrated from Kurdistan, but many also came from the Kurdish diaspora, which includes enclaves in Georgia, Russia, Azerbaijan, Lebanon, Israel, and Europe. Waves of Kurdish immigration followed World War I, the 1958 Iraqi Revolution, the 1979 Iran Revolution, the Iran–Iraq War of the 1980s, the Gulf War in 1991, and the invasion of Iraq by U.S. forces in 2003.

The Gulf War wave was the largest, as reprisals against the Kurds by Hussein's government were severe; because Kurdistan overlaps with both Iraq and Iran, many of the Kurds supported Iran in the Iran–Iraq War, and the supposedly autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan was invaded by Hussein's forces. Kurds were attacked with chemical weapons, an action condemned by the international community.

The largest Kurdish American community is found in the Nashville, Tennessee, metropolitan

area: nearly a quarter of Kurdish Americans live here. In the last few decades, Nashville has been a popular city for recent immigrants, especially those who are not drawn to an established ethnic community settled by earlier immigrants; the area offers employment opportunities and a low cost of living relative to the coastal cities.

Nashville has large Cambodian, Laotian, Vietnamese, and Bantu communities in addition to the Kurdish Americans. (Nashville also has a climate similar to these countries, lacking the harsh winters of northeastern cities.) Many of them settled in the area in the 1990s, after Hussein's attack on Kurdistan and the subsequent civil war between Iraqi Kurdistan's two major political factions. The U.S. government assisted with the evacuation of many Kurds to Guam, from where they later immigrated to the mainland United States as refugees.

The first Kurds in Nashville, however, settled there in 1976, assisted by the Catholic Charities of Tennessee. They were refugees fleeing Iraqi Kurdistan after an attempted uprising against Hussein that had been supported by Iran and the United States. More Kurds settled in Nashville following the Iranian Revolution a few years later.

Nashville's Kurdish community has received some media attention for being the home of the only known Kurdish American street gang, the Kurdish Pride gang, consisting of a few dozen young Kurds. Unlike most street gangs, most of the Kurdish Pride gang members come from middle-class two-parent families; the Nashville police have identified ethnic pride and pressure from gangs of other ethnicities as the motives driving the gang. Except for this aberration, Kurds fit in well in Nashville, where the strong religious culture underpins a conservatism Kurdish Americans appreciate. The Muslim community meets at the Salahadeen Center of Nashville, established in 1998.

An important organization for the Kurdish diaspora is the Kurdish Human Rights Watch, which advocates for Kurdish interests and offers financial assistance to Kurds throughout the world who are displaced or homeless. It is one of many organizations that have urged the United States to develop a consistent Kurdish policy.

Though U.S. troops were instrumental in safeguarding the Kurdish people from Iraq—a no-fly

zone was patrolled over Kurdistan from the Gulf War right up until the 2003 invasion to prevent Hussein from again attacking his own people—foreign policy has not taken more than a half-step past that, and the White House and the State Department have failed to develop a specific relationship with the Kurds. Lacking the resources and the connections necessary, Kurdish Americans have for the most part been in no position to lobby for one.

The Kurdish American community is also served by the *Kurdish Herald*, an English-language news publication that has been published irregularly with coverage of political, economic, and cultural issues relevant to the Kurdish diaspora. It has given especially broad coverage to the changes in Iraq since the U.S. invasion, from coverage of the elections to stories about new restrictions on polygamy in Iraqi Kurdistan to the fate of Kurdish political prisoners.

The American Kurdish Information Network has been established in Washington, D.C., to foster Kurdish American understanding, particularly following the immigration of so many Kurds to the United States. It also acts as an advocacy group for Kurdish rights issues.

The Kurdish American Youth Organization is a nonprofit group with chapters in Nashville, Dallas, San Diego, and Los Angeles. Its goal is to provide a social organization for young Kurdish people in the United States.

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See Also: Afghan Americans; Iranian Americans; Iraqi Americans.

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Kwanzaa

Kwanzaa is a seven-day holiday that honors the cultural heritage of African Americans. It is celebrated annually from December 26 to January 1. Maulana Karenga was inspired to establish Kwanzaa by the traditional first fruits celebrations of the Zulu and Ashanti peoples.

Maulana Karenga, Architect of Kwanzaa

Maulana Karenga, who, as of 2012, was a professor of Africana Studies at California State University, Long Beach, trained as a researcher in political science, social ethics, and African studies at Los Angeles City College; the University of California, Los Angeles; Alliant International University; and the University of Southern California, beginning in the late 1950s. The writings, speeches, and philosophy of Malcolm X were significant influences on Karenga. During the 1960s and 1970s, Karenga was a significant actor in the Black Power and Pan-Africanist movements. Along with Hakim Jamal, he founded the black

nationalist group Organization Us, which was a rival organization of the Black Panther Party.

The Origins of Kwanzaa

Karenga constituted Kwanzaa to facilitate African American engagement with African culture on a broad, communal level. Kwanzaa itself was an outgrowth of the Black Power movement. It first was celebrated during the winter of 1966 to 1967, and Karenga articulated that the holiday was an alternative to Christmas, as he viewed Christianity as being hostile to African Americans. He selected the name of the holiday from the Swahili phrase *matunda ya kwanza*, which means “first fruits of the harvest.” Swahili was chosen because of its status as a lingua franca in east Africa, where it is spoken by more than 60 million people across ethnic and national lines.

The Seven Principles of Kwanzaa

Kwanzaa is centered on *Nguzo Saba*, or the Seven Principles of African Heritage: *Umoja*, or unity; *Kujichagulia*, or self-determination; *Ujima*, or



The creator of Kwanzaa, Maulana Karenga (center), celebrates the holiday at the Rochester Institute of Technology in Rochester, New York, in December 2003. The celebration honors African heritage in African American culture. It is observed between December 26 and January 1, culminating in a feast and gift giving. Karenga's goal in creating Kwanzaa was to give African Americans an opportunity to celebrate themselves and their history rather than simply imitate the practice of a dominant society.

collective work and responsibility; *Ujamaa*, or cooperative economics; *Nia*, or purpose; *Kuumba*, or creativity; and *Imani*, or faith. Each principle corresponds to one of the seven days of the festival. Furthermore, the principles are embodied physically in effigies known as the Seven Symbols: *Mazao*, or the crops; *Mkeka*, or the decorate mat; *Vibunzi*, or the ear of corn; *Mishumaa Saba*, or the seven candles; *Kinara*, or the candleholder; *Kikombe Cha Umoja*, or the unity cup; and *Zawadi*, or gifts. The traditional greetings for the holiday are “Joyous Kwanzaa” and *Habari Gani?*, which roughly translates as “What’s the news?”

The Practice of Kwanzaa

During observances, men typically wear shirts called dashikis and caps known as kufis. Women often wear dresses known as kaftans, along with headdresses. Drumming, singing, dancing, recitations of poetry, and reflections on African and African American history are regular facets of many Kwanzaa celebrations. By the holiday’s very design, all community members are encouraged to participate in Kwanzaa celebrations. Children, adults, and the elderly pay homage to their ancestors and heritage. During each of the seven nights, one candle is lit. In the process of *Kikombe cha Umoja*, libations are taken by everyone present through a shared cup. Kwanzaa’s end is recognized each year with a large, communal meal.

Numerous large-scale Kwanzaa festivals are celebrated in the United States, including the Spirit of Kwanzaa at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C., which features performances and poetry readings; the Kwanzaa Festival and Marketplace at the New Jersey Performing Arts Center in Newark; and the Kwanzaa Celebration at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

By the 2000s, Kwanzaa was a global holiday, celebrated in Canada, Jamaica, France, England, and Brazil, where it is celebrated on November 20 as Black Awareness Day. Many mainstream organizations also had begun celebrating Kwanzaa by that time.

Kwanzaa’s Participation Rates

At the time of Kwanzaa’s establishment, African Americans accounted for 25 percent of the total population of the United States. After the holiday

gained in prestige and popularity, Karenga began encouraging adherents to celebrate Kwanzaa in tandem with other cultural observances during the season.

As of 2012, there were no firm data on how many Americans recognize Kwanzaa each year. Some estimate that fewer than one million celebrate the holiday; others claim that there are as many as 30 million adherents of Kwanzaa.

Commemorations of Kwanzaa in the Media

Nickelodeon’s popular cartoon *Rugrats* televised a Kwanzaa-themed episode called “A Rugrats Kwanzaa Special” in 2001, which featured African American actresses Irma P. Hall and Cree Summer. The same year, Disney’s *The Proud Family* cartoon also aired a Kwanzaa special, titled “Seven Days of Kwanzaa,” utilizing the voice-over talents of Kyla Pratt, Tommy Davidson, Paula Jai Parker, Karen Malina White, Cedric the Entertainer, Vivica A. Fox, and JoMarie Payton.

The Black Candle, a 2008 documentary produced by M. K. Asante, Jr., and narrated by Maya Angelou, was the first full-length film about Kwanzaa’s history and significance. It won the 2009 Award for Best Full-Length Documentary at the African World Documentary Film Festival.

In addition, Kwanzaa has been commemorated by the U.S. Postal Service twice: the first postage stamp, with artwork by Synthia Saint James, was released in 1997; the second postage stamp was designed by Daniel Minter and made its debut in 2004.

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See Also: Black Muslims; Black Panther Party; Black Power Movement; Ethnic Studies; History/Heritage Months; Pan-Africanism.

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Kye

Korean American communities in the United States are comparatively tightly knit and supportive. One form of this support deals with small businesses in the community; this is the Americanized version of the traditional Korean loan system, *kye* (pronounced “keh”). The term *kye* refers to a grassroots bond that diffuses business risk among a group. A *kye* is an amount of money pooled and shared by a group of small business owners. It functions like a temporary loan but with more favorable terms that serve the collective interest.

Historical Roots of Kye

Korean Americans faced many kinds of discrimination when it came to securing employment in the early years of their immigration boom. Discriminatory laws prior to World War II prevented Korean Americans from gaining their citizenship, and, as a result, very few of them were able to work in their former professional roles. Although the law changed in later years, many Korean American immigrants were still unable to work in their trained professions in large part because of the language barrier they encountered upon relocating to the United States. They therefore accepted menial labor and low-end service jobs until they were able to start their own businesses. Eventually, many Korean immigrants moved into small business ownership out of economic need.

Kye in Practice

First, a sponsor initiates the process by deciding what the size of the fund will be. This organizer then recruits donors (often from past recipients), collects funds, and acts as the contact point for the borrower. In exchange for this work and the risk he or she takes on through his role, the organizer/sponsor receives status and benefits within the network; he or she receives the first lump sum collected.

Take a hypothetical group of small business owners: Mr. A, Ms. B, and Mr. C. They are probably aspiring to run similar types of businesses. For our purposes here, let's say they all are trying to run corner stores in their area. They each pool all available money, along with at least one other person who has already succeeded in business in the past—this is the last member of the *kye* chain, and he or she is solely a lender. When the *kye* chain has run its course, this last link receives the total amount contributed to the fund, plus any interest earned. The members who make up the middle ranks act as both borrowers and lenders.

Once the kitty is collected, that sum goes to work for each of them. First, Mr. A will take the sum and use it for his store. The group will have agreed to the terms in advance, but generally, Mr. A will be allowed to take the entire sum as it stands at that point and use it for some period of time—this will vary based on his rank in the group but will be enough for the business to get on its feet. During that time, Mr. A will be allowed to keep his profits rather than pay back the group; in this way, he has a much stronger chance of success. Then, after that period is over, Mr. A passes on that sum to the next would-be business owner, Ms. B, and the cycle repeats.

Usually, the kitty received at any given point will be less than the total amount of payments, and the difference represents the interest earned. Notably, this interest is often significantly less than the going rates charged by banks or other money-lending agencies, and no collateral is demanded by the *kye*. Instead, one's reputation in a close-knit community is at stake, and the social pressure associated with the loss of neighbors' funds further insures the *kye*. Ideally, all participants in the chain succeed and continue to support the *kye*.

Unfortunately, the *kye* system has not been entirely positive for Korean Americans. A number

of erstwhile Korean American liquor store owners found themselves unable to navigate the hurdles of the California Liquor Control Board because the informality of the kye system that helped them secure funding rendered them unable to document their financing. This in turn led the board to deny these businesses liquor licenses, which led to the failure of many businesses.

This phenomenon highlights the cultural conflict between the informal and traditional ways of Korean businesses and state agencies. Although in more recent years, government agencies like liquor boards have changed some of their policies to accommodate the cultural differences of their constituents, the conflict overall has caused the loss of savings, businesses, and trust in the system.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Karaoke; Korean Americans.

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L

La Bamba

“La Bamba” is best known as the ethnic hit song by Richie Valenzuela (later changed to “Ritchie Valens”), turned cinematic drama in 1987. The upbeat tune reached far back into Mexican culture. The traditional version of “La Bamba” integrates several ethnic musical styles for which there is no literal English translation. “La Bamba,” played at weddings, symbolizes the bride and groom’s ritual dance of unity.

Much ethnic folk music in North America dates back to the 19th century. Traditionally, it’s rooted elsewhere and accompanies immigrant populations, for which it functions as a reminder of traditions specific to a respective culture. It also provides individuals a means to preserve timeless customs rooted in identity survival.

Most traditional ethnic folk music brought to the United States is passed down through generations. As each generation adapts to new surroundings, cultures tend to change. This is exemplified when traditional folk songs are mainstreamed and popularized through American music venues, much like Ritchie Valens’s hit adaptation in 1958 of the Mexican folk song, “La Bamba.”

Valens was inspired by the new sounds of rock and roll and was proud of his Mexican heritage. He successfully integrated the two to create one of rock and roll’s earliest hits, “La Bamba.” To date,

it is recognized as one of *Rolling Stone’s* Top 500 Songs of All Time. “La Bamba” is the only song on this list not sung in English. Over the years, Valens’s “La Bamba” has been re-recorded by artists such as Los Lobos, Harry Belafonte, and disco singer Antonia Rodriguez.

In 1987, “La Bamba” was repopularized in a biographical film that depicted the life of Valens, his short-lived fame, family history, struggles with success, and tragic end of his life. The film, released in July, marked the first time in U.S. history that both Spanish- and English-speaking moviegoers would view the movie on its original release date. Previously, the English version of a film would be released first; months later, the Spanish subtitled version would be released, which subtly reinforced the segregation of the Spanish-speaking populace in America, such as those coming to the smaller, local theaters in predominantly Latin American neighborhoods.

The Mexican American star Ritchie Valens, was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 2001, and he has a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. Valens’s music has lived through generations, and “La Bamba” is one of the most influential rock and roll songs of all time.

Ritchie Valens’s success is an important symbol of the integration of Latino culture into mainstream America. Music is one way that members of oppressed cultures seek to celebrate their

freedom and preserve and assert their uniqueness in an ever-changing social climate. Music is a means through which many U.S.-born Americans are exposed to a wide range of cultural experiences and musical styles. Richie Valenzuela was the first Mexican American in the rock and roll era of the 1950s. The unique fusion of his cultural roots and rock and roll guitar riffs shed light on the Latin culture and popularized the unique sounds of Latin American music. Valenzuela paved the way for future Latin artists such as Selena, Carlos Santana, and Los Lobos.

Mexican American filmmaker Luis Valdez, who is decorated as the father of Chicano theater, influenced mainstream American culture, using his Chicano roots to bring Ritchie Valens's infamous story to life. Valdez's film and portrayal of Valens's family is full of Chicano culture and symbolism, speaking much to Valdez's experiences as a Latino man, which U.S. moviegoers viewed at first hand. Valdez not only paved the way for future Latino filmmakers but also brought Chicano culture into the lives of American cinematic patrons, a culture that continues to grow today. Luis Valdez's role in the making of *La Bamba* and other Chicano-based films allowed him to explore his own racial and cultural consciousness, therefore creating an accurate as well as passionate depiction of Latino life through film.

Although the movie *La Bamba* reached an unprecedented number of Americans, it inadvertently promoted stereotypes that left a scar on the way in which Latinos are viewed as a whole in this country. For example, Valens's brother Bob was unflatteringly depicted as a lazy, abusive, alcoholic who had impregnated his girlfriend. Although Valens's success was depicted as his achieving the "American dream," he was asked by his manager to change Valenzuela to "Valens" in an effort to reach a wider American mainstream fan base.

Ritchie Valens arguably began the integration of Mexican American culture and mainstream media. Many feel that the Latino influence on popular culture and media today all started with one young man and a guitar intro that is now recognized worldwide.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Mexican Americans.

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Labels

The social constructionist perspective suggests that perceptions of reality are based on social and cultural norms. In the case of ethnicity, "race" is an example of a social construction. The labels *black*, *white*, and *Asian* do not conform neatly to three distinct, real biological categories. Further, who is considered part of each group is socially constructed and changes over time. For example, historically, the dominant group in the United States, whites, determined who was considered part of the white group. In the past, Irish and Italians were not considered part of the "white" category, but over time, these groups assimilated to the dominant culture and were relabeled as white within the American context.

Labeling Theory

Labeling theory focuses on how individuals are affected by the labels they are assigned and how it changes the ways others treat them. For example, in one classic social psychology study by Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, researchers labeled some students in a classroom "Bloomers" who would experience substantial gains in IQ over the next year. The teachers were told which of the children had received each label. This label, however, had no basis in reality—the researchers had assigned the labels completely randomly. Over time, however, the students labeled Bloomers showed substantial gains in their IQ, presumably because this label caused teachers to treat them more favorably.

This effect is called the Pygmalion Effect: We have an expectation of how someone will behave, and then we treat them differently according to this expectation, which then causes them to behave in the way we expected. Psychologists have proposed that this may be one factor that contributes to group differences in academic achievement. People hold a stereotype that Asian and white students are smarter than black and Hispanic students, which may cause teachers to treat Asian and white students more favorably and to challenge them to grow and achieve more. This, in turn, may create different levels of achievement between the groups.

Labeling theory suggests that the dominant culture deems certain people, acts, and behaviors as deviant. However, the things that are categorized as deviant depend on the time and place within which they occur: deviance is socially constructed. For example, laws against interracial marriage were once commonplace, but as attitudes changed, interracial marriage was no longer labeled as deviant, and these laws were repealed. Alabama was the last state to repeal anti-interracial marriage laws in 2000.

Labeling theory also explores how labels affect perceptions of whether someone is committing a deviant act. A prime example occurred during the news reporting on the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, which created devastation and desperate situations for millions of people living in Louisiana. Photos featuring African Americans taking food from a supermarket described them as “looters,” whereas Euro-Americans were not labeled as such. In this case, biases against African Americans caused their behaviors to be labeled as deviant, whereas whites were spared this label. Labeling theory suggests that the mere categorization of an individual as African American triggers stereotypes associated with their racial/ethnic group, which then alters perceptions of their behaviors.

Experimental psychologist Claude Steele suggested that simply being reminded of the label for one’s group can have a notable impact on one’s behavior or performance. In a series of studies, Steele and others found that simply asking African Americans to identify their ethnicity before taking an exam impaired their performance on an exam. This effect is called “stereotype threat,” when simply reminding a person of their label can change their performance so that they perform

more in accordance with stereotypes of this group. For example, women also perform worse on math tests if they are asked about their gender before taking the test. The negative impact on performance is likely due to a variety of factors, such as stress caused by being reminded of one’s ethnic group and the negative stereotypes associated with the group.

The effects of choosing a label are not always negative, however. When Asian Americans are asked to identify their ethnicity before taking a math test, they tend to perform better on the test, a phenomenon known as “stereotype lift.” A powerful demonstration of this is displayed when the interaction of gender and ethnicity is considered: asking Asian American women to identify their gender (only) before a math test induces stereotype threat, whereas asking Asian American women to identify their ethnicity (only) induces stereotype lift. These findings suggest that simply being reminded of the label for one’s group can impact achievement.

African American Labels

The label *Negro* was used in the 15th century by Spanish and Portuguese explorers to refer to Africans in sub-Saharan Africa. The term *Negro* translates to “black” in English. The label is still sometimes used (such as the United Negro College Fund). Some have argued, however, that the term *Negro* automatically activates connotations of slavery because this term was used in the United States in the 1800s, and thus suggest that this term should be abandoned. Given this historical link with slavery, the label *Negro* may not be preferred because it may automatically cause a person to assume that an individual with this label lacks social, political, or economic power and/or freedom.

During the civil rights movement, African Americans began using the term *black* to reject the negative connotations implied by the term *Negro*. The label *black* was also used to denote a political identity. Slogans such as “Black is beautiful” were developed to combat the negative stigma and stereotype that could be implied by the term *Negro*. The label *black* may refer to a time when Americans of African descent were working to improve and empower their group. Not all scholars agreed with the label *black*. Some scholars argued that the label *black* was inaccurate because Americans

of African descent have a variety of skin tones and do not actually have black skin or complexion. As a result, Americans of African descent developed the term *African American*. The label *African American* signified the political, social, and economic striving of the group but also denoted a cultural component of identity. The label was similar to the labels of other groups, such as Italian American or German American.

The term *African American*, however, is also potentially problematic. Many previously non-white groups, such as Italian Americans, ultimately were simply referred to as American, whereas this has arguably not occurred for African Americans. In addition, some Americans of African descent felt that the term did not represent their identity as they did not feel a connection to the continent of Africa. "African American" is the most current label used to identify and represent a period of time in the United States when the group had more power than in past years, although "black" is also frequently used.

Irish American Labels

Irish Americans were for many years geographically, socially, politically, and economically segregated from other ethnic groups. One of the main disadvantages faced by the group was that they were not racially/ethnically labeled white and thus did not experience the positive effects of being labeled white in the United States. Most Irish immigrants were also Catholic, which was also highly stigmatized. The Irish were labeled nonwhite, non-Anglo-Saxon, and Catholic. As a result, they were oppressed and highly discriminated against. However, Irish Americans were able to assimilate and unionize in working sectors and had a strong representation in state jobs. Through years of political solidification, Irish Americans were able to socially, economically, politically, and, most importantly, racially assimilate. The racial label "white" in the United States affords a number of powers and privileges. Scholars have referred to this as "white privilege."

Asian Americans

Asian Americans were once labeled "Oriental." The term is no longer used in the United States and is considered a racial pejorative. The label *Orient* means "east" and applies to Asia in

geographic reference to Europe. In addition, *Oriental* is typically used to describe objects such as rugs and is no longer used to refer to people. The popular belief at the time was that people from the Orient were exotic, barbaric, wild, uncivilized, and uneducated. The term *Oriental* also suggests the colonization of countries in the Far East by Europeans.

Today there is a distinction in the United States between countries that are labeled "Asian" and "Middle Eastern." According to the U.S. Census Bureau, individuals of Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, or Japanese descent are considered Asian American. In recent history, individuals who are called Asian American have become more socially and politically empowered. Asian Americans tend to score higher on academic testing than their white counterparts. However, Asian Americans were highly discriminated against. In fact, Japanese Americans were interned during World War II based solely on their ethnic ancestry.

Racial Ambiguity

Skin color has a substantial impact on how people are judged in the United States and forms one basis by which racial and ethnic group labels are socially constructed. But what happens when individuals do not fit perfectly into the racial categories set forth by the dominant group? These individuals may be classified as multiracial.

People tend to be uncomfortable with individuals or situations they are unable to categorize. Thus, multiracial individuals must contend with a number of challenges and disadvantages. For example, high school students who take the SAT must choose one racial/ethnic label to identify them. While the option of "Other" is given, multiracial students are not permitted to choose more than one racial/ethnic label. Other major institutions that do not permit multiracial identification are health care companies, schools, and many private companies. It is often the case that multiracial individuals must label their identity with only one categorical choice, suggesting that their identity as multiracial is not legitimate or important.

The history behind this type of forced labeling may be traced back to the "one-drop rule." The one-drop rule asserts that anyone with "one drop"

of African American blood is considered African American. The racist ideology behind the concept is that African American blood would “pollute” the bloodline. To categorize/label children solely in relation to their oppressed group identity is referred to as “hypodescent,” which means they are labeled based solely on their membership in an oppressed group and not on their membership in an empowered group. The use of hypodescent as a means for group identification is problematic for a number of reasons.

First, it requires that an individual deny group membership by assuming one label that defines only part of his/her racial/ethnic identity. Individuals who are forced to define and label themselves in such a way have been found to have lower self-esteem and higher anxiety. Second, hypodescent labeling suggests that culture and ethnicity are transmitted through “bloodlines.” One approach to racial/ethnic labeling is for institutions to allow individuals to choose several racial/ethnic labels.

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See Also: African American Categorization (Essay); Age Distribution (Essay); Alaska Native Categorization (Essay); American Indian Categorization (Essay); Asian American Categorization (Essay).

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Language Brokers

“Language brokers” are children of foreign-born parents, many of whom are the first members of their family to attend U.S. schools and learn English. Their parents often rely on these children to interpret and translate for them in a variety of situations. In acting as language brokers, these children play a linguistic intermediary role between their non-English-speaking parents and English speakers of U.S. society.

Children serving as language brokers can be found among all language minority immigrant groups. In addition, language brokering is prevalent in Europe and other countries experiencing an influx of immigrants. Through the schooling children receive in the host country, they also become familiar with the new culture and therefore serve as cultural brokers as well as language brokers. That is, in addition to translating and interpreting, they help their parents and family to understand U.S. culture and society.

Children who serve as language brokers have always been a part of the settlement and acculturation experience of immigrants coming to the United States. The millions of eastern and southern European immigrants who came to this country between 1892 and 1915 relied on their U.S.-schooled children to help navigate American society. Despite their important role in family adaptation to American society, they were overlooked in the behavioral science research on immigrants of this era, which focused on adults. Only in the last 15 years has research on children as language brokers emerged in the scientific literature on immigrants.

The majority of this research has focused on two multinational groups: Asian Americans and Latino Americans. Since language brokering has only recently gained public attention, it is often perceived as a uniquely Asian and Latino cultural practice, rather than as a shared experience among all immigrant groups coming to the United States since English became the dominant societal language. For persons of Mexican descent, language brokering takes on a unique historical significance in the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. In 1519, in Mexico, a 14-year-old Indian girl named Malintzin, or Malinche, was presented to the Spaniards as a gift. Adept at learning languages, she became a translator for

Hernán Cortés, giving him valuable insights into the culture and mythology of the Aztec, which he exploited and used to defeat them in 1521. Today, in Oaxaca, Mexico, some indigenous children educated in Mexican public schools serve as language brokers between their Zapotec-speaking parents and Spanish-speaking Mexicans.

Who Are Language Brokers?

The age at which children begin language brokering varies depending on whom you ask. Age 10 is often reported by language brokers as their earliest recollection of this activity. Parents and teachers, however, report children language brokering as early as age five or younger. At this young age, parents rely on children for simple translations when older language-brokering siblings are not available. English monolingual teachers rely on young language brokers to help them communicate with children in their classrooms who do not speak English. Most research on language brokering, however, involves adolescent and college samples.

An intriguing question is how children become language brokers. The obvious answer is that parents choose the oldest child for this responsibility. This is often the case, but not always. In Asian and Latino cultures, the oldest child usually has more responsibility than younger siblings, thus making him or her the likely choice to assign the role of primary language broker for the family. However, younger children are just as likely to become the family's primary language broker. Some contend that this happens when younger children exhibit more aptitude for language brokering, such as greater bilingual proficiency, self-confidence, and motivation to serve in the role of language broker.

In some cases, older children may have been born outside the United States and brought to this country after some years of schooling in their native country. Although proficient in their native language, they enter American schools without any knowledge of English. They may temporarily assume the role of language broker. However, their younger siblings, who begin their schooling in the United States, grow up hearing and speaking some English before entering school and are immersed in English thereafter. With time, the younger siblings' early familiarity with English may motivate parents to assign them responsibility as the

family's primary language broker. It has also been proposed that in families with multiple children, parents simply pick the brightest child to serve as the language broker.

In some families, all children have some responsibility for serving as language brokers at one time or another. For Latinos, this is more often the case in those parts of the country where there are few, if any, Spanish-language resources. The 2010 census showed a dramatic growth of Latinos in the south (57 percent), midwest (49 percent), and northeast (33 percent). These areas of the country represent relatively new settlement sites for Latinos, and as such do not have familiar cultural resources, such as historically long-standing Latino communities in the southwest and northeast. Because these new settlement areas are devoid of Spanish-speaking resources, parents must rely even more on children to serve as language brokers. In these situations, having multiple language brokers in the family is a valuable asset.

In Latino families with male and female children, there is a cultural tendency for language brokering to become a gendered activity. That is, regardless of birth order, girls become the primary language brokers. This has been attributed to the gender role socialization of girls in Latino culture, which engenders the expectation that they will be emotionally closer and more spatially accessible to their parents than boys. This emotional and physical propinquity makes it more convenient for parents to call upon girls to serve as language brokers. Boys, on the other hand, have more liberty to distance themselves from parents, therefore decreasing their parents' reliance on them as language brokers. This gendered family dynamic has implications for how Latino girls and boys adjust to their role as language brokers.

Language brokering involves much more than being bilingual. Unencumbered bilingual individuals are usually free to use their dual language skills at their own convenience and for their own purposes. Language brokers, however, speak on behalf of others. For the most part, they do not select the people, places, or things that will require their bilingual translating and interpreting skills. Moreover, they must interpret in the moment, often involving adults with more power, and with conflicting viewpoints. In these situations, they are sometimes expected to express themselves

with the same emotional gesturing and vocal tone as the adult speakers are conveying to each other.

At all times, however, Latino children are expected to be respectful of parents and not make them feel belittled because they do not speak English. This means children may adopt nonverbal gestures and posturing to convey messages to parents in order to avoid having to outright tell the parent something that might come across as disrespectful. In fact, it has been theorized that over time, the parent and child learn to act as a team, with the goal of presenting the parent in the best possible light in order to achieve a desired goal.

Mental Health

A popular assumption is that language brokering is bad for children because it creates a role reversal in parent-child relationships, and burdens children with stress that can produce long-standing psychological impairment, such as depression. Individuals having no firsthand knowledge of the settlement challenges faced by immigrants sometimes hold such assumptions. From their perspective, it seems abusive to have children do what parents should be doing for themselves. However, when viewed from the perspective of Latino and Asian immigrants, language brokering represents one of several ways in which children can fulfill the cultural expectation of family obligation.

In the case of Latinos, family obligation is instilled in socialization through the values of *familismo* (familism) and *respeto* (respect). These values hold that the interests of one's family come first, and that parents are shown respect in all situations. Within this cultural context, which is strongest in immigrant families, children and parents see language brokering as a way of fulfilling family obligation. Children's perception that they are successfully meeting an important family value may mitigate the stress associated with language brokering. In addition, assisting parents through language brokering demonstrates respect for them rather than a role reversal usurping their authority.

Adherence to a group's cultural values carries with it an identity with the group. Not surprisingly, therefore, among Latinos and Asians, language brokering is associated with a stronger ethnic identity. Research shows that a strong ethnic identity among people of color buffers the deleterious

effects of discrimination and increases self-esteem. Among Mexican Americans, language brokering is also positively related with biculturalism and social self-efficacy. Biculturalism is having the cultural competencies to successfully interact in two distinct cultural groups. Social self-efficacy refers to a personal belief that one can get people to agree with you. Also for Mexican Americans, doing more language brokering is associated with obtaining a higher high school grade point average (GPA). In particular, it has been shown that the more places where one language brokers, the higher the GPA. Having to language broker in more distinct places creates opportunities and challenges to develop new vocabularies connected with these settings. Thus, the vocabularies and knowledge created in these different settings may carry over into the classroom and facilitate classroom learning.

Given the developmentally precocious circumstances under which these new vocabularies and knowledge are acquired, it has been suggested that language brokers should be considered gifted, in the same way as other children showing advanced cognitive development.

Multidimensionality

The association between the places where children interpret and translate and their high school GPAs underscores the complexity of language brokering. Simply asking children if they interpret or translate for others is not sufficient to establish that they are language brokers. Some children may only translate notes from school or interpret phone messages at home. Regrettably, the research literature is becoming saturated with studies using only a single question to assess language brokering: Do you ever interpret or translate for your parents?

Given the inadequate assessment of language brokering in single-question studies, it is not surprising that the results of such studies are mixed and inconclusive. The findings showing more biculturalism, social self-efficacy, and higher GPAs are based on multidimensional research instruments incorporating persons, places, and things in the assessment of language brokering. Those interested in language brokering should critically assess how this multidimensional construct is being measured and interpreted.

In addition to persons, places, and things, language brokering also involves an emotional

component relating to one's feelings about translating and interpreting for parents and others. How individuals feel about their language brokering experiences has been shown to affect their relationship to parents and their own psychological well-being. Chinese American and Mexican American children who feel positively about their language brokering experiences report a stronger parent-child bond. In addition, children who feel better about language brokering report less depression.

The psychological literature consistently shows that a positive parent-child relationship buffers children from the effects of adversities in their family and community, such as economic hardship. This same family dynamic appears operative in homes where children feel good about language brokering. In these situations, children feel a strong bond to their parents, which in turn mitigates stress associated with language brokering.

In Asian and Latino immigrant families, children may feel personal satisfaction knowing they fulfill their family obligation by language brokering for parents. This satisfaction, along with the awareness of their parents' sacrifices revealed through their language brokering experiences with them, increases children's emotional bonds with parents. This emotional bond, in turn, dissipates the potential stress and depression associated with language brokering. As previously noted, girls language broker more over time than boys in Latino families, perhaps because of differing gender role expectations. Not surprisingly, therefore, it has been shown that adolescent Latino boys who language broker for more people report more depression than girls. Without strong parental support, boys may be more prone to the consequences of stress associated with language brokering.

Future research should attempt to discover how parents feel about their children's language brokering, and how they express their satisfaction with their children's contribution to the family. It is also important to understand how children come to perceive that parents either do, or do not, appreciate their language brokering services, because this has serious implications for their psychological well-being.

Lifelong Roles

A growing body of literature indicates that for many individuals, language brokering represents

a family role that is carried into adulthood, even after they leave home and begin their own families. The parent-child bond formed in the earlier years of language brokering may create a personal relationship going beyond the domain of language. Perhaps because of their children's deeper knowledge of American culture in its many manifestations in business, health care, and other areas, parents come to depend on them to continue serving as advisors through their roles as language brokers.

Even after parents learn enough English to satisfactorily navigate American society, many young adults report they continue to respond to their parents' requests to interpret and translate for them. Results of recent research with college students of many nationalities who continue serving as language brokers indicates that this does not have an adverse effect on their psychological well-being.

The children of immigrants have been invisible agents in helping their parents and families adjust to life in the United States. The growing body of research on children as language brokers is at last giving these children the recognition they deserve.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Bilingual Education; Bilingualism; Ethnicity.

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Language Usage in the United States

Although English is not de jure the official language of the United States, it is de facto the language spoken by the majority of Americans and is used in all public domains. At the same time, the languages of the indigenous population, settlers other than the British, enslaved people, and immigrants are also broadly spoken in the United States. The territory that was to become the United States was teeming with languages prior to 1776. At the time of the European encroachment, there were upward of two million Native Americans, speaking over 300 languages, north of what is today Mexico. Conflict and warfare with the colonizers, and the disease they brought, decimated the Native American population.

By 1868, the Indian Peace Commission recommended that “their barbarous dialects” be “blotted out.” Indigenous children were removed from their parents and were put in boarding schools, where instruction would be only in English. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, today there are only 373,949 speakers of Native American

languages. The rich linguistic diversity of Native Americans has also been greatly reduced. The 300 Native American languages that were spoken in what is today the United States had been reduced to 133 by 2010. Today, 46 percent of Native Americans speak Navajo, and only the languages Yupik, Dakota, Apache, Keres, and Cherokee have more than 10,000 speakers. Only 7 percent of the Native American population is now bilingual, and most Native Americans today speak only English.

The same story of linguistic decimation can be told about the languages of people who were enslaved. From the early decades of the 18th century until the end of the Civil War in 1865, over 12 million Africans, speaking many African languages as well as Arabic, were enslaved and brought to the United States. The policy of separating Africans who were able to communicate with each other resulted in a gradual shift to English. Today, some African Americans show, in their speech, features that some attribute to a process of “decreolization.” That is, what is often described as African American English Vernacular, or Ebonics, consists of a substratum of features that some argue come from African languages. However, African Americans today are, for the most part, English monolingual, although many are bidialectal. If Native American languages have significantly shrunk, the languages of the African people who were enslaved were simply wiped out totally, with only traces of features remaining in the speech of some.

The early white European colonizers and settlers brought with them many other languages besides English, especially Spanish, French, and Dutch, but also Danish, German, and Swedish. Spanish was spoken in Florida, Las Californias, and Santa Fe de Nuevo Mexico; French was spoken in Louisiana; Dutch was spoken in New Netherlands (New York); and Swedish was spoken in New Sweden (Delaware). From the 18th century on, Germans settled especially in Pennsylvania, where by 1830, one-third of the white population was of German descent. The first U.S. census, taken in 1790, showed that 25 percent of the white population spoke languages other than English.

German was so strong during the 18th century that the Continental Congress (1774–79) published

its legislative documents in German. By 1776, there was a sizable network of German medium schools in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and these continued to grow until the late 19th century. When Germany became the enemy during World War I, the teaching of German became severely restricted. The rich network of German institutional resources, including the large network of German newspapers, became extinct, as German speakers started to shift toward English only.

When Louisiana was purchased from the French in 1803, French speakers were the majority in Louisiana, and schools were bilingual. Although the first four Louisiana constitutions stipulated the promulgation in French and English of laws and public records, the 1921 Louisiana Constitution was silent on French and required that all public schools teach in English.

Spanish, spoken by original settlers, endured the same fate as German and French. Spanish was originally used in legislation, education, and the press in the territories that came to be part of the United States as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) that ended the Mexican-American War. For example, when California became a state in 1850, all the laws and regulations were published in English and Spanish. But only five years later, in 1855, the publication of state laws in Spanish was suspended. The same occurred when the territory of New Mexico was added to the Union in 1850. In 1874, 70 percent of schools in New Mexico were in Spanish, and 5 percent were in English only. By 1889, 42 percent of schools were in English only, and 30 percent were in Spanish.

Between 1890 and 1930, 16 million immigrants entered the United States, speaking, beyond German, many dialects and languages, including Italian, Yiddish, Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Polish, and Finnish. The immigrants were not only white Protestants as in the past, but also included Jews, Catholic Italians, and Irish. These immigrants were often seen as nonwhites. The forceful “blotting out” of languages, as was done with Native Americans and enslaved peoples in the past, was not appropriate at a time in which workers were needed as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The melting pot mechanism came into full force to encourage linguistic and cultural assimilation.

Melting Pot and Cultural Pluralism

In 1908, Israel Zangwill inaugurated his play *The Melting Pot*, about the forced assimilation of European immigrants. This ideology dominated the first quarter of the 20th century. Theodore Roosevelt stated in 1915: “There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americans. . . . We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language.” The great Americanization campaign, with its emphasis on the cultural and linguistic assimilation of immigrants, was on its way. The isolationism and nationalism that surrounded the United States between the world wars, coupled with the increased anti-immigrant, xenophobic sentiments, meant that public schools took a leading role in stamping out languages other than English, requiring that students shift to all English. By 1923, regulations requiring that English be the sole language of instruction in U.S. schools had been adopted by 34 states.

The turning point in the legal restriction of instruction in languages other than English occurred in 1923, when, in *Meyer v. Nebraska*, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a 1919 Nebraska statute that restricted the teaching of languages other than English. With this important decision, the Court extended the protection of the Constitution to all who spoke languages other than English, and concluded that the learning of English could not be coerced. The tide was now turning to support cultural pluralism.

A more tolerant attitude toward languages other than English and bilingualism accompanied the cultural pluralism championed by Horace Kallen, who in 1915 critiqued assimilationist theory and proposed that language and cultural differences must exist side-by-side. During this time, supplementary bilingual community schools were organized by the Chinese, Japanese, Greek, and Jewish communities. But World War II brought back a xenophobic atmosphere, especially with the imprisonment of Japanese Americans, some Nisei (U.S.-born Japanese), in concentration camps. It wasn’t until the era of civil rights that languages other than English were once again tolerated in the United States.

Civil Rights Era and Beyond

By the 1960s, Native Americans, African Americans, and those of immigrant descent were

speaking mostly English. Among the foreign born, German and Italian were the two largest spoken languages. Spanish was a distant third. Throughout the 20th century, the National Origins Act of 1924 (also known as the Johnson-Reed Act) had limited the number of immigrants who could be admitted from any country to 2 percent of the number of people from that country who were already living in the United States in 1890, guaranteeing white immigration.

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Spanish speakers, mostly from Mexico but also from Cuba and Puerto Rico after the end of the Spanish-American War, joined the Spanish-speaking descendants of those who had been incorporated into the United States in 1848. Once the Great Depression and World War II ended, laborers were needed. In 1942, the Bracero program started bringing Spanish-speaking Mexican temporary contract laborers to the southwest. Puerto Ricans, U.S. citizens since the Jones Act of 1917, came to New York in great numbers with the advent of air travel in the 1950s. U.S. Spanish was largely spoken in poor Mexican and Puerto Rican enclaves when the civil rights era began.

Different forces combined to promote a more tolerant attitude toward U.S. bilingualism. In 1957, the Russians launched Sputnik. As a result, the following year, the National Defense Education Act was passed, increasing funding for the study of “foreign languages.” Shortly afterward, Joshua A. Fishman published *Language Loyalty in the U.S.*, reminding the nation of the many language resources that existed in ethnic communities. At the same time, the civil rights era was in full swing, addressing the restriction of civil and educational rights of minorities, especially those of African Americans, Native Americans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans.

Around this time, Cuban exiles from the Fidel Castro government started to arrive in Miami in great numbers. As exiles from a communist government that the U.S. government considered “dangerous,” they were given a warm welcome. In 1963, a two-way bilingual education program was established in Miami, a way to ensure that Cuban children would continue to develop Spanish literacy while developing English. The increased presence and educational failure of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in the

nation’s schools, coupled with the success of bilingual education programs educating Spanish speakers not only in Miami but also in Texas, California, and Arizona, led to a new tolerance toward the use of languages other than English in bilingual instruction.

In 1968, the federal government passed Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, supporting bilingual education as a way to improve the education of poor language minorities, especially of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. The Bilingual Education Act, as Title VII was known, provided financial assistance to school districts that wanted to develop bilingual programs. In its first reauthorization, in 1974, bilingual education was defined as transitional, and the use of languages other than English was restricted only to while students were learning English. Title VII was reauthorized five times before 2001, when No Child Left Behind replaced the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The judicial system joined the legislative branch in upholding the rights of students who did not speak English to have a meaningful education. In 1974, in *Lau v. Nichols*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that something had to be done to educate students who didn’t speak English. This ruling was supported in *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981), when the Fifth Appeals Circuit Court said that schools must take “appropriate action” to educate those who didn’t speak English, and that such action must be based on sound educational theory and produce results.

The tolerance toward bilingualism was not long lived. In 1981, Senator Samuel Hayakawa introduced the first constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States. Although those efforts at the federal level have been abandoned, 28 states had passed English-only laws as of 2012. The backlash against bilingualism in education has also been felt. California (1998), Arizona (2000), and Massachusetts (2002) passed laws restricting bilingual education programs.

At the same time, the linguistic complexity of the United States had begun to change by the end of the 20th century. The Immigration and Naturalization Services Act of 1965 (also known as the Hart-Celler Act or INS Act of 1965) abolished the immigration quotas that had been in effect since

1924. As a result, immigrants from many countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa started to come in large numbers. Despite renewed restrictions toward bilingualism, approximately 20 to 25 percent of the U.S. population has always spoken languages other than English. That is still the sociolinguistic situation today, although the linguistic heterogeneity has never been greater.

U.S. Bilingualism and Multilingualism Today

In 2010, 55,076,078 people spoke languages other than English in the United States. That accounts for 20 percent of the total U.S. population. The language most spoken in the United States other than English is Spanish—62 percent of people speak Spanish, 19 percent other Indo-European languages, 15 percent Asian and Pacific Island languages, and 4 percent other languages. Although the negative attitudes toward bilingualism have resulted in lots of attention to a lack of English facility, most Americans who speak languages other than English are bilingual. Only 8 percent of those who speak languages other than English at home do so because they do not speak English, and over half (56 percent) speak English very well, with over three-fourths (76 percent) speaking English well or very well.

Although bilingualism is the mark of most Americans who speak languages other than English at home, not all groups exhibit the same degrees of bilingualism. Americans who speak Indo-European languages are the most bilingual. For example, even though only 3 percent of those who speak Indo-European languages claim not to speak English at all, 11 percent of those who speak Spanish and 5 percent of those who speak Asian languages are not bilingual. Also, 67 percent of those who speak Indo-European languages claim to speak English very well, in contrast to 53 percent of Spanish speakers and 51 percent of Chinese speakers.

Reporting languages according to the four language groups used by the U.S. Census masks the rich language resources in the United States. Besides English, of the 15 most-spoken U.S. languages today, less than half are European languages. Five languages—German, Italian, Polish, Spanish, and French—were among the six most important languages spoken in 1940. However, the order has changed significantly. Whereas

German was the numerically strongest language in 1940, followed by Italian, German is now in sixth place, and Italian is in ninth place. In contrast to European languages, Asian languages have significantly increased since 1940.

Although no Asian language figured among the 20 most-spoken languages other than English in the United States in 1940, today, Chinese occupies second place; Tagalog and Vietnamese are among the first five predominant U.S. languages; and Korean, Hindi, and Japanese figure among the first 15. Arabic, which was not even counted in 1940, is now in 10th place. French Creole, a non-dominant language in the world, is now among the United States' most important 15 languages. The United States is today among the richest linguistic landscapes in the world, with language groups that rarely interact on a daily basis.

This linguistic richness becomes even more prevalent considering the next 25 most spoken U.S. languages, spoken by over 100,000 people. U.S. speakers of these familiar U.S. languages hail not only from Europe and from Asia, as did those of the first 15 U.S. languages, but now also include people and languages of the Middle East, Africa, and an indigenous Native American language. In addition, the presence of Pennsylvania Dutch, a language that came to be in the United States as a result of the large immigration to Pennsylvania of people from Germany and Switzerland in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, is indicative of the linguistic resourcefulness of the United States.

The United States ranks fifth in the world in linguistic diversity. According to the 16th edition of *Ethnologue*, published in 2009, there were a total of 364 languages in the United States. Only Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, Nigeria, and India have a greater number of languages. The United States also has the most immigrant languages in the world, by far. *Ethnologue* reports 188 immigrant languages in the United States. Canada, which ranks second in terms of immigrant languages, has 83. Canada is followed by Australia, the United Kingdom, and the Russian Federation.

Even when indigenous languages are considered, the United States is well endowed. The 176 U.S. indigenous languages are no match for the 830 in Papua New Guinea, but the United States ranks 10th in the world in the number of indigenous languages. There is a mismatch in the United

States between the linguistic culture, which is greatly multilingual, and an implicit language policy that favors English monolingualism.

U.S. Bilingualism in the Future

Despite the rich linguistic resources in the United States, U.S. society continues to be suspicious of bilingualism. Despite the call for attention to critical languages, especially by the U.S. Department of Defense, languages other than English are only marginally taught in the United States. But the situation is different today. Although immigrants to the United States in the past shifted to English within three generations, the situation is not the same today.

Globalization and technology have brought citizens of the world closer together. Languages are no longer spoken in isolated national territories, but diasporic communities are using their language resources flexibly and simultaneously, the result of increasingly transnational lives.

Although in the past, bilingualism was conceived as two separate languages and bilinguals were viewed as two persons in one, today bilingualism is understood as dynamic, not simply additive. Bilingualism is not the sum of two whole parts, but the dynamic and flexible use of language practices that may have been socially defined as two languages, but that bilinguals experience and process as features of their complex grammar.

To speak about these more complex bilingual practices, scholars increasingly speak of translanguaging, and not simply of code-switching, which implies a change of language codes. Translanguaging refers to the complex bilingual discourse norm in which language practices socially assigned to separate languages are fluidly used by bilinguals.

With the increased movement of people spurred by globalization, language use among people in the United States does not consist of a single monolingual language standard, whether “English” or a “heritage” language. Bilingual Americans are increasingly the norm, able to use language bilinearly, to translanguaging, as they construct a U.S. multilingual and multicultural identity.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Bilingualism; English as a Second Language Education; English Language: Ethnic and Regional Variations; English-Language Learners.

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Laotian Americans

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, there are 232,130 Laotian Americans, although national Laotian American organizations estimate there are at least 100,000 more. The discrepancy may be due in part to ethnic Chinese or Vietnamese Americans from Laos identifying as Chinese or Vietnamese Americans on the census form, and the tendency of Hmong and Yao people from Laos to disclaim the Laotian identity. The word *Laotian* is used broadly to refer to national origin; the Lao people are the largest ethnic group in Laos. Laos is a landlocked country in southeast Asia that was formerly a French protectorate. A lengthy civil war after independence in 1953 ended with the victory of the communist faction, which remained in power in 2012.

Most early Laotian immigrants arrived in the United States as “boat people”—refugees fleeing

the country en masse by boat—in the 1970s and 1980s, many of them having first fled to refugee camps in Thailand during the civil war or in its immediate aftermath. By 1980, the Laotian American population was just under 50,000. Many settled on the west coast, in California, Washington, and Oregon.

The Laotian population is very well distributed, with significant communities in Minnesota; Texas; Illinois; Wisconsin; Kansas; Virginia and the Washington, D.C., area; New York and New Jersey; Ohio; Oklahoma; Iowa; Utah; Colorado; Florida; Delaware; North Carolina; Michigan; Alabama; Louisiana; and all of New England. The largest communities are in Wausau, Wisconsin (the Hmong are 11 percent of the population, the largest ethnic minority); the San Francisco area; Sacramento; Seattle; Minneapolis; Dallas; San Diego; Fresno; Providence; Elgin, Illinois; and Los Angeles. The federal government continues to assist with the resettlement of refugees.

Laotian Americans face particular health concerns, including one of the highest teen pregnancy rates in the country and an epidemic of lung cancer, which kills 87 percent of Laotian American men. Laotian Americans are the number one carriers of the Hepatitis B virus, an inflammatory liver disease transmitted by body fluids, in the United States. Though Hepatitis B rarely leads to death, chronic Hepatitis B leads to liver cancer, the second-highest cause of death among Laotian Americans.

The Laotian American National Association (LANA) is a nonprofit organization that was founded in 1999, growing out of talks at the 1997 National Association for the Education and Advancement of Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese. LANA is principally an organization for distributing information to the Laotian community, facilitating professional and social networking while disseminating information about relevant government policy and legislative actions



The largest Laotian cultural festival is the celebration of the Lao New Year. It takes place in April, with vendors, food, music, and dance. These dancers are in Lao traditional garb. The Lao New Year is the most widely celebrated festival in Laos and is also celebrated in the United States, Canada, France, and Australia. The U.S. Census reported 232,130 people identifying as Laotian Americans in 2010.

and other community concerns. It represents the interests of the Laotian American people in coalitions with other immigrant groups, civil rights groups, and Asian American organizations.

The goal of LANA is to prevent or correct the marginalization of the Laotian people in the United States. LANA hosts the Laotian American National Conference. The first of these conferences was held in 2010, and panels included discussions of Hepatitis B and other health concerns for the Laotian American community, oral history, Laotian culture, and education. Fund-raising was another area of concern at the conference, as LANA provides financial assistance and other services to Laotian Americans.

LANA is also one of the organizations that hosts the International Lao New Year Festival, the United States' largest Laotian cultural festival. The Lao New Year is celebrated in April, with vendors, food, music, dance, the Miss Lao International Pageant, and an awards ceremony. In 2010, LANA also participated in the Smithsonian Folk Life Festival, on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., arranging an exposition of Laotian cultural heritage and traditions.

In San Francisco, the Southeast Asian Arts and Culture Coalition hosts a Mid-Autumn Harvest Festival in which the Laotian community is involved, along with Vietnamese, Burmese, Filipino, and Thai organizations. The festival features food, an ethnic fashion show, and southeast Asian arts, with the intent of educating the public about the heritage of San Francisco's southeast Asian community.

Other major Laotian American cultural organizations include the Lao American Women Association (founded in 1995 in Virginia), the Laotian American Society, the Lao Association of Connecticut, the Laotian American Museum in San Diego, Legacies of War, the Lao American Community Services, Lao Community Cultural Center of San Diego, the Khmu National Federation, the Merced Lao Family Community, the Lao Family of Stockton, the Lao Family Community of Minnesota, and the Lao Family Community Development Inc. Among the services these organizations offer are language and culture classes, scholarships, financial assistance, guidance for refugees, help in finding employment, and social networking. A Laotian American magazine, *Lao*

Roots, began publishing in 2007, in English. Aimed mainly at younger Laotian Americans, it ceased publication but was succeeded by the online LaoAmericans.com.

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See Also: Boat People; Cambodian Americans; Korean Americans; Thai Americans; Vietnamese Americans.

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Last of the Mohicans, The

The Last of the Mohicans (1826) is James Fenimore Cooper's most famous and influential novel. A historical romance, the story concerns the abduction and rescue of two white women in the wilderness of upstate New York during the French and Indian War (1754–63). The captives are the fair Alice and the dark Cora, daughters of the English Colonel Munro, who battles the French and their Indian allies in colonial America.

Violent, the novel is replete with multiple tomahawkings, scalplings, and shootings, highlighting the dangerous wartime and wilderness environment. The rescuer in this story is the skillful frontiersman called Hawkeye, a white man living in the forest, whose dramatic wilderness exploits would give rise to future frontier heroes in American culture such as Davy Crockett and other rugged individualists who shun civilization.

Hawkeye lives in harmony with nature and natives. He praises the beauty of the forest and is saddened by its disappearance because of the encroachment of white civilization. Hawkeye laments the disappearance of the indigenous population and praises the inhabitants of the forest, namely his friends Chingachgook and his son Uncas, the last of the Mohicans. Cooper presents a sympathetic portrayal of Chingachgook, Uncas, and other selected Native Americans. However, Cooper is careful to portray the good Indian with the bad, and Magua fulfills the role of the evil Indian. Magua causes mayhem and abducts the Munro sisters. Magua, however, is ultimately foiled in his evil designs by the ever-present and resourceful Hawkeye, his two Indian companions, Major Duncan Heyward, and psalmodist David Gamut, the last two representing courageous, albeit inept, colonists in the woods.

Cooper praises the Indians in an early salute to the noble savage concept. Natives are not dehumanized as in early American literature, namely colonial captivity narratives, which portrayed Native Americans as a monolithic block of evil. Cooper individualizes the Indian, and the protagonist states that whites can learn from Native Americans. More provocative is Hawkeye's assertion that the heaven of the red man and the white man is the same, a bold statement for early-19th-century America.

In addition, purity of blood is not an issue to Native Americans, who welcomed interracial unions. Hawkeye, however, constantly adds the racial disclaimer that he is a man without a cross, meaning that he is white with no admixture of Indian blood. The text presents an interesting paradox, with Hawkeye praising the red man but emphasizing his—and others'—whiteness. This motif is reinforced by the dark countenance of Cora, a white woman of mixed racial identity. The text later reveals that her mother, Colonel Munro's first wife, since deceased, had lived in the West Indies and had black ancestry.

Cora falls in love with Uncas, who reciprocates the feeling. However, both die, suffering the tragic fate of doomed love, which provides several societal and racial implications. Cora is cast as the tragic mulatta and her death implies the non-viability of miscegenation within the new American

republic. And the death of Uncas—the last of the Mohicans—portends the doom of overall Native American society. To further the point, the fair Alice, who is the offspring of her father's second marriage, to a Scottish woman, is white and of unmixed blood. She and Major Heyward marry to live the proverbial happily ever after, implying continuation of the white race.

Cooper's ambiguity regarding race, however, does not extend to the wilderness. The novel foregrounds the vast and dramatic northeastern landscape of America. The text is full of descriptions of thick forests, dense thickets, secret caves, steep mountains, magnificent waterfalls, and fast rivers. Despite the wartime environment, the wilderness is described in romantic terms. It is majestic and grand and, in some ways, parallels the portrayal of Native Americans. *The Last of the Mohicans* presents an almost nostalgic view of a threatened environment, its primal mystery and beauty fading away before the relentless onslaught of Western civilization.

Cooper would go on to write a total of five novels with Hawkeye as the protagonist (under various names, but most notably Natty Bumppo) in various frontier escapades during different phases of his life, but *The Last of the Mohicans* was Cooper's most popular novel. The entire collection came to be known as the Leatherstocking Tales, leatherstockings being the hide of animals used by Indians and frontiersmen to cover the legs.

The Last of the Mohicans enjoyed tremendous success, with its exciting cycle of capture-rescue-escape involving Cora, Alice, Hawkeye, and his Indian companions in a frenetic series of wilderness adventures. However, the text and Cooper have fallen out of favor with modern audiences: stilted language, obsolete worldviews, and changed reader perspectives have marginalized Cooper and his most famous work. They are no longer part of the current American literary canon. Despite its decline, *The Last of the Mohicans* was a significant force in the early 19th and 20th centuries in helping shape the views of a young republic regarding race and wilderness.

The text gained a new lease on life in cinematic form. The movie version (1992), loosely based on Cooper's novel and an earlier 1936 film, was a commercial success. Its modern treatment of race and ethnicity is one of several changes from

the text. The opening scenes show an acceptance of red man and white as they dine together in a frontier cabin. Later, the movie depicts a friendly lacrosse game with Indians and colonists. The bonhomie and harmony among the races are evident in the frontier, at least until the start of the war. Also, in contrast to Cooper's text is the strong romantic link between Cora and Hawkeye (usually called the Scout). Cora's mixed race is never mentioned, and the end of the film suggests that they live happily ever after in frontier bliss.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; French and Indian War; Miscegenation; Mulatto; Native Americans; Race Mixture in the United States.

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Latinos

At 50 million plus, Latinos are the largest minority group in the United States. After decades of growth through migration and natural births, Latinos surpassed African Americans. If estimated census projections are correct, by 2050, Latinos will reach 132 million and will far surpass African Americans or Asians as the largest minority ethnic group. Only non-Hispanic whites will be a larger percentage of the U.S. population than Latinos. For a society that attempts to hold on to its view as a homogenous population, Latinos add a new dimension to racial identity in the United States.

Latinos do not neatly fit into one racial category; rather, they have tremendous diversity.

Latinos are a racially mixed group. Because of centuries of colonization by Spaniards, Latinos are very light skinned and also dark skinned. The Spaniards who invaded Mexico, and later Latin America, had sexual relationships with the indigenous women with whom they came into contact. Mestizos are the combined Spanish and indigenous Native American population. The importation of slaves from Africa further added to racial mixing. Today, Latin America is racially mixed. Latinos who have migrated to the United States or who are now several generations into settlement add to the complex racial hierarchy.

Multiple Identities

The term *Latino*, like other forms of ethnic identity, has multiple meanings. The term also has multiple definitions and possible origins. The most commonly agreed definition suggests it refers to people with Latin American origins. However, it can also take into account those individuals who may have come from Spain or Portugal. Generally speaking, "Latinos" refers to Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, El Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Costa Ricans, Colombians, Argentine, Spaniards, and Chileans.

The term *Latino* is also confused with the term *Hispanic*. It is not unusual to see both terms used to describe the same group. The popular media tend to use the term *Hispanic*, rather than *Latino*. Even competing magazines attempt to draw interest among readers using either "Latino" or "Hispanic" in their magazine titles.

A survey conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center found that the term *Latino* or *Hispanic* is not used exclusively. According to the survey results, only 24 percent of Latinos or Hispanics identify with either term. In short, Latino and Hispanic are complex concepts and any attempt at making either a definitive form of identity is problematic.

For non-Latinos, the term is even more confusing. However, there is tremendous diversity among Latinos. The diversity of Latinos can be by area of settlement, social class, racial features, or identity. For example, the difficulty of only using one form of identity dilutes the comparative differences. Researchers who examine Latinos can make similar mistakes. Rather than accounting for the differences among Latinos, lumping them into one category results in limited

research conclusions. Accounting for diversity helps define how Latinos are different than other racial or ethnic groups.

Demographics and Latinos

The term *Latino* is becoming one form of identity used to describe the growing population of ethnic groups from Mexico and Latin America. Since 1965, the changes in the immigration laws of the United States have increased the number of migrants from Mexico and Latin America. Also, immigration has surged because of economic development in Mexico and Latin America. Mexico and Brazil are among the leaders of Latin American countries rapidly industrializing. One of the results of industrialization has been increased population growth. Because of the lack of well-paying jobs, which does not match the population surge, out-migration for Latino immigrants led to settlement throughout the United States. Now, all 50 U.S. states have a Latino presence.

The U.S. Census estimates that there are more than 50 million Latinos in the United States. Not included in the census figure are an estimated 6 million undocumented immigrants from Mexico. Through increased social networks, Latinos from Mexico and Latin America continue to move north to find opportunities not available in their countries. Further increasing the population growth of Latinos was the passage of IRCA (Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986). Despite its passage, after only a few years, the number of undocumented immigrants began to increase again.

IRCA was proposed as a means to control the flow of undocumented immigrants, but critics argued that it only temporarily slowed the flow. Mexico, for example, was unable to compete with the foreign importing of products from the United States following the passage of NAFTA on January 1, 1994 (North American Free Trade Agreement). This forced Mexicans to consider the alternative, to migrate north to find employment. Transnational migration for Mexicans has been a method of survival. Entire communities have been seen abandoned in Mexico and have reappeared in the United States. The social networks created by the flow of Mexican immigrants have led to the long-term migration and settlement of Mexican immigrants. Ultimately, Mexican

immigrants add to the growing Latino population in the United States.

Subgroups of Latinos

People of Mexican origin make up the largest group of Latinos in the United States. At 30 million, Mexicans or Mexican Americans make up the largest subgroup of Latinos. Originally settled in the southwest, northwest, and midwest, they have recently settled in the northeast and south.

After 1848, many Mexicans became U.S. citizens. The United States acquired half of the northern territory of Mexico, and the entire southwest became part of the United States. Following the end of the Mexican-American War, there was not a significant number of Mexicans populating the southwest. Not until the connection of the southwest through the development of the railroads from Mexico did Mexicans begin to migrate north.

By the early 20th century, Mexican immigrants were recruited north to work in the United States as contracted laborers. Immigration restrictions imposed upon southern and eastern Europeans following involvement in World War I called for strict requirements to enter. Quotas, fees, and literacy exams were enacted to deter further immigration. Mexican immigrants were exempted from strict immigration laws. Previously, in 1911, the Dillon Commission provided evidence that Mexicans were adequate workers. Mexicans were suggested to be smaller in stature than other workers, allowing them to be physically closer to the ground.

By the 1930s, the Great Depression changed the attitude toward Mexicans. Throughout the decade, Mexicans and Mexican Americans were asked to return to Mexico. Although Mexican Americans, were citizens, raids throughout communities in the southwest also targeted Mexican Americans who were repatriated back to Mexico. One estimate of the number of Mexicans and Mexican Americans sent back was 500,000.

By the early 1940s, and with the United States entering World War II, a bi-national guest worker agreement between the United States and Mexico was signed. In September 1942, the first wave of braceros arrived in Stockton, California. Although the Bracero Program was scheduled only for the duration of the war, it was extended several times before it was ended in 1964. In all, over

2.4 million braceros were contracted through the guest worker program.

Following the end of the Bracero Program, Mexicans continued to migrate through the social networks created while working as braceros. Former employers would encourage their former guest workers to return from Mexico. Letters written by employers sponsoring braceros was common. By the 1970s, the first signs of undocumented Mexican immigrants created concern that too many were in the United States. By the 1980s, the undocumented population from Mexico had reached unthinkable levels. Under the Ronald Reagan administration, an attempt to legalize the undocumented population occurred with the passage of the 1986 Immigration Act, called, IRCA (Immigration Reform and Control Act). Only two or three million undocumented immigrants were able to legalize their status. By the early 1990s, undocumented immigrants from Mexico began to surge north again.

On January 1, 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) treaty was signed between Mexico, Canada, and the United States. Supporters of the treaty argued that it would encourage employment and opportunities among the three nations. For Mexico, it created competition from the United States and all but ensured a high rate of unemployment. Few Mexicans gained from the passage of NAFTA, creating a new stream of Mexican migration north.

Currently, there are an estimated six million undocumented immigrants from Mexico in the United States. Unable to develop a comprehensive immigration reform proposal, states have turned to extreme measures to control the undocumented population. In Arizona, passage of SB 1070 has created a climate of fear among the undocumented population. Under the law, if there is a suspicion by local law officials, they can require a person to prove legal status. Critics argue that the legislation encourages racial profiling. There is a similar law in Alabama. Even though there is support for these laws, they do not ensure that undocumented immigrants will return to Mexico. Rather than risk apprehension by returning to Mexico, immigrants simply move to friendlier states.

Puerto Ricans

Since 1898, Puerto Ricans have had the benefit of commonwealth status. Following the end of the

Spanish-American War, the island of Puerto Rico became a U.S. territory. Puerto Ricans have commonwealth status, which allows them to migrate back and forth from the mainland to the island of Puerto Rico. Migration for Puerto Ricans occurred in three stages.

The first stage is known as the pioneer migration. Beginning in the first decades of the 20th century, Puerto Ricans migrated because of the low levels of income generated by the agricultural industry on the island. The second wave is the period known as Operation Bootstrap. Beginning in the late 1940s, Puerto Ricans were recruited to the mainland and the island of Hawai'i. The third stage is called circular migration, where Puerto Ricans migrate back and forth from the mainland to the island. With no immigration restrictions, Puerto Ricans have few obstacles when entering the United States.

However, commonwealth status provides only limited access to rights of citizenship that Americans take for granted. As a commonwealth people, Puerto Ricans cannot vote in a national election. As a result, they cannot vote for the president of the United States. However, unlike Mexicans, Puerto Ricans can migrate freely from the island to the mainland.

Labeled the Rainbow People, Puerto Ricans are a mixture of many racial groups. However, the average racial features of Puerto Ricans resemble those of African Americans. Their dark racial features place Puerto Ricans in the low rungs of the racial hierarchy. One theoretical explanation for the situation of Puerto Ricans is that of the underclass. Similar to African Americans, Puerto Ricans have high levels of poverty because of large numbers of families headed by single female parents, high unemployment levels, and high levels of criminal activity among young males.

The high level of poverty for Puerto Ricans resulted from the restructuring of the northeast economy, resulting in the loss of manufacturing jobs. Another plausible explanation is the economic instability caused by Puerto Ricans who migrate back and forth from the island to the mainland. The back-and-forth migration has created what some scholars argue is the instability of long-term, steady employment. For Puerto Rican women, the number of single-parent families headed by women has reached alarming levels.

Cubans

Cubans came following the Cuban Revolution and settled in the United States as political refugees. The first wave of Cuban refugees was transported to New Jersey. Eventually, Cubans would relocate to the city of Miami or Hialeah, Florida. Establishing a formable presence in south Florida, Cubans created an international city. Connecting the city to global markets has been the success story of Cubans. Sociologists have marveled at the entrepreneurship found in what they call a Cuban ethnic enclave of former Cuban refugees. Cubans have turned the city of Miami into an international city of trade and commerce. The first generation of Cuban immigrants who fled the island after the revolution remains vigilant of a free Cuba and the removal of Fidel Castro. Anti-communist sentiment is strong, but Cuba remains under the ruling revolutionary party. Undaunted, Cubans have supported conservative efforts to undermine the communist-ruled island. Cubans remained hopeful that Cuba will return to the former independent nation.

Called the most successful of Latinos, Cubans are a formidable group. Forging political power from conservative groups such as Republicans, Cubans have effectively controlled their image. Few Cubans are portrayed in the media as harshly as Mexicans or Puerto Ricans. However, recent polls indicate that younger Cubans born in the United States are taking a hard conservative stance. Few newer Cuban immigrants look to support a sponsored overthrowing of the Cuban government, in contrast to older, first-generation Cubans.

Latin Americans

By the 1980s, a surge in Central American migration, partly because of the civil unrest in countries such as El Salvador and Guatemala, led to the settlement of Central Americans in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, and Houston. Throughout the 1980s, refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala fled their countries rather than face death squads. Under the Reagan administration, the illegal funding of the Contras allowed for the overthrow of freely elected Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua. A congressional investigation of the illegal funding of military arms would lead to the imprisonment of Oliver North. Migrants from Guatemala and El

Salvador relocated to the United States, and their settlement in cities such as Los Angeles added to the diversity of what has become a Latino city with their inclusion.

Unlike previous periods, immigrants from Latin American countries are finding their way to the United States. There are growing ethnic enclaves of Colombians, Venezuelans, and Brazilians in the United States. The immigration of Latin Americans is subject to variation from country to country. Colombians come in part because of the drug wars. Brazilians have come because of the problems associated with economic development. Countries such as Chile and Argentina remain important trading partners with the United States. Venezuela has drawn considerable attention because of the leadership of President Hugo Chavez, who at times has stirred controversy, often challenging U.S. policy in the region. Chavez has gained political support for his policies by attempting to provide for the poor in Venezuela and other parts of Latin America. The future relationship between the United States and the various countries that make up Latin America will dictate continued migration from Latin America.

Conclusion

If current population predictions are correct, migration and settlement of Latinos in the United States will continue well into the current century. There will also be growth through natural birth rates because Latinos remain a relatively young population. Despite efforts to control the number of immigrants, the United States remains a destination for Latino immigrants.

Should the United States continue to increase its number of Latinos, the cultural makeup of the United States will be re-examined, as Latinos bring a diverse cultural background of Spanish language and Latino culture. Although not all Latinos are close to their culture of origin, it remains important to see how this diverse group fits into the model of Americanization. So far, signs from second- and third-generation Latinos show that they have bought into the American cultural lifestyle.

A pan-Latino identity may best describe the recent adaptation of the Latino population. Future generations of Latinos will set the stage for what is to be the continued settlement of Latinos. Unlike previous immigrant groups, Latinos are

not estimated to stop migrating north any time soon. Rather, Latinos will outpace other immigrant groups migrating into the United States. Centuries of establishing social networks between the United States and Mexico and Latin America will stimulate Latinos to increase their population in America.

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See Also: Argentine Americans; Brazilian Americans; Colombian Americans; Cuban Americans; Ecuadorian Americans; Guatemalan Americans; Honduran Americans; Mexican Americans; Nicaraguan Americans; Panamanian Americans; Salvadoran Americans; Venezuelan Americans.

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Latvian Americans

Latvia is a Baltic country in Europe, bordered by Estonia, Russia, Belarus, and Lithuania, with which it has strong cultural and linguistic ties. Mainly Protestant except for the Catholic minority in the south, Latvia has a sizable ethnic Russian population (about 27 percent, larger than all other minorities combined) and was formerly controlled by, first, the Russian Empire and, later, the Soviet Union. It declared independence in 1991 during the collapse of European Communism and today is one of the fastest-growing economies in the European Union.

There are 93,498 Latvian Americans as of the 2010 census information. The population is fairly well distributed. Large Latvian American populations are found in California, New York, Illinois, Florida, Michigan, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Maryland. Latvian immigration began very early, with Latvians settling in Massachusetts, Delaware, and Pennsylvania in the 17th century; it is very likely there are more Americans with Latvian backgrounds than realize it, for this reason alone. More Latvians arrived in 1849 in response to the Gold Rush, many of them remaining in California after the rush faded.

Larger numbers of Latvians began arriving in the country in the late 19th century, dissatisfied with the state of affairs in Latvia under the thumb of the Russian Empire. Though many of them in this period failed to congregate in sufficiently dense numbers to create enclaves, the notable exception was in Boston, where Latvians arrived in 1888 and settled in Roxbury. Other Latvians settled in major cities throughout the country, including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco.

After the failure of the 1905 revolution against Russian rule, another wave of Latvians arrived, fleeing reprisals. Many of them were former revolutionary soldiers or political opposition leaders. It was members of this wave that founded the first Latvian church in America, in Lincoln County, Wisconsin. Although Latvians are predominantly Lutheran, a well-established Latvian Baptist community formed in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

In this era, friction among the Latvian American community was a real problem—those who had arrived in the 19th century were more conservative politically than the failed revolutionaries, and political differences were a leading contributor to the breakdown of the Lincoln County Latvian community. The two groups also had different attitudes about assimilation.

Earlier-arriving Latvians put a priority on assimilation, on their children “being Americans.” This was less true of the ex-revolutionaries (as well as of the post–World War II immigrants). Some of the 1905 wave, especially the political radicals, returned to Latvia in the following decade, after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the independence of Latvia in 1918. That independence

lasted only a generation: the Soviet Union occupied and annexed Latvia after World War II, and although immigration quotas had been put in place in 1924, 40,000 Latvian refugees were allowed into the United States from 1949 to 1951 with the assistance of religious and charitable organizations.

Though many refugees were skilled workers or well-educated professionals, they faced the challenge many immigrant groups have faced: proving professional or educational credentials when moving to a new country. In many cases, no paperwork or records could be produced, because of the state of things back home or the manner in which the refugees left; in other cases, the lack of any sort of reciprocity agreement or other means of gauging the worth of a foreign credential meant that the credentials were irrelevant.

Many white-collar Latvians found themselves in blue-collar jobs, working on farms or in other manual-labor positions. Most Latvian immigrants since World War II have been college graduates. Many of them considered themselves not immigrants but Latvians living in exile with the hope of returning. Few did so, though since Latvia's 1991 independence, 9,000 Latvian Americans have declared dual citizenship. Many Latvian Americans send money home to relatives or to political or charitable organizations to help rejuvenate the young democracy.

Because Latvian Americans have mostly not settled into Latvian enclaves, they depend on cultural and social organizations to maintain their links. There are active Latvian American organizations in California, Chicago, Indianapolis, Michigan, New York, Florida, and elsewhere, and today many of them have a strong Internet presence. The *Baltic Times* newspaper, published in English in print and online, helps many stay informed as well.

The American Latvian Association (ALA) was founded in 1951 to promote understanding of Latvian concerns and culture in the United States, and 10 years later it cofounded the Joint Baltic American National Committee. There are 160 local and regional member organizations of the ALA, which is the main representative organization for Latvian Americans. Its activities today are organized into four programs: information and assistance for newly arrived Latvian immigrants; humanitarian aid to Latvia; promoting the study of the Latvian language and

culture; and facilitating cooperation in the Latvian American community.

Fluency in Latvian is said to be common even among third- and fourth-generation Latvians, an uncommon thing for European immigrants. A number of Latvian traditions are kept alive as well, including using wool mittens and socks as adornments in wedding ceremonies, taken from the Latvian tradition of a bride showing her merit by knitting elaborately decorated mittens. Latvian folk music remains alive and well in the United States, and there are dozens of Latvian American folk ensembles. The first Latvian song festival in the United States was held in Chicago in 1953, and it continues to be held each year.

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See Also: Estonian Americans; Lithuanian Americans; Russian Americans.

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Lau v. Nichols (1974)

Lau v. Nichols (1974) was a pivotal case based on educational accessibility and equality, but it reached beyond the school to strengthen civil rights in many sectors of life in the United States. Whereas past cases such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) addressed the issue of intentional segregation of public school students, *Lau v. Nichols* sought to further push school reform by addressing exclusionary practices of schools even if they were not motivated by discrimination.

The San Francisco school system was integrated as a result of a federal court decree in 1971. At the time of the integration, approximately 2,800 students of Chinese ancestry were registered in the school system but did not speak English. Following integration, approximately 1,000 Chinese students received supplemental courses in the English language, but the remaining students did not receive additional instruction. As a result of the schools not providing additional English language instruction for all students, a class action suit was filed on behalf of Chinese-speaking students against the San Francisco Unified School District officials. The suit was based on the infringement of Fourteenth Amendment rights, as it alleged that all students were not provided with equal educational opportunities.

The original suit sought relief against alleged unequal educational opportunities based on the Fourteenth Amendment. Unlike in other education cases (e.g., *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Plyler v. Doe* [1982]), the focus of the petitioners was not to request that a specific action occur allowing for educational integration; rather, the emphasis was directed toward the desire for the Board of Education to use its expertise to rectify the indirect disparity in the educational training available to students. Two suggestions were proposed, namely, English language instruction for Chinese students and native language training.

The district court denied relief, and the court of appeals affirmed the original ruling, holding that there had not been a violation by the district under the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. The argument put forth by the court of appeals is that every student brings different advantages and disadvantages that are completely separate from the contributions made by a school system and, thus, the school district could not be held accountable for the role of outside influences (i.e., language, poverty).

U.S. Supreme Court

The U.S. Supreme Court granted a petition for certiorari based on what it deemed to be the public importance of *Lau v. Nichols*. The ruling, which overturned the court of appeals ruling and found in favor of the petitioners, was based not on the equal protection clause argument of the petitioners but on Section 601 of the Civil Rights

Act of 1964. Additional protection was granted when the guideline had been expanded in 1970 to include students with language deficiencies.

Under the 1970 expansion, schools were also to provide the tools to rectify the determined language deficiency. The Supreme Court found that the California Education Code required English to be the basic language of instruction in all schools, and it was the policy of the state to ensure that all students in the schools had a mastery of the English language.

The San Francisco Unified School District had received substantial federal assistance, and as a recipient of this type of funding the school system had to ensure that all students, regardless of race, color, or national origin, were not denied opportunities provided to other students in the same school system. Based on state educational requirements, a student who had not met the minimal state standards of proficiency in English and other core curriculum would not be allowed to receive a high school diploma. In addition, the state required compulsory full-time education for all children between the ages of six and 16.

Under the state-imposed standards, the court determined that the school district did not provide for equitable treatment of students. Simply providing the same functional educational support (for example, books, teachers, and lessons) did not mean that students were given equal opportunity, especially if the student was an English-language learner who was not receiving meaningful and comprehensible instruction. The ruling also noted that in this case, basic English skills were at the core of the school district's curriculum. The court ruled that without these skills, a student would be unable to effectively participate in the educational learning processes, thus making a "mockery" out of public education.

Civil Rights Act

The shift of the court findings to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 from the equal protection clause had important implications. First, it affirmed the authority of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Second, it affirmed the validity of the extension of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to language-minority children. Third, it affirmed the authority of HEW to require affirmative remedial

efforts to occur with attention specifically focused on language-minority children.

The decision itself was based on the continued struggle concerning the depth of power of the U.S. Congress. The finding in *Lau v. Nichols* reaffirmed that the power of Congress to prohibit behavior does not overstep its constitutional powers. It also validated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and provided further enforcement for government agencies in the realm of civil rights protection and authority. Although later court cases would erode some of the implications of the case, perhaps most notably an individual's right to sue for Title VI protection, the case has an important role in language-minority student rights litigation, establishing the Lau Plan. The Lau Plan is an equal access plan designed to help protect English-language learners through identification, program design, development, and student assessment.

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See Also: Chinese Americans; Civil Rights Acts; English-Language Learners.

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Law and Ethnic Diversity

The history of the United States of America is deeply rooted in religious freedom, protected by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution that was adopted in 1791; however, legal protections to foster ethnic diversity have been less forthcoming. Early arrivals to U.S. settlements in the 1600s included European settlers from England,

France, and the Netherlands, and Spanish and African slaves from Angola, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria, and Senegal. Although the Naturalization Act of 1790 gave citizenship to most white inhabitants of the country, blacks remained excluded.

Despite ethnic diversity, slavery based on race existed, even in the northern and predominantly abolitionist state of New York, until emancipation on July 4, 1827, which was granted by the Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery of 1799 (however, slaves born before July 4, 1799, remained in legally indentured servitude until death).

Efforts to abolish slavery created a path toward legal protections to foster racial and, by extension ethnic diversity in the United States. In 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery and involuntary servitude. Within five years, other important rights would follow for former slaves. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868, gave all "persons born or naturalized in the United States" citizenship status with "equal protection of the laws." This provided blacks the right to rent, hold, sell, and buy property. The Fifteenth Amendment, adopted in 1870, provided voting rights to all citizens, regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

In the 1870 census, those who reported their country of birth as other than the United States represented various nationalities, with primarily European origins and two notable exceptions. Chinese and African nationalities were confounded with race. Chinese was treated as both a race and an ethnicity. African was listed as a nationality, rather than any specific African nationality. These exceptions demonstrate the emphasis still placed on European ancestry at the time. Regardless, large cities had significant foreign-born populations, including nearly half of the population of New York, according to the 1870 census.

Immigration Law

Immigration feeds ethnic diversity in the United States. In response to immigration, legislation has been adopted to facilitate or hinder the influx and immersion of new immigrants into the population. Because Chinese immigrants were feared as an economic threat, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act banned Chinese from immigrating to the

United States. The Chinese were the only dominant ethnic and racial group other than whites and blacks in the United States at that time.

In the 1920s, a series of laws were adopted to further restrict immigration. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1921 and its replacement, the Immigration Act of 1924, further restricted Asian immigration and established a per-country quota system anchored in the ratio of previous numbers of people from each country present in the United States during the 1910 and 1890 censuses, intending to maintain the country's homogeneity. This quota system has been criticized for making immigration particularly difficult for Jews fleeing persecution in southern and eastern Europe. The National Origins Act of 1929 fixed 150,000 as the cap for immigration and upheld previous proportions and limitations.

Change in the restrictive trend of U.S. American immigration policy started with the Magnuson Act in 1943, which allowed limited Chinese immigration into the United States for the first time since the Chinese Exclusion Act 1882, which it repealed. Adapting to a Cold War mindset, the controversial Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 shifted the focus of immigration policy to skill, rather than solely ethnicity, while retaining a quota system. This enabled the government to weed out those who were politically suspect from entering the country, and to accept those who could be viewed as contributing to the nation's economy and labor force through their unique skill set. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 replaced the 1952 version and set the tone for future immigration policy by abolishing the quota system that had remained in place since 1921.

Civil Rights Movement

Removing quotas was a boon for those entering the United States. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s helped improve the quality of life for those from ethnically diverse groups within the United States. In 1954, the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* resulted in the elimination of racial segregation in schools. Later, the Civil Rights Act of 1968 made housing discrimination illegal.

During the civil rights movement, a series of laws focused on securing voting rights for citizens,

rights that had already been granted by the Fifteenth Amendment and were viewed as necessary to protect blacks who continued to be disenfranchised. The Civil Rights Act of 1957, the Civil Rights Act of 1960, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 made efforts to thwart voting punishable by fines and imprisonment. Adopted in 1964, the Twenty-Fourth Amendment made the collection of poll taxes illegal in federal elections. That same year, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 further aided voter access and provided considerable protection from discrimination for citizens, regardless of English language proficiency, gender, religion, race, or ethnicity in employment and a variety of other contexts.

Societal Institutions and Discrimination

Once civil rights were more firmly established within the United States, finer laws were enacted to negotiate the treatment of members of ethnically diverse groups within specific societal institutions. The workplace, the health care industry, and the legal system remain among the most integral institutions to a person's survival.

In the workplace, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 mandated the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and introduced affirmative action. It directed that "Even in the absence of past discrimination, a recipient in administering a program may take affirmative action to overcome the effects of conditions which resulted in limiting participation by persons of a particular race, color, or national origin." Extending this 1964 version, the Civil Rights Act of 1991 allows employees who are victims of employment discrimination to sue for monetary damages.

Although narrowly focused on federal employees, the Notification and Federal Employee Anti-discrimination and Retaliation Act (No FEAR Act), effective since 2003, establishes various policies to thwart federal agencies from engaging in discrimination or retaliation against whistleblowers. Access to ethnic equality in the workplace is limited by immigration status. The 1986 adoption of the Immigration Reform and Control Act requires, with few exemptions, employers to be accountable for the legal immigration status of their employees.

In the health care industry, the most controversial recent legislation to be enacted in the



President Barack Obama enacted aspects of the DREAM Act despite not having legislative approval, by changing some policies related to immigration. The Dream Act would provide conditional permanent residency to certain young undocumented immigrants.

United States is the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010. By providing health care options that apply to the full range of income levels, the law seeks to create parity and improve the quality of life of members of racially and ethnically diverse groups. It will revolutionize access to health care for those in the United States, regardless of socioeconomic status. This will also be, by default, an equalizer for access to health care for ethnically diverse groups.

Within the legal system, the cultural defense has been used to argue that some seemingly criminal acts are beyond the purview of American courts because they are prescribed or requisite religious or cultural actions. By this argument, the application of American laws in these cases is tantamount to discrimination against a person's religion or culture. The defense has been used since the mid-1990s. Honor killings and female

genital mutilation are among the most controversial applications of this defense. In these cases, defendants have argued that what is considered a criminal and heinous act in the United States is normatively appropriate in their culture, and legal. Less controversial instances of using the cultural defense as a legal strategy have been supported by the courts.

In a much-publicized 2009 New Jersey court case, a husband was accused of raping his wife. The cultural defense was used to argue that his religion allowed for the husband to have authority over his wife regardless of her protestations. The court upheld the defense, arguing that his intent was not criminal and was permissible in his religion. An appellate court reversed the decision, stating that the husband was aware that the intercourse was not consensual, regardless of religious precept.

However, in a somewhat similar case in California, *People v. Moua* (1985), the cultural defense was upheld when the court determined the defendant lacked the necessary intent for the charges of rape and kidnapping. Among the Hmong, the tradition of "marriage by capture" is culturally accepted, which served as a mitigating circumstance that resulted in a plea bargain.

Less controversial instances of using the cultural defense as a legal defensive strategy have also been supported by the courts. In addition to being used as a defensive argument, the cultural defense has been used, though less so, as an offensive argument against a defendant to establish intent (such as honor killings), refute a defensive argument, or secure a harsher punishment. The cultural defense has also been used for dispute resolution to justify a form of cultural pluralism when conflict arises among ethnic and religious groups.

Hate Crimes

In addition to laws enacted to provide improved quality of life within societal institutions, hate crime laws provide protection against violence stemming from ethnic and racial prejudice, as well as other types of prejudice. This protection was established via the hate crime-related provisions in the Civil Rights Act of 1968. However, the thrust of hate crime legislation began with the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990, which merely

required law enforcement agencies to begin to collect and report data on victims of crimes that “manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity.”

Later, hate crimes were criminalized in the extensive Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994. Clarifying finer distinctions in what constitutes a hate crime, the Hate Crimes Act of 2000 provided a clear definition of hate crimes and articulated requirements related to sentencing for these. The Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, passed in 2009, expanded the definition of hate crimes to include disability, gender, gender identity, and sexual orientation. Hate speech, in contrast, is not considered a hate crime. Rather, except in specific instances, it is included with the right to free speech protections under the First Amendment of the Constitution.

Economic Prosperity and Ethnicity

In the United States, ethnic diversity is tied to economic prosperity. For example, according to the 2010 U.S. Census, there are more employed foreign-born workers (as a percentage of population) than native-born workers. Thus, laws related to immigration can impact the U.S. American economy. Three recent examples demonstrate this connection between economic prosperity and ethnicity.

Farm workers, comprising predominantly non-native, English-speaking, Mexican-born males, contribute to the U.S. economy. However, nearly half of these workers are not legally authorized to work in the United States. Current immigration laws threaten their willingness to work. For example, the 2010 Arizona Senate Bill 1070 was criticized as a form of racial profiling because it allowed traffic stops based on suspicion of illegal immigration status.

Results from a study conducted by the Center for Demography and Ecology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, suggest that migrant workers contribute considerably to local economies, and their absence in this industry would lead to the closure of farms. Such a result could have larger effects, such as impacting the availability and price of fresh produce.

The ability of U.S. companies to employ high-level technology workers from India has been impacted by immigration laws. H1B visas, which

allow foreign workers in specialty industries to be employed within the United States, have a cap that limits the number allowed per year. Business leaders in technology industries have argued that caps limit the ability of their companies to hire the most talented workers available around the globe. In 2007, Bill Gates, chairman of Microsoft, testified to the U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions that the cap hurts the ability of the United States to be competitive, saying “These employees are vital to U.S. competitiveness.” According to the Global Competitiveness Report 2012–2013, produced by the World Economic Forum, the United States declined in rank in global competitiveness for the fourth year in a row.

The DREAM Act would enable those who were brought to the United States as minors to be eligible for permanent residence status by graduating from a four-year academic institution in the United States, or serving for two years in the military. This controversial act eventually bypassed legislation when, in 2012, President Barack Obama enacted aspects of the DREAM Act by changing some policies related to immigration, despite not having legislative approval. The DREAM Act is premised on the idea that highly educated, potentially high-income-earning citizens are better for the U.S. economy than uneducated, undocumented workers.

Although laws have made immigration and assimilation into the United States easier for some ethnic groups, others have not been as welcome. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, additional laws were created or tightened under the auspices of preventing further terrorist attacks, such as the 2001 USA Patriot Act, 2001 Aviation and Transportation Security Act, and Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002. Regardless of their perceived benefits, these laws nonetheless limit ethnic diversity.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.; Hate Crimes Laws; Immigration Acts; Voting Rights Acts.

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League of United Latin American Citizens

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded in 1929 through the merger of three existing Mexican American community groups. LULAC was primarily based in Texas, was a predominantly middle-class organization, and fought for increased opportunities for people of Mexican origin and other Latinos. It worked to incorporate Mexican Americans into

American society through promoting the English language, cultural understanding, and participation in the political process. Although the institution is often noted for its historical influence in the 1930s and 1940s, LULAC remains active today, with councils throughout the nation.

LULAC was founded in 1929 in Corpus Christi, Texas, when the Order Sons of America, the Latin American League, and the Order Knights of America combined to form one organization. The organizers included many leading Mexican American community leaders, such as Ben Garza, Alonso Perales, and J. T. Canales, who would play influential roles both through LULAC and individually in gaining rights and opportunities for Mexicans and Mexican Americans.

LULAC focused on combating discrimination and rejected broad-scale redistribution, instead working to changing attitudes toward Mexicans and Mexican Americans and increase their opportunities for educational and economic advancement. Although traditionally characterized as a conservative organization, the agency used a variety of methods to achieve its mission and goals.

The LULAC code was drafted shortly after the organization's founding and included many references to assimilation and "American" language and values. Reviewing the monthly publication *LULAC News* during the 1930s and 1940s shows the difficult line that LULAC followed. The assimilationist LULAC code, with an emphasis on adopting the English language, is printed on one page and is translated into Spanish on a subsequent page. *LULAC News* also provides some interesting insights into the organization's tactics. After successfully assuring that people of Mexican origin would be counted as white in the 1940 census, it was noted that "time, tact and patience" had been the primary ingredients for successful lobbying.

LULAC was a mainly male organization, with many members drawn from the small Mexican American middle class of Texas. The local chapters worked on a variety of issues, and relatively quickly after the organization's founding, expansion occurred. In the atmosphere of the early 1930s, with mass deportations of people of Mexican origin, LULAC worked to craft discourse and actions that would allow for greater incorporation into society.

LULAC's difficulties exhibit the peculiar place of people of Mexican origin in Texas and broader American society. Many of LULAC's tactics called for assimilation on the basis of language and cultural practice, strategies similar to those utilized by European immigrants. However, LULAC also had to deal with the racialization experienced by people of Mexican origin in the southwest, particularly in Texas. Part of the response was to work toward white racial classification in the U.S. census, which created a Mexican racial classification for the 1930 census but did not continue it on the 1940 census form.

LULAC's Texas efforts have received the most scholarly attention, but some research has also been done regarding chapters and efforts in states such as New Mexico during this period. Activities in New Mexico, where (in contrast to other states) Mexican Americans held prominent roles in elected office, extending up to the U.S. Senate, focused more on education.

After World War II, in 1948, LULAC was joined by the American G.I. Forum. Formed by Dr. Hector P. Garcia, the G.I. Forum included many veterans of World War II, who brought generational differences from the earlier founders of LULAC. The organizations had broadly similar goals, and each represented predominantly middle-class leaders. Although many LULAC councils were inactive during World War II, LULAC and the G.I. Forum were two of the major community organizations mobilizing for Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the 1950s. With the rise of more militant leadership, particularly from the Chicano movement of the 1960s, LULAC was sometimes characterized as an overly conservative, assimilationist organization. However, although the tactics exhibited by LULAC in 1930s, 1940s, and afterwards lacked the revolutionary zeal of more militant groups and social movements, the organization worked on several levels to advance its members, Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and other Latinos.

Many of LULAC's programs were fairly innovative. For example, in 1957, it created Little Schools of the 400 to teach young children of Mexican origin and other Latino backgrounds a basic English vocabulary. This program was tapped by President Lyndon Johnson's administration when it designed the Great Society's Head

Start Program. During the 1960s, LULAC also worked to create low-income housing.

In addition, LULAC worked to create the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), an organization responsible for winning the *Plyler v. Doe* Supreme Court decision that protected undocumented children's right to a free public education under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The organization has a surprising breadth of activity, showing the full range of ways to assist a particular community. From political activism to the provision of social programs, LULAC worked to address specific problems, with the broader goal of reducing discrimination. Although never interested in the radical redistribution of wealth, LULAC worked for the good of "la Raza."

During the 1960s, Cesar Chavez and his organization of farm workers and the emerging Chicano movement gained more public attention and resources. Although what has been characterized as the Mexican American generation of the 1930s through the 1960s that typified LULAC membership was referred to by some in the more radical movements as "Tio Tacos" for their perceived focus on assimilation, LULAC survived as an organization and remains active. LULAC continues to exist as a national organization, with 700 councils in states such as Illinois and Iowa, in addition to Puerto Rico. The agency also continues to have a national presence and an impact on civil rights issues and mobilization. It represents some of the most enduring aspects of the Mexican American civil rights movement.

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See Also: American G.I. Forum; Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Mexican American Political Association; Mexican American Youth Organization; Mexican Americans.

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Lebanese Americans

For a relatively small, mountainous country on the Mediterranean (4,015 square miles, or 10,400 square kilometers, and a population of about 4 million), Lebanon has a large diaspora, with communities in Australia, South America, North America, Europe, and throughout the Arab world. The first immigrants from Lebanon began arriving in the United States in the 1870s. Many came from what was then known as the Mount Lebanon area of Greater Syria, part of the Ottoman Empire. The vast majority of the early immigrants were Christian men (Catholic and Orthodox), though many women and small numbers of Muslims (Shi'a and Sunni) and Druze also came. Working mainly as peddlers, shop owners, and factory workers, immigrants from Lebanon settled in cities and towns across the United States.

Most came for economic reasons, and many planned on returning to Lebanon after earning a significant amount of money. Though some returned home, many stayed, and many more followed. Lebanese immigration ebbed and flowed according to developments in Lebanon, with immigration peaking during periods of violence in the homeland, particularly throughout the long civil war from 1975 to 1990.

Today, Lebanese Americans are the largest nationality group within the Arab American community. Estimates of the population range from 500,000 to 1.5 million, and about half are Christian and half are Muslim. Lebanese Americans have always been a transnational community but have also built families and institutions in the United States, making a broad impact on the culture, politics, and scientific advancement of the nation for over a century.

Demographics

Lebanese Americans are diverse and can be Maronite or Melkite Catholic, Greek Orthodox,

Shi'a or Sunni Muslim, Druze, or from smaller religious sects. Lebanese Americans can be recent immigrants or can have great-grandparents who immigrated more than a century ago. Some left Lebanon for economic reasons, to join family already living in the United States, or were fleeing war and civil strife.

Between 1899 and 1914, immigrants from Greater Syria (the majority of whom came from present-day Lebanon) were arriving at an average of 5,300 per year, according to the 1925 Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration. Combined with those who had been living in the United States since the 1870s, the Lebanese American population was estimated at 200,000 in 1924. The majority of these immigrants were Christians. Druze began immigrating in large numbers after 1900, and other Muslim groups (Shi'a and Sunni) followed. Early population numbers for Lebanese Americans, like other Arab American communities, are difficult to determine because of the classification systems used by immigration officials and census enumerators, who often labeled people from Lebanon as Syrian, Asian, or Turkish.

Even today, it is difficult to determine the population of Lebanese Americans. Because the 1977 Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics directive classified all people of Middle Eastern and Arab ancestry as "white," anyone who traces their ancestry to Lebanon is counted as white. Since Lebanese and other Arabs are not counted as a distinct racial group on the decennial census, more accurate population numbers can come from the American Community Survey (ACS), as it records "Lebanese" as an ancestry.

According to the 2010 ACS, there are about 500,000 Lebanese Americans, roughly 30 percent of the total Arab American community. Because of the many ways that Arab Americans self-identify (many Lebanese Christians do not self-identify as Arab, and some Lebanese may identify more with being Arab than Lebanese), the ACS numbers for Lebanese and Arab Americans could be significantly low. The Arab American Institute (AAI) estimates that there could be as many as 1.5 million Lebanese Americans.

Metropolitan Detroit

During the 19th century, immigrants from Lebanon settled mainly in east coast industrial centers,

such as New York City and Boston, but their work as peddlers and store owners eventually took them all over the country. Because of this, there are Lebanese communities in almost every major city in the United States, as well as in dozens of smaller cities. Although California, New York, Texas, and Florida have large populations of Lebanese Americans, Michigan, particularly the metropolitan Detroit area, has the largest concentration of Arab Americans, including Lebanese Americans, anywhere in the nation.

The majority of Lebanese began settling in metropolitan Detroit in the early 1900s, mainly working in Ford automobile factories. In 1921, Lebanese Muslims from South Lebanon and the Beqaa Valley opened the country's first purpose-built mosque in Highland Park, Michigan. Though the mosque closed shortly after the community moved to Dearborn, the descendants of this early Lebanese Muslim community now operate one of the largest mosques in the country, the Islamic Center of America. Lebanese Christians, both Catholic and Orthodox, also have large, long-established institutions in the Detroit area. The majority of Dearborn's 35,000 Arab Americans are Lebanese Muslims, and there are thousands more Lebanese of all faiths living in metropolitan Detroit.

Transnationalism

Lebanese Americans have always been transnational, through both their movements between the United States and Lebanon, and their focus on political, religious, and humanitarian developments in their homeland. For example, following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, prominent Lebanese Americans in New York were vocal in their support for an independent Lebanon, and some participated in the Paris Peace Conference that ultimately led to the creation of the State of Greater Lebanon in 1920, under French mandate. Lebanon would not become an independent nation until 1943.

Throughout the long civil war in Lebanon (1975–90) and during subsequent war and civil strife, Lebanese Americans continually focused their attention on their homeland by raising money for victims, and pressuring American and world political leaders to act on behalf of the Lebanese people. However, the diversity of the

Lebanese American community often creates fissures along generational and religious lines.

For more than a century, Lebanese Americans have been impacting the culture, politics, and scientific advancements of the nation, from artist, poet, and author of *The Prophet* Kahlil Gibran to groundbreaking journalist Helen Thomas, and from pioneering heart surgeon Dr. Michael DeBakey to tireless consumer advocate Ralph Nader.

Many Lebanese Americans have become household names because of their television and film roles. Danny Thomas, actor and founder of St. Jude's Children's Hospital, as well as Jamie Farr, Kathy Najimy, and Tony Shalhoub, are some of the more recognizable Lebanese Americans. The Arab American National Museum in Dearborn, Michigan, highlights theirs and other stories from the diverse Lebanese American community.

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Arab American National Museum

See Also: Arab American Institute; Arab Americans; Mahjar; Muslim Americans; Syrian Americans.

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Lenape

The Lenape are a northeastern Native American tribe and are among the several hundred tribes within the Algonquian linguistic family.

European and Euro-American settlers referred to the Lenape as the Delaware. The Lenape were part of the Eastern Woodlands culture. Their traditional lifestyle was based on subsistence agriculture. After centuries of Euro-American population growth and the federal government's decision to remove all eastern Native Americans to the west in the early 1800s, many Lenape were forced to relocate to the western United States within present-day Oklahoma and Kansas. Today, the Lenape live both in their ancestral homelands and in western territory and seek to preserve their cultural heritage.

The Lenape, also known as the Lenni-Lenape, traditionally inhabited a region in the northeastern United States that they referred to as Lenapehoking, or Land of the Lenape. This region encompassed parts of the states of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut. The area was heavily wooded and had numerous rivers and streams. The traditional Lenape lifestyle was largely sedentary and centered on subsistence agriculture and the surrounding natural environment, which also provided a spiritual base.

Two related linguistic and cultural groups composed the Lenapi: northern-based Lenapi who spoke a Munsee dialect and southern-based Lenape who spoke a Unami dialect. Some Lenape recognize three groupings: the Munsee (Wolf), Unami (Turtle), and Unalachigo (Turkey). The Lenape refer to themselves as Lenape, which is variously translated as true, original, or common people. Some scholars credit the name "Delaware" as coming from the English settler Lord de la Warr, whereas others credit the name's origin to a Swiss colonial mispronunciation of a Lenape word. Land was communal, and resources were freely shared among tribal members.

Like other Eastern Woodlands tribes, the Lenape practiced settled agriculture on the rich farmlands within their traditional territory. Crops included corn, squash, and beans. The Lenape were also hunters and gatherers. Food included deer, elk, bear, beaver, otter, muskrat, raccoon, mink, wild cats, fish, and various birds and waterfowl. Tools included fish weirs, bows and arrows, dugout canoes, and stone tools such as axes, spears, and arrowheads. Religion was centered on the natural environment and was both animistic and polytheistic.



A 1915 photo of Jennie Bobb and her daughter, Nellie Longhat, both from the Lenape tribe, also called Delaware Indians because their territory was alongside the Delaware River.

Most Lenape lived in small villages or bands, although a few large villages did exist. Longhouses and wigwams were typical Lenape dwellings. Work was divided by gender, with children receiving instruction at an early age. Male roles included woodworking, land clearing, building houses, and hunting, trapping, and fishing. Men also served as warriors. Female roles included planting, harvesting, gathering, food preparation and seasonal storage, pottery, weaving, and making clothing.

The extended family was the basic social unit. Related families were organized into one of three clans: Wolf, Turtle, and Turkey. Clan membership, like Lenape society as a whole, was matriarchal. Male chiefs, also known as sachems, provided

political, social, and religious leadership for the various clans and villages. A chief and council of elders provided overarching political leadership, while other tribal members played advisory roles. Military leadership was separate.

Initial relations with European colonists were largely peaceful. As the settlers grew in number and sought more land, however, the two peoples increasingly came into conflict. Cultural differences and conflict over land resulted in centuries of wars and skirmishes with the rapidly expanding Euro-American population. The Lenape also lost land through fraudulent land exchanges or purchases. In the early 1800s, the U.S. government adopted a policy of separation between the conflicting cultures by relocating eastern Native American tribes to the trans-Mississippi west.

The remaining Lenape came under the Indian Removal Act of 1830, passed by Congress during the Andrew Jackson administration. Many were voluntarily or forcibly relocated west to designated Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma and Kansas, where many of their descendants still reside. Those Lenape who relocated faced the difficulty of adjusting to life within a new environment on reservations where they were integrated with western tribes and other groups of relocated eastern tribes, often with many cultural differences.

Existing Lenape and Delaware nations include the Delaware and Ojibwe tribe of Kansas; Delaware Indian Nation of Muncee; Delaware Indian tribes of western Oklahoma, Colorado, and Ohio; Eastern Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania; Laurel Ridge Lenape tribe; Lightning Valley Lenape tribe; Nanticoke Lenape Indians of New Jersey; Ontario Delaware Nation of Muncee; Ontario, Canada, Red Thunder Lenape tribe; Thunder Mountain Lenape Nation; and Wyonink Schukuney Mawemin Lenape. Not all Delaware nations have federal recognition.

The Native American population grew from the 2000 to the 2010 U.S. Census. The total U.S. population in 2010 was 1.7 percent Native American, 22 percent of whom lived within American Indian areas such as reservations. Many modern Lenape reside in Oklahoma and Kansas, where their ancestors had settled after forced removal and relocation. Still others reside in their ancestral homelands. Their struggle for the preservation of

their cultural and linguistic heritage despite centuries of forced removal and assimilation continues.

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See Also: Algonquian Languages; Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Territory; Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian.

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“Lift Every Voice and Sing”

“Lift Every Voice and Sing,” the rousing hymn that would eventually become known as the “Negro National Anthem,” “Negro National Hymn,” and “Black National Anthem,” remains an immensely popular song over a century after its composition. Regularly performed at church services, large community events, formal gatherings, and black graduation ceremonies across the United States, and often sung after the U.S. national anthem (“The Star-Spangled Banner”), the enduring hymn became the official song of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Its stirring lyrics urge the listener to remember the trials and sacrifices of the “dark past,” the perseverance of the ancestors, the progress of African Americans today (“A song full of hope that the

present has brought us"), and the victories yet to come ("Let us march on till victory is won").

Originally written as a poem at the turn of the 20th century by attorney, journalist, educator, principal, early civil rights activist, songwriter, and author James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938), with the musical score written by his younger brother, John Rosamond Johnson (1873–1954), who studied music composition at the New England Conservatory, the song remains a celebration of racial uplift. Together, the brothers would compose over 200 songs for musical theater.

James Weldon Johnson, whose philosophy of racial advancement through self-education and hard work in the face of racism most closely aligned with Booker T. Washington, as opposed to W. E. B. Du Bois, worked a number of public-serving jobs, including principal of the Stanton School at age 23, founder of an African American newspaper highlighting racial issues called the *Daily American*, U.S. consul to Venezuela (1906) and Nicaragua (1909), and field secretary and later general secretary of the NAACP.

Matriculated at Atlanta University, he later studied law under a prominent Jacksonville attorney and was admitted to the Florida Bar Association in 1897, the first African American to do so since Reconstruction. His professional activities alternated between political activism and creative writing, often with overlap between the two.

Johnson enjoyed a prolific career before his life was cut short by a train accident. He wrote his only novel, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* (1912), served as editor of the influential poetry anthology *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922), compiled and edited with his brother *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (1925), wrote his own anthology of poems titled *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (1927), and wrote his work of prose titled *Black Manhattan* (1930), to name a few selected works.

History of the Hymn

The history of "Lift Every Voice and Sing" is tied to two U.S. presidents. Composed in honor of President Abraham Lincoln's birthday, 35 years after emancipation and first performed by 500 schoolchildren at a Lincoln celebratory event

in Jacksonville, Florida, on February 12, 1900, "Lift Every Voice and Sing" is a stirring song of commemoration, remembrance, and promise. Long after the Johnson brothers forgot about the hymn and moved to New York, the schoolchildren in Florida continued to sing it. Its popularity spread to other schools across the south, and by the 1930s, it was known as the Negro National Anthem.

During the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, "Lift Every Voice and Sing" regained popularity as a fitting liberation song. Most recently, minister and civil rights leader Reverend Joseph Lowery recited the third stanza of the poem almost verbatim as the opening to his benediction at the inauguration of the 44th U.S. president, Barack Obama, on January 20, 2009. It is likely that Reverend Lowery selected an excerpt from this spiritual song for its bold optimism, as Johnson wrote it at the nadir of American race relations. The third stanza, in particular, offers a cautious mandate to remember the past always and God's guidance through those "weary years," even on the momentous occasion of the inauguration of the first black president.

Overall, the poignant call for positive action against racial injustice, the unapologetic optimism, and the promise of a better day coming found in "Lift Every Voice" continue to inspire the African American community to this day. The song works rhetorically because it offers an evaluation of racial progress as a function of time and history, remembering the sobering and painful past, deriving hope from the advances of the present, and striving toward the gleaming future, creating a sense of the steady march toward equality.

Lift every voice and sing,
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past
has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has
brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
 Bitter the chastening rod,
 Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
 Yet with a steady beat,
 Have not our weary feet
 Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
 We have come over a way that with tears has
 been watered,
 We have come, treading a path through the
 blood of the slaughtered,
 Out from the gloomy past, till now we stand
 at last
 Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years,
 God of our silent tears,
 Thou who has brought us thus far on the way;
 Thou who has by Thy might
 Led us into the light,
 Keep us forever on the path, we pray.
 Lest our feet stray from the places, our God,
 where we met Thee,
 Lest, our heart drunk with the wine of the
 world, we forget Thee;
 Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
 May we forever stand,
 True to our God,
 True to our native land.

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See Also: African Americans; Emancipation; Gospel Music; Harlem Renaissance; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; History/Heritage Months; Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Literature and Ethnic Diversity

To some, it seems that there is little diversity in American literature before the end of the 19th century, but this is an illusion. European literary forms were not immediately adopted by other groups in the United States. There are many examples of authors of diverse backgrounds who wrote before the appearance of the “first novel” by a person of color. In fact, by the end of the 19th century, a multicultural tradition of literature had developed to satisfy a reading public that was interested in the conditions of and insights from people of color.

Notions of “regional” American literature helped support the publication of literature by authors of diverse backgrounds, and the early 20th century was marked by literature by immigrants as well as the flowering of African American literature known as the Harlem Renaissance. In the years around World War II, authors began to question the mimetic forms of literature, and a more stylized literature emerged. After the experimentation and protests of the 1960s, a recognizable group of authors began to emerge who thought of themselves as writing mainstream American literature. This group increasingly gained acceptance at the end of the 20th century.

One of the first recognized African American writers was Phillis Wheatley, whose *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* was published in 1773. An enslaved person, Wheatley was taught to read and write by the wealthy Boston family to whom she was sold. Her poetry was used by both proslavery advocates and abolitionists to support their arguments. While the abolitionists said that the poems showed creativity and intelligence, proving that people of African descent had equal capabilities to Europeans, those who supported slavery said that Wheatley was simply mimicking her masters. Thomas Jefferson wrote in *Notes on the State of Virginia* that the poetry was written thanks to her religion, not her creativity.

Another form of early literary diversity was the autobiographical narrative. Slave narratives include the biographical account *The Interesting Narrative and the Life of Olaudah Equiano or*

Gustavus Vassa, the African, by Olaudah Equiano, which was published in London in 1789. This genre blossomed in the next century. William Apes, a Pequot Indian, wrote the spiritual confessional *A Son of the Forest* in 1829. Black Hawk, the leader of the Sauk Nation, told his story to a journalist, and the resulting *Black Hawk: An Autobiography* was published in 1833. More literary efforts in this genre are seen in *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, published in 1845, and *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, by Harriet Jacobs, which was published in 1861.

In this period, collectors of African American and Native American culture also made contributions. In 1850, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* was published by George Copway; in 1867, W. F. Allen's *Slave Songs of the United States* was published, followed by Daniel Brinton's *Myths of the Americas* the following year. Joel Chandler Harris began publishing his Uncle Remus tales in 1876, and the first collection of them, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings*, appeared in 1880. Although not written by people of color, collections such as these offered insight into a cultural life that was unfamiliar to the wider public.

It was not until the middle of the 19th century that prose fiction began to appear. The first African American to publish a novel was William Wells Brown. *Clotel; or, the President's Daughter* was a protest novel about the horrors of slavery, published in London in 1853. Harriet Wilson's *Our Nig*, an autobiographical novel published in the United States in 1859, is considered the first published novel in North America by an African American.

One of the first Asian American books was the autobiographical *When I Was a Boy in China*, by Lee Yan Phou (1887). Probably the first Native American novel, *Wynema, a Child of the Forest*, by Sophia Alice Callahan, was published in 1891, wherein the protagonist introduces her teacher to the Creek Nation. Among the first Mexican American novels are Eusebio Chacón's *The Son of the Story* and *The Calm After the Storm*, both published in 1892.

Multicultural Realism

With the large numbers of immigrants to the United States during this period, and the

newspapers that were established to serve them, a corresponding literature of the immigrant experience developed. The most famous of this genre of immigration literature includes Abraham Cahan's *Yekl: A Tale of the Ghetto* (1896) and *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917). Jacob Riis, the Danish immigrant who became famous for *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (1890), wrote the novel *Out of Mulberry Street: Stories of Tenement Life in New York* in 1898. Hutchins Hapgood's *The Spirit of the Ghetto* appeared in 1902.

People of color began to receive serious attention from the mainstream at the end of the 19th century. Although few were able to earn significant financial gain from writing, many received accolades from the wider reading public. These authors embraced the growing trade in specialty newspapers. Paul Laurence Dunbar, the son of former enslaved persons, was one such author. His first collection of poetry, *Oak and Ivy*, appeared in 1893. Charles W. Chesnutt, another important realist, began his writing career as a journalist. Chesnutt started writing short stories in 1885; in 1887, he published his iconic story "The Gophered Grapevine" in the *Atlantic Monthly*. This story and other magical stories of the postwar south were collected in *The Conjure Woman, and Other Conjure Tales* (1899). His novels, such as *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900) and *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), explore the issues surrounding the color line.

Another important writer who began working in the period was W. E. B. Du Bois, who earned his Ph.D. in history from Harvard and was a cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. His sociological study *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) sought to explain the socioeconomic conditions of African American residents. He published a collection of his essays, *The Souls of Black Folk*, in 1903. Du Bois opens *Souls* with the prediction that the problem of the 20th century would be how to draw and maintain the "color line" between whites and blacks.

Pauline Hopkins was another important author of this period, one who embraced the popular press, writing plays and several novels. Although her novel *Of One Blood: Or, The Hidden Self* appears to be an adventure story, the import of the

narrative is that there is only one race of humanity, an important question facing scientists at the time. The novel was serialized in *The Colored American Magazine* in 1902, at the time when she was also working as the magazine's editor.

Native American authors also continued writing in this period. In 1899, the partly biographical *Queen of the Woods*, by Simon Pokagon, a Potawatomi chief, appeared. In 1902, Charles Eastman, a Sioux, published *Indian Boyhood*, and in 1916, he published *From Deep Woods to Civilization*, among other novels of his experiences in the white world. Jewish American author Gertrude Stein's *3 Lives* and Yung Wing's *My Life in China and America* were both published in 1909. Sui Sin Far's newspaper stories of life in west coast Chinatowns were collected as *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* in 1912. Mexican American writer Victor Bernal published a collection of poetry, *First Fruits*, in 1916.

Multicultural Modernism

Contemporary with the American and European movements of the early 20th century known as modernism was a flowering of African American arts that came to be known as the Harlem Renaissance. Some of the first and best-known authors of this group were the poet Langston Hughes, whose first book was a 1926 collection of his poetry, *The Weary Blues*, and Claude McKay, also a poet, who published the novels *Home to Harlem* (1928), *Banjo* (1930), and *Banana Bottom* (1933).

Today, one of the most well-known figures of this period is Zora Neale Hurston. Her first novel, *Jonah's Gourd Vine*, appeared in 1934. The following year, she published a fictionalized account of her attempt to document African American folklore, *Mules and Men*. So that she might conduct field research in Jamaica and Haiti, Hurston received a Guggenheim Fellowship; *Tell My Horse* (1938) describes her investigation. *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), written while doing her research, is her best-known work.

One of the interesting aspects of literature in this period is its depiction of mixed-race individuals. Nella Larsen's *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929) have mixed-race protagonists, following the lead of Charles W. Chesnutt's *The*



William Edward Burghardt (W. E. B.) Du Bois was an American civil rights activist, Pan-Africanist, author, and editor. He rose to national prominence as the leader of the Niagara Movement, a group of African American activists who wanted equal rights for blacks. Du Bois is pictured in the middle row in the white hat.

House Behind the Cedars, which depicts the arbitrary nature of the color line. *Passing* is the eponymous example of stories about people of mixed descent who could be accepted as white. Although not part of the Harlem Renaissance, Native American authors also took up the theme of mixed-race protagonists. John Oskison, a Cherokee, wrote *Brothers Three*, about a part-Cherokee family in Oklahoma, in 1935. Darcy McNickle, a Cree-Salish, wrote *The Surrounded* (1936), about a mixed-blood hero who is unwittingly implicated in murder.

In contrast to the radical experimentation under way in modernist arts and literature, many texts by authors of diverse backgrounds in this period take a more conventional approach to telling their stories in an effort to educate readers about the plain facts of people of color. W. E. B. Du Bois contribute two novels of this type. *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (1911) tells the story of a young black woman who is foiled in her effort to be treated equally in the marketplace and founds an all-black town. *Dark Princess: A*

Romance (1928) tells the story of a young man who unsuccessfully seeks to become part of the labor movement and joins with an international group of people of color.

Immigrant literature in this period increased in its literary stature, even when it did not engage in modernist experimentation. Notable in this period is the 1932 *Black Elk Speaks*, which concerns the life of a Sioux who wants to become a medicine man. Nina Otero Warrant's *Old Spain in Our Southwest* (1936) is a portrait of life at the end of the 19th century, and Fray Angélico Chávez's collection of stories *New Mexico Triptych* (1940) describes life in Hispanic villages.

The first Mexican American literature to reach a widespread audience was *Mexican Village* (1945), by Josephina Niggli, about a Mexican-born American; *Mexican Village* was made into a film starring Ricardo Montalbán in 1953. Also in this tradition is Jade Snow Wong's *Fifth Chinese Daughter* (1945), an autobiographical story of an American-born Chinese woman that was widely read.

Texts with a harder edge found it difficult to reach an audience, such as Mike Gold's *Jews Without Money* (1930), which describes the hardships of working immigrants in the 1920s and describes one character's hope for a Marxist revolution. Also set in the 1920s is Italian American Pietro Di Donato's *Christ in Concrete* (1939), which describes his father's life as a bricklayer and his death in a construction accident. Carlos Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* (1946) describes the harsh conditions faced by Filipino laborers, Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter* (1953) explores an immigrant family's experiences around World War II (including the time they spent in an internment camp), and John Okada's *No-No Boy* (1957) dramatizes an American-born Japanese man's refusal of the draft while in such a camp. In this group is Louis Chu's *Eat a Bowl of Tea* (1961), depicting problems in the Chinese American community, a novel that Maxine Hong Kingston has stated was an inspiration to her.

Literature and Civil Rights

Toward the middle of the 20th century, the notion that biology was separate from culture began to be heard. Whereas those inspired by the polygenic movement of the 19th century and the eugenics movement of the 20th century had

supposed that mental aptitudes and even social conditions like poverty or illness were racial, in the years before World War II, the effort to discredit this kind of scientific racism started to succeed. Literature thus began to explore the implications of this new attitude toward difference.

One of the best-known works in this regard is Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940). In his study of Bigger Thomas, a figure from the slums of Chicago who commits a murder, Wright takes pains to describe the painful pressure behind crime. The psychological portrait of hopelessness in the face of toxic societal structures was so memorable that for many years *Native Son* was the only novel by an African American that was accepted into the literary canon. Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952) explores the mental contradictions involved in Du Bois's concept of double consciousness.

With wider acceptance of the culture concept of difference, there is a correspondent feeling that essentialized notions of character in literature help contribute to the idea that characteristics are biologically determined. One author who overtly tried to combat this attitude was James Baldwin. In *Another Country*, his 1962 novel, Baldwin crafts characters that fail to fulfill their types. Baldwin's *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), his best-known work, and *Giovanni's Room* (1956), which depicts a vexed gay relationship, also seek to disrupt readers' expectations of unified characters. Gwendolyn Brooks's poems combine a street vernacular with social observations in a striking, fragmented manner. Her iconic poem "We Real Cool" appeared in her third collection of poetry, the 1960 *The Bean Eaters*. Brooks was the first African American to win the Pulitzer Prize, and in 1962, President John F. Kennedy invited her to read at a Library of Congress poetry festival.

One effort seeking an end to discrimination was known as the Chicano movement, and in creating awareness of the plight of Mexican Americans, it developed a distinct literature. Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales's poem "Yo Soy Joaquín" (1967) unified the sentiments of the movement under the term *Chicano*. In early 1968, thousands of Mexican American students walked out of their schools to protest the substandard education and prejudiced curriculum to which they were subjected. Oscar

Zeta Acosta, the lawyer who defended the organizers of the protest, wrote a novel of Chicano awareness and activism, *The Revolt of the Cockroach People*, which appeared in 1973 with a frank approach to the human foibles of activists. Rudolfo Anaya's novel *Bless Me, Ultima* (1972) depicts the burgeoning Chicano consciousness in New Mexico after World War II.

Literature of the Multicultural Canon

The successful critique of mainstream depictions of race and ethnicity paved the way for a rich offering. Alice Walker, whose book of poems *Once* appeared in 1968, became an acclaimed novelist of the multicultural canon with *Meridian* (1976) and *The Color Purple* (1982); she was also notable for reviving the work of Zora Neale Hurston, finding her unmarked grave in 1973. Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* appeared in 1976, weaving together many voices, as well as folklore, to tell the story of Chinese Americans. A similar approach is taken in *Ceremony*, a 1977 novel by the Laguna Pueblo writer Leslie Marmon Silko that depicts the struggle of a World War II veteran who struggles to craft an identity for himself.

Sandra Cisneros, a Mexican American writer, wrote *The House on Mango Street* (1984) as a series of poetic vignettes that provide fragmentary glimpses into the community. Amy Tan, best known for her novel *The Joy Luck Club* (1989), likewise avoids an essentialized notion of race by tracing the lives of four different immigrant families. These authors received critical acclaim, their work is standard fare in college courses, and they are regularly found on lists of multicultural literature.

Toward the end of the 20th century, authors from diverse backgrounds began to gain even greater acclaim. Maya Angelou, who titled her autobiography *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969) after a poem by Dunbar, was asked to read one of her poems by President Bill Clinton at his 1993 inauguration. Toni Morrison, who wrote her first novel, *The Bluest Eye*, in 1970, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1988 for *Beloved* and became the first African American to win the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1993.

After World War II, literature addressing multicultural themes reached a mainstream audience,

sometimes with controversy. Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960), with its riveting tale of race relations during the Great Depression, became a bestseller and won the Pulitzer Prize. William Styron was both criticized and acclaimed for writing literature from the point of view of ethnic groups. His novel *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967) won a Pulitzer Prize, and his *Sophie's Choice* (1979) was a bestseller. Philip Roth's 1959 collection *Goodbye, Columbus and Five Other Stories* earned him the National Book Award for fiction at the same time it earned him notoriety for its portrayal of Jewish characters. His 1969 novel *Portnoy's Complaint* continued to cause controversy. Mario Puzo's 1965 novel *The Fortunate Pilgrim* and his 1969 *The Godfather* (which was made into the well-known movie) portrayed Italian American life.

Playwrights from diverse backgrounds have entranced audiences with their use of multicultural themes for the stage. David Henry Hwang's *The Dance and the Railroad* (1982) depicts a Chinese opera star in an American 19th-century labor camp. *M. Butterfly*, inspired by the relationship between a French diplomat and a Peking opera singer, won the Tony Award in 1988 and was made into a film in 1993. He wrote an autobiographical play in 2007, the satirical *Yellow Face*, and *Chinglish* was performed on Broadway in 2011.

Another important playwright is Suzan-Lori Parks, whose *Venus* (1996) depicts the life and death of Sarah Baartman, the "Hottentot Venus" who was captured and brought to London and Paris for ethnographic display in the early 19th century. That same year, she wrote the screenplay for Spike Lee's 1996 film *Girl 6*. Parks's play *Topdog/Underdog* (2001) won a Pulitzer Prize in 2002.

American authors today are frequently admired for the way in which they embrace a multicultural aesthetic. Barbara Kingsolver's novels, starting with *The Bean Trees* (1988), embrace an intentionally multicultural cast of characters. *Bastard Out of Carolina* (1992), the autobiographical novel by Dorothy Allison, depicts racial and class relations in Greenville, South Carolina. Jhumpa Lahiri, who won a Pulitzer Prize for her short-story collection *Interpreter of Maladies* (1999), is one such author. Her novel *The Namesake* (2003) was made into a film in 2007. Another author

who is frequently named on lists of multicultural literature is Dominican American Junot Díaz, who received a Pulitzer Prize for his 2007 novel *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*. Work by Haitian American author Edwidge Danticat, including her 1996 collection of stories *Krik? Krak!* and her 2004 novel *The Dew Breaker*, earned her a MacArthur “genius grant” in 2009.

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See Also: African American Vernacular English; *Color Purple, The*; *Go Tell It on the Mountain*; *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*; Lore; *Native Son*; *Souls of Black Folk, The*; *Woman Warrior, The*.

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Lithuanian Americans

Lithuania is the largest of the three Baltic states, on the shore of the Baltic Sea in northern Europe. The Lithuanian language is one of the only surviving languages of the Baltic family, along with Latvian. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was once the largest European country, controlling much of the region along with Ukraine and parts of Russia; with Poland, it formed the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a two-state union, from 1569 until 1795, when the Russian Empire succeeded in annexing most of it. Lithuania regained independence from Russia after World

War I only to be occupied throughout World War II and annexed by the Soviet Union. It was the first Soviet republic to declare independence, doing so in 1990, precipitating the collapse of European Communism.

Today there are 712,165 Lithuanian Americans, according to the most recent census information—a decline of nearly 100,000 since the 811,865 reported in the 1990 census. The first Lithuanian immigrant was Aleksandras Karolis Kursius, a Lithuanian noble who arrived in New Amsterdam in 1659 and founded the first Latin school in the colony. However, he left two years later because of a salary dispute. Still, he was indicative of the pre-Civil War Lithuanian immigrants to the United States, who continued to arrive in small numbers throughout the 17th and 18th centuries: largely professionals, well educated, often nobles or wealthy, fluent in the language of the colony or country in which they resided and often other languages as well. Immigration to the United States in greater numbers began in the Gilded Age, as hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians arrived in the country.

Advances in transportation had made travel safer, faster, and cheaper, a factor driving much of the 19th-century immigration to the United States for all European groups, both because it made it easier to come to the United States and because, once in the country, there were lands to be claimed in the west, which was quickly growing because of expansion of the railroad. What prompted the Lithuanian migration at this time was the combination of a country-wide famine and the abolition of the institution of serfdom, which gave many Lithuanians the legal right to relocate—something they had previously lacked. This accounts for the initial surge.

Waves of Lithuanian immigration continued because of increased Russian tyranny in its treatment of Lithuania and other vassal nations as well as the economic depression prevailing in Lithuania (though the United States experienced a prolonged depression as well, in the later quarter of the century). The combination of Lithuanian independence in 1918 and new U.S. restrictions on immigration in 1924 ended the influx. In 1930, the Lithuanian American population equaled 6 percent of Lithuania's total population—a large number given that the transfer

in population had occurred in only two or three generations.

The next wave of Lithuanian immigration came during and after World War II, as refugees (*Dipukai*, in Lithuanian) fled their country, which was occupied first by Nazi Germany and then by the Soviet Union, which annexed it and turned it into a Soviet republic. Many of these refugees were well-educated professionals, even political leaders. Many of them considered themselves not immigrants but exiles, intending to return to Lithuania when the Communists left power. It took 50 years—and some did return, or their children or grandchildren did, which may account for the population loss of the last 20 years. Many others, though, were too acclimated to their American lives and had no desire to spend their twilight years in the country of their birth after they had spent their lives in an adopted country.

Lithuanian Americans settled all over the country, but the majority of them settled in urban areas and Pennsylvania coal country. Many of the 19th-century immigrants traveled extensively within the country, going wherever the work was—following the railroads, for instance—but Lithuanian American settlements soon developed in northeastern and midwestern cities. About a fifth of Lithuanian immigrants before World War II settled in Chicago. Most of the rest were in New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Boston, and industrial towns throughout New Jersey and New England.

Today, the city with the highest percentage of Lithuanian Americans is New Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where one in five people are Lithuanian. Large Lithuanian communities are found around New Philadelphia in Pennsylvania's coal country, as well as in the mining regions of Ohio and the West Virginia Panhandle.

The greatest numbers of Lithuanians are found in Chicago; the Lithuanian community in Chicago is the second largest in the world. Many refer to Chicago as the second capital of Lithuania, and Lithuanian Americans in Chicago have been very active politically. The community first came to national attention in 1906 when Upton Sinclair published his muckraking novel *The Jungle*, which details the working conditions of Lithuanian immigrants in the meatpacking industry.

Prominent Lithuanian Americans include Illinois's senator Dick Durbin, the Senate majority whip; Victor David Brenner, the sculptor who designed the Lincoln penny; George Maciunas, leader of the Fluxus art community and coordinator of "happenings" in the 1960s; and perhaps most notable, Valdas Adamkus. Adamkus was born in Lithuania and was a member of the underground resistance to Soviet occupation in World War II. He fled the country toward the end of the war, eventually immigrating to the United States, where he served in Army Intelligence before settling in Chicago. He remained active in Lithuanian issues and concerns, and he had a lengthy career in the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). After retiring from the EPA, he moved back to Lithuania in 1997, seven years after the country regained independence—and was elected president the following year.

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See Also: Dutch Americans; Estonian Americans; Latvian Americans.

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Little Big Man

Little Big Man is a 1964 novel by Thomas Berger that was adapted into the Arthur Penn film (1970) by the same name. The fictional Little Big Man has only a tenuous connection to the real-life Little Big Man, an Oglala Lakota chief who was a rival and a lieutenant of Crazy Horse and fought

at the Battle of Little Bighorn (as did the fictional Little Big Man).

The fictional Little Big Man was a white man, Jack Crabb, and the book is his memoir dictated at age 111. Over the course of the picaresque episodic novel, Crabb is captured by both Indians and whites, is rescued from the same, and encounters many of the famous historical figures of the Old West, including lawmen Wyatt Earp and Wild Bill Hickok, entertainer Buffalo Bill, and General George Armstrong Custer. Crabb takes on a great many roles, allowing Berger to emulate many of the tropes of the western genre and shift modes of storytelling. Crabb is a man adrift in his era, at home neither with the whites of his birth nor with the Plains Indians who named him Little Big Man.

A World War II veteran who served in a medical unit with the occupation forces in Berlin, Berger worked as a librarian and a copyeditor of *Popular Science* after the war, until he was able to focus on writing full-time. *Little Big Man* was his third book and his biggest commercial success, although in 1984 his novel *The Feud* was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction by the fiction nominating committee. (The Pulitzer board overrode the recommendation and selected *Ironweed* by William Kennedy.) His other novels include crime novels, science fiction, and a retelling of the King Arthur legend called *Arthur Rex*. He is generally described as a satirist, and he published his 21st novel, a sequel to *Little Big Man* titled *The Return of Little Big Man*, in 1999.

Marlon Brando originally secured the film rights to *Little Big Man* but was unable to attract backers to fund a production. When a new production began, directed by *Bonnie and Clyde*'s Arthur Penn, Brando was offered the role of Chief Old Lodge Skins but turned it down. The role was instead played by Chief Dan George, a chief of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation in British Columbia. George was subsequently nominated for the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor, as well as winning several critics' awards.

Dustin Hoffman played Crabb in the film, fresh from of his Oscar-nominated performance in *Midnight Cowboy*. One of the film actors most associated with "method" acting, Hoffman prepared for his scenes as the old Crabb by screaming repeatedly for an hour until his voice was hoarse.

The film was widely acclaimed and brought renewed attention to the novel. In dramatizing the satirical view of both white pioneer and Lakota Indian civilization in the 19th century, *Little Big Man* became one of the key films of the revisionist westerns—films that rebelled against the traditional casting of the Indian as villain and of white westward expansion as Manifest destiny. The Native Americans in the film are largely sympathetic, particularly Old Lodge Skins (who survives in the movie, unlike in the novel), while the cavalry is portrayed as outright villainous.

The movie was released in 1970, when protests against the Vietnam War had reached a fevered pitch and public sentiment was turning against the war. Though the cavalry's role in the west is not paralleled to the U.S. military's role in Vietnam, the negative portrayal of the military was received as a comment on the Vietnam War—reflecting the growing antimilitary sentiment of the time—and the most violent actions of the cavalry are in many ways a response to reports of the violence against women and children in the war, and of racial violence in general. Penn explicitly compared the cavalry's actions to the Holocaust in interviews.

Even apart from the appropriation of the name of the real Little Big Man, the story has many historical inaccuracies, though this is par for the course for most westerns, whether novels or films. The cavalry's attack at the Battle of Washita River is made bloodier and more villainous in the movie, in which women and children are massacred; in real life, Custer did target non-combatants, but there were likely more warriors and fewer noncombatants present than depicted in the film. Other events are depicted out of order, notably the Sand Creek Massacre, which also features in *Soldier Blue*, another revisionist western, released in 1970.

The historical inaccuracy most obvious to the general public is the death of Wild Bill Hickok. Although in the film Hickok is killed while Crabb is in Deadwood, the lawless town where the real Hickok was killed, the circumstances of his death are very different. The real Hickok's death is one of the most famous in the history of the Old West; he was shot by Jack McCall in the back of the head while sitting with his back to the door during a poker game. Hickok's hand, aces over eights, has been called the "Dead Man's Hand" ever since.

Though Custer's outright lunacy in the film, portrayed by Richard Mulligan, is satirical, it has been criticized as a caricature of a man who, while employed on the wrong side of history, was actually a vocal opponent of the federal government's plans to expand into Indian lands and who was sympathetic to the Indian cause.

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See Also: *Last of the Mohicans, The*; Mascots, Native American (Sports); Native Americans.

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Little Bighorn, Battle of

The Battle of Little Bighorn, or the Greasy Grass Fight, was an 1876 military confrontation between invading U.S. military and defending Lakota and Cheyenne forces on traditional Lakota Montana land that resulted in a victory for the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho nations. It was one of the last Native American military victories and highlights the injustice of U.S. genocidal campaigns against Native Americans.

The Battle of Little Bighorn was a fight to preserve a spiritual and hunting way of life as one aspect of cultural and political sovereignty. In the context of skirmishes with the Anishnaabe and Cree, and the deadly epidemics such as smallpox brought by mostly English and French colonists, the Lakota began a century of permanent migration west from the upper Mississippi region out to the northern plains in the late 1600s. By the late 1700s, they partially displaced both Cheyenne and Kiowas and came into conflicts with the Crow, Shoshone, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara of the northern plains. With the aid of horses, Lakota life changed from an agricultural to a hunting

base, with bison central to spiritual and cultural well-being. White Buffalo Calf Woman brought seven ceremonies to the Lakota, including the Wiwanyang Wacipi or Sun Dance ceremony that occurred at Little Bighorn.

The century after the July 4, 1776, independence of the United States brought a series of wars leveled against all Native Americans in order to obtain land by any means necessary. The ultimate goal of U.S. Manifest destiny was to completely control the U.S. section of the North American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Treaties between sovereign U.S. and Native American nations followed wars. The Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho wars, known as Red Cloud's War, were to end with the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. The treaty set aside the sacred Black Hills as part of the Great Sioux Reservation, as well as vast unceded hunting lands for the Lakota and Cheyenne, even if many Native Americans rightly disbelieved in the treaty process and U.S. government.

The massacre of Cheyenne and Arapahos at Sand Creek in 1864, the 1870s illegal invasion of white gold prospectors in the Black Hills, the settlement of white settlers on Lakota land, and the indiscriminate killing of most bison herds were four prominent examples of the failure of the Fort Laramie Treaty to honor Lakota and Cheyenne nations that were prominently allied against the U.S. forces at Little Bighorn. The gold rush was precipitated in 1873 by Lieutenant Custer, who was sent to the Black Hills with armed forces to protect the surveyors, gold-seeking mineralogists, and plans to build a transcontinental railroad through Lakota and Cheyenne hunting grounds. After attempts to evict white settlers from lands promised to Native Americans by the 1868 treaty, President Ulysses S. Grant ceased to prevent whites from encroaching on those lands. Instead, Grant merely ordered Lakotas and Cheyenne to stay within their reservations and off of the hunting grounds ceded by treaty.

1876 Battle of Rosebud

In light of the growing crisis of white settler incursions, the Hunkpapa spiritual and military leader Sitting Bull voiced a communal will to gather, discuss, and renew at Little Bighorn, where the Sun Dance had been held before.

Several thousand camped together. The largest contingent was the Lakota Seven Fires, or sub-bands, which include the Oglala, Sicangu, Hunkpapa, Mniconju, Itazipacola, Oohenunpa, and Sisasapa. With them, the hundreds of Cheyenne (Tsitsistas) also camped, as did smaller numbers of Nakota, Dakota, and Arapaho. It was this largest gathering of northern plains Native Americans, along with advanced military planning that tipped the battle in the favor of the Native American nations.

Although there were many important military leaders among all the bands and nations present, the Cheyenne leader Two Moon and the Oglala Lakota leader Crazy Horse are famous for their leadership role in the Battle of Rosebud. After tirelessly riding all night with a contingent of warriors, they led an attack on the army of

General George Crook on June 17, 1876. The result was a virtual standoff, with dozens of casualties, but this also meant that Crook was forced to regroup and wait for more ammunition and supplies; thus, his military regiment was effectively taken out of the Battle of Little Bighorn.

At Little Bighorn, Sitting Bull's and Crazy Horse's military leadership also proved effective. The 7th Cavalry, led by Armstrong, was separated from Crook's forces and ultimately splintered and faltered in its aggressive attacks against the larger native forces. It was the victorious outcome that Sitting Bull had earlier predicted in a Sun Dance vision in which the U.S. military rained down into the Little Bighorn encampment. Perhaps anticipating an easy victory and political glory, Custer led his 7th Cavalry into Little Bighorn instead



This is a scene from Pawnee Bill's Wild West Show called "Death of Custer," circa 1905. Sitting Bull is stabbing Custer while dead Native Americans are lying on the ground at their feet. Interpretations of Custer's fight are all conjecture, as none of his men survived the battle and the accounts of surviving Native Americans are unclear. Custer was found with shots to the chest and left temple.

of waiting an extra day for the backup forces of General Alfred Terry and Colonel John Gibbon to converge there, as previously planned.

Fearing that the camps would scatter and escape, Custer split his men into a three-pronged attack that ultimately weakened his position. While Custer took five companies, Major Marcus Reno took control of three companies in the attack, while the remaining three companies of Captain Frederick Banteen set up a defensive perimeter and guarded the pack train of supplies. Reno's initial thrust across the Little Bighorn River was repelled, and he suffered heavy losses without cover on the river and was permanently separated from Custer's forces. Leading an aggressive attack, Custer thrust his forces into the camp, only to be attacked on his flank and outnumbered. After a battle of a few hours, Custer was shot and died with the entire five companies that were under his command.

The timing of Custer's death and the United States' military defeat resounded powerfully during the blighted U.S. celebration of the 1876 centennial that was supposed to mark recovery from the horrors of the Civil War and several prolonged Native American wars. Although the deaths of Custer's men numbered only 263, the implication of a military defeat and opposition to Manifest destiny enraged many U.S. citizens. As newspapers proclaimed a massacre of innocent U.S. citizens, President Grant came under political fire for his campaign to continue any non-military negotiations with various Native American nations and to honor treaty rights.

Grant and his Republican government blamed Custer for blundering the assignment and set off decades of controversy regarding the reasons why Custer failed at Little Bighorn. The ensuing Great Sioux War battles, or continuing Black Hills War, of the next years resulted in losses for Lakota and Cheyenne bands that were devastated by illnesses and the loss of buffalo, overwhelmed by the greater numbers of U.S. military, and fragmented geographically as some eventually fled to Canada or were dispersed to various reservations across the northern and southern plains. Ultimately, Native American lands were reduced drastically, and decades of assimilation and Christianization programs were set up to target native culture and religion. Both the Black Hills and Little Bighorn

were claimed by the United States as non-Indian lands, despite treaty rights.

Century of Consequences

A century of U.S. news media, books, and film regarding the Battle of Little Bighorn that tended to side with the United States shifted with the Native American movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. Native American occupations of Alcatraz Island, Wounded Knee, and the Washington, D.C., Bureau of Native American Affairs building woke the United States from the stereotype that Native American had long ago disappeared and provided motivation to increase Native American sovereignty through a series of laws and programs. Only with effort has an honoring of the defensive Native American presence been recognized at the Little Bighorn National Monument.

By the time of the U.S. bicentennial, the book *Black Elk Speaks* (1932), based upon translations from Lakota, gained popularity among some Native American movement activists, who related to Black Elk's Oglala narrative that documented the immoral genocide that Black Elk and others fought at Little Bighorn. As a medicine man, Black Elk also heralded a return to traditional beliefs for some Native Americans, although critics find that the book was manipulated through translation and led to New Age non-native appropriation of native beliefs.

Through the translated recompiled narrative, Black Elk recounts how he rushed out to defend his mother and relatives during the Battle of Little Bighorn in a purely self-defensive moment. He relates a series of spiritual visions that give an Oglala religious context to the brutality of U.S. actions that targeted not only the Lakota but also the natural balance of the world and its various lifeforms. The 1970 film *Little Big Man* also showed sympathy for the Cheyenne victory at Little Bighorn and criticized Custer for his record of targeting dozens of non-military women and children under truce at the Washita River in 1868.

After a century of anti-Indianism, the Battle of Little Bighorn site is beginning to more widely represent the victorious resistance of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho nations. Situated in the Crow (Apsáalooke) Nation, the 1886 National Cemetery of Custer's Battlefield Reservation originally cast Native Americans as villains and honored

the fallen U.S. white soldiers. In 2001, federal legislation renamed the 1946 Custer Battlefield National Monument the Little Bighorn National Monument, eventually adding memorials and art installations to honor fallen Native Americans.

For example, Oglala-Sicangu Lakota artist Colleen Cutschall created the metal Spirit Warriors sculpture at the Little Bighorn Aboriginal Memorial, which evokes the rich art tradition and oral traditions that document the battle in Native American oral and art traditions. Although Lakota and Cheyenne nations have never relented in the quest to regain ceremonial access to the Black Hills, Lakota nations have spent several decades intensifying federal litigation regarding their sovereign treaty rights to the Black Hills.

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See Also: Black Hills Dispute and War; Cheyenne; Great Sioux War; *Little Big Man*; Sioux.

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Little Italy

With mass emigration from Italy during the 1880s, the majority of Italians settled in ethnic districts called Little Italies, mostly in U.S. northeastern cities such as East Harlem and the Lower East Side in New York, the North End in Boston, and Federal Hill in Providence. There were also large communities in Chicago (Near West Side) and San Francisco (Fisherman's Wharf). In addition, thousands settled in small towns in states such as New Jersey and in upstate New York, while a tiny minority chose rural settlements.

The choice to live in these districts was made because of the low cost of housing and their proximity to workplaces, coupled with the persistence of Italian culture with the continual arrival of further migrants as a result of diffused seasonal mobility from Italy. Inside the Little Italies, migrants originating from the same town or region were usually concentrated in the same streets and lived in tenements composed of dark and uncomfortable apartments, where families would share amenities. In the 1890s, photographer Jacob Riis reported on conditions in these ethnic areas, showing their poor conditions and crime.

A typical example of an ethnic quarter was the Lower East Side of Manhattan, which between the late 1800s and early 1900s was inhabited mostly by Italians and Jews. "Boarding," the practice of renting parts of an apartment or subletting a bed to a relative or a fellow townsman arrived from Italy, was widely common. As noted by Donna Gabaccia in her study of Sicilians located in Elizabeth Street in the Lower East Side, this practice—unknown on the home island—profoundly changed customs of patriarchal Sicilian families, which placed great importance on the control of the morality of wives and daughters.

The geographic fragmentation that characterized the majority of Little Italies reflected a clash between different local identities imported from Italy. The bulk of Italian migrants were peasants with a loose sense of national identity, since the Italian state was perceived as an enemy that imposed military service or high taxes. People mostly relied on village's identities, reproduced in the United States in myriad small mutual-aid societies. These provided financial assistance in cases of sickness or death, and sponsored ethnic events such as balls and picnics. These associations often welcomed only Italians from the same regional origins, taking the names of places or saints, or well-known Italians, including Christopher Columbus or Giuseppe Garibaldi. John Andreozzi estimates that around 20,000 ethnic organizations were created by Italians in the United States from the 1830s until the end of the 20th century, the largest being the Order Sons of Italy in America.

The ethnic quarter re-created services vital for the existence of immigrants, including banks, shops, steamship agencies, and restaurants. In 1940, over 10,000 Italian grocery stores and 2,000

bakeries were operating in New York alone. In the Little Italies, the *prominenti* (ethnic leaders) often led the ethnic associations. They were middle-class individuals (teachers, office workers, notaries, or journalists) with a remarkable social status in the Italian communities, but some were even employed in criminal activities. However, they played an important role in mediating the immigrants' transition to American society, encouraging it for reasons including electoral potential. The *prominenti* also worked to control the Italian ethnic press, a medium that circulated news on Italy, the United States, and the Italian American communities. Italians also had Catholic churches and reproduced their native religious festivals in their districts.

Localism was partially replaced by a sense of Italian nationalism between World War I and World War II, when many Italian Americans expressed appreciation toward Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. Because Italy and the United States were enemies in World War II, Italian Americans accelerated their Americanization and showed their loyalty to their host country. As many Italians served in the U.S. armed forces, they received veterans' benefits granted by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 and improved their status. As a result, after the war, many abandoned the old ethnic areas to move to the suburbs.

Today, the phenomenon is particularly noticeable from the urban morphology of neighboring areas in New York, where surnames that reveal an Italian origin are numerous. Further indicators of the postwar disappearance of the oldest ethnic wards and their culture were the loss of readers of the Italian press and listeners of Italian radio programs, as the new generations were often unable to read and speak the language of their ancestry.

Today, Little Italies are no longer residential districts but rather—to use the words of Jerome Krase—“Ethnic Disneyland” at the disposal of tourists and of “weekend ethnics,” third- or fourth-generation Italian Americans who visit these areas to rediscover their ethnicity by buying ethnic products, eating in Italian restaurants, or taking part in religious celebrations or *feste popolari* (grassroot festivals).

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See Also: Chinatowns; Italian Americans; Order Sons of Italy in America.

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Little Rock School Desegregation

In 1957, a group of nine African American students enrolled in the previously all-white Little Rock Central High School. Although this desegregation was in compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court's holding in *Brown v. Board of Education* (347 U.S. 483 [1954]), Arkansas governor Orval Faubus resisted it and initially prevented the black students from entering the school. In what became one of the more significant events of the civil rights movement, President Dwight D. Eisenhower intervened, taking actions that permitted the enrollment of the students who became known as the “Little Rock Nine.”

Background

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) legal department, led by Thurgood Marshall and Charles Hamilton Houston, became involved during the late 1940s in a campaign to reverse the separate but equal principle reached in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537 [1896]).

After making a strategic decision that obtaining relief in state legislatures was nearly impossible because of Jim Crow laws that prevented many African Americans from voting, the NAACP decided to challenge segregation on the grounds that segregated facilities were separate but not equal.

After Houston's death in 1950, Marshall and the NAACP took up a series of cases that challenged school segregation. In the case that ultimately became known as *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court held in a unanimous opinion that state laws establishing separate schools for African American children violated the U.S. Constitution. Two kinds of segregation can exist in schools and other organizations: de jure and de facto. De jure segregation is that which is mandated by law, and de facto segregation is that which occurs as a result of human behavior and custom.

Determining that separate facilities were inherently unequal, the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* abolished de jure segregation and paved the way for integration. Though the ruling eliminated the legal justification for segregation, many state and local governments resisted the ramifications of *Brown*. For that reason, for the next several years the NAACP and others approached a variety of segregated white schools throughout the south to register black students, which would result in the integration of the schools. The Little Rock School District, located in Arkansas's capital city, had long maintained segregated schools. When approached by the NAACP in 1955, however, the Little Rock School Board agreed to enroll African American students in Little Rock Central High School, an institution that had long served only white students. The school board instructed Virgil Blossom, the superintendent of schools, to work with the NAACP to develop a plan to integrate Little Rock Central High School.

Working together with the NAACP and parents, Blossom formulated a plan for the gradual integration of the Little Rock public schools. Although his earliest preference had been to begin desegregating the elementary schools, parents wary of long bus rides to integrated schools convinced Blossom to begin with the high schools.

Pursuant to Blossom's plan, integration would begin at the start of the 1957 to 1958 academic year at Central High School, commence at the junior high school during the 1960 to 1961 school year, and proceed to the elementary schools during 1963 and 1964. The plan met with the approval of the NAACP and the Little Rock School Board. In anticipation of the integration

of Central High School, the NAACP selected nine students to enroll there. Each of the nine had stellar academic records and outstanding patterns of attendance. These students, often referred to as the "Little Rock Nine," were Minnijean Brown, Elizabeth Eckford, Ernest Green, Thelma Mothershed, Melba Pattillo, Gloria Ray, Terrence Roberts, Jefferson Thomas, and Carlotta Walls. In September 1957, they were prepared to enroll in Central High School, and the integration plan was approved by the district court.

Opposition From Segregationists

When word of the integration plans for the Little Rock School District became known, they were highly unpopular among certain groups. Segregationist councils began to organize protests outside the school and appealed to the chancellor of the Pulaski County Schools for a delay in the integration of Central High School. Chancellor Murray Reed granted the segregationists' request on the grounds that integration could cause violence. In response, the NAACP went to federal court to obtain relief. U.S. District Court Judge Ronald N. Davies, from the District of North Dakota, was appointed by Chief Judge Archibald K. Gardner of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit to hear the Little Rock desegregation cases. After reviewing the desegregation plans of the Little Rock School District, Judge Davies on August 30 ordered the integration of Central High School to take place as planned on September 3.

Governor Faubus, disregarding Judge Davies's order, called out the Arkansas National Guard and created a constitutional crisis by ordering it to Little Rock Central High School to maintain order. Once in place, the Arkansas Guardsmen turned the Little Rock Nine away at the schoolhouse door. Faubus, who made derogatory comments regarding the racial backgrounds of the Little Rock Nine and Judge Davies's Catholic faith, ordered the Arkansas National Guard to remain at the school in contravention of the district court's order that the integration proceed. As the international media descended on Little Rock, President Eisenhower had Faubus flown to his vacation retreat in Newport, Rhode Island, to discuss the matter. On September 14, Eisenhower instructed Faubus not to interfere with implementation of

the desegregation of public schools mandated by the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision.

To support the Little Rock Nine, Eisenhower dispatched a group of attorneys from the U.S. Justice Department to Arkansas. The attorneys filed a petition with Judge Davies requesting an injunction against the Arkansas National Guard's deployment at Central High School. On September 20, Judge Davies granted the injunction, ruling that Faubus's motivation in deploying the Guard had been to thwart integration of Central High School and not to preserve law and order.

Davies ordered the removal of the Guardsmen and, after an uncomfortable 24-hour period of uncertainty, Faubus complied. When the Little Rock Police Department attempted to escort the Little Rock Nine to school on September 23, however, a mob of angry parents, led by the Mother's League, surrounded the building and prevented the students from attending classes. The outnumbered police withdrew, creating another stalemate.

The following day, Little Rock's mayor, Woodrow Wilson Mann, asked President Eisenhower to send federal troops to help enforce Judge Davies's desegregation order. On September 24, Eisenhower ordered the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division—the "Screaming Eagles"—to Little Rock to enforce the court's order. That same day, Eisenhower also federalized the entire Arkansas National Guard, removing them from Faubus's control. Eisenhower ordered the Guardsmen to assist with the desegregation of Central High School, thus recognizing the authority of the judicial system to carry out desegregation orders.

The Mother's League filed a petition with Judge Davies asking him to remove the federal troops from Little Rock. Judge Davies dismissed the petition, and the U.S. Army and the Arkansas National Guard continued to escort the Little Rock Nine to school and to protect their safety.

Throughout the process, Judge Davies received, through the U.S. mail and other channels,



Soldiers escort African American students to Central High School in Little Rock in September 1957, after the governor of Arkansas tried to enforce segregation by deploying the National Guard to support the segregationists. The school district issued a statement condemning the governor's deployment of soldiers, and President Dwight Eisenhower summoned the then-governor to a meeting, warning him not to defy the Supreme Court ruling.

thousands of threats against his life and menacing his family's well-being. Standing only five-feet-one-inch tall, Davies was not intimidated by these threats and continued his work on judicial matters in Little Rock until he was able to return home to North Dakota. Davies did accept protection from the U.S. Marshal's Office, which guarded him around the clock. Other school personnel received threats as well, and numerous reports of bombs being placed within Central High School were made and investigated, although all proved false. For the remainder of the 1957 to 1958 academic year, Central High School remained integrated.

"The Lost Year"

During the spring of 1958, Faubus again began attempts to thwart desegregation of Arkansas schools. Superintendent Blossom was removed from office and the Little Rock School District was placed under state control. When Faubus filed a petition on behalf of the Little Rock School District asking that the desegregation plans be delayed because of the disruption caused, U.S. District Court Judge Harry J. Lemley (Davies had returned to North Dakota by this time) granted the request. However, in August 1958, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit reversed the district court's decision, and was affirmed a month later by the U.S. Supreme Court.

In response, Faubus convinced the Arkansas legislature to pass statutes permitting him to close all of the Little Rock public schools. Although Faubus had intended to lease the Little Rock school buildings to private organizations that would operate segregated institutions, this plan was thwarted when the NAACP challenged it in court. As a result of Faubus's actions, the Little Rock schools remained closed throughout the 1958 to 1959 school year. In spring 1959, a more moderate group of school board members was elected and announced plans to reopen the schools. Although Faubus was unable to prevent this, he was reelected governor in 1958, 1960, 1962, and 1964, after which he chose not to run for reelection.

Consequences

The desegregation of the Little Rock schools established the federal courts' authority to enforce decisions on state governments, even if

the elected politicians in those states disagreed with the courts' rulings. Because the supremacy clause of Article VI of the U.S. Constitution made that document the supreme law of the land and because *Marbury v. Madison* (5 U.S. 137 [1803]) established the U.S. Supreme Court's authority to conduct judicial review of statutes and other government acts, states could be bound by rulings of the federal judiciary. During the 1950s, many segregationists discussed the alleged rights of nullification and interposition.

Nullification suggested that states had the right to nullify any federal law that the states deemed unconstitutional, while interposition asserted that states had the right to declare certain federal actions unconstitutional. The Little Rock school desegregation battles resulted in the U.S. Supreme Court rejecting the doctrines of nullification and interposition and affirming that only the federal courts, not the states, have the authority to determine the constitutionality of federal laws.

The desegregation of Central High School was undoubtedly made easier by the strong academic backgrounds of the Little Rock Nine. All nine students demonstrated academic success after their time at Central High School. Brown attended Laurentian University after leaving Central High School, while Eckford went to Knox College, Green and Walls studied at Michigan State University, Mothershed graduated from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Pattillo attended San Francisco State University, Ray graduated from the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago, Roberts went to California State University Los Angeles, and Thomas studied at Wayne State University.

The sacrifices and courage of the Little Rock Nine were recognized by President Bill Clinton with the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest civilian award in the United States given to those who perform an outstanding deed or act of service to the security, prosperity, and national interest of the country. In 2007, the U.S. Mint also honored the Little Rock Nine by featuring them on a commemorative silver dollar.

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See Also: African Americans; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Civil Rights Movement; Constitutional Amendments; Desegregation/Integration; Jim Crow Laws; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; School Desegregation.

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Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock (1903)

Between 1890 and 1899, the issue of what to do with Indians, as they were known then, was becoming more pressing and increasingly confused as diverse groups of Anglo Americans proposed their solutions to the “Indian problem.” As both citizens and new immigrants looking for the American Dream of becoming landholders in their own right focused on Indian Territory, the most important aspect of the problem facing the U.S. government was how to separate the Indians from their incredibly vast land holdings and redistribute those lands and resources to Anglo Americans.

Massachusetts Senator Henry L. Dawes soon put forward a plan to survey and divide tribally held lands into 160-acre allotments that would be individually owned by each head of household Indian claimant enrolled in the tribe. Dawes deemed 160 acres a sufficient land base for subsistence farming. Furthermore, by turning the very mobile hunter-gatherers into sedentary agrarians,

it would free up millions of acres. The balance of this “excess” land would then be opened up to claim by Anglo homesteaders. The Dawes Severalty Act, otherwise known as the General Allotment Act, was passed by Congress in 1887.

Contested by Indians and their Anglo advocates throughout the 1890s, it was this congressional action that led to the 1898 legal filing by Lone Wolf of the Kiowa tribe from the Comanche/Kiowa/Apache Reservation surrounding Fort Sill in the southwest corner of Indian Territory. This reservation had been created as part of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. Congress’s pronouncement that it was going to open up 2,150,000 acres of the reservation’s land to Anglo settlement was a direct breach of the treaty.

By 1901, Lone Wolf’s hired lawyers had fought their case throughout the court system all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The action named Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock; hence, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*. Lone Wolf contended that the land had been held in a nontitled communal fashion by the entire tribe and that the Dawes Act was a direct violation of existing treaties. Lone Wolf argued that if the Dawes Act were allowed to go forward, it would lead to the catastrophic loss of hunting, foraging, and ceremonial grounds held by the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes. Additionally, it would destroy the Indians’ lifestyle, resulting in the loss of the ability and the right to feed and clothe themselves as they had for millennia, as well as the loss of access to their cultural and religious sites.

The court, however, ruled against Lone Wolf. The opinion of the court stated,

Plenary authority over the tribal relations of the Indians has been exercised by Congress from the beginning, and the power has always been deemed a political one, not subject to be controlled by the judicial department of the government. . . . We must presume that Congress acted in perfect good faith in the dealings with the Indians of which complaint is made, and that the legislative branch of the government exercised its best judgment in the premises. In any event, as Congress possessed full power in the matter, the judiciary cannot question or inquire into the motives which prompted the enactment of this legislation.

Thus, the Supreme Court upheld Congress's right to abrogate treaties with Indian tribes and handed control over tribal land claims to the U.S. government. The 1890 census reported the total U.S. population at 62,622,250, with 325,464 listed as Indians in, on, or near territories or reservations. Of this number, 13,167, including Lone Wolf and the Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and other tribes, lived in what would be renamed Oklahoma Territory. The *Lone Wolf* case would change Indian–U.S. government relations forever, as well as shift Anglo westward expansion into high gear.

In 1880, the average land holding for the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache on the Fort Sill Reservation was actually less than 160 acres per capita. By 1934, this dropped to an average of 17 acres per capita as the allotment lands were, more times than not, unsuitable for farming. Some Comanche and Kiowa did become ranchers or were fortunate to have the ability to lease their lands to Anglos for grazing cattle. Nonetheless, many times even this effort led to failure and/or the loss of allotment lands for those Indians who did not speak English and were taken advantage of by Boomers and Sooners.

The loss of *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* in the Supreme Court led to fundamental changes in how Indians were dealt with by the U.S. government. As the result of this case, Indians became subject to the whims of Congress. Nevertheless, there were a few illuminating moments in Indian land cases in the early 1900s. In 1919, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Pueblo of Santa Rosa and limited the secretary of the interior's authority to seize tribal land, stating that such a seizure "would not be an exercise of guardianship, but of confiscation."

In 1935, following a finding in favor of the Creek Nation, Justice Willis Van Devanter wrote in his finding that Congress's "plenary power was not unlimited" in dealing directly with Indian tribes. In 1946, Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson wrote in his opinion of *United States v. Alcea Band of Tillamooks*, an Indian land claims case, that the "power of Congress over Indian affairs may be of a plenary nature; but it is not absolute. It does not enable the United States to give the tribal lands to others, or to appropriate them to its own purposes, without rendering, or assuming an obligation to render, just compensation for them."

Then again, despite some measured victories since *Lone Wolf*, Indians have continued to lose their lands, as well as their control over their lands. Currently, the U.S. government lists 275 Indian land areas in the United States in the form of reservations, pueblos, rancherias, and communities. The largest—approximately 16 million acres spread across parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah—is held by the Diné (Navajos). Many reservations are composed of 1,000 acres or less, and the smallest is less than 100 acres. The Bureau of Indian Affairs manages and administers 55.7 million acres that are held in trust for the Indians.

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See Also: Apache; Comanche; Dawes Act (1887); Indian Territory; Kiowa; Reservations, American Indian.

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Long Walk of the Navajo

On January 14, 1864, Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole wrote to Secretary of the Interior John P. Usher that a reserve had to be established for Apache Indians. An area had been found at Bosque Redondo, a 40-mile-square site on the Pecos River, isolated from whites. In December, 1863, Superintendent Michael Steck told Dole that the proposed reservation was well adapted "for Indian purposes" but would support no more than 3,000 individuals. However, he used a formula that was applicable to the east, not to an arid climate.

Steck had the land surveyed by the General Land Office, which estimated that by using irrigation, 6,000 acres could be cultivated. Dole recommended that the reserve be for the exclusive use

of Apache Indians, the land held from preemption and settlement. Usher agreed and sent the request to the president. Abraham Lincoln approved and signed an executive order, which did not require congressional approval, the next day. There was now a place to confine the Mescalero Apache and the Navajo (Diné): it is called Fort Sumner, or Hwéeldi. There were no negotiations with either indigenous group: they were treated as prisoners of war. The Navajos call this bitter period the Long Walk, because the military forced over 8,000 Navajo to walk 250 to 450 miles from their homeland within the Four Sacred Mountains to live on Mescalero Apache land. This government policy of forced removal to distant reserves, which some activists consider ethnic cleansing, was part of the Union's military strategy to keep routes to California open and safe, as well as to stop Confederate advances into New Mexico and Arizona.

A Pattern of Warfare and Raiding

The 1840s through the early 1860s were times of intensified raiding as the Navajo economy shifted from agriculture to pastoralism. When the United States assumed control over the territories, the area was described as one of relentless intermittent warfare combined with extensive trade networks. Apache groups raided New Mexican homesteads and Pueblo communities for sheep, cattle, and horses. These groups in turn raided Apachean camps and took women and children as slaves, a well-established pattern that was intensifying as Euro-American and New Mexican Hispanic settlers moved onto Apachean lands. Utes and Comanches raided Navajos, and they in turn retaliated against communities that were not their trading partners. Anthropologist Edward Spicer estimated that between 1846 and 1850, 20,000 horses and mules and over 800,000 sheep and cattle were stolen in northwestern New Mexico by all parties. In addition, almost half of the Navajo population (as many as 6,000 women and children) were living as slaves with New Mexican families, and others had been taken to Mexico. The last Navajo slave was not freed until the late 1880s.

The United States had promised settlers protection, because of the small number of troops assigned, Navajo and Apache sociopolitical organization, and their scattered homes, the military was ineffective. Although the government and

the Navajo had signed several treaties, only the members following their local leader were bound by these agreements; the Navajo had no centralized political authority. Though the military built forts on Navajo homelands, it could not keep New Mexican residents from invading Navajo lands. Many Navajo felt that acquiring livestock was payment for the theft of their land. In turn, New Mexican slave raiders considered taking and selling Navajo slaves as reimbursement for their economic losses. When many troops were pulled out for the Civil War in 1861, an already bad situation worsened. Scholars have described it as chaos, a cyclone of raids and counter-raids.

Removal of the Apache and Navajo

General James Carleton, the military commander of New Mexico Territory, decided to eliminate Apachean raids by restraining and then removing Mescalero Apache and Navajo. He simultaneously put a halt to New Mexican raids and their civilian vigilante groups but did not order these peoples to be removed; Carleton respected the rights of Euro-American families to their property but not Indian rights to their homelands. The Mescalero campaign lasted five months. Then Carleton turned to the Navajo, supported by 700 New Mexican militiamen. He ordered the Navajo to surrender on July 20, 1863. When no Navajo appeared, Carleton ordered Kit Carson to round up people, to make their living conditions so bad they would have no choice but to congregate around Fort Defiance and Fort Wingate.

Using a scorched-earth policy to abolish an enemy's economic subsistence base, Carson's troops destroyed hogans, crops, and orchards; poisoned waterholes; slaughtered livestock; and killed people. Utes, Puebloans, and New Mexicans were encouraged to increase their raiding and slave-capturing activities to demoralize "The People" and leave them little room to maneuver. After a devastating winter with unusually heavy snowfall, Navajo subsistence resources were destroyed. Their choice was extermination or removal. Over 8,000 Navajo surrendered, but an equal number evaded the U.S. Army and hid in isolated canyons around Navajo Mountain or went to live with the Southern Paiute to the north and the Apaches to the south. They slowly returned over the next few years.

The Long Walk was a death march, similar to the 80-mile Bataan Death March in the Philippines during World War II in which 75,000 prisoners of war trudged to a concentration camp; with the deaths of 10,000 on the trek, it was later judged by the international community as a war crime. The Navajo march was carried out with over 50 units by seven routes between August 1864 and the end of 1866. The Long Walk is remembered by Navajo descendants for the atrocities, suffering, and humiliation inflicted on the Diné.

People walked from Fort Defiance to the Rio Grande and the Pecos River and then headed south. Some soldiers marched the long lines of people through Santa Fe and Albuquerque so that New Mexicans could see the supposedly defeated Indians. There were few wagons for the 18-day journey; soldiers shot stragglers, and slavers stole children and women. The old and infirm were left to die. It is estimated that 200 people perished and another 2,000 succumbed to disease and starvation at Bosque Redondo within months.

Bosque Redondo means “round forest” in Spanish, a colloquialism for pleasant river bottomlands with cottonwood trees. The incarceration was labeled an Indian experiment—the first Indian reservation west of Indian Territory—by the military, but it was by all accounts an unmitigated disaster. First, the Mescalero Apache and the Navajo, who had raided each other in the past, were mistrustful of each other and kept apart. Second, the Mescalero Apache had been given what little good agricultural lands there were, leaving almost nothing for the Navajo families. Third, the estimated amount of irrigable lands had been greatly exaggerated by the government land survey, an occurrence that was not uncommon in the west.

Fourth, there were simply too many people. At its densest population, there were over 9,000 Indians interned in an area that could not support 1,000—well below the Indian Service estimate. Fifth, the government was to supply food, blankets, and shelter, but there was not enough for more than half the population. In addition, Congress would not appropriate enough monies to adequately support confined peoples and their needs, even though it is estimated that the experiment cost the federal government \$1.5 million (\$24,264,714.41 in 2010 dollars).

Sixth, everything that could go wrong did: crops failed, worms got into the corn, drought occurred, flooding repeatedly destroyed the irrigation system, disease ran rampant because of the brackish water and waste problems, firewood and wildlife were used up, and Comanches raided and stole children and horses. Navajos began counter-raiding the Comanche, and many started to simply leave and walk home.

Throughout this period, Navajo leaders like Barboncito, Ganado Muncho, Mauelito, and Largo prayed to the Holy People and asked their help in returning them to their homeland, where they knew they would prosper. In 1868, the government decided that the Bosque Redondo reserve was simply too expensive and would allow the Navajo to return to a fraction of their original homelands (not the eastern section, where there was heavy New Mexican settlement) and the Mescalero Apache would go to a new reserve.

The Treaty of 1868 shows Navajo diplomatic negotiation skills in placing their homeland in the central place. It also contains the standard treaty services of protection, education, and medicine as payment for the seizure of their lands. Following the signing of the treaty, the Navajo as a group began their “Long Walk” home. The line of people was said to be 10 miles long.

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See Also: Apache; Comanche; Navajo; Reservations, American Indian; Trail of Tears; Ute.

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Lord Dunmore's War

The ending of one war often sets the stage for another. The roots of Lord Dunmore's War of 1774 trace their way to the end of the French and Indian War. As part of their agreement made with the French at the 1763 Peace of Paris, the British pledged that no English settlement would cross the Appalachian Mountains. Yet, settlement expanded unabated, and violent conflict escalated between settlers and natives. In the hope of stemming the violence while at the same time acquiring control over a vast trans-Appalachian region, in 1768, the British signed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois Confederacy. Also called the Iroquois League, its six nations included the Mohawk, Tuscarora, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga peoples.

The problem with the treaty was its disregard for the enemies of the Iroquois, Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo tribes, who claimed hunting rights to the same area. Believing that they now had every right to do so, white settlers began crossing the mountains in droves and settling in what was hoped to become a new English colony, called Vandalia. This area comprised most of modern West Virginia and parts of eastern Kentucky.

Native Raids and Settler Reprisals

What followed was a series of brutal, mainly vengeful native raids on the white settlers, and reprisals from the settlers. The level of violence became so horrific that the governor of Virginia, a Scottish nobleman named John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, launched a retaliatory campaign in May 1774. Six months later, Lord Dunmore's War ended with the colonists' victory over the Indians at the Battle of Point Pleasant.

Logan, a Mingo chief who initially sought peace with the whites, lost several members of his family in a fight near Steubenville, Ohio, and his punitive raid into Pennsylvania took the lives of over a dozen colonists. The Yellow Creek Massacre references a series of back-and-forth atrocities. One of these included Logan's loss of more family members in an ambush at a cabin near Wheeling, West Virginia. Enraged, Logan and other natives sought out and killed nearly every white person that they encountered. For example, pioneering legend Daniel Boone's attempt to move his family

into Kentucky was thwarted by the capture and torture of his son James near the Cumberland Gap. Terrified settlers moved into nearby forts for protection. These and other events sparked Lord Dunmore's War.

With the approval of Virginia's House of Burgesses, Lord Dunmore gathered a militia force and divided it into two columns. He personally led one toward Fort Pitt, in Pennsylvania, and then down the Ohio River. Meanwhile, Andrew Lewis led a force of approximately 1,100 men into the Little Kanawha Valley. Lord Dunmore sent word to Lewis to cross the Ohio River for a rendezvous. Before Lewis's force could cross the river, Chief Cornstalk's force of an equal number of Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo warriors ambushed his column on October 10, 1774, near modern-day Point Pleasant, West Virginia. The native force was defeated at the battle of the same name (also referred to as the Battle of Kanawha).

Because of their defeat, the Indians met the whites near present-day Chillicothe, Ohio, and agreed in the Treaty of Camp Charlotte to free all prisoners, to cede all claims to lands south of the Ohio River, and to allow its free passage.

The Battle of Point Pleasant achieved fame in both the colonies and Europe. Notably lacking at the Camp Charlotte meeting were Logan and the Mingo tribe. Although its authenticity is questioned, the sentiment behind "Logan's Lament" is valid, and his speech became one of the most recognized in the history of Native Americans. The war may have ended, but the Shawnee seethed with resistance. On many occasions, they crossed the river to attack settlers in Kentucky and Virginia. At one point, Daniel Boone's daughter was captured and rescued, and Boone was captured but later escaped. Boone's brother and another son both died at the hands of Indians.

The hostility engendered by their defeat directly contributed to many Native Americans of the region siding with the British during the Revolutionary War. The Americans remembered what they believed to be native treachery, and at war's end, reprisals from both sides led to the Shawnee losing all of their territory on either side of the Ohio River and being forced to move westward. The domino effect of eastern tribes moving west disrupted the balance of power among Native American tribes, fomenting generations of hostility.

As tensions escalated between the American colonies and Great Britain, Lord Dunmore bore the brunt of Virginians' resentment. Some accused him of having incited the war, even plotting the destruction of Lewis's force in order to weaken Virginians' military strength. There is historical evidence supporting Dunmore's treachery.

Ultimately, he fled to England, but not before attempting to instigate a failed slave rebellion in Virginia. He remained governor of Virginia, albeit in name only, throughout the Revolutionary War. Dunmore became a member of the House of Lords before his death in 1809.

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See Also: English Americans; Iroquois Confederacy; Native Americans; Shawnee.

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Lore

Lore, or folklore as scholars generally refer to it, consists of the traditional expressive practices of a group. These practices can include verbal genres, such as telling a folktale, joke, or urban legend; customary genres, such as celebrating a holiday or festival; material genres, such as making a quilt or preparing a traditional meal; or musical genres, such as singing a folk song or playing a traditional tune. The groups that perform these genres of folklore can range widely in size and composition but have often been defined as sharing at least one common feature of cultural identity that can serve as a basis for the creation and performance of a shared set of expressive practices. Thus, folklorists tend to think of these practices not in terms of how old or "authentic" they are but rather as living forms of expression through which members

of a group define and redefine their sense of identity, history, or environment.

Performance and Variation

Although the way we often talk about folklore seems to suggest that traditional stories, songs, or customs are an unchanging and uniform set of things, scholars have importantly noted that they exist only because they are performed. A legend, for instance, is more than just a plot outline repeated in the same way; it is something that is told by a person to other people under specific circumstances and for specific reasons.

Because each situation in which folklore is performed is different, it is important to understand that no two performances of folklore will be exactly the same. The timing of adding spices to a stew, the tone of voice used in a story, the pitch of a note in a song, and myriad other features may shift across different performances, dramatically changing the meaning or effect created by the performance.

Accordingly, over time, these differences may also result in variations in the traditions themselves. A widespread cluster of folktales from both African and African American traditions, for example, recounts a deceptive game of tug-of-war initiated by a trickster character. However, in some versions of the story the deception by the trickster involves tying his end of the rope to a tree, while in others the trickster orchestrates a tug-of-war between two large animals who are each unaware of their opponent's identity and strength.

Similarly, the identity of the trickster character can shift depending on the region where the folktale is being told. In African American versions of this and other folktales, the primary trickster character is usually a rabbit, whereas in Afro-Caribbean traditions it is generally a spider. These variations, although seemingly superficial, often reflect differences in social or cultural identities and can result in significant differences in performance and in the possible meanings that narrators can create with their stories.

Genres

Like other artistic or expressive forms, folklore has often been described as being organized into genres. Loosely speaking, folklore genres are sets of rules, often unspoken and learned from

previous observation that guide the production of traditional performances. Although the genres of folklore are too numerous and diverse to easily catalog, better-known examples might include proverbs, riddles, jokes, rhymes, myths, folktales, legends, tongue-twisters, insults, e-mail forwards, games, songs, beliefs, customs, dances, folk drama, forms of dress, festivals, foodways, folk arts, folk crafts, folk architecture, and folk decoration. This incomplete listing shows something of the range of forms by which scholars categorize folklore.

In practice, however, particular communities may recognize a set of genres that is very different from those listed above. These systems of insider-defined “ethnic” genres can reveal a great deal about the artistic frameworks that guide how members of a group perform their traditions. In one well-known case of this type of divergence, recorded by folklorist Barre Toelken, a Yurok Native American woman who was invited to teach a class on Yurok basket making spent a majority of her time teaching students how to sing traditional songs. Asked about this approach, the woman explained that in Yurok traditional culture, the genres of singing and basket making are so intertwined that baskets may be described as “songs made visible.” Although anecdotal, this account suggests some of the important variations in the ways that groups can categorize their own expressive products.

As a diverse body of genres that can be adapted for individual performances, folklore can be used to create an extraordinarily large variety of meanings. A few examples will illustrate both some common genres and some of the meanings that performances of folklore in these genres can create or convey.

Material Folklore: Foodways

One of the forms of folklore that is most associated with cultural identity in the United States is foodways. Knowing how to prepare, serve, and consume certain foods is a key component of the way in which many people define a sense of identity, particularly ethnic identity. In fact, unlike heritage languages, which tend to disappear from ethnic groups within a generation or two, foodways have proven among the traditions most doggedly maintained as symbols of ethnic identification.

Food-based traditions may be performed on a frequent basis as a part of the routine of daily life; however, they may also be performed on recurring occasions that have significance for a family or ethnic group. For instance, some Italian American families may regularly produce Italian American dishes such as *pasta alla marinara* or *pesto* for everyday meals, while other Italian American foods may be reserved for special regularly occurring occasions associated with ethnic identity, such as marking the Feast of the Seven Fishes on Christmas Eve by making and eating *baccala*, a form of dried salted codfish. Other types of foodways may be associated with events that occur only at special times in a person’s life span. For instance, certain simple foods may be prepared as part of the *ge wei jiu*, a traditional postfuneral meal in the Chinese American community.

Despite their seemingly static form, it is important to note that it may be the flexibility of foodways that makes them so enduring. Even foods that are intimately associated with a particular ethnic group are rarely mere reproductions of Old World traditions.

In fact, as food scholar and historian Donna Gabaccia has argued, Americans have from the earliest days of their history blended or borrowed elements from different ethnic cuisines, as well as inventing new elements to integrate into existing ethnic foodways. For example, although now not always seen as an intrinsically ethnic food, the popular pairing of bagels and cream cheese was long viewed as a tradition in Jewish American cuisine. However, though the American bagel did have origins in Jewish immigrants from Poland in the late 1800s, cream cheese seems likely to have been developed by Pennsylvania Quakers at least a century earlier. It was, then, through this blending together of elements from different ethnic and regional cuisines that a popular contemporary American dish came into being.

Musical Folklore: Folk Songs

In addition to the role that folklore can play in symbolizing ethnicity, it can also say something about the value structures of a social group. In some cases, these values are made by clear by the general trends in the ways that performative variation in the folklore takes place.

Folk singers along the Texas–Mexico border at the turn of the 20th century, for instance, developed a variant form of the *corrido* (ballad or narrative song) that, unlike the *corridos* of other regions of Mexico, tended to focus on heroic everyman outlaws like Juan Cortina, Gregorio Cortez, or José Mosqueda. These heroes were generally real individuals, and the incidents described in the *corridos* are often based in historical fact; however, the ways in which these historical circumstances are embellished can be revealing.

For instance, although each version of a particular ballad may present a slightly different take on the hero, scholars of *corridos* have noted that the cluster of qualities, such as hard work, physical skill, humility, honesty, and honor, ascribed to the heroic characters provide insight into the values that were prized by the border *tejanola* (Texan-Mexican) community that created these songs.

These trends are most striking in cases like the *corrido* concerning José Mosqueda. In reality, Mosqueda was a train robber known for a high-profile heist in south Texas. In the ballad, however, Mosqueda is transformed into a heroic fighter in the ongoing border conflict.

Furthermore, inasmuch as these characters are always pitted against Anglo *rinches* (a pejorative term for the Texas Rangers), who are presented as having all of the opposite qualities as the hero, *corrido* scholars have also argued that these works represented a form of cultural resistance against the real-world oppression often experienced by the *tejano* community in this period.

Customary Folklore: Parades and Festivals

Similarly tied to both resistance to and the maintenance of the status quo are some of the customary genres, such as parades, festivals, or rituals. Parading traditions, for instance, significantly involve the physical occupation of a public space by performers. When parades are tied to cultural events, they can often serve as a message or reminder about the presence and strength of a particular group.

Thus, the advent of parading traditions to mark ethnic holidays such as Saint Patrick's Day in the Irish American community or Columbus Day for Italian Americans serve not only to showcase different segments of those ethnic communities but also to create a sense of the strength of the community as a whole.

In addition to their role as public displays of power, festive occasions are importantly occasions that are experienced together. As such, festivals can be times in which a community gathers to renew its sense of cultural identity and social cohesion. In this way, for instance, religious festivals such as *fiestas* dedicated to important saints in the Italian American community, though at times discouraged by ethnic leaders, have been described as periods when the community gathers to reaffirm its shared sense of faith and social cohesion and to renew respect for the social order.

At the same time, festive or ritual occasions can also often include elements that invert or distort the normal social order. These forms of play can include elements like the lifting of everyday prohibitions about sexuality, the consumption of intoxicants, or other elements of social propriety. However, they can also allow performers to alter their normative social identities; performers can change genders, race or ethnicity, or social status.

Masks or costumes that represent identities that would normally be unavailable can become usable during a festive period. During Mardi Gras traditions in the southern United States, for instance, masking or costuming traditions may allow men and women to cross-dress or performers to cross more normally rigid ethnic or racial lines.

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See Also: Art and Ethnic Diversity; Corrido; Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Food; St. Patrick's Day.

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Louisiana Purchase

In 1803, the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory from France for about \$15 million. In current coinage, this would equal about \$250 million, or less than 42 cents an acre. This landmark event allowed the United States to double in size and became the catalyst for American expansion into the west and across the continent, creating modern-day America.

The deal included an area covering 828,000 square miles (2.1 million square kilometers) that is now the equivalent of 15 states, or a 23rd of the current United States, including all of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska, and parts of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, New Mexico, Texas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and Louisiana. The deal also included parts of Alberta and Saskatchewan, but these were later ceded to Canada. Prior to the purchase, parts of the territory were controlled by Native American nations, the Spanish, and the French. The United States, however, did not intend to gain control over all this land in the original brokering of the Louisiana Purchase. Luck and circumstance precipitated the event.

Although the land purchase would end up being called one of the greatest deals in American history, there were many concerns by politicians and the American public that had to be addressed before the purchase was made. It was also necessary to present a new vision about what the American landscape would entail, one that involved incredible imagination for such a fledgling nation.

Prior to the Louisiana Purchase, American democracy was still an experiment. The U.S. Constitution had been ratified only a decade earlier,

and since then, only four new states (Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio) had joined the original 13 states. Thomas Jefferson was only the third president of this “empire of liberty.” The idea that America could double in size with one land deal was unimaginable at that point.

Brokering the Deal

Robert Livingston and James Monroe, acting as agents for the United States on the orders of President Thomas Jefferson, brokered the deal on April 30, 1803. Even before the deal, Jefferson had Robert Livingston, his minister to France, offer Napoleon \$2 million for an area of land on which they could build a seaport. After no response, Monroe and Livingston offered \$10 million for the Floridas and the port of New Orleans, but the French countered with an area even larger than many countries in Europe for \$15 million. This was a surprising offer because the United States was only seeking control of the port of New Orleans or to establish a similar nearby port. The primary decision facing Monroe and Livingston was whether or not to accept the purchase as a whole territory; ultimately, it was a deal they could not pass up.

When President Jefferson learned of the surprising offer, he was concerned about the constitutionality of such a purchase; this concern was tempered by the fact that the purchase would stretch the nation across the entire continent. Jefferson was also eager to make the deal despite his concerns because there was a worry that Napoleon might renege.

Other concerns involved how the deal would affect America’s relationship with other sovereignties with a presence in the Louisiana Territory, such as Spain. Since France had been defeated during the Seven Years’ War in 1763, Spain had controlled the area that had been originally settled by the French. In agreeing to give over control to the Spanish, one of the terms of the treaty was that France would not sell the territory to any other party. Many feared that Spain would try to reclaim the territory after the purchase.

The Louisiana Purchase arose out of France’s difficult circumstances. The French had dealt with costly wars in the lands they controlled. They had also been at war with Great Britain for over 10 years and were struggling financially. Napoleon

was having a difficult time maintaining other territories, such as those in the Caribbean, which he needed to continue the sugar trade. Additionally, both the United States and France were at odds with the British; to have the United States purchase the land, Napoleon said, “affirms forever the power of the United States, and I have given England a maritime rival who sooner or later will humble her pride.” Ironically, banks in Great Britain were used to broker U.S. financing because French banks either saw the deal as too risky or did not have the funds to underwrite such a purchase. The financing included a 20-year term loan at 6 percent interest; this was paid off between 1812 and 1823, with about \$8 million additional interest.

There was a major public interest in whether or not to make this purchase. Newspapers covered the congressional debate about the Louisiana Purchase, and Americans from colonial areas wondered how expanding the territory would change not only the American landscape but also the political and financial conditions of the original territory. Having more land opened up more possibilities, but many feared that it could inspire more troubles as well.

One of the arguments made to the American public was that the purchase would give the nation control over the port of New Orleans, which was geographically located to control access to the Mississippi River and therefore the trade routes to the west. Another argument was based on Manifest destiny, in which expansion was associated with becoming an even greater nation. Inspired by the idea that “bigger was better” and that it was in America’s best interest financially, many Americans were supportive of the purchase.

Exploration of the Territory

When French and American officials met in Paris in 1803, they found particular complications surrounding the negotiation of a treaty to transfer ownership of the purchase from France to the United States. Very little of the territory had been explored, and thus there was no accurate information about the exact boundaries of the territory. Essentially, France was asking America to purchase a large amount of land sight unseen. Many believed that the territory would include all the land west of Missouri and to southern Florida, but the area was little explored. Prior

to the purchase, in 1803, Jefferson had secretly asked for authorization from Congress to fund an expedition in the foreign-controlled territory “for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States.” This request was approved, and \$2,500 was appropriated to fund the secretive operation. Before this secret operation could take place, however, the Louisiana Territory was purchased by the United States.

After the purchase, federally funded explorations better defined and reported on the boundaries of the purchased territory. The Lewis and Clark expedition was also inspired by this purchase. Jefferson asked Meriwether Lewis, his secretary, to head the expedition, and William Clark, who once had been his commanding officer in the army, to be the co-captain. Jefferson hoped Lewis and Clark would discover water routes connecting the Pacific Ocean with the Mississippi River system, which would give the new territory access to even more ports.

Prior to the Louisiana Purchase, settlers such as Daniel Boone had explored some of the territory. Because the title for the land he had settled in foreign-controlled Louisiana was invalidated after the Louisiana Purchase, Boone offered his exploration services in exchange for the return of the land title. Exploring along the Wilderness Road, Boone and his fellow pioneers would navigate the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, creating settlements along the way. This exploration would prove invaluable after the Louisiana Purchase, and years later, Boone was rewarded by the United States with the title for his land.

The Louisiana Purchase also meant that anyone living in the area would be subject to the rule of the United States and would be guaranteed all the rights and protections of citizenship. With the Spanish no longer in control, there were many disputes about who owned the land, leading to many complicated legal disputes, even among family members. Compared to the earlier foreign control of the area, the United States had stricter laws against squatter’s rights. Many people who believed they had legitimate claims to remain on the land were displaced.

Unintended Consequences

There were many unintended consequences as a result of the Louisiana Purchase. For example,

much of the land was inhabited by Native American tribes and nations who were willing to go to war over the right to control that land. It would take a century of wars and treaties for the United States to have complete control over the territory.

Manifest destiny, one of the primary rhetorical arguments made in favor of the expansion, was based on the belief that America had a divine obligation to expand across the continent. Beyond political and economic motivations, proponents of the expansion argued that Americans were spiritually called to tame both the wild lands and the Native Americans. American missionaries were just as eager as those interested in trade routes to expand the nation westward. At the core of Manifest destiny was the common belief that America was culturally, spiritually, and racially superior to the natives. For believers in Manifest destiny, the Louisiana Purchase was seen as a way to prove that superiority.

Southern farmers seeking more lands to cultivate also saw the Louisiana Purchase as an opportunity to expand the practice of slavery, which resulted in a number of conflicts. Many owned slaves in the territory at a time when there was great debate within the United States. Another consequence of the purchase was the Missouri Compromise, which was a way to temporarily stave off the question of slavery's role in the nation. The Louisiana Purchase would inspire a national debate between slave and free states over political and economic advantages.

Not all of the unintended consequences were negative. During the time of the Louisiana Purchase, women in Europe and America did not have the same rights as men, including the right to own property. Women who settled in the new territory could own land and slaves, which opened up vast new opportunities for women who would have otherwise been financially dependent on a husband or male relatives. The Louisiana Purchase also ushered in a multicultural "frontier mentality" that was very different from the original 13 colonies.

The territories also challenged the primarily Anglo-Protestant fabric of America; in fact, the Louisiana Purchase was viewed as a foreign country, with many inhabitants from Africa, the Mediterranean, and the Caribbean who had been under the rules of both France and Spain. It was

a place where a multitude of ethnic groups lived in relative peace with each other. New waves of Americans would develop out of this purchase, with Creole, French, Spanish, German, and Native American ethnicities changing the makeup of the United States. The Louisiana Purchase, therefore, set the stage for the continuing diversity of America.

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See Also: Blackfoot; Citizenship; French and Indian War; Homestead Act (1862); Manifest Destiny; Native Americans; Slave Narratives; Spanish Land Grants; Spanish-American War.

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Loving v. Virginia (1967)

In 1967, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that Virginia's long-held ban on interracial marriage was unconstitutional. The court also decided that Mildred and Richard Loving, an interracial couple who had been banished from their home state of Virginia after allegedly violating the state's 1924 Racial Integrity Act, could return home. More broadly, the decision overturned *Pace v. Alabama* (1883), which set the post-Civil War precedent for the criminalization of interracial marriage.

Loving was thus a landmark victory for the civil rights movement and a defeat for southern conservatives and others who advocated segregation, believed in the natural inferiority of non-white Americans, and maintained that sexual relationships between people of different racial,

ethnic, or religious backgrounds threatened the moral character of the nation.

The case had its roots in the late 1950s, when the eventual defendants, Mildred Delores Jeter, a woman of African and Native American descent, and Richard Loving, a white man, met in Central Point, Virginia, and began to date. At 18 years old, Jeter became pregnant, and the couple decided to marry.

However, Virginia's 1924 Racial Integrity Act had barred whites and people of color from marrying, so the two instead traveled to Washington, D.C., to obtain a marriage license (where an interracial marriage ban had been lifted years earlier). Soon after they returned to Virginia, local authorities broke into the Loving residence on an anonymous tip that they had violated the Racial Integrity Act.

Violation of Anti-Miscegenation Laws

Richard Loving reportedly presented the marriage certificate to the officer, who in turn claimed that it was invalid in Virginia. Later that morning, July 11, 1958, both Mildred and Richard Loving were taken into custody for violating Virginia's anti-miscegenation laws. Richard Loving spent the day and night in jail, and the pregnant Mildred Loving was there for nearly a week. Both were eventually released and ordered to appear in court for sentencing.

Six months later, the judge of Virginia's Fifteenth Judicial Circuit, Leon Bazile, found the couple guilty and sentenced both to one year in prison. However, Bazile reached a plea agreement with the defendants and offered to suspend the sentence for 25 years if the couple left Virginia. The Lovings reluctantly agreed, settled their court costs, and moved to Washington, D.C. Once there, they struggled financially and wished to return to their families and hometown.

Richard Loving even contacted Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Kennedy referred them to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a legal organization that had developed a strong reputation for advancing civil rights through the courts. Lawyers with the ACLU met with the Lovings and concluded that Virginia had violated the couple's right to equal protection as articulated in the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

By the middle of the 1960s, the *Loving* case had become a cause célèbre among the burgeoning civil rights movement and proponents of marriage equality. The ACLU appealed the Fifteenth Circuit's ruling, and over the next several years, lawyers Bernard Cohen and Phillip Hirschkop took the case before the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. Still, they received no resolution to the case, and it seemed clear that it would eventually reach the Supreme Court. During the appeal process, the Lovings had two additional children and made several illegal return visits to Virginia, though they always traveled separately.

On June 12, 1967, nearly 10 years after the couple had married in Washington, the high court heard their case and quickly reached a decision. In a relatively rare unanimous ruling, the justices ordered Virginia to recognize the Loving marriage and lift all restrictions regarding the couple's cohabitation and travel in the state. Further, *Loving v. Virginia* declared that all laws barring interracial, interethnic, and interfaith relationships and marriages were unconstitutional because they failed to provide equal protection.

As the court ruled in favor of the Lovings, it broke with over 300 years of discriminatory colonial and state policy. Since the colonial era, white-led assemblies as well as local and state governments had legislated various measures that criminalized interracial sex, childrearing, cohabitation, and marriage. Virginia, as both a colony and a state, led the way with such laws. Virginia's "one-drop" rule declared that anyone proven to have one drop of nonwhite blood (African, African American, or Native American) was not legally white and was thus ineligible to exercise the rights of free, white—typically male—citizens.

The Pocahontas Law provided an exception for mixed-race Native Americans to marry whites, if they could prove they were descendants of Pocahontas, the famous daughter of Powhatan, whom the first English settlers relied upon in the early 17th century. After the Civil War, Virginia maintained its prohibition on interracial relationships and even bolstered its laws with the passage of the Racial Integrity Act in 1924. The act implemented some of the strictest anti-miscegenation laws in the United States and was designed to thwart what its proponents claimed was dangerous racial mixing or "amalgamation."

However, in the decade following World War II, the civil rights movement pressured legislators and the courts to chip away at the legal basis of racist public policy. Still, even by the 1960s, interracial marriage remained illegal in all of the former Confederate states as well as Oklahoma, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Delaware. Thus, when the nation's high court declared that any law restricting interracial marriage was a thinly veiled effort to "maintain white supremacy," advocates of racial equality received a major victory.

The *Loving* decision is believed to have implications in the debate over same-sex marriage and is regarded as a positive use of judicial review to expand individual rights and end marriage discrimination. Moreover, since the decision, Americans have shifted their views on interracial marriage considerably. At the time of the decision, roughly three-quarters of those polled believed that interracial marriage was unnatural or unacceptable; currently, over three-quarters of Americans approve of these same relationships. As further evidence of the impact of *Loving v. Virginia* on a multicultural America, June 12 is known as Loving Day, a day to celebrate interracial, interethnic, interfaith, and same-sex marriages and relationships.

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See Also: Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Desegregation/Integration; Intermarriage, History of; Intermarriage Court Decisions; Intermarriage Demographic Trends; Jim Crow Laws; Miscegenation; Race Mixture in the United States; Segregation.

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Lumbee

With 55,000 members, the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina is the largest Native American group east of the Mississippi River. Despite their numbers and recognition as Native Americans by North Carolina in 1885, the Lumbee have so far been unsuccessful in gaining federal recognition and have struggled to assert their identity as American Indians. Nevertheless, Lumbee population numbers are the reason North Carolina is in the top 10 states for Native American population.

Most Lumbee reside in southeastern North Carolina in the counties of Robeson, Hoke, Cumberland, and Scotland and neighboring counties in North and South Carolina. With a population of more than 49,000, Robeson County has the largest number of Lumbee, with the Lumbee, at 38.6 percent, being the largest single ethnic group in the county, surpassing both whites, at 33.1 percent, and blacks, at 24.9 percent.

The most probable origin of the Lumbee can be found among the small, coastal Carolina Indian groups devastated by war and new European diseases. By the late 17th century, these populations had declined considerably. During the Tuscarora War (1711–15), some of the surviving groups fled south seeking refuge among the Cheraws, who are probably the main ancestral Lumbee group. After further population decline, some surviving Cheraws, remnants of still other small Indian groups, whites, and African Americans became the basis of the contemporary Lumbee Indians. Because of the number of ancestral Indian groups, all speaking different Indian languages, English, with a distinctive Lumbee inflection, became the language of the Lumbee.

The lack of a surviving Indian language is one of several characteristics, along with the lack of reservation lands and a native religion, pointed to by skeptics who claim the Lumbee are not Native Americans but merely a generally nonwhite, "triracial isolate" like the Melungeons of Tennessee and Kentucky. (Recent DNA testing of the Melungeons documents an ancestry that is largely European and African, with very little Native American.)

Ancestry, however, is both genetic and cultural. Many Cherokees, for example, have more European than Native American ancestry. Most American Indians have struggled with the issue of

genetic ancestry, or “blood degree.” The Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma has done away with blood degree altogether and includes anyone descended from an individual listed on a particular roll, no matter how little Cherokee ancestry. By contrast, the Utes of Utah have raised their blood degree minimum to five-eighths (the equivalent of having one full-blood parent in addition to one parent who is at least one-quarter blood degree).

Henry Berry Lowrie

The Lumbee clearly have a Native American time line, both self-identifying and being identified as Indians by their non-Indian neighbors for centuries. Arguably, the Lumbee also possess many traditional Native American values, such as putting the well-being of the group over that of the individual. Historically, the famous Lumbee leader Henry Berry Lowrie embodied that value.

From 1865 until 1872, Henry Berry Lowrie and his gang of Lumbee Indians, newly freed black slaves, and “buckskin whites” (poor Gaelic-speaking Scots-Irish folk) hid out in the swamps and were supported with supplies by the local population. The group fought for the rights of poor Indians, blacks, and whites in the Robeson County area and resisted the high taxes imposed upon the poor. Henry was the youngest of the 10 sons and two daughters of Allen and Mary Lowrie and witnessed the murder of his father and one of his brothers by pro-Confederate whites.

The Lowrie gang was the inspiration for the Lumbees’ adaptive strategies of both violent confrontation and the creation of alliances used over the years. Over almost a decade, the gang experienced Robin Hood–like adventures as they “stole from the rich and gave to the poor.” While he probably died in 1872, Lowrie’s body was never recovered. The dangerous lifestyle of the gang resulted in only one of its members surviving into old age.

Henry Berry Lowrie has continued to be an important Lumbee hero. In times of crisis, the Lumbee ask, “What would Henry Berry Lowrie do?” In 1958, several hundred gun-toting Lumbee routed an anti-Indian Ku Klux Klan rally in Robeson County, thus ending Klan intimidation of the Lumbee. This violent response to the Klan stood in stark contrast to the nonviolent approach advocated by Martin Luther King, Jr., and other black leaders during the same time.

Some of the many cultural traits that serve today as symbols of Lumbee Indian culture include the uniquely Lumbee accent of English, the traditional Indian value of putting the well-being of the group over that of oneself, clothing adorned with the pine cone patchwork design created by one of Lowrie’s daughters, the use of traditional Indian herbal medicine, participation in powwows, and the annual Lumbee homecoming ceremony. The Lumbee effort to gain federal recognition is active and ongoing. Like many other ethnic minorities around the world, the Lumbee continue to assert their unique heritage.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); Ethnicity; Native Americans.

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Luxembourgian Americans

Luxembourgian Americans are Americans, citizens or otherwise, who have Luxembourgian ancestry. Their exact numbers in the United States are unknown because most Luxembourgian Americans tend to identify either as Americans or with other European ethnic groups; the 2000 census data showed a Luxembourgian American population of around 45,000, but in truth that number is probably significantly higher.

Immigration

The total area of Luxembourg is 999 square miles; it is 55 miles long and 34 miles wide. The strongest influences on Luxembourgian immigration were poverty and increasing industrialization of their homeland; by the mid-19th century, more than 12 percent of Luxembourgians were destitute. Luxembourgian church and civil records show that most Luxembourgians farmed and lived in villages. They were not landowners generally. The United States appealed to Luxembourgians in its wide open, farmable spaces, and these immigrants mainly settled in the American midwest.

According to the Institut Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, there were three major waves of Luxembourgian immigration: from 1830 to 1845, from 1846 to 1860, and from 1860 to 1900. However, the immigration first began in 1630, when the first known Luxembourgian Americans came to New Amsterdam (later New York) with the Dutch.

From the 1830s through the mid-1840s, the first major wave of Luxembourgians immigrated to the United States. Luxembourgians had also immigrated to South America and Latin America in the 1820s, but settling in these areas proved much more challenging than settling in the United States. Points of entry to the United States during this period included Louisiana, New York, and Maryland. In the early 1840s, Luxembourgians also settled in Chicago.

In the 1840s, major waves of immigration from Europe to the United States began, thanks to the decline of the slave trade on one side and poverty and famine on the other. By 1849, Luxembourgian newspapers decried the huge numbers of people fleeing the country, and this

continued until the late 1850s. By 1858, however, immigration had slowed to a crawl, partly because of unrest in the United States that would lead to the Civil War and partly because living conditions improved in Luxembourg.

From 1860 to 1890, Luxembourgian immigration to the United States boomed once more, peaking in the 1880s. During this time, social life blossomed for Luxembourgian Americans. Various social clubs and community groups for Luxembourgian Americans popped up in all areas in which they were concentrated. Inexpensive farmland was the attraction for the second wave of Luxembourgian immigrants; arriving from mostly agrarian areas in Luxembourg, these immigrants sought out familiar terrain, and the 1862 Homestead Act made the attainment of farmland seem much more possible in the United States than in Luxembourg. It was not uncommon for the proceeds from the sale of lands in Luxembourg to provide immigrants with 10 times more buying power in the United States.

Luxembourgians also emigrated for other reasons. They hoped to avoid forced transcription into foreign armies, a common occurrence at the time. Sometimes emigrants had their own personal reasons for leaving, such as desiring to avoid punishment for a crime or to hide an illegitimate pregnancy. It has been estimated that 70,000 to 72,000 Luxembourgians immigrated to the New World between 1840 and 1900. Those who arrived in the United States between the 1870s and 1880s benefited from the expansion of the railroad and were able to settle farther west. In the 1870s and 1880s, prime years for Luxembourgian immigration, fewer than 10 percent of Luxembourgian Americans lived in urban areas, but their communities continued to thrive.

Luxembourgian Americans and the Culture of Luxembourg

Luxembourgians brought with them to America a strong sense of ethnic pride fostered by the culture of Luxembourg. A constitutional monarchy, Luxembourg also practices the separation of governmental powers; there is a judiciary and a legislature, as well as an executive branch. The independent state of mind of Luxembourgians is expressed in the national motto: *Mir wolle bleiwe wat mir sin* (We want to remain what we are).

Equally important for the Luxembourgian American sense of independence has been the survival of Letzebuergesch, the language of Luxembourg. For Luxembourgers, the language is a source of pride and identity. Even though today French and German are the official languages of Luxembourg, Letzebuergesch is in the hearts of the people.

The history of Luxembourgian Catholicism also plays a key role here. Historically, most Luxembourgers have been Catholic, and this is also true of Luxembourgian Americans. The Virgin Mary is the patroness of the country, and symbols of devotion are found throughout Luxembourg. Catholic community centers helped knit the fabric of Luxembourgian American life in the New World.

Notable Luxembourgian Americans

Luxembourgian Americans have contributed greatly to American culture. Actress Loretta Young, a descendant of Luxembourgian emigrants, won Emmy Awards for Best Actress in a Dramatic Series in 1954, 1956, and 1958. Photographer Edward Steichen directed U.S. Army and Navy aerial photography during both world wars. Steichen directed the Department of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art from 1947 to 1962. Chris Evert, who has Luxembourgian ancestry, was unanimously elected to the International Tennis Hall of Fame and is generally considered to be one of the top women tennis athletes of all time. Evert won six U.S. Opens, seven French Opens, three Wimbledons, and two Australian Opens. J. Dennis Hastert, former Speaker of the House, also has Luxembourgian heritage, as does Paul C. Lasuterbur, winner of the 2003 Nobel Prize in Physiology/Medicine.

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See Also: Belgian Americans; European Americans; German Americans; Homestead Act (1862).

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Lynchings

The *Oxford English Dictionary* describes "lynch" as "to condemn and punish by lynch law. In early use, implying chiefly the infliction of punishment such as whipping, tarring and feathering, or the like; now only, to inflict sentence of death by lynch law." Today, "lynching" refers to the practice of killing people by extrajudicial mob action. Lynching differs from ordinary murder or assault because it is a killing that is committed outside the boundaries of due process by a mob that enacts revenge or punishment for a perceived offense. Lynching derives its name from Colonel Charles Lynch, an 18th-century judge and Virginia landowner who had a habit of holding illegal trials of local law-breakers in his front yard; Lynch would whip the accused while they were tied to a tree in his yard.

In American culture and history, lynching is recognized as a form of terror and, today, a hate crime. In the most literal sense, to lynch someone is to hang a body from a tree, and this symbol is still used as a form of threat, usually to African Americans. Still, it is the use of terror and threat as a form of hate that qualifies a mortally violent act as lynching. For example, the 1998 murder of Matthew Shepard, who was not hung from a tree is considered to have been a lynching because of the bigoted motives behind his murderers' actions.

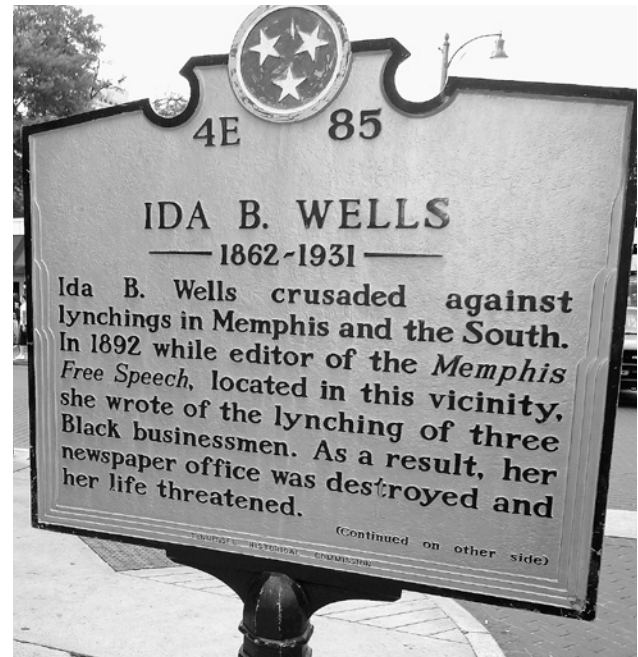
Lynchings seem to have been an American invention, though the act is not limited to the United States. In 1905, James E. Cutler wrote in *Lynch Law* that lynching is a criminal practice peculiar to the United States. Its use as a tool of terror, especially and traditionally toward African Americans and immigrants, necessitates its inclusion in any text discussing multiculturalism, as lynching has always played an integral role in the shaping of multicultural identity.

History

Lynching has a terrible and violent history in the United States, particularly in the south. Mistreatment and abuse of the enslaved was commonplace to slavery, but lynching was its own separate form of terrorism and control. Lynching refers to vigilantism in which white citizens would assume the role of judge, jury, and executioner; these groups were very common in the last half of the 19th century and were fed by the popular notion that the existing laws were not tough enough to maintain social control. This belief was held in the southern as well as the western United States and was the norm rather than the exception. For example, many newspapers at the time printed editorials in support of this extrajudicial justice; the *New York Times* even ran a scathing critique of Ida B. Wells for her antilynching crusade.

The most well-documented era of lynching took place between 1880 and 1930, also known as the nadir of African American history. It was during this time that African American journalist and antilynching activist Ida B. Wells was forced to leave the south after receiving arson attacks on her office for her public condemnations of lynching in the south, especially her investigation and announcement that most rape accusations directed toward African American male victims of lynching were false.

A strong, leading motive for lynchings in the south was the enforcement of social conventions and the punishment for the perceived violation of customs, such as Jim Crow laws. Combined with maintaining the social and racial order was the reinforcement of political and economic control; for example, before and after the Civil War, many African Americans were lynched, and their property was then divided up among mob members (body parts would also be taken as souvenirs).



A sign commemorating Ida B. Wells stands on a corner in downtown Memphis, Tennessee. Ida was an African American journalist and newspaper editor who became a public figure in Memphis by writing about the race issue in the United States.

Most lynchings took place by hanging and/or shooting, but many involved burning at the stake, maiming, dismemberment, and castration.

There are three other major sources of lynching statistics, though none has captured the entire history in part because of how victims were categorized; for instance, many “white” victims were immigrants. Prior to 1882, no reliable statistics of lynchings were recorded. In that year, the *Chicago Tribune* began to take systematic account of lynchings. Shortly thereafter, in 1892, the Tuskegee Institute began to make a systematic collection and tabulation of lynching statistics.

Beginning in 1912, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) kept an independent record of lynchings. These statistics were based primarily on newspaper reports, but because the south is large and the rural districts have not always been in close contact with city newspapers, many lynchings escaped publicity in the press. Therefore, there are errors and inaccuracies in the available lynching statistics.

The numbers of lynchings listed in each source vary slightly. The NAACP lynching statistics tend

to be slightly higher than the Tuskegee Institute figures, which some historians consider conservative. In 1914, the Tuskegee Institute reported 52 lynchings for the year, while the *Chicago Tribune* reported 54, and *The Crisis*, the official newspaper of the NAACP, gave the number as 74.

The discrepancy in these figures is the result in part to different conceptions of what actually constituted a lynching, as well as errors in the figures. According to the Tuskegee Institute figures, between the years 1882 and 1951, 4,730 people were lynched in the United States: 3,437 “Negro” and 1,293 white. The largest number of lynchings occurred in 1892. Of the 230 persons lynched that year, 161 were “Negroes” and 69 whites.

Response to Violence

Because of the level of violence, states’ action was not enough and many appealed to the federal government for aid in curbing lynching. In 1870, Congress passed the Force Acts, or the Ku Klux Klan Acts, in an effort to suppress Klan violence. This act allowed for federal prosecution of lynching, and grand juries were held.

This led the Klan to increase its underground activities, but by the 1870s, the Democrats had gained more control in Congress and the Ku Klux Klan returned to power, this time in order to suppress voting by African Americans and poor whites. After the Civil War, during Reconstruction, white mobs, and in particular the Ku Klux Klan, formed lynch mobs in order to terrorize freed African Americans and prevent their political and economic empowerment. Fear of lynching influenced the great migrations of southern African Americans to northern states such as Illinois and New York.

African Americans had always resisted lynching terrorism, usually in three major ways: retaliatory violence, northward migration, and organized nonviolent protest. Even though retaliation usually led to more violence and lynching, many African Americans armed themselves and fought back in self-defense.

In *The Crisis*, W. E. B. Du Bois encouraged African Americans to fight back. A. Philip Randolph of *The Messenger* magazine advocated physical resistance to white mobs, and the NAACP defended the legality of African Americans taking retaliatory self-defensive steps against white mobs.

Geography of Lynching

Contrary to popular belief, African Americans were not the only victims of lynching, nor did lynching only occur in the south, although most lynchings took place there. The frontier west was also an area for this terrorism, and whites and immigrants were its targets. Lynchings were not a regional crime and occurred throughout the entire United States. However, the great majority of lynchings took place in the southern and border states.

Lynchings occurred in the states of Maryland, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kansas. Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, and Alabama were, historically, the leading lynching states; these five states accounted for nearly half the total victims. Mississippi had the highest incidence of lynchings in the south as well as the highest for the nation, with Georgia and Texas taking second and third places, respectively.

Though some believe lynchings resulted from the “outlaw” nature of frontierism, real lynchings in the west shared many of the nativist and racist characteristics of the lynching culture of the south. Historian Michael J. Pfeifer writes, “Contrary to the popular understanding, early territorial lynching did not flow from an absence or distance of law enforcement but rather from the social instability of early communities and their contest for property, status, and the definition of social order.”

The San Francisco Vigilance Movement enforced its power with a heavy nativist tone, going after Irish immigrants and, later, Mexican and Chinese immigrants. Lynchings of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the southwest have been traditionally overlooked. Most attention has been and continues to be focused on the south and African Americans. In addition, the Tuskegee Institute, which has kept the most complete records of lynchings, categorized the victims as either “Negro” or white and recorded Mexicans, Native Americans, and Chinese immigrants as “white.”

Present Day

Although not nearly as prevalent as in the late 19th century, lynchings and mob violence still occur in the 21st century. In 1998, in Jasper, Texas, African American James Byrd, Jr., was dragged to death behind a pickup truck driven by three white

men, two of whom belonged to a white supremacist group. That same year, Matthew Shepard, a student at the University of Wyoming, was tortured and murdered after two men found out he was gay. These two murders eventually resulted in the passage of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act in 2009. As recently as 2010 in South Carolina, African American Anthony Hill was dragged behind a pickup truck and shot to death; as of 2012, investigators were still examining whether this was a hate or bias crime.

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See Also: African American Categorization (Essay); Gender/Sex (Essay); Hate Crimes; Hate Crimes Laws; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Regional Patterns (Essay); White Categorization (Essay).

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Macedonian Americans

The Republic of Macedonia, formed in 1991, is located on the Balkan Peninsula in southeastern Europe and is bordered by Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania. Landlocked and mountainous, less than 5 percent of Macedonia can be farmed. Mineral deposits are a natural resource, and traditionally, Macedonians have worked as herders and miners. The Republic of Macedonia was formed after it achieved independence from Yugoslavia. In the 20th century, multiple nations attempted to assert claim over the area that is now Macedonia, ensuring that Macedonian life would be rife with conflict.

History and Immigration

Unsurprisingly, Macedonians began to immigrate to the United States in the early 20th century as poverty and political conflict increased. Most early Macedonian Americans actually considered themselves to be Bulgarians from Macedonia, and they were likely to list Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, or Greece (better-known countries near to Macedonia) on immigration forms. Even so, a reliable estimate of the numbers of Macedonian Americans between 1903 and 1906 put their population at approximately 50,000. Early Macedonian immigrants were mostly peasants, with some craftsmen, industrial workers, and scholars as well.

After World War I, a large number of Macedonian Americans returned to Europe. Only approximately 20,000 Macedonian Americans remained in the United States. The passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 (the Johnson-Reed Act) further slowed Macedonian immigration by imposing quotas on various national groups based on their numbers in the United States as of 1920. Because so many Macedonian Americans had returned to their homeland after getting a late start in the immigration wave, the basis for Macedonian immigration was disproportionately low. Still, Macedonians came via Canada and in other ways, continuing the growth of the Macedonian American community.

With the post-World War II establishment of Yugoslavia, Macedonian immigration slowed again. Yugoslavia supported the Macedonian economy and invested in the country, making economic improvements and urging Macedonians to stay. Immigration picked up again significantly in the 1960s and 1970s as immigration policy was relaxed; many Macedonian immigrants settled in Canada, with U.S. and Australian cities as their next choices.

During the 1990s, Macedonian immigration increased once more. As in earlier times, the new Macedonian Americans settled in midwestern urban areas and pursued work. By 2006, there were more than 42,000 Macedonian Americans

in official counts, but others estimate the number to be closer to 200,000. Detroit is home to the largest Macedonian American community.

Religion and Culture

Although the vast majority of Macedonian immigrants were Eastern Orthodox, American Protestant churches also played a key role in Macedonian patterns of immigration. Methodist churches engaged in missionary work in the Balkans in the 1860s and 1870s, sending Bulgarians and Macedonians to the United States for education. When the students returned to Macedonia, they spoke highly of their American experience. The U.S. churches also established schools in Macedonia, and these schools functioned in part as distribution centers for pro-American ideas.

Even so, Macedonian Americans kept to their Eastern Orthodox beliefs, and their religious practice helped preserve Macedonian culture. Macedonian Americans in Indiana founded a distinct Macedonian Orthodox Church, and within 20 years' time, there were 11 of these churches in the United States; by the late 1990s, there were 19, and today there are 20 of them. Bulgarian refusal to recognize the Macedonian American church has contributed to a festering resentment between Macedonian and Bulgarian communities in America.

Macedonian Americans were largely endogamous throughout the 20th century, often returning to Macedonia to marry. Macedonian American families also tended to maintain close ties to each other and to keep business and social connections within the Macedonian American community. The community has many organized associations and festivities that nurture cultural identity.

Macedonian Americans were often relegated to unskilled, dangerous jobs based on their lack of education and marketable skills in their new country. Many Macedonian Americans worked on the railroads, which allowed them to escape the urban centers. They moved in groups to work on the railroad and, like other migrant workers, they often lived together in boxcars. By 1910, there were nearly 15,000 Bulgarian and Macedonian workers in Chicago's steel mills. These communities experienced a lifestyle as lowly as it was in the boxcars. Although they did not immediately advance into better jobs, Macedonian Americans did develop a reputation as dedicated, hard workers.

Their history of political struggle under the thumb of the Ottoman Empire in Macedonia readied Macedonian Americans for political activism in America. As with Slavs in general, Macedonian Americans supported leftist causes much more often than the general U.S. population. Many Macedonian Americans joined socialist and communist causes that tied into their work as laborers. Nevertheless, Macedonian Americans served in the U.S. military during World War II and also supported the war effort at home.

Because Macedonian Americans are generally Eastern Orthodox, Easter is the most significant holiday for them, even today. A Macedonian American Easter tradition is to dye eggs blood red, symbolizing the blood of Christ, and then tap a chosen egg against the eggs of those with whom a person is celebrating the holiday; the egg that stays unbroken is said to bring good luck to its possessor.

The Macedonian language is Slavic and is written with the Cyrillic alphabet. Dialects from throughout the country tend to reflect the linguistic influence of whichever country is the nearest neighbor. Macedonian is a completely phonetic language and is therefore very easy to learn.

Notable Macedonian Americans

Business leader Frank Popoff, former president and chief executive officer of Dow Chemical, is of Macedonian American descent. Businessman Mike Ilitch went from owning one pizza shop to owning the Little Caesar's Pizza franchise as well as the Detroit Redwings hockey team and the Detroit Tigers baseball team. There are also many well-known Macedonian American professional athletes, including Kevin Kouzmanoff of the San Diego Padres (baseball), Steven Stamkos of the Tampa Bay Lightning (hockey), and Pete Stoyanovich of the Miami Dolphins (football).

Macedonian Americans Today

Macedonian Americans still have a generous population in Detroit as well as New York and parts of Ohio. More recent Macedonian immigrants usually belong to the Macedonian Orthodox Church, of which there are 20 throughout the United States. At least three universities in the United States offer Macedonian language courses.

Macedonian Americans as a group continue to retain their cultural heritage.

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See Also: Bulgarian Americans; European Americans; Immigration Acts.

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Machismo

To provide a straightforward definition for the word *machismo* is to misunderstand its meaning in U.S. Hispanic culture. Imported from Mexico, the term within U.S. Hispanic studies remains unstable, a paradox of affect. It can, and frequently does, define detrimental deviant male behavior: an overbearing man, a brute, a lout, a proud and violent *hombre* (man), the type of man who wears tight trousers and struts publicly to boast his bulge. The term can also invoke positive connotations.

Machismo can be a source of strength, an energy for cultural resistance, and a set of values keeping U.S. Hispanic men working long hours to fulfill a set of obligations that define them as men. Machismo has often driven a man to speak out, to

remain loyal to family, and, as the famed folklorist Americo Paredes has written, inspired many a man to stand proud "with his pistol in his hand."

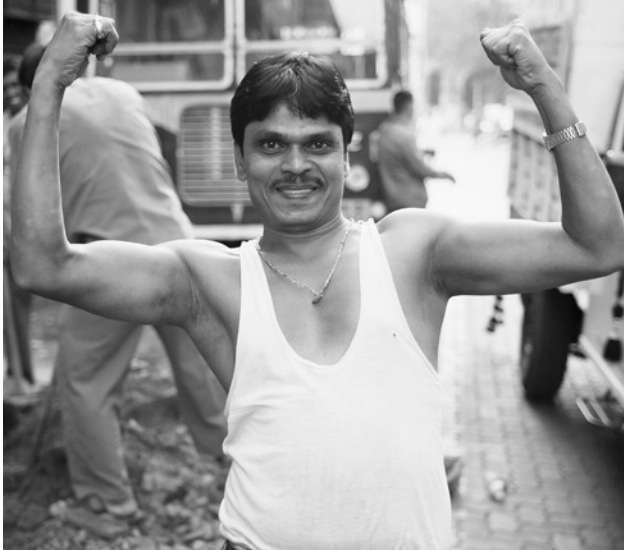
Nevertheless, before exploring the historical and sociological history of machismo, it is useful to provide a working definition of the word as used in the United States. One of the earliest definitions of the word came from psychoanalyst Aniceto Aramoni, who in 1965 defined machismo as "the expression of exaggerated masculine characteristics, ranging from male genital powers to towering pride and fearlessness. It is also a specific counter phobic attitude toward women."

Aramoni argues that *machismo* (male chauvinism) is essentially a cultural display of hypermasculinity by Mexican men and that it "is a uniquely Mexican answer—albeit a disturbed one—to the universal quest for individuation, dignity and relatedness." Furthermore, Aramoni claims that machismo is not an exclusively Mexican trait, but that numerous cultures around the world have grappled with masculinity and the meaning of manhood at different points in their history.

According to Mexican folklorist and ethnographer Vincent T. Mendoza, the word *macho* was not widely used in Mexico until the 1940s. Before then, hypermasculine behavior was described in terms of degree: a man was called *un verdadero hombre* (a real man) or *muy hombre* (very manly). The general Mexican public began to use the word "macho" after Manuel Avila Camacho became president of Mexico (1940–46). It was after the presidential elections that the word began to appear in *corridos* (folk ballads) in part because "macho" rhymed easily with Camacho, and because Mexico was still recovering from the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) and the songs championed a strong national leader.

Machismo and the Spanish Conquest

There are various competing explanations for the emergence of machismo, or hypermasculinity, in Mexico. All of these are negative narratives and follow the so-called cultural deficit model, a sociological phrase used to identify areas within a culture compensating for a specific "lack" or traumatic experience. There are three basic explanations for the emergence of machismo among Mexican males in particular and Latino men in general.



Pride of stereotypically masculine traits in Western cultures are often associated with machismo. The term was often used by Latina feminists to criticize the patriarchal structure of relationships in Latino communities.

The most prevalent and most negative explanation for machismo claims that it emerged as a direct result of the Spanish conquest, an event so traumatizing that the native *criollo* culture developed a “masculine protest” obsessed with myth, symbols, and assessment of male behavior. According to scholars such as Nobel Laureate Octavio Paz, a Mexican philosopher and writer, machismo emerged as a response to the spiritual rape and conquest of Mexico. It marks a military defeat so traumatic that it shattered the cultural traditions of the indigenous population. Under this explanation, Mexican men developed hyper-masculine behavior because they were unable to protect their women from the Spaniards’ ensuing plunder, pillage, and rape during the conquest.

This origin myth for machismo also explains why women become the focus of male angst and anger. Mexican folklore frequently identifies *la malinche* or Dona Maria, an Indian woman given to Hernán Cortés as a slave at the age of 14 who served as translator and concubine to Cortés, as the catalyst that helped bring the demise of the Aztec empire. La Malinche has erroneously come to represent the betrayal of the indigenous culture and the mother/whore of a bastard *mestizo* race. She is despised for helping Cortés with the

conquest (as translator), bearing his children and consequently emasculating native males.

This view is problematic for a number of reasons. For example, it pathologizes Mexican male behavior and assumes that Mexican masculinity originates from a sense of powerlessness and inferiority. Furthermore, as sociologist Alfredo Mirandé points out, “the characterization is clearly classist” since it locates national feelings of “powerlessness and inferiority” on the poor and working class. Additionally, Mexican machismo is contrasted to “normal” European male behavior, so that Mexican male behavior is nonaberrant only when it mimics acceptable European, or North American Anglo, male modes of conduct.

A second view, which also associates the origin of hypermasculine behavior with *la conquista*, proposes that machismo was imported into Mexico by the conquering Spanish soldiers. Patriarchy, masculinity, and manhood were thus imposed on the native population in the same way as language, Catholicism, and colonialism. This view propagates the notion that machismo is not a form of masculine protest emanating from feelings of inferiority but rather an outward male projection of Spanish masculine codes that were assimilated by the *mestizo* population.

Sociologist Marvin Goldwent, for example, has argued that the Spanish were the “first machos” as well as the prototype for the *machista* male behavior that later developed endemically within Mexican culture. A component of this perspective is that Cortés and his men, as members of the Spanish military, imported European military behavioral codes of masculinity. In this manner, male behavior was inextricably intertwined with duty, respect, tradition, and honor, as well as violence. Here again it proves useful to quote sociologist Alfredo Mirandé:

They were depicted as a handful of daring, robust, and valiant men of action who, after their ships had been destroyed, overcame numerous adversities to conquer a vast continent and millions of Indians, in the process committing numerous *chingaderas*.

Aztec Society and Machismo

A third perspective contends that machismo existed in Aztec society before the arrival of Europeans.

Aztecs lived in a patriarchal society, the men embraced a warrior ethos, and the culture had a history of conquering other tribes. Theirs was a culture in which the male and female spheres were separate and males dominated the public and private spaces of society. The Aztec man was primarily a warrior, and the Aztec woman prepared for a domestic role in which her status was determined by how well she fulfilled her feminine duties. According to Aramoni, Aztec boys are told from birth:

Para otra parte estás prometido, que es el campo donde se hacen las guerras, donde se tratan las batallas, para allí eres enviado, tu oficio y facultad es la guerra. . . . (translated as, for a different place you are promised, that is the space where wars are made, the place of battles, to that place you are sent, your job and your faculties are for war).

In his analysis of the Aztec *Florentine Codex*, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún writes of Aztec women, “Habeis de estar dentro de casa, como el corazón dentro del cuerpo, no habéis de tener costumbre de ir a ninguna parte; habéis de ser la ceniza con que se cubre el fuego del hogar” (“You should be home, like the heart in the body, do not grow accustomed to go anywhere; you are the ashes covering the flame of the home”). Aztec culture in fact seemed to provide in Tenochtitlan a counterpart to Spanish European patriarchy; the men were exhorted to prove manhood in the field of battle, while the women were encouraged to prove their femininity in the domestic sphere.

The true origin of machismo in Mexican culture (the one associated with U.S. Hispanic men) is difficult to decipher, but it is likely that the cult of machismo in its most extreme expression was a Spanish import into the Americas that was then integrated into pre-Columbian native traditions. As part of the conquest, the *conquistadores* modeled the most damaging forms of machismo—arrogance, dominance, insensitivity, rape, warring, and deception—since they committed atrocities in the name of a Christian God. However, all three of the aforementioned origins of machismo present a negatively defined masculinity that is ultimately destructive to males and those around them.

A More Positive Definition

In contrast to negative machismo, there are alternative understandings of machismo that can be positive and productive. For example, Chicana cultural theorist and author Gloria Anzaldúa writes,

The modern meaning of the word *machismo*, as well as the concept, is actually an Anglo invention. For men like my father, being “macho” meant being strong enough to protect and support my mother and us, yet being able to show love.

In this perspective, machismo is a productive and progressive masculine code of behavior integrating loyalty, honor, responsibility, and love.

Such an interpretation of machismo allows for positively structured male behavior to serve as a bedrock of support for civil rights struggles, as it did during the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Although Chicana feminists are correct to interrogate the masculinist ethos of the Chicano movement, which sought to reinvigorate the community by reestablishing a strong Chicano male as the head of the family (Chicano Manifesto), the influence of a positive macho ethics did mobilize many young Mexican American and Latino males to dream of a better future.

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See Also: Chicano Movement; Chicanos; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Mexican Americans.

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Mafia

The term *Mafia* refers to a criminal organization that originated in Sicily in the mid-19th century. Although “Mafia” is sometimes considered a single entity, a more accurate view would identify the Mafia as a confederation of criminal groups with similar organizational structures, codes of conduct, and an interest in common crimes. In fact, the ability of Mafia groups to change according to circumstances enables the organizations to adapt to different cultural (national) and immediate (what is more profitable at the time) conditions. One chronicler, Raimondo Catanzaro, traces the origins of the Mafia to the orange groves of Conca D’Oro near Palermo, Sicily, in the early 1800s.

There, a loose confederation of rural bandits built a network that would exist for hundreds of years worldwide in one form or another. The network would not only oppose the authority of the Italian government in Sicily in the 1940s but would also eventually infiltrate it and take control of its agencies. Moreover, the Mafia would become the “law” over all of Sicily. Similar structures would be born in other countries and at other times, most likely because of the flexible structure of the Mafia.

Paradoxically, the inability of Mafia groups to institutionalize their power beyond a single person and his charismatic qualities became the foundation on which the strength of the Mafia power system rests, since it allows for adjustment to new situations, according to Catanzaro. The ability of organized crime to change according to conditions, culture, time, and individuals is what has made Mafia-like syndicates enduring and worldwide. However, there is another characteristic of organized crime that distinguishes it from other criminal activity. Organized crime differs from most street crime because the offenders will continue to associate with each other even when they are not committing crimes. It is the continued association that characterizes organized crime and Mafia-like organizations from other criminal forms.

Criminal Activities

Although a number of forms of gambling are now legal in the United States, illegal gambling is still popular. Just the income from sports betting is enormous. Nevada is the only state where sports

betting is legal, although that does not stop many gamblers from making bets. The Nevada Gaming Commission estimates that the annual National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) basketball tournament involves revenues of at least \$90 million. That amount or more will be wagered illegally. Criminal syndicates generate more from all forms of illegal gambling. One estimate puts the income from illegal gambling as more than \$50 billion a year.

Racketeering involves programs of systematic extortion that demand money from individuals and organizations for forced purchases of services, loans, or “insurance.” A store owner, for example, might be told to give the syndicate money to “protect” the owner’s store from fire or theft. Failure of the owner to pay might lead to the theft or arson from which the owner turned down protection.

A loan shark is a person who loans money at usurious rates of interest, usually for short periods of time. Lending money far in excess of what the law allows to desperate borrowers, loan sharks are willing to make the loans, in spite of the borrowers’ lack of collateral. Nonpayment to the loan shark usually elicits both physical and financial penalties.

The distribution and sale of illegal drugs has been a traditional money-maker for organized criminal syndicates. Working in cooperation with syndicates located in other countries, organized criminals in the United States have been responsible for making many illegal substances available, including heroin and cocaine.

Organized crime groups have controlled prostitution and pornography for large profits. Although there is some evidence that organized criminal syndicates are moving out of this activity, with the legalization of pornography in many places and with the decentralization of prostitution and other sex work, the profits from illicit sex have historically been large.

Some syndicates have infiltrated legitimate businesses. Labor unions and cash-only businesses have been especially susceptible to such infiltration. Labor unions have been targeted to gain access to the members’ dues and retirement funds. Cash-only businesses have been attractive precisely because of the lack of records to account for the money. Today, however, such industries as vending machines, which generate a large amount

of cash each day, have become computerized, and there is greater accountability for both the items being sold in the machines and the cash that is generated by those sales.

Origins of the Mafia

Although there is consensus that criminal syndicates exist, there is disagreement regarding the origins of organized criminal syndicates in the United States. Some regard the origins of American syndicates as evolving from Sicilian and Italian syndicates, whereas others find the origins of American syndicates in unique conditions that Italian immigrants found when they arrived in America. Donald Cressey, for example, claims that the American Mafia (called the Cosa Nostra, meaning “our thing”) evolved directly from Italian counterparts. Cressey claimed that the Cosa Nostra was reflected in 24 tightly knit “families” that ran organized crime in the United States. Each family can be considered a bureaucracy, with similar organizational charts depicting a hierarchy of rank and responsibilities.

These families are linked with one another through a series of understandings and agreements. A nine-member commission, composed of members from those families, coordinates the activities of the 24 families. As such, the Cosa Nostra has centralized control and coordination. These families are interested in activities such as illegal gambling, extortion and racketeering, loan sharking, the distribution of illegal drugs, prostitution and pornography, and other scams. In each instance, however, the goal of the criminal activity is to make a profit. For this reason, some criminologists refer to organized or syndicated crime as illegitimate business enterprises.

Daniel Bell has a different view. Bell claims that the most remarkable feature of criminal syndicates revolves around the changing ethnic characteristic of American criminal syndicates. Although there were criminal syndicates before the late 1800s, Bell argues that the origins of the American Mafia had much more to do with economic conditions that were associated with a large wave of Italian immigration in the late 1800s. Employment was a serious problem, and many legitimate opportunities were closed off to Italians at the time. As such, syndicated crime came to be viewed, in Bell’s terms, as a “queer ladder of social mobility.”

More recent research supports Bell’s viewpoint. Italians are moving out of organized crime, only to be succeeded by African American, Hispanic, and Asian groups. In this view, organized crime is not the exclusive territory of any one ethnic group but will reflect unique social, cultural, and economic conditions. Italian groups may have dominated organized criminal activity in the United States until about the 1980s, but many of those criminals moved away from crime as other, legitimate opportunities were developed, according to Francis Ianni.

The Lupollo family had income from both legitimate and illegitimate sources, and over time, the family concentrated more on legal sources and moved away from illegal income. This paved the way for other ethnic groups to take their place, using criminal activities until more legitimate sources of income and status become available. In fact, the Irish controlled organized crime in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, only to be succeeded by Italian and Jewish groups. As such, organized crime was not simply imported to the United States from southern Italy; it is a by-product of the American nature of minority group stratification and the inability of such groups to take advantage of legitimate occupational opportunities.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Irish Americans; Italian Americans; Little Italy; *Moonstruck*; Sicilian Americans.

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Magazines

The ways in which minorities are represented in the media reflects how an ethnic group is viewed by mainstream society. Print media in the form of magazines is one of the most historically visible and pervasive institutions in American culture. Studies performed since the 1940s consistently show that portrayal of stereotypes can have harmful effects on ethnic or minority groups.

Because the media open windows to the outside world, advertising and other media representations can negatively influence the assimilation process of minorities. Moreover, persistent exposure to stereotypical representations often results in audience members accepting distorted views of minority groups, as well as in minority groups suffering harmful effects to their self-esteem. Underrepresentation or invisibilization, on the other hand, may also signal to ethnic group members a lack of acceptance by mainstream society. Studies have shown that underrepresentation exacerbates the tendency to side with the mainstream, minimizing exposure to a diversity of representations and opinions.

In the case of positive stereotypes, some studies suggest that undue pressure may be placed on individuals because of pervasive portrayals in magazine advertising that reinforce expectations associated with a minority group. Studies show that Asian Americans are often represented in advertisements printed in popular technology and business magazines but are underrepresented in women's and general interest publications. Such stereotypes may place undue stress on Asian Americans to succeed in specific fields and reflect that advertisers are not interested in representing Asian Americans in non-business or work-related settings, suggesting that they are not adept at social and recreational skills.

The Role of Magazines in the Coverage of Ethnic Issues

News magazines played a crucial role in the coverage of the civil rights movement and post-civil rights society. Through news reportage, feature articles, and photography that documented overt acts of discrimination against African Americans and the efforts of civil rights activists, print media played a pivotal role in advancing the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Among others,

three national magazines—*Life*, *Newsweek*, and *Time*—played pivotal roles in the development of the civil rights movement and the public portrayal of African Americans. They also set the tone for ethnic news coverage at a time when most mainstream media largely ignored race issues.

Life, a photojournalist magazine published between 1936 and 2000, was at one point one of the most influential magazines in the nation. It published the photographs of Charles Moore, some of the first photographs to chronicle the struggles of the civil rights movement beginning in 1958. In the 1960s, Moore and other *Life* photographers documented acts of brutality against African American activists. The publication also opened doors for African American photographers by hiring Gordon Parks in 1948. Parks was assigned to document the civil rights movement and the activism of Malcolm X, by which he created a historical record of great value.

Newsweek, a news magazine published from 1933 to 2012, often covered stories neglected by other publications during the 1950s and 1960s. The coverage of the civil rights movement and race riots in the United States earned *Newsweek* a preeminent position in the coverage of social justice in America. In 1962, the magazine published “Mississippi: The Sound and the Fury,” a report on the violence and siege on the University of Mississippi as a result of the first enrollment of an African American student. In 1967, it published a 20-page cover story, “The Negro in America: What Must Be Done,” a chronicle of the devastating effects of poverty and discrimination in the United States, for which *Newsweek* won the National Magazine Award.

Time, which began publishing in 1923, was one of the first news magazines in the nation, becoming at one point the most popular nationwide. It is the one preeminent news magazine that remains in publication today. *Time* covered the Montgomery bus riots in the late 1950s and nominated Martin Luther King, Jr., as its “Man of the Year” for 1963, featuring his photograph on the cover. The publication had previously rendered tribute to poet and playwright James Baldwin and to Roy Wilkins from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1963 by featuring them on the magazine's cover on separate occasions.

Often at the risk of their own lives, journalists and photographers covered occurrences of discrimination and brutality against African Americans and civil rights activists such as tear gassing and police dogs set against peaceful protesters. By featuring prominent African Americans on their covers and providing race-issues journalism, these publications disseminated seldom-covered news and shaped the narrative that fueled social justice in the decades of the civil rights movement.

Ethnic Magazines

As a medium of mass communication, print media remain a powerful presence in American culture. As purveyors of content and images, they entertain, educate, and promote social norms. As such, print media are powerful creators of public opinion and replicate images disseminated through other media, as in mass advertising. This creates a compound effect that tends to reproduce a narrow array of opinions and images, and to reduce spaces for a diversity of voices and representations.

As an alternative to mainstream (or “white”) magazines, visionary individuals and publishing companies began to produce reading material that would cater to the experiences and interests of minority readers. By focusing on featuring news reportage, stories of successful entertainers and professionals, romantic and family relationships, and social and political views, ethnic magazines aim to inform and entertain in the same way as white-oriented magazines such as *Ladies’ Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Cosmopolitan*, and the *Saturday Evening Post*. Nevertheless, they also incorporate specific topics pertaining to group identity that may be of interest to specific communities while remaining largely ignored, or even distorted, by mainstream media.

Ethnic media are expanding in the United States, building an increasingly larger readership, circulation, and advertising revenue. From their beginning as a niche market serving a small readership, they have expanded in the last decades to thousands of publications in media outlets across the country. Older publications aimed at traditional immigrants and western European ethnic groups are losing readership as these groups become assimilated into mainstream society. Meanwhile, Latino, African American, Asian, Russian, and other ethnic magazines targeting

newer and/or younger groups are gaining ground. Ethnic communities in the United States are growing and often prefer media written in their language or presented in a bilingual format as a way of retaining their culture. According to a 2007 Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) report, approximately 25 percent of the U.S. population regularly consumes ethnic media, and 13 percent of adults in the country actually prefer ethnic media. Out of the endeavors to serve that readership arose magazines such as *ColorLines*, *Ebony*, *Essence*, *Latina*, and *Lilith*.

ColorLines, founded in 1998, targets a multicultural and multiracial audience. The magazine, which is published in a joint partnership by the Applied Research Center and Center for Third World Organizing, moved from print to a fully online presence in 2010. From its inception, *ColorLines* has earned multiple awards for its investigative reports, essays, interviews, and cultural criticism, dealing with issues of race and politics in the United States.

Essence, designed in 1970 as a monthly publication by Essence Communications Inc. targeting African American women, has long been an outlet for African American women writers, essayists, and journalists. It lists a circulation of over 1.5 million readers, has engaged in cultural promotion such as the Essence Music Festival in New Orleans; Black Women in Hollywood awards, a yearly ceremony to honor African American women who have succeeded in Hollywood; and Essence Literary Awards, created to celebrate African American writers. *Essence* has also engaged in activism to promote dialogue that discusses the portrayal of women in hip hop.

Latina, founded in 1996, is currently published by Latina Media Ventures LLC. A monthly bilingual magazine catering to Hispanic women in the United States, *Latina* is a bicultural magazine, bridging mainstream American and Latin American cultures in the United States. It lists a readership of almost 3 million. *Lilith*, founded in 1976, is a quarterly magazine that targets a readership of progressive Jewish women. It explains its purpose as that which “charts Jewish women’s lives with exuberance, rigor, affection, subversion and style.” The magazine has published important award-winning reports, fiction, art, poetry, and cultural reviews.

Large-scope ethnic publications in the United States, such as *Native Peoples Magazine*, catering to all Native Americans; *Jade* and *Hyphen*, which cater to an Asian readership; and *Latin Trade*, which targets Latin Americans interested in international trade, are published in English. However, there are hundreds of thousands of smaller publications—regional or local—written in over 40 languages all over the United States. Whereas the former are publications with national reach and a readership often in the hundreds of thousands, other publications remain regional. In states such as California, where according to the U.S. census, in 2010 minorities composed over 50 percent of the population, there is a great demand for ethnic publications. For example, the demand for Chinese publications to serve small to medium-sized businesses, young professionals, and Asian immigrant communities has flourished.

Some print publications that target music fans can be considered ethnic magazines, based upon their main target readership. These include hip hop magazines such as *The Source*, *Vibe*, and *XXL*, which caters to followers of African American urban culture; as well as *Tejano Magazine*, which caters to fans of the Mexican American genre of Tejano music.

Advertising in Ethnic Magazines

A larger share of corporate advertising dollars now flows to local ethnic magazines than ever before, interested in capitalizing on identity-based consumer behavior. As immigrant and second-generation ethnic communities grow increasingly upwardly mobile, they become more attractive to corporate advertisers. Moreover, advertisers today recognize the importance of immigrant markets for telephone companies, transportation, and banking services. This has created some conflicting dynamics on the purpose of ethnic magazines, which is to cherish and uplift ethnic voices and representation, and the often generic and exclusive representations of large corporate advertising campaigns. Consequently, some large advertisers have changed their creative vision in order to accommodate the increasing diversity of their target market.

Ethnic magazines smaller in scope, such as regional and local publications, serve more specific ethnic communities such as Vietnamese, Koreans, Russians, Colombians, and Asian Indians located

in specific cities, towns, or even neighborhoods. These publications tend to be more reliant on classified and local advertising dollars, and use a more periodical format. Thus, many of these smaller publications have uneven rates of long-term success because they are heavily dependent upon the wax and wane of local minority demographics.

Moreover, because of increasing publication costs and lesser availability of advertising dollars for the general print media at large, many print publications today have moved to a solely online presence, while most large ethnic print publications have established a strong online presence alongside their print editions in order to increase their readership and capture more advertising dollars.

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See Also: *Ebony*; Media, Ethnic; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media, Foreign Language; National Hispanic Media Coalition.

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Mahjar

Mahjar is an Arabic concept broadly defined in reference to any place of intended immigration. Arabs migrating to the United States, for example, are said to live in “mahjar.” The term has gained particular popularity in the phrase *Adab Al Mahjar*, or *Mahjar literature*, mostly produced by a group of prominent Arab American literary figures during the 1910s to the 1930s. Their literature is circulated widely in the Arab world and is much appreciated for introducing modern techniques in an attempt to engage with the long-held

premises of the classic school in Arabic literature. The contribution of such Arab Americans goes beyond aesthetic literature to encapsulate various political, religious, and social concerns that they tend to engage with, thereby registering an early example of a transnational yearning, challenging the push to assimilate immigrants in the United States at the time.

The root Arabic word for mahjar is *hajara*, which means leaving one's home. As a space, mahjar is broad in scope to include all kinds of voluntary and involuntary migrating processes. With the rising sense of pan-Arabism or Arab nationalism, a narrative that promotes Arab unity despite national differences, the term *mahjar* has gained a political meaning that prescribes it as a space for Arabs in a non-Arab country. Arabs living in Europe, America, and Australia are said to live in mahjar. For Arabs who rather celebrate their particular national heritage, that is, Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, Yemenis, and so forth, mahjar refers to any place in which they live away from their country of origin, including other Arab countries. For example, Yemenis living in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United States, or Africa are said to live in mahjar.

The popularity of mahjar as a concept lies in its promoting for discussion identity-related issues such as nostalgia, belonging, allegiance, language, and tradition. For many who choose to use the term, mahjar establishes a dual identity for their families and for themselves. Transnational ties are maintained at varying scales. This is usually embraced through sending remittances to one's home country; following one's native country's public news; participating in electoral events; contributing to scholarship and literature; creating friendships with others migrating from the same country; celebrating one's festivals, rituals, and traditions; teaching younger generations one's native language and dialect; and arranging for short family visits.

Although the term *mahjar* varies in usage among the migrating Arab communities, Arab states circulate the usage of the term in an attempt to keep ties with their migrants. This is usually administered through government measures to facilitate remittances, investments, visits, property purchases, construction, and so on. Embassies are often assigned the role of the state in deepening

one's affiliation with the country of origin. In mainstream Arabic arts and pop culture, the term *mahjar* mostly circulates in relation to questions of identity formation. The narrative of nostalgia is strong and present, and the importance of serving one's home is highlighted. Even though many migrants might eventually choose to disconnect themselves from their native country, the rich presence and circulation of the term and its connotations make it necessarily challenging.

The word *mahjar* has been increasingly annexed with other nouns, as in mahjar children, mahjar youth, mahjar tales, and mahjar students. Perhaps the most popular annexation of all time is mahjar literature (often referred to as mahjar poetry). This refers to the literature produced by early Arab Americans, recognized as mahjar poets or mahjar men of letters, who migrated to the United States in the late 19th century, mostly from Lebanese and Syrian origins. In 1920, they formed the first Arab American literary association, Al-Rabitah Al-Qalamiyah, or The Pen League (also known as The Pen Bond), which sought to offer a platform for Arab American writers to engage with the U.S. and Arabic public spheres. The Pen League includes such high-profile figures as Khalil Gibran, Mikhail Naimy, Ameen Rihani, Elia Abu Madi, Nasib Arida, Abdul Massih Haddad, Raschid Ayoub, and others.

In Arabic literature, mahjar poetry is considered an iconic school of poetry, often cited as a precursor to the 20th-century Arabic poetry reinvigoration. The topics discussed in such poetry are generated out of the poets' particular migration experience. Their sense of homesickness, struggle to earn a living, fascination with nature's beauty, interest in philosophical and existential issues, and reflection on Western influence are some of the prominent issues. In addition to diversifying content, mahjar poets also offer a refreshing change in style. Their poetry offers an increased use of symbols, and their composing breaks away from classic Arabic poetry.

Mahjar men of letters were actively engaged in the public space. They published three Arabic journals: *As-Sayeh*, or "The Traveler"; *Mirat Al-Gharb*, or "Mirror of the West"; and *Al-Funun*, or "The Arts." They celebrated their common Arabic heritage and promoted a sense of pan-Arabism. They were severe critics of the Ottoman

despotic rule, which controlled most of the Arab world at that time. They exhibited a passion to influence Arabic culture and literature and were held as a model of how mahjar is capable of producing a huge impact on the native lands. This further inspired other mahjar schools, particularly in South America, to reclaim their identity and contribute to literature through mahjar. It is such a celebration of innovation, production, and success that ultimately maintains the popularity of the term *mahjar*.

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See Also: Arab Americans; Diaspora; Lebanese Americans; Syrian Americans.

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Maltese Americans

Malta is a European archipelago in the Mediterranean Sea, south of Sicily and north of Libya. Because of its location, it has been controlled at one time or another by most of the major powers of the region, including the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Spanish, French, and British. It was settled by the Secani, one of the indigenous tribes of Sicily. There are some who think that ancient Maltese culture inspired the legend of the cataclysm of Atlantis. The Maltese people are the overwhelming majority of the country's ethnic groups; among the minorities, the British (most of whom

are retirees who immigrated for their retirement) are the largest. English is one of Malta's two official languages, along with Maltese. The country has a strong Christian heritage and is believed to have been visited by the Apostle Paul. Catholicism is the state religion.

There are a small number of Maltese Americans: 35,103 as of the 2010 Census. Because it is such a small country, many Americans knew little to nothing about Malta when the first Maltese immigrants arrived, and the widespread misconception that it was part of Italy may have led to some immigrants being listed as Italian.

Immigration and Assimilation

The earliest Maltese immigrants came to Louisiana before the Louisiana Purchase of 1803; some of their tombstones still survive today. Maltese immigration was exceptionally sparse until the 20th century, however, usually less than a dozen arrivals per year. This changed after World War I. Malta was under British control at the time, and the European economy was ravaged by the war, while the American economy was about to enter one of its greatest periods of prosperity.

Thousands of Maltese immigrants came to the United States in 1920, taking factory jobs in industrial cities like Detroit, New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. In Detroit, Maltese immigrants were a significant part of the expanding automobile manufacturing industry. As with many immigrants, many of the arriving Maltese intended to return to Malta after they had earned enough money, but most of them wound up setting down roots instead.

Today, most Maltese Americans live in Detroit; there is a large community in Astoria, Queens, New York, and communities in San Francisco, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Most are active Catholics. Prominent Maltese Americans include Joseph Borg, the securities commissioner of Alabama, a son of Maltese immigrants; musician Ray Buttigieg; Kid Rock's hype man, rapper Joe C., from the Detroit area; fringe political personality Andy Martin, one of the formulators of the birther conspiracy theory; Faster Pussycat and L.A. Guns guitarist Brent Muscat; comics artist Joe Sacco, author of the *Safe Area Gorazde* graphic novel; pop star and reality television judge Britney Spears (who, despite being from

Louisiana, actually comes by her Maltese heritage through her Maltese British grandmother); and cult researcher John A. Saliba. When the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia cracked during testing, it was recast by Maltese American John Pass, who made it less brittle by the addition of copper.

The *Malta Messenger*, based in New York City, is a periodical for Maltese Americans. A number of Maltese American cultural and social organizations exist, including the Institute of Maltese American Affairs, the Friends of Malta Society, the Committee for Maltese Unity, the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, the Maltese American Association of Long Island, the Maltese American Benevolent Society, the Maltese American Club, the Maltese American Community Club, the Maltese American Foundation, the Maltese American League, the Maltese American Friendship Society, the Maltese American Social Club of San Francisco, Maltese International, the Maltese Social Club, the Maltese Union Club, and Sons of Malta Social Club. Because church attendance among Maltese Americans is high, their communities often have their own parishes, despite the small size of the overall population.

In Malta, the tradition of the wake is not observed. Typically, the deceased is not embalmed and is buried within a day; undertakers had one of the lowest social statuses in Malta. The Maltese American community has abandoned this practice, and their funeral customs are much the same as other American Catholics. Maltese American baptisms, too, are somewhat different from those in Malta. Both baptism ceremonies involve choosing a *parrina* and *parrinu* (godmother and godfather), but whereas in Malta the ceremony is followed by the sorts of foods Americans associate with birthday parties—cake, ice cream, and candy—in the Maltese American community a full meal is served. Food also features in the Maltese American wedding reception and especially the bridal shower, which is usually a large affair (most family and friends can be expected to be invited), often in a rented banquet room.

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See Also: European Americans; Italian Americans; Romanian Americans.

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Manifest Destiny

Manifest destiny refers to an expansionist ideology, spearheaded by powerful political and cultural actors in the 19th century in the United States. The ideology attempted to rationalize western expansion efforts and initially advocated the broadening of American boundaries past the initial 13 colonies, west toward the Pacific Ocean. Manifest destiny provided the rationale and political motive for annexing western territories making up the modern-day U.S. states of Texas, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, and New Mexico, as well as much of the modern American midwest and northwest.

Manifest destiny was more than just the expansion of one culture; by definition, it involved the displacement, eradication, or assimilation of native cultures as well as the European settlements that predated American expansion, from the Russians in Alaska to the Mexicans in the southwest and in California. In the modern, postcolonial American era, manifest destiny is often referenced as an archetype of American colonialist attitudes. Although generally referred to as a representation of bygone cultural attitudes, some scholars suggest that the cultural tradition of manifest destiny continues to be relevant in American politics and international affairs.

Historically, colonialist political attitudes in the United States were employed by prominent politicians to rationalize the forcible taking or “annexing” of western territories. Many of these territories were inhabited by indigenous North American populations prior to the westward expansion, whereas others were Spanish or Mexican territories. Following the Mexican-American War, the United States took ownership of a large portion of the newly independent Mexican state



Journalist John L. O'Sullivan, sketched in 1874, was an influential columnist as a young man but is typically remembered for his use of the phrase Manifest Destiny. He wrote of a "divine destiny" for the United States based upon values such as equality and rights of conscience.

and subsequently granted citizenship to the Mexicans who chose to remain, adding significantly to the country's Hispanic population. The doctrine was similarly utilized to add legitimacy to the colonization of island territories such as Hawai'i and the Philippines.

The term *manifest destiny* was originally coined in 1845 by American journalist John O'Sullivan, an advocate of the imperialist philosophy that the expansion of U.S. boundaries to the Pacific and beyond was an inevitable and positive force for good. The nascent period of boundary expansion by the U.S. government actually preceded the coining of the term *manifest destiny*, and scholars have noted that the terminology exemplified and galvanized an already existent cultural mind-set.

O'Sullivan's terminology was intentionally suggestive of a divine "ordainment" to the end of U.S. boundary enlargement, although subsequent use of the term often focused more on the economic, cultural, and political benefits of westward expansion. A number of scholars have

noted that manifest destiny also incorporated notions of racial, religious, and cultural superiority—as well as economic incentives derived from increased land resources and natural resource acquisition—as validation of efforts to expand regional influence.

The doctrine was articulated at a time when the country was undergoing one of its religious Great Awakenings—a period of greater spiritual revival in which new religious movements were formed. The term *manifest destiny* invoked religious concepts of Americans as a chosen people, without aligning itself with any specific religious creed, allowing Americans of various faiths and denominations to adopt the ideology.

The Discovery Doctrine and Other Ideological Supports

Popularly held views of racial and cultural superiority supported the notion that lands inhabited by indigenous people had not been claimed or settled in the Western sense and were therefore available for the American government to legally annex. This ideology was supported by a string of decisions from the U.S. Supreme Court expounding the "discovery doctrine," which invalidated legal claims to land by indigenous peoples on the grounds that these aboriginal communities were not civilized in the Western sense and were therefore incapable of possessing these territories. The most famous case expounding the discovery doctrine was *Johnson v. M'Intosh* (1823).

Another contributing factor to the rise in popularity of the doctrine was the dramatic population surge occurring in the country during the 19th century and the accompanying desire to accumulate land and economic resources to support the growth. Both native-born Americans and recent immigrants were encouraged to settle the west, transforming and Americanizing the frontier lands. One of the major political actors during the nascent period of manifest destiny was President James Monroe, in office from 1817 to 1825.

His Monroe Doctrine formally denounced the prospect of the United States from being further subjected to colonization by European powers—some of whom were still inhabiting neighboring North American territories at the time—and advocated an active national effort to remove Spanish and French influence from North American

territories. This provided a political baseline and the impetus for efforts to broaden the American ambit of political control.

In the mid- and late 19th century, politicians utilized the concept of manifest destiny to legitimize efforts to expand American control beyond these newly acquired lands and the previously acquired Louisiana Territory (which had been acquired from France in 1803 in the Louisiana Purchase and encompassed much of the modern-day American midwest). President Andrew Jackson utilized the ideology and romanticized rhetoric of manifest destiny to legitimize the use of military force to acquire lands in the midwest that were inhabited by indigenous tribes.

Jackson was a former general in the U.S. Army, and as president, he initiated large-scale military actions aimed not only at acquiring lands in the southeast and west of the Mississippi River but also at exterminating entire tribal populations. The resulting forcible annexations were the subject of the legal challenges leading to the formulation of the “discovery doctrine” rationale by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Around this time, a number of American settlers began traveling west, especially into the Mexican province of Texas. In 1835, the settlers rebelled against the Mexican state, and in 1845, the U.S. government annexed the newly created state of Texas. The Mexican-American War ensued, and an American victory led to Mexico ceding a large part of its provincial territory, including territories encompassing the modern-day states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas, and parts of Colorado, Nevada, and Utah, in 1848. This is how, in less than 50 years, the United States expanded its territories all the way to the Pacific border of North America.

The end of the 19th century saw further U.S. expansion into and colonization of Caribbean provinces, as well as increased international meddling by U.S. military forces, particularly in South America, in the years leading up to World War I. This period saw a slight variation in the traditional ideological underpinnings of manifest destiny, wherein cultural and political philosophies encouraged political involvement outside the continental United States as a mediator in international or transcontinental affairs (putting the modern conception of manifest destiny somewhat

at odds with another deeply ingrained American political tradition: isolationism).

This heightened international role grew exponentially during the world wars and arguably continued through the Korean War, Vietnam War and modern era military interventions in Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere. Some scholars have identified these interventions as the origins of a new American imperialism, whereby national military policies encourage interventionism and disproportionate international influence, but not necessarily the literal colonization of territories or sovereign states.

Conclusion

At the core of manifest destiny is American exceptionalism, the idea that the United States and its people possess unique characteristics that distinguish them from the rest of the world. This notion, which was embraced even by many who condemned the imperialism and Indian wars of the 19th century, impacts not only American foreign policy but also the country’s approach to immigration policy. Exceptionalism claims that there is something special about being an American; advocates on either side of the immigration debate argue over who is therefore entitled to become an American. What is noteworthy about American exceptionalism, in contrast with the nationalism of many other countries, is that this sentiment is not being expressed about a single culture or ethnic group, but rather about a multicultural, multiethnic, multifaith Americanness.

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See Also: Native Americans; Politics and Ethnic Diversity; White Supremacy.

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Manufacturing and Ethnic Diversity

Manufacturing in the United States has a long history of ethnic diversity. The boom of the Industrial Revolution depended on the influx of labor brought by waves of 19th-century immigration. The Industrial Revolution in the United States began with the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, which dominated the textile industry for generations.

Early in the era, textile mill labor was provided by young Anglo-American women. Lowell's factories offered better working conditions and higher wages than those of Europe, but a need to increase production as the Industrial Revolution took off led to the need to hire cheaper labor, usually for longer hours than these young women—often still living with their parents—could work.

Irish immigrants filled these jobs in the 1840s, followed by a series of immigrants from other countries in successive waves: French Canadians in the 1860s and 1870s, and Greeks, Poles, Portuguese, and Jews in the 1890s through the turn of the century. In Lowell, as in much of the country, newly arrived immigrants in need of jobs and connections were often used as strikebreakers. Over and over again, one generation of strikebreakers became integrated into the manufacturing community, aged, unionized, went on strike, and had their strike broken by a new generation of strikebreakers.

Each wave of immigrants faced resistance, both from “native” Americans and from earlier generations of immigrants. Each group worried that further immigration would drag down the high standard of living in the United States and the relatively high wages paid for factory work. In many cases, they were forced to establish ethnic neighborhoods. The Irish who came to Lowell to work in its first canal lived in tents and hastily erected shacks in “paddy camps,” which became the neighborhood known as the Acre, a gateway neighborhood that took in later groups of immigrants working in Lowell's manufacturing sector.

Employers encouraged friction between immigrant groups and played them against each other during times of labor unrest in order to transform employer–employee hostilities into

employee–employee hostilities. While French Canadians were arriving in Lowell and taking manufacturing and construction work, Chinese were arriving in California to work in mines and on the railroads, and the way that employers used the cheap wages that immigrants would accept as leverage against established employees' demands for pay increases played a large role in inspiring the birth of the labor unions and the brief-lived wave of workingmen's political parties. These unions and parties, in turn, were responsible for a century of anti-immigration legislation.

In the late 19th and 20th centuries, immigrant groups played a major role in the development of the manufacturing sector in the United States, especially in the major manufacturing centers of the midwest such as Detroit and Flint, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; and Gary, Indiana. The industrializing economy attracted new waves of immigration, particularly Czechs, Poles, Russians, and Italians, who settled in large numbers in these cities from the 1890s to the 1930s, and eastern Europeans of various nationalities who arrived in the early 20th century. More eastern Europeans arrived in the middle of the century as they fled the ravages of World War II and the spread of Soviet communism.

Contemporary Manufacturing

The average age of a worker in the manufacturing sector is about 50, and the workforce is gradually getting older. Some of the factors that have been blamed for discouraging the entrance into the field of young workers may also dampen white participation, as the decline of traditional engineering degrees and the lack of a college major in process automation has been blamed for discouraging college students from entering manufacturing careers. Because college students are disproportionately white, reducing the interest of white college students could have the effect of increasing the proportion of minority workers in the workforce.

According to the most recent Bureau of Labor Statistics data, the manufacturing workforce in the United States consists of 254,520 helpers and production workers; 293,540 inspectors, testers, sorters, samplers, and weighers; 294,620 machinists; 93,150 purchasing agents; and 703,740 team assemblers. Average hourly wages are \$24.06, and the average worker works 40.6 hours a week.

Averages for production and nonsupervisory employees are \$19.23 an hour for 41.6 hours a week.

Today, the manufacturing workforce is extremely diverse and, along with agriculture, provides numerous skilled and unskilled jobs to recent immigrants who may lack the language fluency or transferrable credentials to find well-paying work in other sectors. Amid long-running complaints that the American manufacturing sector is not as dominant in the global economy as it once was, many industry voices—including the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)—have called for immigration reform as a labor solution. They argue that an improvement to an employment-based green card system and simplified procedures for temporary workers could help direct the flow of immigration toward a sector badly in need of an amplified workforce. Even amid the country's overall job shortage, there is a critically low supply of skilled workers in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields, and NAM has specifically petitioned for years for the H1-B visa system to be improved in order to fill those jobs.

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See Also: Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Occupational Patterns (Essay).

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March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

By 1963, civil rights activists were inspired by previous efforts to create change in U.S. society. On August 28, 1963, civil rights participants gathered on the Washington Mall. The March on Washington was initially envisioned as a demonstration to demand full jobs, decent housing, an end to racial segregation in public accommodations and schools, and more effective civil rights laws. Following the Civil War and passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, the call for racial equality was brought to the fore. However, with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896, the doctrine of "separate but equal" was instituted into federal law, allowing for government-sanctioned legal segregation of blacks and whites and the incorporation of black codes. These codes restricted various social, political, and economic opportunities for blacks in most cities and states while also relegating blacks to second-class citizenship and denying them equality before the law.

Black codes eventually paved the way for Jim Crow legislation, which allowed for continuing racial disparities, discrimination, and inequalities. This ideology created a national environment for black exploitation. In response to this, creative waves of social reform campaigns established opportunities for coalition politics, which ultimately led to increased demands for black freedom and equality. Civil rights activities were well under way at the turn of the 20th century, which included the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 and the National Urban League in 1910 as the two premier civil rights organizations throughout the nation. At the same time, blacks and their allies developed journals, editorials, and other periodicals that could be used as another vehicle in the fight for black rights.

During this time period, blacks began to move in mass numbers throughout the nation in search of better social and economic conditions. Although the "separate but equal" doctrine was more prevalent in the south, blacks still experienced racism, discrimination, and prejudice in the north. This was especially true in major urban

centers such as Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Philadelphia, and also in areas where the black population swelled in a short period of time. In these instances, a white backlash emerged that developed into race-based restrictions on housing, jobs, education, and various social services.

Within this multilayered environment, demands for black equality and freedom became increasingly pronounced. Blacks continuously sought improvement in their social, political, and economic realities and, in addition to creating civil rights organizations, they engaged in an intensive effort of institution building that included labor unions, political entities, religious institutions, and social and cultural organizations.

Groundwork for Mass Protest

A. Philip Randolph originally conceived the concept of a march on Washington in 1941. Randolph used the idea as a political maneuver in negotiation with President Franklin Roosevelt to improve employment opportunities for blacks. Randolph, Bayard Rustin, and A. J. Muste proposed a march on Washington to protest racial discrimination in defense work and the armed forces.

A major development during the World War II era was the Double V campaign, in which millions of African Americans sought victory over fascism overseas, coupled with victory over racism and discrimination in the United States. The idea of nobly serving one's country in war with hope of securing and gaining further rights was not new; African Americans had fought in every major American war, beginning with the American Revolution. The rhetoric of ending fascism abroad during World War II created a fertile ground for efforts to dismantle domestic inequalities and hypocrisies. The demands of returning soldiers helped build momentum for unprecedented challenges and changes in the next decade.

The legal campaigns of the NAACP during the 1950s continued to lay the groundwork for change, notably with the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that dismantled the "separate but equal" doctrine and outlawed all forms of racial segregation in public schools. The 1950s were a period of galvanization for blacks who, throughout the north and south, engaged in various acts of civil disobedience that helped

build momentum in the fight for full citizenship and civil rights.

Bus boycotts were used to challenge racial segregation on public transportation, and these led to other forms of civil disobedience that included the sit-in movement of the early 1960s, the Freedom Rides, and voter registration drives like the ones coordinated throughout the Deep South by civil rights organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

White backlash and violence continued to develop in response to black nonviolent civil disobedience. These responses came in multiple forms, ranging from numerous arrests and detainments, open physical attacks on black demonstrators by many local residents, and the use of fire hoses, billy clubs, and dogs by police personnel. Additionally, the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council engaged in various terror campaigns against blacks that included destroying black property, harassment, and numerous lynchings and murders of blacks. Many southern blacks who participated in demonstrations or attempted to assert their citizenship rights faced severe economic reprisals, lost their land, were denied access to resources, and had their employment terminated.

In April 1963, led by the activities of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), civil rights activists launched Project "C"—for "confrontation"—in Birmingham, Alabama. Birmingham was noted as one of the most segregated cities in the nation and earned the name of "Bombingham" for the many violent acts against black citizens. King was arrested and used his "Letter From a Birmingham Jail" to justify the SCLC's work in Birmingham, the nonviolent protests, and the need to fight for change in American society.

During the first five days of peaceful demonstration, more than 2,500 protesters, the majority of whom were children, were arrested. After 38 days, the city promised to desegregate public facilities and begin an employment program for blacks. In the days after, blacks faced even more physical violence; King's hotel was bombed, black bystanders were beaten by state police, and a riot erupted in the city. Later, in June 1963, NAACP field secretary and civil rights activist Medgar Evers was assassinated in his driveway.

These activities created the backdrop for the March on Washington Campaign in August 1963. In response to continued white backlash and violence, black protests continued to spread, which showed the limitations of nonviolent tactics. Repeatedly, peaceful protesters and civil rights workers were violated physically and harassed, and some were even killed, without intervention from the federal government.

The John F. Kennedy administration and the federal government were criticized heavily because they did little to ensure that black constitutional rights were observed or protected. Activists and demonstrators were arrested under the auspices of disturbing the peace, yet they received no assistance in ensuring their peace and safety.

As a result, racial tensions continued to mount as throngs of citizens questioned the diplomacy of U.S. democracy. In the windfall, several civil rights organizations were criticized for their overreliance on the federal government and the ineffectiveness of nonviolent methods.

March on Washington, August 1963

Civil rights activities continuously challenged various forms of segregation and discrimination and had garnered a wide range of national attention. These protests, sit-ins, boycotts, and other actions led to the March on Washington in 1963. The spirit behind the march was for an even larger peaceful protest that was hoped would achieve equal rights and economic justice for all Americans.



Media coverage at the March on Washington was extensive and gave organizers national exposure and the opportunity to offer their own commentary through speeches and music. Bob Dylan performed several songs, including "Only a Pawn in Their Game," which is about the racially inspired assassination of Medgar Evers. Joan Baez joined Dylan for several songs and had earlier led the crowd in several verses of "We Shall Overcome" and "Oh Freedom."

The March on Washington is considered the signature event of the civil rights movement; it brought nearly 250,000 people to Washington, D.C. The spirit of the march was to demand equal access and rights while calling for an increase to the minimum wage, bolstering workers in agriculture and domestic service, creating more job opportunities, and providing for improved working conditions.

The march was initiated by A. Phillip Randolph and the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), and it garnered support from local unions and civil rights organizations in black working-class communities. As the March on Washington Coalition developed, the NALC combined its efforts with the SCLC, SNCC, and NAACP. In addition, these national groups connected with other grassroots organizations to create a groundswell in demanding change. The March on Washington, in both its design and its intent, bolstered a combined agenda “for jobs and freedom.”

The main portion of the march culminated at the Lincoln Memorial and followed a program. Randolph delivered the program’s opening remarks. With significant emphasis, a tribute to “Negro Women Fighters for Freedom” was also included to highlight the trailblazing work of black women in the civil rights era. On the surface, it seemed that men might have led the civil rights movement (and the March on Washington), but women’s roles were just as definitive in their organizing efforts.

Among the 10 remarks made at the march, the two that are privileged among the others are comments by John Lewis (SNCC) and King (SCLC). Lewis’s remarks are noteworthy because he revised his speech and removed much of what might be considered militant or inflammatory language at the urgings of the architects of the march. King’s remarks, most often referred to as his “I Have a Dream” speech, have been hailed as one of the greatest speeches in U.S. history.

King highlighted economic inequalities and the plight of the civil rights struggle at the time in the first half of his speech, but it is the second half, where he focused attention on racial harmony and the possibilities of a U.S. society that lined up better with the ideals on which the country was founded, that garnered the most attention.

The March on Washington was scrutinized by both participants and outside observers. The main criticism was three-pronged: first, the march failed to bring together broad-based economic reform; second, the labor agenda narrowly focused on men and did not initially include women; and third, some opponents claimed that the march’s agenda was compromised in an effort to appease white liberals.

Legacy

Despite the prevailing fears by the Kennedy administration, Wilkins, and other liberal supporters leading up to the event, the impact of the March on Washington can still be felt today. The march can be viewed as a definitive highlight of the civil rights movement, but even more importantly, its success is amplified by recalling the collaborated effort that brought together a significant number of organizations, concerned citizens, activists, and elected officials. In addition to the coordinated efforts of the NALC, SCLC, SNCCP, and NAACP, other organizations that sponsored the event included the American Jewish Congress, the Congress on Racial Equality, the Industrial Union Department AFL-CIO, the National Conference of Catholics for Interracial Justice, and the National Urban League.

The March on Washington left a lasting imprint within the American social, political, and cultural fabric as the agenda from the March on Washington Coalition convinced Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson to broaden their scope of national civil rights legislation to include equal employment, a stronger Civil Rights Act, and the Voting Rights Act.

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See Also: Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Congress of Racial Equality; “I Have a Dream” Speech; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Voting Rights Act.

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Marianismo

Marianismo is the conceptualization of female Latin American expected gender roles that emerge from the cult of worship related to the Virgin Mary/La Virgen de Guadalupe. In 1973, Evelyn Stewart coined the phrase as a counterpart to the concept of machismo, the expected dominant, oppressive male gender roles of Latin American men. Although the concept of marianismo is rooted in the Catholic religious reverence for the Virgin Mary, Stewart argues the concept is actually secularly infused in Latin American cultures and thus continues to shape expectations regarding women's behavior.

The cult of the Virgin Mary involves women emulating the Virgin, essentially proclaiming woman as semi-divine and morally and spiritually superior to men because she is able to endure immense pain and sorrow. In the 1970s, many Chicana feminists wrote about and actively challenged the cult of the Virgin as particularly oppressive to Latinas' equality, and they did this by confronting the oppositional concepts of "*la mujer buena*" (the good woman) and "*la mujer mala*" (the bad woman) that emerge from Mexican archetypes (the symbolic understanding of women's role as opposed to one that is complex) of true womanhood. The use of this term tends to be linked specifically to Mexico because of the relevance of La

Virgen de Guadalupe; however, marianismo and machismo are concepts that have been found in other Latin American/Hispanic areas.

La Virgen de Guadalupe and La Malinche

Chicana feminists look to Spanish colonization as the site of the entrenching of patriarchal ideologies in Mexican society. Whereas the stereotype of the Latina is a nurturing woman, non-feminist historians often ignore the matriarchal roots of the Americas. This is not to say that pre-Columbian Mexico did not have oppression or suppression of women, but rather to illuminate how colonization and conquest shaped expectations about women's behavior and gender roles that came directly from Europe.

Scholars tend to ignore the great mother *Coatlique* who ruled Aztec society as a god. She is the mother goddess of the earth and also birthed the moon and stars. With the arrival of Hernán Cortés in Mexico and the dominance of Catholicism as a tool of conquest, La Virgen de Guadalupe became the figure women should aim to emulate, replacing Aztec reverence of stronger female deities. La Virgen's endless love for her children, the ideal qualities of self-sacrificing woman, chastity, and purity free from sexual carnality mark La Virgen as the ideal woman, or "*la mujer buena*." "*La mujer buena*" is ideal in the *macho's* patriarchal domination because she puts the needs of her father, brother, husband, and children before her own. The model of subservience, however, is limiting and dangerous in the ways that it is often proscribed uncritically onto Latin American cultures.

This representation of womanhood is held in stark contrast to "*la mujer mala*," who can be seen as La Malinche or Malintzín, the indigenous woman who aided Cortés's conquest of Mexico in the role of his interpreter. She is credited as the mother of the birth of Mexicans as she was indigenous and the child she bore with Cortés, who was Spanish, was the first *mestizo*. As the mother of modern Mexicans, she has been characterized as a traitor; to be called a Malinche is to be a traitor to one's people.

Her sexual relationship (which may have been coerced) is seen as how a true woman should not behave, thus marking her as "*la mujer mala*." Both of these archetypes can be seen as contributing

to the maintenance of the idea that women must fit into a particular set of gendered expectations and behaviors, which represent how marianismo extends beyond Catholicism and is rather apparent in the general gendered attitudes regarding men's and women's proper roles in Latin American cultures.

Chicana Feminism

Because these archetypal figures of “*la mujer mala*” and “*la mujer buena*” do not allow women to assert their rights or imagine their roles in society as different from their roles under the rule of the macho patriarch, Chicana feminists have worked hard to reimagine and reclaim these figures' lives and roles and have pushed back against the ways that they emerged out of a specific colonial context. Through linking the ways that the Spanish colonizers created a hierarchy of good versus bad women through the church and in reimagining La Virgen and La Malinche as positive feminist figures, Chicanas have challenged these narrow options for womanhood.

Chicana historians uncover and bring light to the ways women who emulated La Virgen, who were seen as good, were often the poor Spanish women brought to the New World to marry the Spaniard occupiers. Those who were seen as bad were Las Malinches, who were the contrasting native, Indian women. In this sense, Chicana feminists argue that in order to challenge these limiting gender roles for women, they need to advocate decolonization of this colonial gendered system that was imposed on both women and men of Mexican descent.

They are also critical of the ways that machismo, as a tool to define male behavior, dominance, and patriarchy, and marianismo, as a concept that represents the self-sacrificing woman above all else, are often applied to Latin American women uncritically. Ultimately, marianismo is a concept that has been contested but still holds relevance for dominant and patriarchal society.

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See Also: Feminism and Ethnic Diversity; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Machismo; Mexican Americans.

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Mariel Boatlift

The Mariel Boatlift occurred during the spring and summer of 1980, when Cuban dictator Fidel Castro opened his island nation's ports and allowed any dissidents to leave Cuba. Over a period of four months, approximately 125,000 Cubans entered the United States through Key West, Florida, as political refugees fleeing the Castro regime. They were known as “marielitos” because they set sail from the Port of Mariel in northwestern Cuba.

Although the large-scale influx of Cubans to the United States began 20 years earlier, the Mariel Boatlift marked a turning point in Cuban American history, as this event shifted public sympathy for U.S. refugee policy toward Cuba and evoked a pernicious anti-Cuban backlash. This backlash was particularly strong in southern Florida, the destination of most marielitos. Nearly two-thirds of Cubans who entered the United States during the Mariel Boatlift settled in Miami.

Background

On March 28, 1980, a bus carrying six Cubans crashed the gate of the Peruvian embassy in Havana, and the passengers requested political asylum, triggering a wave of several thousand other Cubans seeking asylum from the Peruvian

and Venezuelan embassies. Despite Castro's insistence that the embassy turn over the asylum seekers to Cuban authorities, the Peruvians refused to comply. The incident quickly became an international embarrassment for the Castro regime, and Castro retaliated by instructing all Cubans who were unhappy with his regime to go to the Peruvian embassy.

Castro also announced that he would open the port of Mariel in northern Cuba so all were free to leave the island, under the caveat that they could never return to Cuba. Castro notoriously declared of the marielitos in May 1980, "Those who have no revolutionary genes, those who have no revolutionary blood . . . we do not want them; we do not need them!"

Within days of Castro's proclamation, thousands of Cuban refugees already living in the United States sailed to Mariel to bring their relatives back with them, but Castro used the boatlift as an opportunity to expel prisoners, mental patients, homosexuals, and other "undesirables" from his island. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that Castro expelled approximately 23,000 "non-felonious criminals and political prisoners," along with an estimated 2,000 violent criminals, during the boatlift. The boats returning to the United States thus carried far more people, most of them strangers to one another, than their captains originally intended. Many of these vessels were either makeshift floating devices or overcrowded boats filled well beyond capacity; some capsized at sea, resulting in drownings or in rescues by the U.S. Coast Guard.

Aftermath and Legacy

More than any other event, the Mariel Boatlift turned public opinion of the Cuban American community decidedly negative. Sensationalized television news footage of rickety boats, overflowing with dark-complexioned, Spanish-speaking passengers, traversing the harsh waters of the Florida straits en route to Miami, alarmed many Americans and evoked nativist sentiments that the country was "under siege." Even Miami's leading newspaper, the *Miami Herald*, took a decidedly negative tone in its coverage of the Mariel Boatlift.

Others pointed out the U.S. government's contradictory treatment regarding Cuban and

Haitian exiles. Although both Caribbean nations suffered tyranny at the hands of brutal dictators, the United States granted political asylum to Cubans essentially on demand while routinely denying refugee status to Haitians, who were customarily returned to Haiti or placed in detention centers if the Coast Guard apprehended them. This duality in treatment took on an apparent dimension of favoritism and racism, and it infuriated immigrants' rights advocates and African Americans alike.

The Mariel Boatlift also produced rifts within the Cuban American population itself. Whereas earlier waves of Cuban refugees during the 1960s and early 1970s were primarily lighter-complexioned and of a higher socioeconomic class, large numbers of those who entered during 1980 were darker-complexioned and came from the lower classes of Cuban society. Noting the strong backlash against the boatlift within the larger American society, many established Cuban Americans attempted to differentiate themselves from the newcomers. In fact, the term *marielito* came to function as a somewhat derogatory label used by older Cuban refugees for those who entered in 1980.

The influx of more than 80,000 refugees into Miami within a period of a few months placed an initial strain on public services, housing, and employment within the city, as well as impacting the cultural life of Miami. The Miami-Dade County Board of Supervisors, which had officially adopted a resolution declaring its jurisdiction both "bilingual and bicultural" in 1978, now witnessed a large population of non-English-speaking residents settling within its community. Language quickly emerged as a contentious issue in southern Florida, leading to the rise of a grassroots organization known as Citizens of Dade United that sponsored a November 1980 referendum that rescinded the previous bilingual/bicultural decree and established English as the official language of Miami-Dade County.

This referendum became influential, sparking similar legislation in other areas of the country and inspiring the English as the Official Language movement over the next few decades. The state of Florida declared English its official language in 1988. The Mariel Boatlift also serves as the backstory of Brian De Palma's 1983 film *Scarface*,

which stars Al Pacino as a *marielito* who brutally rises to the top of Miami's criminal empire.

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See Also: Cuban Americans; Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act (1966); Official English Movement; Refugee Act (1980); Refugees; Scarface.

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Martial Arts

The martial arts consist of a variety of armed and unarmed forms of violent physical combat, each of which features a distinct fighting style and unique offensive and defensive techniques. The name *martial arts* stems from Mars, the Roman god of war. Practiced for centuries, various martial arts forms have emerged throughout the Far East, the Pacific Rim, the Indian subcontinent, Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Martial arts may be used either for purposes of self-defense or for sport. Highly diversified, martial arts styles can be characterized as strike-based, grapple-based, or weapons-based.

The martial arts gained tremendous popularity in the United States during the post-World War II era, stemming from American military personnel's exposure to martial arts while stationed in Asian societies, the cultural significance of Bruce Lee, and the growing visibility of martial arts within U.S. popular culture. The best-known types of martial arts in the United States today include karate, kung fu, and tae kwon do, and over the past two decades, Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) has emerged as a highly popular mixed martial arts professional sports promotion that features

athletes from a variety of nationalities and ethnic backgrounds. An estimated 6.9 million Americans practiced some form of martial arts in 2004.

Martial Arts Around the World

Although the martial arts are not exclusive to Asian societies, martial arts are most often associated with the Far East in the American public imagination. Historical evidence suggests that increased trade and contact between Chinese and Indian societies approximately 2,600 years ago led to a blending of military fighting styles that laid the foundation for modern Asian martial arts. As these early combat systems diffused to new areas throughout eastern Asia, they evolved into modified, newer fighting styles. Distinct varieties of martial arts are associated with specific nations, such as kung fu and tai chi ch'uan with China, karate and judo with Japan, tae kwon do with Korea, and *muay thai* with Thailand.

Although combat arts in the Western world date to the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, the rise of firearms as weapons in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries led to a substantial decline in martial arts across the continent. Today, *savate*, a form of French kickboxing, and *systema*, a Russian fighting style dating to the 10th century, represent two of the most influential European martial arts. Various indigenous cultural groups throughout North and South America had their respective forms of wrestling and combat styles, centered on mastery of weapons such as the bow and arrow, knives, spears, clubs, and tomahawks. Historians identify 17 distinct fighting styles utilized by Native Americans. *Capoeira*, an Afro-Brazilian martial art that blends dance elements and acrobatic maneuvers with a variety of kicks, leg sweeps, and knife-wielding techniques, dates to the 16th century, when it first developed among the Portuguese colony's slave population.

Asian martial arts made their way to the United States with the settlement of Chinese and Japanese immigrants on the west coast and the Hawai'ian territory during the mid- and late 19th century, respectively. Jigoro Kano, a Japanese teacher and martial artist, developed judo during the 1880s, and this grappling art quickly spread to Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and California. President Theodore Roosevelt studied judo under Kano's student



Martial arts have crossed over into sports as various forms of sparring become competitive. Today, the Summer Olympics include categories for both judo and tae kwon do.

Yoshiaki Yamashita, whom he later appointed to teach judo at the U.S. Naval Academy.

Judo gained widespread popularity among American and European elites in the early 20th century and became an Olympic sport in 1964. The internment of Japanese Americans during World War II actually facilitated the creation of a national judo organization in 1952 by bringing together large numbers of Japanese American judo practitioners who had previously lacked contact with one another, albeit under oppressive conditions. The U.S. government viewed Japanese American instructors of judo and *kendo* (a Japanese art of sword fighting) as particularly dangerous and subversive during the war, designating such martial arts experts as “category A” security threats during the relocation phase.

Bruce Lee’s Legacy

Although U.S. servicemen stationed in east Asia during the postwar occupation of Japan and throughout the Korean War gained exposure to

martial arts, no one has influenced the exploding popularity of Eastern martial arts in Western societies more than Bruce Lee. Born Lee Jun Fan in San Francisco’s Chinatown on November 27, 1940, Lee remains the most culturally significant martial arts icon in North America and western Europe more than 40 years after his untimely death at age 32.

Lee’s father was a Hong Kong opera singer who relocated to the United States in 1939. In 1941, his family returned to Hong Kong, where Lee began to study the *wing chun* style of kung fu at the age of 13. Additionally, Lee became a child actor and appeared in 20 films by the age of 18.

Lee returned to the United States in 1959 and enrolled at the University of Washington, where he studied philosophy, met his wife, Linda, and opened a kung fu academy in Seattle. He later opened martial arts schools in Oakland and Los Angeles, and in 1966 he landed a starring role as Kato in the television series *The Green Hornet*, which enabled him to demonstrate his fighting skills to a large American audience. Lee developed a martial arts system, *jeet kune do*, by combining physical techniques with personal philosophical principles. Furthermore, he created the premise for the 1970s television series *Kung Fu* but was unfortunately denied a starring role in the program because of racial concerns in Hollywood that an Asian American lead actor would not appeal to a white audience.

Afterward, Lee returned to Hong Kong and pursued his motion picture career, starring in *Fists of Fury* (1971) and *The Chinese Connection* (1972) and directing *Way of the Dragon* (1972). In 1973, Lee starred in the joint Hong Kong–American film *Enter the Dragon*, which was critically acclaimed and generated more than \$200 million in worldwide revenue. Tragically, Lee died unexpectedly from an allergic reaction to a painkiller on July 20, 1973, in Hong Kong, one month before the premiere of *Enter the Dragon*.

Lee not only exposed millions of Americans to martial arts but also shattered long-standing discrimination against Asian Americans in Hollywood. Prior to Lee’s rise to stardom, white actors impersonating Asians (rather than Asian actors) often played the roles of Asian characters in films. Lee’s immense popularity paved the way for future Asian American martial arts stars

like Jackie Chan and Jet Li to establish successful careers within Hollywood.

Pop Culture Explosion

Capitalizing on the Bruce Lee craze of the 1970s, a series of martial arts motion pictures hit the silver screen during the 1980s and 1990s. *The Karate Kid* (1984) stars Ralph Macchio as Daniel LaRusso, a working-class Italian American teenager from New Jersey who relocates to the Los Angeles area with his single mother. A group of bullies continually attack LaRusso until he begins to study karate under the tutelage of Mr. Miyagi (Noriyuki “Pat” Morita), a middle-aged Japanese American and World War II veteran. Miyagi becomes a father figure to Daniel, teaching him self-confidence and valuable life lessons in addition to self-defense. Morita earned an Academy Award nomination for his performance, and the film inspired two sequels, a cartoon series, a video game, and a set of action figures throughout the 1980s.

Following *The Karate Kid*'s success, Motown executive Berry Gordy produced *The Last Dragon* (1985). Combining elements of romance, action, drama, and comedy, *The Last Dragon* pays tribute to Bruce Lee in overt and subtle ways. The film's protagonist, Leroy Green (Taimak), a young African American kung fu instructor, is affectionately called “Bruce Leroy” by his friends and brother. Posters of Bruce Lee adorn the walls of Leroy's gym, and the film showcases a musical montage of action scenes from Lee's films. *The Last Dragon*'s comedic elements stem from its shuffling of racial/ethnic stereotypes to different groups; the film features a trio of jive talking, craps-shooting Chinese men, while Leroy regularly dresses in a traditional Chinese shirt and straw hat and speaks in Confucian-style proverbs. A rival black martial arts expert, Sho'nuff (Julius J. Carry III), is known as the “Shogun of Harlem” and likewise dresses in feudal Japanese regalia.

The rise of video games during this time period also increased martial arts' exposure. A string of popular fighting-based games, including *Karate Champ* (1984), *Kung-Fu Master* (1984), *Renegade* (1986), *Yie-Ar Kung-Fu* (1985), *Double Dragon* (1987), *Street Fighter* (1987), *Double Dragon II: The Revenge* (1988), *The Final Fight* (1989), *Street Fighter II: The World Warrior* (1991), and *Mortal Kombat* (1992) targeted

teenagers and coincided with an expansion of martial arts academies nationwide.

These video games featured a multiethnic cast of characters, reflecting the popular association of martial arts with the Far East among Americans and the shift toward a pluralistic, multicultural society during the late 20th century. By the mid-1990s, the martial arts craze in American society had produced a new generation of adult-oriented action stars such as Chan, Steven Segal, Don “The Dragon” Wilson, Jean-Claude Van Damme, and Cynthia Rothrock.

Mixed martial arts (MMA) competition entered the ranks of mainstream professional athletics during this time. The first Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) event was held in Denver, Colorado, in November 1993 as a tournament featuring combatants from boxing, kickboxing, wrestling, karate, and jiu-jitsu styles. Dana White has served as president of UFC since 2002. During White's tenure, mixed martial arts has surged in popularity nationwide, and purchases of UFC pay-per-view events today greatly exceed those of boxing and professional wrestling.

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See Also: Asian American Movement; Asian Americans; Boxing and Ethnic Diversity; Media, Ethnic; Sports and Ethnic Diversity.

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Martin Luther King, Jr. Day

President Ronald Reagan signed Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, the third Monday in January, into

effect in 1983. The passage of this holiday was widely debated for a decade and a half before its passage. Opponents cited King's alleged communist ties and extramarital indiscretions as evidence against naming a holiday for him. Additionally, some members of Congress opposed the holiday because offering an additional day of paid vacation to government employees would be expensive and King never held public office.

Congressman John Conyers (D-MI) first suggested a holiday commemorating King in 1968, the year of King's assassination. In 1970, Congress received 6 million signatures supporting the declaration of the holiday. Although President Jimmy Carter supported the holiday, it never reached fruition during his term in office.

In 1980, Stevie Wonder released the song "Happy Birthday" to promote the Martin Luther King, Jr. Day campaign. President Reagan initially opposed the holiday, but the flurry of pro-King rhetoric and journalism in 1983, the 20th anniversary of his 1963 March on Washington, sanitized King's rhetoric into an altar call for classic American virtue.

Forms of Commemoration

Among King's supporters, debate ensued over the most appropriate way to commemorate his legacy. Coretta Scott King, his widow, wanted to emphasize establishment of the King Center, a research center for scholars of the movement and an educational center for the philosophy of nonviolence, in addition to a national holiday on January 15, King's birthday, to commemorate King's legacy. Leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wanted increased social and political activism as well as a national holiday on April 4, the anniversary of King's assassination. The King Center began an annual celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day in January 1969.

Celebrations of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day provide an opportunity to remember the effects of racism in American history and the legacy of the civil rights movement in combating racial segregation and social injustice. Universities often host lectures on King's legacy and the movement in general, facilitating conversation and reflection about injustice and inequality then and now.

Despite King's later radicalism, particularly his harsh criticism of the U.S. government and

the Vietnam War, the American memory of King is mostly positive. King is remembered as non-violent, peaceful, brave, courageous, honorable, and inspiring. Though he was all of those things, he also espoused radical politics in his later life, particularly in objection to U.S. foreign policy and economic disparity. King's 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech is his best-known address and dominates the way most Americans remember King, more so than some of his other highly influential works such as the "Letter From Birmingham Jail," his Riverside Address, and his "I've Been to the Mountaintop" speech.

There is also some debate within African American communities concerning the extent to which civil rights leaders should be memorialized commercially. Many other civil rights leaders, in addition to King, deserve historical emphasis, such as Fred Shuttlesworth, Medgar Evers, Ella Baker, and Fannie Lou Hamer. Though many Americans believe that the civil rights movement is limited to King's work, the movement was much larger than one man. King played a significant role in the movement, but he alone did not make the movement, nor was he its only martyr.

Though Martin Luther King, Jr. Day is recognized at the state and federal levels, some white Americans consider the day a holiday for black people, and only about one-third of private-sector businesses observe Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as an employee holiday. In 2000, South Carolina became the last state to recognize Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, 17 years after Reagan signed the holiday into law. Some communities use Presidents Day and Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as floating holidays. Local chapters of African American organizations within a community sometimes have conflicts over which should hold primary responsibility for hosting Martin Luther King, Jr. Day events. A few communities have celebrated Martin Luther King, Jr. Day under alternate titles. For example, Virginia combined Martin Luther King, Jr. Day with Lee-Jackson Day, named for Confederate army generals Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. In 2000, Lee-Jackson Day was moved to the Friday before Martin Luther King, Jr. Day so that Martin Luther King, Jr. Day could be celebrated independently.

Mississippi observes Martin Luther King, Jr. Day and the celebration of Robert E. Lee's

birthday together, even as of 2013. Utah celebrated Human Rights Day until 2000, when the name was changed to Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. Arizona and New Hampshire celebrate Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day.

Congressmen John Lewis and Harris Wofford suggested celebrating Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a day of service. President Bill Clinton signed this change into effect in 1994. Many universities and communities celebrate Martin Luther King, Jr. Day of Service with volunteer service projects because of this change.

Outside the United States, a select number of communities also celebrate Martin Luther King, Jr. Day: Hiroshima, Japan; Toronto, Canada; and Jerusalem, Israel.

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See Also: Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement; “I Have a Dream” Speech; Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

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Mascots, Native American (Sports)

The use of Native American imagery in sports began to proliferate in the early 20th century. Over 3,000 schools have used Indian mascots or Indian-themed names, some for over a century. Currently, somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000 schools still have mascots such as the Braves, Indians, Warriors, Chiefs, Redskins, and

Savages, and tribal names including Chocktaws (*sic*), Apache, and Seminoles. In 2000, the United Methodist General Conference convention in Cleveland, Ohio, protested the name and mascot of the Cleveland Indians baseball team as offensive to Native Americans, and the delegates in 2004 approved a measure asking for a boycott of cities that used offensive Native American names and mascots. The 2012 convention relocated from Richmond, Virginia, home of the Richmond Braves, to Tampa, Florida.

College and Professional Sports Mascots

In 1970, the University of Oklahoma was first to successfully eliminate use of an Indian caricature, Little Red. In 1971, Sammy Sioux was retired, although the University of North Dakota retained the Fighting Sioux nickname. Stanford's Indians became the Cardinal in 1972 (named for the color, not the person or bird), and in 1973, Eastern Washington converted from Savages to Eagles. Name changes continued to occur into the 1990s at Marquette, St. John's, St Bonaventure, and many more. In 2001, the General Commission on Religion and Race of the United Methodist Church contributed \$10,000 to an Illinois community organization attempting to convince the University of Illinois to retire Chief Illiniwek. In 2007, the university finally retired the mascot, but only because the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) banned participation in post-season competition of teams with Native American mascots. These tournaments bring great sums of money to universities.

In February 2012, fans of the University of North Dakota “Fighting Sioux” filed petitions that called for an election to imbed the nickname in the state constitution and the state repealed the 2011 law that authorized the school to abandon the name. The NCAA reiterated that the school would be barred from hosting NCAA championships, and all athletes, cheerleaders, and band members would be barred from using the name or image in any NCAA-sponsored event. The NCAA mandated in 2005 that schools must end Native American mascots and logos unless the tribe affected gave permission, which the Standing Rock Sioux did not, despite the dominance of the Fighting Sioux in ice hockey. In May 2012, the university agreed to discontinue the

mascot; in June, the state's voters approved the dropping of the mascot; and in September, the NCAA agreed that logos could remain in place inside the university sports arenas.

Exempt from the NCAA ban, professional teams and public school teams down to the junior high level continue to distort Indian tradition, reflecting the Hollywood style of face paint and buckskins and drumming, dancing, and chanting. Some have the consent of local tribal authorities, but most mascots are used in spite of the Indian community's protest. Some are slurs: "Red Devil" dates to Indian war calls for extermination of "red devils," and *squaw* is a degrading term for Indian women. Even teams that do not specifically have Indian names use caricatured Indians as their mascot or logo. Live mascots generally are whites in Plains Indian-like outfits.

Arguments in Defense of Mascots

As Barbara Munson explains, advocates claim that they do not understand why Indians do not feel honored, and Indians retort that there is no honor in mockery of sacred eagle feathers, drums, face paint, and traditional dress. Those items are sacred to Native Americans, and Munson notes that taking them from their proper context and using them for play is not an honor. It doesn't matter if the depiction is attractive, rather than a caricature; it is still a stereotype that denies the present-day existence of Native Americans, silences the Native American voice, and marginalizes the Indian.

Another claim noted by Munson is that the mascots are helping preserve Indian culture. Some think that it is acceptable to substitute powwows and sacred songs for cartoons. Critics say that this use of elements out of context is not appreciation but parody. Those who seek to retain the mascots contend that they are seeking to honor Native Americans. Most Native Americans see the mascots and symbols as reinforcement of negative stereotypes, sometimes even incentive to hostility and intimidation toward Native Americans, including students at the schools with Native American mascots. Schools that eliminate their mascots face backlash, ranging from student walkouts and protests to violence and campaigns to restore the mascot.

Arguments Against Mascots

The American Psychological Association (APA) in 2005 called for the immediate end to the use of American Indian mascots, images, symbols, and characters by all schools and teams. The APA rested its demand on increasing social science literature outlining the harmful effects of inaccurate portrayals and stereotyping, particularly the harmful impact of sports mascots on the development of social identity by young Native Americans. Studies such as one performed by Northeastern University in 2007 find that Indian team names, mascots, and logos perpetuate stereotypes and encourage children, native and non-native alike, to accept racism and stereotypes. Most communities are proud of their high school teams, but mascots are just youngsters, usually white, playing "Indian." Mascots are a form of prejudice that diminishes the ability of Native Americans to uphold their religious, cultural, and traditional values.

Mascots and stereotypes rewrite history, ignore present abuses, and promote physical and psychological violence and abuse of native culture and customs. The abuses sometimes generate high-profile cases, but the most damaging impact is in day-to-day casual racism, as in the unthinking reference to an Indian as "chief," the expectations that Indians of all ages and preferences will model Hollywood Indianness, and the putdown of Indians who decline to so stereotype themselves. Media reports at the time indicated that when American forces killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan, the notification phrase used to signal his death was "Geronimo EKIA," or enemy killed in action. Shortly thereafter, Suzan Shown Harjo, president of the Morning Star Institute, testified before the Senate that it was shocking to equate a role model for Indian children with a terrorist. Furthermore, white Americans had again thoughtlessly stolen an Indian name, an identity.

Conclusion

Signs of thoughtless disrespect are common in American society. Hollywood and television carelessly costume members of different tribes in Plains Indian garb and define Indian behaviors and customs in stereotypical terms. Also, in the YMCA's Indian Guides and Indian Princesses, whites organize in "tribes," dress in pseudo

Indian attire, elect chiefs, and parody native American rituals, all without acknowledgment or request for permission. Mark Hyman, in *The American Spectator*, dismisses the controversy as political correctness gone overboard. There are also renewed claims that mascots honor Indians, commonly citing a 2002 *Sports Illustrated* poll that seems to suggest that 81 percent of Native American respondents saw no reason to discontinue using Indian names and 75 percent were not offended by the name “redskins.”

However, as reported by Bluecorncomics.com, the poll was an anomaly, and in more methodologically sound polls, Indians overwhelmingly object to the stereotypical mascots. Another defense is the holding of public meetings and voting on whether or not to keep the mascot—allowing white votes and statements equal weight with Indian statements and votes, although there is no true stake for the whites. Non-Indians continue to debate whether or not the mascots are offensive, but Native Americans have settled the matter. By an overwhelming majority, Indian governments and organizations reject the continuing use of mascots.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; Native Americans; Stereotypes/Generalizations; White Supremacy.

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Mason-Dixon Line

The Mason-Dixon Line is a place, a symbol, and a culture of its own. Most notably, it symbolizes the division between the north and the south in American culture. From its historic, antecedents as a means of determining the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania in the 1760s and the Civil War designation of the southern slave states from the free north, the Mason-Dixon Line has come to represent the demarcation of southern culture, as much myth as reality.

Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon

The line, now extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ohio River in West Virginia, gets its name from English astronomers and surveyors Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. They were hired in 1763 to settle a 100-year-long dispute deriving from conflicting boundaries between Maryland and Pennsylvania and Delaware and Maryland. The Calvert family, the founding family of Maryland, and William Penn’s family of Pennsylvania each had claims to territory north of the Potomac and near the 40th degree North latitude, stemming from royal land charters in 1632 and 1681, respectively. Mason and Dixon began their survey in 1763 at the Delaware River and finished 233 miles later in 1767 near Mount Morris, Pennsylvania. They placed markers with the Calvert and Penn family crests every five miles along most of the line, many of which remain. The line was extended to the Ohio along the 39° 43' 19.521" north latitude.

Historically, the line has symbolized the separation of the north from the southern slave states of the Civil War. South of the Mason-Dixon Line, the culture included the heritage of British and French settlers as well as that of the slaves of African descent. The new reality is that 16 percent of the population is now Hispanic and 15 percent is African American.

Symbols of the Mason-Dixon Line abound, from the Confederate flag to magnolia blossoms, from plantations to tobacco farms, from sweet tea and grits to NASCAR racing and college football, from southern gospel to the Grand Ole Opry. A look at these and other aspects of life south of the Mason-Dixon Line demonstrates the persistence and cultural power of this image, despite changes in demographics and economic realities.

The Mason-Dixon Line's most prominent symbolism is that of a border between free and slave states and the Civil War. Those 11 states south of the Mason-Dixon Line included the seven original states of the Confederacy: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas; then the additional four that came after the April 1860 battle of Fort Sumter: North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Strong cultural ties also are held by portions of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Oklahoma.

For demographic purposes, the area "south of the Mason-Dixon Line" is the southern census area: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Culture south of the Mason-Dixon Line historically has the most ties to British, French, and African cultures, reflecting the historical immigration patterns and the influx of African slaves. Although new cultural influences are being introduced with the rapid increase in the Hispanic population in the United States and in the south, the mythic concept of the Mason-Dixon line still persists.

The geography south of the Mason-Dixon Line provides part of the appeal and sense of regionalism. The Appalachian and Blue Ridge Mountains, coastal waterways along the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, the red clay of Georgia, and the lush farmlands, swamps, and bayous each produce their own cuisine and culture.

The Mason-Dixon Line connotes an agrarian society, one of large plantations of rice, cotton, sugar, and tobacco. The growth of plantations prior to the Civil War depended on the work of slaves, who composed one-third of the population. Values, culture, and laws developed that supported the ideology and lifestyles of the aristocratic plantation owners: paternalism, day laws, segregation of social and cultural institutions, and white treatment of African Americans.

With the mechanization of farming and growth of agribusiness in the south today, the workforce has changed, most dramatically with the influx of Mexicans and other persons of Latino descent, some documented and some undocumented.

The Mason-Dixon Line also connotes a memorable cuisine memorialized in countless church



A Mason-Dixon Monument in Delaware, Maryland, houses one of the boundary markers that were originally placed at every fifth mile along the line, oriented with family coats of arms facing the state that they represented.

and Junior League cookbooks. The core of the menus includes tomato aspic, fried chicken, fried catfish, country ham, fried okra, cheese grits, cornbread, collard greens, sweet Vidalia onions, fried apples, and coconut cake, all washed down with sweetened iced tea. Coca-Cola, Pepsi, and RC Cola originated south of the Mason-Dixon Line, as did Moon Pies. It is no wonder that the rates of obesity, type II diabetes, and heart disease are the among the highest in the United States: Almost 30 percent of the people south of the Mason-Dixon Line are obese.

Music and the Mason-Dixon Line mean hill-billy banjo picking, steel guitars, and country music as well as the blues. Names such as the Carter family, Merle Haggard, Tammy Wynette, George Jones, Jerry Lee Lewis, Elvis Presley, and Johnny Cash stand along the more contemporary Garth Brooks, Alan Jackson, Billy Ray Cyrus, Mary Chapin Carpenter, and Reba McEntire. The Grand Ole Opry in Nashville, Tennessee, stands as an icon for southern music. It has been showcasing performers since 1925, when it was founded by radio broadcaster George D. Hay. Early performers like Roy Acuff (1938) and Minnie Pearl

(1940) put the Grand Ole Opry on the map with their homespun humor and corny sketches. Nashville now hosts the Country Music Hall of Fame and a thriving music industry.

Writers have contributed to the mythic images of the Mason-Dixon Line, and these images have not always been flattering. In their works, they have captured the deep contrasts between rich and privileged whites versus the disenfranchised slaves and—after slavery—poor African Americans, as well as the stereotype of the “redneck” versus the “city slicker.” Genres also reflect deeply held religious beliefs—especially Baptist and evangelicalism, the legacy of the Civil War and defeat, racism, and the impact of the terrain. Mention the Mason-Dixon Line and books like *Gone With the Wind*, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, *All the King’s Men*, *As I Lay Dying*, *Cold Mountain*, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, *Roots*, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, *Beloved*, and *The Help* come to mind. Authors who have shaped the popular conception of the Mason-Dixon Line include James Agee, Harper Lee, William Faulkner, Flannery O’Connor, Robert Penn Warren, Thomas Wolfe, Toni Morrison, Zora Neal Hurston, Walker Percy, Alice Walker, Eudora Welty, and Richard Wright.

Movies made the Mason-Dixon Line part of the cultural fabric of the United States. Iconic images have depicted the wide range of plantation life in *The Little Colonel* (1935) and *Gone With the Wind* (1939), rednecks and rural living in *Deliverance*, *Smokey and the Bandit*, *My Cousin Vinny*, and *Sweet Home Alabama*; racism in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, *The Color Purple*, *Driving Miss Daisy*, and *The Help*; the legacy of the Civil War in *Cold Mountain*; and southern women in *Fried Green Tomatoes*, *Steel Magnolias*, *Sweet Home Alabama*, and *Divine Secrets of the Ya-Ya Sisterhood*, and *O Brother Where Art Thou?*

The Mason-Dixon Line marks a region in which college football and NASCAR racing reign supreme. Stadiums filled with thousands of fans wearing team colors and participating in elaborate traditions of tailgating amid a sea of recreational vehicles are not uncommon sights. Southern Conference (SEC) football generates almost \$300 million in revenues from televised games, championships, and bowls.

For persons of color, the Mason-Dixon Line may have negative and frightening connotations.

From the heritage of slavery to the inception of the Ku Klux Klan, legal and informal discrimination against persons of color has been part of the story of the Mason-Dixon Line. Before the Civil War, 30 percent of the population in the south was slaves. After the Civil War and until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the various civil rights protests of the late 1960s, separate and unequal education, transportation, dining, and religious and leisure institutions prevailed. The rise in nationalistic and Aryan-supremacy groups since the September 11, 2001, attacks is nowhere more evident than south of the Mason-Dixon Line, with over a third of hate groups in the United States found in that area.

The Mason-Dixon Line continues to signify a place with its origins in a centuries-old boundary dispute and a place in the myth, mystique, and marketing of the dividing line between the north and the south.

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See Also: Civil War, U.S.; Slave Revolts; Slavery; Stereotypes/Generalizations; White Supremacy.

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McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents (1950)

One of two segregation cases heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1950, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* helped establish early desegregation precedent in higher education and professional schools, precedent that proved essential to overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954). However, the University of Oklahoma's recalcitrance to enforce the desegregation ruling also portended the post-*Brown* response by like-minded segregationist communities, institutions, and states.

Origins of the Case and the Decision

Beginning in the 1920s, Charles Hamilton Houston turned the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) focus toward slowly and systematically dismantling the precedent of "separate but equal" set forth in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Through the development of the Howard University Law School and the NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Hamilton and his young protégé Thurgood Marshall began filing lawsuits in education, public accommodation, and transportation cases.

Following World War II, Houston and Marshall turned their attentions to desegregating professional schools at state universities. Their strategy was to show that even when states attempted to fund an equal law, education, or medical school for its in-state African American students, not only did these schools fall short of equality, but it also was impossible for them to replicate intangibles, such as having prestigious alumni and long-standing reputations.

McLaurin, along with the University of Texas case *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), built on the success of *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma* (1948), a case that opened up the only state law school to African Americans through the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The NAACP would build and argue the *McLaurin* and *Sweatt* cases almost simultaneously during 1950, resulting in the desegregation of professional schools and setting the stage for large-scale litigation against segregation at the undergraduate and public school levels.

Encouraged by the Court's ruling in *Sipuel*, eight African American students applied to professional schools at the University of Oklahoma. However, the university refused admission to all eight students on the basis of race. Of the eight, Marshall believed that George McLaurin would make the most sympathetic plaintiff and the strongest case to pursue. McLaurin was a 68-year-old teacher who had a master's degree and wanted to pursue a doctoral degree in education.

With the financial backing of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Marshall filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the western district of Oklahoma because he believed that the state of Oklahoma and the University of Oklahoma had so blatantly violated the Supreme Court's ruling by failing to offer McLaurin either admission or a comparable in-state education. The court ruled in McLaurin's favor, stating that until the University of Oklahoma established a graduate school for African Americans equal to that for white students, the university had to admit qualified black applicants to its graduate education program.

The university responded by admitting McLaurin and then isolating him from the white students, forcing him to sit in a desk outside the classroom in order to preserve segregation. In addition, the university required him to eat in a back section of the cafeteria at separate hours from white students and in a designated section behind the newspapers in the library.

Marshall returned to U.S. District Court in 1949. In his arguments before the court, Marshall emphasized the humiliation and isolation that McLaurin's treatment created. After the court ruled against McLaurin, Marshall appealed directly to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court decided to hear arguments for both *McLaurin* and *Sweatt* on the same day.

Supreme Court Arguments and Ruling

In his arguments before the Supreme Court, Marshall used a similar strategy in both cases and the familiar argument that emphasized the inherent impossibility of creating separate but equal educational experiences. Lawyers for the University of Oklahoma pointed out that Marshall's briefs failed to cite a single precedential case that held that separate but equal education violated the

Constitution. Even with *Sipuel*, Marshall knew that the court would have to overrule *Plessy* in order to rule in favor of either *McLaurin* or *Sweatt*. Thus, Marshall constructed his arguments accordingly. He agreed that in the segregated arrangement, *McLaurin* heard his professors' lectures, took the same exams, and enrolled in the courses he wanted. But because *McLaurin* was separated from his fellow classmates, solely on the basis of race, he could not participate in class discussions and interplay among classmates and professors, and thus, his education simply could not be equal.

In June 1950, the unanimous Supreme Court ordered the University of Oklahoma to end its systematic separation, segregation, and humiliation of George *McLaurin*. In his opinion, Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson stated that subjecting a student to sequestration "handicapped [him] in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction." The court disappointed Marshall and the NAACP's legal defense team, however, by not agreeing that the matter presented in *McLaurin* warranted a re-examination of *Plessy*.

Nonetheless, *McLaurin* and its partner case, *Sweatt*, did succeed in placing segregation at war with itself and placed the conversation of "separate but equal" on the table again for debate. In the months and years following *McLaurin*, Marshall and the legal defense team used the Supreme Court's 1950 decisions as the foundation on which to build the large multistate case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, that in 1954 did finally overturn *Plessy* and desegregate public schools in the United States.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896); School Desegregation; School Segregation; *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950).

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Media, Ethnic

Ethnic media in the United States number close to 3,000 organizations, serving a wide range of ethnic communities throughout the nation. Ethnic media provide vital cultural, political, and social resources for the audiences they serve. They also constitute a significant form of economic competition for mainstream media. Ethnic media have played a vital role in U.S. social history. Ethnic media reflecting the changing fabric of the population of the United States are quickly evolving.

Historical Role of Ethnic Media in the United States

Ethnic media have played many roles for each immigrant and ethnic group since colonial times. Ethnic media have always permitted their readers, listeners, and viewers a way to stay in touch with home countries, learn about the communities in which they live, and connect with different cultures, both in the United States and around the world. They have provided a voice for social and religious concerns, effective liaisons and connectors for their constituents, and vital channels for politicians, educators, religious leaders, and health-care entities that seek to interact with their target audiences. A look at selected groups of immigrants and their early media illustrates the social and religious roles played by ethnic media, even from the 1700s.

Ethnic media most likely began in the American colonies with German-language books and newspapers. German immigrants seeking freedom from religious persecution flocked to the colonies, especially to the area around Philadelphia, in the 1700s. Bibles, catechisms, and newspapers printed in German served them. Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin published a German newspaper in 1732, but it folded after two issues. In 1732, the German-language newspaper *Philadelphische Zeitung* was founded. The next year, the German indentured servant John Peter Zenger founded the *New York Journal*. Zenger made history two years later for his landmark case involving seditious libel and freedom of press. In 1739, Christopher Sauer published the first German almanac in the United States, a genre that remained very popular with the large immigrant group.

African American media started with the founding in 1828 of *Freedom's Journal* by John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish. Russwurm, the first African American to graduate from a university in the United States (Bowdoin in Maine) and Cornish, a militant Presbyterian minister in New York, stated their objectives prophetically for ethnic media: "We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentation in things which concern us dearly." Although this publication folded by 1830, others appeared, including the *North Star* by abolitionist Frederick Douglass in 1847 and the *Anglo American Magazine* in 1857. Many black newspapers arose after the Civil War and during Reconstruction, growing from 12 black newspapers in 1866 to 575 in 1890. The Great Migration of southern blacks to the north, especially Chicago and New York, were reflected in the *Chicago Defender* and the *New York Age*. The fiery journalist Ida Wells became the first African American editor of a newspaper in 1889, the *Free Speech* in Memphis, but was forced to move to New York to continue her antilynching journalism in the face of southern racism.

Black newspapers in the 20th century continued to expose racial injustice and raise the awareness of civil rights issues. The Nation of Islam's *Muhammad Speaks* had a circulation of 600,000 in the 1960s. In addition to newspapers, magazines that targeted black audiences began publication.

These included *Jet* and *Ebony*, founded in the 1950s by John L. Johnson; the women's *Essence*, founded in 1970, and *Black Enterprise*, aimed at black businesses. Black-owned broadcasting media have a much shorter history, beginning in 1949 with WERD in Atlanta, Georgia.

Another major immigrant group, the Irish, have also had a long history of newspapers in the United States. In 1822, Bishop of Charleston John England founded the *United States Catholic Miscellany* as the first official Catholic newspaper in the United States. Nativism, which sought to restrict the rights of immigrants, and discrimination against Irish Catholics in the south led him to create the publication; it lasted 40 years. New York's first Irish American newspaper began in 1825 as *The Truth Teller*; it was founded by William Andrews, a convert to Catholicism.

Jewish American newspapers and magazines also have a long history. The 19th-century *The Israelite* newspaper has had a major impact on American Jews. Founded in 1854, it is still published today as *The American Israelite*. Yiddish newspapers were numerous and helped Jewish immigrants with the process of Americanization. Jewish newspapers played a role in union and labor movements, including *Der Yunvon arbayer* (The Union Worker, 1925–27) and *Di Fraye arbeter shtime* (The Free Voice of Labor). Magazines aimed at Jewish women also developed in the early 20th century, such as the National Council of Jewish Women's *The Jewish Woman*. Regional and community newspapers continue to appeal to Jewish communities in the United States.

Spanish-language newspapers have played a vital role in education, assimilation, awareness, and political change. The first Spanish-language newspaper in the United States began in 1808, *El Misisipi*, founded in New Orleans. From coast to coast, Spanish-language newspapers were published. These included *Traducción Prensa* (1888–95, Tampa); *Revista Católica* (1888–95, Las Vegas, New Mexico); *El Nuevo Mexicano* (1890–1908, New Mexico); the voice for social change in the American Southwest, *Regeneracion: Semanal revolucionario* (1910–17, Los Angeles); and *Pueblos Hispanos* (1913–59, Puerto Rican, New York).

In the mid-19th century, San Francisco became a center for newspaper publishing. At that time,

Chinese were coming to the United States and providing inexpensive labor for gold mining, the railroad industry, and other growing businesses. The first newspaper aimed at the Chinese was the bilingual *Golden Hills' News*, founded in 1854. In the 1840s, only 36 Chinese were recorded as immigrating through San Francisco; during the next decade, over 41,000 entered the area. Chinese journalism expanded in 1858 with the founding of the *Chinese Daily News* in Sacramento. The East Coast's first Chinese newspaper began in New York in 1883. Early Chinese-language newspapers provided news of home, exposed labor and social abuses, and also provided education and awareness about the United States. Numerous publications also mirrored political turbulence and partisanship from the late 19th century through the end of World War II. For example, in 1899, the Chinese Empire Reform Association (Zhonguo Wei Xin Hui) took control of *Mon Hing Bo*, a Chinese weekly in San Francisco, changing its name to *Sai Gai Yat Po World Journal*.

Other Asian newspapers have developed to reflect immigration patterns. In particular, Japanese journalism began with publications in Hawai'i and San Francisco, including *Shinonome* (Dawn, 1886), *Shin Nippon* (New Japan, Oakland, 1887), and *Soko Shimibun* (San Francisco daily, 1892).

Native American journalism has provided a steady voice. The first Native American newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix* began publication in Georgia in 1828 with Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee born Galagian Oowatie, as editor. Published in both Cherokee and English, it narrated the tragedy of the forcible removal of the Cherokee. Renamed in 1829 to the *Indians' Advocate*, it lasted until 1834. Boudinot broadened the scope of the paper to cover Indian removal, Supreme Court decisions related to Indian issues, and other issues; he was removed as editor in 1832 by the Cherokee tribal council.

Penetration

Ethnic media provide significant sources of news and information to their constituents. The reach, penetration, and effectiveness of ethnic media are considerable. However, until the last decade, this penetration was not measured, and mainstream media were reluctant to value ethnic media as viable sources for collaboration. The first attempt

to quantify the penetration and usage of ethnic media was a seminal 2002 survey by New California Media (now New America Media) of 2,000 California residents—a portion of the 17 million minorities in California at that time. Conducted in Chinese, Korean, Cantonese Chinese, Laotian, Hindi, Cambodian, Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Tagalog, the survey reported that 84 percent of Asian American, Hispanic, and African American respondents reported receiving information through ethnic television, radio, and publications. Sixty-eight percent said they preferred watching news on ethnic-language channels than on English-language channels. Approximately 40 percent of respondents reported paying more attention to ethnic-language ads than to ads in English media.

Ethnic television serves as the major source of news for its viewers. The largest audience penetration is from Spanish-language media, at 89 percent. African American media reach 79 percent of their audience, and Asian American media reach 75 percent. Asian Americans report that 34 percent use ethnic newspapers and 53 percent use the Internet. African Americans report that 36 percent use the Internet, and 26 percent of Hispanics use the Internet. Ethnic and minority media are therefore vital channels for information, persuasion, entertainment, and marketing. As the various ethnic communities become more aware of their political, marketing, and social capital, ethnic media have the chance to collaborate and compete with mainstream media.

Functions

Ethnic media provide key means of transmitting cultural heritage, maintaining and strengthening cultural identity, and socializing individuals into the culture, as well as assisting in the assimilation and acculturation process, communicating within the ethnic community, providing a form of vigilance about controversial issues affecting the ethnic community, educating members of the ethnic group about issues relevant to their well-being (such as health or education), providing information about the culture of origin, providing a measure of social control within the community, celebrating the successes of members of the community, or providing news that mainstream media would not offer.

Whether ethnic media use English or the language of the ethnic group, the value of ethnic media to transmit, maintain, and strengthen ethnic identity is vital. Ethnic identity is a social construction, or a means by which individuals develop an identity of themselves as members of an ethnic group. The media can transmit and reinforce the history, language, ethics, religion, values, and traditions that give people identity. Ethnic identity changes for people throughout their life span; media can provide a sense of continuity and pride, and help them to remember their culture of origin.

Ethnic media transmit education to immigrants and refugees about their new country, direct them to resources, and share unspoken norms of the new society. Ethnic media play vital roles in public health campaigns, providing information about health issues such as immunizations, well-baby clinics, cancer screenings, hypertension, and diabetes. Ethnic media are increasingly key players in public policy and political debates. Their flexibility enables them to rally support quickly about proposed changes in immigration laws, voter identification requirements, and workplace issues. They can also be voices for advocacy and action in terms of coexisting with other ethnic groups or the majority culture.

Opportunities

Ethnic media provide opportunities to reach and affect people in powerful ways. Ethnic media can be more agile than mainstream media because of ownership, having smaller numbers in a community, and editorial policies, as opposed to the demands for large circulation or broadcast penetration of larger media groups. Large conglomerates of print or broadcast media may not have the flexibility, economic goals, or personnel resources to find news and provide content that will draw ethnic viewers, readers, or listeners.

Ethnic media provide a rich market for advertisers and marketers, in particular Hispanic media. Hispanic spending power was estimated at \$1 trillion in 2010. The increase in Asian spending power between 1990 and 2010 was expected to be 434 percent larger. With social media, niche programming brings language- and ethnic-group-specific news, advice, and content to ethnic groups and bicultural groups in a way

that is not possible through traditional media. Ethnic media offer political campaigns access to vital constituencies. Cross-cultural media advocacy has provided a voice for issues such as immigration reform. In April and June 2010, Native American, Asian, Muslim, and Hispanic media printed a joint editorial, calling for immigration reform. The editorial ran in English, Spanish, and nine other languages.

Ethnic media played a significant role in the 2012 presidential election. The campaigns of both Republican candidate Mitt Romney and incumbent President Barack Obama targeted advertising dollars in Hispanic media, particularly in the swing states of Nevada, Colorado, and Florida. The U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce reported that 6.2 percent of political spending in the presidential campaign, or \$22.8 million, was spent on Spanish-language advertisements. President Obama's campaign spent more money targeting Latinos—\$12.4 million compared to \$9.7 million by Republicans. More Hispanics voted for Obama, with the DREAM Act and immigration policies affecting the vote.

Hispanic radio and television are growing in numbers. Univision is the largest Spanish-language TV network and the fifth-largest TV network in the United States, competing head to head with ABC, CBS, and NBC. Univision and the smaller network Telemundo were estimated to bring in \$1.5 billion in the 2010–11 season.

The 832 Spanish-language newspapers in the United States saw an increase in circulation in 2010, while English-language U.S. dailies saw a significant decline. Spanish- and English-language newspapers targeting the Hispanic population saw close to \$800 million in revenues, according to the Latino Print Network in 2010. Convergence among print, online, mobile, and television platforms may be seen in partnerships between the oldest continuous daily Hispanic newspaper in the United States is *El Diario La Prensa*, in New York City. A larger and younger Hispanic media company, ImpreMedia, has nine print publications and multiple Web sites. It exchanges content with the digital arm of Univision. ImpreMedia's *La Opinion* provides headlines for Univision Interactive Media's national Noticias site. It also partners with an online video creation and distribution company, Critical Media's Syndicaster,

as well as with McClatchy. Digital media aimed at Spanish-language and bilingual viewers include Univision Communications, Yahoo en Espanol, Terra-Telefonica, and MSA Latino. The Hispanic-Latino audience for all media is growing; it is a player for advertising dollars, political campaigns, and news and entertainment content.

Ethnic media have a vital role in the social history of the United States from colonial times to the present. Ethnic media have provided a voice for new Americans, a source of education about American values, an eye to political and social issues and abuses, and a forum for the creative. As the population of the United States becomes a minority majority culture, all forms of ethnic media will continue to evolve and have an impact with the increasing diversity in the population of the United States.

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See Also: Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media, Foreign Language; Radio; Telemundo; Television.

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Media, Ethnic Participation in

In 1978, the American Society of News Editors (ASNE) surveyed newsrooms across America to assess how representative newsrooms were of the U.S. population. ASNE found that there were only 1,700 minority journalists among 43,000 across the country, or 3.95 percent of the total newsroom workforce. The survey also revealed that there were more than 1,700 daily newspapers in the United States. ASNE adopted the promotion of diversity and increase of minorities working in American newsrooms as a primary mission, so that news organizations more accurately reflect their communities. The original goal of the survey, which became an annual practice, was to ensure that by 2000, newsrooms would reflect the ethnicities of their communities.

Employment

In the late 1980s, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) recorded the number of media experts of different ethnicities. Overwhelmingly, experts in the media were white—more than 90 percent in many cases—and nonwhite commentators were often "ghettoized" into commenting on minority issues. These kinds of findings continued to validate the need for the ASNE surveys. By 1998, though, ASNE's goal was realized, and it extended the deadline to 2025. In 1999, racial minorities made up 27.3 percent of the American population, but only 11.6 percent of America's news staff. Continuing at that rate, the 2025 deadline would also prove unreachable. In 1999, television news staffs were slightly more diverse than their newsroom counterparts, while magazine staffs were even less diverse. There were few high-level executives or decision makers of color.

By 2011, ASNE reported that racial and ethnic minorities still held less than 13 percent of all newsroom jobs. Minorities owned only 3 percent of television stations and 7 percent of radio stations. This is disproportionate to the 36 percent of American society that is made up of ethnic and racial minorities. Furthermore, 2011 was the third year in a row that minority representation in mainstream media actually dropped. In addition, 441 newspapers reported not even one minority

staff member in 2011, and this number of all-white news staffs had been growing since 2006.

Another part of the problem is that recent journalism and communications graduates face different prospects for employment, based in part on their race. The 2009 to 2010 Annual Survey of Journalism and Mass Communication Graduates reported that only 48.6 percent of minorities graduating in these fields found full-time employment, compared to 63.9 percent of white graduates in the same fields. According to the survey, this was the widest gap since 1987. Additionally, African American editors and other newsroom professionals have been moving steadily into ethnic media positions, especially since the 2000s. While this is a positive move in many ways, it leaves the mainstream media with even less diversity.

Ownership

One measure that was adopted for a short while in the late 1970s was a “tax certificate” program. This program was designed to increase minority ownership of media outlets by offering tax breaks to owners of broadcast or cable outlets who sold their media outlet to minority buyers. It also gave the tax credit to anyone who invested in a minority-owned outlet. Unfortunately, the program was cut because of alleged misuse. Ownership and participation continued to lag behind.

In 1987, Kirk Johnson released a study in the *Columbia Journalism Review* that analyzed various media accounts of events in two Boston neighborhoods with large African American populations over the course of 30 days. The study found that the mainstream news outlets reported overwhelmingly on stories involving violence, drugs, crime, or something similar. About 85 percent of these mainstream reports portrayed African Americans negatively. In comparison, coverage during the same time period in the same neighborhoods that originated with African American-owned news organizations was more ethnically varied and accurate.

In 2011, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit decided that the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was not appropriately dealing with the advancement of minority ownership of broadcast outlets. FCC policies in the 2000s led to more and more consolidation of media outlets, which in turn hurt minority ownership numbers.

Coverage

In 1999, FAIR discussed the consequences of this kind of imbalance using the *Time* magazine O. J. Simpson cover as an example. When *Time* made the decision to darken Simpson’s face for the cover, only one person objected: this person was the only minority present in the room. Racial minorities are frequently pigeonholed in the news and portrayed stereotypically. The National Association of Hispanic Journalists found in the 1990s that around 1 percent of 12,000 news stories aired during a calendar year on the three major network news programs focused on Latinos or Latino issues. Of that 1 percent, approximately 80 percent portrayed Latinos negatively, connected to drug issues, crime, and illegal immigrants.

As the FCC continues to attempt to solve these diversity problems in American media, some commentators have suggested that a program similar to the 1970s tax break be reinstated, but this time with attention to minority recruitment and educational opportunities. This way, the change would not stop at the top level of ownership but would take a more holistic approach to solving the problem.

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See Also: Digital Divide, The; GobiernoUSA.gov; Media, Ethnic; Internet; Magazines; National Hispanic Media Coalition; Newspapers; Radio; Social Media; Television.

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Media, Foreign Language

Technological advancements, along with the multiplicity of television channels and ever-increasing usage of the Internet, have made it easier for news organizations to target a multicultural society. The days with limited access to media in a foreign language in the United States are long gone. Statistics indicate a growing presence of ethnic media. For example, the Spanish-language media market has fared much better than the mainstream media, according to recent reports. It expanded, with more than 340 television stations listed in 2006, up from about 200 two years prior.

CNN launched *CNN Radio Noticias* on March 30, 1993, to accommodate the Hispanic audience. Additionally, a similar dynamism appears with Asian media. In nearly 15 years, the circulation of Chinese dailies in the United States boomed from 170,000 publications to more than 500,000. Moreover, a Chicago-based company that tracks media recorded 883 radio stations offering programs in more than 30 different languages.

Ethnic media, the most commonly adopted terminology, encompass several distinct media. Depending on the producers and the target audience, the language used may only be the language dominant in the home country of the linguistic minority targeted, English, or both. Such media organizations traditionally focus their content on the linguistic group, its cultural identity, and ties to the country of origin. Ethnic media contrast with mainstream media, which target the ethnic majority in a society. In a multicultural and ethnically diverse country such as the United States, the discussion of ethnic media is particularly relevant, especially because a recent poll found a 16 percent increase in ethnic media penetration in the last four years.

Historical Roots

Historians marked the beginning of ethnic media in the United States at the turn of the 19th century with media targeting the three dominant minorities at the time: Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans. Archives reveal that newspapers existed for Native American tribes such as

the Cherokee. *The Cherokee Phoenix* represented a bilingual publication offered in English and in a language relying on an 86-character alphabet developed in 1812. Documents also indicate that the first Hispanic publication, *El Misisipi*, was founded in New Orleans in 1808 and was offered in English and Spanish for Hispanic immigrants. The first Chinese-language newspaper, *The Oriental*, was first printed in San Francisco in 1855.

Beyond a press created for dominant ethnic groups, the 19th century constitutes the determining moment for foreign-language media. By the late 19th century, few settled immigrants failed to have the opportunity to read about their respective countries. The emergence of such publications, primarily available in larger metropolitan areas, coincided with respective immigration waves.

For instance, the flagship *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, first published in 1828 out of New York, served the French-speaking population during the 19th century. Moreover, several local French papers appeared in U.S. states neighboring Canada. German immigrants in New York browsed the pages of *Staats-Zeitung* (1834) and *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (1878), while those living in Chicago read *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (1877). Italian expatriates discovered *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* (1879), a publication later replaced by *America Oggi* at the beginning of the 20th century. Throughout the midwest, from Minneapolis to Detroit, St. Louis, and the east coast, historians identified several papers devoted to Norwegian immigrants, Dutch settlers, the Polish, and Russians.

The U.S. involvement in world conflicts later impacted the development of ethnic media, particularly German-language news media that were banned during World War I and the Japanese press, which was suspended by the U.S. government following the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. More recently, the presence and growth of the Al-Jazeera network in the United States sparked multiple discussions, particularly in light of anti-Arab sentiments following September 11, 2001. The development of ethnic media closely coincides with U.S. history, from the earliest waves of Western and European immigrants in the 19th century to the latest influence of geopolitical dynamics in the Middle East.

Role of Ethnic Media

In contrast with the mainstream media, ethnic media usually place a stronger emphasis on issues linked to the cultural identity of the group. It is quite common to find more coverage of international affairs and less news coverage of U.S. politics. Such media can act as forums to mobilize force for a community. Several studies explain how Hispanics used Spanish-language media to debate the 2006 rallies that took place across the country when the U.S. Congress intended to modify immigration policies. Ethnic media have also been seen as cultural educational tools favoring bilingualism and reinforcement of home country languages for second-generation children, and as teachers of ethnic identities.

Numerous polls and reports have shown the increase of ethnic media in the United States in recent years. In fact, the New America Media poll reported a 30 percent increase for Asian TV's audience from 2001 to 2005. The most illustrative example comes from Hispanic media. Nielsen Monitor-Plus showed that in 2005, Spanish-language TV's ad sales grew by nearly 17 percent to become the second-largest ad market behind the Internet. The prospect of accessing such a growing audience led many media companies to invest in Spanish-language outlets. For instance, ESPN developed a Spanish edition of its trademark magazine. Spanish-language television networks equally benefit from the context. Univision reported its highest ratings ever in 2005, with nearly a 45 percent increase in ad revenues. In fact, during the 2010–11 season, the Spanish-language network was the only network in the United States, all languages included, to record an increase in its audience of prime-time programming (an increase of 8 percent) for the 18–49-year-old target group. Moreover, already the largest Spanish-language network in the United States, Univision announced in 2011 its ambition to launch a 24-hour Spanish-language news station. Telemundo followed a similar positive trend with record-breaking ratings in 2011.

Today's dynamic media market has created numerous opportunities for producers to offer specific content to multiple linguistic groups present in the multicultural United States. As the rapid increase of popularity of such media is shown, several questions remain: (1) considering that some

ethnic groups have a limited access to the Internet, do new technology represent a risk to the development of such media? (2) What is the role of ethnic media in cultural integration? and (3) As the mainstream media continue to struggle financially, will ethnic media also face difficult times?

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See Also: Media, Ethnic; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race.

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Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race

The citizens who framed the Constitution envisioned the press as a free marketplace of ideas for the public. Subsequent media formats delivered news, entertainment, and information to the widest possible audience, supported by advertisers who introduced an economic element. To gain popularity and attract the masses, media developed content that reflected the prevailing practices of society that, unfortunately, often included unfair attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities. Media relied on images and symbols as a shorthand system to communicate complex messages within space and time limitations, and audiences became accustomed to learning about minorities through these mediated depictions. Beyond mirroring reality, the ubiquity and repetitiveness of racial and ethnic representations in media have influenced public norms since their inception.

Mass media operate as forums for the social construction of reality, influencing values and attitudes. Whether considering the books, newspapers, or magazines of early America or current recordings, radio, motion pictures, television, video games, the Internet, and interactive digital formats, mass media have been a significant cultural force throughout history. Specific media influence regarding responses to negative racial portrayals, as evidenced by myriad empirical, theoretical, and projective studies, is complex.

One consistent factor is that the message, sender, and receiver must each be considered in analysis. George Gerbner's cultivation theory asserts that media viewers cumulatively internalize messages that cultivate perceptions of reality. Consistent negative racial portrayals become one's "truth" or worldview. Alfred Bandura's social cognitive theory addresses the potential for individuals to hold erroneous perceptions of reality based on media but contends that the dynamic interplay of personal, behavioral, and environmental factors must be considered. For example, for people with limited direct contact with other ethnic groups, media images become tools to form subsequent stereotypical opinions.

The significance of audience reception of the mediated message was demonstrated when *All in the Family*, a 1970s television series, became the subject of numerous empirical studies. Whereas the producers' goal was to critique racial prejudice through creation of a bigoted, absurd lead character, many viewers found him likable and related to him. This selective perception hypothesis demonstrates the complexity of mediated portrayals. Media images provide continuous opportunities for audiences to construct or reinforce ideological frames about people of particular races. They influence opinion, but in varying degrees, while mirroring the mores of society.

Race in Early Media and Entertainment

Social relationships in the early United States included prejudice and discrimination against people of color. Therefore, the repertoire of representations of minorities that media offered paralleled the established ideology in newspapers and books of the 18th century and the predominant entertainment medium of the 19th century, the theater. Buffalo Bill Cody's popular Wild West

shows played to packed houses as they boldly demonstrated the necessary taming of "savage" Indians, while minstrel shows, the most popular form of American entertainment for 80 years, delighted audiences with comical stereotypes of bumbling Negroes enacted by white actors in blackface. Each became popular content in subsequent radio programs and films.

The introduction of motion pictures at the turn of the 20th century began with imagery of cowboys annihilating "wild Injuns," "greaser" films portraying reckless Mexican bandits, and Asians as the diabolically evil "yellow menace." These characterizations were congruent with whites' beliefs during this era. D. W. Griffith's 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* established the stereotypical prototype of blacks as morally inferior, unintelligent, and potentially dangerous, which endured for decades. This coincided with the nation's common temperament regarding blacks during slavery, Reconstruction, the segregationist period, and the early 20th century, when the lynching of blacks finally ended.

The mid-20th century featured somewhat less obvious stereotypes in Hollywood, radio, and early television. Native Americans continued to be "generalized" in films and were still found attacking white settlers, unless cast as faithful companions to strong white cowboys as in *The Lone Ranger* with Tonto. Blacks were also congenial sidekicks, appearing as waiters, porters, and domestic workers throughout early television programs. Hollywood's epic *Gone With the Wind* speciously epitomized their happy, faithful relationship with whites, and representative films showcased black entertainers singing and dancing, reinforcing their submissive status in society. *Amos 'n Andy* made its television debut in 1951, the first program with an all-black cast, but its characterizations were controversial, and very few programs included blacks in lead roles during the following two decades.

During this period, political and economic matters between Latin America and the United States resulted in fewer pejorative representations of Latinos onscreen, with the exception of the quintessential hot-blooded males and tempestuous women. In the positively regarded *I Love Lucy* of early television, Cuban American Desi's explosion of Spanish malapropisms when confronted with Lucy's foibles sustained the stereotypical image



A large group of Native Americans on horseback during a 1901 Wild West show in Buffalo, New York. Live events predominated in the 19th century, and Wild West shows reinforced the belief that Native Americans were "savages" that needed to be tamed.

of the quick-tempered Latino. Asian stereotypes were pervasive, but of differing qualities following World War II, when overt racism against Japanese suffused media, from Hollywood films to cartoons, with explicit scenes of Japanese soldiers delighting in applying torture techniques. Radio programs and movies featuring corrupt or diabolical Chinese villains like Fu Manchu later replaced these depictions.

Equally detrimental was the absence of many ethnic groups on television, termed symbolic annihilation, which extended inequality through lack of representation. A major quantitative study of race on television in prime-time from 1955 to 1964 identified only one character in 10 as anything other than white American, only one character in 50 as Hispanic, and less than one in 100 as Asian. Dominance of white characters rendered minorities invisible. Television, like film, was given a mandate to improve culturally.

Media Parallels Society

A new wave of studies on media treatment of race proliferated after 1965. Concurrently, societal attitudes regarding blacks improved after the civil rights era; whites became more aware of the past and current plight of American Indians; negative attitudes lessened toward Asian immigrants,

except for residual Vietnam War tensions; and progress resulted from greater contact with Latinos as their numbers grew. Despite improvements, neither the media nor the country could declare equitable treatment of racial/ethnic minorities.

Media scholars and sociologists continued research in the 1970s to determine the public's perceptions of race and potential correlations with media representations. During a two-decade period studied using trait measurement research, whites were usually portrayed as friendly, intelligent, and at times egotistical, with males seen as upper class and females as mostly attractive. Research also found whites to have the highest scores for wealth, work ethic, intelligence, and patriotism. Traits attributed to blacks in the same years studied included inferiority, laziness, dishonesty, and insolence.

Predominant stereotypes attributed to Asian Americans were intelligence and being soft-spoken and highly educated, while Latino/Hispanic Americans were thought of as having limited access to education and employment, being attractive, excitable, and friendly. Terms describing American Indians were alcoholic, lazy, on welfare, or on reservations. Another ethnic category receiving negative media portrayals became Arabs, commonly associated with terrorism and traits of being radical, barbaric, and anti-Western.

Current Status

Economic concerns, media literacy education, and political empowerment of people of color have led to a greater variety of portrayals of non-whites in 21st-century media. However, despite contemporary media's endeavors to avoid stereotypes, genre conventions such as the necessity of character shorthand in situation comedies, deadlines and time constraints of news programs, and commercial media industries placing profits over story development nullify complete stereotype eradication.

Progress is evident in films starring black actors and directors like Spike Lee, who paint accurate portrayals of African American life, in addition to greater representation on radio and in print, although blacks remain underrepresented in leading roles. More sensitive representations of Asians began with *The Last Emperor* and *The Joy Luck Club*, revealing cultural nuances of Chinese

and Chinese Americans not previously evident in films, and one of the most popular recent television shows, *Hawaii Five-O*, features positive Asian characters. Native Americans remain somewhat invisible, although the Disney animation *Pocahontas* was among the highest-grossing films of the 1990s.

Latino organizations contend that insufficient representation in mainstream media has instead led a majority of them to Spanish-language broadcast outlets like Telemundo and Univision. A recent poll found that ethnic media regularly reach 87 percent of Hispanic respondents, with a large number predominantly watching Latino programs. A 2005 study showed that 74 percent of Arab Americans and 70 percent of Asian Americans prefer to tune in to ethnic media.

Although interactive Internet and video games are relatively new, in addition to cable and satellite technologies, they warrant consideration. According to the Electronic Software Association, more than two-thirds of heads of households play video games, and sales in the billions of dollars are increasing exponentially. A study by Children Now found that racial stereotyping is strongly evident in video games, with 87 percent of game heroes being white, and blacks and Latinos shown as particularly aggressive, or predominantly in sports-oriented games.

The participatory media of the Internet like YouTube, or massively multiplayer online role playing games (MMOs) such as *World of Warcraft*, which boast more users than television and film combined, have also been problematic regarding stereotyping at a time when “professional” media have demonstrated greater cultural awareness. User-generated participatory media perpetuate countless racial stereotypes, in large part because the consumers are also the creators and distributors in this format. Millions of videos are uploaded to Web media sites, produced predominantly by amateurs and entrepreneurs with little or no ethical training and with no oversight. Since incalculable examples exhibit racist messages, improvement in the quality of participatory interactive media is the next challenge.

Media treatment of race and ethnicity is of importance because mass media can create reality as media imagery encodes and normalizes specific ideologies. Limited or incorrect representations

can have negative consequences by sustaining false ideas as well as undermining endeavors toward multicultural equity in America. Significant progress is possible when both producers and audiences recognize the power of the media.

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See Also: Diversity and Inclusion; Ethnicity; Identity Development; Media, Ethnic; Media, Foreign Language; Motion Pictures; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Television.

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Medicine and Ethnic Diversity

As the 2010 census shows, the United States is becoming increasingly diverse. The shifting demographics have a strong impact on the practice of medicine in various ways, particularly because patients belonging to a minority ethnic group such as African American, Hispanic American, American Indian, Alaska Native, Asian American, Native Hawai‘ian, and Pacific Islander tend

to have worse health outcomes than their Caucasian peers. According to the Office of Minority Health, patients from these groups are at a higher risk of illness and death from heart disease, stroke, diabetes, HIV/AIDS, asthma, hepatitis B, obesity, and certain cancers. Additionally, the Institute of Medicine found that minorities are less likely to receive certain types of treatment such as dialysis and transplants, and particular cardiac procedures like bypass surgery.

Ethnic and racial minorities are more likely to receive more drastic procedures, such as amputations, as a result of diabetes. In order to best provide quality health care for a diverse patient population and overcome increasingly pronounced health disparities, medicine must take ethnicity and related factors such as religion, language, and health care beliefs, as well as social determinants of health, into consideration in medical practice, research, and education.

History of Mistreatment

Ethnic and racial minorities have not always been treated well within the medical field, which has resulted in mistrust of the medical system within some ethnic communities. Before the civil rights movement demanded equal treatment, ethnic and racial groups were often separated from Caucasian patients in hospitals, clinics, and other health care services. Often, these segregated areas for patients of minority racial and ethnic backgrounds were less equipped than medical institutions that catered to the Caucasian population. Ethnic and racial minority patients were at risk for being refused treatment, discriminated against, and not given adequate care, and were often blamed for their condition.

Therefore, taking into account ethnic diversity in the practice of medicine is vital to the diverse population in the United States. One cannot have the discussion of ethnic diversity and the practice of medicine without approaching the essential presence of cultural competency for those who practice or are involved in the process of medical care. Cultural competency is not just the simple knowledge of facts about each culture, it is also an acquired set of positive beliefs, attitudes, and values that allows for positive and effective interactions with individuals and groups of people who are culturally different from one's own

group. Cultural competency is a multifaceted set of knowledge and actionable skills that is essential for application in every interaction, including relationships from the casual setting to the professional setting. Specifically, cultural competency in the practice of medicine is a topic of discussion that is now, more than ever, an essential and currently ongoing discussion as a result of the cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity of individuals in our communities and workplaces.

For every stakeholder in medicine, from the patient to the doctors and staff who provide care, culture touches every aspect of health care: patient treatment plans, medication, medical procedures, and the working relationship of the doctors and staff who deliver these services to benefit the patient. In effect, there are numerous cultures working together, including the patient, in an effort to provide the best health care and treatment. Therefore, such an enormous amount of cultural variety calls for knowledge and actionable skills that address the intersection of many different cultures working together and understand cross-cultural dynamics in medicine.

The practice of medicine involves a number of culturally sensitive components. Specifically, treatment plans that involve doctor-prescribed medications and health behaviors must be communicated and articulated in ways that result in patient ability, understanding, and willingness to follow the prescribed medications and health behaviors. Therefore, effectively weaving ethnic diversity into the practice of medicine must involve treatment, treatment plans, and communication that are amenable to patients of all cultural backgrounds.

A few factors that can play into effective medical treatment of ethnically diverse patients include environmental racism; access to and affordability of treatment; access to and ability to live in healthy environments; access to and ability to practice a healthy diet; the culture of the individual and the family; family roles in decision making; views of leaders and authority figures; religious practices; and culturally specific behavioral factors such as dietary restrictions, use of home remedies, cultural communication styles, and mistrust or misconceptions about the health care system. In addition, the approach to medications might vary by culture, ethnicity, and race. An individual's or group's decision on when to seek care, levels of pain tolerance,

and genetic differences in medication metabolism and response might also be factors to consider in terms of medical treatment and culturally related medicines. Therefore, application of diversity to the practice of medicine while following ethical protocols in treatment is key.

Historically, ethical protocols were not consistently followed when ethnically diverse patients underwent medical treatment, including the lack of prior consent for medical research. One of the most well-known instances was the Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male. From 1932 to 1972, the U.S. Public Health Service conducted a longitudinal study on syphilis in poor, rural African American sharecroppers, who were given the impression that they were being provided with free health care when in fact they had not given informed consent and were denied treatment, even though penicillin had become the standard treatment for syphilis as early as the late 1940s. As a result of the undisclosed information concerning diagnosis and possible treatment for the disease, many participants died of syphilis or spread it. When the story about the unethical study broke, public outcry led to the establishment of the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research and federal laws and regulations that further protect participants in medical research. Additional efforts related to the development, revision, and enforcement of ethical standards in biomedical research continue today.

Another well-known example of the mistreatment of minorities in medical research is the case of Henrietta Lacks, who had cervix cells removed, without her explicit permission or knowledge, while undergoing treatment for cervical cancer. Her cells were then multiplied in the lab, sold, and used extensively in research, with no financial recompense to Henrietta Lacks (who passed away from the disease) or her family. As a result of Henrietta Lacks's case, the ethical issue of informed consent became standard protocol within the medical system. These two infamous cases, as well as countless other instances of discriminatory medical practices based on stereotypes, prejudice, and ignorance, widened the power gap between the medical community of mostly Caucasian male doctors and the ethnically and racially diverse patient populations that they served.

Ethnic and racial minorities were also barred from entering medical school, with the first African American doctor graduating from an American medical school in 1847. However, it was not until much later that medical schools were desegregated. Continued discrimination, lower access to quality education and mentoring, and socio-economic factors still create barriers that prevent ethnic and racial minorities from applying to and entering medical school.

Contemporary Medicine

As U.S. demographics have diversified and the struggle for equal rights has reshaped American society, the practice and teaching of medicine have changed. Since the 1960s and 1970s, medical schools across the nation have focused efforts on programs designed to increase and diversify the physician workforce so that doctors will better reflect and serve the diverse demographic populations that make up American society. Efforts include continued work on pipeline and baccalaureate programs that help prepare underserved, underprivileged, and ethnic and racial minority students to become competitive applicants for medical school through academic counseling, standardized test and interview preparation, and rigorous biomedical courses.

However, certain ethnic populations are still under-represented in medicine, and more work needs to be done earlier to encourage young students to dream about and prepare for a career in medicine and to help them graduate from college. The Supreme Court will rule on whether or not race can be considered as one of many factors in the admissions process, and the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC) has filed an amicus brief in support of race as an important component to consider in the holistic admissions process, as a way to help diversify the student body to the benefit of all students and future patients. Expanding the definition of diversity to also include students from rural backgrounds, those who are financially disadvantaged, first-generation college graduates, members of single-parent households, and nontraditional students will also help ensure that the physician workforce better mirrors society at large.

Related to diversifying the physician workforce is a focus on primary care and serving the

underserved. Despite having one of the highest rates of spending on health care per individual, the United States lags behind other nations on health outcomes. Part of the reason for this is that there are many populations in the United States that have restricted access to care, lower education and awareness of positive health behaviors, and a lack of health insurance and access to nutritious food and preventative care.

More attention also needs to be placed on raising the awareness and skills of physicians for understanding and addressing social determinants of health. Knowledge of the external factors that impact the health of patients is an important factor in designing relevant health care plans. Further understanding of how medical treatment and prescriptions may differ for patients of various ethnicities also needs to increase through targeted recruitment efforts for medical research and trials, as well as research topics that consider the social determinants of health in prevention and treatment procedures.

Funding for this type of research also needs to be provided and encouraged on all levels. Grants with a public health focus can contribute to a knowledge base and medical innovations that can help the most at-risk populations while benefiting the health care system as a whole by decreasing health care costs and improving patient health outcomes. Established in 1986, the Office of Minority Health focuses on the development of programs and policies targeting racial and ethnic minority populations, with the goal of improving health and eradicating health disparities. Continued work needs to be done on how inequities in medicine perpetuate health disparities, and how to better address social determinants of health and health outcomes through changes in the medical system, a shift from a focus on treatment to prevention, and an increase in access to quality care.

Great strides have also been made in raising the general level of awareness and acceptance of the importance of culturally competent health care that engages diverse patients. An additional focus on patient- and family-centered care that takes into consideration each unique individual's situation, environment, health beliefs, and practices, has recently become ingrained into the medical school curriculum and general policies of hospitals throughout the country.

These changes in medical practice, which allow patients to have a voice in their treatment, enhances the delivery and effectiveness of health care through the creation of relevant health care plans that are tailored to the individual. Additionally, curriculum in medical schools and professional development training for physicians needs to include elements related to diversity and inclusion, health disparities, social determinants of health, and how these factors influence medical care, treatment, and patient outcomes.

Topics focusing on the development of cultural competence skills, such as communication, addressing language barriers by working with an interpreter, knowing and addressing religious barriers, and ethnic health beliefs and practices, are just a few of the skills that physicians need in order to accurately treat a diverse patient population. Additionally, ethnically diverse faculty members are at higher risk for being unsatisfied in their positions, for experiencing a longer period before and between promotions, and for leaving medical education more quickly than their Caucasian peers. More work needs to be done to improve the medical education and working environments to create a more inclusive and welcoming environment for diverse faculty. Improving the retention rates of diverse faculty in academic medical centers and teaching hospitals will help provide students from under-represented ethnic backgrounds with mentors and role models who may have had similar experiences and barriers that they overcame.

Technological advances in medical care may help improve the health of all patients and allow for focused attention to be placed on addressing health disparities. The move toward electronic medical records allows for better communication and access to medical information between health care professionals and the people they serve. The practice of medicine continues to expand its recent focus on interprofessional and interdisciplinary teams, which increase the chances of relevant care and adequate followup and improves the information flow between health care professionals in various settings that serve the same patients.

Interprofessional and interdisciplinary teams also help address certain challenges in treating ethnically diverse patients, such as potential language barriers and religious beliefs. Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Services developed

standards for working with patients who have diverse cultures and languages in order to provide equal opportunity for representation and access to health care services in a manner that will ensure that the best and most appropriate care will be provided to the patient. Related is health literacy, or the ability to obtain and understand health care information. Even when a patient's mother tongue is English, he or she may still have a low health literacy that affects medical care by preventing him or her from taking medication properly, understanding where best to seek care for particular ailments (such as a primary care facility versus the emergency room), communicating with the physician, or understanding health care costs and reimbursements.

Addressing the linguistic barriers of language and health literacy, alongside the possession of awareness and understanding of the social determinants of health, disparities, and historical reasons for mistrust within ethnic and racial minority communities are important factors in the provision of quality, culturally competent medical care for all patients. With culturally competent care, medicine can eradicate health disparities.

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See Also: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Disability and Ethnic Diversity; Ethnopharmacology; Health Beliefs and Practices; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity.

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Melting Pot

The metaphor of America as a "melting pot" remains as salient in the first decade of the 21st century as it did in the early 20th century, when the phrase was used in the title of Israel Zangwill's 1905 play, which extolled the United States as an unparalleled haven for immigrants. America as a "melting pot" is deeply and uncritically entrenched in the popular imagination; its place among social commentators and scholars, on the other hand, is that of a site from which different and oppositional versions of the nation and its people are argued. Few scholars in the present day would assert that the United States is simply a melting pot, a single blend of races, ethnicities, or cultures from any and all parts of the globe. Rather, the image of a salad, or a kaleidoscope, or a symphony orchestra might be more current because of the increasing complexity with which we use concepts of assimilation, acculturation, multiculturalism, pluralism, or multiethnicity to describe the United States. The "melting pot" image, however, is implicitly or explicitly always part of analyses of American ethnic identity.

The idea of America being a country comprising many different cultures and peoples can be found in the writings of the earliest European settlers; they saw the New World as a "crucible" and the New Canaan. Then, most notably, St. John de Crevecoeur, in *Letters From an American Farmer* (1782), described this "new man" as being descended from the mixing of Scots, French, English, and so on. To de Crevecoeur, the American is not only a new ethnicity, he has willingly left behind, in Europe, hereditary titles and other "prejudices" in order to craft a new social and cultural identity.

The next major contribution to imagining the nation came from Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 "Frontier Hypothesis," which located the American "crucible" on the western frontier. The frontier built the essential national characteristics (echoing Emerson's descriptions) of self-reliance, strength, individualism, and so on. Turner also wrote that Americans are a mixed race (European) and not merely English.

The popular idea of America as a melting pot is commonly traced to Israel Zangwill's play *The Melting Pot*. Set in the seething, urban cauldron of

New York, the play celebrates an America that is able to unite David and Vera, a Russian Jew and the daughter of the officer responsible for killing David's family in a pogrom. Indeed, both David and Vera leave their Old World identities behind when they leave Russia; their union symbolizes the New World as a melting pot. The historical period of the play was that of American cities in the late 19th century rapidly filling up with eastern and southern Europeans, and already established Americans expressing doubt about the ability of these new immigrants to assimilate. Zangwill's play portrays a nation that could absorb and assimilate even the most disparate cultures and individual pasts.

Since then, the melting pot concept has become a touchstone for various social commentators,



... melting pot of liberty-loving people from all corners of the earth. People of different origins, faiths, cultures—all cemented together into one great nation by their passion for freedom. They have made America great—they have made America the hope of the world ★ *This is Your America*

...Keep it Free!

A U.S. World War II-era poster titled "This Is America . . . Melting Pot of Liberty-Loving People From All Corners of the Earth." Melting pot is a metaphor for a heterogeneous society melting together into a harmonious whole with one common culture.

creative writers, policy analysts, and sociologists to describe and analyze the meaning of "America." Most notably, the Chicago school of sociologists in the first half of the 20th century began to examine the process that immigrants undergo to become Americanized. Led by Robert Park and Everett Stonequist, these sociologists coined such terms as "culture clash," the "marginal man," and "assimilation." At that time, assimilation was thought to be inevitable and a linear process, going from a marginalized existence and alien identity to one of complete assimilation, indistinguishable from other Americans. The Chicago school's focus on the urban transformation of American cities through the influx of Jews, Poles, and other eastern European ethnicities set the course for several academic disciplines, including sociology, political science, and ethnic and literary studies.

However, it soon became apparent that Americanization was a more complicated and unpredictable process than the metaphor of the melting pot would suggest. This is especially true if one takes into consideration the problem of racialism in the construction of the American identity. Furthermore, scholars also began to note that different immigrant groups assimilate at different rates and in different spheres of their daily lives, depending on their reception, their levels of education and skills, and the legislative and extra-judicial barriers that discouraged assimilation. The civil rights movement, as well as the counterculture and ethnic rights movements of the mid-20th century, also complicated the image of America as a melting pot. Horace Kallen's notion of cultural pluralism from as early as 1915 gained popularity: the United States was said to be a nation in which cultures from all parts of the world are tolerated and coexist. Assimilation was neither an accurate description of American identity nor desirable.

The notion of multiculturalism or, as some scholars have suggested, post-ethnicity began to take hold in the late 1980s and 1990s. Generation Xers tended to see themselves as both American and as products of global cultural mixes. This trend is likely to continue as increasing numbers of Americans identify themselves on the census as being mixed race (more than two and not simply biracial). Authors in *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means to Be*

American, published in 2004, seem to agree that the definitions of “America” and “assimilation” are changing drastically: assimilation is not to a WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) ideal but to a multicultural and multiethnic American culture; ethnic identification may be limited to cuisine or artistic expression; class is a more crucial factor in individual perceptions of assimilation than loyalty to ethnic cultural heritage; and what it means to be an American is becoming more fluid, expansive, and inclusive than it has ever been in the history of this nation.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Class and Ethnic Diversity; Culture; Ethnicity; Generational Differences; Generations and Ethnic Diversity; Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); Naturalization; Pluralism; Regional Patterns (Essay).

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Mendez v. Westminster (1946)

In an era of segregated schools, *Mendez v. Westminster School District* (1946) challenged the constitutionality of the “separate but equal” doctrine and spurred the integration of California’s Mexican American students into schools reserved for white students. The *Mendez v. Westminster* federal court case served as an important example for the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) Supreme Court case, which ended de jure segregation at the national level and began the integration of all public institutions.

At the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848, the residents living in the former territory of Mexico were offered U.S. citizenship. Citizenship did not confer equality, however, and Mexican Americans were relegated to second-class status in a segregated society, much like African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans in other parts of the United States. Racial segregation, in addition to being a common practice, became de jure, or written, law as a result of the 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which stated that public facilities could be established that were “separate but equal.” Restaurants, theaters, and parks could have a “whites only” policy or admit people of color with certain restrictions, such as the public swimming pool on the day before it was drained and cleaned. In schools, minority students were either tracked into segregated classes or attended an entirely separate school.

Local Schools Versus “Mexican” Schools

Like many Latinos who were attracted to Orange County, California, in the 1920s and 1930s, Gonzalo Méndez and his wife, Felicitas, came to work in the booming citrus belt. They saved enough money to buy a restaurant in Santa Ana and then, during World War II, moved to nearby Westminster to lease a 60-acre farm owned by an interned Japanese American family.

It was the fall of 1943 when Gonzalo Méndez’s sister, Soledad Vidaurri, took the three Méndez children and her two daughters to enroll in the closest school: 17th Street Elementary. An administrator determined that the

Vidaurri children, who were half-Mexican but light-skinned and with a French surname, could attend; however, the darker-skinned Méndez children would have to go to the “Mexican” school, Hoover Elementary.

Not only was Hoover 10 blocks farther away, but it also shared features common for Mexican schools of the era: run-down facilities, outdated materials, and a curriculum that focused on labor and domestic skills rather than scholastic achievement. The Méndezes went to the superintendent to protest the policy and wrote a letter to the Westminster School Board demanding that it integrate the schools. An eventual offer for the Méndez children to attend the white school was rejected because the school board’s integration policy would not be changed for the rest of the Hoover students.

Together with four other Mexican American families (Estrada, Guzman, Palomino, and Ramirez) who were fighting the same battle in nearby towns, the Méndezes filed suit against the Westminster, Santa Ana, Garden Grove, and El Modena School Districts on behalf of over 5,000 children. David Marcus, a Los Angeles attorney who had recently won a desegregation case against a neighboring city, was contracted to represent the plaintiffs. Marcus needed to carefully craft his arguments because other cases had unsuccessfully tried to strike down the “separate but equal” clause.

When the case went to trial in 1945, defense attorney Joel Ogle argued not only that segregation was supported by the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision but also that it had social and educational advantages. Mexican schools gave special instruction in “Americanization” programs that emphasized values, work habits, sanitation practices, and language instruction for those who didn’t speak English. The overt racism of these programs became apparent when the defense called James Kent, superintendent of the Garden Grove School District, to the stand. He declared under oath that the Mexican students were inferior and had poor moral habits, and as such were unqualified to attend white schools.

In turn, Marcus—for the plaintiffs—pointed out that no language proficiency tests were given to the three Méndez children, all of whom demonstrated their English fluency when they testified

in court. Instead of focusing on the inferiority of resources, as previous cases had, Marcus argued that the school districts were segregating on the basis of nationality, which violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. On February 18, 1946, Judge Paul McCormick ruled in favor of Méndez and his co-plaintiffs that segregated education was socially, psychologically, and academically damaging to Mexican American children.

The defense attracted national attention when it announced it would appeal the decision, which was filed on December 10, 1946. Several leading civil liberties and multiracial organizations supported the plaintiffs. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) provided funds for legal fees, and the National Lawyers Guild, American Jewish Congress, and Japanese American Citizens League submitted “friend of the court” briefs. Two of the amicus briefs written by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) specifically called for a challenge to the U.S. Supreme Court’s “separate but equal” interpretation.

On April 14, 1947, the seven justices of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously upheld Judge McCormick’s decision in *Mendez v. Westminster*. Although the appeals court did not challenge de jure segregation in the rest of the country, the case had significant regional and state impact by affirming that it was unlawful to segregate Mexican children on the basis of national origin. Mexican Americans won representation on school boards, and other towns voluntarily opened integrated schools.

Earl Warren, who was then governor of California, signed a law to repeal the school segregation statutes in the California Education Code (sections 8003 and 8004 of the California Education Code). Seven years later, Warren was chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and presided over the *Brown v. Board of Education* case. In addition, Thurgood Marshall, who had cowritten the aforementioned NAACP amicus curiae brief, represented the plaintiffs.

Although this case is not as well known as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), it was important in the process of fostering an integrated and multicultural society. *Mendez v. Westminster*

illuminated both the discrimination embedded in racist structures and the important role that Mexican Americans—in collaboration with other marginalized groups—played in the struggle for equity and civil rights.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); School Desegregation; School Segregation; Segregation.

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Mestizo

The Spanish word *mestizo* derives from the Latin words *miscere* and *mixticus*, which mean to "mix" or "mixed." The term *mestizo* has historically been used to describe people of mixed heritage and descent in Latin America, particularly in Mexico. Originating as a racial category in New Spain's caste system, *mestizo* was used to describe people who had one Spanish-born (or European-born) parent and one parent of the indigenous American population.

The term later came to be used as the basis of a cultural Mexican nationalism that embraced a hybrid racial identity. Chicana/o activists later used the term as the basis for a politicized Mexican American ethnic identity that celebrated American-born people of Mexican descent.

Mestizo also remains in use in various Latin American countries as a legacy of Spanish colonialism and the caste system, though it has not gained the political and national importance it did in Mexico. It is most commonly used in countries

in which a large indigenous population retained its cultural traditions, such as Peru and Guatemala.

As in Mexico, the term is used in Central and South American countries to describe those of mixed Spanish and indigenous descent. *Mestizo* has come to mean neither fully Spanish nor fully indigenous, but rather a cultural mixture and racial descent that makes up the majority of Latin America's population.

Caste System

Caste categories began to take form in New Spain during the mid-16th century and were officially institutionalized in the 17th century. As Spain's new colonies were settled, a system of two republics was established—the Republic of Indians and the Republic of Spaniards—granting different rights and statuses to people based on lineage. This separation had roots in 15th-century Iberia, where people understood themselves and their relationship to the polity based on language, clan, religion, and purity of blood. In New Spain, both Spanish and Indians made claims to blood purity and lineage in order to claim status as elites within their separate republics.

The separation of Indians and Spanish did not prevent people from miscegenation and various other relationships. With the importation of African slaves, increased miscegenation, and the contestation of elite titles, the lines between Africans, Indians, and Spanish were diminished, threatening the internal stability of the colonies.

In response, the Spanish Crown imposed a caste system with five initial categories: Spanish, Indian, black, mulatto, and *mestizo*. This naming and categorizing of differences was intended to assuage elite anxieties about the profusion of difference and impose social order. Rights and privileges became based on one's caste. *Mestizos* had fewer rights than the Spanish but more than Indians and Afro-descendants.

Martín Cortés, the illegitimate child of the Spanish conqueror Hernán Cortés and his Nahua interpreter, Malintzin (more commonly known as La Malinche), is symbolically considered to be the first *mestizo* of the New World. By the end of the colonial period, *mestizos* represented the majority in most Latin American countries and gained greater political and economic power in the years following independence from Spain.

Mexican Nationalism

Prior to the Mexican Revolution (1910–20), Mexico was a regionally and culturally fragmented country. Although the Mexican state had gained power during the years under Porfirio Díaz's rule (1876–1910), a Mexican nation, with a unifying identity and traditions, had not formed. Post-revolutionary governments, with the assistance of Mexican intellectuals such as José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio, incorporated a mestizo identity as the basis of a new national identity. In fact, Article Two of the 1917 Constitution recognized Mexico as a multicultural state, of which mestizos were the majority.

Mexico's national identity was based on cultural syncretism and emphasized the influence of both Spanish and Indian people as sources of pride. Postrevolutionary nationalism highlighted the history of the Mayan and Aztec empires, and it incorporated Indian traditions such as regional crafts as proud symbols of an authentic Mexican national identity. However, one of the critiques of this new mestizo national identity was its erasure of Afro-Mexicans and their cultural contributions.

Another critique of postrevolutionary nationalism was its paternalistic attitude toward Indians. Unlike earlier policies implemented by Díaz that looked at Mexico's Indians as part of the nation's pre-Columbian past but ignored their contemporary importance, postrevolutionary reformers celebrated living indigenous heritage as the foundation of Mexico's authentic national identity. Nevertheless, government reforms aimed to address the nation's "Indian problem" by assimilating Indians into a mestizo Mexican culture.

Although the goal was to create a modern nation-state with a compelling national identity that had mestizos at its core, the consequences of these reforms included further homogenization of indigenous groups. These policies simultaneously proved destructive to Indian communities and traditions while creating a modern Mexican nation in which all of its citizens shared a common mestizo culture.

It was perhaps the Mexican philosopher and Secretary of Public Education José Vasconcelos, and his influential essay *La Raza Cosmica* (The Cosmic Race), that most affirmed the centrality of a mestizo identity to Mexico's nationalism.

According to Vasconcelos, mestizos, or the "bronze people," constituted a new cosmic race that combined the virtues of all races, especially those of Indians and Europeans. He argued that Latin America's history of racial mixture made it unique and would make it powerful in the future.

Vasconcelos's theory encountered various critiques from his contemporaries and later generations. Through attributing inevitable characteristics to various races, Vasconcelos engaged in stereotyping. In the 1980s, anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla criticized Vasconcelos and the centrality of the mestizo to Mexican nationalism, arguing for cultural pluralism rather than a mestizaje that "de-Indianized" Mexico's rural populations. Consequently, mestizo is no longer listed as a category in the Mexican census, though it is still commonly used in academic studies.

Chicano Movement

During the Chicano movement of the 1960s, Mexican American activists embraced and gave new meaning to a mestizo identity. Although Chicano was primarily deployed as a politicized ethnic identity rather than as a racial one, it drew from theories on mestizaje such as those of Vasconcelos. Chicanos created a new mestizo identity that acknowledged the importance of indigenous people and cultural traditions as part of their heritage. It reframed mestizo as part of an experience that was both Mexican and American. Under the slogan that described a sense of displacement, "*Ni de aquí, ni de allá*" (Not from here, nor from there), Chicanos articulated that they were neither fully Mexican nor treated as fully American, a paradox they traced back to the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Chicanos were the new mestizos, embracing a new form of cultural hybridity.

Mestizos and the Census

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed at the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848, granted citizenship, and thereby a legal designation of "white," to all Mexicans residing on the lands acquired by the United States. However, these new Mexican American citizens simultaneously gained a social position as nonwhite in American society. The United States, particularly the Census Bureau, has attempted to categorize

the paradoxical and often ambiguous racial status of Mexican Americans since then. Until 1930, Mexicans remained legally categorized as white.

The 1930 U.S. Census attempted to refine notions of race and included Mexican American as a separate racial category. This drew criticism from the Mexican government since it was a violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In addition, the new categorization excluded Latinos who were not of Mexican descent.

Consequently, future census documents refrained from using Mexican as a racial category and returned to legally recognizing Mexican Americans as white. However, the increased visibility of Latinos in the United States led the Census Bureau to attempt different ways to collect data on them. In the 1950s, questions about “Spanish heritage” as well as “Spanish surname” were added to the census. By the 1980s, the census contained a new category of Hispanic by which groups could identify with subheadings to recognize variations within the population. Although mestizo was a category listed in the Mexican census for many years, the U.S. Census has not listed it as a racial category.

Question number eight of the 2010 U.S. Census asks if a person is of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin, followed by question number nine, which addresses race. The primary racial categories are white, black/African American, American Indian/Alaska Native, various Asian and Pacific Islander options, and “some other race,” in which an individual can specify what other race they identify with. Mestizo remains absent from the U.S. census, but possibilities for defining one’s race as mixed or mestizo are indeed emerging.

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See Also: Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Multiple Race Categorization (Essay); White Categorization (Essay).

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Métis

The Métis (French for “mixed”) are a distinct indigenous group living in the northern United States and Canada. Pockets of Métis in the United States are concentrated in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota. Approximately 400,000 identify as Métis in Canada, where the group enjoys government-to-government rights.

Written with a lower-case “m,” métis conveys the group’s French or Anglo (usually English or Scots) and First Nations, American Indian, and/or Alaska Native heritage. Written with a capital “M,” Métis additionally implies a particular sociocultural heritage. Other terms historically used for the Métis have included Creole, Bois-Brûlés, mixed-bloods, half-breeds, Bungi, Black Scots, and Jackatars. The Anglo-Métis have also been referred to as countryborn. Generations of Métis followed the North American fur trade’s primary competitors across the continent—the French-allied North West Company and the English-backed Hudson’s Bay Company.

First Nations groups often used alliances with Europeans and other tribes to form enduring and reciprocal bonds of all sorts. The French government actively encouraged its citizens to marry First Nations women during the latter half of the 17th century. This stance did not obtain the assimilative results in the direction the French anticipated, with many men choosing to live in the manner of their indigenous relatives.

The Hudson’s Bay Company also tried to regulate marriage, hoping to minimize the likelihood

that its employees would return to Europe, abandoning their wives and Métis children—outcomes that would have both practically and politically negative implications. Unions were most often formed *à la façon du pays* (according to indigenous customs) rather than according to the customs of the largely Catholic French and Scots or the Protestant Anglos.

The Scots and the French peasantry were already quite acquainted with the concept of “civil union” and readily took to the practice of “country marriage.” As a result, marriages, births, and deaths within the Catholic system frequently recorded their First Nations and Métis constituents using Francophone or Anglicized names.

The Embodiment of Biculturalism

Proficient in French and/or English and various First Nations languages, the Métis embodied biculturalism. Métis served as translators, mediators, negotiators, fur trade voyageurs, and business owners, and in other roles essential to the maintenance of multinational trade and politics. Métis individuals formed their own communities over time—often marrying Métis to Métis. They developed unique cultural practices, foods, clothing, spiritual practices, and languages. Michif emerged as a complex language spoken by many Métis, and this French and Cree hybrid language further set them apart.

Politically, the Métis have played a prominent role in the formation of the United States and Canada. Many Métis fought for the United States in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Their extensive familial ties and multilingual, multicultural skills were at times great assets to the United States and Canada but were also often perceived to be a threat to the fledgling nations as they moved to solidify national boundaries and governance.

Throughout the Great Lakes region in the 19th century, Métis became increasingly marginalized and were forced to make choices for survival. Their fur trade and other businesses were being foreclosed, and their Indigenous relatives were relegated to increasingly smaller swaths of land that made sustenance nearly impossible. Those with close ties to their Indigenous communities often assumed American Indian identities and

became enrolled or were recorded on tribal-treaty half-blood lists, entering trust relationships with the United States.

Others fled north to Canada or farther west in the United States to avoid the encroaching Americans. Some remained and became increasingly marginalized; others integrated into the American ethnic mix. Nearly all Métis lost their political and legal status as Indigenous peoples in the United States, with the exception of the Métis members of the federally recognized Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa.

As the Canadian government signed treaties with First Nations groups exchanging land for commodities and services, it conspicuously excluded the Métis. This served as a catalyst for the French and Anglo Métis to unite in an effort to retain rights as a distinct aboriginal group. Louis Riel took the lead in asserting Métis rights in Canada in 1869. The resulting conflict became known as the Red River Rebellion of 1869.

The rebellion and ensuing conflicts had mixed results. The Métis saw the establishment of the Manitoba Act, which brought the predominantly Métis region into the Canadian Confederation; however, their leadership was decimated in the wake of a series of conflicts. Louis Riel and the Métis provisional government’s Pierre Parenteau (president) and Gabriel Dumont (adjutant-general), along with Cree chiefs Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear) and Pitikwahanapiwiwin (Poundmaker), were harshly sanctioned. Riel and the Cree chiefs were exiled to the United States and imprisoned for treason, with Riel ultimately tried for high treason and hanged in 1886.

The results of this political frenzy have significant and continuing implications for Métis today, with border mobility now a prominent point of contention for legal Métis recognition in both the United States and Canada. Métis identity in the United States remains largely cultural and non-recognized federally. In Canada, the legal definition of who is Métis has been acknowledged in S. 35 of the Constitution Act of 1982. Case law *R. v. Powley* (2003) further extended the definition of Métis to address hunting rights, indicating that a holder of Métis rights should self-identify as a Métis individual, have ancestral connection to a historical Métis community, and be accepted by a Métis community.

A critical outcome of Métis marginalization has been the invisibility of the essential role played by aboriginal and Métis women whose skills traders relied on to survive, and whose First Nations relatives they relied on to act as intermediaries. Many women also were shrewd business owners and raised their Métis children to become bi-functional in many aspects.

Today, the Métis are in the midst of a cultural and political resurgence. Symbols of their culture and independence include the red (Hudson's Bay Anglo) and blue (French North West Company) infinity flags as well as the Métis fingerweave belts (or *ceinture fléchée*), which were essential regalia and practical tools for the Métis. The Métis National Council formed in 1983, made up of five provincial organizations in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario. Métis in the United States have formed several cultural affinity groups, and the Métis Nation of Canada was founded in 2009 to advocate for Métis peoples and their rights.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Creoles.

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Metrics of Diversity (Business)

There are many definitions of diversity from a social justice perspective. A common one is centered on organizations desiring to increase their

employment of people from traditionally underrepresented groups or protected classes, such as those defined by race, national origin, sex, disability, LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) status, and age. One use of metrics is in an employment context.

The metrics discussed are most pertinent to the United States but can be adapted to other countries. Metrics can cover both quantity and quality, but the best are quantified ones. It is important to recognize what diversity metrics are not. They are not quotas or preferences. However, they can be used for goals and to evaluate compliance with court-ordered or voluntary settlement agreements.

Measurements are necessary to determine what needs doing, how to plan initiatives, and their success. Diversity metrics are typically collected, analyzed, evaluated, and promulgated by human resources or diversity departments. Much of the data can be obtained through employee databases.

Collecting the data can present challenges, particularly if the organization has not previously done so. Federal contractors and companies required to report by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will find that they already have much of the data. However, because of self-reporting, anonymity, and fears of disclosure, there may be challenges in ensuring accurate reporting and counts of employees with disabilities and of LGBT status.

An employer should know the demographics of its employees and of its service area. The latter can be found through many different sources. It is unlikely that the employer will have to create new data. For its own employees, baseline data must be established. This, and all diversity data, should be disaggregated by the categories listed and by any other categories the employer wants to use, for example, type of job, pay range, division or office, and geographical location. Data should also be disaggregated by major employment milestones such as job applicants, new hires, training opportunities, evaluations, and promotions.

Diversity in the United States is increasing. This is especially true for groups like Hispanics and Asian Americans. Efforts to improve the representation of groups should show a growth rate higher than the natural demographic increase. If an organization only improves its diversity at the

same or a lower rate than natural demographic increase, then its diversity program has failed.

Ratio measures and measures over time should be used whenever possible to provide means for comparison and to demonstrate continuity of effort. Diversity metrics are sometimes considered a scorecard.

Measuring the Benefits of Diversity

Benefits of diversity ought to be measurable. Such measures can include better relationships among diverse staff, fewer grievances and complaints, improved labor relations, reduction of graffiti and hate incidents, and more diverse hiring. Employee climate surveys can be used. Other metrics can include improvements in productivity, more innovation and creativity, job satisfaction, career development over time, retention, decrease in pay disparities, performance on exit interviews, ranking of the organization as a desirable place to work, and becoming an employer of choice.

Traditional or foundational metrics include numbers related to success in workforce representation, dollars spent with female- and minority-owned businesses, and the documentation of diversity activities and training. Diversity programs should be able to show real statistical increases in absolute numbers and percentage of recruitment, applications, hiring, retention, training, and promotion of people from traditionally discriminated and underrepresented groups.

In terms of qualitative measures, employee climate surveys can include questions about perceptions of diversity, equity, welcomeness, trust, fairness, transparency, and accountability, and should show improvement over a baseline. Employee focus groups should show similar improvement. On a psychological level, social distancing scales should show decreased distance and prejudiced thinking. Measurements of performance should include social equity and opportunity, quantity, quality, timeliness, cost, effectiveness, efficiency, return on investment, and customer service.

It is possible to measure the savings in recruitment costs from higher retention rates for diverse employees through building a more inclusive culture. Another measure is the reduction in absenteeism for underrepresented affinity groups when an inclusive culture is created. The engagement ratings for employees from different affinity

groups can be measured in annual engagement surveys.

Employment-related metrics include (1) the percentage of minorities or equal employment opportunity targets, (2) an increase in minority representation at various levels, (3) the use of targeted outreach and recruitment toward underrepresented groups, (4) the use of mentoring programs, (5) more diverse hiring practices, (6) the number of reasonable accommodations provided to employees with disabilities and of different religious beliefs, (6) the use of bridge and developmental positions for lower-level employees to transition to professional positions, and (7) efforts toward higher retention.

Business-oriented metrics include (1) an evaluation of return on investment for diversity initiatives, (2) improvements in productivity, and (3) the use of more innovation and creativity, which includes various metrics such as patents granted per capita.

Corporate social responsibility metrics involve (1) participation in community benefits, local hiring, job training, and apprenticeship agreements; (2) the inclusion of diversity in corporate social responsibility efforts; and (3) community voluntarism by employees.

Organizational culture metrics for businesses include (1) employee satisfaction, climate, and engagement surveys; (2) the achievement of better relationships among diverse staff members; (3) improved labor relations; (4) improved job satisfaction; (5) career development; (6) more positive responses from exit interviews; (7) higher ranking of the organization as a “best place to work;” and (8) becoming an employer of choice.

Evaluation and accountability metrics include (1) diversity program participation requirements in management and executive performance agreements and (2) the independence and professionalism of the diversity officer.

Compliance metrics may include achieving (1) fewer discrimination grievances and complaints, (2) fewer findings of discrimination by government agencies, (3) a reduction of graffiti or hate crime incidents, and (4) a decrease in pay disparities.

Supplier diversity metrics involve the dollar amounts spent on diverse suppliers and using small and minority-owned businesses. Veterans

hiring metrics can include the degree of participation in veterans hiring programs, and reputation metrics may involve receiving awards from special interest and advocacy groups.

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See Also: Category Controversies (Essay); Occupational Patterns (Essay); Regional Patterns (Essay).

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Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) is the product of improved educational opportunities for Chicanas/os and an emerging professional class in the late 1960s but also is an important part of the Chicano civil rights movement. MALDEF specializes in Supreme Court test cases and funding and training Mexican American attorneys to focus on civil rights.

MALDEF was modeled on the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and has a counterpart in the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF). All three organizations focus on litigation in areas of education, housing, employment, criminal justice/police brutality, immigration, and voting rights and redistricting.

MALDEF also engages in extensive public education campaigns, such as that surrounding the

2012 Deferred Action Program allowing undocumented youth, brought by their parents to the United States to obtain work visas and avoid deportation based on good behavior. Chartered in 1967, MALDEF was created the following year in San Antonio, Texas, with a \$2.2 million grant from the Ford Foundation. Pete Tijerina served as the first executive director of the organization, and former LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) state director Mario Obledo served as its first general counsel. Though initially not all attorneys for MALDEF were Mexican American, over time it has recruited and produced a number of notable Chicana/o attorneys.

A History of Civil Rights Organizations

MALDEF descended from a long history of civil rights organizations in Texas such as LULAC (1929), the American G.I. Forum (1948), the Mexican American Youth Organization (1967), and La Raza Unida Party (1970). Mexicans in the area had legally challenged U.S. law since Texas's independence in 1836 and annexation to the United States nine years later, in 1845.

In 1954, prior to his work cofounding MALDEF, attorney James De Anda worked with Gus Garcia on the case *Hernández v. Texas*. In 1950, Pete Hernández was found guilty of murder by an all-white jury, not one of his peers. The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals rejected Hernández's challenge, which ultimately went before the U.S. Supreme Court. The court, under Chief Justice Earl Warren, found that Hernández's rights were violated through the systematic exclusion of jurors of his class and that mere chance could not have produced this outcome.

His case was remanded to the state to be retried by a jury selected without regard to race or class under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. De Anda also worked on several prominent educational discrimination cases in Texas prior to the creation of MALDEF. In 1970, De Anda established Texas Rural Legal Aid after MALDEF. In 1979, he was appointed to the U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas, by President Jimmy Carter. This made him only the second Mexican American appointed to the federal bench.

In addition to De Anda, MALDEF trained and hired many prominent attorneys over the years and

changed the face of jurisprudence in the United States. Many women attorneys came through the ranks of MALDEF, including Vilma Martinez, Norma Cantu, Antonia Hernandez, Nina Perales, and Guadalupe T. Luna.

In 1974, MALDEF established a Chicana Rights Project to challenge gender discrimination, with offices in both San Antonio, Texas, and San Francisco, California; this project lasted for about a decade before losing its grant funding. Throughout the 1980s, MALDEF trained over 1,000 people in its leadership program, over 50 percent of whom were appointed to local, state, and national boards, significantly impacting public policy and Latinas/os.

U.S. Supreme Court Cases

MALDEF has participated in and won a number of important U.S. Supreme Court cases, including *White v. Regester* (1973), which challenged the “at large” voting system used in Texas; *Edgewood Independent School District v. Kirby* (1989), which challenged Texas’s school funding based on local property taxes; and *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), which challenged Texas’s exclusion of undocumented youths’ rights to a public education in the country.

Though it did not prevail in *LULAC et al. v. Richards et al.* (1987), charging the state with unequal funding of campuses in the University of Texas system such that the predominantly white campus in Austin received more money than all the other campuses combined, the embarrassment of another racial discrimination charge in education by MALDEF provoked some remediation. The Texas state legislature adopted a number of measures to increase funding for rural campuses of predominantly Mexican and black students, such as Brownsville and San Antonio, but the funding preference for the Austin campus remains.

In 2005, MALDEF once again teamed with LULAC to challenge Texas voting law in *GI Forum v. Perry*. MALDEF successfully challenged redistricting as a violation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which it helped renew and extend in 1975 to include Spanish-surnamed voters in the Southwest. *GI Forum v. Perry* resulted in the 23rd Congressional District being redrawn, polls opening early as the result of another MALDEF case, and Mexican Americans having an opportunity to vote for a fairly eligible candidate.

Outside Texas, MALDEF worked with other organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), to file suits against Los Angeles County and the Los Angeles Unified School District in the 1980s and 1990s in regard to voter redistricting and unequal school funding, much as it had in Texas. MALDEF has also filed a number of amicus briefs with district and state supreme courts, such as the amicus brief filed in 2012 in *In re Garcia on Admission* to the California State Bar, in support of petitioner Sergio C. Garcia, an undocumented attorney who had waited 17 years for a work visa because the state bar has no requirement of citizenship for admission to be licensed and practice before the state bar.

MALDEF inspired the creation of a Mexican American Bar Association in Texas in 1972, followed more recently by the 2010 creation of a Dream Bar Association, a national bar association for undocumented attorneys and law students.

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See Also: Constitutional Amendments; *Hernández v. Texas* (1954); Mexican Americans; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund; Southern Poverty Law Center; Supreme Court, U.S.

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Mexican American Political Association

The Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) was established on March 29, 1960, in Fresno, California, by Mexican American political activists dedicated to the election to U.S. public office of political candidates committed to the concerns and needs of Mexican Americans in the United States. It was spearheaded by John Acevedo, a board member of the California Youth Authority and close supporter of the politically prominent Edward Roybal.

Acevedo garnered Roybal's support, as well as that of Julio Castelan, Fred Castro, Herman Gallegos, Ignacio Lopez, Hortencia Solis, and Mary Soto (all influential Mexican American political activists in their own right) to launch this association out of their shared frustration with the U.S. electoral process. Unwilling to continue compromising the interests of Mexican American voters to gain minimal notice from the Democratic Party, these women and men agreed to found and organize this association to more effectively—and exclusively—support political candidates who advanced the interests of Mexican Americans.

Seasoned in their political activism, leaders of MAPA recruited Mexican American women and men who were eligible to vote in U.S. elections to take public stands in support of improving the education, health care, housing, and public safety of Mexican Americans, and to undertake voter registration drives, educational programming designed to raise political awareness, and increased activity in labor unions, church groups, and other organizations that would attract already politically active Mexican Americans into its ranks. It did not pursue acting as a third political party or a militancy that would draw negative public attention to its membership or the association. Rather, MAPA became most determined to recruit Mexican American voters to actively pursue the election of political candidates who had expressed serving them as a top priority.

In 1960, it was MAPA's enthusiastic investment in the election of rigorously vetted Mexican American political candidates that paved the way for the creation of the Political Association



Officers of the Mexican American Political Association-Greater Bay Area are sworn in. The group was organized by 150 volunteer delegates in Fresno, California, in 1960. MAPA works toward political empowerment, self-determination, and sustainability of the Latino community's future.

of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASSO). This offshoot organization was formed to concentrate its membership's energy on the election of John F. Kennedy as president. Weary of being reduced to an insignificant association in what was shaping up to be a dynamic election, MAPA opted to assert its currency and importance by supporting Kennedy and several other political candidates in local and national elections simultaneously.

Although, MAPA was heartened by its contributions to the successful election of Kennedy, this association became dissatisfied and fragile after realizing that this candidate's election to the presidency had not resulted in the appointment of Mexican Americans to influential political offices or the marked improvement of the livelihood of Mexican Americans nationwide. It refused to take comfort in Kennedy's appointment of University of Texas professor George I. Sánchez to the National Advisory Council for the Peace Corps and the committee on New Frontier Policy in the Americas, and instead tirelessly pursued achieving cityhood for East Los Angeles. Nonetheless, its inability to counter public anxiety concerning the higher taxes that came with cityhood derailed the efforts to reshape the political inner

workings of this predominantly Mexican American neighborhood.

Throughout the 1960s, MAPA's failed attempt to elect Richard Tafoya to replace Roybal upon his retirement from Congress—Roybal served 30 years, the first Mexican American elected to the U.S. Congress from the state of California since 1879—as well as its election of Eduardo Quevedo (1964) led to a plight in its popularity among Mexican Americans. Quevedo and the majority of MAPA's membership's refusal to resist the U.S. Department of Labor's undermining of the labor activism of César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and the United Farm Workers of America (UFWA) in support of U.S. farmworkers, coupled with their silence concerning the devastating implications and consequences of the Watts riots of 1965, damaged its public reputation and political currency among Mexican American political activists and voters.

It was not until the early 1980s that MAPA began to regain political momentum by expanding its recruitment efforts to include Mexican Americans and Spanish-speaking populations dedicated to actively participating in the electoral process. By reaffirming its commitment to registering voters and expanding its efforts to protect the rights of U.S. citizens and other populations through its opposition of Proposition 187 (1994), it resurfaced as a viable political association among Mexican American women and men invested in a more inclusive approach to electoral politics. Beyond electing political candidates responsive to the concerns and needs of Mexican Americans, MAPA made it a priority to serve as a source of education for new voters and those interested in the U.S. electoral process.

In its current configuration, MAPA is composed of members who work for election of political candidates who are supportive of Chicano, Latino, Mexican, and other populations of Meso-Native American heritage in the United States. It boasts an enduring investment in grassroots political action toward achieving political empowerment and the sustainability of healthy Latino communities to welcome members into its association.

Proclaiming itself a nonpartisan organization for the social, economic, and civic engagement of the widest Spanish-speaking population possible,

MAPA remains most energetic in encouraging voter activity in Democratic and Republican central committees, labor unions, and other groups invested in political action on behalf of this population, and in serving as a launching pad for talented members interested in pursuing elective or appointive public office. It is this diversity of goals that has invaluable influenced its longevity and legacy in the United States.

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See Also: Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Mexican American Youth Organization; Mexican Americans.

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Mexican American Youth Organization

The Mexican American Youth Organization was founded in 1967 in San Antonio, Texas, as part of a broader Chicana/o student civil rights movement that sparked walkouts, protests, and conferences that began fundamental changes to educational institutions across the southwestern United States.

Parallel to other Chicano movement organizations such as MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) and the Brown Berets, MAYO focused on issues of segregation, discrimination, and denial of equality of access and opportunity for Mexican American youth. MAYO also served as an important organizing

stepping-stone for La Raza Unida Party (RUP) in Texas in 1970.

MAYO stressed Chicano cultural nationalism and preferred direct political confrontation and mass demonstrations to accomplish its goals. It also spread to high schools and colleges throughout Texas for the next three years, indicating the power of its message surrounding educational issues that would later become incorporated into the Plan de Santa Barbara and the founding of MEChA in 1969 in California. The driving issues for MAYO included unequal discipline for Mexican American students; lack of Mexican American teachers and staff; unequal opportunities for advancement through tracking and discrimination; lack of Mexican American experiences in the curriculum; and more basic daily issues, such as the inability to speak Spanish in school or find Mexican American food in the cafeteria, despite being the majority population in many districts in Texas because of residential and educational segregation.

The founders of MAYO—Jose Angel Gutierrez, Mario Compean, Willie Velasquez, Ignacio Perez, and Juan Patlan, later joined by Ernesto Chavez—engaged in self-education through the reading of primary documents of other civil rights organizations and civil rights leaders, including not only the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants) in New Mexico but also the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

They examined the works of leading black nationalists of the era such as Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, and Malcolm X. After reading such works, several members of MAYO went to meet in person with Reies Lopez Tijerina, founder of the Alianza, as well as Stokely Carmichael and colleagues of Martin Luther King, Jr. As with other Chicano civil rights organizations, such as the Community Service Organization (CSO) and the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), MAYO drew on the strategies of Saul Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), which focused on mobilizing the poor and working classes who had previously been seen as powerless and unable to organize.

Several MAYO leaders, including Gutierrez and Compean, went on to found and lead a third Chicana/o political party that challenged

the traditional hegemony of the Democratic and Republican parties: La Raza Unida Party (RUP). The link between MAYO and RUP was natural. MAYO, in an effort to achieve its educational objectives, registered voters and mounted traditional electoral challenges to all-white school boards, in addition to the more directly confrontational school walkouts.

Incorporation Into La Raza Unida

Unlike other youth organizations, like MEChA and the Brown Berets, which waxed and waned over the next four decades, MAYO became incorporated into La Raza Unida as a youth auxiliary, and when La Raza Unida declined in influence and success by the end of the 1970s, MAYO did as well. However, many of the leaders of MAYO led other successful civil rights, labor, and educational organizations and movements.

Velasquez founded the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP) in 1974, which continues until the present as the largest and oldest non-partisan Latino voter organization in the country. Velasquez's commitment to the fundamentals of the democratic process have been less overtly nationalistic than that of either MAYO or RUP, but a significant legacy of his early work lies in these organizations. After MAYO and La Raza Unida, Jose Angel Gutierrez continued his education, receiving both a Ph.D. and a J.D., teaching and organizing in both Oregon and Texas.

His position as a tenured professor at the University of Texas at Arlington and founder of its Center for Mexican American Studies put him in contact with thousands of students who have been shaped by his classes, advising, and scholarship, such as his books *The Making of a Chicano Militant* (1998) and *A Chicano Manual on How to Handle Gringos* (2003). Mario Compean ran for political office several times for La Raza Unida Party and, like Gutierrez, went on to organizing in labor and eventually to teaching in Wisconsin, Oregon, and Washington.

MAYO demonstrated the importance of education and school sites as foci for civil rights organizing. It demonstrated the power of minors in political processes in which they could not officially vote, but in which they had a strong stake. The lessons of MAYO carried forward not only in

the subsequent work of its leaders and members but also as models for new generations of student walkouts over immigrant rights, the DREAM Act, and a César Chávez holiday.

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See Also: Chicano Movement; Ethnic Studies; Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán; Raza Unida, Partido de la; School Desegregation.

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while others prefer more specific regional identities as Hispano/a, Chicano/a, or Tejano/a. Such discrepancies in self-identification result from the initial incorporation of Mexicans into American society in the middle of the 19th century, followed by successive waves of migration from Mexico to different locales within the United States ever since, along with differences in social experiences and political ideologies that have produced an array of ethnic-cultural identities.

Migration, Social History, and Key Events

The United States annexed much of the present-day southwest in 1848, following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which officially ended the Mexican-American War. These lands composed more than half of Mexico's territory, including the present-day states of New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah; parts of Wyoming and Colorado; and the Rio Grande boundary of Texas. Mexican nationals living in this region at the time of annexation thus became the first Mexican Americans.

Immigration from Mexico remained low over the next 50 years but began to increase sharply in the early decades of the 20th century as the result of a combination of factors, including the social and political upheaval stemming from the Mexican Revolution (1910–20); the construction of new rail lines connecting the two nations; the opportunity for Mexicans to earn higher wages north of the border; an ever-growing demand for migrant Mexican workers in the burgeoning southwest's mining, agricultural, and railroad industries; and an acute need for additional workers to alleviate labor shortages in the aftermath of the United States' entry into World War I in 1917.

Immigration from Mexico remained virtually unrestricted until the early 1930s. Even the stringent Immigration Act of 1924, which severely limited the influx of immigrants from Asia and southern and eastern Europe by implementing national origins quotas on immigrant-sending societies, did not establish a quota for Mexican immigrants. Conditions changed dramatically during the Great Depression, however, when Mexican migrants and Mexican Americans alike found themselves as undesired competitors with whites/Anglos for scarce jobs and public relief programs. An estimated 300,000 to 500,000

Mexican Americans

Mexican Americans are the largest Latino ancestral population and one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups in the United States. The 2010 Census counted approximately 32 million Americans of Mexican heritage, representing 63 percent of the nation's total Latino population. The size of the Mexican American population increased 54 percent from the 2000 Census. Although Mexican Americans reside in all 50 states, the largest and most historically significant communities are found in the southwest. Over the past two decades, the Mexican population of the south, particularly Georgia and the Carolinas, has increased significantly as a result of new immigration into the region.

The individuals who constitute the Mexican-origin population of the United States do not share a uniform consensus on how they refer to themselves, with some choosing to self-identify as Mexican American and others as Hispanic and/or Latino/a. Many identify simply as American,

ethnic Mexicans (including undocumented aliens, legal immigrants, and U.S. citizens) were repatriated to Mexico during the 1930s.

However, the United States once again began actively recruiting migrant Mexican workers under the Bracero program, a guest worker program enacted in 1941 to meet wartime production demands in agriculture and manufacturing. Most *braceros* found employment in the southwestern border states. Historians note that the Bracero program ultimately gave rise to the high rate of illegal immigration from Mexico in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, as employers often found it more profitable to hire unauthorized migrants, for whom they did not feel compelled to pay minimum wages or ensure standard labor practices, than legal guest workers. By the official termination of the Bracero program in 1964, the social and economic dynamics of illegal immigration had been well established.

The decades following World War II witnessed greater social activism on the part of Mexican Americans who confronted anti-Mexican prejudice, discrimination, and class inequalities in American society. Many within the younger generation began to self-identify as Chicanos, once an ethnic slur, and staged public protests in opposition to the Vietnam War, police mistreatment, anti-Mexican bigotry, and substandard public schools in Mexican American neighborhoods.

One of the most prominent Chicano protests occurred in March 1968, when students at five East Los Angeles high schools staged a series of walkouts to demand various school reforms and to protest anti-Mexican bias within the Los Angeles Unified School District. César Chávez and Dolores Huerta founded the United Farm Workers of America labor union in the 1960s to organize agricultural workers and improve their labor conditions. Chávez organized a highly effective nationwide boycott of grapes between 1966 and 1970 that earned the support of Democratic presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy, as well as much of the American public, and ultimately resulted in a union contract between California grape growers and their workers.

Culture, Customs, and Celebrations

Mexican Americans do not share an identical cultural framework, because of the wide range

of differences pertaining to when, where, and how the ancestors of today's Mexican Americans entered the United States, combined with the socializing influences of one's peer groups, generation, social class, education level, and geographic locale. Although Mexicans currently represent the largest nationality of both legal immigrants and undocumented aliens to the United States, millions of other Mexican Americans are the children, grandchildren, and/or great-grandchildren of immigrants from Mexico who have little to no Spanish linguistic ability or personal connection to, or identification with, Mexico.

Among the Mexican-origin population, one finds significant numbers of both monolingual English speakers and monolingual Spanish speakers, along with large numbers of individuals who demonstrate varying degrees of bilingual proficiency. Anthropologist James Diego Vigil refers to this continuum of Mexican American cultural and linguistic orientation, which often can be seen within a single Mexican American household, as *chicanozaje*.

Nevertheless, certain traditional Mexican customs continue to be practiced in the United States and have become well known to Americans of other backgrounds. One set relates to Cinco de Mayo (May 5), which commemorates a Mexican military victory over France during the Battle of Puebla in 1862. Cinco de Mayo is actually a more significant holiday in the United States than in Mexico. In the United States, the day serves as a symbolic celebration of Mexican American pride and heritage in a similar vein as St. Patrick's Day to Irish Americans.

Another key holiday is Día de los Muertos, celebrated November 1 and 2; individuals pay tribute to their deceased loved ones. Known for its elaborate constructed altars to the departed and its colorful displays of *calaveras* (skulls) and face paintings, Día de los Muertos is a very popular event in Los Angeles, San Antonio, Phoenix, and other cities with large Mexican American communities.

Mexican Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with public offerings of music, dancing, and food in cities such as Los Angeles and San Antonio. Professional boxing matches featuring Mexican or Mexican American boxers are often held the weekends of Cinco de Mayo and

Mexican Independence Day, as Mexican Americans compose a key segment of boxing's loyal fan base in the United States.

Notable Mexican Americans

As the Mexican American population has grown rapidly over the past few decades, numerous Americans of Mexican heritage have emerged as key political figures, popular entertainers, and high-profile athletes. Antonio Villaraigosa was elected mayor of Los Angeles in 2005, becoming the city's first Latino mayor in more than a century. Bill Richardson served as secretary of energy and U.S. ambassador to the United Nations during the Bill Clinton administration before serving two terms as governor of New Mexico. Hilda Solis, of Mexican and Nicaraguan parentage, served six years in the U.S. House of Representatives prior to being named secretary of labor under President Barack Obama. Prominent Republican officeholders of Mexican heritage include Governors Brian Sandoval of Nevada and Susana Martinez of New Mexico.

Numerous Mexican American celebrities have made an impact on pop culture. One of the earliest was Ritchie Valens, a pioneer of 1950s rock and roll whose life and legacy are chronicled in the movie *La Bamba*. Mexican immigrant Carlos Santana, a guitarist and songwriter, founded the legendary rock band Santana, whose music was part of the soundtrack of the counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Singer Linda Ronstadt made her first recordings in the mid-1960s and went on to enjoy a long and successful career, in which she performed Mexican folk songs as well as music from numerous other genres. Other more recent Mexican American recording artists include Selena Quintanilla, Selena Gomez, Demi Lovato, and the band Los Lobos. George López, Richard "Cheech" Marin, and Paul Rodriguez remain popular comedians, and actors Anthony Quinn and Edward James Olmos have attained lengthy, critically acclaimed careers on the silver screen. Eva Longoria and Salma Hayek are the two most popular Mexican American actresses, known for both their acting talent and their social activism.



Onlookers flank the streets and wave Mexican flags during the Mexican Independence Day parade in 2010 in Chicago. Mexican independence from Spain is celebrated beginning on September 15, the eve of Independence Day, and continues on the following day. The holiday is a major celebration day in Mexico and among Mexican Americans, with traditions similar to the U.S. holiday of July 4.

Mexican Americans have also had a considerable impact on collegiate and professional sports in the United States. Rookie pitcher Fernando Valenzuela led the Los Angeles Dodgers to victory over the New York Yankees in the 1981 World Series, winning the admiration of millions of his coethnics that the sports media dubbed “Fernandomania.” Oscar De La Hoya, a native of East Los Angeles, won the gold medal in boxing at the 1992 Summer Olympics and captured world titles in six weight divisions as a professional boxer. In the National Football League, quarterback Jim Plunkett led the Oakland/Los Angeles Raiders to championship glory in Super Bowls XV and XVIII. Plunkett, who also won the Heisman Trophy as a senior at Stanford University in 1970, was named Most Valuable Player (MVP) of Super Bowl XV. Offensive tackle Anthony Muñoz was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1998 after an illustrious career with the Cincinnati Bengals. Quarterback Mark Sanchez captured MVP honors for leading the University of Southern California to victory over Penn State in the 2009 Rose Bowl and went on to play for the New York Jets.

Contemporary Issues

The Mexican American population is growing rapidly as a result of immigration, a higher birthrate than the national average, and a younger median age than the national average. According to the 2010 Census, Mexican Americans compose 10 percent of the total U.S. population and are now the third-largest ancestral heritage in the nation, behind Germans and Irish. Mexican Americans will surpass Irish Americans in population within a few years.

This demographic change has evoked fears and hostilities among some other Americans over the presumed negative impacts that the growth of this ethnic population will have on the United States. The proliferation of grassroots organizations and talk radio hosts advocating increased immigration controls has accelerated over the past decade, and some of these organizations and individuals have incorporated explicitly anti-Mexican rhetoric as part of their message.

During the swine flu scare of 2009, for example, one Boston talk radio host blamed Mexican immigrants for bringing the flu into the United States and declared Mexicans to be “the world’s

lowest primitives.” Such rhetoric has also translated into anti-Mexican violence, as illustrated by the fatal beating of an undocumented Mexican by four white teenagers in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, in August 2008.

Although anti-Mexican nativism persists, scholars point out that Mexican Americans demonstrate acculturation patterns not unlike those of other ethnic groups. A 2006 study revealed that only one-third of second-generation Mexican Americans (that is, the U.S.-born children of immigrants) maintained fluency in Spanish, indicating a rapid generational transition toward English. Mexican Americans, as well as Latinos as a whole, also intermarry at a significantly higher rate than the national average, with 32 percent of second-generation Latinos and 57 percent of third-generation Latinos marrying non-Latino spouses.

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See Also: Amnesty; Caló; César Chávez Day; Chicanos; Cinco de Mayo; Día de los Muertos; Hispanic Americans; Immigrants, Undocumented; *La Bamba*; Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Tejanos.

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Mexican Revolution

The Mexican Revolution was the first major revolution of the 20th century, beginning in 1910. The endpoint of the revolution is a matter of debate, with fighting having continued through the 1920s, but the adoption of the 1917 Mexican Constitution and the U.S. recognition of an interim Mexican president mark a watershed moment. The revolution had a significant impact on the United States and on Mexican Americans. It led to the first major wave of Mexican migration to the United States, with some of their descendants influential in the 1960s Chicano movement. The 1994 Zapatista uprising in response to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was itself an echo of the revolution, motivated by NAFTA's abrogation of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution.

Dissatisfaction with the 34-year rule of President Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911), referred to as the *Porfiriato*, was the immediate cause of the Mexican Revolution. All segments of Mexican society rebelled against one aspect or another of the Porfiriato: rural *campesinos* (agricultural workers), urban workers, miners, wealthy *hacendados* (large landholders), residents in the north, U.S. exiles, and land reformers in the south. Díaz's motto was *Pan o Palo* ("bread or the club"), emphasizing the philosophy that one could accept what one was given or accept the consequences.

Even the wealthier classes were unhappy by 1910 because they were not benefiting from the Porfirian largesse. A total of 95 percent of the land, including subsoil rights, was owned by less than 5 percent of the population, the majority of them foreigners.

The revolution began in 1910 with a popular uprising against Díaz. Many factions emerged, some supporting Díaz and others supporting Francisco Madero or other leaders. Millions died during the war and subsequent insurgency. In the rebuilding of the nation during the 1920s, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutionalized Revolutionary Party, or PRI) was established, controlling Mexico's presidency until the 2000 election of Vicente Fox from a rival party.

Roughly 10 percent of Mexico's population, particularly those in the northern states, fled to the United States, many vowing to return upon a firm peace. The majority of those migrants did

not return, however, because of the duration of the conflict. They settled down permanently in the United States, usually in communities with an established Hispanic presence. Almost a million legal migrants, and untold undocumented others, came between 1910 and 1920, four years before the establishment of a border patrol between the nations. This was the first time that Mexicans migrated en masse to the United States, which caused concern for immigration detractors who had already limited migration from China, Japan, and various European countries.

The discovery in 1915 of the Plan de San Diego, an attempt by the Venustiano Carranza government to encourage a Mexican American insurgency in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, led to the death of 100 Mexican Americans by vigilante posses. It also deepened American concerns about the long-term loyalty and "Americanness" of Mexican Americans, concerns that were further inflamed by the interception of the Zimmermann telegram in 1917. The telegram was a communication from Germany to Mexico, promising the return of formerly Mexican territories in the American southwest in return for Mexico's support in World War I. These sentiments fed into the immigration legislation of the 1920s and the repatriation program of the 1930s.

Revolution in the United States

Pancho Villa's 1916 raid on Columbus, New Mexico, was the best-known case of the Mexican Revolution crossing the border into the United States. Villa was a populist leader of the rural poor in northern Mexico who sought American support during the revolution. When the United States instead recognized his rival, Venustiano Carranza, as de facto president of Mexico in 1915, Villa stopped seeking an American alliance. On March 9, 1916, Villa and approximately 500 troops entered Columbus, New Mexico, before dawn, taking supplies and burning buildings. President Carranza allowed U.S. troops under Major General John J. Pershing into Mexico to hunt for Villa. Pershing's men tracked Villa until early 1917, when they returned to the United States without him; he assassinated in Parral, Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1923.

A possible cause for the Columbus raid was President Woodrow Wilson allowing armed

Mexican troops to move through Texas and New Mexico on their way to a battle against Villa in November 1915. The Carranzistas beat Villia's forces because of this maneuver through the United States. In Texas, the revolution was so close to the United States that journalists, filmmakers, and photographers joined local residents on top of local buildings and hotels in El Paso and watched the battles for sport. Also watching and making music about these events were local *corridistas*, balladeers who sang about important battles and leaders.

Throughout the revolution, Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the United States followed the battles daily, worried about their hometowns and family still in the country. The Flores Magon brothers, Ricardo, Enrique, and Jesus, were exiled to the United States from Mexico in 1904 for their radical, anarchist writings and agitation.

Ricardo Flores Magon, an attorney and one of many intellectuals active in the revolution, worked with the International Workers of the World (IWW) to organize workers, and with Emma Goldman and other international anarchists to advance El Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), the Mexican Liberal Party, to oppose another re-election of Porfirio Diaz, the same year as the Cananea strike (1906). He wrote the newspaper *Regeneracion* ("Regeneration") to spread his opposition to Diaz. Authorities arrested Ricardo Flores Magon several times in the United States for violation of its neutrality laws. He was arrested in 1918 in the Palmer Raids, along with other known radicals, and was sentenced to 20 years in federal prison in Leavenworth, Kansas, where he died four years later under contested circumstances. The PLM fell apart after Ricardo Flores Magon's death.

Enrique Flores Magon was a journalist and politician who supported the work of the PLM and his brother Ricardo. They were separated often, and Enrique changed names and addresses to continue his work. He supported *Regeneracion* by organizing distribution networks for the paper but eventually split from the PLM in 1917. He returned to Mexico in 1923 after his brother's death in prison. Brother Jesus, the middle and most moderate of the three brothers, was an attorney, journalist, and politician. Jesus also supported the writing of *Regeneracion*, but he did not share his brothers' increasingly anarchist leanings.

After fleeing to the United States with his brothers, Jesus returned after the fall of Diaz and was appointed to the Mexican cabinet by Francisco I. Madero, serving as both undersecretary of justice and secretary of development. He fled and returned to Mexico on several occasions over the course of the revolution, with shifts in leadership.

La Raza Cosmica and Rebuilding

Author and Minister of Education (1921–24) Jose Vasconcelos was active both before and after the revolution. Vasconcelos, like the Flores Magon brothers, advocated against the re-election of Porfirio Diaz in the early 1900s. He actively supported Francisco I. Madero. As minister of education after the revolution, he reformed rural schools and increased literacy among Indians. He supported libraries, the affordable publication and distribution of literature, and public arts. In particular, he supported the work of *Los Tres Grandes*, the three most prominent Mexican muralists of the day: Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siquieros. Vasconcelos furthered the conversation about a post-revolutionary national identity in a variety of venues and format.

Chicana/o muralists, involved in creating an American artistic renaissance as part of the Chicano civil rights movement, drew extensively on the mural work of Rivera, Siquieros, and Orozco, patterning narratives and images on the Mexican masters. This legacy of influence can still be seen in Mexican American communities throughout the United States, in addition to the works *Los Tres Grandes* did in California, Connecticut, New York, and Michigan.

Vasconcelos also authored the well-known and controversial text *La Raza Cosmica* ("The Cosmic Race") in 1925. In it, he argued that Mexico was a mixed-race, or *mestizo* nation, and this was superior to the Anglo-Saxonism of the United States, over which it would eventually triumph. Mexican Americans, heirs to many backgrounds, frequently use Vasconcelos's work, such as in the creation of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (1969), giving rise to Chicana/o studies and MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán).

Zapatismo 1994

One branch of the Mexican Revolution was resurrected at the end of the 20th century. One of the

most important features of the 1917 Constitution that brings some stability to Mexico is Article 27, which prevented the foreign ownership of land, a fundamental concern emerging from the Porfiriato. The land-grant struggle emerged during the revolution in Morelos under Emiliano Zapata, one of the most prominent figures of the civil war. Although Article 27 was never implemented as fully over the next seven decades as opponents of the PRI would have liked, the altering of it by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari in 1994 to bring Mexico's property laws into alignment with the United States and Canada under NAFTA sparked armed revolution. Salinas de Gortari amended Article 27 to allow for the privatization of communal landholdings, the same policy adopted by Porfirio Diaz over a century earlier.

The result was the same as it was a century earlier: armed uprising. On January 1, 1994, the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), the National Zapatista Liberation Army, declared a defensive war on the Mexican government through its symbolic leader Subcomandante Marcos. Adopting Emiliano Zapata's rhetoric and history of agrarian land reform, the Zapatistas mounted an initial physical resistance to the Mexican Army but were unable to persist because of their military strength. Since 1994, Zapatistas have instead fought land seizures and the poverty created in the region of Chiapas through a sophisticated media and Internet campaign designed to garner international public support for their movement among those opposed to globalization and neoliberal economic policies.

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See Also: Corrido; Mexican Americans; Mexican-American War; Raza Cómica, La.

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Mexican-American War

The Mexican-American War (1846–48) and the subsequent Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo not only shaped the geography and demographics of the United States in important ways but also left a permanent imprint on Mexico-U.S. relations. Foreshadowed by Mexico's loss of Texas in 1836, the war was part of a larger trend of American expansionism justified by the doctrine of manifest destiny. Although often overshadowed by the Civil War, the Mexican-American War had a similarly significant impact and provided early military experience to future Civil War leaders.

Manifest Destiny

Manifest destiny rationalized U.S. expansion westward that began in the 1820s. It was a religious and racial ideology that expressed the supremacy of particular forms of Christianity and democratic capitalism as manifestations of God's divine providence. Although some writers and politicians supported the notion that the United States was destined to expand across the continent, there were others in the United States, namely northern abolitionists, who expressed their reservations about entering into a war with Mexico and whether the United States was acting righteously in relation to a newly formed neighbor, or seeking to expand the number of slave states in the union. Others questioned the possible outcomes of including so many new people into the nation so quickly who were nonwhite and non-Christian.

This was one of the key dilemmas of manifest destiny: The doctrine called for American expansion into the west, and some even envisioned a United States that encompassed the whole of the continent; however, it was vague about the fate of the non-Americans already living in those lands. This ambivalence, with some policies favoring



An 1851 painting by Carl Nebel shows the American occupation of Mexico City during the final days of the Mexican-American War. Combat operations lasted a year and a half, with American forces quickly occupying New Mexico and California. Several garrisons on the Pacific Coast further south in Baja, California, were taken while another army captured Mexico City, and the war ended in U.S. victory.

assimilation and others annihilation, was characteristic of the 19th century.

The Battle for Texas Independence at the Alamo, Goliad, and San Jacinto reflected a fundamental dispute over land ownership, manifest destiny, and immigrant rights in Mexico between its independence from Spain in 1821 and the loss of the territory in 1836. The Mexican-American War has its roots in Texas. Encouraging Anglo-Americans to settle in the area starting in 1822, the Mexican government required settlers to support Mexico and Catholicism in exchange for 5,000-acre grants of land. Anglo-American settlers bristled against Mexican laws and culture from the beginning, showing outright resistance to Mexico's abolition of slavery in 1829. The call to arms given by settler Stephen Austin in 1835 ultimately ended in Mexico's loss of Texas in April 1836.

Texas remained an independent republic, centered in the heart of the Mexican nation, until 1845, at which point it was annexed by the United States through a joint resolution of Congress; it was eventually admitted as the 28th state of the union. In 1846, U.S. and Mexican troops fought on a strip of disputed land between the two nations located between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. President James K. Polk declared war in

May 1846, asserting that it was the only recourse. Often forgotten were the initial conditions upon which Americans agreed to settle in the territory.

The Bear Flag revolt occurred in June 1846, when Anglo-American settlers in the San Francisco Bay area arrested Mexican General Mariano Vallejo and raised a flag with a bear on it, declaring an independent republic. Many Anglo-American settlers in California had entered without permission and followed the lead of John C. Frémont, a U.S. Army topographical engineer who encouraged the formation of an independent republic in California. Although war had been declared upon Mexico in May 1846, word of it did not reach California until after the Bear Flag revolt began. Upon entering the bay in July 1846, the U.S. Navy quickly absorbed the bear flaggers and replaced their flag with that of the United States. Questions remain about whether bear flaggers acted with support from the U.S. government through Frémont, or if they acted independently and were joined by the United States afterward.

The American press provided the public with a steady stream of battlefront accounts as American forces took California (beginning with northern California) and New Mexico, as General Zachary Taylor invaded northern Mexico, and as

General Winfield Scott led the Mexico City campaign, resulting in the capture of the city. Popular support for and interest in the war was high, while desertion was increasingly a problem for the Mexican forces.

San Patricio Battalion

A sizable portion of U.S. troops during the war were Irish and German immigrants of Catholic faith. The Mexican government and citizens made clear that the destruction of Catholicism was a fundamental cause and possible outcome of the war. In November 1846, General Antonio López de Santa Anna organized a group of American deserters and Mexican soldiers into the San Patricio Battalion (St. Patrick's Brigade). The battalion fought major battles against the United States at Buena Vista and Churubusco, where they were defeated and captured. A total of 72 U.S. soldiers of the San Patricio Battalion faced courts martial, and 70 were found guilty.

The Child Heroes of Chapultepec Castle (Los Niños Heroes) are fondly mythologized in Mexican American history as defending the cause of Mexican sovereignty while mere military cadets. Approximately 100 cadets fought General Winfield Scott and the U.S. Army that marched westward from Veracruz in September 1847, with many taken as prisoners of war upon losing the battle. At least six young cadets wrapped themselves in the Mexican flag and jumped from a castle wall to prevent being captured.

On the 100th anniversary of Chapultepec, Harry S. Truman became the first U.S. president to visit Mexico City. He laid a wreath at the Chapultepec monument honoring the bravery of the young men, and he reflected on the broader U.S.-Mexico relations that had resulted from the war and the way in which it was fought. Truman's symbolic gesture was a small healing moment for Mexicans on both sides of the border.

Signed in February 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo did little to protect the rights of Mexicans in the newly ceded territory north of the Rio Grande. Subsequent revisions under the Protocol of Queretaro and Gadsden Purchase Treaty added further injury to the wounded Mexican nation at the end of the war.

The Mexican-American War is remembered and interpreted differently in the United States

and Mexico. Mexican American scholars who draw their ancestry from one country but have resided for generations in the other have tended to sympathize with the Mexican nation and peoples, reflecting extensively on U.S. imperialism, manifest destiny, and the mistreatment of Mexicans in the United States after the treaty. At times, this puts them at odds with hegemonic American scholars who view the same sets of events and present a more favored dominant narrative in U.S. textbooks and curriculum.

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See Also: Alamo, Battle of the; Bear Flag Revolt; Gadsden Purchase; Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); San Pasqual, Battle of.

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Microaggressions/ Microinequities

Because of the pressure of social justice movements, legislation such as the Civil Rights Act in 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments Act in 1972, and the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990 have banned discrimination in the workplace, in educational settings, and in other parts of society. Shifting demographics of society, the United States becoming more racially diverse, and various legislative acts have led to changing social norms. These changes posit that overt discrimination against women and minorities is less socially acceptable than in the past. Scholars have noted

that although overt discrimination may have decreased, subtle forms of discrimination have actually increased. These elusive events, acts, and comments that are often difficult to explain have been called microaggressions and/or microinequities. Microaggressions and microinequities are interrelated concepts founded in the idea that individuals perpetuate various forms of discrimination like racism and sexism through subtle, sometimes unintentional acts.

Many have attributed the origin of microaggressions to the work of Dr. Chester Pierce, who investigated racism in television commercials and its impact on audiences. Originally conceived in terms of subtle actions that belittle people of color, recent scholarship has expanded the concept of microaggressions to encompass behaviors or acts that demonstrate biases pertaining to gender, sexual orientation, and disability. Microaggressions have been described by D. W. Sue as “brief everyday exchanges, that send denigrating messages to individuals because of their group membership.” Some examples of microaggressions include a white woman crossing the street or holding her purse tighter as she sees a black man approaching on the sidewalk and a female employee’s idea being dismissed while the same idea offered by a male employee is lauded.

Identifying microaggressions is complicated for both the sender and receiver because of their relatively subtle nature. Further complicating the matter is that although these scenarios often go unnoticed by the perpetrator, they have a lasting impact on the individual on the receiving end of the microaggression. This is especially true if the receiver consistently encounters demeaning comments or situations over his or her lifetime. For example, research indicates that people on the receiving end of microaggressions have faced both psychological and institutional barriers, including lowered self esteem and lack of access to education and health care.

Similarly, the concept of microinequities can be traced back to articles written in the 1970s by Mary Rowe, an economist. She based it on research conducted by Jean-Paul Sartre and Dr. Pierce. Similar to microaggressions, microinequities occur when people are perceived to be different. Scholars have argued that, regardless of whether racist or sexist comments are intentional or not, they have a

cumulative negative effect on women and minorities. Microinequities, in particular, encompass two areas: how demeaning comments or events impact the effectiveness of individuals in the workplace, and how microinequities can perpetuate a glass ceiling for women and people of color. These acts are so subtle that it is very difficult to bring legal action against them.

Rowe has claimed that microinequities in the workplace can have a Pygmalion effect, meaning that employees will live up to the expectations placed on them by managers. Therefore, if managers set low expectations for some employees, but not others, those expectations could have numerous negative effects, including lowering of the self-esteem of the employees, causing feelings of alienation/marginalization, inhibiting creativity and productivity of individuals, and reinforcing stereotypes among management. Whether intentional or not, microinequities end up further marginalizing individuals already perceived to be different.

Since microaggressions and microinequities are primarily subtle and unintended, several problems arise when trying to challenge the behavior of the individual who committed the acts. In light of the subtlety, microaggressions/microinequities are also difficult to identify. In turn, this often makes it hard to prove that a microaggression occurred in the first place. If an individual can actually prove that another person committed a microaggression or microinequity, he or she often is faced with having to defend him/herself for addressing the behavior because many people do not perceive themselves capable of committing racist, sexist, or heteronormative acts. Furthermore, since microaggressions and microinequities are so subtle, they are often viewed as innocuous. As a result, they are easily dismissed as harmless. Studies have illustrated that microaggressions cause individuals to feel frustrated, isolated, and invisible to the majority group. They can have lasting effects that are both psychological and institutional.

The seeming invisibility of microaggressions and microinequities corresponds to the way in which explicit racist or sexist acts have been deemed socially unacceptable. In spite of societal movement toward equality, individuals continue to commit microaggressions or microinequities, oftentimes through unconscious acts that were

not necessarily intended to insult or demean. Yet, microaggressions and microinequities have negative psychological effects for the individuals who receive the messages. These subtle messages also marginalize groups that are perceived to be outside the norm, whether because of their race, gender, sexual orientation, or disability.

Marginalization because of microaggressions and microinequities can also contribute to systemic forms of discrimination, including lack of access to job opportunities, health care, and education. Acts and/or comments that might be perceived as harmless by the perpetrator have lasting psychological and institutional effects. Consequently, it is important to recognize the negative impact of microaggressions and to educate people on their impact so that their occurrence can be minimized or erased altogether.

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See Also: Diversity Training; Hate Crimes; Metrics of Diversity (Business); Racism.

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Middle Passage

Over 33,000 slave ships embarked on the Middle Passage journey to the Americas during the more than 350 years of the transatlantic slave trade. The Middle Passage commonly refers to this intermediate phase of the slave trade in which slaving vessels loaded with shackled, enslaved Africans crossed the Atlantic Ocean and arrived at various trade ports in the New World. The transatlantic

voyage followed the first stage of the slave trade: the forcible removal of Africans, considered less than human, from the African continent, where they were sold, kidnapped, or lured into captivity. The Middle Passage and the slave ships provided the vehicle for the involuntary transportation of 12.5 million captive Africans to the New World from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

The slave trade is often referred to as the triangular trade to illustrate the movement of people, raw materials, and money from Europe to Africa to the Americas and back to Europe. Although the triangular trade simplifies the complexities of the multiple slave routes traveled, it provides a useful visual tool for understanding the large-scale distribution of African captives.

According to this geometric analogy, the Middle Passage forms the base of the "triangle," bridging Africa and the Americas. Once delivered to the Americas, enslaved Africans were traded and sold as chattel for goods and raw materials. Depending on their final destination, these African captives toiled in deplorable conditions, cultivating sugar, coffee, tobacco, cotton, and other crops. Others were forced to work in domestic settings. Many formed maroon communities, or separate, independent settlements like the powerful Palmares *quilombo* (maroon settlement) in 17th-century Brazil. It was in the Americas where Europeans, Africans, and indigenous peoples collided, clashed, fought, and reproduced, forming the foundations of the multicultural Americas.

The Economics of the Middle Passage

The financial stakes were exceedingly high for the transoceanic commerce of enslaved Africans. The Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danish, and French empires engaged in the slave trade in varying degrees, many through the formation of slave-trading companies. Brazil and the United States eventually participated directly in the slave trade.

Driving the lucrative slave trade, the forced transatlantic migration via the Middle Passage journey was the primary cause of the so-called African diaspora, or dispersal of Africans across the globe. Africans were primarily captured from the west coast of Africa (Gold Coast, Upper Guinea, Senegambia, Bight of Benin, Bight of

Biafra, Windward Coast) and exported to outposts in the Americas, including Brazil, the United States, and the Caribbean, while other enslaved Africans originated from other regions (west-central and southeastern Africa) in smaller numbers. To facilitate these ambitious economic ventures, several European powers formed companies such as the Dutch West India Company and the British Royal African Company to manage trafficking activities and eliminate competition at African trading posts.

Measuring the Mortality

Historians estimate that over 12.5 million enslaved Africans embarked, but only 10.7 million reached the shores of the New World. Approximately 2 million Africans perished during the Middle Passage journey, which averaged 60.2 days at sea. Scholars attribute these deaths at sea to a number of factors, including starvation, the outbreak and spread of infectious diseases (e.g., scurvy, smallpox, dysentery) on the slave ships resulting from the horrendous packing and stacking of enslaved Africans, and the terrible or nonexistent hygiene. Suicide by drowning by jumping overboard or by refusing to eat—considered the main form of African resistance aboard the slave ships—was another contributing factor.

For the African captives who managed to survive their enslavement on African shores and the waiting period before embarkation in the barracoons, or cramped holding pens, the brutal Middle Passage posed the next deadliest challenge to their survival. Those who remained alive at the end of Middle Passage faced varying degrees of brutality in the Americas as enslaved laborers. In Brazil, for example, scholars argue that a more virulent form of enslavement existed, as the mortality rate was high and the labor forces considered easily replaceable with the seemingly endless “inventory” of newly imported African captives. The perpetual Middle Passage voyages enabled the further devaluation of African life in the Americas.

Abolition of the Slave Trade

Although the British abolished the slave trade in 1807 with the Parliamentary Slave Trade Act and formally ended slavery in their colonies in 1833, the international slave trade did not

end immediately. Illegal slave ships continued to export enslaved Africans until the mid-19th century. Records indicate that the last slave ship arrived in Cuba in 1867.

The British Royal Navy patrolled the Atlantic Ocean near the coast of Africa, searching for illegal slave traders and confiscating slave ships. Though this activity enforced the illegality of the trade, it may have also offered financial incentives for the cruisers. The British dominated the slave trade in the 18th century, but by the 1780s, their antislavery movement gained tremendous momentum.

The complete eradication of the slave trade unfolded gradually. As noted, the British empire abolished the slave trade in May 1807, the United States in January 1808, the French empire in 1818, the Spanish colonies in 1820, and Brazil in 1830. One of the major challenges to upholding these laws and treaties was the fact that, though the trafficking of enslaved Africans was illegal, slavery within the Americas was still permissible and often thriving.

The tide was slowly changing, however. A notable example is the infamous African rebellion aboard the slave ship *La Amistad* in 1839, which resulted in the liberation of the Africans after a lengthy court case. The court ruled that the African captives had been illegally transported and therefore were entitled to their freedom; they were returned to Africa.

Imagining the Middle Passage

A number of artists have produced imaginative works around the theme of the Middle Passage. Many of these portrayals emphasize the stench, filth, and torturous conditions of slave ships; the inability of African captives purchased from various regions with different languages to communicate with one another; and the impossibility for bodily movement within the confines of the shackles and chains. These artistic renditions include evocative paintings, poems, and first-person narrative accounts.

An early first-person account, Olaudah Equiano's autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789), documents his journey from his Igbo family in present-day Nigeria to his enslavement in the Americas, with an emphasis on Christian conversion. A text

widely used for abolitionist purposes, *The Interesting Narrative* details Equiano's memory of his capture as a young boy along with his sister, the horrors of the Middle Passage voyage from the moment he sees the terrifying slave ship to his arrival in Barbados, his later transfer to Virginia, and finally his journey to England, where he managed to purchase his freedom.

Equiano's narrative exists as an early example of the literary tradition of the slave narrative that would include, in the 19th century, Frederick Douglass's influential *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845). What makes Equiano's narrative so striking in comparison to those that followed is that his life represents a transatlantic journey from freedom in Africa through enslavement in the New World to his ultimate freedom in England.

Just as the abolitionists relied on Equiano's text, so too did members of the British abolitionist movement, beginning in the late 18th century, produce some of the most poignant antislavery imagery focusing on the Middle Passage. J. M. W. Turner's romantic painting *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and the Dying—Typhoon Coming On* (1840) championed the antislavery cause by exhibiting the atrocities that frequently occurred during the Middle Passage voyages. By depicting black bodies strewn about the sea, Turner's painting makes a claim for the humanity of the enslaved Africans by emphasizing the consequences of the callous disregard for human life.

Another stirring image is the sketch of the cross-section of the *Brookes* slave ship (1789), used to promote antislavery efforts. This image depicts the overcrowding of many slave ships and the ways African bodies were piled and stacked to maximize profit in New World trade. The slave castles in many coastal towns along the west African coast retain many relics of the Middle Passage, such as the "Door of No Return" in Elmina Castle. Other compelling works that reimagine the Middle Passage include Herman Melville's "Benito Cereno" (1855), Robert Hayden's poem "Middle Passage," Ayi Kwei Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons* (1973), Suzan-Lori Parks's *Imperceptible Mutabilities in the Third Kingdom* (1995), Charles R. Johnson's novel *Middle Passage* (1990), and Kara Walker's "Middle Passages" (2004).

The Middle Passage exposes the suffering, torture, displacement, dispossession, and dehumanization of Africans in modern racial slavery. It also highlights, like the artistic production that thematizes the transatlantic voyages, the human casualties of the inexorable economic demands for production in the New World, and the painful contradictions that formed the foundation of the multicultural Americas in which Africans, Europeans, and indigenous populations converged under the weight of this abhorrent maritime phenomenon and the larger institution of slavery it supported.

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See Also: *Roots*; Slave Revolts; Slave Trade; Slavery.

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Migrant Workers

Migrant workers have been coming to the United States in pursuit of employment since the early 1800s. They have helped to shape the demographics and national economy of U.S. culture. Their nomadic nature, related to seasonal crops and weather conditions, makes it difficult to obtain accurate census data. It is estimated that 3 to 5 million people leave their homes annually in pursuit of crop production. Their low-wage labor is crucial to the stability and growth of the nation's agricultural production and economy.

The identity of the migrant worker has changed throughout history. Today, migrant workers include Hispanics and Latinos, African Americans, Jamaicans, Haitians, and Thais. Most migrant workers are men because of the labor-intensive

nature of the work; historically, however, many women and children have been subject to the harsh conditions of the migrant workers' daily routines because many migrant workers travel with their families, who also work on farms for small wages. Migrant workers have historically endured discrimination and exploitation.

Historical Development

After the emancipation of slaves and indentured servants in the United States, the agricultural and industrial economy was left wounded, and the labor void needed to be quickly filled. Foreign workers began to be imported or lured to fill the gaping demand for cheap labor. The abundance of cheap labor being brought to the United States extended across the globe.

Workers from China and other Asian countries began to fill the cheap-labor market. Slowly, after the beginning of the 20th century, workers from Mexico and the Philippines were also employed, with dismal wages, as the bulk of the agricultural migrant worker force. These foreign workers were usually imported or brought to the United States by white farm owners. Many European migrant workers were recruited under the guise of someday owning their own land, which at that time, for any foreigner, was an impossible feat because of the extremely low wages being paid for their labor. These European workers included Irish, British, German, Italian, Russian, and Hungarian individuals who existed in a truly multicultural migrant workforce.

As the American agricultural and industrial economy began to grow, so did the demand for cheap labor; by 1890, an estimated 55,000 Mexican workers immigrated to the United States in search of work, only to receive unequal treatment by farm owners. Unlike their European and Asian counterparts, Mexican workers were able to move freely across the border to temporary jobs in ranching, farming, and other industries, and then in most cases they returned back home, making up the largest group of migrant workers and the one most desired by landowners.

Workers from Catholic countries such as Ireland and Germany faced unequal treatment and were subject to prejudice because of the overwhelmingly Protestant population in the United States at that time. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino

workers faced their own animosity because of the end of the gold rush, when the American economy became less vibrant and white Americans began to feel threatened by foreign populations.

The Great Depression marked a decline in the agricultural economy as the Dust Bowl ruined most of the crops in the midwest. As a result, many Anglo-Americans migrated to the west coast to find work.

Because times were tough, Mexican and other foreign migrant workers were seen as job competitors. Anglo-Americans began to pressure their white counterparts in lawmaking positions to come up with a solution to eradicate job competition. As a result, local and national authorities repatriated more than 500,000 Mexican Americans, many of whom were U.S. citizens.

Even after slavery ended in the United States, maltreatment of black and African American workers remained well into the 1960s. This was highlighted by Edward R. Murrow's *Harvest of Shame*, which aired the day after Thanksgiving in 1960. The documentary depicted the plight and dismal living conditions of the black migrant agricultural worker. Murrow sought to give voice and bring consciousness and awareness to a population that for so long had been forced into silence.

As a result of Murrow's film, the increasing awareness of the American population, and a growing unity and passion within the migrant worker population, the United States was forced to create health and government organizations that began to implement measures designed to protect the rights of migrant workers. Today, multiple organizations advocate for migrant workers. Many migrant workers still follow crop production in search of wages in an effort to support their families. They continue to be an integral part of the American agricultural economy.

Migrant workers have contributed to the increasingly diverse American demographics represented in U.S. census data. They have also influenced economic and agricultural production and have been central to political discussions and debates related to immigration, education, and health care reform. It is estimated that more than 75 percent of the migrant workers in the United States are Hispanic and that five out of six farm workers are native Spanish speakers.



A migrant worker, circa 1935, travels along a dusty road looking for work in California. In the United States, migrant workers are often undocumented immigrants who do not have valid work visas, who come from varied places of origin, and who have been exposed to often difficult work and living environments.

Major Influences

Many individuals assisted in reforms for migrant workers' overall quality of life. One of the most influential individuals in migrant worker history is César Chávez. In 1962, Chávez founded the National Farmworkers Association, which later became the United Farm Workers union, and advocated strongly for migrant workers' rights. Chávez worked to bring justice and pride to migrant workers, who had frequently been exploited. Chávez's work gained attention, and soon nonmigrant workers were also fighting for his cause, which stretched beyond the migrant worker battle. He befriended politicians, which

paved the way for Mexican American voters to have a voice in national elections. Chávez remains a beloved symbol of activism and hope among Mexican Americans to this day.

In September 1962, President John F. Kennedy signed the Migrant Health Act. This bill focused on the healthcare needs of migrant farm workers. Migrant worker health care had finally become a national issue, and organizations began to provide much-needed medical care for migrant workers and their families. In the 1970s, the National Advisory Council on Migrant Health was created to monitor the availability and quality of health care and to make ongoing recommendations for improvements. This council remains active in the United States.

Contemporary Scene

Today, the estimated total population of migrant workers and their families is 1.3 million. Migrant workers play a crucial, yet invisible role in the American economy, as their contributions extend far beyond agricultural productivity. They undertake the jobs that most native citizens reject, in many ways sustaining the country's way of life. At the same time, they stimulate the economy by purchasing goods. Migrant workers are nomadic in their pursuit of work. Family life remains "on the move."

Multiple relocations impact the quality of education received by the children of migrant workers. Educational opportunities for their children are low because of the nomadic nature of their jobs. However, many of the organizations implemented to improve migrant workers' quality of life have put forth measures to improve educational opportunities for these children and have exponentially improved the health care available to them.

Migrant workers have preserved the culture and history of the farm worker lifestyle. The diversity of the American people is a reflection of the many migrant workers who have come to the United States throughout history and from all parts of the globe. Migrant workers are an integral part of shaping and progressing in the American way of life.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Chinese Americans; Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Mexican Americans.

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Milliken v. Bradley (1974)

Milliken v. Bradley (418 U.S. 717 [1974]) is one of a long line of judicial decisions that grew out of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decisions (*Brown I* and *Brown II*), which mandated that public schools be desegregated. *Milliken* addressed the issue of whether a neighboring school district could be forced into a desegregation plan to remedy its neighbor's desegregation violations.

The *Milliken* case required an examination of whether the state could impose mandatory desegregation plans in areas not engaged in de jure segregation. The *Milliken* decision put limitations on the U.S. Supreme Court's first ruling on forced desegregation, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (402 U.S. 1 [1971]).

In *Swann*, the court ruled that mandatory busing was an acceptable remedy, even to address de facto segregation (segregation resulting from geographic settling of people). *Milliken* is widely regarded as the case that brought to an end the Supreme Court's historically strong support for meaningful desegregation in U.S. public schools.

The central question in this case is whether states have a right to redraw the boundaries of school districts and to impose busing across those lines to achieve racial integration.

Facts of the Case

As "white flight" to the suburbs increased in the 1950s and 1960s, many urban schools found themselves virtually all black or all Hispanic, even though there was not mandated (de jure) segregation. This de facto segregation led to steep racial differences between urban and suburban schools.

Michigan's then-governor William Milliken was named as the defendant in a suit claiming that Detroit public schools were not sufficiently desegregated and that the district remained segregated specifically because of school district policies and practices. Such policies and practices would, if found to be true, establish that the district was engaging in de jure segregation. Although "white flight" certainly contributed to the de facto segregation of the Detroit urban area, the district court ruled that the Detroit Board of Education had, indeed, implemented policies that specifically impeded desegregation.

Consequently, the district court ordered that 85 school districts composing the Detroit metropolitan area would have their boundaries redrawn to force students into different schools via busing, thus achieving desegregation. Ultimately, 53 of the 85 school districts made up the "designated desegregation area" and would be subject to mandatory busing.

To accomplish this logistical challenge, the Detroit School District would have to acquire at least 295 school buses (later estimated to be nearly 1,000) to accomplish the desegregation. Such reorganization posed complicated administrative, financial, and human resource challenges to all of the districts involved, including districts that were not in violation of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th District upheld the desegregation and busing plan imposed by the district court. However, the appeals court ruled that outlying school districts affected by this decision should have a right to be heard regarding the "scope and implementation" of the district court's remedy and that the

mandatory bus acquisition be postponed until a later time.

Supreme Court Decision

The Supreme Court's 5–4 decision illustrates the legal complexity of desegregation questions. A pressing question was whether a school district not engaging in illegal desegregation could, in effect, be punished along with its culpable, neighboring district. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice Warren Burger said that

To approve the remedy ordered by the court would impose on the outlying districts, not shown to have committed any constitutional violation, a wholly impermissible remedy based on a standard not hinted at in *Brown I* and *Brown II* or any holding of this court. (418 U. S. 745, as cited in LaMorte).

Four justices dissented: Thurgood Marshall, William Douglas, William Brennan, and Byron White. In his written dissent, Justice Marshall argued that the court's reversal of the busing remedy in *Milliken* sends desegregation backward:

In *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), this court held that segregation of children in public schools on the basis of race deprives minority group children of equal educational opportunities and therefore denies them the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. . . . After 20 years of small, often difficult steps toward that great end, the court today takes a giant step backwards . . . the rights at issue in this case are too fundamental to be abridged on grounds as superficial as those relied on by the majority today. We deal here with the right of all of our children, whatever their race, to an equal start in life and to an equal opportunity to reach their full potential as citizens. . . . Our Nation, I fear, will be ill served by the court's refusal to remedy separate and unequal education. . . . (418 U.S. 782)

The impact of *Milliken* cannot be overstated. By limiting desegregation remedies to individual districts, rather than regions (as in *Swann*), the ability of states to remedy unequal education is

severely limited. Even in northern districts like Detroit, where de facto segregation was compounded by de jure segregation, a remedy is rendered nearly impossible. The Connecticut Supreme Court in 1996 made a decision that requires the state to desegregate Hartford schools (*Sheff. v. O'Neill*, 238 Conn. 1, 678 A.2d 1267). This decision, however, has yet to meaningfully affect the federal position on desegregation and school equity reflected in the *Milliken* decision.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Constitutional Amendments; Desegregation/Integration; Segregation; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971).

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Million Man March

Held in 1995, the Million Man March was one of the most significant events in African American civil rights activism. Invoking the image of the protest march and the March on Washington, the Million Man March was a one-day event held on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., on October 16, 1995, and consisted of an all-day program of speeches from prominent civil rights leaders.

The exact in-person attendance is a matter of controversy, though it is generally agreed to have fallen short of or barely reached the “million man” goal. The National Park Service issued an official estimate of 400,000 after initial claims

of attendance as high as 2 million, prompting threat of a lawsuit by activist and speaker Louis Farrakhan. Three days after the event, the director of the Center for Remote Sensing at Boston University issued a figure that has been more widely accepted: 837,000 attendees with a margin of error of 25 percent, yielding a range from 669,600 to 1,004,400 attendees. Following the Million Man March, the next appropriations bill for the U.S. Department of the Interior provided no funding for crowd-counting activities for federal properties in Washington, D.C., the Park Service having elected to cease crowd counting.

The earliest protest march on Washington was that of Coxey's Army in 1894, protesting job losses during the Long Depression. Significant marches in the first half of the 20th century were held in support of women's suffrage, against the Holocaust, and against the Ku Klux Klan. In the 1950s and 1960s, protest marches became associated, first, with the civil rights movement and, later, with the antiwar movement. The 1958 Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom was the first large-scale Washington, D.C., civil rights demonstration, held in front of the Lincoln Memorial and supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The last speaker at the Prayer Pilgrimage was Martin Luther King, Jr., addressing a national audience for the first time (the "Give Us the Ballot" speech).

The Great March on Washington, 1963

Five years after the Prayer Pilgrimage, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, or the Great March on Washington, attracted about a third of a million people in support of African American civil rights. Held on August 28, 1963, it was one of the largest political rallies in American history and was instrumental in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (though Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee chairman John Lewis's speech pointed out the flaws and insufficient measures in the bill) and the 1965 Voting Rights Act (challenges to which eventually made it to the Supreme Court in 2013). The Great March on Washington is best remembered for Dr. King, who again spoke last, delivering his "I Have a Dream" speech.

The Great March on Washington had no women speakers, and the Million Man March explicitly

positioned itself as a male event. Although the relative lack of involvement of women in the early 1960s might be chalked up to the times and to the tendency of men to be more accepted in leadership positions, in the 1990s, the exclusion of women was a more clearly conscious choice. Organizers Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam and former NAACP executive secretary Benjamin Chavis conceived of the Million Man March as an event specifically focused on the plight of the African American man.

The election to the White House of Bill Clinton—who would soon be called "our first black president" by African American author Toni Morrison—made civil rights a White House concern for the first time since the Ronald Reagan administration had tasked John Roberts and other government lawyers with the construction of an argument to limit enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. The Los Angeles Riots and the beating of Rodney King, however, were vivid in recent memory. For several years, black political leaders had worked to raise political awareness, to register voters and get them involved, and to petition the state, local, and federal governments on behalf of the African American community.

The Million Man Marchers were largely middle class and middle aged, and in general were better educated than the average African American. Many were old enough to remember the March on Washington or later protest marches, if not to have participated directly. The Million Man March succeeded in raising political awareness and involvement: in the following year, 1.5 million black American men registered to vote. Although the black vote may have been instrumental in Clinton's reelection in 1996, it was even more important in 2000, when fluke occurrences and a tight race without an incumbent resulted in a lengthy recount process, as the winner of the election came down to the votes in Florida. Voting irregularities complicated the recount, many of which continue to be controversial, including the disenfranchisement of thousands of black voters erroneously listed as ex-felons.

Farrakhan delivered the keynote address at the Million Man March, and his leadership was controversial, though Chavis actually served as the march's national director. Farrakhan had revived the Nation of Islam, the African American

Muslim movement, in 1981, some years after the Nation had been disbanded following the death of its longtime leader Elijah Muhammad. Many of Farrakhan's views have been criticized as anti-Semitic, homophobic, and sexist. Farrakhan's frankness in his views on race also led some to characterize him as a black supremacist and caused some to fear that he would alienate possible allies and supporters.

The primary purpose was to put black civil rights back on the national political agenda, a purpose Farrakhan's notoriety did not subvert. The Republican Party, invigorated by a caucus of neoconservatives, had retaken the House of Representatives in the 1994 midterm elections, and the Republican Party continued to be pushed further to the right on social issues, a trend that had begun around the time of Watergate and accelerated under Reagan. The Contract with America, as the party's platform was branded, made it clear that black concerns were not a priority. What was a priority was slashing the budgets of social

programs at a time when the African American community faced a 40 percent poverty rate and twice the unemployment of white Americans. The law-and-order concerns of many Republicans further hurt blacks, who were disproportionately impacted by three-strikes laws and vastly disproportionately represented among long-term prisoners. Then-recent headlines surrounding the trial of O. J. Simpson and the assaults committed by Mike Tyson incited the fear that the media image of the black man was more negative than it had been since before the civil rights era.

The Million Man March's program began at 6 A.M. with morning prayers, African dancers, and speeches from black leaders, proceeding through talks on the themes of "affirmation/responsibility" and "atonement and reconciliation," before ending as scheduled at 4 P.M. Speakers included religious leaders; Congressman Donald Payne of the Congressional Black Caucus, Washington, D.C.; mayor Marion Barry; Baltimore mayor Kurt Schmoke; Dr. Cornel West; and others.



Attendees of the Million Man March in Washington, D.C., on May 5, 1995, numbered around 800,000, although there was some debate about the actual figure, some claiming it may have reached 2 million. Activist Louis Farrakhan was the keynote speaker, and many prominent African American political and religious leaders spoke during the one-day event on the National Mall.

In parallel with the event, female leaders in the black community organized the National Day of Absence, a day for blacks to stay home from work and school, either spending the day in self-reflection, attending places of worship, or holding teach-ins at home. This was insufficient for many black women, and in 1997 the Million Man March was followed by the Million Woman March, in Philadelphia. Attendance was roughly half a million—nearly as large as the Million Man March—and speakers included Congresswoman Maxine Waters, daughters of Malcolm X, Winnie Mandela, Sista Souljah, and actress Jada Pinkett. It is considered an important event in modern black feminism. Black feminism looks at events like the Million Man March and sees racism, sexism, and classism inextricably bound together: the Million Man March organizers marginalizing the role of women even while complaining about their own marginalization by white politicians. The interrelationships of these forms of oppression, and the obstacles they cause within activism movements that focus on only one form of oppression without acknowledging the interrelationships, is called intersectionality, one of the key concepts in modern civil rights and social justice activism.

Black feminists had plenty to object to in the Million Man March. The Day of Absence did not enhance their role so much as underscore its difference from the prescribed male role: the men would assemble, speak, and act; the women were told to stay home, either in silence or to pray and teach. Encouraging them to stay home, regardless of the purpose, further rendered them invisible on the very day that black men were the subject of the major news story. Black women had faced much the same problem in the feminist movement, in which the contributions of black women like Ida Wells and Sojourner Truth were so often overlooked. The fact that the Million Man March was a deliberate echo of the March on Washington—which neglected women but did not so explicitly and consciously exclude them—exacerbated its problematic nature, essentially co-opting the civil rights movement on behalf of men. Those women who raised objections were often encouraged, not only by men but also by some other women, to be silent in the name of black unity at a critical time for the community. Others argued that black women should support the Million Man March

because addressing the needs of black men would, in the end, improve the lot of women as well. Given the effect on black women of the very issues raised at the Million Man March—the number of black female heads of household, the share of those dealing with poverty or underemployment, the effect on black women of the short lives of black men, and the percentage of black men in prison—many of these women refused to silence themselves.

Though the Million Man March was itself named for the March on Washington, it has inspired numerous activist groups and events with similar names, including the gun control group Million Mom March, the annual drug reform rally Million Marijuana March, the Nation of Islam–sponsored Million Family March in 2000, the Million Fax on Washington by unidentified flying object (UFO) activists in 2008, and the Rally to Restore Sanity and/or Fear, an event hosted by Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert and frequently called the Million Moderate March.

The Million Man March left another legacy, which is the furthering of the men's movement in general. Though it was not explicitly part of the men's movement, nor does the men's movement enjoy the same sort of centralized or easily identifiable leadership, it was in the late 1980s and early 1990s that this culture of male victimhood and male vulnerability arose, producing reams of mythopoeic literature. The Million Man March served, even for white men, as a watershed moment in the men's movement, one in a sense celebrating the idea of the man as victim—despite his social, political, and economic advantages over the other sex.

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See Also: African Americans; Nation of Islam; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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Minority Business Development Agency

The Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA) leads the public sector in strengthening the U.S. economy through the economic expansion of minority-owned businesses with the creation of new jobs. As the United States moves closer toward a majority-minority population, its economy must include a strong minority-owned business sector. This agency operates through local Business Centers that are funded by the U.S. Department of Commerce. Local MBDA Business Centers develop alliances with local, state, and federal government agencies, major corporations, banks, financial resources, and the minority business community to create larger, more strategic minority entrepreneurs. They work as liaisons to financial institutions on behalf of Minority Business Enterprises (MBEs) seeking financial assistance, and they provide loan packaging and placement assistance for purchases, refinancing, lines of credit, factoring, and Small Business Administration lending.

MBDA conducts workshops for business owners who want to move to the next level. Networking opportunities are provided, and MBDA coordinates bids and outreach conferences for construction projects and organizes industry-specific roundtables to promote the MBE marketplace. Some of the economic and social benefits of MBEs include providing employment opportunities for people of all races, providing a way for ethnic minorities to integrate into the majority economy, and providing positive role models for entrepreneurs of color. Finally, they also establish the infrastructure necessary for community development. For example, research suggests that minority-owned businesses donate more money to charitable organizations than non-minority-owned firms.

In 1969, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise was established within the U.S. Department of Commerce with the mission of funding a wide variety of local programs for one-on-one and group assistance to minority businesspersons. The U.S. Small Business Administration (SBA) also targeted minority businesses with direct and guaranteed loan programs and federal contract set-aside programs around this same time. In

recent years, these programs have been severely criticized and have also received some accolades. Although these programs created opportunities for minority businesses to create jobs, critics suggested that these programs were a form of reverse discrimination.

During the 1990s, minority businesses continued to grow in quantity but not in sales and receipts. Despite the U.S. economic boom of the 1990s, minority businesses lost economic ground. This effect was called “growth without growth” because although the number of firms increased, their share of total sales and receipts declined. This occurred because minority businesses are often concentrated in two industries: services and retail catering. Some suggest that efforts by federal, state, and local governments have had minimal impact on minority business development.

The formal definition of “minority ownership” has also been scrutinized. Historically, this was defined as a minimum of 51 percent direct ownership by members of a minority group (or a “socially disadvantaged” group.) Traditionally, these groups included African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Pacific Americans. The limitations of this definition are hotly debated by both proponents and critics, and a more flexible definition was recently proposed.

The growth and success of MBEs is inextricably linked to American social and economic policy. Research suggests that the number of MBEs is currently about 2 million—a number that has been growing at double the percentage rate of all firms. MBEs generate sales in excess of \$500 billion, which constitutes an impressive chunk of the U.S. economy. Additionally, the health of the minority business sector is linked to the production of a variety of economic and social benefits such as employment, economic development, community development, and especially access to role models for people among entrepreneurs. MBEs generate \$1 trillion in economic output to the U.S. economy and support 5.8 million jobs. However, parity for minority businesses has not been achieved. Parity is defined as reaching proportionality between the adult minority population and business development measures, such as numbers of firms, gross receipts, and employees of classifiable firms.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau's Survey of Business Owners (SBO), the number of black-owned businesses increased by 60.5 percent to 1.9 million from 2002 to 2007, which was more than triple the national rate of 18 percent. Of the 1.9 million black-owned businesses in 2007, 106,824 had paid employees, an increase of 13 percent from 2002. These businesses employed 921,032 people, an increase of 22.2 percent; their payrolls totaled \$23.9 billion, an increase of 36.3 percent.

According to the Census Bureau's 2007 SBO, Hispanics owned 2.3 million nonfarm U.S. businesses operating in the 50 states and the District of Columbia in 2007, an increase of 43.7 percent from 2002. These Hispanic-owned firms accounted for 8.3 percent of all nonfarm businesses in the United States, 1.6 percent of total employment, and 1.1 percent of total receipts. Total income generated by Hispanic-owned businesses in 2007 was \$350.7 billion, which is up 58 percent from 2002. Hispanic-owned U.S. firms accounted for 10.4 percent of all U.S. businesses in these sectors. Some of the challenges faced by these businesses include lack of capital, clients, experience, and skills, and an over-reliance on government contracts. MBEs have precarious existence because of dependence on a low-income customer base.

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See Also: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S.; Minority Group/Majority.

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Minority Group/Majority

The terms *majority* and *minority* have both statistical and sociological meanings, and debate over usage has generally been driven by the conflation of the two. Statistically, a minority group is smaller than an extant majority group. Sociologically, it is a group singled out because of non-quantitative traits and is subject, whether by law or circumstance, to unequal treatment and access to power. Majority and minority have particular resonance in the United States because of the relevance of the terms to democratic governance; throughout the 19th century, anti-immigration activists invoked both racist and democratic thinking when warning that a "dilution" of the American population through the introduction of large numbers of immigrants would change the American character.

The worry is not merely concerned with the presence of people unlike oneself, but with the prospect of people like oneself—one's ethnic or cultural group—being literally or figuratively outvoted and losing control of the direction of the country. These fears continue to be invoked today in discussions of immigration, gay marriage, religious freedom, and the spread or perceived spread of Islam.

The term *minority group* retains elements of a meaning that has become less and less accurate if considered literally. The United States was originally founded by a group of white settlers, almost entirely British, French, and Dutch, with small numbers of Hispanics in or adjacent to lands obtained from Spain, and a number of blacks, mostly enslaved. This group was not only overwhelmingly Christian but also predominantly Protestant, though important Catholic and Jewish populations existed.

While the Protestant population's majority decreased over the course of the 19th century, as sustained large-scale immigration from Catholic countries began, the century's major religious movements were or grew out of Protestantism, or in the case of Reform Judaism, was an explicit reaction to and even surrender to American Protestant culture. This had the effect of further underscoring the unofficial place of preeminence of Protestantism in the American character, and by implication, of northern European whites.

Minority Becomes a Majority

Minority groups were first widely discussed by their advocates because the 20th century was a watershed time for civil rights activism, which succeeded in restoring voting rights to disenfranchised groups, removing many of the racist and xenophobic elements of immigration law and affirming as unconstitutional racist laws, ranging from those of segregation to laws against interracial marriages. The term referred literally to the fact that nonwhite ethnic groups were a minority in the United States, but the more important aspect of the term is its implications about power. At the time, the groups that were most numerous in positions of social power were also the groups that constituted the majority of the American population. This is no longer as true—whites in the 2010 census constituted about 72 percent of the population, still a clear majority, but whites experienced low enough population growth that they can no longer expect to retain that majority. In 2011, for the first time, the majority of American babies were nonwhite, but the term *minority group* still refers to essentially the same population groups that it did before.

In the social sciences, what is more important than the raw share of a population represented by a group is its amount of social power and social mobility. Whites continue to overwhelmingly occupy the majority of governorships, congressional and senatorial seats, cabinet positions, university presidencies and department chairs within those universities, corporate head positions, and memberships in the New York Stock Exchange. More television shows are about white leading characters than nonwhite characters, by a wide margin. Most lead acting awards go to white actors. Even Black History Month is often acknowledged by television networks with white-made entertainment like *Glory* or *The Help* (movies that also emphasize the role of heroic white people in the fight for black civil rights). During the apartheid era of South Africa, blacks outnumbered whites, but their disenfranchisement and inferior social power were codified in law, and referring to South African blacks as “the majority” without qualification would have been immensely misleading.

For this reason, when differentiating between minority and majority, for the difference to be

useful, requires data beyond merely population distribution. Consider Protestantism in the United States. Not a denomination, but rather a class of denominations, Protestants make up the majority of American Christians and, at slightly more than half of the adult population, constitute a majority of the population. But no single denomination within that classification is nearly as large as the Catholic population—the largest, the southern Baptists, are about one-quarter the size of the Catholic population. Even denominations considered very mainstream, very middle American, are simply dwarfed by the size of the American Catholic population. Depending on the conversation and the speaker, either of these sets of facts may be more relevant—the fact that Protestant groups collectively are twice the size of the Catholic population, or that any one Protestant denomination is tiny compared to that same population.

The consideration of whether Protestants or Catholics hold more power is not much easier. Although Catholics have long held considerable power in public positions in the northeastern cities—in political office, as political appointees, in bodies like police forces, and through the influence of church officials—they have produced only one president and surprisingly few major party nominees for president. The religious demographics of Congress closely follow those of the United States as a whole; only Presbyterians, Anglicans, and non-denominational Protestants were noticeably underrepresented in the 112th Congress, the last of which perhaps is because of political pressure on candidates to commit to a specific denomination. Catholics and Jews are slightly overrepresented.

Raw population numbers also fail to tell the story that could be revealed by additional context. New Hampshire is, by percentage of population, the most French state in the union; about 25 percent of the population has French ancestry. Louisiana, by contrast, is only about 16 percent French. The numbers conceal the very different stories behind these populations: Louisiana was settled by two distinct French groups (the French settlers who came directly from France and the Acadian French who settled in the area after they were displaced from Canada) who were instrumental in establishing the local culture. New

Hampshire was settled by colonial Americans of predominantly British ancestry and became home to a large part of the Quebecois diaspora, as French Canadians left Canada and settled in northern New England.

Although the French populations in both states have become largely assimilated, Louisiana has always celebrated its French heritage, and elements of French and French American culture have been adopted by the non-French of the state, whereas New Hampshire once restricted voting rights based on language fluency, an attempt to disenfranchise unassimilated Quebecois that ended in the 1960s with the Voting Rights Act.

Social Power

The social power aspect of the definition of minority and majority is important precisely because power is not distributed equally throughout populations, and the largest group within those populations is not necessarily the group with the most power. The term *minority* is sometimes challenged for various reasons: It is perceived as less accurate, given the change in population demographics; it is a quantitative term, rather than describing some other trait; and it may be perceived as a dismissive term. Even those who understand the sociological definition may challenge the use of the term because of its tendency to confuse and obfuscate.

The term *people of color* was adopted by justice system reform activists in the 1970s and gained wide circulation by the 1990s. There are various benefits to the term. Like the term *non-whites*, it groups together minorities who have a relevant trait in common and who are subject to certain treatments by society as a result of that trait: there are white people who are paradoxically not defined by race or ethnicity, and there is everyone else in the United States, defined by that ethnicity.

Although the usefulness of this term has been challenged, U.S. newspaper articles claim that by such and such a year, the majority of the American population will no longer be white, a cumbersome construction required when no single non-white group will become the majority, but rather white Americans will become a plurality, the largest group in a cluster of groups, no single one of which is a majority. “The majority will no longer

be white” means the same thing as “the majority will be people of color.”

Further, perhaps the best argument in favor of discontinuing the use of the term *minority* in non-statistical contexts is that so long as the word refers both to statistical minorities and to minorities in the sociological sense of the less empowered, readers will parse hypothetical ideas like “whites will no longer be a majority” in a very different way. Although it is easy to show that, statistically, whites will fall from a majority to a plurality in the near future, the possibility that whites will no longer possess the most power and social mobility in the United States within that same time frame is much less likely.

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See Also: People of Color; White Categorization (Essay); Whiteness Studies.

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Miscegenation

The term *miscegenation* first appeared during the American presidential election of 1864, although the concept of *mestizaje* existed in Latin America long before. The word appeared in a pamphlet written by two New York journalists who wanted to portray the incumbent president and Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln as an advocate of what was then known as “amalgamation.” Opponents of interracial sex found the term *amalgamation* inadequate because it had been borrowed from something else (metallurgy—the mixing of metals).



Tiger Woods refers to his ethnic makeup as “Cablinasian.” His racial mixture is Caucasian, African American, Native American, and Asian. His father was African American, and his mother was Thai. Today, miscegenation has become increasingly accepted.

Insisting that it was important to have an independent term, one that referred to the “mixture of two or more races” and nothing else, journalists David Goodman Croly, managing editor of the *New York World*, a Democratic Party paper, and George Wakeman, a *World* reporter, combined *miscere* (mix) and *genus* (race) to form the new, more scientific-sounding “miscegenation.” The pamphlet was titled *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro*. The term *miscegenation* caught on quickly, providing, according to Peggy Pascoe, “the rhetorical means of channeling the belief that interracial marriage was unnatural into the foundation of post-Civil War white supremacy . . . the taken-for-granted basis of American laws and policy, the legal embodiment of the nearly unanimous White opposition to intermarriage.”

This opposition was fueled by the idea that race purity could and should be protected, and that racial mixture should be avoided at all costs. Scientists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and naturalists insisted that the races needed to be protected from intermixture, which was deemed

a catastrophic mistake. The popular notion was that race existed as a quantifiable entity, something easily measured through blood standards and preserved through choice coupling.

Lawmakers reflected this belief in thwarting racial mixing, while preserving white supremacy, when they passed laws to define race, usually by blood quantum standards. Blood quantum measured race by a mathematical fraction of racial blood, the “blood-quantum standard.” In the south, it became known as the “one-drop rule,” meaning that a single drop of “black blood” makes a person a black; it was also referred to as the law of hypo-descent. One drop of black blood trumped seven drops of white blood, meaning that racially mixed persons were assigned the status of the subordinate group. This definition emerged from the American south to become the nation’s definition. Offspring of interracial unions, oftentimes the result of planters raping their slaves in the antebellum era, were called mulattoes; although the root meaning of mulatto, in Spanish, is “hybrid,” mulatto came to include the children of unions between whites and “mixed Negroes.”

Anti-miscegenation laws were written to prohibit whites from marrying blacks, Asian Americans, and Indians, but not to prohibit blacks from marrying Asian Americans, or Asian Americans from marrying Indians. The essence of anti-miscegenation legislation was to preserve white racial purity above all else. This marriage of scientific and political rhetoric would reach its pinnacle in the writings of eugenicists and the tightening of miscegenation laws during the 1920s, most evident in the Virginia Racial Integrity Act of 1924.

This act, developed by Dr. Walter Plecker, was a series of legislative efforts designed to protect “whiteness” against what many Virginians perceived to be the effects of immigration and race mixing. These laws defined how people should be classified during the nadir of American lynching and the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan. America’s fears of miscegenation—specifically the threat of newly emancipated and enfranchised black men raping white women—found dramatization in D. W. Griffith’s film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), the first film screened in the White House under President Woodrow Wilson, a Virginia native.

From the 1860s to the 1960s, the American legal system moved the issue well beyond the south. Miscegenation was only ever conceived of as a state issue, not a federal issue; nonetheless, interracial marriage as unnatural and immoral quickly became the law of the land. The first laws banning interracial marriage were introduced in the slaveholding colonies of the Chesapeake. The first such law, designed to prevent marriages between “freeborne English women” and “Negro Slaues [sic],” was passed in Maryland in 1664. As part of the act connected slavery to the condition of the mother. Other laws followed in the British colonies and French Louisiana. When the term *miscegenation* was invented in 1864, laws prohibiting interracial marriage were in effect in the northeast and west, but never in the southern states.

The history of miscegenation law reaches well beyond the categories of black and white, however. American Indian nations also banned marriage to blacks. For example, in 1824 and 1839, the Cherokee National Committee and Council passed laws that banned “inter-marriages” with “negro slaves” and “between a free male or female citizen with any person of color.”

Social and political backlash against the laws was minimal until the modern civil rights movement. Through the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union, between 1951 and 1963, 11 western states repealed their miscegenation laws.

The U.S. Supreme Court’s 1967 unanimous ruling in *Loving v. Virginia* declared Virginia’s ban on interracial marriage unconstitutional, but most southern states were reluctant to endorse the *Loving* ruling. The decision rendered state bans on interracial marriage inoperable, so to show their discontent, states refused to immediately remove the now defunct language from their books. For example, Georgia did not immediately remove anti-miscegenation statutes until five years after the 1967 decision; Virginia had done so in 1968, and West Virginia, Texas, Florida, Oklahoma, and Missouri in 1969. Alabama removed the inoperable language in 2000. Despite decades-long inconsistencies of the ruling, the U.S. Census Bureau showed that interracial or interethnic opposite-sex married couple households grew by

28 percent over the decade, from 7 percent in 2000 to 10 percent in 2010.

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See Also: Desegregation/Integration; *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); Mixed-Race Americans.

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Missouri Compromise (1820)

The Missouri Compromise was an agreement reached in 1820 to address concerns about whether a state would be a slave state or a free state after it was admitted to the Union. Prior to 1820, Missouri was part of the Louisiana Purchase, the territory acquired from France in 1803, and was the first such territory to apply for statehood other than Louisiana. In 1818, Missouri became a state, but there were concerns from states in the north who did not want another slave state to join the Union. The Missouri Territory became a rhetorical battleground for political differences about the role slavery should play in the course of American history. Prior to Missouri’s admittance into the Union, there was a balance between the number of states that allowed or prohibited slavery. On one hand, the United States wanted to incorporate nearby adjacent territories as seamlessly as possible; on the other hand, very few wanted to disturb the delicate balance between states that were for and against slavery.

Origins and Enactment of the Compromise

At the time Missouri petitioned to enter into the Union, the country had grown to 22 states.

There were 11 free states and 11 slave states, which meant that each position on slavery had equal representation in the U.S. Senate, which gave each faction power to prevent legislation that was not in the best interest of its states. At the same time, the House of Representatives was controlled by the free states because they had larger populations.

On January 13, 1820, a heated debate began in Congress that highlighted impassioned arguments for and against slavery. Not only was black slavery the foundation of the south's economy, but it was also integral to 200 years of southern life and culture. For many in the north who were against slavery, the issue was simple—refuse to allow any more states that supported the abhorrent practice of slavery. In the south, many also thought the issue was simple—Missouri must be allowed to be a slave state not only to maintain its settlers' rights to own slaves but also to resist any further control imposed on them from the north.

Important questions were raised in the course of this debate: What control did a state have in deciding for itself its own rule of law, even if that law conflicted with laws in other states? If Congress, not the states, controlled the rule of law, would new states have less autonomy than earlier states? Congressman John Taylor of New York articulated this debate in the following:

Those whom we shall authorize to set in motion the machine of free government beyond the Mississippi will, in many respects, decide the destiny of millions . . . our votes this day will determine whether the high destiny of this region, and of these generations, shall be fulfilled, or whether we shall defeat them by permitting slavery, with all its baleful consequences, to inherit the land.

The debate would continue in public discourse until February 17, 1820, when Illinois Senator Jesse B. Thomas offered the Missouri Compromise. In this agreement, Missouri would be allowed to enter the Union as a slave state, but slavery was prohibited from the remaining Louisiana Purchase lands located north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes north latitude.

Before the statehood bill was signed, there were a number of amendments proposed to address

the issue of whether or not Missouri would be a slave state. For example, New York Congressman James Talmadge sought to stop slaves from being brought into Missouri after it became a state, and to allow children of slaves to be set free at the age of 25. Approved by the House, this effort to curtail Missouri's right to own slaves was struck down by the Senate. Southern senators used Maine's petition for statehood as a bargaining chip, arguing that if the amendment was passed, they would not allow Maine to enter into the Union. After much bitter debate, there was an agreement to combine the petitions of Maine and Missouri. After this stalemate, the Missouri Compromise bill passed and was sent to President James Monroe to sign into law.

Monroe's Dilemma

President Monroe was conflicted because, as a Virginia slave owner himself, he disliked slavery as an institution but was also economically reliant on his slaves; additionally, he was worried about the upcoming presidential election in 1820. At this point, Monroe expressed concern about whether such a bill was constitutional. Monroe also seemed to be persuaded by the southern congressmen's appeal to fairness when he wrote in a letter to his son, "My own decided opinion is that new states cannot be admitted into the union, on other conditions than the old: that their incorporation must place them on precisely the same footing, as to rights granted, and retained." After being reassured by his advisors that the compromise did not create a new state admission process, Monroe signed the bill into law.

At the time of its passage, the compromise was seen as a way to appease the south until it abolished slavery. The compromise reflected a cognitive dissonance within the United States: the desire both for states' rights and for individual rights, even when those rights conflicted. Former president Thomas Jefferson was concerned that such a compromise would be dangerous for the country, warning, "This momentous question, like a fireball in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union."

Others, such as Congressman Henry Clay, believed the compromise was the only way to maintain the nation's unity. However, the

compromise did not stop other territorial disputes, such as those regarding Texas, Mexico, and California. Further, the Missouri Compromise did not solve the differences between northern and southern states, such as the issue of tariffs imposed by the federal government that would help the north but hurt the south. However, the Missouri Compromise may have delayed the Civil War.

Repeal

For more than 30 years after its enactment, the Missouri Compromise established a clear “line in the sand,” north of which slavery would be prohibited by law. However, the compromise was repealed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Three years later, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. The ruling opened up all new states to slavery, and proved that President Monroe was right to be concerned about the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise.

This Missouri Compromise created an imaginary Mason-Dixon Line that would become a crucial dividing point between the north and the south during the Civil War. The compromise also reflected the belief of “popular sovereignty,” that people living in a territory should be free from federal interference, which would continue to be an argument made for states’ rights long after the mid-19th century.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; Civil War, U.S.; *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857); Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854); Mason-Dixon Line; Slave Narratives; Slavery.

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Mixed-Race Americans

Some scholars of mixed race have argued that a unique element of American understandings and constructions of mixed race is that there is an implicit assumption of racial purity, against which mixed race contrasts. At worst, “mixed” has been said to corrupt or compromise the purity of whiteness (thus rendering mixed-race people “nonwhite,” despite any white ancestry that they may have). At best, “mixed” can be constructed as a positive duality or “cultural bridge in human form” that reflects more than one background. Within this spectrum, the tacit presumption of singular racial groups exists, whether constructed biologically, socially, or somewhere in between. “Mixed race,” then, is often viewed as the result of these singular, discrete, mutually exclusive groups commingling and reproducing.

Especially in the last decade, some critical mixed-race scholars have begun to explore the sources for this trajectory of mixed-race construction, how it has influenced the ways that mixed-race Americans have been identified over history, and how they have identified themselves. One of the most important influences on racial understanding in the United States has been the U.S. census. By exploring the race and ethnicity elements of the census as they pertain to mixed-race Americans, the unique identities and experiences of mixed-race Americans throughout this aspect of American history help contextualize the present.

Enumerating Mixed-Race Americans Through History

Mixed-race Americans have undergone shifts in acknowledgment, acceptability, and understanding since the first U.S. census was conducted in 1790. The U.S. census has always been tied to issues of race and ethnicity in the United States. While the primary purpose of the census was originally to count the national population in order to allocate representation, race was designated as a measure of “how much” an individual would count in the total population numbers. Continuing through history, the census has been used to map the different races and ethnicities in the United States, and to measure how each group is doing on the whole in terms of education, employment, income, and health.

The census helps shape racial identity as well as illuminate trends along defined racial and ethnic lines. The social constructive notion of mixed race by the U.S. Census Bureau can be described as a “combination” of two or more of these racial groups. Additionally, the census not only describes the population but also shapes categorization and identity, so the implications of the racial and ethnic choices on mixed race in the United States are significant.

The United States has the longest continuous history of dividing its population into mutually exclusive racial categories based on pseudo-scientific racial theories. Racial categorization began, in part, to distinguish between whites and nonwhites, because whites were reluctant to enfranchise nonwhite groups and allow them equal rights and legal protection. The installation of the “one-drop rule” by enumerators, which stipulated that a person was considered “black” if he or she had any black ancestry, worked to reinforce notions of hypodescent and personal identities that assume that any nonwhite ancestry means that the person is nonwhite. This distinction effectively discouraged individuals with mixed-race backgrounds to identify—if even acknowledge—their white ancestry, since it was denied by the larger society. Identifying with other nonblack ancestry would not have been socially or legally accepted at the time.

Every census taken in the United States has had questions about race; however, the specific questions and categories used for tabulating the responses have changed every 10 years. The first census had only two racial categories: “white” and “black” (Negro). The black category was further divided into “free” or “slave.” For the purposes of black categorization, the enumerators used the one-drop rule to distinguish mixed-race individuals as nonwhite. Native Americans (referred to by the U.S. Census Bureau as “American Indians”) who lived on reservations and were therefore untaxed were not counted in the national census. There were few individuals who were neither white nor black during early census taking.

An overview of the changes in the census’ race question since 1790 shows the changing focus of government officials from census to census. From 1850 to 1870, 1890, 1910, and 1920, enumerators were instructed to identify “mulattoes,” or persons of white and black ancestries, among the

black population. Although it was illegal at that time in U.S. history, there were white-black sexual unions, and an extensive mulatto population was reported in these censuses. In 1890, enumerators further had to identify “quadroons” (persons with a quarter of black ancestry) and “octoroons” (persons with an eighth of black ancestry) as subcategories of mulatto. The 1860 census saw the addition of a category for American Indians, who were counted if they did not live on a reservation and paid taxes.

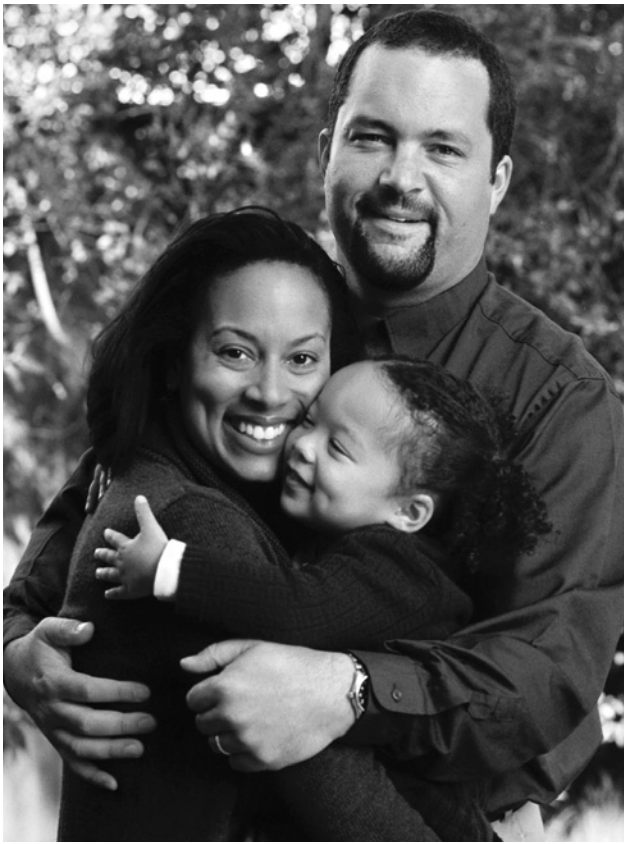
Additionally, in California only, a category for “Chinese” was added to count the Chinese immigrants who were settling in that state in high numbers. In 1890, a “Japanese” category was added to count individuals of Japanese ancestry, separate from those of Chinese ancestry. Another major change in the 1890 census was that for the first time, all American Indians were counted in the census. Nevertheless, the American Indians living on reservations were only reported in total numbers and were still omitted from the general count, which only included those not living on a reservation. Beginning in 1910, the Census Bureau began using additional categories for Asians and Pacific Islanders: Filipino, Hindu, and Korean, reflecting the rise in immigration rates from those countries around the turn of the 20th century.

Through 1940, the census asked questions for explicit descriptions of race, without a category for “other race.” In 1930 only, a “Mexican” category was added in order to classify Mexican-born residents and children of Mexican-born parents. This category was eliminated in the 1940 census, and data from 1930 was revised for official reports to include the Mexican population as “white.” Perhaps building on the intention of the Mexican category used in the 1930 census, the Census Bureau added a category for “White population of Spanish mother tongue” for the first time in 1940. At this time, there was only a small population of nonwhites of Spanish mother tongue, so the enumeration of this population served as a low rough estimate of the Hispanic population.

Beginning in 1950, there was an attempt to identify mixed American Indian, black, and white ancestry of those living in some of the eastern portions of the country. For the enumeration of the Asian and Pacific Islander population, the specific

categories used for this census were Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino. Other Asians and Pacific Islanders, and mixed American Indians, blacks, and whites were grouped together as “other race.” This was the first time that the category was used in the census questionnaire. Less than 0.1 percent were counted in the “other race” category that year and the subsequent census in 1960, indicating the small proportion of people identified outside the commonly accepted racial categories used in the United States. This was still before self-enumeration began in 1970 and may reflect social attitudes that largely regarded race as a discrete category that is clearly identifiable by others.

Beginning in the 1970 census, there has been a question specifically asking about Hispanic origin, separate from racial categorization. The Hispanic community in the United States campaigned



Benjamin Jealous, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); his wife, Lia; and their daughter, Morgan. Jealous is the son of a mixed-race couple—Ann Todd Jealous, an African American psychotherapist, and Fred Jealous, a white education administrator.

for separate categorization for civil rights protection, and the result was the insertion of a question that asked about Hispanic ethnicity, regardless of racial identity. They argued that this more accurately reflects the diverse nature of Hispanic and Latino origin, rather than regarding it as a singular race, as people with Hispanic or Latino origin can be racially classified as white, black, or Native American/American Indian. However, in contrast, Asian immigrants were not categorized in ethnic terms but as a separate race. They were designated as “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” and were classified as Chinese and Japanese in the race question starting in the late 1800s.

Mixed Race and “Mark One or More”

The 2000 census demonstrated the shifting racial and ethnic identity in the United States with a significant change in the race question. For the first time in census history, respondents were allowed to mark more than one race, reflecting a new way of measuring racial identification. By this allowance, the census began to challenge the previously taken-for-granted constructions and definitions of race in American society. Furthermore, mixed racial statuses began to be acknowledged on both governmental and popular levels by this change in policy.

The change in the race question came about through much campaigning by community and other advocacy groups that were connected to multiracial/multiethnic communities across the United States. Between 1990 and 2000, groups such as Project RACE (Reclassify All Children Equally), Association for Multi Ethnic Americans (AMEA), A Place for Us (APFU), Brick by Brick Church, the Interracial Family Alliance, and the Interracial Lifestyle Connection challenged the census classifications that allowed only one racial group to be selected by each enumerated individual. The organizations gained momentum and support because of the changing demographics in the United States; between 1990 and 2000, the number of multiracial households increased from 2.4 to 3 million interracial couples (4.5 to 5.4 percent). During the beginning of the campaign, the groups were primarily asking for a category labeled “multiracial” or “multiethnic” on official forms. Despite their specific request, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) decided to allow

respondents to select all the racial categories that applied for each household individual.

The new race counts have far-reaching effects on the tabulating and analysis of census data. The data will provide new challenges for the quantification of racial demographics in the United States, as those that marked two or more categories will not have a clear and discrete racial category. The changes will have effects on civil rights legislation and education and health statistics, which have been based in the past on the official categories and will have to be modified to accommodate the new multiracial classifications. Additionally, the new allowances raise challenges for the Census Bureau race projections and social research that analyzes the experiences of racial and ethnic groups in the United States. The blurring of “official” racial boundaries with the new race question for 2000 makes the future creation and enforcement of such legal and social matters uncertain. Furthermore, the change in the census question will continue to have long-term and unpredictable outcomes for race-based social policy, as interracial and interethnic marriage becomes more common, and the U.S. population continues to become more racially mixed.

Some preliminary guidelines were put in place by the OMB in order to code and analyze the data from the new race question. For the purposes of the 2000 census, the OMB ruled that all individuals who identified themselves as more than one race are to be considered part of the minority (nonwhite) race category, for purposes of civil rights legislation. In this way, despite the allowance of multiple racial categories, there are still remnants of the ideas that mixed-race Americans are nonwhite by virtue of the fact that they are not “fully” white. Despite the change in the race question in the 2000 census, there have been criticisms raised that question how effective the change was in addressing previous concerns relating to racial categorization. One of the main arguments expresses dissatisfaction in the way the race question reflects racial identity, arguing that adding the option to select more than one racial category still does not adequately account for the fluid nature of racial identity for many individuals. Though the response options have changed, the question still uses the same approach to classify racial identity.

Two or More Races Population: 2000 and 2010

The data from the 2000 census showed that 6.83 million of the 281.42 million enumerated Americans marked two or more responses for racial identity classification, according to the official coding methodology employed by the Census Bureau. That translates to approximately 1 out of every 40 Americans identifying as two races, and approximately 1 out of 1,000 identifying as three or more races. Fewer than 1,000 identified themselves by selecting all six racial categories—the major five categories plus the “some other race” category.

For the first time in history, the 2010 data allowed major data point comparisons among the two or more races populations from it and the 2000 census. During this decade, the population grew from 6.83 to 9.01 million, or approximately 1 out of every 37 Americans identifying as two races, and one 1 of every 500 identifying as three or more races. The numbers dropped slightly for individuals selecting five or six races between 2000 and 2010.

Mixed-race Americans have been grouped, not based upon notions of shared phenotypes or genotypes or national/regional origins, but because they share the mixed-race condition of being from more than one of the officially recognized racial groups in the United States. For this reason, mixed-race Americans are not easily generalizable.

The collected data would be sufficient if the census obtained the most relevant multiracial population, but how relevant the population is depends on the questions and goals of the research. Therefore, the census and all other surveys that use a single measure of race would better be seen as a measure of a multiracial population, instead of the multiracial population, as is still commonly accepted. Despite this, the census is a great tool for examining mixed-race Americans for demographic information, as well as for beginning to understand the history of the social construction that allows “mixed race” to be a viable and meaningful category today for millions of Americans.

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See Also: Category Controversies (Essay); Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Mulatto; Multiracial Movement; Quadroon; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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Mohawk

The Mohawk called themselves Kanien'kehá:ka, or "People of the Place of Flint." They are one of the five original nations forming the Iroquois Confederacy. They are also known as the "Keepers of the Eastern Door" because they provided protection for the Confederacy from invasion in that direction. The Mohawk are an Iroquoian-speaking people, originally from the Mohawk Valley in upstate New York.

Today, members of the Mohawk tribe live throughout upstate New York and southeastern Ontario and Quebec, Canada. The St. Regis Mohawk reservation, also known as Akwesasne, is located in Franklin County, New York, and is adjacent to the Akwesasne reserve in Ontario and Quebec. Although they straddle the United States and Canada, the St. Regis and Akwesasne Mohawk view themselves as one community. Ganienkeh is a Mohawk community founded in 1973 near Altona, New York, and Kanatsiohareke

is a Mohawk community re-established in 1993 on ancient homeland west of Fonda, New York. There are five Mohawk reserves in Canada (Akwesasne, Kanesatake/Oka, Kahnawake, Tyendinaga, and Wahta/Gibson) and another Iroquois reserve (Six Nations of the Grand River), which has a considerable Mohawk population. According to the 2010 census report, there are 81,002 people of Iroquois descent in the United States. This doesn't accurately convey the population of Mohawk people in the United States. However, there are approximately 25,000 Mohawk people registered with the St. Regis, Akwesasne, and Six Nations communities.

First contact between the Mohawk and the Dutch occurred when the latter established a trading post at Fort Nassau, New Netherland, in 1614 (near present-day Albany, New York). The Mohawks established a monopoly in the fur trade with the Dutch, ultimately becoming their allies in fighting the French. In the aftermath of the 1666 to 1667 French attack (to avenge the killing of Jesuit priests), Jesuit missionaries converted many Mohawk to Christianity and established two Catholic missions near Montreal (later known as Kahnawake). During this time, a young Mohawk woman, Kateri Tekakwitha, converted. She is the first Native American to be declared blessed (beatified in Rome by Pope John Paul II in 1980). Throughout the 1690s, the Mohawk continued to convert to Christianity under Protestant missionaries.

During the American Revolutionary War, a majority of Mohawk fought against the United States because of treaty obligations with the British and conflicts with settlers; some Mohawk sided with the Americans, while others remained neutral. After the war, American retaliatory raids upon the Mohawk forced them west to Fort Niagara or into Canada. The well-known Mohawk Joseph Brandt established the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario at this time. In November 1794, the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) signed the Treaty of Canandaigua with the United States, calling for peace, non-interference between the United States and tribal nations, and annuity payments.

The Iroquois League, governing the ceremonial and cultural institutions of the Haudenosaunee, consisted of 50 sachems, or chiefs, from each of the original five tribes or nations. The Haudenosaunee

were matrilineal societies; hereditary leadership was passed down through female family lines. Consequently, although usually men, sachem were appointed by women. Mohawk society comprises three clans (Wolf, Bear, and Turtle), composed of matrilineal lineages. Three Mohawk sachem from each clan participated in the Iroquois Great Council, the meetings of the 50 sachem of the league. Today, many Mohawk communities have hereditary and elected chiefs; the latter are recognized by Canadian and U.S. governments.

Extended Mohawk families traditionally lived together in longhouses, 50- to 100-foot long wood-framed, bark-covered structures that contained shared communal rooms and spaces, individual family compartments, fire pits, and smoke holes. A three-part surrounding wall made of wooden stakes provided protection for villages, containing up to 600 people. Villages were moved about every 15 years, when nearby resources were diminished. In modern times, the longhouse is used as a gathering place for social and ceremonial events. The term *longhouse religion* is also used in the United States to describe Haudenosaunee who follow the Handsome Lake code.

Known for their raised beadwork style created in the late 18th century, Mohawk women from the St. Regis, Akwesasne, and Kahnawake reserves made significant quantities of beaded items for a European-American commercial market and Mohawk use. Beadwork was also used to mark significant events before then, as is the case with wampum (tubular shaped beads made of white and purple Quahog clamshells). The unification of the original five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy is represented in the Hiawatha wampum belt, which contains four squares (representing the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, and Mohawk) and a central tree shape, the Tree of Peace (signifying the central council fire and the Onondaga). A white line connecting all five motifs, known as the path of peace, symbolizes their unity. These symbols are used in the Haudenosaunee flag today.

In the early 20th century, Mohawk ironworkers (many from the Kahnawake and Akwesasne reserves near Montreal) continued their family legacies as high steel workers by moving to Brooklyn, New York. There, they preserved their Mohawk cultural heritage in tightly knit communities, and they are known for having worked on almost every

skyscraper and bridge built in New York City, including the World Trade Center. After decades of forced assimilation through education, various educational initiatives helped revitalize Mohawk culture, like the Akwesasne Freedom School created in 1979 at the St. Regis Reservation.

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See Also: Boston Tea Party; Indian Casinos; Iroquois Confederacy; Oneida; Seneca.

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Montana v. United States (1981)

In 1981, a conflict arose between the Crow Tribe of Montana, the state of Montana, and the United States. In question was the legitimacy and authority of any of these three entities to prevent nonmembers of the Crow Tribe from fishing and hunting on the Crow reservation.

The land at the center of the controversy was the bed of the Big Horn River, which the courts ruled clearly belonged to the state of Montana originally, and not the Crow Tribe. The Crow Tribe believed that the land was given to them as laid out in the First Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851) and the Second Treaty of Fort Laramie of (1868), yet the state of Montana continued to assert its

control over the land. The federal government maintained that true authority over land is designated by possession of title. The contention of the Crow was that they still possessed “inherent sovereignty” because the land was conveyed to them twice, and the state of Montana should discontinue its attempts to maintain jurisdiction over hunting and fishing on Crow lands.

According to an initial court ruling, the title for the bed of the Big Horn River was not conveyed to the Crow Tribe because as a general principle, the federal government holds lands under navigable waters in trust for future states when they enter into the union. Further, this reservation land was owned in fee simple (capable of being inherited) by nonmembers and therefore was not subject to Crow Tribe regulations, even though the Big Horn River bed was within the boundaries of the Crow reservation.

With the parties still not happy with the outcome, the case was appealed to the District Court of Montana. In this appeal, the control over fishing and hunting on the reservation by nonmembers was argued to still belong to the United States. This ruling held that the land had neither been explicitly nor formally designated as falling under the sole care of the Crow Tribe. The district court explicitly cited the 457 F. Supp., 609 decision that, “Indian tribes do not have the power, nor do they have the authority, to regulate non-Indians unless so granted by an act of Congress.” The court went so far as to say that if the Crow wanted to control fishing and hunting on the reservation by nonmembers, the Crow would have to pass and enact legislation designed to prohibit trespassing on or owning tribal or Indian land.

Although there was some dissent between justices regarding the opinion on the case, it was upheld that the bed of the Big Horn River did not belong to the Crow. As a result, non-Indians on this fee simple property were not obliged to adhere to the Crow regulations against fishing and hunting, even though it was within the boundaries of Crow land. Again, the court upheld the right of the United States (and not the Crow) to regulate hunting and fishing on the reservation by both Indians and non-Indians on non-Indian-owned property.

Later, in the court of appeals, the district court’s findings were overturned—the United

States held the banks of the Big Horn River in trust for the Crow Tribe, the United States and the Crow did have the authority to prohibit the hunting and fishing of nonmembers on the fee simple (non-Indian) lands within the boundaries of the reservation, and the Crow could not impose criminal actions against nonmembers for hunting and fishing on the reservation. The fishers and hunters on the Crow reservation would still be held accountable to Montana’s criminal and fish and game laws.

In the final ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, Justice Potter Stewart held that the Crow have the right to regulate hunting and fishing by nonmembers on the reservation as long as the land is sovereign and controlled by the tribe. Because some of the Crow reservation land was held by nonmembers, the land was not sovereign and thus could not be controlled by the Crow.

This case has been cited many times in rulings against the power of Indian tribes, as the ruling states that Indians only have the sovereign rights to protect their own self-governance and internal interests, predominantly in civil manners.

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See Also: Bureau of Indian Affairs; Fort Laramie, Treaty of (1868); Native Americans.

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Montgomery Bus Boycott

A strong case can be made that this protest action, which started in the Deep South state of Alabama, is the best-known and most influential consumer boycott in America’s history. This boycott

initiated the modern civil rights movement in the United States and introduced to the world the man who became the movement's leader, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. The Montgomery bus boycott was triggered on December 1, 1955, by the refusal of Rosa Parks to give up her seat on a city bus to a white man.

Despite the many books and articles written about this boycott, some misunderstandings persist. To illustrate, Rosa Parks is sometimes portrayed as a retiring apolitical woman who, because of fatigue from a long day's work, finally decided that she had had enough and stepped out of character to defy the local authorities. In fact, Parks was anything but retiring and apolitical; she had long been involved in local and state black political activities, having served, for example, as secretary for the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter from 1943 to 1955. Moreover, she had refused several times in the 1940s to comply with the bus segregation laws and in the early 1940s was once ejected by a bus driver for her refusal to comply.

A second common misunderstanding concerns the organization of the boycott plan and its initial implementation. The leadership for this mammoth effort is often wrongly ascribed to King, but he asked to take charge only after the boycott began. The early planners and initiators were two longtime Montgomery residents with a history of leadership in the black community. One was E. D. Nixon, a local leader in union matters and black political pursuits. Known by many as a local militant, he was the man to whom local blacks would go if they experienced trouble with whites and needed help. The second principal was Jo Ann Robinson, a professor of English at the local black college, Alabama State College. Robinson headed the Women's Political Council, a group of local, middle-class black women considered to be one of the most active and assertive black civic organizations in Montgomery.

Plan for a Bus Boycott Emerges

After the arrest of Parks, Robinson and her colleagues conferred with Nixon about launching a local bus boycott. Although Nixon had been reluctant to agree to a boycott when other blacks

had been arrested for violating the segregated bus rules (in each of these instances, he had thought either the time was not right or the person arrested did not present a strong enough platform to support a massive attack on local practices), this time he thought that he had an ideal test case. Parks was a quiet, dignified middle-aged woman, active not only in black political and community activities but also in a local church. On the night of Parks's arrest (Thursday, December 1), Robinson, after conferring with other local black leaders, decided to organize a bus boycott for the following Monday (December 5).

With two trusted student aides, she worked through the night at her college's duplicating room to produce 50,000 copies of a bus boycott message for distribution to the black community. The next day, Robinson and the two students, along with other members of the Women's Political Council, distributed the announcements throughout Montgomery's black community.

Finding a Permanent Leader

The Monday boycott was a dramatic success for its participants in that fewer than 10 percent of Montgomery's blacks rode the city buses. Since 75 to 80 percent of the passengers who normally rode the bus were black, the boycott resulted in a huge loss in revenues for the bus company. Moreover, Robinson claimed that white ridership was also down on that day, so many buses were empty (or nearly empty) for the length of their routes. By Monday afternoon, local black leaders were well aware of the success of the boycott and began looking for someone to lead its continuation. Although E. D. Nixon had been asked to assume the role, he decided that a black minister would be a better choice. Nixon had been impressed with the young Reverend King, a 26-year-old newcomer to Montgomery with a doctoral degree from Boston University and an impressive gift for oratory.

At an afternoon meeting of local black leaders on Monday, it was decided that a new local organization would be formed to continue the boycott and that it would be called the Montgomery Improvement Association. King was elected by the group as its leader. That evening, his gifts as a speaker were made dramatically evident at a mass meeting of 6,000 blacks who came together

at a local black church to discuss the bus boycott and its future.

After King made his speech, the response of the thousands gathered inside and outside the church was pandemonium. The audience apparently felt that Montgomery blacks had found not only a way to combat the daily humiliations of segregated buses but also an inspiring young minister to lift their spirits while mobilizing their energies to confront the white power structure of the city. Little did they know at the time how long they would need this leadership to sustain them. The boycott lasted a total of 382 days, from December 5, 1955 to December 21, 1956, far longer than any of its leaders could have foreseen.

To the surprise of many observers, the bus boycott after its first day was also very successfully executed. The more than 90 percent of black riders who stayed off the buses on December 5 continued to stay off throughout the boycott period. The abstinence from city bus services was made possible by the creation of an alternative transportation system by the Montgomery Improvement Association.

The system, which started as a crude voluntary effort, soon evolved into something far more sophisticated and reliable, as the Montgomery Improvement Association secured the necessary funds to buy vehicles, hire drivers, and develop routes—in short, to establish a very effective city bus system.

Developing a Strong Sense of Community

The Montgomery Improvement Association took steps to develop a sense of community among its members. It published a newsletter edited by Jo Ann Robinson and held weekly mass meetings that cut across class lines. The strong sense of community was a major factor in the financing of the Montgomery Improvement Association, and especially its extensive and expensive alternate transportation system. Those attending the weekly church meetings gave generously, but unlike earlier black boycotts in the south (e.g., one in Baton Rouge), this boycott drew large contributions from the outside, and especially from the north. Northern blacks donated large sums as NAACP units and black churches across the nation organized a fund-raising campaign. Also, labor unions such as the United Automobile Workers provided

large amounts, as did peace organizations like the War Resisters League.

A curious aspect of the boycott campaign concerns the demands made by the boycotters and how these demands changed over its duration. At the outset, the Montgomery Improvement Association did not seek to overturn the state's segregation laws or to challenge the legitimacy of *de jure* segregation. Instead, it was within the constraints of a segregated system that the boycotters, as fare-paying consumers, sought to have their rights to equitable treatment honored. This meant more courtesy from the bus drivers and the right for blacks to sit from the rear to the front on a first-come, first-served basis. This right was not inconsistent with the state's segregation laws; a seating plan of this type was already in place in other southern cities (e.g., in Mobile, Alabama).

However, instead of considering the boycotters' demands for change within the existing segregation laws, the bus company rejected them summarily. The company believed that compromise was unwise because it might fuel more black defiance. Ironically, the bus company's rigid reaction helped radicalize the Montgomery Improvement Association's leadership as well as its goals. From a position of working within the existing bus segregation laws, the boycotters moved to one of fighting to overturn them.

After the first few weeks of boycott success, signs of serious strain began to appear in the city of Montgomery. Late in January 1956, drivers in the Montgomery Improvement Association's car-pool reported being harassed by the police. On January 30, King's house was bombed. A month later, a grand jury returned indictments for 90 of the leaders and supporters of the association. These individuals were charged with conspiring to carry out an illegal boycott.

Landmark U.S. Supreme Court Decision

The boycotters were defended by the NAACP, which took the case to federal court. When it appeared that the courts would rule against segregated busing, the local bus company attempted to put an end to the practice, only to find that the city of Montgomery threatened company drivers with arrest if they permitted desegregated seating. Finally, the federal court in Montgomery acted

with a 2-to-1 ruling on June 5, 1956, that bus segregation was illegal.

The ruling was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on November 13, 1956, and a month later, Montgomery officials were served with copies of the ruling by federal marshals. The following day, December 21, 1956, the boycott ended, and blacks, for the first time in more than a year, returned to the buses.

In light of the landmark federal boycott decisions and their influence on the boycott's outcome, it is difficult to say what effect, if any, the yearlong protest had on ending bus segregation in Montgomery. On one hand, some observers claimed that successful litigation, not the boycott, desegregated the buses. According to Fred Powledge, NAACP officials of the time, annoyed that

the Montgomery boycott had been undertaken without their direction, did not hesitate to point to their successful role in the federal courts in winning the boycott objectives.

On the other hand, since federal court decisions do not take place in a social vacuum, other observers claimed that the dramatic and heroic actions of Montgomery blacks during the many months of the boycott, actions that received nationwide publicity in the various news media, may have influenced the judges' thinking. But even if this influence was minimal, some people see the consequences of the boycott painted on a far larger canvas, one not dreamed of by its local leaders when their campaign began in late 1955. The boycott, more than any other single action, brought the civil rights movement to the attention



The Montgomery Bus Boycott lasted from December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks was arrested for not giving up her seat on the bus to a white person, until December 30, 1956, when a federal ruling took effect that led to a Supreme Court decision declaring Alabama's laws unconstitutional. The National City Lines bus on which Rosa Parks was riding when she was arrested is now a museum exhibit at the Henry Ford Museum.

of the nation. As Domenic Capeci has observed, the boycott offered a leader (King), a philosophy (nonviolence), a tactic (direct action), and a tangible triumph.

Particularly important to Powledge was that Montgomery blacks fought their yearlong fight using a tactic that was difficult to sustain: the consumer boycott. The blacks maintained it during the cold months of winter and the heat and humidity of a southern, Alabama summer. The boycott sparked similar actions in other southern cities.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Panther Party; Martin Luther King, Jr. Day; White Supremacy.

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Moonstruck

Moonstruck (1987), directed by Norman Jewison, is a warm-hearted romantic comedy that scored well both critically and at the box office. It was the fifth-highest-grossing film in America in 1987 and was nominated for six Academy Awards, earning the award for Best Screenplay, Best Actress (Cher) and Best Supporting Actress (Olympia Dukakis).

Although its success shows its wide appeal, the film is set in the New York Italian American community, using its trials and tribulations to speak universally of the human condition. Its veteran director had previously addressed issues of race

and ethnicity in films such as *In the Heat of the Night* (1967) and *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971).

Moonstruck centers on complex affairs of the heart. Loretta Castorini (Cher) has recently become engaged to Johnny Cammareri (Danny Aiello), but when Johnny goes to Sicily to see his dying mother, Loretta falls passionately in love with his younger brother, Ronny (Nicholas Cage). While she is at the opera with Ronny, her infidelity is matched by their encounter with her father, Cosmo (Vincent Gardenia), and his mistress, Mona (Anita Gillette). However, all is resolved the following morning. Cosmo promises his wife (Olympia Dukakis) that he will stop seeing Mona, and when Johnny returns unexpectedly from Sicily because his mother has made a miraculous recovery that he believes means that he must sacrifice his marriage plans, Loretta is able to accept Ronny's proposal. These romantic complexities are matched by relationships between time and place, past and present, New York and Italy, all of which are underscored by the film's plot as well as its use of casting, *mise en scene*, and soundtrack.

Moonstruck opens with an establishing shot of the Brooklyn Bridge but soon moves to Manhattan, where the New York Metropolitan Opera is preparing for a production of Puccini's *La Bohème*. Against this visual backdrop, the soundtrack plays Dean Martin's 1953 hit "That's Amore." These few minutes capture and anticipate the film's multicultural themes. Crossing the Brooklyn Bridge has long been a symbol of aspiration to the Brooklyn-based Italian community, while the Met, with its logo of the American flag, is dependent upon international, including Italian, operas. "That's Amore" mingles its lyrics and title with Italian and English vocabulary. *Moonstruck* is set in both America and Italy, but it is neither Italian nor American, it is Italian American, as are its characters; they bring out the best of both countries to achieve something new, and it is implied that others may learn from that example. Moreover, both *La Bohème* and the moon, mentioned in "That's Amore" ("When the moon hits your eye like a big pizza pie, that's amore"), are connective threads and motifs throughout.

Moonstruck is a true celebration of the Italian American experience and of its people's

achievements in the modern day. It is a strikingly positive portrayal; although some scenes are set in Sicily, there is no hint of the Mafia associations that so often stereotype Hollywood movies, and although Cosmo is a sharp and very successful businessman, there is no trace of criminality in any of the characters. Moreover, viewers see through the generations how adaptation has been made to American ways. Loretta's grandfather (Feodor Chaliapin, Jr.) still mainly speaks Italian with his elderly friends. Second-generation Cosmo has been able to build a lucrative plumbing business, while Rose is proud to have remained a traditional housewife. As a third-generation Italian American woman, Loretta has a professional career as an accountant and a feisty spirit; she is told by Ronny, "Playing safe is the most dangerous thing a woman like you can do."

Italian American Portrayals

It is clear that Italian Americans are thriving because, along with their adaptation, they have retained their traditions. Loretta and Rose both wear crosses and visit church for solace and guidance. The three generations still live together, and Rose expects Loretta to stay in the family home with her new husband and, she hopes, have children. Family is their bedrock. *Moonstruck* ends with the toast to Ronnie and Loretta's engagement: "To family" (including Johnny, who will still become family through his brother's marriage) and a series of close-ups of family photographs, the camera finally resting upon a sepia-toned picture of the cast as a family group.

However, Italian Americans are not portrayed as standoffish; they enrich their experiences with treats from other cultures. Loretta asks Ronny for a glass of whiskey, and Rose cooks oatmeal from a Quaker Oats box. This multicultural blending is reflected in the casting that sees Cher (who has a mixed ethnic background, including Armenian and Cherokee) and Greek American Olympia Dukakis seamlessly fit with a cast of veteran (Vincent Gardenia) and rising (Nicholas Cage) Italian American actors.

It is this sense that, in America, everyone connects that gives *Moonstruck* its charm and vitality. Although Loretta and Ronny's romance is central, the film unusually finds tender and erotic moments for elderly couples, and the whole extended cast

is linked by the full moon, which casts its rays across the city and into their bedrooms, making them literally "moonstruck."

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See Also: *In the Heat of the Night*; Italian Americans; Mafia; Motion Pictures; *Saturday Night Fever*.

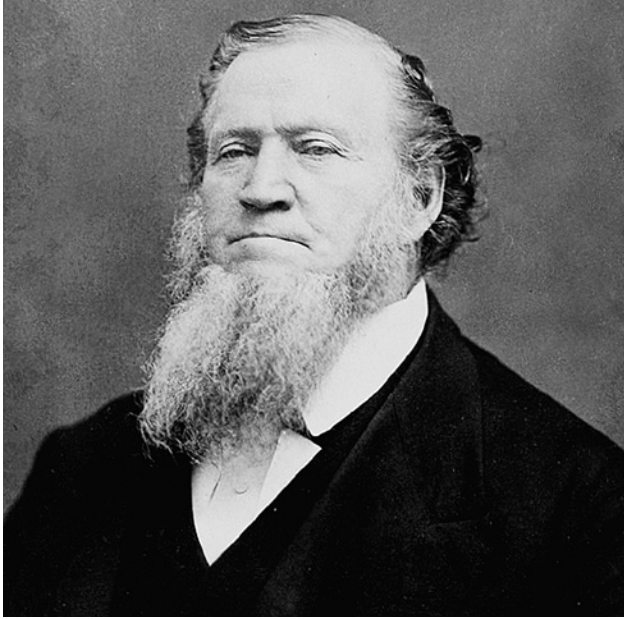
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Mormons

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon or LDS) began during the Second Great Awakening. During this era, a movement in America known as Restorationism or Christian Primitivism sought a return to "the ancient order of things," the simple faith and practice of 1st century Christianity. The two most successful Restorationist movements were the Disciples of Christ (later the Church of Christ, or the Christian Church), led by Alexander Campbell, and the Latter-day Saints, led by Joseph Smith.

Joseph Smith reported that in the spring of 1820, he went into a grove of trees in Palmyra, New York, to ask of God which, of all the existing churches in his area (specifically Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist), was right, and which he should join. He explained that in response to his simple prayer, he saw a heavenly vision in which God and Jesus Christ appeared, instructed him not to join any of the churches (for they believed in incorrect doctrines), but encouraged him to be patient and await the long-promised restoration



Joseph Smith's successor, Brigham Young, was the president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) from 1847 until his death in 1877. He founded Salt Lake City and served as the first governor of the Utah Territory.

of all things. He was told that he would be an instrument in the hands of God in bringing to pass this restoration.

In many ways, Mormonism represented a counterculture, and Mormons are considered by many even today to be religious outsiders. In speaking of the extant Christian traditions, God had declared to the young prophet that “all their creeds were an abomination in [God’s] sight” and that the religious leaders in his area “were all corrupt.” Thus, from very early on, the wedge was driven between traditional or Orthodox Christians and LDS. The Mormons were not Catholic, nor did they identify with any of the Protestant faiths. They spoke of themselves as heirs of the New Testament church but were not a part of the historic Christian tradition. Rather, they defined themselves as “restored” Christianity, a faith community that rejoiced in the restoration of divine priesthood power, spiritual gifts, and plain and precious doctrinal truths that had been either lost or corrupted through the centuries.

Yet, Mormonism did seem to have a connection with existing churches. Its doctrine, especially that presented in the Book of Mormon,

sounded very Protestant. On the other hand, like the Catholics, the LDS believed in apostolic power and succession, and it established a church with a priesthood structure, a line of authority from the newest convert to the prophet or president of the church.

For the most part, the Mormons proved to be a peaceful people, but they were also an insular and somewhat independent group. As early as 1831, Joseph Smith announced an economic system that came to be known as the Consecration and Stewardship of properties. Under this order, individual members consecrated or surrendered all that they possessed to the Church through local church leaders; that is, properties or funds were legally deeded over to the church. Individuals or families then received, also by legal deed, a stewardship or inheritance to manage.

Though the stewardships were generally land or property, on occasion, individuals were assigned to oversee the publication and distribution of either educational materials or sacred scripture. Any and all surplus (either surplus consecration or surplus production) went into the local storehouse, the center of economic interests in the community, to be used for the poor and needy. The success of Consecration and Stewardship was dependent largely upon the goodness and integrity of the participants, the extent to which the members acknowledged that they actually had a surplus to convey to the church. This system worked for a time among a small percentage of the Mormons but was eventually discontinued. This order tended to heighten the insularity of Joseph Smith’s followers and to further distance them from the general populace.

Zion

As early as the coming of the Book of Mormon in 1830, the LDS people were charged to build up and establish Zion—the city of God, the holy commonwealth, the gathering place of God’s people. They were encouraged to have the spirit of Zion in their hearts, to labor to achieve a society in which there were no poor among them, where the municipalities were of one heart and one mind, where Christ would feel comfortable to visit and abide.

When Mormon missionaries traveled throughout the country, taught the restored gospel, and made converts, those converts were charged

to “gather to Zion,” to move themselves to the Church’s headquarters, which over time was Kirtland, Ohio; Independence and Far West, Missouri; Nauvoo, Illinois; and the Great Basin of Salt Lake City.

When the LDS were driven from their homes and expelled from Missouri, the rallying cry was to establish Zion anew. Although for a season of LDS history, the word *Zion* connoted specific geographical sites, gradually the LDS began to speak of Zion as “the pure in heart” and wherever such people chose to dwell. Zion became the banner, the ensign, the standard around which a misunderstood and beleaguered people could rally. It has been crucial in establishing Mormon identity.

The move of the LDS from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Salt Lake Valley was as much ideological as it was geographical. From their perspective, the LDS had finally escaped the tentacles and clutches of Babylon, and had removed themselves from an apostate Christendom. There, Smith’s successor, Brigham Young, directed and oversaw an endeavor that can only be described as remarkable—the leading of thousands across the plains; the taming of the desert; the colonization of Mormon settlements throughout Utah, Idaho, Arizona, and even California; and the establishment of a theocratic society. In the years that followed their entrance into the Salt Lake Valley in July 1847, Joseph’s people enjoyed sweet isolation for a decade, until federal officials began to invade LDS territory.

The institution of polygamy or plural marriage, begun by Joseph Smith but finally made public and official in Salt Lake City in 1852, alarmed and alienated much of the country. Some spoke of slavery and polygamy as the “twin relics of barbarism.” The Mormons resisted federal law until 1878, when the U.S. Supreme Court declared plural marriage illegal and ordered its cessation. In 1890, church president Wilford Woodruff, in compliance with the decision of the highest court in the land, issued *The Manifesto* and charged LDS to cease and desist polygamous practices. Utah achieved statehood in 1896, and a major cultural shift within Mormonism was under way.

Martyrdom of Joseph Smith

At the time of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, there was considerable question in the minds of many LDS as to who should succeed him. The

leaders of the church, under the direction of Brigham Young, declared that before his death, Smith had given strict instructions that the president of the church should come from among those who had received apostolic authority.

Others contended that succession should be patriarchal and that the successor should be Joseph Smith III, who at the time was 12 years old. Those who followed the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles went west, while the latter group stayed in Nauvoo. In 1860, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was established, with Joseph Smith III as president. Today, this group is known more popularly as the Community of Christ, with headquarters in Independence, Missouri. The Community of Christ chose to reject some of the more controversial teachings of the Mormons, and today might be characterized as a kind of mainline Protestant group.

Movement into the 20th century was eventful but challenging for the Mormons, as the LDS sought to assimilate culturally into American society while holding tenaciously to the distinctive tenets and practices of their faith. The 1950s and 1960s in America was a golden age for the Mormons, as they enjoyed relative social acceptance and unparalleled church growth. By the 1980s and 1990s, prominent Mormons were surfacing in entertainment, athletics, education, and government. As the 21st century dawned, more Mormons were located outside the United States than within, with congregations located in such countries as Mexico, Brazil, the Philippines, the Polynesian islands, Japan, Russia, Mongolia, and Africa.

By 2010, the LDS presence in America was highlighted by the rise of a Mormon Republican candidate for president, Mitt Romney, former governor of Massachusetts. During the 2012 election, Romney’s faith became an object of suspicion and criticism, particularly among evangelical Christians. Assuming a position much like that of Roman Catholic candidate John F. Kennedy in 1960, Romney reminded the American people that they were electing a president, not a pastor, and that his suitability to hold the highest office in the land should be evaluated on the basis of his background, experience, and business acumen to accomplish a turnaround in the nation’s economy. The Romney candidacy brought into focus a mind-set that had lain dormant for some

time, namely, the LDS as “religious outsiders” in a largely Catholic/Protestant nation.

Mormonism as a faith and a culture continues to be one of the fastest-growing religious bodies in the world, yet the LDS would be quick to point out that living in Christian America has not come about without stress and strain, that current coexistence among persons of more dominant faiths produces a dynamic tension that will probably continue to exist as long as the followers of Joseph Smith hold to the history, doctrines, and lifestyle that drove the original wedge between themselves and the “religious insiders” in 1820.

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See Also: Jehovah’s Witnesses; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Zionism.

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Motion Picture Production Code

The Motion Picture Production Code was a series of regulations that governed the content of films produced and screened in the United States from 1930 until its replacement by the ratings system in 1968. During the 1920s silent era, the

Hollywood community gained a reputation for unlicensed decadence. Rocked by scandals such as the death of starlet Virginia Rappe, for which actor/director Roscoe “Fatty” Arbuckle was charged with manslaughter, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) sought to rehabilitate Hollywood’s reputation, and under the aegis of MPPDA President Will H. Hays, it instituted the first code.

Hays’s reputation as a strict conservative—he had served as President Warren G. Harding’s post master general—was useful for garnering public faith in his ability to clean up Hollywood, but the code was in fact drawn up by the editor of the trade paper the *Motion Picture Herald*, lay Catholic Martin Quigley, and Jesuit priest Father Daniel A. Lord. The studios agreed to adhere to the code, which, under the guiding principle of demarcating good from evil, first put forward a set of “general principles” and then gave a detailed list of what could and could not be shown and said within a film. Although there were expected restrictions on content, such as sex and violence, the code was most concerned with preventing the representation of issues that would undermine the image of a conservative, affluent, and harmonious America, untroubled by social conflict or abuses.

The period from 1930 to 1934 is often referred to as “pre-code” because its strictures were not tightly enforced. During these early years of sound pictures, there was a spate of highly violent gangster films and pictures with risqué sexual content. Miscegenation, or sexual relations between those of different racial groups, was number six on the Code’s list of things that “shall not appear in pictures produced by members of this Association, irrespective of the manner in which they are treated.” Nonetheless, *The Bitter Tea of General Yen* (Frank Capra, 1933) has a highly erotic sequence in which an American girl in China, Megan Davies (Barbara Stanwick), dreams about her warlord captor, General Yen (Nils Asther).

The Letter and the Spirit of the Code

Amid public outcry at the immoral tenor of movies, especially their negative influence on children and young people, and to avoid the imposition of government censorship, the Production Code Administration (PCA), headed by devout lay Roman Catholic Joseph I. Breen and often referred

to as the Breen office, was inception in 1934. From this point on, all Hollywood scripts had to be submitted to the PCA for approval before production, and the completed film required a code seal of approval before release. The code was now applied with full rigor, although its details would be amended as time went on and the studios would find ways to stay within the letter of the code while undermining its spirit.

This latter point may be illustrated with reference to the multicultural issue of anti-Semitism. Two Code strictures coalesced to make it very difficult to address racial or religious prejudice. The first was number 11 of the absolutely forbidden things: "Wilful offense to any nation, race, or creed." In addition, the Code had a supplementary list deeming "That special care be exercised in the manner in which the following subjects are treated." Number two of this category was "international relations [which included] avoiding picturing in an unfavorable light another country's religion." The ban on the word *Jew* in dialogue on the grounds of avoiding offense was, in practice, taken by the Breen office as an excuse to preclude films from addressing the morally troubling issue of anti-Semitism in the United States or the rising problem of Jewish persecution in Germany. *The Life of Emile Zola* (William Dieterle, 1937), a parable for contemporary European events made by the socially conscious Warner Bros., looked at Zola's quest to clear the name of the Jew, Dreyfus, wrongly convicted of espionage by the 19th century French military. When looking for a scapegoat on whom to pin the treason, officers are seen looking at Dreyfus's records and tracing down his particulars, pausing at the printed word "Jew" while saying "I wonder how someone like him rose up our ranks."

As time progressed and society's conventions changed, the code was refined with regard to allowing representations of narcotics addiction (*The Man With the Golden Arm*, 1955), homosexuality (*Advise and Consent*, 1962), and heterosexual activities, from the comedy of manners, *The Moon Is Blue* (1953) to rape and its revenge in *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959). In each instance, director Otto Preminger was prepared to release his films without a code seal of approval, forcing the Code to accommodate liberal revisions, although the activities presented had to retain

negative connotations, for example, the suicide of a politician whose homosexual past catches up with him in *Advise and Consent*.

By the mid-1960s, partly because of an influx of challenging and realistic British and European films, and partly because of the developing cultural revolution in America, the Code was forced to recognize that the frank depiction of adult subject matter was not necessarily lewd or threatening to the social fabric. For the first time, bare breasts were permitted on screen in a scene from *The Pawnbroker* (Sidney Lumet, 1964), in which an Auschwitz survivor is haunted by his wife's rape by Nazi guards. By 1968, it was no longer possible to restrict cinematic subject matter, and instead theatergoers would be restricted with the ratings system, which continues with revisions into the present day.

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See Also: Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Motion Pictures; *Pawnbroker, The*.

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Motion Pictures

Actors, directors, producers, and other people from diverse heritages have contributed to America's film industry. Hollywood films have always been a sort of a mirror of the United States—although often a controversial and simplified one—and have always dealt with the representation of American society, of which multiculturalism is a key element.

Most of the classical Hollywood studios were founded by Jewish émigrés from Europe, and after World War I, when Hollywood became the world's top movie producer, practitioners and artists from all over the globe moved to California. Among the first-rate cinematographers of Hollywood's Golden Age were Warner Bros.' Sol Polito, MGM's James Wong Howe, and Universal's Karl Freund, respectively a Sicilian, a Cantonese, and a Bohemian.

However, when Hollywood portrayed American society, it tended to show the different groups as assimilated to the dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) culture and values, or to promote such assimilation more or less explicitly. For example, although Jewish, studio moguls were reluctant to portray overtly Jewish themes. In *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937), references to Captain Alfred Dreyfus's Jewish heritage were carefully omitted.

Comedian Danny Kaye (born Kaminsky) was even encouraged to undergo surgery to correct his "Semitic" nose. Similarly, Italian-born director Frank Capra never mentioned his roots in his films but instead became one of the foremost promoters of American values.

Hollywood believed society had to be cohesive under the American WASP values. In the early musical *King of Jazz* (1930), the final "melting pot" number shows immigrants from various countries entering a giant pot, from which they eventually emerge as Americans. Minorities marked by traits or customs that were too divergent from the mainstream model became the targets of stereotypical portrayals; that is, they were featured in films as minor characters with an either comic/ridiculous or negative nature.

Silent-Era Stereotypes

Ethnic/racial stereotypes, which to some extent still exist today, were disseminated during the silent film era in a particularly deriding and often insulting way; the film *Fight of Nations* (1907) is such an anthology. Italians were shown as either mobsters or boxers, both being irrationally passionate and overly gesticulating; *The Black Hand* (1906) was an early Mafia silent film, and *The Italian* (1915) featured the "hot-blooded" stereotype.

In the 1920s, Rudolph Valentino embodied the archetype of the Italian seducer and gave further

strength to this stereotype. Europeans in general were seen as decadent, slightly amoral people, more inclined to sinful and turbid romances than Americans—think of Marlene Dietrich's film characters.

Irishmen were depicted as quick-tempered troublemakers and heavy drinkers, when not directly compared to pigs, as in *Casey's Twins* (1903) and *Smiling Irish Eyes* (1929). Irish men were policemen, firefighters, or boxers, while Irish women were generally servants and washerwomen. Chinese people were depicted as mysteriously entranced in closed groups and devoted to underworld trades. In the best cases, they were just exotic attractions, as in the case of American-born Chinese actress Anna May Wong, who, although talented, was given only Madame Butterfly-like or "dragon lady" roles, for example, in *Daughter of the Dragon* (1931). Jews were seen as greedy "penny pinchers," as depicted in *Levinsky's Holiday* (1913). During World War I, for propaganda reasons, Germans were portrayed as insensitive Huns capable of any atrocious crime.

The African American community was the favorite target. Following the vaudeville tradition of blackface minstrels, African American artists were typically featured as spectacular dancers and musicians; one of the earliest American films is *Negro Dancers* (1895). They were displayed in—and confined to—musical numbers that temporarily stopped the storytelling to leave room for sheer spectacle, while the leading roles and the narrative were carried out by white actors. Moreover, these separate numbers could be conveniently cut out in the copies distributed in the southern states, so as not to annoy the local white audience. The most disparaging characterization—the Coon—represented the supposedly uncivilized nature of African Americans in terms of either buffoonish silliness or dangerous instinctual drives. An infamous example is *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), in which the heroic Ku Klux Klan knights fight against sexually rampant African Americans, played by blackfaced white actors, menacing the peaceful people of the "Old South."

A less detrimental African American stereotype was the Tom, named after the main character of the popular novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1825). The Tom was reliable and amiable, part of the community and perfectly content with being subjected to the white masters. The Tom character—and

his female counterpart, the Mammy—can be typically found in the plantation genre films. In these period motion pictures, the slavery issue was eschewed by showing African Americans as happy members of Old South families, not as slaves; a famous example of this genre is *Gone With the Wind* (1939). Another cliché was the Tragic Mulatto, the offspring of an interracial couple. The mulatto was “tragic” because he or she was the “unnatural” product of so-called miscegenation—prohibited by the law—and, as such, was rejected not only by the whites but also by his or her own people.

The Sound Era

During the 1930s, when silent motion pictures had been replaced by films with sound tracks, more respectful portrayals were advocated by the new Motion Picture Production Code and by the New Deal, which found in Hollywood a strong ally in its social policies. In a country plagued by an economic crisis, filmmakers were now asked to show the image of a cohesive society and encourage people to cooperate for the common good. In many “urban comedies,” all social classes were portrayed sympathetically, and thus the Toms outnumbered the Coons.

This was carried on in the next decade by war films, which showed soldiers from every class and ethnicity united to fight the enemies of freedom; the documentary *The Negro Soldier* (1944) illustrated the contribution of African Americans to the war. In turn, the enemies of freedom were the decade’s villains. In Pacific war films, Japanese were depicted as treacherous, sadistically cruel, and speaking with squeaks or grunt-like sounds. The Germans were not so much the protagonists of war films as those of spy stories with enemies trying to infiltrate into the American soil—a prominent example is *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939). As the Cold War started, the Nazi spy became the Communist spy. The theme was disguised in metaphoric tales such as *The Return of Dracula* (1958), in which the vampire comes from eastern Europe, settles in a small town posing as a distant relative of a local family, and infects the blood of young American girls.

Since African Americans had progressively become a more active part of American society, Hollywood decided to release films aimed at

the African American audience as well. MGM launched its “bronze Venus,” Lena Horne, and the studios produced all-black films like *Cabin in the Sky* (1943) and *Stormy Weather* (1943), or African American versions of classic stories, such as *Carmen Jones* (1954). Nevertheless, these films were shot by Caucasian directors from a white perspective, and not surprisingly, most of them were musicals exploiting the clichéd innate “musical instinct” of African Americans.

More challenging films dealing with racial/social issues came at the end of the 1940s. *Christ in the Concrete* (1949) denounces, in a realistic and nonstereotyped way, the harsh conditions of Italian workers at a New York construction site. *Gentleman’s Agreement* (1947) is about anti-Semitism, while the Holocaust would be dealt with much later in *The Pawnbroker* (1964). *No Way Out* (1950) is the story of a black doctor who has to treat two white racists, while *Pinky* (1949) is about “passing,” that is, the attempt of mulattoes to conceal their black heritage. Miscegenation had been a taboo topic, and films mentioning it, such as *The Bitter Tea of General Yen* (1933), ended tragically, so as to imply that there could be no happiness from such interracial relationships.

Miscegenation was faced openly and in a positive way in *Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner* (1967), the story of the happy engagement between a blonde WASP woman and an African American man. The film featured African American actor Sidney Poitier, who had already starred in *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), about a black detective investigating a murder in a southern racist community. Poitier’s characters were nevertheless seen by part of the black community as updated Toms, well accepted because they had conformed to the dominant white values.

Independent Black Cinema and “Blaxploitation”

Independent, authentically black cinema, dealing with African American topics viewed from an African American perspective, had existed since cinema’s earliest years. In 1910, the Foster Photoplay Company was founded by African American filmmakers, and *The Railroad Porter* (1912) can be considered the first black film. Oscar Micheaux, producer of the first African American

feature-length film, *The Homesteader* (1920), was the most active African American filmmaker of the time. After the coming of sound, occasional black films striving to take a political stance on the social conditions of African Americans were produced, such as *The Cry of Jazz* (1959), but they were not distributed widely enough to contrast Hollywood's view.

In 1971, Melvin Van Peebles's independent black film *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* had an unexpected box office success. It was not the reassuring story of a well-assimilated Tom, but a "bad-nigga narrative," a violent ghetto-centric tale about a streetwise man who strives to survive in a racist society. The reception for this film was so good that the model was taken up by Hollywood. MGM produced the black action thriller *Shaft* (1971), and the so-called blaxploitation trend was launched.

The Rise of Ethnic Diversity

Hollywood realized that ethnic diversity was good for business, so in the 1970s, another ethnic group which had always been active and widely present in the movie industry but had so far refrained from overtly dealing with its heritage moved to the limelight: the Jews. Prominent Jewish artists like Mel Brooks, Woody Allen, and Barbra Streisand based their success on the flaunting of their heritage. If, some decades before Jewish actor Danny Kaye had to change his name and nose to be accepted in Hollywood, now in *Funny Girl* (1968), Streisand sang the praises of her Semitic profile. Italian American actors and directors—Robert De Niro, Al Pacino, Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola—were among the most promising newcomers of the decade. They were no longer reluctant to display their heritage, overturning the old prejudices—in *Serpico* (1973), the Italian protagonist is an upright cop, not a mobster—and even discussing the Mafia tradition in Coppola's *The Godfather* (1972).

After the success of Bruce Lee's Hong Kong films (*Enter the Dragon* [1973] was coproduced by Warner Bros.), Asian culture and martial arts also found a respected place in Hollywood. The culture of Native Americans—perhaps one of the most marginalized groups—was also given a new reading, after decades in which they had

been simply portrayed as vicious, faceless enemies attacking innocent caravans and homesteads. Although occasional pro-Native American films can be traced back to 1925 (*The Vanishing American*), and films casting a different light on the "good white versus evil Indian" cliché had been released throughout the decades, such as *Apache* (1954) and *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), truly revisionist westerns blossomed only in the 1970s, with *Soldier Blue* (1970), *Little Big Man* (1970), and *A Man Called Horse* (1970).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the commercially successful assimilation continued with the Hollywood career of African American Spike Lee, formerly an independent director. Some of the most prominent manifestations were the partnerships of blacks and whites featured in the so-called buddy movies of the *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984–94) and *Lethal Weapon* (1987–98) series. As for the old ethnic clichés and stereotypes, they were now featured in comedies, in a tongue-in-cheek, inoffensive manner, mostly reduced to parodies of the old racist usage. Stereotypes were even self-ironically paraded by members of the very ethnic groups they depicted. Mel Brooks's and Woody Allen's films abound in caricatured Jewish stereotypes. The Italian American as a Mafia man or as an overly passionate lover is similarly exaggerated, as in *Prizzi's Honor* (1985). Eddie Murphy frequently tells self-racist jokes and provocatively poses as an African American stereotype in the *Beverly Hills Cops* films.

Hollywood has always had an international distribution network and employed actors and filmmakers from numerous heritages. Today, Hollywood's personnel is more varied than ever before, and the entire world is Hollywood's market; more than half of Hollywood's income comes from abroad. Therefore, multiculturalism is now a requisite for motion pictures, not so much to promote egalitarian beliefs as to have products that do not offend anyone and are able to satisfy an audience as large and varied as possible.

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See Also: *Birth of a Nation*, *The*; Blackface; Blaxploitation Films; *Carmen Jones*; Epithets, Ethnic and Racial; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; *Funny Girl*;

Godfather, The; Gone With the Wind; Guess Who's Coming to Dinner; Little Big Man; Mafia; Melting Pot; Miscegenation; Motion Picture Production Code; Mulatto; Passing/Covering; Pawnbroker, The; Pinky; Political Correctness; Shaft; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Stormy Weather; Uncle Tom's Cabin; WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants).

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Motown

Motown was the most successful independent record company in America and one of the most successful African American-owned businesses in history. Founded in 1959 in Detroit, Michigan, by songwriter Berry Gordy, Jr., Motown is often romanticized in popular culture as a “rags to riches” story, with Gordy borrowing \$800 from his family to start the company. However, the Gordys were atypical of Detroit’s African American families who had migrated from the south during that era. The Gordy family had been prominent landowners in Sanderson, Georgia, before migrating to Detroit in the 1920s. By the time Motown was founded, the Gordys had already accumulated social capital and resources to support the initial growth of the company.

The family was well known among Detroit’s African American elites. Gordy’s parents, Berry Sr., and Bertha, each had their own businesses, and some of his siblings were established entrepreneurs in the African American community. The family’s socioeconomic status, along with Gordy’s reputation as a successful songwriter for vocalist Jackie Wilson and the production sensibilities he developed while an assembly line employee at the Ford Motor Company, is what provided the business foundation for Motown’s success.

The Motown Sound

Berry Gordy has often been quoted as describing the Motown Sound as “rats, roaches, and love.” What makes Motown a distinct form of music beyond Gordy’s description, however, is the aesthetic presence of Africanisms in its instrumentation. This includes the heavy use of stringed instruments (guitar and bass); percussion such as drums and tambourine; other items that are struck or shaken, including chains, wood blocks, and hardwood floors in the recording studio; and the use of the hands for clapping and feet for stomping. Other African-based aesthetic characteristics of the Motown Sound include the use of melisma, vibrato, and call-and-response delivery in vocal performances.

Motown became famous for infusing blues-, jazz-, and gospel-inflected rhythms and vocal stylings, all of which are rooted in an African cultural aesthetic, into a popular music framework. To articulate and produce the Motown Sound, Motown’s roster of artists, songwriters, and executives was predominantly African American but also included whites. This reflected Gordy’s ambition for Motown to cross over and appeal not just to African Americans but also to young whites as well. As such, Gordy nicknamed Motown “The Sound of Young America.”



Berry Gordy, Jr., founded Motown Records. In 1959, he purchased a piece of property at 2648 West Grand Boulevard in Detroit that would become Motown’s Hitsville U.S.A. Studio. It became the Motown Historical Museum in 1985.

Most of Motown's musicians and vocalists were originally from the southern United States and migrated to Detroit. They received their training in the music programs of Detroit's public schools. Collectively, the musicians were known as the Funk Brothers. Several of them had initially honed their craft as jazz musicians in house bands in local Detroit nightclubs and applied their jazz sensibilities to studio recordings and live performances. Motown's vocalists were largely influenced by other popular recording artists of the day including Nat King Cole, Della Reese, Sarah Vaughn, Etta James, and the Shirelles. Gordy himself was profoundly influenced by pop vocalists, having named Motown's first subsidiary label Tamla for Debbie Reynolds's 1957 hit record "Tammy." Moreover, Gordy wrote his first song with the intention of it being recorded by singer/actress Doris Day.

A staff of in-house songwriters and producers who competed against each other for access to vocalists to record their songs was also part of Motown's company structure. Robert Bateman, William "Mickey" Stevenson, Ivy Joe Hunter, Sylvia Moy, Ashford & Simpson, Norman Whitfield, William "Smokey" Robinson, and the songwriting team of Holland-Dozier-Holland (Lamont Dozier and brothers Brian and Eddie Holland) all competed with each other to have the opportunity to record a hit record with artists such as the Temptations, the Four Tops, Stevie Wonder, Marvin Gaye, Mary Wells, the Marvelettes, Martha & the Vandellas, and the Supremes. These songwriters and artists created a catalog of music representing multiple genres of music including rock, jazz, blues, gospel, soul, country, pop, rock, and disco. No matter which genre, the Motown Sound is at the core essence of the recording.

Motown Artists

Motown's most popular singers and songwriters were African American. However, since its founding in 1959, white vocalists had been contracted to the label; white administrators were part of the company's management team; and white musicians and arrangers were on staff. For example, during Motown's early years, the Valadiers had modest chart success. Rare Earth and Teena Marie would become the most prolific of all the white artists signed to the label. Al Abrams was Motown's first white employee.

Hired in 1959, he was Motown's publicist for many years. Mike McLean was Motown's chief engineer and responsible for the unique modernization of Studio A with an eight-track recorder. The original Funk Brothers included white guitarist Joe Messina; their story has been documented in the critically acclaimed documentary *Standing in the Shadows of Motown*.

Motown also became legendary for its artists' live performances. Vocalists were trained to perform in high-end supper clubs and concert halls throughout the world, and on television variety shows including the *Ed Sullivan Show*, *Hollywood Palace*, *Shindig*, and *Hullabaloo*. To accomplish this, Motown created an artist development division to assist artists in developing their unique styles. Veteran dancer Cholly Atkins taught slick choreography tailored for individual songs, as well as movement, posture, and stage banter that were projected on stage during the Motown Revues that traveled throughout the United States and Europe. Veteran bandleader Maurice King provided vocal coaching, and former model Maxine Powell provided finishing instruction and fashion consultation to the artists. Unlike other independent record companies at the time, Motown also functioned as a booking and management company, investing in its artists long-term careers.

By 1972, Motown had moved to Los Angeles, leaving its "golden era" behind. Of the label's stars from that era, only Diana Ross, Marvin Gaye, the Temptations, Gladys Knight & the Pips, and Stevie Wonder remained with the label. They were joined by artists such as the Jackson 5, Rick James, and the Commodores to continue making hit records.

The relocation to Los Angeles also positioned Motown to enter the film industry. Gordy produced *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), a movie that focused on the life of jazz legend Billie Holiday. The movie would go on to receive five Oscar nominations, including Best Actress for Diana Ross's portrayal of Holiday. Other Motown film productions include *Mahogany* (1975) and *The Wiz* (1978), both of which also starred Diana Ross; *The Last Dragon* (1985); and *The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars & Motor Kings* (1976).

By the mid-1980s, Motown was no longer profitable for Gordy. He sold the company to

MCA Records and Boston Ventures in 1988 for \$61 million while retaining ownership of Jobete, the music publishing arm of the company. After subsequent corporate takeovers, Motown merged with Universal Records and was known as Universal Motown until 2011, when it was acquired by the Island Def Jam Music Group.

Motown's Legacy

Today, Motown is mostly known for its golden Detroit era, the period from 1959 to 1972. It is the songs from this era that can be heard in motion pictures including *Cooley High*, *The Big Chill*, and *Dirty Dancing*. Motown songs are also frequently featured in TV shows and commercials. In 2012, retailer JCPenney used Motown as part of its national TV advertising campaign. Songs from the Motown catalog are often covered by artists from multiple genres throughout the world, making Motown one of the most influential record companies in history.

Songs from its catalog that have been frequently covered or sampled by other artists include "Money (That's What I Want)," "Please Mr. Postman," "You Can't Hurry Love," "I Heard It Through The Grapevine," "For Once In My Life," and "You've Made Me So Very Happy." These and many other Motown songs are considered standards in American popular music.

Stevie Wonder, a prolific songwriter as well as a vocalist, is the only artist from the golden era still with the label. The popular television show *American Idol* has had contestants perform his songs, as well as other classics in the Motown catalog, as a regular part of its competition. Motown celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2009. President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama celebrated its legacy in 2011 at the White House with the PBS musical special *The Motown Sound: In Performance at the White House*. In 2012, Berry Gordy announced his intention to bring Motown to the Broadway stage in 2013 in an autobiographical musical production titled *Motown*.

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See Also: African Americans; Gospel Music; Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán

One of the most enduring legacies of the Chicano civil rights movement has been the student organization Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA), the Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán. MEChA is both a political and educational organization that promotes equality and access, self-determination, empowerment, and pride. MEChA was created in 1969 in Santa Barbara, California, as part of a blueprint for education and political action called El Plan de Santa Barbara. MEChA chapters can be found at high school and university campuses around the country, not just in Aztlán, or the five states of the southwestern United States. Each campus MEChA is attached to a community center, which is part of the regional, statewide, and national organization.

Students from across the country converged on Denver, Colorado, in March 1969 for the First National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference. Under the leadership of Crusade for Justice founder Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, participants adopted El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, a nationalist manifesto to shape the emerging Chicana/o identity. Later in 1969, a collective of students, faculty, staff, and community leaders known

as the Chicano Council on Higher Education (CCHE) met at the University of California at Santa Barbara and drew up a comprehensive plan of action for implementing the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán: El Plan de Santa Barbara. This plan created MEChA as the student group responsible for ensuring adherence to the goals of both plans; it united many existing local student groups into one movement.

MEChA expressed the frustration of decades of Chicana/o exclusion from the democratic rhetorical promises of the United States and the historic inequalities that persisted despite the protections for those of Mexican ancestry under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Students expressed hope, but also militancy, as their means to address lifetimes of injustice, in spite of previous attempts at inclusion in the United States through mutual aid societies and civic and political organizations.

Education was seen in the community as a primary avenue for achieving personal success and community improvement; thus its denial was fought in Lemon Grove and Orange County, California, in the 1930s and 1940s. MEChA addressed persistent discrimination by calling on those in higher education to provide mentoring and leadership to increase the accessibility and responsiveness of colleges and universities to the broader community, and to increase the numbers of educated and active Chicanas/os in these institutions.

El Plan also called for a Chicano curriculum because mere physical presence was not sufficient; it was also necessary to have a content change that reflected the empirical world and the more diverse histories and experiences of ethnic American groups. MEChAs across the country used El Plan to lobby for the creation of Chicana/o studies departments and programs in colleges, universities, and high schools. MEChAs actively promoted the hiring and retention of Chicana/o faculty and staff, both inside and outside the classroom.

The organization went beyond education, addressing leadership gaps in communities that tied back to the schools, which needed to work for them, not the other way around. Students in MEChA were to serve as conduits between organizations, creating a network of leadership

and resources. Political awareness and participation was essential to achieving these goals, as expressed in the plan, and MEChA supported the work of the third Chicana/o political party, La Raza Unida Party (RUP), as a development of the previous student organization, MAYO (Mexican American Youth Organization). MEChA achieved the many goals of the plan through tactics such as self-education, walkouts, sit-ins, community meetings, and voter registration. MEChA trained many young leaders and organizers, who returned to their communities as professionals after graduation from high school and college.

MEChA was part of a broader youth movement in ethnic communities throughout the nation in the 1960s and 1970s. Much like the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), MEChA challenged racism through self-education, direct action, sit-ins, protests, and work with community-based social and political agencies. It formed strategic alliances and supported the work of other Chicano movement organizations like the Brown Berets and the United Farm Workers. In multiethnic urban centers like Chicago and Oakland, California, MEChA worked with other organizations like the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Black Panthers.

In the 1990s, MEChA rebounded after waning in the 1970s and 1980s, reinvigorated by events like the Zapatista uprising in Mexico, the death of United Farm Workers' founder César Chávez, and anti-immigrant and civil rights ballot propositions in California. In response, conservative political pundits like presidential candidate Pat Buchanan defamed MEChA as a hate group, leading an attack demographically and culturally on white America. The 2003 California gubernatorial recall election made Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante's college membership in MEChA a constant campaign issue. Much misinformed campaign rhetoric surrounding MEChA's Aztec eagle symbol and emphasis on ethnic nationalism through the use of the term *raza* continues to travel the Internet and bears scant resemblance to the organizational whole, its historic work, or the blueprint of El Plan de Santa Barbara.

During the second annual National MEChA conference in 1995, the National MEChA constitution was adopted. It has been amended several times, most recently in 2010. In its current form

it identifies four goals for MEChA: the empowerment of Chicanos; the preservation of Chicano identity and culture; higher education as a force of social good for Chicanos; and the implementation of plans of action concerning Chicanos. In addition, the 1999 national conference introduced a document called “The Philosophy of MEChA,” which defines Chicano identity as a philosophy rather than a nationality. At the 2010 national conference, the organization changed its name to Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano@ de Aztlán. It has recently been involved in the opposition to Arizona’s Senate Bill 1070 and has expressed its solidarity with the people of Palestine in their struggle with the Israeli government.

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See Also: Aztlán; Brown Berets; Chicano Moratorium; Chicano Movement; Ethnic Studies.

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Mulatto

In an American context, the term *mulatto* is used to describe a person with one white parent and one black parent. More generally, the word can indicate that a person is of some sort of mixed ancestry. During the colonial period, individuals of Native and African ancestry also were known as mulattoes in North and South America. In addition, the term also was used to refer to those with Native and white parentage during the 17th and 18th centuries in the United States. The related terms *mulatta* and *mulattress* were used when referring to women of black and white ancestry.

The Etymology of the Term *Mulatto*

Many contemporary scholars assert that the word *mulatto* is a derivation of *mulato*, which is both the Portuguese and Spanish word used to describe the offspring of a horse and a donkey. It is a cognate of the English word *mule*. There are others in the scholarly community who argue that “mulatto” came to the English language by way of the Arabic term *muwallad*, which connotes a person who lives in an Arabic community but is of partial-Arabic descent. In some Arabic-speaking countries, the term is still used to refer to the children of Arabic men sired with non-Arabic women. Nevertheless, other evidence suggests that *mulato* has been in use in Spain since the 15th century, while *muwallad* does not appear to have been in usage prior to the 19th century.

On a related note, the modern Portuguese word *mestiço* has a similar connotation to “mulatto” in Lusophone Africa; it is used as an official designation to describe people of mixed African and European ancestry.

Hypodescent and U.S. Law

Because of policies based on hypodescent, whereby children born of mixed unions are assigned to the subordinate ethnic group, mulattoes of African American and European lineage were considered to be black. Henning’s Statutes of Virginia of 1705 codified the use of the term *mulatto* to describe individuals with African American and white ancestry or Native and white ancestry. In antebellum America, mulattoes of black and white ancestry were considered black and thus were subject to existing slave laws. Similarly, Jim Crow laws regulated the rights of mulattoes, along with black Americans. Even for those without African ancestry who were labeled mulattoes (including those of Native American and Caucasian descent), the categorization meant that they could be sold into slavery legally in the United States.

In the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s, several southern states, including Virginia, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and Georgia, codified laws that defined Americans with any African ancestry, irrespective of the percentage, as black. Other states, including North Dakota, Utah, Florida, Missouri, Nebraska, and Maryland, established the threshold for identification as

African American to be one great-great-grandparent (one out of 16 ascendants is black) or one great-great-great-grandparent (one out of 32 ascendants is black).

Until 1930, mulatto was an official racial designation on the U.S. census. Even without the official category, 6,171 Americans self-identified as mulatto on the 2000 census.

Racial Passing

During slavery and well into the 20th century, many light-complexioned mulattoes enjoyed privileges that most African Americans did not, especially those who were closer in phenotype to white Americans. Some inherited property from their white parents; a very small number owned slaves themselves. In addition, the phenomenon of racial passing, which occurs when a person of one ethnic background presents himself or herself as a member of a different ethnic group, may have been commonplace among multiethnic Americans in the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. Some with lighter complexions and phenotypes atypical of most individuals of African descent posed as white (oftentimes Mediterranean), Native American, Arab, or Asian to avoid the discrimination African Americans faced.

The Tragic Mulatta

The social tribulations faced by mixed-race people—especially when they resulted in racial passing—was a common trope in 19th- and early 20th-century American literature. The trope of the “tragic mulatta” was a regular part of American literature for over a century beginning in the 1840s. These stories often featured a biracial heroine who is light-complexioned enough to pass as a white woman, but the revelation of her full racial background brings about her downfall.

The three most common story lines found in this genre are as follow: (1) the very-light-complexioned heroine is unaware that she is biracial and leads a life relatively free of racial prejudice until her true ethnicity is discovered and she is barred from white society, including everything and everyone she has known; (2) the heroine passes for white and enjoys all of the rights and privileges conferred on upper-class white womanhood until her racial status is made public and she is forced into slavery; and (3) the heroine abjures her African American family

members, passes for white, marries a white man, and gains social status, but once her ethnic background is revealed, she loses her comfortable station in society and is reduced to bankruptcy, sexual victimization, slavery, and/or death.

In all variants, she struggles because she is unable to find full acceptance with African American or white communities. This dual rejection always leads to tragedy. In such literature, tragic mulattas were portrayed as wanton libertines, while male biracial characters were depicted as effeminate. These representations underscored the commonly held belief that individuals born of interracial unions were somehow pathological because of their mixed parentage. As such, the adverse fates of these characters were shown to be the result of the dangers of racial admixture, which was considered unnatural, rather than racism, which largely was accepted at the time.

These plays and novels were aimed at white women readers; their aim was to warn audiences of the dangers of racism by way of identification with a character who shared their social standing, lifestyle, and phenotype. The melodrama and sensationalism of the works made them among the most popular forms of entertainment in the late 19th century.

Tragic mulatta characters appeared in a range of literary and cinematic works, including “The Quadroons” (1842) and “Slavery’s Pleasant Homes” (1843) by Lydia Maria Child, *Iola Leroy* (1892) by Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, *The Clansman* (1905) by Thomas Dixon, Jr. (as well as its 1915 motion picture adaptation, *The Birth of a Nation*), “The Mulatto” (1925) by Claude McKay, *Show Boat* (1926) by Edna Ferber (and the musical stage adaptation by Oscar Hammerstein II and Jerome Kern), *The White Girl* (1929) by Vara Caspary, *Passing* (1930) by Nella Larsen, *Dark Luster* (1932) by Geoffrey Barnes, *Imitation of Life* (1933) by Fannie Hurst, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) by Zora Neale Hurston, *Quality* (1946) by Cid Ricketts Sumner (which was adapted as the 1949 film *Pinky*), *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) by Harper Lee, and *A Soldier’s Play* (1981) by Charles Fuller.

At the turn of the 20th century, Charles W. Chesnutt, a stenographer-cum-author with a great interest in interracial relations in the postbellum south, wrote a number of novellas and longer

works that dealt with the social consequences of multiracial identification. Among his best-known works are *The Wife of His Youth and Other Stories of the Color-Line* (1899), *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900), *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), and *The Colonel's Dream* (1905). Chesnut himself was of mixed heritage.

Nobel Prize laureate William Faulkner, inspired by the interracial relationship between his great-grandfather, Colonel William Clark Faulkner, and his slave, Emeline, frequently wrote about biracial characters and their struggles for social acceptance. His novels *Light in August* (1930), *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936), and *Go Down, Moses and Other Stories* (1942) all feature variations on the tragic mulatto/a stock character.

Mulatto: A Play of the Deep South, a popular play by Langston Hughes, premiered on October 24, 1935, at Broadway's Vanderbilt Theatre and ran for 373 performances over the course of nearly one year. Hughes wrote the play for Rose McClendon, one of the era's preeminent African American actors. In addition to McClendon, Morris McKenney, Hurst Amyx, and Connie Gilchrist were also in the cast. Hughes, who was of mixed African American and white ancestry, also composed a series of poems, short stories, and an opera about mulattoes, including "Cross" in 1925, "Mulatto" in 1927, "Father and Son" in 1934, and, with German American composer Jan Meyerowitz, *The Barrier* in 1950.

Mulattoes in Contemporary Fiction

More recently, novels such as Danzy Senna's *Caucasia* (1998), Eric Jerome Dickey's *Milk in My Coffee* (1999), and Philip Roth's *The Human Stain* (2000); motion pictures, including *Illusions* (1982), *Devil in a Blue Dress* (1995), *A House Divided* (2000), and *I'm Through With White Girls (The Inevitable Undoing of Jay Brooks)* (2007) and television programs such as *Alex Haley's Queen* (1993), *Law & Order* (1990), *Girlfriends* (2000), and *Cold Case* (2003) have featured characters and issues related to biracial identity.

In something of a twist on the conventions of the tragic mulatta trope, the eponymous heroine of *Margaret Garner*, the 2005 opera by Toni Morrison and composer Richard Danielpour, is depicted as a biracial slave woman who asserts her own agency and fights against sexual

victimization and racism. In steely defiance of her abusive owner, who likely has sired Margaret Garner's children, she flees from her plantation and later kills her kids and herself rather than continue facing the indignities of slavery. In this instance, the so-called tragic mulatta commits suicide and filicide not out of devastation born of white society's rejection but rather as a means of affirming her own sense of self-determination. The opera is based on an actual 1856 event, which also provided the inspiration for Morrison's Pulitzer Prize-winning 1987 novel *Beloved*.

Contemporary Usage

According to the 2010 census, there are approximately 1.8 million Americans with black and white ancestry. Since the 1960s, people of multiracial parentage more commonly have self-identified as biracial, multiracial, multiethnic, or mixed-race. In many settings today, "mulatto" is considered an antiquated, and even offensive, word. Similar colonial-era terms, including quadroon, octroon, quintroon, and hexadecaroon, also describe individuals partially of African descent and have fallen out of fashion. These expressions currently are used when discussing racial identification in a historical context.

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See Also: Creoles; *Imitation of Life*; Mestizo; Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Pigmentocracy; *Pinky*; Quadroon; Race Mixture in the United States.

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Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is an instructional and pedagogical paradigm that integrates the history, cultural traditions, social norms, life experiences, and learned contributions that members of nondominant groups have made to all aspects of society, especially those aspects that are typically codified in prekindergarten through 12th-grade (Pre-K–12) and higher education courses of study. Multicultural education scholar Sonia Nieto defines multicultural education as a process of comprehensive school reform and basic education for all students that challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society, and accepts and affirms the pluralism (ethnic, linguistic, religious, economic, and gender, among others) that students, their communities, and teachers represent.

According to Nieto, while multicultural education permeates the curriculum and instructional strategies used in schools, it must also pervade the interactions among teachers, students, and parents and the very way that schools conceptualize the nature of teaching and learning. Because it uses critical pedagogy as its underlying philosophy and focuses on knowledge, reflection, and action (praxis) as the basis for social change, Nieto contends that multicultural education promotes the democratic principles of social justice.

Multicultural education is predated by two primary diversity-related educational movements, generally referred to as ethnic studies and intercultural education. Though the early strands of both ethnic studies and intercultural education precede and are relevant to multicultural education, multicultural education's intellectual and political roots are grounded in the ethnic studies tradition.

Since its inception, multicultural education has been conceptualized in a number of different ways,

all of which share common key elements. Despite ongoing debates among multicultural educators about which elements should be emphasized and in what ways, and despite various manifestations of resistance to the field as a whole, multicultural education theory and practice traverse a more than 40-year history.

From Ethnic Studies to Multicultural Education

Beginning in the late 1800s and continuing through the mid-1900s, activist scholars George Washington Williams, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Carter G. Woodson formally chronicled black history and promoted knowledge of this history as foundational to the educational, political, social, and economic advancement of black people. Collectively, their work established the academic foundation upon which the ethnic studies tradition is built.

In the mid-1900s, World War II-related manufacturing demands led to increasing workforce diversity. Because there had been little or no prior contact between members of the different ethnic and racial groups that composed this labor force, significant conflicts erupted. These conflicts gave rise to a reduction in prejudice and to intercultural understanding education efforts in order to facilitate worker productivity and promote community accord.

Three key parameters differentiate ethnic studies and intercultural education. Ethnic studies was pioneered by people of color and focuses on the study of a single group, whereas intercultural education was forged largely by white people and prioritizes intergroup learning. Ethnic studies is also more sociopolitically located, or concerned with issues of access and power at the institutional level in society for historically marginalized groups. In contrast, intercultural education is located in the psychosocial realm, emphasizing the roles of individual reflection and self-understanding in building harmonious relationships with people from cultural groups of which one is not a member.

Ethnic studies and intercultural education progressed from these beginnings to the 1960s, when the ethnic studies movement coalesced and interculturalism waned. For the next 20 years, the ethnic studies tradition promoted greater

minority leadership in Pre-K–12 schools and districts, increased minority representation in higher education faculties, and discreetly added minority group histories to school and college curricula.

According to pioneering multicultural education scholar James A. Banks, beginning in the 1970s, multicultural education came into its own via a four-stage process. In the first stage, ethnic studies, the contributions of African Americans to all aspects of U.S. history and culture, was documented. The second stage, multiethnic education, similarly substantiated the influence of Mexicans, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Asians on and in American society. Stage three, other groups, chronicled the roles that especially women and people with disabilities have played in the development of the United States. Theory, research, and practice that detailed the intersections of especially race, class, and gender in American life characterized stage four.

In the 1980s, ethnic studies and emerging multicultural education activists began to advocate for the integration of minority group contributions across the mainstream curriculum. This advocacy led to academic “culture wars,” in which traditional scholars began to aggressively push back against efforts to infuse diversity content into their disciplines, arguing that the most important bodies of knowledge were those already in place in the Western educational canon.

In the 1990s, intergroup dialogue and deliberative democracy efforts resurrected and revitalized intercultural education. Now influenced by the proliferation of ethnic studies and the advent of multicultural education, as well as the evolutionary and ongoing leadership roles that people of color play in intergroup dialogue and deliberative democracy work, intercultural education developed a sociopolitical consciousness.

Multicultural Education: Moving From If to How

Since the inception of multicultural education, the demographic picture of the United States as increasingly diverse is frequently referenced as a reason for promoting greater attention to multiculturalism in mainstream education and education policy circles. The 2010 Census reports that non-Hispanic white Americans now compose only 63 percent of the U.S. population. So while it is

true that the United States has become more and more multicultural, Nieto contends that multicultural education is not something that has import only for ethnic and racial minority students, or only when these students are in the classroom. On the contrary, not only is multicultural education important for all students, but a large part of the disproportional educational success that white students have historically enjoyed also can be attributed to the positive influence of the Eurocentric canon in their schooling. For this reason, the early ethnic studies tradition focused on ethnic empowerment through a similarly Eurocentric education for students from racial and ethnic minority groups.

By the mid-1990s, although resistance to multicultural education persisted, the weight of discussion about it shifted from whether it had merit and for whom, to how it should be undertaken. Although many conceptualizations of multicultural education have since been delineated, most share, albeit in varied measures, the common key elements demarcated by the early strands of ethnic studies and intercultural education: teaching ethnic studies, school reform and educational equity, and prejudice reduction.

In 1976, multicultural education scholar Margaret Gibson wove these common key elements into her five approaches to, or purposes of, multicultural education. These approaches are education of the culturally different, education about cultural differences, education for cultural pluralism, bicultural education, and multicultural education as the normal human condition. The purpose of education of the culturally different approach to multicultural education, also referred to as “benevolent multiculturalism,” is to bring about educational equity for racial and ethnic minority students. The education about cultural differences or cultural understanding approach to multicultural education seeks to teach all students to value cultural diversity. In taking the education for cultural pluralism approach, the goal is to protect existing, and promote greater, cultural pluralism in American society. The bicultural education approach promotes the development of literacy and interaction competence in two cultural, and often also linguistic, contexts. Whereas these first four approaches are culled from the literature on multicultural education, the fifth approach,

multicultural education as the normal human experience, draws from anthropology. This final approach is designed to respond to the weaknesses Gibson identifies in the first four in promoting the establishment of educational environments that facilitate developmental literacy and competence in multiple cultures.

A 1987 review of multicultural education literature from the previous 10 years, jointly undertaken by multicultural education scholars Carl A. Grant and Christine Sleeter, codified the common key elements into five largely different approaches for teaching multicultural education to “the exceptional and culturally different,” through a human-relations or prejudice-reduction lens, using ethnic or single-group studies, in accordance with specific goals of multicultural education itself, and by blending multicultural education with “social reconstructionist” or social justice education.

In 1992, Nieto also interlaced the common key elements in her seven characteristics of multicultural education. Building her definition of multicultural education around these characteristics, Nieto articulated that multicultural education is antiracist as well as opposed to all other forms of oppression and discrimination. Multicultural education is also basic or foundational, as opposed to frills-added. Multicultural education is important for all students, not just students of color, and includes white students. Multicultural education is pervasive as opposed to compartmentalized in a discrete area of the curriculum or student cocurricular experience. Multicultural education promotes social justice in and through the curriculum, as well as in broader school and societal contexts. Multicultural education is a perpetually dynamic process, not a single or static result. Finally, multicultural education is critical pedagogy, or engendered through a teaching and learning process during which students learn to think critically about their education, as well as their place in the world, and are then inspired to take action against local injustices to bring about the liberation of all people.

Banks reframed the common key elements in 1991 into what he called the five dimensions of multicultural education, which he characterized as concerned with content integration, knowledge construction processes, prejudice reduction,

equity pedagogy, and the development of an empowering school cultural and social structure. In 1999, Banks delineated four main approaches for undertaking the content integration dimension of multicultural education. These approaches are described as contributions-oriented, additive in nature, focused on transformation, and designed to bring about social action. The contributions approach emphasizes discrete contributions that members of traditionally underrepresented groups have made to various aspects of American history and culture.

The additive approach builds from the contributions approach in extending attention to these groups’ contributions to specific subject areas, but only to the extent that this can be done without substantively changing the core curriculum. Going further, the transformation approach not only engages the contributions of marginalized groups across the curriculum but also incorporates these groups’ perspectives on and in the curriculum, and it does so in ways that intentionally change the core curriculum. Finally, the social action approach seeks to change the core curriculum in ways that promote student engagement in teaching and learning as a reciprocally democratic process.

Between 1975 and 2009, through all eight editions of his foundational text *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies*, Banks distilled the common key elements into what he terms an “interdisciplinary-conceptual” approach to multicultural education. This approach is content- and pedagogy-focused. It constructs knowledge from Eurocentric, ethnic minority-centric, multiethnic, and multinational content that it teaches through an equity pedagogy derived from the selection of concepts from various groups’ perspectives across the curriculum.

Multicultural educators remain resolute in their stated commitments to the common key elements: To document and teach all of U.S. racial and ethnic history, and to work to bring about the attitudinal and structural changes in society that will enable racial and ethnic minorities to become full participants in American democracy. Yet, the addition of other aspects of diversity to the multicultural educational paradigm, especially gender and sexual orientation, makes actualizing those commitments increasingly difficult. Beyond mere

instructional time, curricular space, and educational resource constraints, even revolutionary multicultural educators are not immune to bias, whether the bias is intended to be progressive or is consciously or unconsciously regressive.

In extending multicultural education beyond issues typically deemed of immediate educational value to students of color, some scholars maintain that multicultural education's foundational goal of achieving educational equity for students of color is becoming marginalized. These scholars argue that when given, or pushed to have to make, a choice about what should be given multicultural curricular attention, a predominantly white female teacher education faculty and Pre-K-12 teaching force will, for example, focus on issues of gender, not race, because gender is both less politically controversial and more interpersonally comfortable in attending to their experiences of discrimination as women, rather than prompting acknowledgment of their privilege as white people.

However, other scholars maintain that the crucial educational needs of students of color cannot be adequately addressed through only raced, ethnic, linguistic, nationalistic, classed, or even religious lenses, as these students are also male and female as well as, for example, gay, lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual. These scholars promote adoption of an "intersectional" posture in multicultural education, in which the educational needs of students of color are engaged at the constantly shifting point of convergence of their multiple dimensions of identity in which race can be prioritized, without excluding other important identity facets.

The substantive nature of this debate might suggest that multicultural education is proliferating meaningfully regardless of which side of the debate a multicultural educator embraces. But multicultural education scholar Geneva Gay has long avowed that the distance between theory and practice in multicultural education remains wide. Concerns about the superficial application of multicultural education philosophy are revealed in critiques of some applications as "tourist" and/or "neoliberal" in nature, as opposed to "activist," "social justice," "sociopolitical," and/or "critically conscious." Nieto suggests evaluating these applications relative to four ostensibly

developmental levels of multicultural education: tolerance; acceptance; respect; and affirmation, solidarity, and critique. In this way, understanding of multicultural education, especially by those new to the field, can be effectively constructed in order to bring about more consistent, comprehensive, and sophisticated implementation.

Multicultural Education in the Future

Although the curricular culture wars have gone lukewarm if not completely cold, and most educational communities eagerly espouse "commitments" to diversity, Pre-K-12 and higher education instructional and administrative staff remain largely white, and a chiefly Eurocentric curriculum endures. Sleeter asserts that curriculum standardization initiatives, like No Child Left Behind and Common Core, coupled with crippling cuts to education budgets at the state and national levels, make overt resistance to multicultural education largely superfluous. With instructional staffing and resources starkly limited, and instructional time, content, and practices strictly regulated, even steadfast and skilled multicultural educators struggle to meaningfully enact multicultural education in their classrooms.

Despite these threats, multicultural education continues to progress, largely through professional education associations and scholarly publications. In documenting this progression, Banks notes that most of the attention given to multicultural education in these venues emphasizes the conceptualizations of it that characterize the third and fourth stages of its evolution: a focus on "other groups" and on the "intersections of race, class, and gender." Although this may suggest progression in the field, it may also suggest whitening in the field, thereby reminding multicultural educators of the need to remain constantly vigilant in prioritizing race in seeking to realize educational equity and equality for students from historically underrepresented racial and ethnic groups.

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See Also: Anti-Racist Education; Bilingual Education; Compensatory Education; Critical Pedagogy; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Curricular Integration; Dual (Two-Way)

Immersion Education; Equity and Equality; Ethnic Studies; Global Education; History/Heritage Months; Interculturalism; Intergroup Education; International Education.

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Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a concept found most often in the educational context in the United States. It does not have a single uncontested meaning. Various practitioners and academics use the term in various ways. There is considerable miscommunication when this term is used, partially because it has so many meanings and has acquired political overtones.

There are commonalities in most visions of multiculturalism. These include the recognition and acknowledgment of racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity within a society; the acceptance of the right of groups within a nation to maintain their different cultures and identities, provided they adhere to the society's basic tenets and do not conflict with the society's laws; the support of greater equity between groups (including more equitable inclusion) for people of different self-identities; the belief that each individual/cultural group matters to the whole; the provision of voice to groups that may not previously have been heard by the dominant society; and the conviction that differences associated with social identities should be valued and not feared.

Multiculturalism can also include legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity. It often means that many different cultures exist side by side in any given area, where each group makes an effort to understand and accommodate the needs of the others without resorting to conflict or violence to resolve their differences. This greater understanding is regarded as a major advantage of multiculturalism. It is based on the emergence of individual group consciousness and the rejection of labels and categorization of smaller groups by the dominant groups in society.

Ideological perspectives on multiculturalism include the idea that it contradicts assimilation, or the "melting pot" theory of societies, and acculturation. The tension among such concepts does not mean that they are incompatible. Such perspectives have resulted in positions taken by public officials for and against multiculturalism. Some opponents of multiculturalism believe that it contributes to splintering of the body politic. There are sometimes irrational fears of multiculturalism, based on people's different dress, accent,

and language. The opposite extreme of multiculturalism may be xenophobia.

Multiculturalism and diversity both emerged in the 1960s in the United States. The term has been used retrospectively to describe developments that occurred prior to its advent. For example, it superseded the term *multiethnic*, which was popular in certain circles in the 1970s. “Multicultural” took on a larger meaning than “multiethnic” by including such categories as gender, sexual orientation, religion, and disability. This may be because the concept of culture is a very broad one.

Multiculturalism has had an important effect on education in the United States. This impact is discussed in detail elsewhere in this encyclopedia. The impact and acceptance in other countries and parts of countries varies. For example, most Quebec leaders oppose the Canadian national government’s adoption of official multiculturalism as a nation-building public philosophy on the grounds that it undermines the special status of the French language and culture. In the Netherlands, an anti-immigrant backlash has caused a rejection of multiculturalism policies promulgated in the 1980s. In Germany, the idea of *Parallelgesellschaften* (self-separating, “parallel societies”) has existed since the 1990s as a backlash against multiculturalism. France is a primary exponent of an official national culture and has legally rejected female Islamic dress.

Multiculturalism also touches on politics, medicine, geography, sociology, infrastructure planning, marketing, and media. In fields such as marketing, multiculturalism is a tool for reaching consumers. Multiculturalism in schools can take the form of enlarging the literary canon and a broader view of ethnic history. Some early advocates of multiculturalism (even before the word existed) criticized a school and university literature and history curriculum that left out the achievements and contributions of non-European groups.

Multiculturalism has received renewed attention because of demographic changes in the United States, including how people self-identify on the census. Greater numbers of people are identifying as biracial, multiracial, and multicultural.

Some potentially fruitful areas of research are the relationship between constitutional democracy and a politics that recognizes diverse and

collective cultural identities, the ideal of individual authenticity, and the survival of cultures. What, if any, are the limits to the legitimate accommodation of cultures? What are the core values of a society or a nation to which traditional cultural values should be surrendered?

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Cross-Cultural Psychology; Culture; Diversity and Inclusion; Feminism and Ethnic Diversity; Melting Pot; Pluralism; Political Correctness.

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Multiple Intelligences

The theory of multiple intelligences is compatible with the underlying principles of multicultural education. People differ cognitively, emotionally,

morally, and physically as well as culturally. The fact that human beings learn in different ways has been supported by Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget's stages of cognitive development, J. P. Guilford's structure of the intellect, Robert Sternberg's triarchic theory of intelligence, Daniel Goleman's theory of emotional intelligence, and Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences. In addition, stimulus response theory, cognitive field theory, perceptual field theory, concepts from the social theory, and Sigmund Freud's theory have all contributed to what is known about an individual's ability to learn and understand. All of these theories and ideas lend credence to the idea that intelligence is multidimensional, can be manifested in multiple ways, and has a home within the framework of multicultural education.

Multimodal View Versus Traditional View of Intelligence

Intelligence and the measurement of intelligence historically have been issues that have been narrowly applied in schools and had a negative impact on culturally diverse populations. Intelligence tests have been used to identify learners for special and gifted education programs. The overidentification of African American learners for special education and underidentification of African American learners for gifted education classrooms have led some educators to question the accuracy of intelligence tests. This phenomenon has often led to the resegregation of the school population, with classrooms segregated along racial and socioeconomic lines.

The pluralistic nature of culture conflicts with the classic, unitary view of intelligence. Traditional views of intelligence as represented by a single numerical score have led to accusations of cultural bias. Testing measures that have provided for the use of skills and abilities that supersede expository skills have resulted in expanded opportunities for culturally different learners to showcase their skills and abilities. Testing measures based on the unitary theory of intelligence provided a limited number of ways for the culturally different to manifest high intelligence and emerge as scholars.

The multiple intelligences theory of Howard Gardner has made perhaps the strongest and most contemporary case regarding the multimodal

view of intelligence. Gardner's intelligences include verbal/linguistic, logical-mathematical, visual/spatial, musical, bodily/kinesthetic, interpersonal (the ability to know and understand others), intrapersonal (knowing and understanding oneself), and naturalist. The concept of multiple intelligences has been embraced by classroom teachers and administrators who believe that all children can learn and that children should, therefore, be taught in multiple ways.

It also follows that if multiple ways of instruction are employed, multiple assessment strategies also should be used. Culturally diverse populations have benefited from the application of this pluralistic philosophy of learning and intelligence. Public and private elementary schools, middle schools, high schools, colleges, and other institutions characterized by racial, socioeconomic, and linguistic diversity have shown positive outcomes when the theory of multiple intelligences has been employed.

Applications in Multicultural Education

The use of the multiple intelligences concept in multicultural education involves employing differentiated instruction to teach learners, using a differentiated curriculum, and measuring learning outcomes by using dynamic assessment techniques. Researchers Maria Dolores Calero and Sara Mata found that immigrant preschool children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds benefited from dynamic assessment following a format characterized by pretesting, followed by a teaching intervention and ending with a post-test. In the researchers' study of 176 preschool immigrant children who spoke Spanish, the focus was on the individual and the process rather than normative criteria, as in traditional assessment. As revealed in the literature, Calero and Mata found that the multiple intelligence of dynamic assessment is compatible with principles of multicultural education and efforts to teach culturally diverse learners; the personhood of the learner is taken into account, and the learner benefits from the interaction with the assessor.

The multiple intelligences theory also has found applicability in the urban inclusive high school English classroom. David Connor, Sarah Bickens, and Fran Bittman described a multiple intelligences approach used in teaching a

multicultural curriculum to students with disabilities along with nondisabled classmates in an urban high school. In this environment, 11th-grade American literature teachers were successful in creatively using traditional and modern classic texts to prepare students for college and for performance on a state-mandated exam. The students were involved in reading *The Great Gatsby* and *Native Son* while using all eight of Howard Gardner's intelligences as they engaged in small-group essay writing, creating a character analysis reflected in a bio poem, creating visuals of scenes, and performing parallel scenes. An analysis of course evaluations revealed that the students reported confidence in writing a four-paragraph essay; they felt prepared for the state-mandated exam as well as for college.

University faculty have experienced success in implementing multiple intelligences in teaching culturally diverse college students and preparing college graduates to work with culturally diverse populations. In a graduate class of 21 students, 12 of whom were Caucasian, Janis Strasser and Holly Seplocha explored the use of Gardner's interpersonal and intrapersonal domains in helping college students explore their own cultural awareness and learn successful ways of working with multicultural populations. The authors described 11 different interpersonal and intrapersonal domain strategies and assignments that they found effective in implementing multicultural education principles. Strategies and assignments involved the students in sharing their values, dreams, and prejudices; evaluating children's books for cultural bias; developing concept maps; and discussing cultural "fences" in their lives. The authors concluded that it is possible to help college students in understanding themselves and others. The strategies and assignments provided an effective forum for exploring sensitive issues related to culture.

Barbara Green and Martha Stortz looked collaboratively at redesigning their college syllabi to reflect the culture and learning styles of their students. In essence, the syllabus was used to change the culture of their courses. Embedded within the courses were multiple intelligences principles and concepts of cultural diversity, which allowed students to naturally encounter diversity in a classroom of culturally diverse students. The courses

consisted of the use of images that appealed to the learner whose intelligence was visualization. Students were able to see themselves through the content studied and learned about themselves and others by taking on roles of characters studied. Students were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of teaching methodologies and share their personal reflections and comparisons of content studied. Green and Stortz learned that their task was not to try to match the multiple intelligences to their students; they created an instrument based on attributes of their students. Students were then asked to choose attributes from this instrument, which included their strengths as well as attributes that they lacked. The students then learned how to look to other students as sources to offset their deficits. The course itself became the vessel for navigating diversity.

Multiple intelligences has also been integrated into college athletic education programs. Matthew Kutz described course activities that were designed for students from culturally diverse backgrounds. He took an inclusive view of multiple intelligences and addressed both contextual intelligence and Robert Sternberg's Triarchic theory of intelligence.

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See Also: Anti-Racist Education; Cultural Competence; Diversity and Inclusion; Emotional Intelligence; Intelligence Testing; Intercultural Communication; Multicultural Education; Pluralism; School Desegregation; School Segregation.

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Multiracial Movement

The multiracial movement emerged from a collective grassroots effort by local and national organizations. The main goal of the movement is to educate the U.S. population about multiracial identity and discrimination. Activists and researchers have referred to the movement and various waves within the movement as the mixed race movement, multiracial hapa movement, and the multiracial social movement. Since the 1970s, the first wave of the multiracial movement has promoted awareness about multiracial identity and interracial relationships on local and national levels. During the second wave of the multiracial movement, some members wanted to dismantle racial categorizations in the United States.

The 32 percent increase of multiracial individuals, those who identify with two or more

racess since 2000 is an indicator that the multiracial population is present and growing within the United States. This increase in multiracial classification does not mean that society is inclusive and supportive of multiracial individuals. Multiracial organizations are still present in the hope of monitoring the use of race by local and governmental platforms and to promote the inclusion of the multiracial community in future discussions of race.

The racial categories used in the U.S. census have changed multiple times since the first U.S. census in 1790. Originally, there were five categories used to identify a person: "free white male over the age of 16," "free white male under the age of 16," "free white women," "all other free persons," and "slaves." In 1820, the census added the designation "colored person." The census would label anyone thought to possess a racially mixed heritage as "colored." About 20 years later, U.S. Census marshals would begin using a letter "B" if a person was black and a letter "M" if a person was mulatto. "Mulatto" was the first term used by the U.S. census to designate a mixed racial heritage.

In 1890, the U.S. census used additional categories to identify the percentage of one's mixed heritage. The census used the category "mulatto" to identify a person as half black. "Quadroon" designated a person as a quarter black, and "octoroon" noted a person as one-eighth black. In 1930, the U.S. census removed the mixed race categories and reported all mixed-race individuals by their nonwhite ancestry. For example, the U.S. census would identify a person as Chinese if he or she was born from a Chinese and white interracial union.

The 2000 U.S. Census gave multiracial individuals the ability to choose and identify with a particular multiracial categorization. There were 57 possible racial combinations on the census. However, the 2010 U.S. Census included 15 separate response categories and three areas for respondents to write in answers. Approximately 91 percent of those who chose more than one race identified as biracial. The remaining 9 percent identified with three or more racial groups.

Foundation of the Multiracial Movement

There is much debate as to when and why the multiracial movement started. However, most agree that the anti-miscegenation and blood quantum

laws in the United States showcase early attempts to remove multiracialism from society. Since the time of slavery, interracial relationships have been present, and such unions have created multiracial offspring. *Loving v. Virginia* (1967) was the first court case to highlight interracial unions but was not the first or last time that the U.S. court system highlighted multiracialism. Roberto Avant-Mier and Marouf Hasian, Jr.'s theorizations of whiteness spotlighted two additional multiracial court cases: *Desarzant v. P. LeBlanc and E. Desmaziliere* in 1858, and *Susie Phipps, and family, v. the State of Louisiana* in 1982.

Anastasié Desarzant filed suit against LeBlanc and Desmaziliere for spreading rumors that Desarzant was a woman of color. Desarzant considered herself a white woman because she lived a white lifestyle and married a white man. The courts ruled in favor of LeBlanc and Desmaziliere because of evidence showcasing Desarzant's mother as a person of color, thus providing support that Desarzant was a person of color.

Loving v. Virginia was the first case to communicate acceptance of interracial unions. Richard and Mildred Loving were married, then later convicted of violating Virginia's Racial Integrity Act. The State of Virginia sentenced the couple to one year in jail, or the State of Virginia would ban the couple for 25 years. The couple left Virginia, choosing banishment, and moved to Washington, D.C. While living in Washington, D.C., the couple challenged the constitutionality of Virginia's ban on interracial unions. In 1967, the U.S. Supreme court voted in favor of the couple, rendering state-held anti-miscegenation laws inoperable.

Almost a decade later, Susie Phipps's whiteness was in question when she tried to obtain a U.S. passport. She requested a copy of her birth certificate from Louisiana. To her surprise, the State of Louisiana and her birth certificate noted her racial background as "Colored" because the state identified her parents as "Colored" on her birth certificate. Phipps and her siblings fought to change the racial categorization on their birth certificates because they were raised white, attended white schools, and married whites. Phipps lost her case because of the state's "one-drop rule." Phipps had more than 1/32 black blood, thus giving her a "Colored" designation within the State of Louisiana.

First and Second Waves of the Multiracial Movement

From the 1960s, the first wave of the multiracial movement communicated multiple agendas simultaneously because of the varying racial mixtures of as did the differing contents in which multiracial individual faced racial discrimination. It was not until the 1990s that Cynthia Nakashima outlined and separated the variety of agendas set forth by individuals and organizations within the first wave of the multiracial movement. The first agenda focused on inclusion into ethnic/racial communities as a full member, rather than a group partially accepting someone because of his or her mixed-race background. Many multiracial individuals had to "pass" and chose one ethnic/racial background in order for a group to accept them as full authentic members.

The second agenda supported a shared multiracial identity and the creation of a singular multiracial community. There are two types of organizational structures where such sharing and support can take place. The first organizational structure to allow for a shared multiracial identity was housed within specific ethnic/racial communities. Organizations such as the Hapa Issues Forum and various Asian communities have allowed groups of multiracial Asians to connect and share their multiracial experiences. The second organizational structure extends over multiple ethnic/racial communities to allow a larger pan-multiracial community to emerge. Organizations and magazines, such as the Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans (AMEA) and *Biracial* magazine, have united multiracial individuals to discuss and support larger issues of multiracialism that are not specific to one ethnic/racial community or multiracial ancestry.

The third agenda moved toward dismantling racial ideologies in society. Multiracial individuals following the third agenda used their multiracial identity to be neither race, while possessing both or all of their racial ancestries, to resist and tear down ethnic/racial categories in society. Some multiracial individuals have used their mixture of ethnic/racial backgrounds to encourage various ethnic/racial groups to discuss and promote ways to counter common forms of discrimination.

In 2001, Stephen Small proposed that an educated and economically privileged group of

individuals start and shape the movement. However, an increase in ethnic and economic diversity had spawned new factions and organizations in support of the multiracial movement. For example, multiracial individuals possessing Asian ancestry formed the Hapa movement and the Hapa Issues Forum in support of Asian multiracial individuals' rights within California and other states housing large numbers of Asian communities.

The Hapa movement is an Asian heritage multiracial grouping that challenged previous black and white binaries associated with multiracial identity. Before the Hapa movement, the multiracial movement was composed mostly of black and white multiracial individuals, or individuals who were in black and white interracial unions. The main agendas of the Hapa movement focused primarily on racial categorization and equality for all multiracial individuals. As part of their discussion of identity and social movements, Mary Bernstein and Marcie De La Cruz highlight the Hapa movement's goal in bringing forth racial justice for people with multiple ethnic identities while challenging the categorization of race and racial binaries.

The second wave of the multiracial movement is still ongoing. Many multiracial organizations scrutinized how and why government and national organizations would tally and use the "check all that apply" racial categorization in the future. Since the release of the 2000 U.S. Census data, the movement and affiliated organizations have moved beyond their previous agendas to include such topics as transracial and transnational adoption. With more than 9 million people (about 3 percent of the U.S. population) choosing two or more races, future generations of multiracial individuals are still looking for support and recognition. Organizations such as MAVIN and Swirl have helped bring the multiracial discussion to the next generation.

Organizations of the Multiracial Movement

iPride, also known as Interracial and Intercultural Pride, was established in 1979 by a group of interracial families in northern California. After 2005, iPride collaborated with the Multiethnic Education Program and the FUSION organization in the effort to revitalize and update the mission of iPride. The Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans (AMEA) was founded in 1988. AMEA advocated

for and helped establish the "check all that apply" racial designation in the 2000 U.S. Census. Currently, AMEA helps maintain federal guidelines on racial reporting for many U.S.-based organizations.

Project RACE, founded by Susan Graham and Chris Ashe in 1991, represents the multiracial community at various federal government meetings. The organization helps promote and advocate for a multiracial category for mixed-raced children across the nation. RACE is used by the organization as an acronym for Reclassify All Children Equally. Hapa Issues Forum (HIF) began in 1992 to encourage the inclusion of multiracial Asian Pacific Islanders as full "authentic" members of the various ethnic Asian Pacific Islander communities. After the creation of HIF, seven major chapters were created across California, but the organization was disbanded in 2007. The organization collaborated with MAVIN, Swirl, iPride, and AMEA on various local, state, and national projects. The University of California, Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library houses the HIF archives in the Asian American Studies Collection.

The MAVIN Foundation, founded by Matt Kelley in 1998, and turned into a nonprofit organization in 2000, is a volunteer-run organization that helps create and maintain multiracial and transracial adoption events around the nation (i.e., Loving Day and the first Critical Mixed Race Studies Conference). In 2000, Jen Chau founded Swirl, Inc. Swirl is a nationally recognized multi-ethnic organization that uses community building, education, and action to promote multiculturalism and multiracialism. The organization is composed of various local chapters from around the nation that help challenge popular notions of race and combat racism within the multiracial community.

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See Also: Hapa; Mixed-Race Americans; Mulatto; Multiple Race Categorization (Essay).

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Muscogee (Muskogee)

The term *Muscogee*, or *Muskogee*, has multiple definitions. Muscogee means "Creek" and refers to the Creek Indian Nation of the southeast. Muscogee also refers to counties in the states of Georgia and Oklahoma that are named for the Muscogee Indians. The county in Georgia represents the origins of the Creek Nation, and Oklahoma represents where Native Americans lost their right to have a voice.

In 1969, Merle Haggard wrote the song "Okie From Muskogee," which again popularized the term. A few years after the song was released, researchers began discussing the 20-year follow-up study on tuberculosis collected in Muscogee County, Georgia. Although the definitions are quite different, they all share a history with the Creek Indian Nation that underscores the racial bias against Native Americans.

Creek Indians

Muscogee is another word for Creek. The Muscogee are descendants of the Creek Indian Nation that inhabited most of the southeastern United States prior to 1500. The Creek Nation did not belong to a single tribe but rather to a union of several tribes. Early ancestors of the Muscogee were known for their earthen mounds, which resembled pyramids. These mounds are believed to be parts of larger ceremonial structures.

Descendants of the Muscogee would later build towns within the same region, now known as

Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. During the "historic period," the Creek Nation became one of the largest political organizations north of Mexico. The Muscogee dominated and expanded their territories until the colonization of America.

In the early 1800s, as the United States began its expansion westward, the U.S. government focused on policies to remove the Muscogee from their tribal lands to areas beyond the Mississippi. The removal treaty of 1832 required the Muscogee leaders to trade their remaining lands for territory in what is now Oklahoma. More recently, the Muscogee have worked together to protect their heritage. In 1971, the Muscogee tribes freely elected their first principal chief without presidential approval since the partial dismantling of their government. Today, the Muscogee people are in the process of reclaiming and asserting their rights and responsibilities as a sovereign nation.

Muscogee Counties in Georgia and Oklahoma

Muscogee County in the state of Georgia was named for the original inhabitants called the Muscogee or Creek Indian Nation; it came into existence in 1827. Muscogee County, Georgia, was the site of a 20-year-long tuberculosis study. This study began in 1950 and ended in 1970; the study population included over 60,000 participants aged 5 and older.

This study was conducted prior to the practice of institutional review and was notable in that the control group did not receive inoculation against tuberculosis. Twenty years later, researchers discussed the logic of using varying strains of inoculation against tuberculosis to determine if the vaccine worked and at what level it was needed. As the study was implemented, participants had to take it on faith that they were inoculated against tuberculosis.

Today, Muscogee County, Georgia, has approximately 190,000 inhabitants. Interestingly, the 2010 census data report that less than 1 percent of the county inhabitants self-describe as Native American, compared with about 48 percent who self-identify as white and 46 percent who self-identify as black.

Muscogee County, Oklahoma, like Muscogee County in the state of Georgia, is named for the Creek Indian Nation. In 1824, federal officials



Merle Haggard is an American song writer, singer, and musician. He popularized the term Muskogee in his hit "Okie From Muskogee." Reportedly, he wrote the song after being released from jail, so he knew what it was like to lose his freedom and was feeling anger regarding the protesters against the Vietnam War.

established Fort Gibson, located on the Grand River near Three Forks. Fort Gibson is the oldest established fort in the United States. This fort became the final destination established for "the removal" of the Indians, which later became known as the Trail of Tears. Today, Muskogee County, Oklahoma, has approximately 71,000 inhabitants. According to the 2010 U.S. census, Muskogee County residents self-identify as approximately 62 percent white, 11 percent black, and 18 percent Native American. Clearly, many of the descendants of the survivors of the Trail of Tears have remained in Oklahoma.

"Okie From Muskogee"

The song "Okie From Muskogee," written by Merle Haggard and Roy Edgar Burris, was recorded by Haggard and released in September 1969. By November, the song had reached

number one on the country music charts. The lyrics from the song that spoke to the American public both then and now are "We don't smoke marijuana in Muskogee; We don't take no trips on LSD/We don't burn no draft cards down on Main Street/We like livin' right and bein' free/I'm proud to be an Okie from Muskogee . . ."

It has been reported that Haggard found the protests against the Vietnam War disheartening, and the intent of the song was to support the troops. The song grew out of "one-liners" traded between the writers, reportedly as they were driving through Oklahoma.

The song is an interesting representation of a time in the United States when the nation was polarized about the Vietnam War: the conservatives for continued fighting, and a growing liberal group, then called "hippies," protesting in growing numbers. However, although the song was representative of late 1960s and early 1970s politics, its title gives it an interesting parallel to both the past and the present.

Though it is not apparent whether Haggard knew much about the meaning of the word *Muscogee*, by using this term he managed to draw a parallel to the plight of the Muskogee people and their history, when the Native American populations were stripped of their lands for the purposes of continued expansion.

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See Also: Choctaw; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Native Americans; Race Riots; Vietnam War.

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Museum of Tolerance

The Museum of Tolerance (MOT) is a high-tech and interactive exploration into aspects of hate and bigotry that have taken place throughout the world, as well as an institution that strives to prompt visitors to see the positive change that individuals have created and can be created by them. There are many permanent exhibits as well as temporary special exhibits. It provides many resources and serves to remind visitors of human atrocities throughout the world, both historical and contemporary, and to empower individuals to create a socially just world.

The MOT was opened in 1993 as the educational sector of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, California. Simon Wiesenthal was a concentration camp survivor and subsequently a Nazi hunter, and the center was originally established as a Jewish human rights organization. The museum's development was prompted by the growing denial of the Holocaust's existence and a desire to combat ignorance about the Holocaust. Its initial aim was to provide a reminder of the atrocities of the Holocaust, genocide, and anti-Semitism. It has expanded its focus to include tolerance, multiculturalism, racism, and civil and human rights for all, with an ultimate goal to promote tolerance and understanding.

The core of the museum is its three main exhibits. These three permanent exhibits are the Holocaust section, the Tolerancenter, and Finding Our Families, Finding Ourselves. The Holocaust exhibit takes the museum visitor through the experience of Nazi Germany in the 1920s to 1945 via a sound-and-light guided tour. This is done in several ways, such as the visitor receiving a passport of a child who was in Nazi Germany and following that child's story while proceeding through the exhibit. At the end of the exhibit, the visitor learns the fate of the child. The visitor also overhears conversations at a café in Germany and then finds out the fate of the café patrons. This section of the museum includes actual accounts from those who lived through this time.

The Tolerancenter consists of many sections that are designed to explore intolerances throughout the world that people experience in daily life. Using interactive technology, the visitor explores personal responsibility related to bullying, hate

speech, and drunk driving. The exhibit takes a historical look at human rights abuses, such as the exploitation of women and children and the lives of political prisoners and refugees.

What starts these and what people can do to end them are examined. Civil rights violations in the United States, Rwanda, and Bosnia are visited, as well as hate that exists and spreads on the Internet.

The third permanent exhibit is Finding Our Families, Finding Ourselves. In this exhibit, the visitor explores the diversity of notable Americans. This exhibit is designed to connect people with shared experiences and leads visitors to reflect on their own history and important figures in their lives. The museum also features special exhibitions that rotate throughout the year. There are presentation theaters and meeting facilities available for activities that complement the mission of the MOT.

There are many avenues beyond the exhibits that the MOT uses to promote tolerance, personal responsibility, and social justice. The MOT arranges for relevant speakers to come and share their experiences. These have included Holocaust survivors, hate crime perpetrators and victims, a former white supremacist, and people involved in slavery and human trafficking. The MOT also arranges programs for a wide variety of audiences.

School tours are available for class field trips. Youth programs include anti-bullying workshops and myriad options for different grade levels. Elementary students can take part in after-school programs and classroom programs. Middle and high school students can participate in full-day experiences at the museum, video conferences that connect them to people around the world, and civic engagement opportunities that connect them to the Los Angeles community. A teen court program provides juror training related to hate crimes. Adult learners can take part in professional development programs.

The MOT also offers diversity training programs for corporate groups, educators, and those in criminal justice fields. Teacher resources are available in many formats and include materials such as lesson plans, vocabulary lists, and bibliographies. The library and archives have a plethora of material about the Holocaust and other related topics. The MOT offers a lending library, reference

staff and media, special collections, genealogy resources, and an opportunity to ask survivors questions and receive firsthand responses. Each year, it honors a children's book that promotes diversity, social justice, and understanding with the Once Upon a World Children's Book Award.

Since its inception in 1993, the MOT has welcomed over 5 million visitors, many of them schoolchildren. The MOT is a recipient of the Global Peace and Tolerance Award from the Friends of the United Nations. It has expanded to include an associated museum and training center in New York City, the New York Tolerance Center, and there are plans to develop the Center for Human Dignity in Jerusalem. This latest center has met with some resistance, in part due to the proposed site the grounds of a former Muslim cemetery. There are also plans to develop a virtual museum.

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See Also: Anti-Semitism; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Diversity Training; Hate Crimes; Hate Speech; Holocaust, The; Tolerance.

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Music and Ethnic Diversity

Music in the United States can be regarded as an emotional and spiritual expression of ethnic diversity, an image of emancipation, a source of ethnic fragmentation, and a powerful unifying force. Virtually all ethnic groups in the United States have represented themselves in some musical form or style. This ethnic identification

with specific musical practices, as complicated, socially constructed, and dynamic as it is, makes the study of music the very partial tracing of a history of ethnicity in America. Musicians and composers, audiences, and critics aesthetically represent and embody the American way of life in its many forms. Musical expression provides a forum for different ethnicities to exchange ideas, knowledge, and identity.

Practice and Culture of Early Native American Musical Performance

Evidence for pre-Columbian music practices in America was gathered by early European travelers, whose ethnographies documented Native American social and ceremonial music practices associated with indigenous theologies and religious practices. Musicologist Olivia Bloechl argues that despite being damned as mere savage superstition by European Protestant colonists, Native American music influenced European music and constituted an ontology of sacred song, a way of understanding songs as an expression of being, or what is in the world or beyond it. Native American song was thus understood as a culturally embedded fabric of social reality, a distillation of natural and theological worldviews.

European explorers and settlers described practices of ceremonial chanting, rattling, drumming, and shouting. Shouting was taken as a musical manifestation of fear and trembling at the power of the divine, and a renunciation, as a vocal cleansing or purgation of the soul and spirit. However, Native American music should not be taken merely as metaphysics in a Western sense of transcendence of nature. Music, by its aesthetic nature, already integrates physical movements and affects with higher formal categories of understanding in beauty and powerful ideas of reason in the sublime. Native American animism or natural spirituality crosses the boundaries between metaphysical transcendence of nature and physical reality, for nature is animated by spirits in many Native American religions.

Music and African American History

Music has been integral to African American experience for 350 years. African slaves brought with them to America the amazingly complex musical culture of West Africa, which included

not only the elements of most contemporary popular music, from blues and jazz to rock and roll, but also a system of drum-based communication that remained the world's swiftest form of long-distance communication prior to the telegraph. African American music historian Burton Perretti has documented that as early as 1740, in a period of slave revolts, South Carolina legislative officials banned musical instruments among African American slaves in fear of rebellion. In the first Great Awakening, a precursor to the American Revolution, many African American slaves were converted to Christianity, and formal hymns emerged in the south by 1761. In 1801, a former slave, Richard Allen, later the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, published a book of spirituals and hymns.

Forms of African American performance culture began to emerge some 20 years later, when African Americans started to perform in venues in New York City and elsewhere. The publication of African American songs followed soon after, concentrating at first on the songs of sorrow and despair of African American slaves. The cultural significance of these songs is found in their depictions by Frederick Douglass in 1845 and by W. E. B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903. One sorrow song, quoted by Du Bois, reads as follows:

I walk through the churchyard
 To lay this body down
 I know moon-rise, I know star-rise
 I walk in the moonlight
 I walk in the starlight
 I'll lie in the grave and stretch out my arms
 I'll go to judgment in the evening of the day
 And my soul and thy soul shall meet that day
 When I lay this body down.

By 1859, African American pianist Thomas Wiggins ("Blind Tom" Bethune) had performed at the White House. In 1867, the first publication of African American compositions appeared as *Slave Songs of the United States*. Jubilee Singers gathered at an early African American institution, Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1871, and from 1871 to 1878, they were among the first touring groups of African American musicians.

Emerging technologies soon transformed American music from a performance culture to a recording industry. In 1890, vocalist George W. Johnson made the first phonograph recording by an African American musician. The following year, African American ragtime pianists began an artistic exchange of musical themes initiated at the Chicago Columbian Exposition. Leading ragtime pianist Scott Joplin published the song "Maple Leaf Rag" in 1899, and the opera *Treemonisha* in 1911. Eight years later, the first African American record label, Broome Records, was founded in Boston. In 1920, African American Mamie Smith made the first blues recording, "Crazy Blues." Some five years later, trumpeter Louis Armstrong recorded and released some of the first pieces of the new jazz music in the United States with his Hot 5 and Hot 7 small band combos. Jazz was initially racially segregated. When African American jazz vibraphonist Lionel Hampton and pianist Teddy Wilson joined Benny Goodman's small combo and his big band orchestra in 1935 and 1936, this made them part of the first racially integrated jazz bands in the United States.

Although its origin story is complicated, hip-hop is said to have begun in the South Bronx in New York City in the 1970s, with Jamaican-born disc jockey Clive Campbell (Kool Herc). However, it reflected and gave voice to the everyday lives and dreams of younger, inner-city African Americans in New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, and many other cities, if sometimes in caricatured or exaggerated fashion. Whether an empowering source of resistant culture, as Theresa Martinez argues, or a fount of violence and misogyny, as often claimed (yet, as Edward G. Armstrong found, this was true of only 22 percent of gangsta rap lyrics), hip-hop gave birth to a wide range of distinct, regionally specific (such as east/west coast) musical forms, including rap, crunk, and reggaeton. In the 1980s, hip-hop began to spread beyond urban African American communities. Today, hip-hop belongs to the many African American forms of music performed by virtually all ethnicities in the United States.

Irish Americans and the Musical Representation of Everyday Life

Romantic Irish immigrant songs first emerged in antebellum America. Early Irish American

compositions often reflected a peasant identity and included east coast urban parlor songs, popular post-Civil War theater, and Tin Pan Alley songs in New York City. The first publishers of Irish music in the United States often included illustrations of Irish Americans over the actual sheet music. Irish Americans played up their ancestry, as did their early audiences, as they began to reach a wider popular audience. Such a commercial philosophy of music, one that aimed to unite performer and spectator through ethnic imagery, aesthetically displayed a version of everyday life in America.

Irish American singer George M. Cohan marked the assimilation of Irish Americans into the mainstream of American culture in the 20th century in songs such as “Over There” that reflected a distinctly Irish American identity, yet expressed patriotic fervor for the United States, placing “the symbols of American life into American music,” as New York City Mayor Fiorello La Guardia stated in his eulogy.

Jewish Americans and the Changing Makeup of Musical Identity in the United States

Between 1880 and 1914, two million European Jews immigrated to the United States, many arriving at Ellis Island in New York and settling in crowded tenements on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, not far from Little Italy. The Old World ghetto songs of newly identified Jewish Americans grew from Yiddish lyrics and melodies popular in close-knit 19th-century central and eastern European Jewish ghettos.

Many notable 20th-century American songwriters were second-generation Jewish Americans. Historian Edward Pessen estimates that 75 percent of American popular music lyricists and 50 percent of popular composers during this period were Jewish, as were 60 percent of “respected” songwriters, responsible for 70 percent of the country’s hit songs. Influential songwriters Irving Berlin, Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart, George and Ira Gershwin, and Jerome Kern were all Jewish. Harold Arlen inspired a generation with his songs. Influential conductor Leonard Bernstein composed the groundbreaking music for *West Side Story*, assisted by lyricist Stephen Sondheim. Today, Jewish American reggae and alternative rock singer Matisyahu has collaborated with Muslim beatboxer Kenny Muhammad. Jewish

American composer and saxophonist John Zorn formed an ethnic-inspired Bar Kokhba sextet with members of his Diaspora-infused Masada jazz quartet, joined by Brazilian American percussionist Cyro Baptista.

Musical Genesis of Central European Ethnic Communities in Middle America

Polish American musicians and composers thrived in cities such as Chicago, New York, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Cleveland. Polish American polka, flourishing by the turn of the century, derived from the dance-based art form popular in 1840s Poland but differed in its use of folk melodies and an inchoate form of jazz. Polish American polka in Chicago had a bluesy style, whereas in Detroit, its style was infused by jazz and folk, serving to unite its ethnic blue-collar listenership.

Czech American polka music was common in urban areas in Wisconsin. It also reflected the everyday life of working-class ethnic communities. It had its origins in the 1850s, at the beginning of an influx of immigration from central Europe’s Bohemia geographic region. Through their music, performed in ballrooms and neighborhood festivals, tight-knit communities of recent immigrants expressed themselves and preserved cultural heritage in an America increasingly marked by change.

The most notable of the other Central European immigrant polka traditions were German American, which incorporated elements of folk, religious, art, and popular music in choral traditions. German American culture was rich in songs about the tribulations of immigrants. These narratives in ballads and hymn books were distributed locally, helping preserve German language motifs and tropes in German American communities in the United States. American music from the 20th century is replete with contributions by Americans with German ancestry, including Les Paul, Eddy Vedder, Kurt Cobain, and Elvis Presley.

Varied Music of Italian Americans

Italian American music similarly expressed and reflected the social reality of immigrant life in the United States. At a time when opera houses such as the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City ostentatiously displayed the exclusive prizes of wealth and class, early Italian American opera

represented a democratization of culture. Originally marked by a dynamic aesthetics, 19th-century opera in the United States constituted a commentary and forum for the exchanging of ideas, knowledge, and identities from the newly formed ethnic group and its communities.

In stark contrast was the 20th-century Italian American musicians' performance of songs to a much wider popular audience. Italian American singers such as Tony Martin, Dean Martin, Tony Bennett, and Frank Sinatra popularized music in the United States and became cultural icons. Today, prominent American musicians with some Italian ancestry include Bruce Springsteen, Alicia Keys, Chris Isaak, Natalie Merchant, Jon Bon Jovi, and Trey Anastasio of Phish.

Asian and Mediterranean Influences

Asian American music has emerged today as a patchwork of pan-Asian artistic thought and ideas. Asian regionalism is intergenerational. Chinese American saxophonist and composer Fred

Ho has gained recognition in avant-garde and experimental jazz settings with free-form improvisation and atonal composition. Vietnamese American trumpeter Cuong Vu has received both critical and commercial success performing with jazz guitarist Pat Metheny's Grammy Award-winning ensemble. Japanese American pianist Toshiko Akiyoshi has received critical acclaim as a jazz composer and arranger. Early in her career, she collaborated with her former husband, the late Italian American saxophonist Charlie Mariano. Miya Masaoko is a highly respected Japanese American composer of experimental and avant-garde music. She performs on her native Japanese koto zither, which gives her new American music a striking cultural difference.

Israeli American violinist Miri Ben-Ari has collaborated with major African American hip-hop artists such as Twista and Kanye West. A new wave of Israeli American jazz artists, centered in New York and Boston, includes saxophonists Assif Tsahar and Ori Kaplan, who first attained



The group Native Trails performs at the Scottsdale Civic Center in Arizona. Drums are of great importance to Native American music. Traditionally, American Indian drums are played communally by groups who sit around them in a circle. Vocalization and percussion are the two most important aspects of Native American music, and percussion, especially drums and rattles, is used to keep rhythm for the singers and dancers. Traditional music usually begins with slow and steady beats and gradually becomes faster and more emphatic.

critical acclaim in the 1990s, continuing to work in ethnically diverse musical settings with Kaplan's Balkan beatbox group and Tsahar's duets with Chicago-based African American drummer and percussionist Hamid Drake. Saxophonist and clarinetist Anat Cohen topped *Down Beat* magazine's seminal Critics Poll in 2012. Her brother, trumpeter Avishai Cohen, has also received praise from the jazz press.

Palestinian American urban music producer DJ Khaled resides in south Florida and collaborates with leading African American hip-hop recording artists. New York-based Armenian American jazz pianist Armen Donelian has taught jazz across ethnic divisions in American conservatories and in foreign residencies, including a "Jazz in Armenia" project in 1999. American experimental vocalist Diamanda Galás emphasizes her Anatolian or Turkish heritage. Including her Greek ancestry, the singer's dynamic ethnic background informs her original music composition and performance.

Dynamic Life of Latino Music in the United States

Mexican American guitarist Carlos Santana achieved immediate and lasting success in rock in the 1960s and 1970s. Raised in a Puerto Rican section of Harlem, percussionist Tito Puente performed Latin jazz for American audiences for some 50 years, gaining recognition for the album *Salsa Meets Jazz*. Haitian American rapper Wyclef Jean was a vocal member of the Haitian community in the United States, organizing aid to Haiti after its devastating 2010 earthquake. Born into a Jewish American family in New Jersey, guitarist Marc Ribot has performed and recorded Cuban-inspired contemporary music with his band Marc Ribot y Los Cubanitos (translated as the "Prosthetic Cubans"). African American trumpeter Roy Hargrove won a Grammy in the 1990s for his Afro-Cuban album *Habana*, which brought together African American and Cuban jazz musicians.

Mexican American influences in the west include a generation of musicians gathering in urban Los Angeles to create a new idiom that dated in its trajectory from the Great Depression to the Vietnam War. This Mexican American music was part of the greater wartime culture of entertainment in the region and then evolved to become an element of the postwar counterculture. The

resulting Chicano and Chicana cultural expressions intersected with the broader political age of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. A well-known Mexican American musical genre of the time period in Los Angeles and throughout the west was *Mojo*, which highlighted a greater trend of regionalism in the history of 20th-century Latino music in the United States.

Among the southwest's Chicano community of Mexican American musical composers, lyricists, and recording artists emerged the traditional Spanish ballads of New Mexico. Other Mexican American musical genres and styles of artistic expression included corridos and Tex-Mex music. Within the greater southwest, corridos represented songs of Mexican American resistance and cultural pride. Corridos were fast-paced ballads that told culturally significant stories. They recounted epic events and retold the story of the cultural conflicts between Anglos and Mexican Americans. Corridos not only documented (through their music composition, performance, and recording) the injustices that Mexican Americans suffered, but also celebrated outlaws from earlier time periods who stood up to defend the honor of the Mexican American community.

Tejano music, most commonly referred to as Tex-Mex music, gained popularity among Mexican American communities in central and southwestern Texas. With roots in the early 20th-century Mexican American experience, the music had emerged by the 1980s and 1990s to form part of the larger consciousness of popular music in the United States. From its early to its mature forms, Tejano represented more than just music; it also referred to the Tex-Mex border culture between Texas and Mexico.

Tejano is considered a meld of Texan and Mexican languages and traditions, with its music notably performed in the border region along the Rio Grande separating Texas from Mexico. Tex-Mex music flourished even during periodic unrest and violence, generating an exuberant artistic expression that would come to embody a rock and roll heart for a larger portion of music listeners throughout the United States.

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See Also: African Americans; Hip-Hop; Jazz and Ethnic Diversity; Jewish Americans, Popular Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity

Historically, performers of color have been relegated to roles specifically as ethnic characters in the script, in specialty numbers that exist outside the main action, or in barely featured chorus roles. Opportunities for actors of color are limited by a general paucity of roles, and when parts are available, they are often mired in decades-old noxious stereotypes, or otherwise lacking in substance. However, an increasing acceptance of nontraditional and color-blind casting, as well as more producers, writers, directors, and audience members of color, have resulted in more visibility for ethnic actors and more balanced depictions of the African American, Asian American, and Latin American experience.

A review of the history of the American musical theater reveals that people of color have influenced its development profoundly. One of the earliest black characters performed on stage in America was Mungo, a drunken trickster who was introduced in Charles Dibdin's operetta *The*

Padlock, first played in blackface by Lewis Hallam, Jr., in 1769. His aria, "Dear Heart! What a Terrible Life I Am Led," is the first known theater song that was modeled on African American music and performed by a white actor. Mungo often articulated a comic bitterness about his difficult lot as a black man. The character influenced the negative onstage portrayal of African Americans for decades. Throughout the 19th century, most African American roles, irrespective of gender, were essayed by white male actors.

Thomas Dartmouth Rice, a blackface performer, composer, and playwright, popularized the minstrel show in the United States and England, beginning in the 1820s. His performance of his signature character, the crafty but supine Jim Crow, lent its name to America's codified segregation laws. His work was considered progressive at the time, as he willingly performed for both black and white audiences. Later in his career, he played the title role in the Broadway adaptation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

As the first African American to tour the world as part of a traveling minstrel group, the Ethiopian Serenaders, Henry William Lane, who performed as Master Juba, introduced black dance to white audiences in the 1840s. It was not until after the Civil War that African American minstrel troupes began writing and performing musicals for black audiences.

Beginning with *Clorindy; or The Origin of the Cake Walk*, which opened on Broadway in 1898, musicals written by and starring African Americans, especially those featuring ragtime music, became popular among white theatergoers. *In Dahomey* in 1903, *Abyssinia* in 1906, and *Bandanna Land* in 1908 were among the most popular early black musical comedies. *In Dahomey*, in particular, was groundbreaking in that it combined elements of vaudeville, opera, and musical theater. Black playwrights and composers like Will Marion Cook, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and brothers J. Rosamond and James Weldon Johnson gained fame creating black musical comedies for white audiences.

Off-Broadway, Harlem theaters featured productions created by and starring black artists for black audiences. Bert Williams and George Walker, black comedians who performed in blackface, were among the most successful actors

of their generation; they produced shows in the United States and England, and they even founded the Negro's Society, an African American actors' union. In 1910, Williams became the first African American to receive equal billing with white performers in *Ziegfeld Follies* on Broadway. African American theater critic Lester Walton formed the Lafayette Theater Stock Players at the Lafayette Theater in Harlem in 1912. Its goal was to provide alternatives to the stereotypical roles available to black singers, dancers, and comedians. In 1915, the Lincoln Theater Troupe of Harlem's Lincoln Theater presented a reading of Scott Joplin's African American opera, *Treemonisha*.

Later in the decade, black musicals had fallen out of fashion; African Americans were not seen consistently on stage again for another decade, until Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle's hugely successful *Shuffle Along* premiered in 1921. Revues, which featured musical numbers and dances without plots, were especially popular during this period. Throughout the 1920s, a number of musicals attempted realistic portrayals of African American life; by far the most successful of these was Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein's *Show Boat* in 1927. Few complete scores of black musicals before the 1920s are extant. A lack of commercial demand meant that these scores were never recorded or published.

By the 1930s, African American actors appeared regularly in all-black musicals, or sang and danced specialty numbers, which were not germane to the storyline, in all-white shows. A few operas and operettas were refashioned for performance by all-black casts, including *Carmen Jones*, adapted from George Bizet's *Carmen*, and *The Swing Mikado* and *The Hot Mikado*, both based on W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan's *The Mikado*.

In addition, the Federal Theater Project, a Works Progress Administration program that ran from 1935 to 1939, created four New York performance units that employed black musical theater performers: the Vaudeville Unit, the Federal Negro Theater, the Negro Youth Theater, and the African Dance Unit.

Musical Theater's Immigrant Roots

Irish American performers were featured regularly in antebellum minstrelsy. Even prior to the popular rise of minstrel, stock Irish characters—ranging

from well-mannered gentlemen to raucous hired hands—were a mainstay of American theater. Subsequently, with an increase in Irish emigration to America came a proliferation of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic characters. Still, many performers, directors, and writers found great success in American musical comedies. George M. Cohan wrote and starred in many of the great musicals of the early 20th century, even penning the classic "Give My Regards to Broadway." Edward Harrigan starred in a number of vaudeville productions that focused on the lives of Irish immigrants. Victor Herbert is considered America's first great composer of operettas, including *Babes in Toyland*. Throughout the 1920s, a number of rags-to-riches stories about Irish immigrants were created for the musical stage.

Shortly thereafter, Jewish Americans replaced Irish Americans as the dominant voices in the musical theater. In trying to develop a means to integrate fully into a Christian country, Jewish writers created characters and scenarios for the stage that expressed their history and present. In particular, many of these productions concerned shifting identities, assimilation, and overcoming obstacles in the face of ethnic prejudice. In instances where they did not feel that it was appropriate to articulate Jewish themes overtly, they used non-Jewish characters as stand-ins, including in *Oklahoma!* and *South Pacific*.

Beginning with the arrival of the first troupe from Romania in the 1880s, the Yiddish theater was a popular alternative to the English-language productions that played on Broadway and in vaudeville. These shows addressed Jewish issues with Jewish actors and writers for a predominantly Yiddish-speaking audience of Jewish emigrants from eastern Europe. After a few decades, once the audience base was mostly English speaking, the structure and content continued to contour the development of musicals. Subsequently, Jewish performers and writers helped develop and popularize vaudeville shows, which were direct predecessors to modern musicals.

Further, the vast majority of 20th-century American theater's great songwriters were Jewish: Stephen Sondheim, Richard Rodgers, George Gershwin, Harold Arlen, Leonard Bernstein, Jerome Kern, Stephen Schwartz, and Frank Loesser. In creating a musical vocabulary for the

theater, they drew upon Jewish and western European music, as well as African American musical idioms, especially jazz, spirituals, and ragtime. In fact, nearly two-thirds of the Tony Awards for Best Original Score have been awarded to Jewish composers. Many of the most successful performers also were Jewish, including Barbra Streisand, Ethel Merman, Zero Mostel, and Al Jolson, and more recently Idina Menzel, Lea Michele, Mandy Patinkin, and Harvey Fierstein.

New Opportunities for Performers of Color in Postwar America

By the 1940s, musicals had become more sophisticated in terms of form and content. Correspondingly, hot-button issues like racial intolerance were addressed in some musicals, including *Bloomer Girl* in 1944, *Finian's Rainbow* in 1947, and *South Pacific* and *Lost in the Stars* in 1949. Companies like the Negro Ensemble Company and AMAS Musical Theater ensured that works that showcased the efforts of artists of color were produced.

Choreographer-cum-anthropologist Katherine Dunham directed and choreographed on Broadway a number of times, beginning with *Tropical Revue* at the Martin Beck Theater in 1943. Some white composers, including Leonard Bernstein, Oscar Hammerstein, Richard Rodgers, Harold Arlen, Gary Geld, Judd Woldin, Peter Udell, Garry Sherman, and Henry Krieger, routinely tackled issues of race and ethnicity in their work.

Chita Rivera broke barriers in the 1950s by being cast in non-Latina roles in *Guys and Dolls*, *Can-Can*, and *Call Me Madam*. Argentine Fernando Lamas and Mexican Ricardo Montalban were other early musical theater stars of Latin American descent in the 1950s. Juanita Hall, an African American, won the first ever Tony Award for Best Featured Actress in a Musical for the original production of *South Pacific* in 1950, and Miyoshi Umeki, the first Asian American to win an Academy Award for acting, became the first to be nominated for the Tony Award for Best Actress for *Flower Drum Song* in 1959.

Beginning in the 1960s, musicals with interracial casts, including *No Strings* (1962), *Hair* (1967), and *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1969), became more common. *Jericho-Jim Crow*, which played off-Broadway in 1964, and *Black Nativity*, which

opened on Broadway in 1971, both written by Langston Hughes, were pioneering musicals with religious content and gospel music scores. In the 1970s and 1980s, gospel musicals regularly toured the United States, playing the urban theater circuit.

Accompanying the proliferation of African American-penned plays, beginning in the late 1960s and 1970s, were a number of musicals with African American content. Several successful musicals, including *Hello, Dolly!*, *I Love My Wife*, *Timbuktu!* (from *Kismet*), and *I Love My Wife*, were refashioned with all-black casts. Many new musicals were written by African Americans, most notably Charlie Smalls (*The Wiz* in 1975) and Micki Grant (*Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope* in 1972 and *Your Arms Too Short to Box With God* in 1976). Others were written by whites but adapted from African American works, such as *Purlie*, *Amen Corner*, and *Raisin*.

Between 1971 and 1982, African American novelist, performer, and filmmaker Melvin Van Peebles had four shows on Broadway, two of which he also produced. The most noteworthy of them were *Ain't Supposed to Die a Natural Death*, a social commentary on inner-city life, and *Don't Play Us Cheap*, a lighthearted fantasia on contemporary black identity. Finally, fictionalized accounts of black historical figures, including Jackie Robinson (*The First*) and Diana Ross and the Supremes (*Dreamgirls*), launched the careers of a number of successful African American performers, including David Alan Grier, Loretta Devine, Sheryl Lee Ralph, Jennifer Holliday, Janet Hubert-Whitten, and Phylicia Rashad.

In the 1990s and 2000s, unprecedented levels of racial sensitivity were achieved on Broadway. *Once on This Island* (1990), based on Trinidadian author Rosa Guy's novel *My Love, My Love: The Peasant Guy*, featured an all-black cast and explored the history of intra-racial relations in Haiti. *Rent*, which ran for 12 years on Broadway, beginning in 1996, and again off-Broadway beginning in 2011, utilized both color-blind casting and a multiracial ensemble of actors. With Paul Simon and Derek Walcott's 1998 musical, *The Capeman*, based on the story of Salvador Agrón, critics and audiences, as well as performers associated with the show, drew attention to what they considered to be inauthentic depictions of Latin Americans.

Several other productions, including *4 Guys Named José y Una Mujer Named Maria*, *Juan Darién: A Carnival Mass*, *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, and *Tango Argentino*, showcased Latino casts and culture. Because of concerns that the scene was demeaning to indigenous peoples, the song “I’m an Indian, Too,” written for the original 1946 production of *Annie Get Your Gun*, was excised from the 1999 Broadway revival. The Bollywood-inspired *Bombay Dreams* (2004), by A. R. Rahman, Meera Syal, Thomas Meehan, and Don Black, explored south Asian culture for the first time in a Broadway musical. *In the Heights*, which won the Tony Award for Best Musical in 2009 and was a finalist for the Pulitzer that same year, tells a story of immigrant dreams and generational conflict, albeit with a score composed of salsa, merengue, bachata, and hip-hop choreography.

Authenticity in Musical Theater

Asian and Latino characters have been featured in American musicals since at least the 1930s. Although it has been considered impolitic to cast non-black performers in African American roles since at least the 1950s, the practice still is common for Latino and Asian roles. In *West Side Story*, for instance, a number of non-Latino actors have been cast as the Puerto Rican Sharks and their girlfriends, including Allyn Ann McLerie, Anna Maria Albertghetti, Harolyn Blackwell, and Debbie Allen.

Although the argument can be made that these performers read to audiences as Latino, the convention of casting non-Asian actors in Asian roles does not require the same phenotypic similarity. Yul Brynner, Juanita Hall, Larry Blyden, and Muriel Smith are non-Asian actors who have essayed Asian roles in mainstream productions. Groups like the Oriental Actors of America have objected publicly to the practice.

Miss Saigon, Claude-Michel Schönberg, Alain Boublil, and Richard Maltby, Jr.’s 1991 resetting of Giacomo Puccini’s *Madama Butterfly* to the end of the Vietnam War, was an international success but also attracted its share of racial controversy. In the original West End production, white actors Jonathan Pryce and Keith Burns, wearing heavy makeup and prosthetic eyepieces, played to two leading Asian male roles, attracting an outcry from members of the Actors Equity Association.

Similarly, a number of anti-defamation groups and prominent Asian American theater practitioners, including actor B. D. Wong and Henry David Hwang, the first Asian American to win a Tony Award for Best Play, protested what they viewed as deleterious portrayals of Asians as sex workers and criminals in the musical. Hwang recounts the controversy in his 2009 play, *Yellow Face*.

Additionally, most Asian American musicals bear little resemblance to traditional forms of Asian performance genres, including Peking opera, Noh, and kabuki. A conspicuous exception is Stephen Sondheim’s *Pacific Overtures* (1976), which depicts the Westernization of Japan by way of kabuki and pentatonic music. Groups like the East West Players, formed by a group of Asian American actors that include Academy Award nominee Mako, and playwright Frank Chin’s Asian American Theater Workshop have worked to ameliorate the manner in which Asian Americans are represented on stage by augmenting the number of Asian American–penned plays. Similarly, for the 2008 Broadway revival of *West Side Story*, Lin-Manuel Miranda, composer of Latin-themed *In the Heights*, contributed new Spanish lyrics and dialogue to address concerns that the musical endorsed stereotypes of Latinos as criminals, and privileged American assimilation over cultural retention.

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See Also: Apollo Theater; Blackface; *Flower Drum Song*; *Funny Girl*; Ghetto; Little Italy; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Opera and Ethnic Diversity; *Porgy and Bess*; *Raisin in the Sun*, A; Rock Music and Ethnic Diversity; Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Yiddish Theater.

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Muslim Americans

Muslim Americans are U.S. citizens and residents who adhere to the religion of Islam. They comprise diverse communities that embrace African Americans, converts, and immigrants from every part of the world but mostly from the Middle East and south Asia. Islam is based on the Five Pillars that must be observed by ordinary Muslims regardless of their sect, ethnicity, country, occupation, education, or exegeses of religious scholars.

These pillars include believing in two testimonies—that of the oneness of Allah and that Muhammad is His Prophet, praying five times daily, almsgiving, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and performing the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca. The religious identity of Muslim Americans is viewed as part of a wide arc of global Muslim identity, or community (*ummah*), encompassing differing ethnic groups from various parts of the world. Despite the fact that the global Muslim community goes beyond the concept of citizenship or national affiliation, Muslim Americans affiliate themselves with the American society or community within which they willingly prefer to live.

As a land of great opportunities, the United States with its multicultural environment attracts Muslims from all around the world. Before the rise of the Atlantic slave trade, Muslims began arriving in the New World at the end of the 16th century when European explorers and colonists crossed the Atlantic in search of new trading routes. The number of Muslims gradually increased over the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries.

In 1920, Muslim immigrants in Detroit initiated the Detroit Chapter of the Red Crescent and purchased plots for Muslim burials. They also founded a mosque in the Highland Park area of metropolitan Detroit in 1921. Adherents were not restricted geographically, and another mosque was established in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in 1934. Presently, the Red Crescent movement is closely associated with the Red Cross movement, and together they form a large global humanitarian network.

In 1930, Fard Muhammad (Wallace or W. D. Fard), an African American religious leader, went to Detroit, where his teaching of Islam led to the establishment of the Nation of Islam. Within the context of African Americans' experience, in the

period between World Wars I and II, Islam was a means to deflect the stigma associated with the black race. Fard's mission was to restore black Americans to their original divine nature, language, and culture through Islam. For most black Americans, Islam was viewed as a religion of liberation.

Under Elijah Muhammad's leadership, and with the help of Malcolm X, the Nation of Islam in the 1950s and 1960s grew to become the most successful Black Nationalist movement in the United States. During this period, influential organizations such as the International Muslim Society (later renamed the Federation of Islamic Associations of the United States and Canada), the Uniting Islamic Society of America, the Islamic Mission of America, and the Islamic Center of New York Foundation were established. During the past four decades, Muslim immigrants from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East have come to America in large numbers. Since the 1960s and 1980s, the United States has been a haven for Muslim immigrants from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East seeking freedom and better economic and educational opportunities.

The exact number of Muslim Americans in the United States has been an issue of debate for several years. The U.S. census does not include information on religion, as it is forbidden by law to ask questions about religious beliefs and affiliations. However, in the 2010 census there was a section titled "Self-Described Religious Identification of Adult Population: 1990, 2001, and 2008." This section points out that the adult Muslim population in 1990 was 527,000, and it reached 1,104,000 in 2001 and 1,349,000 in 2008. Muslim immigration to the United States has steadily increased since the 1990s, and the Muslim population has doubled. Yet, there was a small drop due to the tragic events of September 11, 2001. In another count, the Pew Research Center estimated the total population of Muslims in the United States to be slightly higher, at 2.35 million.

According to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, the population of Muslim Americans in 2010 was 2.6 million (and rose to 2.75 million in 2011), or 0.8 percent of the overall U.S. population. However, a more recent study attempted to estimate Muslim population based on number of people attending major collective prayers.

According to this study, the number of Muslims who attended Eid prayer—holiday prayers after Ramadan and pilgrimage or *hajj*—increased from about 2 million in 2000 to about 2.6 million in 2011. Although the total Muslim population cannot be determined by this figure, it questions the low estimates of the Muslim population in the United States. The study concludes that if there are 2.6 million Muslims praying the Eid prayer, the total Muslim population should be closer to the estimates of 7 million. President Barack Obama, in his address to the Muslim world from Cairo, Egypt, on June 5, 2009, stated there are “nearly 7 million American Muslims in our country today who, by the way, enjoy incomes and educational levels that are higher than the American average.”

Several Muslim countries are the source of significant numbers of immigrants coming to the United States. About two-thirds of the Muslims in the United States today (64.5 percent) came as foreign-born immigrants, and more than a third (35.5 percent) are citizens born in the United

States. This represents a racially diverse group identified as white (30 percent), African American (23 percent), Asian (21 percent), Hispanic (6 percent), and other races (19 percent). Moreover, one out of five American Muslims is a convert. A recent poll proposes that because of immigration and high levels of fertility among Muslims, the population of Muslim Americans will more than double over the next two decades, rising from 2.6 million (0.8 percent) in 2010 to 6.2 million (1.7 percent) in 2030. Muslim Americans live in all U.S. states but have higher concentrations in New York, California, Maryland, Michigan, Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Texas.

Many immigrants are professionals who are economically in America’s middle class. Twenty percent of Muslim Americans, compared to 17 percent of other Americans, are self-employed or own a small business. Overall, Muslim Americans are satisfied with their personal financial situations. Fourteen percent of Muslims, compared to 16 percent of the overall U.S. population, have household



The Islamic Center of America is located in Dearborn, Michigan. Opened in 2005, it is the largest mosque in North America and the oldest Shia mosque in the United States. Dearborn is often called the “heart of Shiism” in the United States because of its large Shia Arab population, which consists mainly of Iraqis and Lebanese.

incomes of \$100,000 or more. Forty-six percent, compared to 38 percent of the overall public, say they are in good or excellent shape financially.

Educationally, 26 percent of Muslim Americans are as likely as the general public (28 percent) to have graduated from college. Twenty-six percent of Muslim Americans (who are younger than the general public) are currently enrolled in a college or university class, compared to 13 percent of the general U.S. population. Moreover, Muslim American women are one of the most highly educated female religious groups in the United States.

The multicultural and pluralistic nature of American society reflects and accommodates Muslim diversity. Sunni Muslims compose the majority of Muslims in the United States, as they do worldwide. The Shia are the second-largest denomination of Islam and include those whose forebears supported 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad. Shiite Muslims are divided into various divisions, of which the Twelvers is most dominant.

Local mosques reflect the diversity of the American Muslim population. The overall number of mosques rose from 1,209 in 2000 to 2,106 in 2010, increasing 74 percent in a decade. Mosques are normally Sunni or Shia (approximately 7 percent). Despite being outnumbered by Sunni mosques, Shiite mosques are growing in number. Over 44 percent of all Shia mosques were established in the 1990s.

During the Gulf wars and after 9/11, Islam was portrayed as an antidemocratic and violent religion. More specifically, since the events of 9/11, Muslim Americans have been depicted as being terrorists. Muslim Americans have disapproved and condemned violent actions taken by politically oriented religious groups, whether they were Muslim or non-Muslim. In response to the tragic events of 9/11, Muslim Americans have expressed their patriotism and full Americanness in tangible ways, including the display of American flags on clothes, cars, homes, storefront windows, and places of worship. Hate crimes have spawned interfaith relationships that the Muslim community wants to invigorate.

After 9/11 and the subsequent decision by the George W. Bush administration to invade Muslim countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq, the majority of Muslims engaged in a massive political shift

away from the Republican Party. Between 2001 and 2004, the percentage of American Muslims who were dissatisfied with the country's direction increased from 38 percent to 63 percent. The shift toward the Democratic Party was further sustained when the Muslim community voted overwhelmingly for Barack Obama in 2008.

Most Muslim Americans, contrary to public opinion, do not see a conflict between their faith and being American or living in a modern society. Muslims maintain that Islamic values are compatible with American values. Many of them aspire to or have achieved prosperity in business, academia, engineering, and other fields. Muslim Americans participate actively in U.S. politics, and 95 percent state that the Muslim community should participate in the political process. Muslim Americans, especially youths, are positively and aggressively involved in the American mainstream, with strong attitudes of cooperation rather than confrontation. Moreover, young people and women show high political engagement, according to state-level data in Michigan.

Muslims' increased participation in politics and integration in American society have helped further diversify the public image of Islam in America. Muslim Americans, especially immigrants, keep an eye on what is happening inside their new homeland and another eye on what is happening in their old homeland. They are interested in knowing new ideas or interpretations of Islam offered by Muslim intellectuals both inside and outside America.

Muslims have been negotiating their own understanding of the relationship between Islam and America through the establishment of Muslim nongovernmental organizations and Islamic cultural-social centers as well as through their political activities. Muslims tend to organize themselves through public places such as mosques and religious-social centers in which they perform rituals and congregate for communal occasions and purposes. In such places in the community and through their everyday lives and practices, they substantiate their political views.

A recent report shows that Muslims who are engaged in their mosques are 53 percent more involved in civic activities, such as charity organizations and school and/or youth programs, than those who are not connected or involved with a

mosque. Also, the report suggests that higher levels of religiosity and mosque attendance lead to higher levels of political participation. This can be seen in mosque participants' higher levels of voting, correspondence with their state and federal representatives, and peaceful engagement in political protests and other processes.

Muslim Americans have established culturally and politically active organizations such as the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADA), the American Moslem Society (AMS), the Islamic Center of America (ICA), the Islamic Center of Detroit (ICD), the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), the Muslim Unity Center (MUC), the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), and the Islamic Cultural Institute (ICI), among others. One of the most influential American Muslim political organizations to emerge to negotiate relations between Islamists and the United States is the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR).

Muslim Americans have become interested in establishing interfaith dialogue, engaging with Christians and Jews through Islamic centers, mosques, and Web sites. Most Friday sermons address social, ethical, and interfaith-related issues with focus on Abrahamic sacred traditions. Such interfaith dialogues have a significant impact on people's social and cultural domains. In Dearborn, Michigan, for example, both Muslim and non-Muslim Americans publicly and candidly share Muslim international conferences and festivals, among other cultural, social, and religious activities.

Also, during religious occasions, such as the month of Ramadan, and celebratory feasts (*Eid*), non-Muslims are invited to participate in Ramadan *Iftar* (breakfast) and share food and beverages. However, Muslims continue to observe certain food and drink prohibitions or taboos and are aware of permitted food. In addition, some of these centers have recreational facilities to attract youths and prevent them from acquiring and developing negative patterns of behavior.

Interfaith relationships play an important part in intercultural marriage. For instance, although marriage between Muslims and Christians as well as between Sunni and Shia Muslims is rare in the Muslim homeland, marriages between Sunni and Shia Muslims and between Muslim

men and Christian women have occurred in the United States. People have maintained, however, that Muslim women cannot marry Christian men unless they adopt Islam as their religion, which they do in many cases.

The pluralistic feature of American society of advocating egalitarianism has attracted Muslim Americans who seek to fill the gap between Western worldviews, secular and egalitarian in nature, and Islamic worldviews, holistic and religious in nature. Diversity does not hinder communication among individuals adhering to different religions or religious sects. Despite the differences in worldviews, American Muslims are interwoven into the fabric of the American multicultural society. Put differently, though Arabs, south Asians, and African Americans are the largest ethnic groups representing Islam in the United States, there is a sort of unity among them. Muslim identity is not entirely to be understood as "either-or" but as "both-and" in the sense that an individual can be Pakistani or Arab and Muslim and American at once.

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See Also: Arab Americans; Egyptian Americans; Syrian Americans.

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Muslim Students Association

The Muslim Students Association (MSA) is dedicated to serving Muslim students on college campuses in North America. The main focus is to serve Muslim students who practice Islam as a way of life while balancing their academic responsibilities. Since 1955, the Harvard Islamic Society (HIS) has been serving the spiritual needs of Muslim students at Harvard University while providing resources and education to the college community about Islam.

MSA National is a religious organization that was established in January 1963 on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign by 75 Muslim students representing 10 colleges across the United States and Canada. Since then, over 600 MSA chapters in higher education institutions in North America have been providing

support, resources, and coordination among affiliated MSA chapters. Not all Muslim student organizations are necessarily affiliated with MSA National, and some Muslim student organizations are called by the name "Islamic Society" or "Islamic Center." Local chapters may choose to adopt the guidelines of the National MSA office, but there is no fixed structure between MSA National and local organizations.

Initially, Muslim Students Associations, Student Unions, or Islamic Societies in North America consisted of a few foreign graduate students, but they later grew to encompass both undergraduate and graduate students in private and public academic institutions in the United States and Canada. Estimates of the population of Muslim students in North American colleges vary from 75,000 to 1 million. Their numbers grew after 1950, and the demand for MSA organizations increased. Muslim students can be immigrants or the children of immigrants, native-born Muslims, and American or Canadian converts to Islam.

In Europe, there are also Muslim student organizations, such as the Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisation (FEMYSO), which was established in 1995. In North America, MSA organizations can also be found in high schools to provide social and religious support for students and guidance in both academic and religious issues. It is important that such organizations exist to support Muslims students because, particularly in primary and secondary schools, Muslim students may experience "deficit model" treatment that is directed to most minority students, such as low teacher expectations and peer pressure in coed classroom settings to represent their religion and culture, as well as receiving ESL class placements even if they are native speakers, and being scheduled to lower-level course choices by school counselors. MSA organizations around the world fulfill the need to support Muslim students, who require delicate negotiations about their religious and cultural practices in school settings.

While pursuing higher education, Muslim students reconcile their religious requirements, such as praying five times a day or fasting during the month of Ramadan. Student organizations at higher education institutions seek certain accommodations to balance the demands of their

academic requirements and religious responsibilities. The response to the needs of Muslim students depends on the university's secular orientation, its commitment to diversity, its interpretation of "equality" and "equity," and its interpretation of the policies and procedures that are in place. Some institutions acknowledge the religious holidays in their academic calendar, provide space for prayer, accommodate meal requests, and/or welcome Muslim chaplains to their campuses, whereas others may see the MSA campus organizations as problematic or unfairly offering privileges to one group of students.

Depending on the needs of the local MSA, students may petition for certain rights to participate in their religious requirements. Because all Islamic holidays are based on a lunar calendar, changing year to year, it may be challenging for Muslim students to celebrate Muslim holidays such as Eid Al-Fitr and Eid Al-Adha on college campuses. Beyond securing quiet and clean spaces for praying and requesting an academic schedule that meets the demands of praying times and religious holidays, female students may request that the swimming pool be reserved for females (along with females of other faiths) for certain times of the week, or request halal food options in the cafeteria at served certain times of the day during the month of Ramadan.

MSA organizations may have a faculty advisor and work with the school administration to create a safe and productive environment for Muslim students, especially if they are the minority in the classroom and wearing a hijab—a veil that covers the hair and neck. Community service has also been a central component of most MSA organizations, by providing spaces for prayer; suggesting meal options for dietary restrictions of Muslim students (e.g., meals without pork products and alcohol); inviting speakers to campus; organizing trips, lectures, and panels for the campus community; holding Islam Awareness Week (IAW); providing Arabic classes to read the Qur'an; and participating in food drives to organizing interfaith service projects, such as sponsoring Fastathon events during the month of Ramadan. Fastathon events invite members of the campus community to try fasting for a day and joining with other Muslim students. Proceeds from these events are donated to shelters, soup kitchens, or other good causes.

As college campuses become more diverse and students of the Muslim faith increase in numbers, the role of student organizations such as MSA becomes significant for fostering multicultural education among higher education communities. MSA brings new challenges as well as educational opportunities for the campus community, provides a platform for interfaith dialogue and community projects for its members, and prepares students for the globally interconnected world.

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See Also: Food Processing and Ethnic Diversity; Halal; Hijab; Muslim Americans; Qur'an; Ramadan.

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Mutual Aid Societies

Mutual aid societies, also known as mutual benefit societies, fraternal orders, lodges, friendly societies, and benevolent societies, are voluntary organizations that provide funds or services in kind to members in cases of loss of income, illness, or death. Mutual aid societies were the forerunner to welfare and social services in the United States and peaked from the mid-19th century to the first half of the 20th century. Societies are an

amalgam of social clubs and financial institutions that provide coverage and protection while promoting values of self-reliance, benevolence, and moral character.

Closely related institutions include mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations, and the simplest mutual aid societies are simply burial societies, pooling funds in order to pay for the funerals and death expenses of deceased members. Where mutual aid societies have distinguished themselves, though, is in the aid and fraternity they have provided to specific ethnic groups and recent immigrants.

The first American mutual aid society was the Free African Society, founded in 1787 by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, two Philadelphia ministers. American church beneficial societies were some of the earliest institutions that provided relief for sickness and burial, and they operated as the first insurance-type program, which was non-actuarial and truly mutual aid in nature. Monies were collected during meetings and social occasions, were held in reserve for emergencies, and were available to any member.

In cases of emergency, members were offered money as presents or services in kind. Later, mutual aid societies were established without regard to religious affiliation, but were still moral in nature, and emphasized living an orderly and sober lifestyle. In addition, mutual aid societies were identified with political affiliations, trades, new immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities.

The risks of loss of income were real and commonplace, and included loss of income from lay-off and illness, retirement because of injury or old age, and death of the breadwinner in the family. If a husband died and he was the sole source of income for the family, his widow and children were left with nothing. Workplace injuries were also common at factories and mills, leaving workers permanently disabled or disfigured, and no longer able to work. Also, the elderly were still expected to pay bills, despite having no pensions, and were unable to continue working. There were no regulations, agencies, or programs like unemployment, social security, or worker's compensation. The only avenue open to employees was litigation against an employer, which always resulted in automatic termination. Mutual benefit self-help institutions filled these needs.

The golden age of mutual aid societies was from the 1880s to the 1920s, which was not only a time when membership in fraternal organizations increased significantly but was also an age when immigration had accelerated and large numbers of first- and second-generation Americans of many ethnic origins could be found in most cities. Mutual aid societies became the vehicles of identity formation for communities transitioning from agrarian to urban life. Societies sprang up in cities all over the United States, embracing displaced farmers, new immigrants, and minority populations. They promoted kinship among members to take care of one another, like a new, extended family. Like many immigrant and ethnic groups—Asian benevolent societies, for example—propagated their community values of filial piety and familism, which further reinforced that people from the same place or clan are morally obligated to help one another, and mutual support was viewed as a privilege rather than a burden.

The Jewish and Irish mutual benefit institutions shaped their community's occupational and commercial activities. Black lodges were some of the oldest and strongest black organizations that emerged from slavery. Membership of black working males in lodges outnumbered those of whites. Women also enjoyed the benefits with dedicated orders and auxiliaries.

Although some societies were formed along fairly broad criteria, like Irishness or Jewishness, others were far more specific. For instance, the Kalushiner Benevolent Association was for Jewish immigrants from Kalushin, whereas the Sant'Agata Workers' Society was for Italian immigrants from Sant'Agata. Even among organizations where old regional boundaries were ignored, religious affiliation could be important. For instance, over 11 years, four different national Slovak mutual aid societies formed in the United States. The National Slovak Society (1890) was secular but formed the same year as the First Catholic Slovak Union and was followed shortly by the Slovak Evangelical Union (Lutheran, 1893) and the Slovak Calvinist Union (1901).

Hispanic Americans formed mutual aid societies called mutualistas beginning in the late 19th century, sometimes with support from the Mexican government. The Alianza Hispano-Americana was founded in Tucson, Arizona, in 1894

and by the end of World War I operated 88 chapters, mostly in the former Mexican territories of the southwest.

Many of the mutual aid societies that formed, such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH, for Irish Catholic Americans) and La Liga Protectora Latina (for Hispanic Americans), were politically active as well. The introduction of political involvement into mutual aid societies may have contributed to their eventual decline by creating controversy among the membership, especially as ethnic communities grew large and less homogeneous. Members of the AOH, for instance, frequently disagreed over the role of the organization in Irish politics, dividing the group into two organizations for decades. Hispanic mutualistas became involved both in the desegregation movement and the later Chicano movement.

Varied Roles

The role of mutual aid societies was not exclusively economic. Most of them maintained a steady social calendar of formal and informal events, gatherings, and cultural festivals, which helped preserve cultural practices from the home country. In the 19th century, when immigrant parents generally encouraged their children to marry within their ethnic group, these social aspects were particularly important and provided a motivation to participate, even for members who were financially self-supporting. Mutual aid societies could also provide social and cultural support of a less tangible nature. For example, the Knights of Columbus, while not limited to a specific ethnic group, was founded in 1882 when Catholic immigrants of various ethnicities had to deal with living in a country filled with many people who still considered Catholicism to be intrinsically anti-American. While providing for the needs of poor Catholic immigrants, the Knights just as importantly created a dialogue in the American Catholic community and were instrumental in forming American Catholic identity.

Societies grew larger and became regional and national in scope, with some owning and operating orphanages, hospitals, schools, and retirement homes. The senses of fraternity, mutualism, and family were highly valued and taught members self-determination, thrift, and economy. Mutual aid societies enabled the poor and working class to

afford services on the principles of reciprocity and fellowship, and promoted self-reliance over the stigma of charity. These institutions made a clear and strong distinction between mutual aid and charity. Mutual aid was considered progressive in serving brothers and sisters of a group, rather than being charity that made a person dependent on the government or wealthy benefactors.

This collective response to the conditions of urban life also led to the collective economic development of immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities. These self-help institutions led to economic capital and the development of immigrant banks and credit unions, small businesses, cooperatives, and collectively owned commercial enterprises and agricultural operations.

Mutual aid societies declined because of several factors, including the rise of the welfare state and social services implemented by the New Deal from 1933 to 1936. Further, as the suburbanization of the country began, ethnic populations became more spread out and intermarriage between ethnic groups became more and more common, leading to generations who might no longer identify strongly enough with their ethnic label to join a benefit society for that ethnicity. Some societies converted to other types of organizations. Two prominent African American mutual aid societies, for instance, became insurance companies: The Mutual Aid Association became the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, and the Pilgrim Benevolent Society became Pilgrim Health and Life Insurance. The process was gradual, and as late as 1915, mutual aid societies and fraternal organizations still provided the majority of African American insurance.

Membership also dwindled during the Great Depression and after World War I, when immigrant quotas were limited. Competing forms of entertainment and recreation, such as television, radio, and travel, contributed to the decline. With new government insurance regulations, many opted for commercial insurance actuarial contracts for insuring children and groups that were not covered by mutual aid societies, depleting their reserve. The economic success of immigrants, coupled with assimilating into middle-class America, also siphoned membership. The establishment of service organizations like Rotary International, Kiwanis International, and Lions International,

which all catered to professionals and businessmen, emphasized service and altruism over mutualism and reciprocity with peers.

However, even as the growth of mutual aid societies and their prominence in American life diminished in the main, the 20th century was a growth period for mutual aid societies for some specific ethnic groups. Middle Easterners, for instance, began to arrive later than European groups had, and Arab mutual aid societies and other groups grew as they did so. Though Jewish immigration had been ongoing for generations, a new wave of immigration propelled by the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany contributed to the founding of the Immigrants Mutual Aid Society in Boston in 1938, for German-speaking Jewish immigrants. It continued to provide assistance until 1980.

The Japanese Mutual Aid Society of Chicago formed in 1934, when Japanese Americans faced an increase in discrimination and a growing need for mutual support. Other Japanese American mutual aid societies, often founded by first-generation immigrants, were founded throughout the United States and provided valuable networking, financial assistance, and hostel accommodations to Japanese Americans released from internment camps during World War II.

While European immigrants brought mutual aid societies and their underlying concepts with them from Europe, Korean immigrants imported the *kye*, a type of rotating savings and credit association (ROCSA), which originated in rural communities. In a ROCSA, members contribute equal amounts of money at each meeting and take turns keeping the resulting sum. Originally, no money or assets are held by the ROCSA, which makes it an ideal system in low-literacy communities; today, the ROCSA may also collect a fee to cover overhead expenses. ROCSAs also represent a form of savings that bypasses the banking system and formal financial system and is less subject to their risks in less stable economies. *Kyes* operated by Korean immigrants were introduced in the early 20th century, mainly on the west coast and in Hawai'i, later spreading to east coast cities like New York.

Similar associations had provided services for Chinese and Japanese immigrants in the 1930s; in New York, the Chinese ROCSA called the Hui

continues to be used by Taiwanese Americans. More prosperous Korean Americans who had the money to spare would often join multiple *kyes*, staggering their payout periods throughout the year. This was a useful means of raising money for educational expenses, for instance. In the 1980s, *kyes* with especially large pools—in the hundreds of thousands or even millions of dollars—were formed for Korean American entrepreneurs as a means of raising capital to start or expand small businesses, principally in Los Angeles and New York. Many entrepreneurs make use of the *nakch'al kye*, in which members offer business loans to one another at various rates of interest instead of contributing equal sums.

Today, some of the more recently founded mutual aid societies are those concerned with assistance for refugees; they may receive funding from outside sources or established members of the community. The Iraqi Mutual Aid Society (IMAS), for instance, was founded in 2009 for refugees from Iraq, who constitute 25 percent of refugees to the United States. IMAS provides employment assistance, English and Arabic language instruction, social networking, and workshops every other month on acclimating to life in the United States.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Ethnoburbs; Minority Group/Majority.

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Mutualista

Mutual aid societies in the Chicana/o community were one of many forms of resistance demonstrated by those of Mexican ancestry after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), ending the Mexican-American War (1846–48). By 1900, within a half-century of the signing of the treaty, the majority of Mexican Americans had lost their land and become wage workers for others. In order to protect not only their cultural and linguistic practices but also their economic well-being, they formed mutualistas for self-preservation.

Discrimination and exclusion from other ethnic and mainstream organizations and trade unions accelerated the growth and importance of mutualistas. These groups functioned on the notion of mutualism: the practice of mutual dependence for economic and sociocultural security. Previous gifting and sponsorship practices dating back to the Spanish colonial era, such as *compadrazgo* (godparenting), predated mutualistas and continued long after their decline.

Large mutualistas such as the Alianza Hispano-Americana (AHA) in Tucson, Arizona, contributed to the organizing experiences of its members and gave rise to the more militant Chicano civil rights organizations of the 1960s and 1970s. Mutualistas also paralleled the self-defense and patriotic organizations of other ethnic and immigrant American groups, such as black mutual aid societies founded in the late 1700s in cities like Philadelphia, almost a full century before mutualistas. At times, groups worked across ethnic lines, such as in the 1950s, when the AHA worked with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to address common problems with segregation.

Mutualistas had existed in both Mexico and Latin America prior to their adoption in what would become the southwestern United States. In the United States, mutualistas were formed based on geographic areas or along trade or religious lines. They maintained close ties to other organizations in the community, pooling and targeting scarce resources and serving as networks and conduits for information. They demonstrated resilience and the type of ingenuity and resourcefulness often touted in the American popular lore of rugged individualism and self-determination.

Mutualistas were particularly important for recent immigrants trying to establish ties in a new community.

Sociedades mutualistas (mutual aid societies) charged small monthly dues in exchange for economic, social, and educational benefits to members such as unemployment benefits; health, disability, and burial insurance; credit unions; legal aid; translation services; newsletters; support for religious or folkloric celebrations; and programs for women and youth. They often conducted meetings in Spanish, had the names of important Mexican or Latin American heroes, and reinforced cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions in the face of extreme xenophobia and assimilationist pressures in the early 20th century.

Prior to the New Deal and creation of many social safety-net programs, mutualistas were often the only resource for Mexican Americans in their communities. The Great Depression, also known as *La Crisis*, devastated many mutualistas with massive unemployment and the repatriation program; more people were collecting at the same time that fewer people were paying. Mutual aid societies continued after *La Crisis*, however, because of ongoing discrimination within trade unions, which often provided similar member benefits, and with the implementation of New Deal programs.

The *Club Reciproco* (Reciprocal Club) of Corpus Christi, Texas, founded in 1873, was one of the earliest examples of mutualism among Latinas/os in the United States. One of the largest and most successful mutualistas was Tucson, Arizona's Alianza Hispano-Americana (Hispanic American Alliance) founded in 1894. The Alianza expanded to over 200 chapters across the United States and Mexico, held national conventions, and lasted well into the 20th century.

Though mutualistas sometimes offered separate auxiliaries for women, some were founded and run by women, bearing the name of important female historical figures. Some mutualistas banned women from belonging altogether, viewing "fraternity" in the most literal meaning of the word. The Club Feminino Orquidea (Women's Orchid Club) in San Antonio, Texas, was free-standing and supported the work of other organizations like LULAC (the League of United Latin American Citizens). In Laredo, Texas, women belonged

to an organization bearing the name of the criolla *corregidora* involved in the Mexican independence movement, Sociedad Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez.

Mutualistas also bridged the U.S.-Mexico border, and organizations with chapters on both sides of the border saw members move freely between the two. Prior to the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) and the rule of Porfirio Diaz (1876–11), which outlawed many mutualistas, they thrived in Mexico, threatening foreign economic interests with their solidarity and size and their forays in politics. Mutualista members who fled the revolution in Mexico reestablished their organizations in the United States.

The tradition of mutualistas declined with the Chicano civil rights movement, New Society programs, and the War on Poverty in the 1960s, when the traditional benefits of membership became available from a variety of agencies and organizations. For example, the United Farm Workers of America provides the Robert F. Kennedy Farm

Workers Medical Plan and the Juan de la Cruz Pension Plan, including death and survivor benefits.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Alianza Hispano-Americana; League of United Latin American Citizens; Mutual Aid Societies.

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N

N_____ Word, The

The word *nigger* is considered the most toxic, explosive, troubling, and offensive racial epithet to black Americans. There is a long, distinctly American history of racial contempt, suffering, and intimidation still associated with this word, underscoring the American history of divisive black/white relations. Originally a word that marked the difference between black Africans and white Spanish and Portuguese colonialists, *nigger* did not begin as a derogative. By 1555, the word *Negro* (of prior Spanish origin) referenced slaves brought to Britain, and by 1619, those brought to North America.

Whether by association, spelling, or pronunciation, the word *Negro* morphed into “*nigger*” and was negative, disparaging black people as subhuman, animal, savage—as “other.” Although American slave narratives detail how slaves were considered and treated like animals and chattel, the words *slave* and *nigger* are not synonymous.

The word *nigger* is most often associated with violence, race, and gender, in ways that link America’s past through slavery to America’s present. In 1992, two African American youngsters in the Bronx, New York, were assaulted by a white gang that spray-painted their faces white and repeated the word *nigger* throughout the attack. Witnesses at the Medgar Evers trial recall that the shooter

bragged about killing a “*nigger*.” In June 2011, James Craig Anderson, an African American in Jackson, Mississippi, was beaten and run down by teen white supremacists. Reports of the murder detail the leader Deryl Dedmon as setting out to “get a *nigger*.” After the murder, Dedmon allegedly bragged to friends, “I ran that *nigger* over.”

Among Blacks

Many American blacks and whites admit that the word *nigger* has remained an imprint on black bodies soaked in blood, literally and metaphorically, in American history. Although some blacks believe that they have reclaimed this word, given to them by white oppressors, there is no consensus on its use among African Americans. The word *nigger* still registers raw discomfort among many African Americans and retains its power to injure, intimidate, threaten, and degrade, despite the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s (NAACP) 2007 mock funeral, the organization’s efforts to remove the word from dictionaries, and the many social media campaigns to abolish the word’s use.

Grassroots efforts by some African Americans changed *Webster’s* definition of the word *nigger* as synonymous with “a black person” in 2007. Many debate the appropriateness of euphemizing the word *nigger* with the more politically correct “n-word” reference.

Even as Americans are physically more integrated than ever in the workplace, in school, and in some neighborhoods, critical discussions of the word *nigger* and its social and political implications are uncommon. The word *nigger* is not disconnected from prevalent and blatantly racist behaviors, attitudes, and visual imagery, such as the animalization of black people by likening them to coons, chimpanzees, monkeys, or gorillas; 19th-century American minstrelsy and past and present blackface costuming; lynching; the 1955 murder of Emmett Till in Money, Mississippi; the 1987 Ku Klux Klan murder of Michael Donald in Mobile, Alabama; and the 1998 murder of James Byrd, Jr., in Jasper, Texas. These and other examples evidence an American history of stressed race relations between blacks and whites.

Although all groups have words considered taboo that insult and attack—some referring specifically to sexual identity or orientation, some to economic class, religion, gender identity, or intellectual capacity—the word *nigger* transcends such categories in its ability to embody all the negativity that can be mustered by whites to demean any black person.

Furthermore, a “nigger cake” in Sweden created in 2012 to offer social commentary on female genital mutilation and a hip-hop clothing store called Nigger in Malawi underscore the fact that use of this word extends beyond U.S. borders, partly because of the globalization of hip-hop music that saturates the airwaves with this word in one form or another.

Black/White Race Relations

Whites allege confusion when blacks use the word *nigger* or *nigga* among themselves, but whites cannot use it without social consequences. Some blacks claim the appropriation of this word as intergroup endearment or solidarity. Some whites are offended when other whites use the word among themselves in referencing blacks. Although no one owns words and no one can dictate what people can and cannot say, the rules for whites’ use of the word in the presence of blacks—no matter the relation—creates tension and divisiveness. Although some whites and some blacks argue that pronunciation of the word signals its impact and intent as either endearment/solidarity

or insult—*nigger*, *niggah*, *nigga*—others argue that coming from any white person, the word is consistently problematic and stirs emotions that cannot be rationally explained.

Efforts to change the spelling and pronunciation of this word acknowledge the problem with the word itself. The words *nigga*, *niggahs*, and *niggars* punctuate many popular 19th-century American minstrel songs by whites mocking blacks. Hence, no revisions to the word *nigger*—either its modified spelling or pronunciation—can ignore or neutralize its original and lingering derogatory meaning and intent.

Among some African Americans, the word *nigga* is allegedly an intergroup social linguistic ritual, a mark of community. This belief is not unanimously shared by blacks old and young. Def Jam Comedy spoken word poet Julian Curry’s “Niggers, Niggas, and Niggaz” tells a predominantly black audience that no matter the pronunciation and spelling, the word *nigger* is derogatory and insulting to black people, and that blacks’ use of it does not reclaim it or give it new meaning.

Many contend that when blacks use the word, it is less about their power to take it back about than their disconnection with the American history of white oppression and violence against blacks. Black comedians Richard Pryor and Paul Mooney once over-saturated their acts with the word *nigger* but stopped using the word, even among their primarily black audiences, because they saw their use of it as perpetuating negative perceptions of and disrespect for themselves and other African Americans.

Practically no social, historical, and political situations give whites permission to use the word *nigger*, especially in interracial settings. Considerable media fallout accompanies whites’ public use of the word: family and relationship radio host Dr. Laura Schlessinger’s 2010 rant with a black caller (her claim that since black rappers use the words, she should be able to do so as well), reality show cast member Dog the Bounty Hunter’s 2007 recorded phone message to his son about the son dating a black woman, and a Florida white middle school teacher’s writing on a classroom chalkboard to his students that then-Senator Barack Obama’s 2008 CHANGE mantra stood for “Come Help a Nigger Get Elected.” Common among anti-Obama

2012 re-election slogans on decals and T-shirts was “2012—Don’t Re-Nig.”

Whether the word *nigger* is spoken out loud, written on a middle school classroom chalkboard, or sent through e-mail, the problem is the same: its use intends to demean and to disparage. When the word *nigger* is interrogated, white and black people, young and old, know that this word carries with it a long and painful living history that disparages black people.

Double Standard

Whites know that the word is off limits, even within their closed, segregated circles. Just because whites are exposed to hip-hop culture where the word is used with great frequency does not give them the right to use the word *nigger* without consequence. White rappers immersed in hip-hop culture do not routinely use the word *nigger* because they know, understand, and respect its history and associated inherent racially specific violence and oppression. White rappers and comedians understand and accept the fact that no degree of poetic license allows this word’s use, under any circumstance. This same rule about consequential use applies to non-blacks—Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans.

In the 1960s, black authors and artists used the word *nigger* prolifically in their performances and social protests: Dick Gregory’s autobiography *Nigger*; Ed Bullins’s play *The Electronic Nigger*; and poems by LeRoi Jones, Amiri Baraka, Sonia Sanchez, Nikki Giovanni, and the Last Poets. In these instances, the word *nigger* was not a term of endearment; the word separated African Americans fighting for revolution to change their racially oppressed state from those who were content, passive, and committed to American assimilation and the status quo. The anger in 1960s artistic expression sought to exorcise African Americans’ negative thinking about themselves as black Americans.

The power of the word *nigger*—and any word that sounds like it, such as *niggardly*, which bears no direct connection to *nigger*—to sting, stun, attack, and resurrect America’s history of racial abuse, intimidation, and violence, reflects the present and past racial divide—cultural, historical, social, and political—between blacks and whites. Consistent media attention and public outcry supports the perception that when the word is connected with

whites referencing blacks directly, indirectly, or generally, the word’s effect is to attack, intimidate, or otherwise disparage.

Even when black and white youths participate in a more integrated and seemingly less racial 21st-century America, white youths express discomfort when they hear the word *nigger* spoken by their white peers in the absence of black people, and blacks feel uncomfortable and even angry when their white friends assume this linguistic privilege in their presence.

Comments from over 200 high school Mississippians responding to a 2010 survey by *Clarion Ledger* investigative reporter Jerry Mitchell reveal youths’ perceptions of and responses to this word’s use among blacks and whites. Taken together, these responses indicate that anti-black sentiments continue among blacks and whites, and can be summoned and summarized in one word—nigger.

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See Also: African Americans; Hate Crimes; Hip-Hop; Language Usage in the United States.

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NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

The Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF) grew out of the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to work toward a society free of racial discrimination in all areas of life in the United

States: education, housing, employment, civil liberties, transportation, and property ownership. The LDF was the visible component of the strategy of the NAACP to use the courts to redress the outcomes of racial discrimination and to hold society to the ideals of the U.S. Constitution. Its mission has not changed since its establishment in 1940, and it provides a training ground for attorneys who are interested in specializing in civil rights.

The NAACP is an interracial organization created in 1909 to work for the abolition of racial segregation and discrimination in housing, education, employment, voting, and transportation; to oppose racism; and to ensure African Americans their constitutional rights. The founders of the organization included black intellectual and sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), journalist and newspaper editor Ida Bell Wells-Barnett (1862–1931), socialist and descendant of abolitionists Mary White Ovington (1865–1951), and others who were concerned with the place of African Americans in American society.

The LDF was formed in 1940 under the leadership of Thurgood Marshall (1908–93), who became the first African American named to the U.S. Supreme Court. It reflected a strategy on the part of African Americans to use the court system to combat widespread, state-sponsored racial inequality. As the legal arm of the NAACP, it has provided legal advocacy and representation to local NAACP branches and state conferences. In its first two decades, it formulated a legal challenge to public school segregation.

Challenging School Segregation

The NAACP began its campaign against school segregation at the level of graduate and professional education. Such cases included *Missouri ex rel v. Canada*, *Sipuel v. Board of Regents*, *Sweatt v. Painter*, and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*. The education offered by most historically black institutions of higher education was generally limited to undergraduate instruction.

Graduate and professional education is more expensive to provide, requiring specialized faculty, extensive libraries, and scientific laboratories. As a result, blacks who desired to pursue graduate or professional training had to attend northern institutions, which meant separation

from loved ones, the expenses of moving and traveling, and the adjustment to unfamiliar surroundings.

In *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, Lloyd Gaines, an African American, was denied admission to the School of Law at the University of Missouri. African American Charles Hamilton Houston was the lawyer who represented Gaines on behalf of the NAACP. In 1938, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states could not use the practice of out-of-state tuition scholarships to make up for the fact that blacks could not attend graduate and professional schools at white institutions, if no black schools in the state offered such training.

When Gaines disappeared, the NAACP did not oppose the motion on behalf of the University of Missouri to dismiss the case. Nevertheless, states were on notice that they had to provide graduate education for black residents within the state. In reality, the practice of using out-of-state tuition scholarships to circumvent the ruling continued into the 1960s.

In the case of *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma* in 1948, Ada Lois Sipuel had applied to the law school at the University of Oklahoma, the only taxpayer-funded law school in the state of Oklahoma at the time (1946). In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the “petitioner is entitled to secure legal education afforded by a state institution.” In this case, Sipuel was represented by Charles Hamilton Houston’s protégé, Thurgood Marshall. In response, the state created the Langston School of Law, which was considered inferior to the University of Oklahoma law school. Sipuel finally entered the school in 1949.

Thurgood Marshall

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Marshall graduated from historically black Lincoln University (Pennsylvania). In 1930, he applied to the University of Maryland Law School but was denied admission because of his race. He subsequently went to Howard University Law School, where he met Charles Hamilton Houston, the dean of the school, who was determined to overturn the 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Marshall’s first major court case came in 1933, when he successfully sued the University of Maryland to admit a young African American Amherst University

graduate named Donald Gaines Murray. Marshall followed Houston to New York and later became assistant special counsel for the NAACP in 1936.

The NAACP's litigation activity was in no small way pushed by a series of World War II race riots. In 1943, racial tension over the disparity in job opportunities and wages for blacks versus whites, the limited supply of affordable housing, and the realization that black participation in the war effort did not erode discrimination fomented widespread violence in Detroit. The city was devastated by the riot, despite the presence of more than 6,000 federal troops. A total of 25 African Americans and nine whites died, and at least 700 were injured.

The LDF's most significant victory of the war years was the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), in which the court ruled that racially exclusive white primary voting contests in Texas and elsewhere violated the Fifteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. During these years, activist Anna Pauline (Pauli) Murray (1910–85) floated the idea at a Howard University civil rights seminar that the NAACP should directly challenge *Plessy v. Ferguson*. A decade later, the LDF would take up that challenge.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, Heman Marion Sweatt was refused admission to the University of Texas School of Law, on the grounds that the Texas State Constitution prohibited integrated education. In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950), George McLaurin was denied admission, based on race, to the University of Oklahoma to pursue a doctor of education degree. When the case was brought before the U.S. District Court of the Western District of Oklahoma, the court found that the university had not provided separate facilities, but it did not issue any injunctive relief.

McLaurin was admitted but was forced to sit at a special table in the cafeteria, a designated desk in the library, and a desk just outside the classroom doorway. The LDF appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which determined that the segregated restrictions were unconstitutional. The court's decision was rendered on the same day as *Sweatt v. Painter*, which struck a blow to the separate but equal doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in regards to graduate and professional education.



The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the legal arm of the NAACP, was established in 1940 under the leadership of Thurgood Marshall. This 1956 photo shows (from left) NAACP leaders Henry Moon, Roy Wilkins, Herbert Hill, and Marshall.

Desegregation of Public K–12 Education

Finally, in a culminating victory within the realm of education, the LDF secured the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1954 known as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. In that decision, the court unanimously overturned the policy of “separate but equal,” legally sanctioned discrimination established by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. However, communities did not move with “all deliberate speed” to dismantle racial segregation.

As a result, the LDF sued hundreds of school districts across the country. In victories in cases such as *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958), *Green v. County School Board* (1968), and *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971), the Supreme Court upheld the original decision to eliminate racial segregation. More recently, the LDF has been on the forefront of the struggle to ensure an equitable opportunity to a high-quality education for all students. In *Grutter v. Bollinger*, the LDF served as lead counsel to African American and Latino students who intervened in litigation leading up to that case, which affirmed race-conscious university admissions policies for the purpose of attaining a diverse student body.

The LDF has not only been concerned with education. As a result of the LDF's efforts, the

U.S. Supreme Court overturned state-sanctioned segregation of public buildings, parks and recreation facilities, hospitals, and restaurants. It represented civil rights movement leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–68) and other activists who were arrested for participating in freedom rides, demonstrations, and marches to protest racial discrimination.

In *Hamm v. City of Rock Hill* (1964), the LDF persuaded the U.S. Supreme Court to dismiss all prosecutions of demonstrators who had participated in civil rights sit-ins at lunch counters in retail establishments in Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Right to Vote and Housing Discrimination

In 1943, Thurgood Marshall persuaded the U.S. Supreme Court to rule that the state of Texas' refusal to allow African Americans to vote in the Democratic primary election violated the Fifteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. In 1965, the LDF litigated to ensure against disruptions of the voting rights march led by King from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, shortly after the notorious "Bloody Sunday," when marchers were beaten by policemen as they tried to cross the Edmund Pettis Bridge. These events galvanized passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

More recently, the LDF has been involved in challenging the voter identification laws of several states, particularly those that require photo identification. It is argued that such laws disproportionately disenfranchise poor and minority voters.

One of the important triumphs of the LDF was the 1971 U.S. Supreme Court's unanimous decision in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company*. In this precedent-setting case, Duke Power's Dan River plant added the requirement of a high school diploma for its higher-paid jobs and added an IQ test after the passage of the Civil Rights Act. African Americans were less likely to hold a high school diploma and averaged lower scores on the tests because of the lack of education.

Since the IQ tests and high school diplomas were not directly related to the jobs performed, the court found Duke Power in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits employment tests that are not a reasonable measure of job performance. The *Griggs* case, therefore, helped eradicate arbitrary and artificial

barriers to equal employment opportunity for all individuals, regardless of race.

In housing discrimination, beginning with *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), the LDF won an important challenge when the U.S. Supreme Court barred enforcement of racially discriminatory restrictions on real estate transfers. In 1945, a black family purchased a house in St. Louis, Missouri. The Shelleys were unaware that a restrictive covenant barred blacks from occupying the property. The U.S. Supreme Court held that racially based restrictive covenants are invalid under the Fourteenth Amendment. The case was consolidated with *McGhee v. Sipes* from Detroit, Michigan. Orsel and Minnie McGhee wanted to purchase a house in an all-white neighborhood with a similar restrictive covenant. The attorneys who argued the case were Thurgood Marshall and Loren Miller.

Challenging Incarceration

The criminal justice system today is a primary example of the role of the LDF as a civil rights organization. It has challenged inadequate legal representation, discriminatory jury selection, capital punishment, criminal statutes, and harsh sentencing that disproportionately impact African Americans and lead to the incarceration of a large number of blacks in the prison industrial complex. The LDF has been on the forefront of an effort to abolish the death penalty.

In a 1972 case, *Furman v. Georgia*, the LDF won a nationwide halt to executions, but it was a short-lived reprieve. More recently, it has remained involved in successful campaigns that convinced the U.S. Supreme Court to narrow the death penalty's scope by eliminating capital punishment for juveniles and for crimes other than murder.

In 2000, the LDF took the case of Kemba Smith, a young African American Hampton University student who received a mandatory minimum sentence of 24.5 years in prison, even though she was a first-time offender. Her abusive drug-dealer boyfriend led her to play a peripheral role in a cocaine conspiracy. After she had served 6.5 years, her sentence was commuted by President William J. Clinton.

Over the decades, the LDF has employed its expertise and has worked to ensure that major civil rights laws, including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Fair Housing Act,

the Voting Rights Act, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 remain reauthorized. It also advocates for more diversity in the federal judiciary. Well-known lawyers such as Thurgood Marshall, Jack Greenberg, Julius Chambers, Elaine Jones, Ted Shaw, and John Payton have served the organization as director-counsel. Each director-counsel is recognized as a leading civil rights advocate. It is the pre-eminent constitutional training ground for lawyers committed to racial justice and equal opportunity.

Through its scholarship and fellowship programs, LDF has helped over 4,000 exceptional students attend colleges, universities, and law schools. Although initially the LDF grew out of the NAACP, it has been an entirely independent organization, with its own board of directors, since 1957. Through its network of legal assistance, it offers advice and counsel to NAACP branch presidents and state conference presidents throughout the nation. The LDF is a nonprofit organization located in New York City. It also has an office in Washington, D.C., that is the center of its advocacy work, monitoring legislation related to civil rights.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; School Desegregation; School Segregation; *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948); *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950).

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Narragansett

At the height of their power in the late 17th century, the Narragansett, a Native American tribe of the Algonquian linguistic stock, occupied most of present-day Rhode Island, from Narragansett Bay on the east to the Pawcatuck River on the west, as well as parts of western Connecticut and eastern Massachusetts. Their precipitous decline and gradual recovery typify the experience of indigenous tribes after the arrival of Europeans.

Cultural anthropologists, using archeological data and written archives of ancient oral histories, believe that the Narragansett were among the oldest organized tribes in North America, dating back 30,000 years before the first contact with European explorers in the early 1500s. Like most New England tribes, the Narragansett were primarily agricultural, but given the wooded wilderness and the readily available ocean stock, they also hunted and fished (most notably clams).

Their communities were organized around a sachem, who, in consultation with advisors, guided the settlement's development, saw to its economic stability, and maintained its security. The Narragansett were known for military acumen; several smaller tribes sought them in protective alliances. That influential position was strengthened when a wave of epidemics (most likely Weil's syndrome, introduced by itinerant French trappers) swept southern New England between 1615 and 1617, decimating other tribes but leaving the Narragansett largely untouched.

During the first decades of the 17th century, the Narragansett looked with concern at the growing influence of English settlers in neighboring Massachusetts. To maintain peace, the Narragansett, under the powerful sachem Canonicus, structured a land deal with the outspoken Protestant theologian Roger Williams and his followers in 1636, giving those settlers much of what is present-day Providence.

The Narragansett originally sided with the Puritan settlers in their war against the militant Pequots, until evidence of the brutalities of the English convinced the tribe to pursue a more aggressive stand against the English incursion into Massachusetts. By 1643, however, with much of the scattered resistance defeated and the English threatening to invade their lands in Rhode Island,



Detail from a participant's headgear at an August 2008 powwow of the Narragansett tribe in Charlestown, Rhode Island. The 2010 U.S. Census recorded 2,000 members of the tribe living in Rhode Island.

the Narragansett agreed to a treaty that would ensure peace for nearly 30 years.

That neutrality, however, ended when the Narragansett, then numbering close to 5,000, joined a cabal of tribes, most prominently the Wampanoag, to oust the English occupation entirely in a bloody year-long uprising known as King Philip's War (1675–76), named for the Wampanoag sachem (the English saw the sachem, incorrectly, as a monarchical figure). When an English expeditionary force attacked a Narragansett fortress and killed hundreds of unarmed men, women, and children (the Great Swamp Massacre) in December 1675, the Narragansett retreated into the heavy woods and swamps in southern Rhode Island. The English pursued. Over the next decade, those Narragansett who refused to accept occupation either headed west to New York State and beyond or were subjected to harsh treatment, most often sold into slavery to work on Caribbean plantations.

After the American Revolution, with the expansion of the white presence and the diminishing available land, the Narragansett were restricted to a government-run reservation (roughly 15,000 acres) near Charlestown, Rhode Island, where, over several decades, many of their traditional

social and political structures were systematically outlawed. However, despite dwindling numbers (estimates put the number at 80 in 1832), the increasing reality of tribal members marrying outside the tribe's bloodlines, and other members relocating to follow economic opportunities, the Narragansett maintained a slim reservation presence until in 1880 the state assembly "detrified" them, citing intermarriage and the loss of authentic bloodlines. No longer recognized as a functioning tribe, the Narragansett were removed from state financial support and their lands were no longer protected. In quick order, the state put much of the reservation lands up for public sale.

Although tribal representatives petitioned the state to reconsider and to restore tribal land, for a half-century the remaining Narragansett (estimates put the number around 300) continued to maintain what they could of their tribal identity, customs, and social structures (their language had long passed into extinction). For years, the tribe's members gathered annually in a specially built longhouse near Charlestown on three acres of original reservation land. That gathering alone ensured the continuity of the Narragansett Nation.

It would not be until the 1970s, during the era of the advocacy of Native American civil rights and the widespread movement among Native Americans to reclaim tribal identity and assert cultural pride, that the remaining Narragansett tribe would file a land claim suit against the state of Rhode Island to reclaim ownership of more than 3,000 acres of lost reservation lands. An out-of-court settlement returned half. To establish wider claims to land and to establish itself as a viable tribe, the tribe needed to receive federal recognition from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Following the submission of a 15-volume application that traced the genealogy of more than three centuries of the tribe's history, the tribe received its official designation in April 1983.

Over the next 20 years, the tribe realigned its community organization and implemented significant policies to pursue legal avenues that would put its former lands into a trust, thus removing state government control. To date, the attempt has not been successful. An ambitious program has been initiated to re-create the lost Narragansett language. In addition, the tribe has pursued controversial plans to open casinos on tribal land.

The tribe now occupies a reservation of roughly 1,800 acres. The 2010 census put its population at a little over 2,000, making it the largest Native American population segment in Rhode Island.

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See Also: Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; King Philip’s War; Wampanoag.

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Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam (NOI) was founded by a man calling himself Wallace D. Fard, or W. D. Fard, on July 4, 1930. Fard worked as a peddler and his ethnic origins are somewhat of a mystery. He told his early disciples, “I am W. D. Fard and I came from the Holy City of Mecca. More about myself I will not tell you yet, for the time has not yet come. I am your brother. You have not seen me yet in my royal robes.” He was, regardless of his ethnic origins, a Muslim. Fard’s proselytizing appealed to disenfranchised urban blacks during the era of Jim Crow and those affected by the lack of real opportunities promised by northern cities during the Great Migration (1915–30).

He utilized messianic iconography and relied upon the Bible, rather than the Qur’an, to relate better to urban Christian blacks. He wanted to replace the “white Christianity” that had been imposed upon blacks with a religion that elevated blacks. Fard’s mission also offered sensible advice for racial uplift. The NOI promised a steady

income, good jobs, and liberation from social and economic depression, if followers accepted Islam. Fard encouraged his followers to fast by only eating one meal a day, emphasized thrift and family, and banned alcohol and smoking. In 1934, Fard disappeared from Detroit as mysteriously as he had arrived, and his most enthusiastic disciple, a man named Elijah Poole, became Fard’s successor. Every February 26 is observed as “Savior’s Day” in the NOI, in honor of the organization’s founder.

Elijah (Poole) Muhammad was W. D. Fard’s successor. He met Fard at a meeting of the NOI in Detroit during August 1931, where he supposedly told Fard, “I know who you are, you’re God himself.” Fard replied that this was true, and Elijah Muhammad became one of Fard’s most enthusiastic and devoted disciples. After Fard’s mysterious departure, Elijah Muhammad, the son of a Baptist preacher from Georgia, became the leader of the NOI. During his 41 years as head of the NOI, he transformed the NOI into a powerful religious organization for black Muslims, espousing racial separatism and the supremacy of the black man. At the time of his death in 1975, the NOI claimed a membership of more than 25,000.

Beliefs

The fundamental belief of the NOI is that blacks are superior to whites. Members of the NOI believe that the white man evolved from the black man, thus making the latter racially superior. The NOI uses evidence gleaned from the study of evolution and contemporary genetics to affirm this belief. Potential members of the NOI must accept these tenets, be literate, and demonstrate an active commitment to promoting Islam, black agency, rights, and separatism. Membership in the NOI requires a letter of application submitted to the chief minister. Under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, new members were also required to replace their last, or “slave name,” with “X” to signify unknown African ancestry and symbolically reject their ancestors’ white masters.

According to the NOI, blacks are the descendants of the Tribe of Shabazz, Afro-Asiatic in origin. A black scientist called Yakub, exiled by the tribe from his home in Mecca on the Arabian Peninsula, decided to take revenge on his fellow countrymen by creating an entire race of people diametrically opposed to the black race.

Through the careful blending of recessive genes, Yakub created a new race called Caucasians. The story goes on to say that this white race was to rule the black race for a period of 6,000 years, and that they would be taught how to “divide and conquer, and break the unity of the darker people, put one brother against another, and then as mediators to rule both sides.” Slavery, according to the NOI, erased the historical and cultural memory of the descendants of the Tribe of Shabazz.

Another important aspect of NOI belief is the concept of the Mother Plane, or Wheel. The concept of the Mother Plane is derived from a passage in the Book of Ezekiel (1:15-18), which describes a wheel “like the gleaming of beryl.” In NOI belief, the Mother Plane not only is the same one that is described in Ezekiel, but that it was built in Japan, is made up of gold and steel, and was essential to the creation of mountains on Earth. Inside the plane are 1,500 smaller planes that each carries a bomb. These bombs, according to the NOI, created the mountains that in turn help balance the Earth.

Race, Racism, and Civil Rights

As a result of the NOI’s radical views on race, the organization is often categorized as racist. However, it is not a racist organization; it is an organization that advocates for racial separatism. Central to the NOI’s doctrinal belief is the perpetuation of the binary between black and white and the emphasis on racial superiority. In NOI discourse, blacks are regularly described as “elevated and divine,” while whites are described as “blue-eyed devils.”

The 1960s were the pinnacle of the Nation of Islam’s national presence, thanks to the civil rights movement and the NOI’s spokesman, Malcolm X. For whites, the NOI represented black racism and militancy, and members of the NOI were subsumed under the banner of black nationalism and radicalism. Late in the 20th century, the NOI began to shift its priorities toward community-building and outreach, realizing that its longevity relied upon a more inclusive approach to other blacks. By the 1990s and into the early 2000s, the organization began inviting other faiths, whites, and members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, queer, questioning,

and intersex (LGBTQQI) community to build cooperative relationships. The NOI supports community development and often contributes to HIV/AIDS prevention and education. In urban neighborhoods, the NOI offers security patrols known as the Fruit of Islam.

The NOI emphasizes traditional gender roles for its members and that women members are elevated above others. In order to achieve and maintain the essential racial integrity of the NOI, there is a ban on interracial dating; there is a dress code for women that includes veiling and no tight or revealing clothes, and the use of cosmetics is prohibited. Women are allowed to work outside the home, but they are expected to raise the children and perform domestic duties.

In the 2000s, the NOI began to promote women to more prominent positions within the organization, including the appointment of Ava Muhammad to chief minister, a position formerly held by Malcolm X. In addition, Dora Muhammad is now the first female editor on the staff of the NOI’s newspaper, *The Final Call*.

Schism

Twelve years after joining the NOI, Malcolm X abandoned the organization, claiming that he had discovered true Islam. He founded an alternative to the NOI called the Muslim Mosque Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro American Unity. In 1964, Malcolm X was invited by the government of Saudi Arabia to go on the annual *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, the supposed birthplace of the Tribe of Shabazz. In Mecca on *hajj*, Malcolm X converted to Sunni Islam. His conversion from the NOI publicly signaled a weakening within the NOI that would end in schism in 1975. On September 21, 1965, Malcolm X was murdered at the Audobon Ballroom. Speculation remains as to the exact reasons for his assassination and whether his assassins were from inside the NOI or another organization.

In 1967, Elijah Muhammad’s son, Warith Deen (W. D.) Muhammad, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and converted to Sunni Islam from the NOI. When his father died in 1975, W. D. Muhammad began to publicly change the image of the NOI and reform the group, so that it was more in sync with Orthodox or Sunni Islam. Together with current NOI leader Louis Farrakhan, W. D.

Muhammad rejected the NOI in favor of Sunni Islam. This process of Islamization of the NOI was an important step for African American Islam. Blacks rejected the NOI in favor of a true cultural authenticity that was congruent with the black arts movement of the 1970s. After a brief conversion to Sunni Islam after Elijah Muhammad's death, Farrakhan, W. D. Muhammad's appointed successor before his death, left Sunni Islam and re-embraced the NOI in 1978. Farrakhan remains the leader of the contemporary NOI.

Although the NOI uses "Islam" in its official title, it bears no resemblance to Orthodox Sunni Islam. The cosmology of the Nation of Islam shares only some superficial attributes with Sunni Islam: it claims its origins in Mecca, Allah as their sole deity, Arabic as a sacred language, and prohibition of alcohol. The crescent moon serves an important signifier of the NOI and is present on the various material accouterments of the NOI's leadership and publicity.

Worship in the NOI takes place in a series of buildings called temples, the most famous of which is perhaps Harlem's Temple No. 7, where Malcolm X performed much of his ministry in the 1950s and early 1960s. The similarities between the NOI and Sunni Islam are superficial. The NOI adopted signifiers of Sunni Islam, including the crescent, the mosque structure, and veiling, but its theology and lack of pluralism make it distinct from Sunni Islam.

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See Also: African Americans; Afrocentrism; Muslim Americans.

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National Association for Bilingual Education

As the education of bilingual students has grown in both interest and importance, the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) was formed to advocate for bilingual and English language learners and their families. NABE also serves teachers and administrators interested in bilingual education by serving as a resource for research and materials supporting best practices in the field. Since proponents of structured English immersion began advocating for that method of instruction, NABE has emerged as one of the major opponents to it. NABE is often opposed to the positions of rival organization Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), a group that places more emphasis on English acquisition and less on maintenance of the primary or home language.

In the aftermath of World War II, interest in language acquisition grew dramatically in the United States. This interest in language acquisition was spurred partly by experiences of servicemen and women who were posted overseas, and partly by the United States' increased involvement in international affairs after the war. American public schools began to offer more foreign language classes, and a surge in immigration resulted in a variety of English language learners in the United States.

How best to educate the children of these immigrants, who often spoke a language other than English at home, became a topic of controversy. Some wanted the focus of schooling to be on the acquisition of English, whereas others felt that honoring and maintaining the language used at home was of equal importance. Disagreements about how best to deal with English language learners, and how to promote bilingual education among native English speakers, have continued.

In 1966, TESOL was formed to promote quality language education in the schools and elsewhere. From its founding, TESOL has officially expressed a desire to foster both English and the learner's home language. Despite this, some perceived the organization as having little concern in providing non-English resources to teachers or in studying which immigrant populations

maintained, or failed to maintain, their primary language. As the first organization focused on the teaching of English to English language learners (ELL), TESOL grew quickly in membership and influence.

During the 1970s, the number of immigrants arriving in the United States rose dramatically, then continued at high levels for nearly four decades. Immigrants who came to the United States during this period were often poorer and less educated than before. The United States saw an especially large influx of immigrants from countries where Arabic, Chinese, Korean, Russian, and Spanish were spoken. Advocates affiliated with TESOL were seen by some proponents of bilingual education as undermining the concept of dual language acquisition.

The structure of most language departments at the K–12 and college and university levels during the 1970s focused almost exclusively on teaching a single language, be it English to non-English speakers, or another language to English speakers. This meant that the advocates of bilingual education were at a disadvantage when attempting to encourage language acquisition programs that favored both English and another language. As a result of the perceived need for a group to promote the interests of bilingual learners and the needs of bilingual teachers, leaders in the field began planning for a new national organization. NABE was founded to push for these outcomes.

Founding and Growth

NABE was founded in 1972 in an effort to further the needs of America's ELLs and their families, and to provide professionals who serve these groups a place to network and share promising practices and instructional strategies. In particular, NABE has looked to promote policies, practices, and programs that support the organization's four primary goals. These four primary goals include allowing ELLs to achieve academic success, appreciate their primary or home language, attain proficiency in English, and acquire a respect for cultural and linguistic diversity. NABE sees these four goals as essential to the well-being of ELLs and their families. This sort of agenda also is preferred as more likely to assist in cultivating a multilingual and multicultural society

than one that focuses solely upon the acquisition of English.

NABE is composed of members from around the United States and abroad. Members include classroom teachers, school administrators, bilingual coordinators, college and university professors, and others interested in bilingual education. The NABE membership has long been perceived as more committed to social justice and multiculturalism than members of TESOL. Long an advocate of language policy that encourages all students to learn two or more languages, NABE has also taken positions opposing the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation and has, with 60 other education and civil rights organizations, advocated for changes to the "test and punish" culture present in many schools.

To that end, NABE joined the Alliance for Fair and Effective Accountability (AFEFA), a coalition of organizations that advocate for changes in how schools deal with students, especially those from multicultural backgrounds. Specifically, AFEFA asks that departments of education and schools focus on assessments that measure each learner's progress, rather than making comparisons with others; build capacity of schools and school districts through continued professional development based on research; eliminate sanctions that penalize low-performing schools; and increase funding so that all low-income students receive the education to which they are entitled.

To further its members' interest in children's education, NABE works to develop and influence research, policy, programs, and pedagogical practices that support the use of second and primary languages in everyday life. NABE sees an increasingly diverse world, making it necessary for all individuals to be both bilingual and bi-literate. The increasingly global society has made NABE one of the chief advocates for learning more than two languages and cultures. To that end, NABE has been consistent in indicating its preference for programs that permit students to maintain their primary language as well as learn English.

Although a variety of approaches to working with language minority students exist in the United States, the most common are structured English immersion, transitional bilingual education, two-way/dual language immersion, and late-exit/developmental bilingual education.

Structured English immersion entails immersing learners in the target language while providing content support through a variety of instructional methods. Transitional bilingual education involves education in the student's primary language for no more than three years, with the goal of transitioning to English-only instruction at the end of that period.

Two-way/dual language immersion is designed to help both native and non-native speakers of English to become bilingual and bi-literate, through extended and consistent exposure to two languages in school. Late-exit/developmental bilingual education provides instruction in the student's primary language for an extended period of time, often six or more years, with maintenance of the home language a major goal of the program.

NABE has consistently opposed structured English immersion programs, and it favors two-way/dual language immersion or late-exit/developmental bilingual education. Because certain states, such as Arizona, California, and Massachusetts, have passed legislation mandating structured English immersion programs for non-English-speaking students, NABE has seen its influence decline in those areas.

Services to Members

For the past 40 years, NABE has sponsored an annual conference that permits members to share research findings, learn about effective instructional strategies that promote bilingualism and bi-literacy, advocate for policies and legislation that assist and support ELLs, and network with other like-minded professionals. In addition to its annual conference, NABE also sponsors a variety of smaller meetings throughout the year that address specific issues of interest to certain groups, such as indigenous language instruction, using bilingual dyads, and successes. NABE also holds occasional teleconferences, when members can dial in to a national conversation regarding issues of topical interest.

NABE sponsors a variety of publications to help its membership keep abreast of developments in the field of bilingual education. Cognizant of its audience, some of these are intended for scholars, while others focus on the general public. These include the *NABE Journal for Research*

and *Practice* and the *Bilingual Research Journal*, which focus on the dissemination of the results of studies concerning language acquisition and ELL teaching and learning. NABE also publishes *NABE News*, formerly *Language News*, which contains information regarding instructional strategies, success stories, and developments in law and policy—it is a slick-paper magazine intended for parents and teachers. In addition to its Web site and blog, NABE also maintains a career center to help match job seekers with employers.

In addition to membership in the parent organization, NABE members may join special interest groups (SIGs) devoted to special topics. With its national office located in Silver Spring, Maryland, NABE's leadership has easy access to lawmakers in nearby Washington, D.C. NABE currently serves over 5,000 members and has 20 state affiliates working to further the prospects for bilingual learners and their families.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Bilingualism; English as a Second Language Education; English-Language Learners; Language Usage in the United States; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages.

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National Association for Multicultural Education

The National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME) is a nonprofit educational organization that advances and advocates for equity and social justice through multicultural education. NAME members include teacher educators, higher education faculty, and graduate students from across a broad array of academic disciplines and research interests; pre- and in-service Pre-K–12 schoolteachers; Pre-K–12 and higher education administrators; college, school, and community-based psychologists, social workers, and mental health counselors; librarians, other scholars, professionals, and activists; and the parents of Pre-K–12 school students, high school students, and unaffiliated individuals.

NAME was informally established in 1990 in Las Vegas, Nevada, then formally founded in 1991 in New Orleans, Louisiana, and formally headquartered in 1995 in the District of Columbia. Over the course of its 22-year history, NAME has been almost entirely a volunteer organization, funded through membership fees from its 800 to 1,500 active members, as well as revenues from an annual international conference and periodic educational offerings. NAME was first informally organized and run by a core group of volunteers, including its 20 founders, and was later governed by a formally appointed and/or elected 24-member volunteer board of directors, operating in accordance with instituted bylaws. In 1995, NAME established a national office with a part-time paid staff that has included an executive director and formal (secretarial and technical) and/or informal (high school and college student) administrative support personnel.

NAME promotes respect and appreciation for cultural diversity, understanding of unique cultural and ethnic heritage, and development of culturally responsible and responsive curricula. NAME seeks to facilitate human acquisition of the attitudes, skills, and knowledge necessary to function effectively in various cultures; eliminate racism and discrimination in society; and bring about social, political, economic, and educational equity. NAME affirms that it is consciously and proactively inclusive of all areas of diversity, including

race, ethnicity, color, national origin, ancestry, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, age, socioeconomic status, marital status, language, disability, and immigration status.

Beliefs

According to NAME, multicultural education is a philosophical concept built on the ideals of freedom, justice, equality, equity, and human dignity as acknowledged in various documents, such as the U.S. Declaration of Independence, the constitutions of the United States and South Africa, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations.

Building on the definitions of multicultural education articulated by several leading scholars in the field, NAME describes multicultural education as a process of comprehensive school reform that permeates all aspects of school community and organization, and pervades school practices and policies in order to ensure the highest levels of academic achievement for all students. In recognizing that equality and equity are not the same thing, NAME maintains that multicultural education attempts to offer all students an equitable educational opportunity while encouraging them to critique society in the interest of social justice.

NAME contends that multicultural education affirms the need to prepare all students for the responsibilities of an interdependent world; recognizes the role that schools can play in developing attitudes and ideals necessary for democratic society; values cultural differences and the pluralism that students, their communities, and teachers reflect; enables all students to develop positive self-concepts by providing them knowledge about the histories, cultures, and contributions of diverse groups to U.S. society and the world as a whole; prepares all students with the knowledge, dispositions, and skills necessary to bring about structural equality through the redistribution of power and income among diverse groups in all aspects of social organization and governance; and challenges all forms of discrimination in schools and society through the promotion of the democratic principles of social justice.

NAME asserts that multicultural education requires that school curricula directly address issues of racism, sexism, classism, linguisticism,

ableism, ageism, heterosexism, religious intolerance, and xenophobia; that students and their life histories and experiences be placed at the center of teaching and learning processes; that pedagogy occur in a context that is familiar to students and addresses their multiple ways of thinking; that teachers and students critically analyze oppression and corresponding relations of power in their schools, communities, society, and world; that school staff be at least culturally competent, ideally multiculturally literate, and to the greatest extent possible racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse; and that schools proactively embrace students' families and the broader communities in which they are situated in order to become environments that support multiple experiences and perspectives and, ultimately, realize democracy.

Roots and Wings

NAME envisioned an organization that would bring together individuals and groups with an interest in multicultural education from all levels of education, different academic disciplines, and diverse educational institutions and occupations. During the 1990 annual conference of the Association of Teacher Educators (ATE), Rose Duhon-Sells invited members of ATE's Multicultural Special Interest Group (SIG) to discuss founding a new educational organization solely dedicated to multicultural education.

Concerned about the lack of meaningful attention given to issues of diversity in teacher training, the 19 people who accepted that invitation became known as NAME's founders, with Duhon-Sells as its first president. One year later, NAME held its first national conference; 500 people attended.

NAME has hosted an annual conference in a different city in the United States every year since 1991. NAME established its formal board of directors and organizational bylaws in 1995. The board consists of a five-member executive committee, 10 regional directors, three at-large members, and five founders. Regional directors help organize new chapters and to coordinate the work of existing chapters in their region's states. NAME has established more than 25 active state chapters.

When invited to do so, NAME works to bring national attention to many local, state, regional, and international multicultural educational issues of concern to aid in their resolution. For example,

in 1999, NAME spotlighted the predicament of Patsy and Nadine Cordova, sisters who were fired from their long-standing teaching positions in Vaughn, New Mexico, for using multicultural educational approaches. Both sisters filed and eventually won civil rights lawsuits. In 2008, NAME focused attention on the lack of recovery resources allocated to New Orleans, Louisiana's Ninth Ward following Hurricane Katrina, including resources necessary to reopen the ward's schools.

In addition to the executive committee, NAME has 10 standing committees organized around key areas of NAME's operations, and five ad hoc committees that focus on advancing multicultural learning, raising public consciousness, promoting political action, and building international connections. Also in 1995, NAME established its national Washington, D.C., national office in order to build a national profile for the organization's work among national education policy decision makers, along with strategic partnerships with other progressive organizations.

NAME honors excellence in multicultural education by bestowing 11 different awards: the G. Pritchey Smith Multicultural Educator of the Year Award, the Carl C. Grant Research Award, the Donna M. Gollnick and Willard Loftis Fellowship for Research in Multicultural Education, the Phillip C. Chinn Multicultural Book Award, the Rose Duhon-Sells Multicultural Program Award, the Carter Godwin Woodson Award, the Presidential Chapter Award, the Multicultural Children's Publication Award, the Multicultural Media Award, the Social Justice Advocacy Award, and the Agency/Institution Equity Award.

In 1993, NAME established an official organizational journal, originally titled *Multicultural Education* and later called *Multicultural Perspectives*. NAME also publishes the periodic newsletter *NAME News* and hosts a listserv and a blog site. NAME also helped develop and distributes the five-piece Multicultural Education DVD Series to promote the work of multicultural education scholars Sonia Nieto, Leonard Baca, Geneva Gay, Beth Harry, and Phillip C. Chinn.

In 1998, NAME began to formally develop, publish, and archive organizational press releases, resolutions, position papers, and criteria documents. In 2012, NAME held its inaugural traveling Summer Institute, dedicated to helping schools, school

districts, colleges of teacher education, and other educational organizations to diversify the ranks of pre- and in-service Pre-K–12 teachers locally, regionally, and nationally. According to the 2010 census, a diverse staff was the best staff for measuring America; according to NAME, a diverse staff is also the best staff for teaching America. Also in 2012, NAME developed a Media Tool Kit to assist the general public in using the media to effectively speak out and push back against arbitrary teacher-evaluation reform efforts, communicating the damage that these efforts can do to schools and school students, and providing ideas for more just and effective alternatives.

Walking the Talk

In the early 1990s, NAME adopted its “red triangle” logo to claim its place in a long history of social action. Between 1933 and 1945, under the Nazi genocide, many different groups of people were required to wear visual markers delineating one or more reasons for their persecution. Although it is more commonly known that Jews were forced to wear yellow stars and gay people were forced to wear pink triangles, the marker system also imposed black triangles on Romani people, purple triangles on Jehovah’s Witnesses, and red triangles on political or religious dissidents, people who spoke out against the Nazis’ actions.

People marked by red triangles were considered by the Nazis to be “wrong thinkers.” Accordingly, NAME embraces the red triangle as its logo to affirm its commitment to speak out and act against injustice, to speak for those who cannot speak themselves, to advocate for the powerless, and to be allies to all who work for justice.

In the late 1990s, NAME adopted the Sankofa bird symbol as an organizational icon. The Sankofa is one of many Adinkra or visual symbols created by the Akan people of Ghana and the Gyaman people from the Côte d’Ivoire (Ivory Coast) of Africa. The literal meaning of the symbol is often articulated as “go back to fetch it,” and the symbol is understood to mean that the past must not be forgotten in moving toward the future.

For NAME, the Sankofa icon represents the need to remember the relationship between its individual members’ identities, the identities of the varied groups that it represents, and its collective organizational identity in its ongoing

redefinition and enactment of organizational vision and mission.

Back to the Future

At NAME’s eighth annual conference in St. Louis, Missouri, Smith gave a keynote address titled “Sing a Song of Faith, Sing a Song of Hope: The Status of NAME and Its Future in 1998.” In speaking about NAME’s future, Smith stated, “If NAME is to be a real voice for its members, it must become political. We have no choice. NAME does not believe in neutrality. NAME knows what it stands for. It stands for social justice. NAME’s unified voices for justice must be heard across the nation.”

In looking forward from 2012, NAME seeks to proactively reframe public debate and impact current and emerging policies to advance social, political, economic, and educational equity. To accomplish this goal, NAME is working to build its Web site into a preeminent digital clearinghouse for resources about educational equity and social justice.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Desegregation/Integration; Diversity and Inclusion; *E Pluribus Unum*; Educational Achievement; National Association for Bilingual Education.

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was formed in 1909. A civil rights advocacy group, the NAACP has been instrumental in the major civil rights battles of the 20th and 21st centuries, from the fight against Jim Crow laws to desegregation, the Voting Rights Act, and the continuing battle to end discrimination and institutionalized racism.

History

The NAACP partially grew out of, and partially shared ancestry with, the more radical Niagara Movement, a brief-lived civil rights organization active from 1905 to 1910. The catalyst for the formation of the Niagara Movement was the black community's growing dissatisfaction with the Jim Crow-era South, as laws were enacted to restrict voter registration and political participation in a concerted effort, transpiring in numerous state legislatures, to disenfranchise black men. Nor were problems in this period, since called the nadir of American race relations, limited to the south. Lynching was epidemic, segregation was the norm in much of the north, restricted clubs and other establishments were common, and migrating blacks leaving the south often faced resentment and differently manifested forms of racism in their new northern and midwestern homes. The first meeting of the Niagara Movement took place in Fort Erie, Ontario, on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, because American hotels were segregated.

Harvard-educated sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois, the first African American to earn a doctorate degree, was the leader of the Niagara Movement. The group began as 32 black activists and soon attracted a number of white members, notably social worker Mary White Ovington. The dominant figure in the African American community

at the time was Booker T. Washington, head of the Tuskegee machine, whose 1895 Atlanta compromise was passionately opposed by the Niagara Movement. This so-called compromise called for southern blacks to submit to the authority of southern whites—to accept that they would not have the right to vote, that their access to education would be limited, and that segregation and other formalized discrimination would continue—in return for guarantees of basic education and due process. The Niagara Movement was the first significant group to buck this accommodationism and call for a renewed fight for civil rights.

Not all Niagara Movement members were part of the NAACP, nor did all join it after the Niagara Movement disintegrated. Du Bois and Ovington were among the NAACP's founders, along with Ida Wells, Archibald Grimke, Henry Moskowitz, Oswald Garrison Villard, William English Walling, Florence Kelley, and Charles Edward Russell. The formation of the NAACP is typically dated to January 1909, when Walling (a journalist and activist, and the youngest son of former slaveholders), Ovington, and Moskowitz invited a number of prominent Americans to a meeting in commemoration of the 100th birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

Two major incidents inspired the creation and growth of the NAACP, the first of which was the 1908 race riot in Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln's hometown. Springfield had by this time become a large industrial center with a relatively large black population (6.5 percent in the 1900 census) for Illinois. Racial tensions sometimes centered on the use of black laborers as strikebreakers. When two black prisoners—one of whom had been accused of raping a white woman, the other of robbing and killing a white man in his home, neither of whom had been tried—were transferred from the jail, a mob of white men and women demanded they be released to be lynched. When a local restaurant owner helped the sheriff with the transfer, the mob wrecked and looted his restaurant. The incident soon turned into a riot, aimed at destroying local black-owned businesses and burning black homes. The National Guard arrived the next day, along with tourists who simply wanted to watch. In the aftermath, 40 homes and 24 businesses were ruined, seven people were killed, and only one person was convicted, for



A participant in the August 28, 1963, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom wearing a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hat.

stealing a saber from a guardsman. The woman who had accused George Richardson of rape recanted her accusation; the other prisoner was found guilty and hanged.

A meeting of the Niagara Movement in New York City led to the formation of the National Negro Committee, over which Du Bois presided. The committee was intended to be a national conference on African American civil rights but led to the formation of the NAACP, incorporated in 1911, when it was clear that a permanent organization was needed to continue to address the many problems at hand. The charter defined the organization's mission: "To promote equality of rights and to eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interest of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for the children, employment according to their ability and complete equality before law."

Officers and Membership

The first officers were elected in 1910. Du Bois served as director of publicity and research,

Walling served as chairman of the executive committee, and Moorfield Storey served as the first national president. In the subsequent century plus, the organization has retained the use in its name of the now-deprecated term *colored people*. Whereas the Niagara Movement was predominantly black, the NAACP's initial leadership was mainly white and Jewish, with Du Bois the only African American in a leadership role. Though several executive directors in the ensuing years were black, the first black president of the NAACP was not elected until 1975. Jewish civil rights leaders were key figures in the organization's early years and fund-raising efforts, and Jewish newspapers drew frequent comparisons between the Israelites' exodus from Egypt and the flight of blacks from the south, when exhorting their readership to support the civil rights movement. Parallels were also drawn between the segregation and other limits on black freedom in the United States and the treatment of Jews in Europe.

The second incident that increased the NAACP's membership was the lynching of teenage African American farm worker Jesse Washington in Waco, Texas, in 1916. Accused of raping and murdering the wife of his white employer, Washington entered a guilty plea under duress and was dragged out of the court by attendees of the trial. Police and city officials looked on amid a crowd of more than 10,000 as he was lynched in front of City Hall—not merely hanged, but castrated, tortured, his fingers cut off, and his body hung over a fire for two hours. Pieces of his scorched corpse were sold as souvenirs, and a professional photographer took photos of the torture, which were sold as postcards. Some of these photos were published in *The Crisis*, a report by Du Bois that was instrumental in changing public opinion on lynching. No longer seen as an efficient form of publicly mandated justice, it was revealed for the savage barbarism it was.

Top Priorities

Segregation and Jim Crow laws, as well as combating the phenomenon of lynching, were the NAACP's first priorities. With President Woodrow Wilson's introduction of segregation into federal offices and hiring practices in 1913 and the release of D. W. Griffith's Klan-glorifying film *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915—inspiring the formation of

a new Klan—the battle did not always seem winnable. In that same year, Oklahoma’s grandfather clause restricting voting rights almost entirely to whites was challenged in *Guinn v. United States*, and in 1917 the NAACP was instrumental in the Supreme Court’s decision in *Buchanan v. Warley* that state and local governments cannot segregate residential districts. It also impacted the court’s decision in *Moore v. Dempsey* in 1923, which has had far-reaching positive consequences in expanding the federal government’s oversight of state-level criminal justice systems. Attempts at federal anti-lynching legislation were less successful, with southern opposition sufficient to block it. For many years, the New York offices of the NAACP flew a black flag with the words “A Man Was Lynched Yesterday” in the aftermath of every lynching.

The NAACP and its NAACP Legal Defense Fund (which in 1957 became a legally separate entity, though it has usually acted according to NAACP policy despite some well-publicized disputes) made legal cases against civil rights violations and unjust laws such as segregation more feasible for African Americans. When the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that segregation of state-run schools was unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), it was after a ceaseless decades-long campaign by the NAACP. The NAACP proceeded to push for desegregation throughout the south.

The NAACP’s role in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was significant but not dominant. The organization frequently clashed with civil rights leaders, notably Martin Luther King, Jr., over strategy. For some years in the 1950s, it was also barred from operating in Alabama for refusing to reveal its membership list. Younger civil rights groups such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee favored direct action, paving the way for the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s, over the NAACP’s by then long-held strategy of legislation and litigation. However, the NAACP supported two of the biggest victories for the civil rights movement in the 1960s: the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965.

The Organization Today

Today, the NAACP continues to advocate for African American rights and was vocal in the 2000

election, when many black voters were wrongly disqualified. The NAACP annually awards the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement by African Americans, recipients of which have included Harry Belafonte, civil rights attorney Frankie Muse Freeman, and Cicely Tyson. It also presents the NAACP Image Awards in various entertainment categories.

In 2004, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) launched an investigation into the NAACP’s tax-exempt status because of then-chairman Julian Bond’s speech condemning President George W. Bush at the 2004 NAACP Convention. Tax-exempt status is generally disallowed to organizations that campaign on behalf of or in opposition to political candidates. A two-year investigation concluded that the organization had not violated its tax-exempt status, but the launch of the investigation received considerable media attention.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; African American Categorization (Essay); African Americans; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

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National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials

The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) is a professional and political organization of Latino leaders. NALEO's ultimate goal is to promote full participation of Latino immigrants and citizens in American society and to advocate for Latinos in American politics. The NALEO Educational Fund is the preeminent nonprofit organization seeking full status and participation for Latinos in the U.S. political process.

The Educational Fund is a major source of support for Latino elected and appointed officials, providing networking, educational programs, and resources including research reports and press releases. There are more than 6,000 Latinos in office, and it seems likely that this number will continue to grow.

“Empowering Latinos from citizenship to public service,” the slogan on NALEO's Web site, describes the group's mission and belief that full participation in the U.S. political process is the only way to effectively advocate for the Latino community as a whole. To that end, NALEO focuses its efforts on several program tracks within the organization and on its support role for public and appointed officials, particularly as a source of solid research on key issues.

History and Leadership

NALEO was founded in 1976 by a core group that was responding to a need on the part of Latino officeholders. The founders were themselves officeholders: U.S. Representatives Edward R. Roybal and Robert Garcia were among this group. Roybal served NALEO as president and

later president emeritus, with his term in office stretching from 1976 to 1991. Originally NALEO was called the National Association of Latino Democratic Officials, but the current name was ratified in 1978, showing the commitment of the group to a nonpartisan approach.

More recently, in 2009, Sylvia R. Garcia became NALEO's seventh president of NALEO. Garcia is a commissioner from Harris County, Texas, and a former NALEO board member (1999-2004). Commissioner Garcia has nearly 1 million constituents, making her county the third-most-populous in America. An attorney, Garcia was also the city controller in Houston and the chief judge of the Municipal Courts of Houston. Commissioner Garcia is assisted by NALEO Executive Director Arturo Vargas and a board of influential and experienced officials.

Smaller Programs

NALEO tailors its programs carefully to meet the needs of its mission, focusing on several key areas. The association targets health issues unique to Latino communities as expressed in data sources such as the U.S. Census. NALEO's Healthy Communities Initiative (NHCI) attempts to assist Latino policymakers in effectively advocating for Latino communities. Good nutrition and the elimination of childhood obesity are target areas for this initiative; given that in 2010, 38.2 percent of Hispanic children ages 2 to 19 were overweight or obese, the wisdom of this focus area is obvious. Similarly, the NALEO California Health Leadership Program (NCHLP) recruits Latino policymakers in leadership roles and equips them to take an active role in the promotion of Latino health by implementing healthy community policies.

The NALEO Policy Institutes on Sustainable Communities provide guidance and support for Latino officials with regard to economic matters including housing, urban renewal, and local development. The NALEO Annual Conference, known as the “Latino political convention,” is arguably the single most influential Latino political event in the United States. President Barack Obama was a featured speaker at the 2012 conference.

Civic Engagement and Participation

NALEO's Harry P. Pachon Civic Engagement Department moves toward a cultural ideal of

maximum civic participation by creating and maintaining a national framework designed to elicit buy-in from the Latino community. The department aids potential citizens with the naturalization process and informs the community as a whole about naturalization issues.

This section of NALEO also helps both new and established citizens become voters, and it helps ensure that as many members of the Latino community as possible stand up and be counted by the U.S. Census Bureau. Finally, the Civic Engagement Department forges relationships and engages in strategic coalition-building with local, state, and national partners.

Part of the group's Civil Engagement and Participation initiative is the groundbreaking *Ya Es Hora* (It Is Time) campaign. This is a nonpartisan effort to make use of the momentum generated by the massive immigrant mobilizations of 2006. This campaign is the broadest, most inclusive attempt to engage Latinos nationwide as equally participating partners in the political process.

Ya Es Hora is not limited to naturalization or voter drives, which sets it apart from predecessor programs. Rather, this initiative takes a multi-tiered, expansive set of tactics that includes both approaches. *Ya Es Hora* includes full participation in the census under its directive and was active before the 2010 Census was conducted. The program makes full use of the Spanish-language media to further its objectives, as well as employing other tools to deliver its message.

The main objective of the *Ya Es Hora* census effort, called *Ya Es Hora Hágase Contar* (It Is Time, Make Yourself Count), is to raise the rate of mail responses from Latino households by proactively educating the community over the long term. The existing infrastructure of the *Ya Es Hora* campaign ensures that the census-related materials in need of dissemination are readily delivered to the community while making use of established messaging.

Services for Latino Elected and Appointed Officials

NALEO's Constituency Services Department is the source of professional development and leadership training in a broad variety of areas. The NALEO Policy Institutes provide educational

programming and technical advice about the range of important issues facing Latino populations and their representatives.

Elected and appointed officials nationwide liaise in order to take on subjects that matter to their constituents, including health issues, economic issues such as affordable housing and public finance, professional and workplace development, criminal justice and public safety, and environmental concerns.

NALEO's "boot camp" gives newly elected officials a dynamic yet safe setting in which they can both learn and teach each other and hone the skills they will require as they move forward on their public service paths. Boot camp participants benefit by gaining the knowledge of more experienced elected officers and acquire insights into their shared constituencies. Media management, fund-raising, and budgeting are all serious topics in boot camp.

The NALEO Educational Fund guides public discourse surrounding important topics for Latinos. By connecting officeholders and providing leadership at the national level, the Educational Fund shapes the course of policy discussions on immigration and naturalization, voting and election reform, and the drive to elect more Latino officials. Through its civic research and publications office, NALEO helps ensure that political actors at all levels of government are better able to incorporate the concerns of the Latino community into their policies.

The Latino Vote

Latinos are the second-largest population group in the United States and are also the fastest-growing group. A record 9.7 million Latino voters cast their ballots in the 2008 presidential election, and NALEO predicted the number would rise to more than 12 million in 2012, an increase of 26 percent. The NALEO Educational Fund also predicted that in 2012, California, Florida, and Illinois would experience the greatest percentage increase in turnout for the year's election cycle. In at least three states—California, New Mexico, and Texas—at least 20 percent of the voters were expected to be Latino; in New Mexico, that percentage was anticipated to reach 35 percent. Latinos were behind Obama, casting their ballots for him in key battleground states.

Immigration and Naturalization

The NALEO Educational Fund has a history of working to secure a fair and accessible naturalization process for Latino Americans. The fund has consistently provided high-quality information and research to policymakers and presidential administrations about the impact of immigration laws on Latinos. NALEO has rallied against rising fees for immigration-related government services (e.g., application fees) and in support of a transparent process.

NALEO advocates for a national immigration policy that is not only fair and just for immigrants but also sensitive to the realities of national security concerns. NALEO promulgates the notion that a national immigration system that restores the public's faith in justice and human rights is not in conflict with a national immigration system that restores confidence in public safety.

As part of this push for a balanced immigration policy, NALEO took a position against Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 (the Arizona Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act), which included some of the most sweeping anti-illegal-immigration provisions when it was enacted in 2010.

The NALEO Educational Fund maintained the measure was both unconstitutional and fiscally wasteful, made discrimination a matter of policy, and did nothing to help the immigration system and everything to overburden local governments. NALEO also argued that the measure raised Fourteenth Amendment issues and threatened basic civil rights.

Karla Lant
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See Also: Arizona Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (2010); Congressional Hispanic Caucus; Congressional Hispanic Conference; Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Politics and Ethnic Diversity.

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National Civil Rights Museum

The National Civil Rights Museum, located in Memphis, Tennessee, opened in 1991 as a tribute to the civil rights movement, its activists, and one of the greatest leaders of American civil rights, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The museum complex is built around the historic Lorraine Motel on 450 Mulberry Street, where King was assassinated on April 4, 1968. The museum's centerpiece is the preservation of the Lorraine Motel's façade and balcony, where King was shot down by James Earl Ray. The transformation from motel to museum represents the politics of place and the decades-long struggle of moving forward to shape a new community identity. This is done by rebuilding and healing the city of Memphis' historical, economic, and African American identity.

The National Civil Rights Museum is closely connected to its past identity as the Lorraine Motel, purchased in 1945 by Walter Bailey, a black businessman and named after his wife, Loree, and a song titled "Sweet Lorraine." The Lorraine was one of the few hotels in Memphis that accommodated African American travelers during the segregation era, until the late 1960s in America. After two major additions and drive-up access, the hotel was converted to a motel. Many musicians working with the Stax Record Company were frequent guests, such as Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin, and Otis Redding. Dr. King and his colleagues were also regular guests at the Lorraine Motel when they traveled to Memphis. King was in Memphis during his final stay to support the striking sanitation workers of

the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in 1968.

Shortly after the assassination, Bailey maintained and preserved rooms 306 and 307 of the Lorraine Motel as a shrine to Dr. King and in memory of his wife, Loree, who suffered a stroke only hours after King's assassination and passed away five days later. In addition to the rooms, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), founded by King, erected a granite plaque, encased the two rooms, and commemorated the event with wreaths. The Lorraine Motel and Memphis became identified as the places where King and the civil rights movement had died. Bailey's impulse to memorialize King and sanctify the site marked the beginning of a long transformation in the motel's and Memphis' identity in a post-King era.

Although the sacred site drew visitors from all over the world, the Lorraine and its surrounding areas were impoverished, and the downward economic spiral continued after King's death. Poor residents rented rooms at the Lorraine, businesses closed, and the neighborhood was unsafe. Bankrupt and facing foreclosure, Bailey reached out to the community to help preserve the motel as a civil rights shrine in the 1970s.

Preservation Efforts

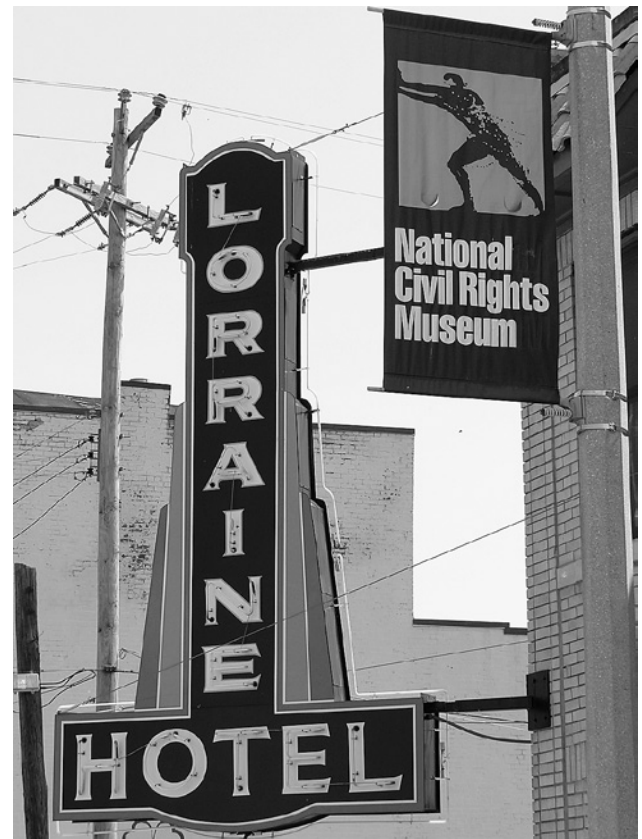
Bailey enlisted the help of Charles Scruggs, program director at WDIA-AM 1070, the first black radio station in Memphis, and started the Save the Lorraine campaign. Scruggs also secured a \$10,000 personal loan from Jesse Turner, CEO of black-owned Tri-State Bank and president of the Memphis National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter. A radio fundraising campaign appealed to black Memphis citizens to preserve part of their history. Judge D'Army Bailey (no relation to the motel's owner), an African American lawyer and civil rights activist, led the group of prominent Memphians to form the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memphis Memorial Foundation, which was later renamed the Lorraine Civil Rights Museum Foundation in 1984.

Major contributors included AFSCME, which donated \$25,000. Turner's Tri-State Bank contributed an additional \$50,000 loan at auction. On December 13, 1982, the foundation purchased the Lorraine for \$144,000, most of which came from personal contributions of Memphis citizens.

The next task for the foundation was to finance the museum. After much lobbying, funding included \$4.4 million from the Tennessee General Assembly, \$2.2 million each from the Memphis City Council and Shelby County Commission, and an additional \$150,000 when costs exceeded estimates. The foundation also courted white business leaders such as J. R. "Pitt" Hyde III, founder of AutoZone, who personally donated \$400,000, and gained corporate sponsorships with Federal Express, Browning Ferris Industries, First Tennessee Bank, and Holiday Inn to raise an additional \$925,000. The total cost of the museum was \$9.25 million.

Exhibits

The museum was dedicated on July 4, 1989, and opened to the public on September 28, 1991. In 2002, the museum opened "Exploring the Legacy,"



The National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, Tennessee, is built around the historic Lorraine Motel, where Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated on April 4, 1968. The museum opened to the public on September 28, 1991.

an \$11 million expansion that included the board-
inghouse across the street. The centerpiece of the
museum and most powerful part of the visitor
experience is the old Lorraine Motel's façade and
balcony, which take visitors back to April 1968
and where visitors imagine Dr. King and his col-
leagues gathering on the balcony in front of rooms
306 and 307. This is where time has stood still and
visitors reflect on King's legacy and the museum's
message. The museum is a memorial to ordinary
people and their commitment to the civil rights
and social justice movement.

Exhibits have included the 1954 Supreme
Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of
Topeka* documents and artifacts, as well as interac-
tive exhibits such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott,
which simulates the discrimination that a black
bus rider would have experienced. Visitors can
inspect a burned-out Greyhound bus and observe
the dangers that the Freedom Riders encountered,
as well as sit at a life-size lunch counter to experi-
ence student sit-ins during the 1960s.

The museum has been the subject of contro-
versy because of its location in the Lorraine Motel.
Remodeling the motel necessitated evicting its
residents, one of whom—housekeeper Jacqueline
Smith—had to be forcibly removed after she had
barricaded herself in her room. Low-income hous-
ing surrounding the motel has been demolished,
the neighborhood has gentrified as higher-priced
apartments, and condominiums have been con-
structed. Smith has continued to protest the trans-
formation of the neighborhood and eviction of
motel residents by maintaining a daily vigil across
the street for over 20 years.

The National Civil Rights Museum campaign
demonstrated a grassroots, black community–ini-
tiated museum and fund-raising. The community
asserted stewardship of history and a rebirth for
Memphis by reaffirming African American iden-
tity and rebuilding the Lorraine while revitalizing
its surrounding area. Its leaders engaged the black
community in shaping the form and choosing
whose story was told at this public site of com-
memoration. This process of memory making and
the development of the museum echoes the trans-
formation in the black community and Mem-
phians' identity formation. The site is a memo-
rial landscape focused on engagement of critical
issues, interaction of visitors, and authenticity,

with the promise of an authentic experience over
mere tourist appeal. Memphis is not where civil
rights died; it is where they continues live, and
holds a mirror to those who visit, reflecting that
social justice continues in those who visit the
museum.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Martin Luther
King, Jr. Day; Montgomery Bus Boycott.

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National Conference for Community and Justice

The National Conference for Community and
Justice (NCCJ) is a U.S.-based nonprofit organi-
zation that aims to promote understanding and
respect among people of all cultures, races, and
religions. Its mission is to fight bias, bigotry, and
racism, and its work is done through advocacy,
education, and dialogue.

The NCCJ was founded in 1927 as the National
Conference of Christians and Jews. Its found-
ers included U.S. Supreme Court Justice Charles
Evans Hughes, businessman Roger W. Strauss,
and Rev. Everett Clinchy, an educator. Over the
next decades, the NCCJ expanded its mission
to include social justice issues such as race, gen-
der, class, sexuality, and ability. In the 1990s, the
name was changed to the National Conference
for Community and Justice to more accurately
reflect its broader mission and the diversity of the
communities in which it worked.

History

The NCCJ's origins can be traced to 1924, when the Convention for the Federal Council of Churches of Christ formed a committee on goodwill between Christians and Jews in reaction to the Klu Klux Klan. During this time, the nation saw anti-Catholic sentiment, as Al Smith unsuccessfully sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 1924 and ran for president four years later; there also were anti-Jewish sentiments from Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* newspaper, which ran anti-Semitic articles until it closed in 1927.

From this small committee, the National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded in 1927. Community leaders of different faiths, including Jane Addams, Rebekah Kohut, and Charles Evans Hughes, were dedicated to more than a superficial tolerance of those who differed from themselves. This group had long-range educational goals and recognized that individuals' understanding and goodwill for others allowed the best leaders to be cultivated because of differences, not in spite of them. The organization wanted to bring people of different faiths and cultures together to dialogue around interfaith divisions and racial, class, and gender barriers. In 1928, the first NCCJ seminar was hosted by Columbia University. At that time, three cochairmen for the organization were named: Carlton J. H. Hayes as the Catholic cochairman, Newton D. Baker as the Protestant cochairman, and Roger W. Strauss as the Jewish cochairman.

The NCCJ quickly became a large and active movement as it strived to facilitate cooperation between people of different religions on civic and social justice issues. One of its most famous educational programs was the Tolerance Trios. These trios comprised Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergy who traveled together to spread a message of tolerance. By World War II, the NCCJ trios provided spiritual guidance to the armed forces. Part of this guidance included a tri-faith prayer card that was issued to every soldier, with prayers from each faith printed on it.

By the 1950s, the NCCJ had broadened its agenda to include race and started its Anytown camps to encourage respect among youth of different cultures, races, and religions. These camps, which still operate today, combined dialogue around identity, stereotyping, and prejudice with

experiential exercises to facilitate community-building that offers space to discuss topics of race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability. In addition to Anytown, the NCCJ offers other youth and adult programs that focus on community conversations, diversity in schools and workplaces, and interreligious dialogues. The NCCJ has been recognized and commended by presidents, including John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. The NCCJ's work in the 1970s to educate about the Holocaust led Congress to establish the National Holocaust Remembrance Week. In 1994, the NCCJ released its nationwide survey, called *Taking America's Pulse*, on attitudes of intergroup relations. *Taking America's Pulse II* appeared in 2000, and *Taking America's Pulse III* in 2006. These reports measure attitudes about race relations, interracial group contact, experiences of discrimination, and Americans' perceived satisfaction regarding racial, religious, and ethnic tensions.

Organizational Evolution

Briefly, in the early 1990s, the NCCJ was known as the National Conference. In 1999, as a response to the increased diversity of people involved with the NCCJ and the communities in which it worked, the organization's name changed to the National Conference for Community and Justice. This name change was a recognition that people other than those who identified as Christians and Jews were participating in the NCCJ's work. The change to the National Conference for Community and Justice helps more completely create inclusive, respectful, and just communities and more fully satisfies the mission of fighting bias, bigotry, and racism in America. In 2005, the NCCJ decentralized from a regional structure and chapters became independent nonprofit organizations.

Programming

The NCCJ has youth and adult programming designed to help students, teachers, clergy, and community leaders understand and talk about race, culture, and gender relations and interreligious discourses. Many NCCJ chapters develop workshops and leadership training and consult on projects that relate to their mission of fighting bias, bigotry, and racism. Since 1957, Anytown, with similar programs such as Metrotown and Unitown, has been the NCCJ's main project. Anytown works to

educate and activate high school–aged students to build community and become progressive leaders in their local and global communities. During an Anytown session, students, counselors, and advisors learn about “isms” in the world, including racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, and ableism. With workshops and exercises, students learn to identify and talk about prejudice and discrimination. Anytown students are equipped with communication skills and knowledge to make a difference in their schools and communities.

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See Also: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/
Culturally Relevant Teaching; Culture; Diversity
Training; Intercultural Communication; Multicultural
Education; Pluralism; Racism; Tolerance.

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National Congress of American Indians

In November 1944, American Indian delegates from across the United States met in Denver, Colorado, for the purpose of establishing a new organization. Based on planning meetings held in May 1944, the gathering intended to support a view that only through a collective voice could American Indians successfully mount a stand against federal threats to tribal sovereignty and treaty-based rights. At the four-day convention held at the Cosmopolitan Hotel, the delegates voted to accept the constitution and bylaws of the new organization: the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). The NCAI became the first national organization controlled by American Indians and today represents the oldest and largest American Indian organization working on behalf of all American Indians.

The establishment of the NCAI came during a period when the U.S. government moved to assimilate American Indians through the termination of tribal legal status. Efforts were under way in Congress to repeal the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, which had restored tribal self-governance and other rights. With growing federal pressures to end all legal obligations to tribes, American Indians came together to present a unified front against the federal government’s threats to tribal recognition and sovereignty.

The NCAI’s broad focus of defending the treaty rights and legal recognition of all tribes garnered widespread support. Whereas tribes once fought against such policies independently of one another, they now presented a collective and stronger national position through the NCAI.

Within one year, the membership of the NCAI grew from its first 80 delegates to over 300.

One of the first victories for the NCAI was the creation of the Indian Claims Commission. Through its legal department, the NCAI proposed a preliminary draft of a claims commission bill in 1945 that eventually led to new legislation. In an era that presented serious obstacles to American Indian rights, the NCAI's campaign to pass the Claims Commission Act of 1946 proved that the organization could affect the direction of Indian affairs. With the new commission, a legal body assessed tribal grievances based on treaty violations and awarded monetary compensation when warranted.

In addition to establishment of the Indian Claims Commission, the NCAI won other victories for American Indians. In 1948, the NCAI fought for American Indian voting rights in New Mexico and Arizona. Both states' constitutions excluded American Indians from voting. The NCAI led legal challenges to the restriction of voting rights and ultimately won its cases. In its first four years, the NCAI could claim major gains in the areas of tribal and American Indian civil rights.

The threat of terminating tribal recognition that began in the mid-1940s continued to build. By the 1950s, termination as a federal policy gained ground, and proposals to dissolve the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which managed educational, medical, and economic programs, were common. Along with a termination policy, a federal program was begun to relocate American Indians from reservations to urban centers in an effort to end their federal-trust status. The federal government pushed for the abolishment of all its treaty-based responsibilities by 1952.

During this tumultuous period, struggles within the NCAI's leadership occurred frequently, as members had various positions on termination policy and how it should be confronted. In 1953, the NCAI presented a united stand against termination policy just prior to the onslaught of termination bills presented in Congress. Six termination bills became law in 1954. The NCAI struggled to slow the push for termination. Hundreds of tribal delegates led by the NCAI arrived in Washington, D.C., to voice their opposition to termination legislation in 1954. In the mid-1950s, the NCAI witnessed success as



This photo from the National Congress of American Indians shows representatives from federally recognized tribes, including Navajo code talkers and other veterans, at a December 2012 White House Tribal Nations Conference at the Department of the Interior. The organization has been in operation since Native Americans from around the country gathered in Denver, Colorado, in November 1944.

termination policy was more closely scrutinized and eventually halted.

By the early 1960s, the NCAI could applaud its role in bringing about a transition from the termination of tribes to tribal self-determination. The NCAI had become an adept political organization that effectively conveyed its central positions to legislators and to a broad American public.

In the 1960s, the NCAI emphasized the importance of American Indians controlling and directing their own affairs. In what came to be known as the self-determination movement, the direction of Indian policy moved toward empowering tribal communities by shifting funds and resources away from the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to tribes. In line with the original mission of the organization, fighting for sovereignty rights permeated the NCAI's work in the 1960s. In 1961, the NCAI was influential in organizing the American Indian Chicago Conference and contributing to the "Declaration of Indian Purpose," an intertribal statement that resulted from the conference's deliberations and that called for greater American Indian control of affairs affecting tribes and those living off reservations.

Considered part of an established power structure by new organizations such as the National Indian Youth Council in the 1960s, the NCAI struggled to maintain support from various factions that claimed the NCAI did not act aggressively enough for the interests of American Indians. At one time plagued by financial problems and political infighting, the NCAI regained a sense of purpose and stability under the leadership of Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux) in 1964.

Over the years, the NCAI has served as a staunch advocate for self-determination, sovereignty rights, and the preservation of American Indian cultures. As the oldest and largest American Indian organization, the NCAI remains a powerful force in the direction of Indian affairs and an advocate for the legal and cultural rights of tribes and American Indians.

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See Also: Bureau of Indian Affairs; Indian Claims Commission; National Indian Youth Council; Wheeler-Howard Act (1934).

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National Congress of Black Women

The National Congress of Black Women has championed equal rights, college preparedness, affordable health care, and other pertinent issues that uplift all women, but specifically black women and girls. Its relevance today is equally as great as it was when it was founded in 1984. By expanding its borders to include 24 states, the National Congress of Black Women has been able to influence local, state, and federal governmental agencies in promoting women's issues.

In 1984, the year the National Congress of Black Women was established, "Reaganomics" was not having much of an impact upon minority families. Rev. Jesse Jackson had successfully negotiated the release of an African American soldier from Syria. International crises ravaged Europe and the Middle East. American students were not achieving at the same rate as their international counterparts. The first female airline pilot took to the skies, and the first African American woman was crowned Miss America, only to relinquish her title weeks later. It was also the year in which a woman became a vice presidential candidate for the first time in American history. Spurred by the political acceptance of Geraldine Ferraro as the Democratic nominee for vice president and the appointment of Sandra Day O'Connor as the first woman to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, the first African American woman to run for president, gathered a collection of the brightest African American women in order to forge a new platform that would highlight issues of importance to African American women and families.

Many of the founding members of the National Congress of Black Women represented the fields

of religion, law, communications, medicine, and civil rights. Notable founders included Eleanor Holmes Norton, Dorothy Height, Jewel Jackson McCabe, Cardiss Collins, Alexis Herman, Coretta Scott King, Charlene Drew Jarvis, and Mary Frances Berry.

The organization soon found its voice in the African American community. With Herman, Norton, Berry, and other governmental leaders, the group promoted the enactment of legislation aimed at expanding economic, employment, and workforce opportunities for African Americans. Jarvis and Height collaborated to tackle the issues of education and other societal ills experienced by black children. C. Delores Tucker battled the music industry through her call for rap music to censor its degradation of women in lyrics and music videos.

Influence of the National Congress of Black Women

As of 2012, the National Congress of Black Women had chapters in New York, Michigan, New Jersey, California, Georgia, Florida, Nevada, Tennessee, Alabama, Illinois, Virginia, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland, Arkansas, Mississippi, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Connecticut, Indiana, Louisiana, and Texas. There were also youth chapters in Florida, Michigan, and California, and chapter comprising the District of Columbia and Virginia. Two annual events, the Annual Awards Brunch and the Leadership Conference, require chapters to send representatives to learn about the organization's various new initiatives. At the organization's biennial conference, members vote on leadership and develop their platform signature programs and initiatives.

Each of the organization's initiatives stresses the importance of education, economics, and political activism. These programs also reflect the importance of education and leadership development. For example, the College for Kids, College for Teens, and Leadership Training programs focus on leadership skills, educational preparation of students in high school and college, and active service in the community. The group has an economic and political agenda as well.

Through its programs such as Workforce Housing, Voter Education/Registration, and Commission for the Presidential Appointment of

African American Women, the National Congress of Black Women is able to mobilize throughout the country to assist the African American community with issues regarding fair housing, political advocacy, and ensuring that African American women have a voice in the legislative process.

Additionally, the organization has its pulse on cultural, economic, and health issues through its Commission on Entertainment, Adopt-a-Child, Domestic Violence, and Green Team projects. These programs aim to enhance communities by promoting the adoption of African American children by African American families, while looking out for these children's health and environmental health.

As an additional resource to the community, the National Congress of Black Women provides information to the public through its radio program, *Celebrating Truth*. This program not only highlights current events related to the organization's mission and targeted national initiatives, but also features guest speakers and discussion of international issues that impact the lives of African Americans and the African diaspora. For example, after the catastrophic Haitian earthquake in 2010, the program featured a discussion of the plight of Haitian women, children's health and education, and post-earthquake relief efforts.

On April 28, 2009, the National Congress of Black Women commissioned and donated a bust of Sojourner Truth to the U.S. Capitol Visitor's Center. The statue was the first bust of an African American woman to be displayed in the Rotunda.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; National Council of Negro Women; Politics and Ethnic Diversity.

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National Council of Jewish Women

The National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) was founded in 1893 by Hannah G. Solomon at the Chicago World's Fair. Solomon accepted an invitation to organize a women's committee at the Jewish Men's Congress with the condition that women would have a significant role in the proceedings. Despite this agreement, women were not adequately included or recognized, and in protest, Solomon insisted that the women's committee be excluded from mention in the formal records. Responding in part to the affront from the Jewish Men's Congress, Solomon and the other founders of the NCJW conceived the establishment of a substantial, nationwide Jewish women's association, with a mission to address the needs of women, men, and families in the Jewish community.

Parallel to other immigrant organizations of the time period, one of the initial goals of the NCJW was to help in the assimilation process of Jewish women and their families, thus assisting them in Americanizing the largely eastern European population in their new homes. Additional goals included improving working conditions, providing education and hot lunches for the children of working mothers, developing shelters for young girls and women who were on their own and in danger of sexual mistreatment, and advancing new legislation for the purpose of promoting adequate housing arrangements for Jewish families crowded into major American cities.

There were four central goals of the NCJW: to study Judaism, to provide Sabbath schools for the poor, to undertake philanthropic work, and to act as a forum for the exchange of ideas among Jewish women. The contemporary NCJW continues on from its original mission, also providing support for a variety of initiatives that

spread from local to national and international concerns.

From its inception, the NCJW worked within and outside the Jewish community on social welfare problems. Consonant with counterparts in the Christian and secular communities, the council supported voting rights for women. To a large extent, the NCJW embraced a fairly popular conceptualization of feminism, sometimes referred to as "domestic feminism," in which women's roles as mothers were central to their identity both in and outside the Jewish home. Jewish women used motherhood as a platform to connect issues in the public and private spheres, arguing that women had a moral obligation to protect their children and their families; expanding women's roles into the public sector through voting and public leadership allowed them to follow through on their obligations.

B'nai B'rith

Serving a complementary role to the NCJW, B'nai B'rith, a social brotherhood organization for Jewish men, reinforced the emphasis on family, reflecting cooperation between husband and wife that provided the backdrop for the constitution of Jewish family life. Members of both groups highlighted assimilation into the American mainstream while preserving an active Jewish identity. Council leaders were dynamic community members whose volunteerism served a social purpose but who were also part of a larger social reform movement among Jewish immigrants. Parallel to Christian social groups of the time, the role of women in promoting religion in the home was perceived as a vital part of the function of wives and mothers. In particular, since Jews were a minority that was often marginalized and at odds with mainstream religious groups, the NCJW voiced concerns that the very existence of Judaism was potentially in danger but presented mothers and wives as protectors and rescuers of the Jewish religion.

Although the NCJW has historically located women's main interests in the realm of wife and mother roles, the council has also played a leading role in influencing the development of Jewish feminism by advocating for women's roles and needs in the larger Jewish community. As early as the 1890s, the NCJW was involved in the national suffrage campaign, campaigned for religious

equality and the right to vote in the synagogue, and encouraged women in Reform synagogues to play more active roles in giving sermons, administering Sunday School programs, and participating on synagogue boards. More contemporary NCJW programs offer support for divorced and single women and caregivers of elderly parents, and for day care programs. In 1988, the NCJW began the National Family Day Care Project (NFDCP).

The NCJW awards numerous grants to organizations that support projects in Israel. Recent grant recipients include the Adva Center (promoting equality for citizens of Israel), the Dafna Fund (Women Collaborating for Change), and Woman to Woman, the Jerusalem Shelter for Battered Women. A wide range of causes and initiatives are supported by the NCJW.

The NCJW continues to have an active presence in the Jewish and secular communities in the United States. In May 2012, NCJW leaders were invited to a summit with the presidential administration to discuss filling the vacant seats in America's federal courts. According to the NCJW Web site, its mission is to serve as a "grass roots organization of volunteers and advocates who turn progressive ideas into action. Inspired by Jewish values, the NCJW strives for social justice by improving the quality of life for women, children and families, and by safeguarding individual rights and freedoms." Among the principles listed on its Web site, the NCJW emphasizes support of "individual liberties and rights" and separation of religion and state as expressed in the Constitution, as well as a commitment to diversity for all people regardless of "race, gender, national origin, ethnicity, religion, age, disability, marital status, sexual orientation, or gender identity."

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; B'nai B'rith; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; Jewish Theological Seminary.

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National Council of La Raza

Established in 1968 with a \$630,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) is the largest national nonprofit, tax-exempt Latino advocacy and civil rights organization in the United States. The NCLR is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and maintains regional offices in Chicago; Long Beach, California; Los Angeles; New York; Phoenix; and San Antonio, Texas. The organization's Web site defines its mission statement as "work[ing] to improve opportunities for Hispanic Americans."

The NCLR's agenda consists of 10 major focus areas of interest for Hispanics/Latinos, including advocacy and empowerment, the census, children and youth, civil rights, workforce issues, education, health and nutrition, immigration, research, and economic empowerment. The organization also serves as a clearinghouse for information on a variety of issues pertaining to the Latino community through its regular publication of fact sheets, press releases, issue briefs, and research reports.

The NCLR is governed by an elected, 21-member board of directors and also holds a biennial conference with its corporate board of advisors, which consists of liaisons and senior executives from 25 major corporations, including AT&T, Shell, Time Warner, and Verizon. The NCLR also maintains working relationships with approximately 300 locally-based community organizations in 41 states and Puerto Rico. In 2012, Janet Murguía served as the organization's president and chief executive officer, and Charles Kamasaki served as its executive vice president. The NCLR employs a total staff of 120 individuals.

History and Activism

The success of the African American civil rights movement during the 1960s raised awareness of lingering inequalities and social grievances that affected other communities of color in the United States, including Latinos. The NCLR's origins date to the early 1960s, when a group of Mexican American activists known as the National Organization for Mexican American Services (NOMAS) realized that the Mexican American community lacked the type of local and political infrastructure and leadership that marked the struggle for African American civil rights. NOMAS submitted a funding proposal to the Ford Foundation, which resulted in Ford financing the first national study of Mexican Americans conducted by academics from the University of California, Los Angeles.

A portion of this grant was used to hire three Mexican American activists—Ernesto Galarza, Herman Gallegos, and Julian Samora—to study the social experiences of Mexican American communities throughout the southwest. The results of this study indicated that poverty constituted the greatest social barrier for Mexican Americans and that Mexican Americans needed a national civil rights lobbyist organization similar to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) or the National Urban League.

From this study emerged the Southwest Council of La Raza (SWCLR) in February 1968, the predecessor of the NCLR. The SWCLR established its headquarters in Phoenix, Arizona, and devoted much of its early attention to establishing and maintaining partnerships with local grassroots Mexican American organizations, increasing voter registration and political participation among Mexican Americans, and promoting housing and economic empowerment initiatives within the Mexican American community. The organization expanded its focus considerably in 1972, when it relocated its headquarters to Washington, D.C., and changed its name to the National Council of La Raza.

The NCLR revised its rules in 1973 to require relatively equal representation of men and women on its board of directors. In 1974, civil rights activist Raúl Yzaguirre became the organization's executive director. Under Yzaguirre's leadership, NCLR transitioned from a Mexican American-based advocacy organization to a national civil

rights organization for Latinos as a whole. Yzaguirre's emphasis on Latino pan-ethnicity necessitated the cultivation of social and political relationships with Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and members of other Latino backgrounds, and the NCLR took steps to ensure that its board of directors included representation from each of the major Latino ethnic populations of the United States.

Annual Conference and Awards

The NCLR hosts a national, four-day conference each summer, consisting of workshops, town hall discussions, an awards gala, and keynote speakers. The conference brings together the national leadership with that of regional field offices, partners, and affiliates, and participants discuss important Latino policy issues of the day, as well as setting the organization's agenda for the following fiscal year. The size and scope of the conference have grown extensively over the years, mirroring the growth of the Latino population of the United States.

Previous keynote speakers include Vice President Joe Biden (2012), President Barack Obama (2011), and Senator John McCain (2004). The NCLR also presents a series of awards during the conference, including the Graciela Olivares La Raza Award (for significant contributions in promoting Latino issues), the Maclovio Barraza Leadership Award (for leadership in the Latino community), the Ruben Salazar Award for Communications (for accurate and positive portrayals of Latinos), and the Roberto Clemente Award for Sports Excellence (for an outstanding Latino athlete who has contributed to the advancement of the Latino community).

In addition, the NCLR hosts an annual ALMA Awards ceremony. Established in 1995, the ALMA Awards recognize outstanding Latino contributions toward American pop culture in television, film, and music. The NCLR sees the ALMA Awards ceremony as central to its larger mission of countering stereotypes of Latinos in American society and promoting diversity and the inclusion of Latinos within the entertainment industry.

Actress and activist Eva Longoria and comedian George Lopez hosted the 2012 ALMA Awards, with Mexican American Diego Boneta winning the "Favorite Movie Actor" award for his role in *Rock of Ages*, and Puerto Rican-Dominican American Zoe Saldana capturing the "Favorite

Movie Actress” award for her role in *Colombiana*. Cuban American hip-hop star Pitbull earned the ALMA Award for “Favorite Male Music Artist,” with Puerto Rican singer/actress Naya Rivera winning “Favorite Female Music Artist.” Chicano Comedian Richard “Cheech” Marin captured the ALMA for “Outstanding Career Achievement—Writing.” In effect, the ALMA Awards serve as a Latino Oscar and Emmy Awards ceremony.

Conservative Criticism

In recent years, several conservative figures have attempted to discredit the NCLR and its activities on the basis of the organization’s name. Specifically, the incorporation of the phrase *la raza* has drawn the wrath of those on the right, because of a misunderstanding over the meaning of this phrase. In Mexican dialects of Spanish, *la raza* is popular slang for “the people” or “the community,” but critics of the NCLR and anti-immigrant activists have used the term’s literal meaning (“the race”) to suggest that the organization harbors an antiwhite agenda.

Anti-immigrant organizations have accused the NCLR of allegedly promoting illegal immigration and supporting the conspiracy theory of a “Mexican *reconquista*” whereby Mexican migrants settle in the southwestern United States in order to one day return the territory to Mexico. The NCLR has never advocated such a position. Nevertheless, the late Georgia congressman Charles Norwood expressed opposition to federal earmarking of funds for NCLR activities in 2005, prompting the organization to issue Norwood a statement explaining its programming.

Former Colorado congressman Tom Tancredo, a conservative Republican and outspoken critic of illegal immigration, accused the NCLR of being a hate group during a May 2009 interview with CNN, in which Tancredo suggested that Sonia Sotomayor, a Puerto Rican and the first Latina nominated as a U.S. Supreme Court justice, was unsuitable to serve because of her affiliation with NCLR. Specifically, Tancredo accused NCLR of being “a Latino KKK [Ku Klux Klan] without the hoods or the nooses.” Former CNN anchor Lou Dobbs, who routinely spoke against illegal immigration on his nightly program *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, has referred to the NCLR and other Latino civil rights organizations as “ethnocentric.”

On October 1, 2008, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Department of Justice prosecuted a North Carolina man, Christopher Szaz, for civil rights violations directed toward the NCLR. Szaz pleaded guilty to e-mailing an explicit death threat to the organization’s staff members in which he referred to Latinos using a racial epithet. His e-mail also threatened to kill NCLR staffers. Szaz was sentenced to 45 days in federal prison and required to perform 100 hours of community service. Janet Murguía described this incident as part of a larger national trend of increased hate speech and hate against Latinos as an outgrowth of extremist rhetoric invoked in debates on immigration policy.

Legacy

The NCLR’s lasting contribution to U.S. multiculturalism is its milestone as the first national Latino civil rights and advocacy organization. Its advocacy work has ensured that Latino communities throughout the United States have a voice within policy debates at the federal level. The NCLR’s focus on nonpartisanship has enabled it to consult with Democratic and Republican presidential administrations on issues of concern to many Latinos across the United States.

The creation of the ALMA Awards as an effort to promote positive images of Latinos in the entertainment industry is socially significant, given that the NCLR has sharply criticized commonplace media depictions of Latinos throughout the years.

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See Also: Hispanic Americans; Mexican Americans; Politics and Ethnic Diversity.

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National Council of Negro Women

Although the period from the 1880s through the Great Depression has been called the Progressive Era, for many African Americans it represented a nadir—a steep decline in African Americans’ overall political agency and economic mobility in the southern United States. Despite these challenges, the urban African American elite actively pursued civic reform projects meant to intervene against the deleterious effects of racism. Progressive reform movements also emerged as the primary means through which African American women gained access to both an emerging black political sphere and the public sphere more broadly.

One of the most visible black women’s reform organizations was the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), which perhaps best exemplifies the spirit and impact of black women’s reform activism. The NCNW was founded in 1935 in Washington, D.C., under the direction of Mary McCloud Bethune, with the express purpose of “directing Negro women to greater economic, social, educational and cultural development on the national and international levels.”

Mary McLeod Bethune

One of the nation’s most prominent education reform advocates, Bethune had been a leading figure in black women’s reform activism in the early decades of the 20th century. Before founding the NCNW, Bethune in 1924 became the president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). The NACW and the many black women’s clubs linked to it represented a reform ethos that emphasized moral and spiritual uplift of working-class, poor, and undereducated African Americans. As a result, black reform efforts were built upon the tenuous financing that African Americans could raise from the small cadre of black elites and the smaller set of sympathetic whites.

While at the NACW, Bethune recognized that black civic groups needed to align themselves with the federal government’s antipoverty efforts in order to ensure a more secure line of funding and to place social problems facing black people, and black women in particular, on the national



Mary McLeod Bethune at Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1943. Bethune founded the college as well as the National Council of Negro Women.

agenda. This spirit animated Bethune’s decision to relocate the NACW to Washington, D.C., and in 1935 to start the National Council of Negro Women in the same city.

The NCNW became an essential clearinghouse for dozens of black women’s club organizations from around the nation and the first lobbying group devoted to promoting the interest of black women in the nation’s capital. In the mid-1930s, the NCNW began to fund and publish a series of quantitative studies that documented how racism and sexism collaborated to limit the potential for black women to escape poverty. With a particular emphasis on education, health care, labor conditions, and housing, NCNW studies were among the only federally recognized research on the black women’s experience that was generated by African American, rather than white, investigators.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the NCNW formed important coalitions with interracial Christian women’s service groups, in particular the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). The collaboration between interracial service groups offered a generation of black women activist leaders the opportunities to

launch activist and political careers. The NCNW also worked diligently to promote black community engagement throughout the nation. Under Bethune's leadership, the NCNW opened up a number of health, education, and social service centers specifically targeted toward black women.

Dorothy Height

In 1957, Dorothy Height, who had been personally mentored by Bethune, was elected president of the NCNW. Height's election pushed the conservative NCNW's reformist approach to civil rights into active engagement with the emerging southern struggle against Jim Crow laws. Height's close personal relationship to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., afforded her a leadership position within the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and, in turn, she deployed the resources of the NCNW in service to SCLC initiatives. In 1964, NCNW representatives traveled to Mississippi after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in order to help black women understand their new rights and privileges, particularly in regard to public assistance and education.

The relationship between the NCNW and presidential administrations at times produced inadvertent collusions with problematic federal programs and initiatives. For example, the NCNW's testimony and research were an important component of the evidence used to back up Daniel Patrick Moynihan's controversial report on the Negro family, which emphasized black cultural pathology rather than structural racism as the source of instability within black family relations.

Despite the NCNW's continued appeal to the national political parties as representatives of "black women," the radicalization of the black freedom movement and black women's mounting interest in black feminist and feminist ideology from the mid-1960s into the 1970s reframed the NCNW as a moderate, "respectable" black institution. At times, the NCNW's continued emphasis on Progressive Era-style moral reform seemed out of step with the scale of urban problems facing African American inner-city residents in the 1980s. Under Height's firm leadership, the NCNW reorganized itself in the 1990s, specializing in health issues, particularly human immunodeficiency virus and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS). The organization

celebrated its 75th anniversary in 2010 and continued to be a powerful voice for black women's issues at the dawn of the 21st century.

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See Also: African Americans; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; National Congress of Black Women; Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

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National Hispanic Media Coalition

The National Hispanic Media Coalition (NHMC) is a nonprofit civil rights organization aimed at creating program equity throughout the Hispanic entertainment industry. The NHMC advocates telecommunication policies that benefit Hispanics and other people of color. According to the 2010 U.S. census, "Hispanic refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race."

More than half of the increase in the total population of the United States between 2000 and 2010 was the result of the increase in the Hispanic population, and this important community is still largely invisible in the media. Today, Hispanic Americans are the largest ethnic populations in the United States. The NHMC believes that in order for the media to advance Latino employment and program equity in the Hispanic

community, Hispanics must be employed at all levels of the media industry, with special emphasis on programming and policy-making positions.

In 2012, the NHMC released a national poll providing data that showed that media portrayals of Hispanic Americans are producing negative stereotypes among the general population that are diminishing perceptions of the Latino population throughout the United States.

History

The NHMC was established in Los Angeles in 1986 in an effort to increase the Latino representation in local news. At this time, KCBS-TV did not include any Latinos, despite the fact that 32 percent of the local population was estimated to be Hispanic. Today, the NHMC's headquarters is located in Pasadena, California, with a second office in Washington, D.C. The NHMC is a national organization with smaller chapters located across the nation. In 1990, it challenged the license renewals of 24 Texas radio stations.

The complaints resulted in the launching of one of the most widespread reviews of broadcast hiring practices by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The FCC reports that the NHMC has filed over 50 petitions to deny television and radio stations licenses across the nation in instances where Hispanic Latinos were inadequately represented and FCC rules and laws were violated.

After several years of working with several organizations toward a Local Community Radio Act, the bill was successfully passed in December 2010. This was one of the biggest accomplishments for the NHMC in that it was the first time that the media reform movement had succeeded in passing a bill in Congress. A year later, in 2011, the NHMC celebrated its 25th anniversary.

The NHMC reported, in addition, the following accomplishments in 2011: fighting hate speech in media; promoting positive stories of Latinos in media; giving voice to Latinos on media policy issues in Washington, D.C.; promoting media ownership diversity; opening doors for the next generation of Latinos; empowering local communities; and recognizing talent and champions.

Issues

The NHMC continues to focus on a number of issues across the country in an effort to expand

the future of the Hispanic community in the media. The Hispanic population comprises over 16 percent of the U.S. population but owns only 1.1 percent of television stations and 2 percent of radio stations. The NHMC continues to fight hate speech in the media: it defines hate speech as speech that creates a climate of hate or prejudice, which may in turn foster the commission of hate crimes.

According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), an annual average of 195,000 hate crime victimizations occur each year to persons above the age of 12 years in the United States. Hate speech in the media can have a negative impact on the Latin community. The NHMC's purpose is focused on decreasing violent verbal and visual rhetoric.

In the 1920s, commercial radio began to serve the public as a way to inform and entertain. This is still true today, as 93 percent of Americans are reached each week by information and entertainment on the radio. As numbers continue to increase, news talk radio is now the predominant radio format in the United States. The United States continues to focus on the impact this has on the American public.

The NHMC reports that hate groups and hate crimes have spiked, and hate radio's popularity continues to rise. Moreover, the NHMC highlights the dangers of American hate radio on the Latino community in the United States.

In 2011, the NHMC produced a study that examined hate speech in the media, including comments on the future of media and information needs of communities in a digital age. The findings in the study reported 148 instances of speech targeting a vulnerable group, 42 unsubstantiated claims, 13 instances of divisive language, and 101 terms related to political nativism. The report concluded that the recent rise in hate crimes could be an effect of highly volatile media.

The reality is that the United States no longer has a fairness doctrine that requires broadcasters in the media to provide equal air time to different perspectives. In an effort to diversify the media in terms of leadership and employment, the NHMS monitors and reports on diversity efforts of several television and radio stations in the United States. Furthermore, the NHMC continues to educate individuals and organizations

on how to include more diverse voices in their media.

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See Also: Hate Crimes; Hate Speech; Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, U.S.; Hispanic/Latino Categorization (Essay); Multiracial Movement.

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National Indian Youth Council

The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) was formed in 1961. Upon its founding, its membership consisted of a new generation of American Indian college students and recent college graduates determined to change the course of American Indian affairs. As a youth movement, the NIYC represented a voice of dissent. It challenged elected tribal officials and organizations such as the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), believing that the established voices of the period did not recognize the depth and breadth of the challenges that faced American Indians.

The NIYC focused on taking a strong stand on issues relating to the continuance of tribalism and American Indian sovereignty. During the civil rights movement, the NIYC shared commonalities

in its style of activism with other youth movements, but its purpose remained largely centered on treaty-based rights and issues of tribal sovereignty. Through its protests such as the "fish-ins" in the Pacific northwest in the early to mid-1960s and its powerful campaigns, the NIYC became a new force in the fight for the rights of American Indians across the nation.

Many of the NIYC's founding members first joined together in the late 1950s and early 1960s through the Southwest Indian Youth Council and the Workshop on American Indian Affairs. At institutions such as the University of New Mexico and the University of Colorado, hundreds of American Indian students and graduates came together at annual meetings and workshops designed to address the current state of Indian affairs. These meetings enabled participants to share their disillusionment with the lack of progress made toward self-determination. Their criticism focused on the slow pace at which American Indians were taking control of their own affairs through their current leaders. For this young group of activists coming of age, the American Indian Chicago Conference of 1961 strengthened their resolve to push forward with an agenda that called for taking control of all aspects of Indian affairs. At this conference, a core group of young American Indians formed the Chicago Conference Youth Council that quickly became the NIYC.

In 1961, the Workshop on American Indian Affairs at the University of Colorado–Boulder reconvened those who attended the American Indian Chicago Conference and gathered new members. Mel Thom (Paiute), Clyde Warrior (Ponca), Herbert Blatchford (Navajo), Joan Noble (Ute), and Shirley Hill Witt (Mohawk) were among the early core group of American Indians who composed the NIYC's leadership. The NIYC pressed for a radical shift from what it viewed as a passive approach to enacting change. For the NIYC, the issues of American Indian sovereignty, treaty rights, and self-determination could no longer be left to legal action and pressing politicians for reform. Direct action in the form of protests and demonstrations would be the NIYC's course. In taking such a direction, the NIYC broke from what tribal officials and established American Indian organizations considered acceptable means for addressing grievances.

The “fish-ins” of the mid-1960s represented the type of protest-confrontation activism that the NIYC organized and supported to call attention to its concerns. Based on the name of the “sit-in” protests in which African Americans civilly disobeyed segregation diners and challenged other injustices, the fish-in protests highlighted the violation of treaty-based fishing rights.

Many historians view the fish-ins as the beginning of the Red Power movement whereby American Indians engaged in direct action for the sake of their cause. American Indians fished in coastal waters, rivers, and lakes of the Pacific northwest in violation of federal and state laws because they claimed that treaties guaranteed their rights to fish such waters.

The NIYC’s demonstrations and protests, in collaboration with other organizations such as the Survival of American Indians Association, led to arrests that attracted attention in the media. Through this method, the NIYC helped bring an awareness of the plight of American Indians and the legacy of broken treaties to a national audience in newspapers of record such as the *New York Times*. In some instances, the restoration of treaty rights brought about a successful outcome for the protesters. As membership in the NIYC continued to grow throughout this period, the organization united a young generation of American Indians from around the country.

The NIYC gained a more significant national presence by the mid-1960s. In 1964, NIYC leaders attended the American Indian Capitol Conference on Poverty and challenged what they considered to be paternalistic antipoverty programs that failed to give American Indians the power to make decisions for their own communities. Through its efforts, the NIYC brought a focus to the poverty of American Indians and the necessity of American Indian control of community programs, resources, and monies under the Lyndon Johnson administration’s War on Poverty initiatives. The poverty of American Indians across the country presented the NIYC with a steadfast mission to direct policy toward empowering American Indian communities.

For the NIYC, antipoverty initiatives lacked the direction and involvement of American Indians, and the call for self-determination was made. The NIYC joined the Poor People’s Campaign

in 1968 to bring about even more awareness of American Indian poverty and the need for community-directed programs. The development of community action programs directed by American Indians for schools, job training, and economic development came as a result of the NIYC’s activism. Moreover, the NIYC gave momentum to a new era of American Indian activism and laid the foundation for future organizations such as the American Indian Movement to continue the fight for sovereignty rights and self-determination.

The NIYC continues as an organization in Albuquerque, New Mexico. It celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2011. As the second-oldest continuing American Indian organization, the NIYC works at the local and national levels, striving to protect the legal rights of all American Indians and to provide economic development opportunities to local areas.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; Civil Rights Movement; National Congress of American Indians.

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National Museum of the American Indian

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), a division of the Smithsonian Institution, is the first national museum devoted to the American Indian. Designed in consultation with and run by indigenous peoples, the NMAI

promotes knowledge and understanding of contemporary and historical Native cultures in the Western Hemisphere. The NMAI's collection represents over 1,200 indigenous groups and spans 12,000 years. The NMAI recognizes that Native American tribal groups have a vested interest in the interpretation and management of the objects in the collection.

The NMAI operates under the concept of stewardship, rather than ownership, in which the NMAI cares for objects that belong to others. Native American leaders play a pivotal role in the management, display, and interpretation of the museum's collections. With over 800,000 objects, the NMAI has one of the largest collections of Native American art and artifacts in the world.

In 1989, the U.S. Congress passed the National Museum of the American Indian Act (Public Law 101-185). The law established the National Museum of the American Indian and required the Smithsonian Institution to consider repatriating human remains and burial objects in the institution's museum collections. The law was enacted as the result of a Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs investigation into museum

collections of Native American human remains at the Smithsonian in 1986.

It was revealed that over 40 percent of the Smithsonian's anthropological holdings were skeletal remains of American Indians. The announcement caused public outcry and led Native American groups to push for repatriation of the remains and associated objects. Another suggestion was to rebury the remains in Washington, D.C., with an accompanying memorial on the National Mall.

Because the remaining space on the National Mall was reserved for the Smithsonian Institution, the idea to build a museum devoted to the American Indian was born. Since its founding, the NMAI has had only two directors: W. Richard West, Jr., a member of the Southern Cheyenne, served as founding director from 1990 to 2007, and Kevin Gover, of the Pawnee Nation, was named director in 2007.

The NMAI was preceded by the Museum of the American Indian, founded in 1922 by George Gustav Heye (1874–1957) in New York City to house his personal collection of indigenous objects from North and South America. Over a



The National Museum of the American Indian is a division of the Smithsonian Institution and has three locations. Its collection represents more than 1,200 indigenous groups and spans 12,000 years. This 2010 view of the museum grounds shows tepees and other examples of Native American shelters in the foreground, with the dome of the U.S. Capitol in the background.

50-year period, Heye amassed a collection of over 800,000 objects.

Heye served as director of the Museum of the American Indian until 1956. In 1989, after decades of financial troubles that dated back to the Great Depression and decreasing attendance, the Heye collection was transferred to the Smithsonian, where it became part of the NMAI collection. The NMAI has three physical outposts—a museum on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. (opened September 2004), and two satellite locations—the Gustav Heye Center (GHC) in New York City (opened 1994) and the Cultural Resources Center (CRC) in Suitland, Maryland (opened 1999). The NMAI utilizes its Web site, the quarterly journal *American Indian*, traveling exhibitions, and community outreach programs as a “fourth museum.”

Objects from all tribes located in the United States, the majority of Canadian tribes, and a large number of South and Central American tribal groups can be found in the museum’s collection, which includes art and artifacts, a large photographic archive, a media archive of film and other audiovisual materials, and a paper archive with records documenting the history of the NMAI and its predecessor, the Museum of the American Indian. The NMAI organizes museum and traveling exhibitions of the collection on historical and contemporary themes for display at the National Mall location and the GHC in New York.

Cultivating Cultural Understanding

By exposing viewers to the breadth of Native American cultural production throughout history, the exhibits are designed to cultivate cultural understanding and appreciation. The ongoing exhibits at the Washington location—“Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identity,” “Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories,” and “Our Universes: Traditional Knowledge Shapes Our World”—illustrate the NMAI’s commitment to giving voice to the Native American communities. In addition to its exhibition program, the NMAI organizes a biennial Native American Film + Video Festival, hosts regular musical and dance performances, and presents lectures that are open to the public.

Objects not on display are housed at the CRC in Maryland, where they are organized by tribal origin rather than by object type. This offers

tribal researchers easy access to the collections and ensures that they are able to work with the collections without coming upon sensitive materials. Whereas the NMAI on the National Mall and the GHC are used for exhibitions and other programming, the CRC is home to the NMAI library and conservation, research, repatriation, and curatorial facilities, in addition to the photo and paper archives. The CRC is home to the NMAI’s community and educational outreach programs.

Both the National Mall museum and the CRC were built in consultation with Native American designers to reflect cultural values and aesthetics. Both buildings illustrate the Native American approach to architecture, which stresses the relationship between the built and the natural environments and includes celestial referents.

The five-story museum on the National Mall is covered in sand-colored limestone chosen to simulate natural rock formations. The surrounding landscaping is designed to emulate wetlands. Following tradition, the building faces east, toward the rising sun, and the dome is open to the sky. Even the museum’s cafeteria is engineered to further understanding and appreciation of Native American cultures. The café serves traditional and contemporary indigenous cuisine from throughout the Western Hemisphere. Through all its architecture, activities, exhibitions, and research, the NMAI illustrates the breadth and diversity of Native American culture in the Western Hemisphere.

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See Also: National Congress of American Indians; Native Americans; Repatriation Program.

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National Negro Business League

Booker T. Washington (1856–1915) and a small group of men and women founded the National Negro Business League (NNBL) in 1900 in Boston, Massachusetts. The NNBL was formally incorporated in 1901 in New York City. Washington served as the NNBL president while concurrently serving as the first principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama from 1888 until his death in 1915. The NNBL is the nation's oldest business and trade association, as it preceded the U.S. Chamber of Commerce by 12 years. The impetus behind the founding of the league was Washington's belief that the African American community could rise above racism only through successful business ownership and economic self-sufficiency, and this had to be done through a coordinated effort. As a result, hundreds of NNBL chapters were formed across the United States to encourage economic prosperity and commercial success among their members.

To qualify for membership in the NNBL, a man or woman only needed to be a good and upstanding citizen within his or her own community. Members of the league included successful African American businessmen and businesswomen, attorneys, craftspeople, doctors, farmers, other professionals, and those interested in starting their own businesses. This was an opportunity to grow the middle class. National Negro Business League chapters were formed at state and local levels and were primarily located in the south, though they were also located throughout the midwest, northeast, and far west. With a nationwide constituency, creating and maintaining business directories for all major U.S. cities was an important part of the league's goal of fostering commercial growth and development. The directories inventoried all businesses and included African American contacts in a variety of business sectors.

The mission of the NNBL was to encourage entrepreneurial endeavors while supporting existing African American-owned businesses. Agriculture, education, finance, industry, and other commercial and professional ventures were the focus of the league. It was well known that Washington believed that African Americans should pay more

attention to entrepreneurship and business success and spend less time on the direct pursuit of civil rights. Washington theorized that the business and financial success found by members of the league would translate into acceptance by whites and segue into political and economic power.

Ironically, the NNBL received financial support from prominent white businessmen such as Andrew Carnegie, self-made steel tycoon and philanthropist; Julius Rosenwald of Sears Roebuck and Company; and Postmaster General John Wanamaker, also a department store magnate and banker. However, including whites was part of Washington's overall vision for interracial business partnerships; these men and others not only provided economic support and mentoring but also participated in the NNBL's annual business meetings.

Library of Congress topics related to prosperity and thrift indicate that the league joined with other established promoters of business development, such as the Association of National Advertisers and the J. Walter Thompson & Company advertising agency in New York. The league also maintained an informal connection with the prestigious Associated Advertising Clubs of the World; its manager, Carl Hunt, served as a contact person for the NNBL. Supportive advertising organizations instructed African American businesspeople in the new and effective advertising techniques that could be used to publicize black businesses to African Americans as well as to the larger American society.

Women in Business

Madame C. J. Walker served as a role model for African American women and men as an entrepreneur and highly successful businesswoman of the time. Madame Walker achieved the status of being the first African American female millionaire in the United States. Walker was a speaker at an NNBL annual conference and stated her commitment to providing jobs and supporting the education of women so they could empower themselves in creating their own businesses. Roles during this time were limited, but Walker, who did not have a formal education, felt that through self-help and hard work, success could be achieved.

The roles for African American women, excluding those of fieldworker or sharecropper during

this period, were specific, as noted by the curriculum outlined for them at the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. Education in home economics, dressmaking, weaving, and other handcrafts were the areas in which women were expected to train. While enrolled at the institute, women were encouraged to use these very skills to create their own businesses and were instructed in the ways of business formation.

Washington's support of women in leadership roles is also indicated by the appointment of two of his wives in leadership roles at the Tuskegee Institute. Olivia America Davidson (1854–89), Washington's second wife, was a Hampton graduate whom he married in 1885. Davidson actually assisted with the establishment of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute with Washington and served as assistant principal. In 1892, after Davidson's death, he married Margaret James Murray (1865–1925), who served as lady principal. Murray also ran a separate business.

New Leadership

After Washington's death, the NNBL was presided over by Robert R. Moton (1867–1940), who was also named principal of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. During the 1920s, the league's leaders also included Albon L. Holsey, executive secretary; John L. Webb, treasurer; and C. C. Spaulding, chairman of the executive committee.

Though the influence of the National Negro Business League has declined since its heyday in the early half of the 20th century, the organization still exists today. The NNBL was reincorporated in Washington, D.C., in 1966 and renamed the National Business League (NBL). It is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, with a second office in Washington, D.C. In continuing the work of Washington, the National Business League established the Booker T. Washington Foundation in 1967 as a public, nonprivate operating foundation to serve as the research and development arm of the organization.



Members of the executive committee of the National Negro Business League, including Booker T. Washington (front, second from left), in an undated photograph from the early 20th century. The league, which is older than the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, continues to promote economic enterprise and financial literacy for African Americans today.

In 1974, the NBL established the National Student Business League as its collegiate division. The National Business League continues to promote economic enterprise and financial literacy for African Americans throughout the United States and abroad through international trade with Africa and the African diaspora.

The best source for information related to the National Business League is the Library of Congress Manuscript Division's Coolidge Consumerism Division's section on African Americans and the Consumer Economy and Lexis Nexis Black Studies Research Sources. The papers of both Booker T. Washington and Robert R. Moton can be found there.

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See Also: NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; National Rainbow Coalition/PUSH; Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

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and disparity as they pertained to the Puerto Rican community. When it was first established, the NPRF demonstrated a clear departure from previous Puerto Rican organizations that served primarily to promote political and cultural links to the island. The forum innovated in terms of ethnicity-oriented organizations by promoting an agenda aimed at eliminating problems associated with urban poverty and establishing a focus on the future of the Puerto Rican community.

Background

Puerto Ricans are the second-largest Latino group in the United States and make up 9 percent of the country's total Latino population. New York City is the home of the largest Puerto Rican community in the United States, with Chicago as the second-largest Puerto Rican population center. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, there were 3,725,789 individuals on the island of Puerto Rico.

The largest migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland United States occurred following World War II. During this period, almost 2 million people emigrated from Puerto Rico. This immigration is thought to have been caused primarily by the abundance of well-paying jobs on the mainland and a lack of such jobs on the island.

Within a decade of establishing themselves in their new homes, Puerto Rican immigrants began to organize social welfare and other activist associations with the purpose of improving their community. Since a significant number of individuals in the community had decided to live permanently on the mainland and make the best of their situation, a desire developed to improve existing neighborhoods and move to better neighborhoods; this would be the salvation of the Puerto Rican communities in New York and Chicago. Issues of concern to those first individuals interested in advancing the Puerto Rican community included increasing emphasis on education and eliminating housing discrimination, overcrowding, and police brutality.

Interethnic hostility and issues surrounding economic disparity were also major factors in the founding of these organizations. Economic suffering was not universal among Puerto Rican immigrants; in fact, some economically well-off individuals did come from the island, and a degree of

National Puerto Rican Forum

The National Puerto Rican Forum (NPRF) was an organization that advocated for Puerto Ricans and other members of the Latino community, primarily in New York and Chicago. The forum was founded in 1957 and designed and implemented programs in job training and teaching English as a second language. The organization also researched poverty, crime, settling patterns,

social mobility did exist. However, the majority of immigrants were in the working class or poor. Interethnic tensions were caused in large part by Puerto Rican families moving into neighborhoods that were already populated by other ethnic groups, primarily Italian Americans and Irish Americans. Much of this hostility was expressed in the streets by youth gangs, and these conflicts were the basis for the musical *West Side Story*. However, the stories that played out in the streets of New York were not quite as lighthearted.

Founding and Activities of the National Puerto Rican Forum

The National Puerto Rican Forum, originally the Hispanic American Youth Association (HAYA), was founded in 1957. The organization was based in New York City and has served the Puerto Rican and Latino communities in a wide scope of areas, with a primary focus on education. The organization committed to improving the socioeconomic conditions of Latinos and other minorities through career counseling, employment training, job placement, adult basic education, technology training, and medical advocacy.

At its peak, the NPRF served as an incubator for organizations and programs promoting economic self-sufficiency in the Puerto Rican and larger Latino communities. The forum additionally served the Latino community by advocating for meaningful employment that paid a living wage and led to self-sufficiency and dignity. Furthermore, the forum was an approved provider of education services in the state of New York, offering tutoring during the school year.

To a student of social services, the NPRF may not look like a unique organization. However, it was among the first to enact a future-focused vision for the Puerto Rican community. When it started its education programs, the forum filled a critical hole at a time when most organizations were only concerned with the preservation of traditional culture. The National Puerto Rican Forum was concerned with bettering the lives of Puerto Ricans living in the United States.

Key to the organization's founding was Antonia Pantoja, an educator, social worker, feminist, and civil rights leader. In 1957, she served as one of the key members in transitioning the Hispanic American Youth Association into the National

Puerto Rican Forum. She would move on in 1961 to found ASPIRA.

Inheritors of the Forum's Legacy

By 2012, the National Puerto Rican Forum was not as active as it once was, and it primarily served in an educational training capacity. Most of the forum's legacy is currently being sustained by an organization it helped create called ASPIRA (Spanish for aspire). ASPIRA's stated mission is "to empower the Puerto Rican and Latino community through advocacy and the education and leadership development of its youth." To further its goal of promoting education, ASPIRA regularly seeks public and private funds. Although it was once focused primarily in New York and Chicago, today ASPIRA serves Puerto Ricans wherever they live in large numbers.

ASPIRA seeks to promote education, self-esteem, cultural awareness, and leadership abilities in the Puerto Rican community. The organization provides educational opportunities for youth, including programs in math, science, driving safety, reading, and AIDS awareness. It also provides adult education programs, including those that promote professional development and provide information on college resources, as well as other activities that increase career awareness.

In addition to education, ASPIRA advocates for Puerto Ricans in political issues (including gang and youth violence, health, education, voting rights, and media issues) and legislative issues (including education, crime prevention, and economic empowerment).

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See Also: English as a Second Language Education; Ethnic Studies; Latinos; Nuyoricans; Puerto Ricans; *West Side Story*.

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National Rainbow Coalition/PUSH

The roots of the National Rainbow Coalition/PUSH can be traced to Operation Breadbasket, the organization launched by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1962. Its purpose was to harness collective purchasing power to create economic opportunities in African American communities.

Operation Breadbasket expanded to Chicago in 1966, with Jesse Jackson at its head. Jackson became national director of the group a year later. When tension developed between Jackson and Ralph Abernathy, who had moved into the leadership position at the SCLC, Jackson resigned and founded People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), a separate economic empowerment organization, in 1971.

After Jackson's first presidential campaign in 1984, he launched the National Rainbow Coalition to unite African Americans and other disadvantaged groups to work for political equity and opportunity. In 1996, the National Rainbow Coalition and Operation PUSH, which had undergone a name change to People United to Serve Humanity, merged to form the Rainbow PUSH Coalition with international headquarters in Chicago.

When Jackson left the SCLC and founded PUSH, he initially continued to use the same strategies to advance economic opportunity that he had used in directing Operation Breadbasket, but he later developed strategies that were particular to PUSH. Control, reciprocity, and parity were the concepts undergirding Jackson's plans. He felt that African Americans could control their own economic destiny if they understood how to use the resources they already possessed.

Gaining that control required reciprocity, which Jackson defined as a mutually beneficial

relationship with American corporations and financial institutions. Parity required that the African American community receive an equitable return on their investments. To achieve these objectives, Jackson devised a "Marshall Plan for African Americans." The plan could succeed only if Jackson could convince major corporations to finance it. His strategy called for selecting companies that sold products that African Americans were known to consume in substantial numbers.

If requests for contracts, deposits, and employment opportunities went unmet, Operation PUSH would organize a boycott. He intended the plan to benefit not only African American businesses but also African American bankers, lawyers, publishers, janitors, and garbage collectors. Jackson targeted not just individual corporations but also international chains and even entire industries.

By 1974, Operation PUSH had agreements with General Foods, Avon Products, the Joseph Schlitz Company, Quaker Oats, and Miller Brewing, in addition to an African American-Hispanic agreement with the Southland Corporation. A "Don't Choke on Coke" boycott against Coca-Cola led to a \$34 million agreement between PUSH and the Atlanta-based company that the Jackson camp called historic. Coke also agreed to appoint 32 African American wholesalers within the year, to lend \$1.5 million to African American entrepreneurs entering the beverage industry, and to name an African American to its board of directors. The first African American board member, Donald F. McHenry, was named in 1981.

In addition to economic initiatives, PUSH directed its energies toward social and political development using direct action campaigns, a weekly radio broadcast, and awards that honored prominent blacks in the United States and abroad. PUSH also developed reading programs for children and created PUSH Excel, a program that emphasized keeping inner-city youth in school while helping them to find jobs.

PUSH weakened in the 1980s as Jackson's attention was diverted to his political career. A boycott of Nike in protest against what PUSH leaders perceived to be illegal child labor practices proved unsuccessful when African

American celebrities and superstar athletes such as Spike Lee, Michael Jordan, and Bo Jackson, all of whom had financial links to Nike, failed to support the boycott.

Although the National Rainbow Coalition was not formally organized until after Jackson's first presidential campaign in 1984, the term and the policies were much in evidence in the campaign. In speeches, Jackson routinely called for a "rainbow coalition" of the disadvantaged from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds to work together to protect voting rights and affirmative action and to advocate social policies that had been largely dismissed during the Ronald Reagan years.

In his speech at the 1984 Democratic national convention in San Francisco, California, Jackson again used the rainbow coalition theme, urging the party to embrace Arab Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans as well as "small farmers, lesbians, gays, and disabled veterans." In 1986, at the National Rainbow Coalition's first annual convention in Washington, D.C., Jackson urged that teachers and labor unions unite with the multiethnic group. The Rainbow Coalition gave structure to his second bid for the presidency, in which he proved that his politics of inclusion and pluralism had appeal across color lines.

In 1996, Jackson moved to merge the two organizations he had founded. The emphases of Operation PUSH on economic advancement, education, jobs, and self-sufficiency was a logical fit with the Rainbow Coalition's agenda of political empowerment for the groups most affected by the social changes Operation PUSH was working to achieve. Pooling resources would increase the efficiency and effectiveness of both organizations.

Under the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, general programs focus on education, voter registration, and public policy issues. Restricting access to guns and opposing voter identification laws received strong emphasis in 2012. Economic programs are the work of the organization's International Trade Bureau and the Wall Street Project.

The International Trade Bureau is primarily concerned with providing opportunities for minority businesses. The Wall Street Project is concerned with the integration of African Americans and other minorities more fully into

executive-level positions in U.S. corporations and with the commitment of financial institutions to create opportunities to assist inner-city and rural communities in generating jobs and income. The group was instrumental in convincing Freddie Mac to designate more than \$1 billion in loans for minority home buyers in 2000. The Wall Street Project has been credited with increasing the number of minorities and women on corporate boards.

As of 2012, the organization, headquartered in Chicago, has offices in Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, and Oakland. Jesse Jackson has survived scandals, financial and moral, and continues to lead the organization he founded.

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See Also: African Americans; Multiracial Movement; National Negro Business League; Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League.

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National Urban League

The National Urban League began as an interracial organization that focused on employment and socioeconomic issues in urban communities. Ruth Baldwin and George Edmund Hayes founded the National Urban League (NUL) with

the merger of two organizations on September 29, 1910, in New York. Baldwin was the widow of William H. Baldwin, Jr., a philanthropist from the railroad industry. Haynes was an alumnus of Fisk University and Columbia University. The consolidation of two grassroots organizations, the Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes and the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, led to the creation of NUL. Both of these earlier groups were established in 1906.

Since this group of social activists and philanthropists established themselves, the world has experienced significant societal change. In the early 20th century, especially from 1910 to 1930, over 1 million African Americans migrated from rural southern communities to find work and freedom in both midwestern and northern cities. In the early days, NUL worked with the African Americans who came north. This group battled both the segregated labor unions and rampant discrimination from slumlords in cities such as New York and Chicago. Over time, census records indicate that about 6 million people participated in the first and second waves of the Great Migration. The Urban League provided counseling and services that helped people get better jobs, housing, and education.

For 100 years, the Urban League has helped blacks and other minorities meet the demand for employment and lift their families out of the cycle of poverty. In 1910, the organization represented millions of blacks who fled the brutal Jim Crow system of racism in the southern states and ultimately found themselves dealing with a more subtle form of discrimination after relocating to the north. The league advocated for integration as well as economic and social justice for black Americans. The league also negotiated for better education and employment options for its constituents. For example, during the Great Depression, they lobbied for blacks to be included in federal relief programs, boycotted businesses that denied employment to blacks, and led the effort to desegregate labor unions.

In 1976, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., addressed the Annual Urban League Conference in a keynote speech proposing “a new bill of rights” for all Americans. Rights of blacks and other minority groups were broadly emphasized. He considered

the issues of the rights of all citizens to education, economic security, health, family stability, political representation, and safe communities.

Contemporary Issues

Today, the Urban League serves 2 million people annually. According to Marc Morial, the league’s president, record numbers of people seek help from the 98 affiliates that are spread across 38 states and the District of Columbia. Despite signs of an economic recovery in 2013, African Americans families continued to suffer from the recession of the early 2000s. Therefore, the Urban League remains focused on providing inner-city residents with better jobs, better housing, and better schools. The Urban League is known for its annual “State of Black America” report. Recently, its accompanying Equality Index has expanded to include Latinos for the first time in analysis of racial disparities.

Another important issue for the NUL leadership is how to remain relevant in the midst of a national perception of a “post-racial America.” The reality is that many believe that the current disparities in society are a function of class differences rather than racial differences, and this ideology has led to new strategies and initiatives within the organization. Although it still works to understand the most difficult issues that caused the deterioration of American inner cities, there are also new social and political issues to tackle as well. For example, a significant portion of the league’s current financial support comes from federal and corporate grants that focus on job training. The failure of the inner-city public school system has created a need to strengthen its focus on job training and education programs as an important safety net for millions of people living in communities with limited educational opportunities.

New Organizational Leadership

Morial, a former New Orleans mayor, began his leadership of the organization in 2005. His most important strategy was to recruit a younger generation of leaders from outside the organization to stay relevant. About 70 percent of the Urban League’s roughly 100-member national staff came aboard after Morial’s arrival, and half of the executives leading local affiliates have been in place less than five years. The organization

focused on its national image in order to clarify its role to the public. As the Urban League streamlined programs, its size and dues revenue have grown by 23 percent in the past five years. In 2010, the group's headquarters raised \$25 million in cash and garnered another \$14 million in free advertising. During this same period, the Urban League provides critical services to over 10 million people.

The centennial campaign included a national public-service campaign using social media networks to solicit millions of Americans to pledge their involvement in the fight for jobs, education, housing, and health care. The Urban League has also broadened its reach to serve Latinos as well as African Americans.

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See Also: African Americans; Latinos; Racism.

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Native American Church

The Native American Church (NAC) evolved from the Peyote religion, one of the most important religious developments in the post-contact history of North American Indians. For thousands of years, natives of northern Mexico have ingested

the peyote cactus, which grows wild in specific desert locales, for its medical and visionary properties. Consisting of two alkaloids—strychnine (producing short-term nausea, hunger cramps, and anxiety) and morphine (producing euphoria, colorful fantasies, and meditative relaxation for several hours)—peyote has long appealed to its consumers as a powerful source of religious experiences, and thus cultic activity grew around its use. Huichol Indians, for example, made regular pilgrimages to peyote-rich lands, engaging in dreamy ceremonials under peyote's influence.

In the 1800s, peyote use spread northward to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and coalesced into a religious complex with identifiable mythology, theology, ritual, leadership, paraphernalia, ethics, and organization. Espousing the unity of American Indian peoples, it featured the sacramental eating of peyote, often in combination with Christian aspects, including cross imagery, biblical references, devotion to Jesus, and moralistic concern for sinfulness.

The Peyote religion's myths of origin depicted peyote's power to save the lost, strengthen the sick, rejoin separated relatives, and promote peace. Its cosmology envisioned a spiritual world that pitied Indians and delivered supernatural aid through the peyote plant. Peyote thus provided the means of sustaining life, gaining grace, attaining insight, and establishing meaning. Peyotists viewed peyote as a compassionate, redemptive agent, bringing Indians into communion with their ultimate sources of existence.

Peyotism featured a comforting ritual, giving Indians opportunity to experience the holy directly by partaking of the divine cactus. During the all-night rituals, peyotists reinforced their sense of commonality as a people, exhorting each other to moral reformation and sharing Earth's plentitude. Ideally, the ceremonies took place in a tepee, surrounding an altar symbolizing the Peyote Road in the form of a crescent or cross, with a Chief Peyote button set in place and a fire in the center. The participants sat all night in a circle, swallowing peyote and contemplating their condition in reverential fervor. Toward morning, they ate a communal meal and shared their tales of peyote's benefits.

Peyotists attested to the thrilling sense of personal significance under peyote's effect. By



A Cheyenne peyote leader photographed in 1927 by Edward S. Curtis. The Native American Church and Peyote religion have survived decades of legal challenges. As of 2013, the church had as many as 300,000 followers in North America.

means of ordeal and exhilaration, peyote triggered a mystical experience, a perceived contact with awe-inspiring holiness that had the power to transform the peyotists through direct revelation. For them, peyote was a medicine, a food, and a spiritual sustenance that aided clairvoyance and overcame evil, leading to ethical regeneration. Peyotists testified to its enduring effects in everyday life, strengthening familial, tribal, and American Indian identities.

Peyotists exhibited evangelical zeal for their newly developed faith. As the Peyote religion spread across the western United States to more than 70 tribes, Christian and government agencies sought to stem its tide, terming peyote a dangerous drug and its use an incitement to immorality. Although no scientific evidence has been produced to demonstrate harmful or addictive effects of peyote, bureaucrats overseeing Indian reservations in the late 1800s and early 1900s prohibited

its use. Unable to convince the U.S. Congress to outlaw peyote traffic, more than a dozen states created anti-peyote legislation beginning in 1917.

To defend their religious rights, peyotists created church organizations with state charters. The most common name for these various institutions was Native American Church, such as one incorporated in Oklahoma in 1918. Before long, the NAC became the organizational nomenclature for all peyotism in the United States. The NAC became (and continues to be) the racial faith of American Indian nationhood.

Throughout the 20th century, state legislatures, Congress, courts, law enforcement officials, and NAC leaders jockeyed over peyotists' rights. By the time of the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) in 1978, the use of peyote in the NAC was permitted almost everywhere in the United States. In 1990, however, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Employment Division v. Smith* that the state of Oregon could interfere with peyotists' freedom of religion, even without proving a compelling state interest. NAC representatives, such as the Winnebago Reuben Snake, organized a coalition of Indian and non-Indian religionists to counter the Court's ruling, leading to several federal acts in the 1990s that strengthened peyotism's legal standing.

The Peyote religion has continued to grow, and today the NAC of North America (including Canada) has approximately 300,000 Indian adherents. Peyotism is embedded in Native American culture. It fosters pan-Indian bonds and ecumenical relations while expressing indigenous forms of spirituality. Peyotists regard its ethos as a guide amid social and economic distress, and they herald its repute in curing alcoholism.

Contemporary NAC members remain concerned about the threat of legal impingements. They also worry over future supplies of peyote, abundant in Mexico but illegal there. Peyoteros harvest nearly 2 million peyote buttons each year near Laredo, Texas, and ship them nationwide to NAC members, some of whom make pilgrimages to the peyote gardens, thus reaffirming their faith and replenishing their stock of the sacred substance.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Native American Languages Acts

In 1990, 1992, and 2006, the United States created legislation that collectively reversed a national policy of actively discriminating against Native American languages by ending such practices and by providing some financial resources for Native American communities to maintain and revitalize their indigenous heritage languages. This legislation was achieved through the unprecedented collaboration of political leaders, language activists, speakers of Native American languages, and professional linguists, and it is rightly viewed as an abandonment of a national goal of complete linguistic assimilation to standard English.

By recognizing the positive roles Native American languages provide, this legislation promotes a multicultural adaptation that encourages the maintenance and revitalization of Native American languages. Proponents of the legislation hail the explicit rejection of educational policies that deprecated and neglected Native American languages (as in educational institutions affecting the language socialization of generations of Native American children).

But its critics say that it is “too little, too late.” By the last decade of the 20th century, one-third of the more than 300 precontact Native American languages had already died. For the remaining 200

or so languages, only about 20 still have speakers in every generation, including the youngest generation. Because so many Native American languages are endangered, the comparatively small amount of funding this legislation provides may be viewed as more of a symbolic statement than a realistic allocation of resources designed to undo the harm of past policies.

As the first of this series of legislative acts, the Native American Languages Act of 1990, the title for Public Law 101-477, represents the most important historical repudiation of national policies that sought to eradicate Native American languages and replace them with English. This legislation called for a new policy that would “preserve, protect, and promote” Native American languages. This act called for educational reforms and practices that would promote the educational use of Native American languages as media of instruction. The act rationalizes the change in policy in several ways that clearly demonstrate a transformation of an assimilationist national policy into one that embraces a multicultural adaptation. For example, Native American languages and cultures are described as unique and critical to the production of the cultural identities of its speakers.

The act also repudiates past policies that deprecated Native American languages as useless anachronisms and recognized the foundational role Native American languages have played as “the basic medium for the transmission, and thus, survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values.” The act goes on to state that past policies of linguistic suppression and extermination are “in conflict with the United States policy of self-determination for Native Americans.”

The need for this legislation emerged from a conservative backlash in the 1980s that attempted to reverse gains in the promotion of linguistic diversity and in the support of bilingual education that were accomplished in the more liberal climate of the 1960s and 1970s. Though the 1974 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* created an important precedent for bilingual education and for a renewed emphasis on heritage languages rather than on linguistic assimilation, early successes were countered by the rise of the Official English and English Only movements and

their attempts to restore exclusive emphasis on Standard English.

These movements challenged any promotion of linguistic diversity as inappropriate. The motto of the Official English movement was “One Flag, One Language,” suggesting the way its supporters viewed multilingualism as a form of disloyalty. Already experiencing cuts in bilingual education that affected the funding of Native American language programs, a coalition of Native and non-Native language activists met during a 1988 conference to produce the first draft of a resolution that was sent to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, chaired by Senator Daniel Inouye.

Though the 1990 act represented a landmark reversal of U.S. policy and provided critical legal support for Native American languages, it did not contain any funding provisions. This lack necessitated the Native American Languages Acts of 1992 and 2006. The 1992 act called for an allocation of \$2 million to be distributed in the form of competitive grants. The 2006 act, also known as the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act, is very similar to the 1992 act and extends its funding provisions through 2012. (The 2006 act is named for an important Tewa language activist from Ohkay Owingeh [San Juan Pueblo] who devoted much of her life to documenting, preserving, and teaching her heritage language.)

Collectively, these Native American Language Acts have provided critical legal support and significant economic resources for language maintenance efforts and linguistic revitalization activities for Native American languages.

Almost all Native American communities support programs of language renewal; the Native American languages acts empower each community to develop a program that is appropriate to the distinctive needs of its people, thereby combining a multicultural emphasis with one that respects the self-determination of tribal sovereignty.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975); Native Americans.

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Native Americans

Christopher Columbus did not find a sparsely populated Hispaniola (the Caribbean island that is today home to Haiti and the Dominican Republic) when he landed there in 1492. Instead, he found an estimated 250,000 Tainos, a group of indigenous Arawaks. Massacres and diseases rapidly decimated the population, and by 1517, only approximately 14,000 Arawaks remained. Estimates vary tremendously as to how many indigenous peoples resided in what is now the United States in the pre-Columbus era, with some as low as 1 million and others as high as 18 million. These numbers include American Indians as well as Alaska Natives.

Centuries of war, oppression, and disease have resulted in far fewer native peoples today. Mainstream history is filled with many myths about indigenous peoples, often depicting them as spiritual and stoic, while also describing them as horrific savages. These images remain today, in history books and in popular culture. Yet, native peoples are tremendously diverse, and their ethnic identity today is tied to their cultural heritage, the history of their interactions with non-native peoples, and the social, economic, and political conditions in which they live.

According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), there are 566 federally recognized American

Indian tribes. It is challenging, however, to find an accurate estimate of how many people are members of a particular tribe or nation. Governmental agencies use different methods of determining membership than the Indian nations. The BIA, which is an entity of the federal government, defines anyone with one-fourth or more blood quantum, or anyone who is an enrolled or registered member, as an American Indian. Some tribes set blood quantum requirements lower, while some set them slightly higher than one-fourth.

The U.S. Census Bureau uses a different method of counting Native Americans. It uses self-identification, which typically leads to higher numbers. The American Community Survey of 2011 identified 5.1 million persons that are either American Indian or Alaskan Native only, or are mixed with other races. It is estimated that Native Americans constitute 1.6 percent of the U.S. population today, and that proportion is projected to be 2 percent, or 8.6 million people, in 2050.

There are 324 Indian reservations on U.S. land, what is collectively known as Indian Country. The 46 million acres is a dramatic decrease from the 1.9 billion acres that Native Americans held before Columbus, yet more than 70 percent of Native Americans live in urban areas today.

Far from primitive, as they are often described, native peoples developed rich cultures with extensive agricultural and technological developments. They built cities, had sophisticated trade patterns, domesticated animals, established religious traditions, and developed political systems. At least 2,000 distinct languages were spoken in the Americas in 1492. Cultural differences were marked. Some Indian peoples belonged to small bands of hunters and gatherers, and some practiced sophisticated irrigated agriculture.

In addition to forcing natives to serve as slaves and introducing deadly diseases, Spanish and then American conquistadors destroyed many traditional native rituals. Slave masters beat and abused the natives. Some have called this genocide, if not in actual murder of the population, then in terms of destruction of native cultures.

U.S.–Native Relations

The history of relations between the U.S. government and native peoples has largely been one of tension, conflict, and distrust. Between 1778 and

1868, the U.S. Senate ratified some 370 treaties with Indian tribes. These treaties gave nearly 1 billion acres of land to the federal government, following the philosophy of manifest destiny. Manifest destiny is the belief that the United States had the God-given right and responsibility to expand westward and to “civilize” those who occupied the land. In turn, the government pledged to protect the remaining Indian lands and resources. By most definitions, the government has failed in its duty to protect native peoples, having reneged on all its treaty obligations.

From the colonial period until the 1920s, the U.S. government engaged in a series of violent conflicts with tribes across the country. Referred to generally as the Indian Wars, these conflicts resulted from colonists seeking to take native peoples’ land and from native peoples’ attacks on colonial settlements, which have come to be called “Indian raids.” The government often relied on scare tactics and falsehoods to exaggerate the number of Indian raids, however.

These wars resulted in massive losses for both sides, but in particular for tribes. The Second Seminole War, from 1835 to 1842, was the longest and costliest of the Indian Wars. Some 1,600 military members and civilians were killed, albeit many by disease. There are no known estimates of the number of Seminoles lost in the war. The Sand Creek Massacre and the Wounded Knee Massacres are some of the more infamous incidents in which government forces attacked and killed hundreds of Indians.

Supreme Court decisions have resulted in a complex status for Indian tribes. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), the Court ruled that Indian tribes were domestic dependent nations. Chief Justice John Marshall described the relationship as that of ward and guardian. One year later, in *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Court held that states were prohibited from enforcing their laws on Indian lands and against Indian tribes or nations, thus implying that tribes were sovereign. At the same time, President Andrew Jackson, a known hater of Indians, wanted to clear them from the south. He ignored these rulings and other treaty obligations, and he had authorized the removal of Indians from their homelands with the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

In 1831, the Choctaw were removed from lands in the deep south, followed by the Seminole

in 1832, Creek in 1834, Chickasaw in 1837, and Cherokee in 1838, in the Trail of Tears. More than 15,000 Indians were forced to travel, largely by foot, to the Oklahoma Territory. Approximately one-quarter died en route, and their former lands, some 25,000 acres, were appropriated by white settlers.

This pattern was repeated several decades later when Congress enacted the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act after sponsor Henry Dawes (R-Massachusetts), gave the president authority to divide up communally held reservation land that had been delegated via treaties and parcel it into allotments for individual Indians, with the remainder opened up to white homesteaders. This policy was not only in violation of existing treaty agreements but was also in contrast to the way of life of most tribes, who did not believe in private ownership of land. Further, most of the allotments were not suitable for farming, and thus Indians found it difficult to survive. Many ended up leasing their land to white ranchers.

The Dawes Act also increased the influence of the BIA. The BIA was originally housed in the War Department when it was started in 1824, but in 1849, it was transferred to the Interior Department. The BIA's philosophy during the 1800s and 1900s was that natives needed to assimilate to white society. By the start of the 20th century, it was clear that allotment was not working. Indians were suffering from poverty and hunger, and the BIA was worried that its influence was waning.

In 1934, Congress enacted the Indian Reorganization Act, which prohibited allotments in the future and returned surplus lands to Indians, allegedly to be governed by the tribes. A growing "termination" movement emerged, led by the Dwight Eisenhower administration, that advocated a change in the relationship between Indians and the government. Many wanted the federal government out of Indian affairs completely. Although some native peoples liked the idea, others were concerned that because the previous policies had disempowered and impoverished Indians, they would become a permanent underclass.

Throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, the U.S. government forced or coerced native families to send their children to boarding schools to "civilize" them. Christian missionaries founded some of these schools, and the BIA

initiated others. An estimated 60,000 native students attended boarding schools in the peak year of 1973. Authorities cut the traditionally long hair of the native children, gave them new European American names, and taught them English. They were encouraged to abandon their cultural traditions. The result furthered the dissolution of native cultural traditions and identity.

Another harmful policy was the forced sterilization of native women. Beginning in the 19th and early 20th centuries, many states enacted legislation based on the eugenics movement, which sought to maintain racial purity and believed that nonwhite persons were more prone to criminality and thus should be prevented from reproducing. It is estimated that 25 to 40 percent of native families were affected by these policies, which were still in effect as late as 1976.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Indians who were inspired by civil rights activists and frustrated with the government began to organize. The Red Power movement led a series of demonstrations against the government. In the fall of 1972, activists organized the Trail of Broken Treaties; a caravan of some 1,000 Indians traveled to Washington, D.C., to demand that the government affirm its treaty obligations. Some activists formed the American Indian Movement (AIM), a militant group that occupied the BIA office at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973. An estimated 200 Indians and AIM members controlled the town for 73 days. The U.S. government sent in the U.S. Marshals, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and other law enforcement personnel, resulting in a violent standoff in which two FBI agents were killed.

AIM activist Leonard Peltier is serving a life sentence for killing agents Ron Williams and Jack Coler. AIM members and allies consider the many Native Americans who were killed or hurt during and before the incident and refer to the trial of Peltier as a sham. It was, they assert, part of the government's continued repression of native organizing and activism. Documents show that the FBI had engaged in efforts to constrain AIM, including use of informants and surveillance, as part of what is collectively referred to as COINTELPRO. Federal officials, however, point to the violent tactics used by some AIM members and assert that Peltier is rightly incarcerated for the murder of the two FBI agents.

In 1970, President Richard Nixon reorganized the BIA, giving Native Americans high-level positions and restoring and expanding federal funding for Indian programs. Under Nixon's administration, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1974, which put tribes in charge of some existing federal programs on tribal lands. Additional legislation provides grants and loans to native peoples. President Ronald Reagan continued the policy of encouraging economic development and sought to further open Indian lands to private coal, oil, gas, and uranium industries. Reagan also cut federal assistance, slashing more than one-third from the federal monies devoted to reservation programs.

As they did in decades earlier, critics noted that the emphasis on private enterprise was antithetical to the cultural values of native peoples. Further, corruption and lack of experience among native leaders made it difficult to enact the needed programs on reservation land. Corruption among BIA officials was a major problem as well, and a Senate investigations committee recommended that the agency be dismantled in 1989. Instead, tribes would receive the same share of the federal Indian budget as block grants. This did not occur; native peoples noted that Congress had previously cited federal agencies for mismanaging Indian programs 42 times.

Since taking office in January 2009, President Barack Obama has worked to engage tribal leaders. The White House has hosted tribal leaders conferences and has worked through numerous governmental agencies, not just the BIA, to ensure that tribal needs are considered. The Affordable Care Act permanently authorized the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, and the Tribal Law and Order Act is meant to fight crime in Indian Country. In 2011, Obama issued an executive order to help expand educational opportunities and to strengthen tribal colleges and universities. The White House has also promoted health and wellness initiatives on reservations.

Current Issues

Today, Native Americans suffer from poverty, health problems, and other negative social issues at disproportionate rates. However, this is not true for all tribes. Some have thrived, in particular

those that have been able to build and run casinos on their land.

Poverty rates are very high among Native Americans. According to the 2011 American Community Survey, the median income rate among American Indians is \$35,192, which is more than \$15,000 less than the median income of the nation as a whole. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Pine Ridge Reservation in North Dakota, a tract of land approximately the size of Connecticut, has the lowest per capita income in the United States. It has repeatedly been considered among the poorest places in the country. Some attribute the poverty among Native Americans to substance abuse, high school dropout rates, the legacy of colonialism, and corruption, while others maintain it is the result of communal ownership of the land and the concomitant difficulty in starting businesses.

Unemployment rates among Native Americans are also typically higher than those of the general population. The unemployment rate on Pine Ridge is estimated at around 70 percent, and the only real work available is employment by the government or by the Oglala Sioux tribe. Poverty and unemployment result in serious health issues for native peoples as well. Half the Pine Ridge population over the age of 40 has diabetes, and rates of tuberculosis are eight times the national average. It is estimated that two-thirds of the population may suffer from alcoholism, and one-quarter of all babies are born with fetal alcohol syndrome.

The life expectancy is in the upper 40s, far less than the national life expectancy of 78 and more akin to that of sub-Saharan Africa. Less than 10 percent of youths graduate from high school. There is a desperate shortage of housing—on average, more than 15 people live in each home, and others get by in cars and trailers. More than one-third of homes lack running water or electricity, and infant mortality rates are three times the U.S. national average.

Violent crime rates are higher among Native Americans than the general population. In some counties, murder rates are 10 times higher than the national average. Native women experience domestic violence and sexual assault at rates two to three times higher than the national average. Additionally, the size of some reservations makes it difficult to ensure that police, emergency technicians, fire fighters, and other first responders

can provide help in a timely fashion. Sometimes, what might have been an injury ends up a fatality because of the length of time between the incident and the response. Depictions of Native peoples tend to reinforce stereotypes. Mascots for sports teams often utilize demeaning images of Native Americans and depict warrior-like men or silly caricatures. Names like “Redskins” are still used. Groups like the American Psychological Association (APA) have denounced all native mascots and have called for their discontinuance.

Clothing companies sometimes use the same static and stereotypical imagery to sell their products. In November 2012, Victoria’s Secret was chastised for allowing model Karlie Kloss to dress in a suede vest and skirt, feather headdress, and turquoise jewelry. Just six days earlier, the band No Doubt apologized and pulled the “Cowboys Versus Indians” themed video for their song “Looking Hot.” Clothing companies Urban Outfitters and the Gap have settled with native groups for similar issues.

Many Native Americans denounce Columbus Day celebrations as akin to celebrating genocide. Other native peoples denounce Thanksgiving, instead referring to it as a Day of Mourning. Groups like the United American Indians of New England resist the Eurocentric portrayal of Thanksgiving and instead point out the many ways that the colonists hurt the Wampanoag. Other Native Americans continue to celebrate Thanksgiving, seeing it as a day to celebrate the survival of indigenous peoples.

On the other hand, some tribes have done quite well financially. The U.S. government has allowed the most successful tribes to build and run casinos on their tribal lands. According to the National Indian Gaming Commission (the federal body that oversees gaming on tribal lands), 240 tribes coordinated 460 gaming operations in 28 states in 2011. Net revenues from gaming operations must be used to fund tribal operations or programs, support the general welfare of the tribe and its members, and promote tribal economic growth. Approximately one-third of gaming tribes make individual payments to members. The benefit of gaming operations is that they are Indian-run and used to help the tribe. On the other hand, critics note that casinos may further distance Native Americans from their tribal

traditions and may only result in certain members becoming wealthy, rather than the tribe as a whole.

Resources to Promote Understanding of Native Cultures

Efforts to eradicate the social problems that native peoples endure have not always been tremendously successful, but the most promising involve emphasizing traditional native culture. Research is clear that a strong cultural connection serves as a protective factor for various social ills. In particular, a strong sense of culture and community is important for the psychological well-being of Native American youth and helps prevent alcohol and substance abuse. Many Native Americans are reviving cultural traditions that emphasize their autonomy and spirituality. Beginning in the 1970s, culturally specific substance abuse prevention and intervention programs on tribal lands began to invite elders to reveal their holistic approach that involved ceremonies like the sweat lodge, dancing, and sewing quilts.

To help promote understanding of Native American culture and identity, many universities offer ethnic studies or Native American studies programs. The Aspen Institute’s Center for Native American Youth helps identify prevention programs and resources regarding services and cultural information. Since the history and contributions of Native Americans are often minimized in history texts, groups like the National Education Association have offered grants for educators to become more familiar with the history of Native peoples. The National Museums of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., and New York have helped preserve the heritage of native peoples. Since 1990, November has been recognized as American Indian and Alaska Native Heritage Month. Nativeweb.org helps native peoples connect and disseminates important information about indigenous cultures around the world. PBS has an informative documentary series called *We Shall Remain* that helps explain the history and culture of native peoples. Similarly, Reel Native provides an opportunity for native peoples to share their stories.

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See Also: Alaska Native Categorization (Essay); American Indian Categorization (Essay); American Indian Movement; American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978); American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Dawes Act (1887); Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Indian Boarding Schools; Indian Territory.

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Native Son

Native Son is a novel written by the African American writer Richard Wright. Harper and Brothers published the novel in 1940. The novel sold 250,000 copies in the first three weeks of its release and soon became a Book-of-the-Month Club selection. It is the saga of a black teen from Chicago's South Side, named Bigger Thomas, who in the midst of gaining an opportunity to escape the poverty and racism of his life in the Chicago slums accidentally murders a young white girl named Mary Dalton, for whom he works as a chauffeur. The story reflects Wright's experiences as a young black man in the United States, born into poverty, racial oppression, and suffering from self-hatred.

Richard Wright was born in 1908 in Natchez, Mississippi, on a plantation. The area where he grew up was one of the poorest areas in Mississippi and was very strict in maintaining racial segregation between whites and blacks. The Wright

family moved to Memphis, Tennessee, when Wright was young, but when Wright's father, Nathan Wright, deserted the family for another woman, Wright, his brother, and his now invalid mother, Ella, moved to Jackson, Mississippi. Wright was a direct witness to the oppression and violence of the era of racial segregation in the American south. His uncle, Silas, was murdered in Arkansas by whites. These same whites also threatened to kill Wright's entire family.

In 1927, he moved to Chicago, Illinois. His mother and brother migrated to Chicago a short time later. Wright worked nights as a postal clerk and soon became engrossed in reading many of the well-known writers in history, including Edgar Allan Poe, T. S. Eliot, Andre Gide, Thomas Mann, and Nickolai Gogol. He began writing and publishing poetry, short fiction, and literary reviews at this time, mostly for communist publications. His collection of short stories, *Uncle Tom's Children*, published in 1937, focuses upon life in the racially segregated south. *Native Son* was published on March 1, 1940. The book is written in three parts: "Fear," "Flight," and "Fate." "Fear" details the series of events that leads to the murder, "Flight" is Bigger's attempt to escape his actions, and "Fate" is the resolution of the story, Bigger's trial for murder, and his acceptance of the fate that racial oppression and poverty in the United States presented to young African American men at the time of the novel.

Native Son was a major publication in American literature in 1940. The tragedy and horror of racial oppression had never been presented in such stark terms and with such brutal honesty. Most of the major newspapers at the time reviewed the book, and its violence and overt protest message against racism remains a part of its historical legacy. *Time* and *Newsweek* gave the book great attention. *Time* magazine's review was especially controversial because the title of the review in March 1940 was "Bad Nigger."

In reviewing the book, the *Chicago Defender* described *Native Son* as a "penetrating, realistic clinical examination of a raw open wound which is yet bleeding." It added that the publication, unlike any other book until then, had plumbed "blacker depths of human experience than American literature has yet had . . ." Poet and English professor Sterling Brown, Wright's friend, called

the book a “literary phenomenon.” Book critic Irving Howe wrote that “the day *Native Son* appeared, American culture changed forever.”

The book and the power and controversy over the book’s story made Richard Wright a major figure in American letters and a spokesperson on racial issues internationally for the remainder of his life. The book proved so powerful at the time that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) awarded Wright and the book the Joel Spingarn Gold Medal Award in 1940. In awarding Wright the award, the NAACP said that Wright had “given to Americans who have eyes to see, a picture which must be faced if Democracy is to survive.”

The book also benefited from the time when it was published. It arrived when the southern states in the United States continued to maintain racial apartheid in every aspect of civic life. In the north, racial segregation was not legal, but it was perpetuated through customs, racial covenants in housing, and the denial of opportunity through societal arrangements. Black lawyers had begun filing the lawsuits that would legally dismantle the racial caste system.

Following its initial success as a novel, *Native Son* soon was produced as a play on Broadway in 1942, directed by Orson Welles. The acclaimed stage actor Canada Lee played the lead role of Bigger, and Wright adapted his book to the stage with acclaimed writer Paul Green. This would only be the beginning of the cultural expansion of the work. In 1950, Wright moved to Argentina for 10 months and completed a film version of the book, in which he starred in the lead role as Bigger Thomas. Another film version was produced in 1987, starring television mogul Oprah Winfrey as Bigger’s mother. Although reviews were mixed, the *Washington Post* acknowledged the legacy of Wright’s book when it described the film as an “agonizing story” and a “punishment of segregation and racism.” The U.S. Library of Congress later listed it as one of the 100 books that made America.

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See Also: Jim Crow Laws; Segregation; White Supremacy.

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Nativism

The United States is often described as a “nation of immigrants”; however, a long tradition of viewing immigrants with suspicion, contempt, and/or hostility by U.S.-born American citizens has characterized nearly every major wave of immigrations throughout the nation’s history. In both past and present times, immigration has been one of the most emotional and contentious social and political topics in American society.

The term *nativism* refers to passionate feelings of fear and dislike of foreign-born persons, typically driven by the perception among the native-born population that particular immigrant groups pose an alleged threat to the United States. These perceived threats may be linguistic, cultural, social, economic, or militaristic in nature. Nativist sentiments are driven by visceral beliefs that members of a particular immigrant group are incompatible with, or antithetical to, American society.

Nativism in the United States dates to the colonial era, when Benjamin Franklin first expressed alarm at the German population of Pennsylvania. Since that time, numerous immigrant groups, including Irish Catholics, southern Italians, eastern European Jews, Asians, Mexicans, Middle Easterners, and others have evoked nativist reactions among some segments of the American populace at different times in the nation’s history. It should be noted, however, that “nativist” (much like the term *racist*) is almost never a self-description, but instead is a term used by others rather than oneself.

Persons who espouse negative views of immigrants or foreigners typically see themselves

as “patriots” who love their country and who want to protect the nation from “foreign influences.” Such sentiments overlook the fact that the United States has always been a pluralistic society comprising different religions, languages, and ethnic heritages, just as they overlook the important point that all immigrant groups have gone through a transition period of adjustment to American society.

Causes of Nativism

Sociologists, anthropologists, and historians attribute nativist sentiments to a variety of factors, including economic issues; national security concerns; wartime hostilities; fears regarding racial/ethnic, cultural, or linguistic differences; and other social concerns. These factors may stand alone or converge with one another to evoke an anti-immigrant mood within society. It is imperative to keep in mind that these factors typically result from emotionally driven popular discourses on immigrants, which may not accurately reflect qualitative or ethnographic data on the specific immigrant group(s) targeted by the nativist rhetoric.

Perhaps the most common argument invoked against both legal and undocumented immigrants throughout the nation’s history is the allegation that migrants take jobs from American citizens and/or drive down wages for U.S. workers through their willingness to accept lower pay. Such arguments date back to the early years of the nation and have been directed at many different immigrant groups in various regions of the country over the course of American history, such as the Irish and Italians in northeastern cities during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Chinese in California during the mid- to late 19th century, and Mexican immigrants today.

Other common anti-immigrant discourses assert that immigrants allegedly do not pay taxes or that immigrants supposedly come to the United States to receive welfare and “freeload” off the system. Not coincidentally, periods of intense nativism have often corresponded with economic downturns throughout American history.

Nativists typically present the complexities of immigration and economics in one-sided, simplistic fashion and fail to point out, for example, that federal law bars legal immigrants from receiving food stamps and welfare for the first five years

following their migration to the United States, and illegal aliens are automatically ineligible to receive welfare, food stamps, and college financial aid.

Legal immigrants are issued work permits that enable them to lawfully work in the United States, taxes are deducted from their wages, and they pay taxes on properties they own. Though undocumented aliens who are paid “off the books” do not have taxes withheld from their pay, those who work with fraudulent Social Security numbers do, in fact, pay into the system. Furthermore, all illegal immigrants pay sales taxes.

Importantly, opposition to immigration on economic grounds is not directed solely at unskilled, low-wage, or blue-collar workers; some critics have expressed opposition to the relatively high concentration of highly educated east and south Asian immigrants in the medical, engineering, and information technology fields. Additionally, the relatively high enrollment of Asian American and Asian exchange students on many college and university campuses, particularly on the west coast, evoked a degree of anti-Asian sentiments throughout the 1980s and 1990s. One manifestation of this anti-Asian nativism has been the popular utterance of mock acronyms, using real acronyms, to describe colleges and universities with large Asian student populations. MIT, for example, has been referred to as “Made in Taiwan,” and UCI (University of California, Irvine) has similarly been mocked as the “University of Chinese Immigrants.”

Nativist backlashes frequently arise during times of warfare amid heightened concerns over national security. Prominent examples include the rise of anti-German sentiments during World War I, whereby German Americans found their patriotism and loyalty to American democracy questioned, as well as the internment of Japanese Americans in relocation camps during World War II. Anti-Arab and anti-Islamic nativism and bigotry toward “Middle Eastern-looking” persons and Muslims increased dramatically following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Although terrorism remains a pressing concern, nativist discourses against Arabs and Muslims typically neglect to consider that Islam is not a unified, singular religious system with a singular political focus or agenda, or that the majority of Arab Americans are not Muslim.

Nativism Throughout American History

Nativist sentiments date to the colonial era and early years of the republic, when religion and ethno-national heritage were the driving forces of anti-foreign sentiments. More than 75 percent of the free white population of the American colonies were Protestant and of British (English, Scottish, or Welsh) descent by the dawn of the American Revolution, although the religious and ethnic composition of certain colonies contrasted sharply with this demographic profile.

Pennsylvania, approximately one-third German, sparked concern for Benjamin Franklin, who infamously wrote in 1751, “Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our Complexion.”

Another Founding Father, John Adams, also regarded the profound German influence on Pennsylvania troubling. During the 1777 session of the Continental Congress in York, Adams declared, “The people are chiefly Germans, who have Schools in their own Language, as well as Prayers, Psalms, and Sermons so that Multitudes are born, grow up and die here, without learning the English [language].”

Driven from their homeland by the devastation of the potato famine a desire to escape British persecution, and lured by greater economic opportunities in the United States, a sizable influx of Irish Catholics entered the nation in the middle of the 19th century. As the first group of non-Protestant Europeans to settle on American shores in large numbers, these sons and daughters of Eire encountered the wrath of an Anglo-Protestant majority. During the 1844 “Bible riots” in Philadelphia, for example, angry Anglo-Protestant mobs burned down the city’s two largest Catholic churches and ruthlessly beat Irish Catholics in the city’s streets. The Irish also found themselves targets of the first organized nativist movement in the nation’s history.

The Native American Party (popularly known as the Know-Nothings) gained national prominence during the 1850s on an ardent anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic agenda. Consisting primarily of blue-collar Protestants, the

Know-Nothings ran candidates for political office and advocated restrictions on immigration and immigrants’ rights to naturalize. Even during his successful 1960 presidential campaign, John F. Kennedy (to date, the nation’s only Irish Catholic president) faced relentless rumors that his Catholic religious background would direct his loyalties to the Vatican rather than to the United States. Anti-Irish and anti-Catholic nativism served as the theme of Martin Scorsese’s Academy Award-nominated motion picture *Gangs of New York* (2002).

More than 300,000 Chinese immigrants entered the nation between the 1850s and early 1880s. Settling primarily in California and other western states, the Chinese were physically, culturally, linguistically, and religiously distinct from American-born whites, some of whom interpreted these differences as outward markers of the Chinese as inherently “un-American.” Racial concerns and competition over jobs led to outbreaks of anti-Chinese violence in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and other west coast locales throughout the 1870s. In 1882, Congress enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act, the first-ever law that explicitly banned an entire nationality from migrating to the United States. Not until 1942 was the act repealed, when an annual quota of 100 Chinese immigrants per year was established.

In the early years of the 20th century, southern Italians and eastern European Jews composed the largest waves of immigrants. During the heyday of “scientific racism,” nativists of the era considered southern Italians and eastern European Jews to be members of the allegedly inferior “Mediterranean” and “Hebrew” races, respectively. Anti-immigrant advocates, such as anthropologist Madison Grant and Massachusetts senator Henry Cabot Lodge, ominously warned of the long-term consequences of these allegedly racially and religiously “inferior” groups on Anglo-Protestant society, and during this time, the Ku Klux Klan expanded its reach into the northeast and midwest after adopting a firm anti-immigrant agenda.

Popular racial discourses of the early 20th century—generated by social workers, sociologists, and the media—associated southern Italians with an alleged innate propensity for crime and

violence, along with racist theories of intellectual inferiority. Anti-Semites, including industrialist Henry Ford and aviator Charles Lindbergh, advanced conspiracy theories of Jews plotting to “destroy Christianity” and “establish worldwide communist rule.” Such sentiments propelled passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which eliminated virtually all immigration from Asia and severely limited immigration from southern and eastern Europe. These restrictions were not overturned until passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which diversified U.S. immigration.

Recent Nativist Discourses: Latinos

Recently, nativist discourses have focused on Latinos (particularly Mexicans) and Middle Easterners. Although Mexicans also are the largest group of legal immigrants, political debates over illegal immigration have evoked pernicious anti-Mexican/Latino discourses, some of which utilize explicitly racist rhetoric.

In 2009, for example, talk radio host Jay Severn referred to Mexicans as “the world’s lowest primitives,” and various grassroots anti-immigrant organizations have accused Mexican migrants of being part of an alleged plot, implemented by the Mexican government, to “reconquer” the southwest and return the land to Mexico. Such discourses are modern-day manifestations of the nativist anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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See Also: Anti-Semitism; Ku Klux Klan; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Naturalization

The naturalization process forms the basis for the full incorporation of immigrants in a destination country and is often the stepping-off point for active political participation among foreign-born populations. Naturalization is the process by which a noncitizen in a country is granted citizenship and the full set of rights association with citizenship. In most instances, an individual wishing to naturalize must fulfill certain requirements in order to become a naturalized citizen. This process varies by country, with some countries having more stringent naturalization requirements than others.

The Right of the Land: Naturalization in U.S. History

In the United States, the first laws to outline a path to citizenship were passed in the late 1700s. An act passed on March 26, 1790, allowed the possibility for many foreign-born residents to become citizens if they were free, white, and residents of the United States for at least two years. Over time, the naturalization law changed with the norms and attitudes of the American public. In 1870, for example, African Americans were made eligible for naturalization, after the end of the Civil War, thus altering the “free” and “white” requirements set forth previously.

In the 1920s, the Supreme Court made a number of decisions that restricted eligibility for naturalization based on race and ethnicity. In particular, nonwhite groups were intentionally excluded from the possibility for naturalization. Three such cases stand out as exemplars. The case of *Takao Ozawa v. United States* (1922) excluded people of Japanese descent, *United States v. Thind* (1923) excluded Hindus, and *Toyota v. United States* (1925) excluded Filipinos. Such race-based exclusions were finally done away with in 1952, with the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Prior to 1922, women were also sometimes excluded from naturalization processes, as they took the citizenship of their spouses. Today, naturalization law largely prohibits discrimination, and there are a number of paths that foreign-born residents can take to U.S. citizenship. Broadly speaking, these paths to citizenship are categorized under two different headings: citizenship

acquired at birth and citizenship acquired at a point in time after birth.

The dominance of birthright citizenship in the United States is rooted in a more central sociolegal concept known as *jus soli*, or “right of the land.” In many countries, the principle of *jus soli* confers citizenship on individuals who are born within the nation’s territory. This contrasts with the principle of *jus sanguinis*, or “right of blood,” which confers citizenship based on descent, as when a child takes on the citizenship of one or more parents, regardless of where the child is born. The United States, Canada, and many countries in the Americas confer birthright citizenship, whereas many European countries and Japan confer citizenship based largely on descent.

For individuals who are not citizens at birth, citizenship must come in the form of naturalization. The naturalization process requires an individual to meet certain substantive requirements in order to become a citizen. In the United States, these requirements involve a length of legal residency in the United States of at least five years, basic character and age requirements, knowledge of the English language, a basic understanding of American civics, and allegiance to the U.S. Constitution as demonstrated through the Oath of Allegiance.

Certain classes of people are exempt from some of these requirements, most notably spouses and children of U.S. citizens (many have a residency requirement of only three years), individuals who are born abroad to U.S. parents, and some individuals who have served in the U.S. military. In comparison to other countries, the United States has a somewhat average length of residency requirement. For example, countries such as Belgium require as little as three years, whereas other countries such as Switzerland require up to 12 years of permanent legal residence.

Naturalized persons in the United States gain the full set of rights associated with American citizenship. This includes the right to vote, priority in bringing family members to the United States, eligibility for certain government jobs, and the right to run for elected office. In 2011, nearly 700,000 people were naturalized in the United States. The leading countries of birth for these new citizens were Mexico, India, the Philippines, and China.

Naturalization in the United States has steadily increased since the postwar period, with a sharp

increase in the mid-1990s. In terms of country of origin, newly naturalized citizens have increasingly come from Asian countries since the 1970s. Before this period, most new citizens of the United States were from European countries.

In a limited number of cases, citizenship can be revoked. When a citizen loses citizenship, all rights and privileges associated with citizenship are also lost, making this procedure a weighty matter that is not often used. In the United States, American citizenship can be lost in two ways: revocation of naturalization (denaturalization) and expatriation. Denaturalization can only happen to those who have gained citizenship through naturalization.

Most cases of denaturalization occur when a naturalization order is illegally procured or is procured by concealment of fact or misrepresentation. In these cases, the government has an obligation to show, through clear and unequivocal evidence, that the naturalization process was fraudulent. In contrast, expatriation can apply to both naturalized citizens and American-born citizens. Expatriation involves the voluntary renunciation of American citizenship as, for example, when an individual chooses to become a citizen of another country. In such cases, the individual can give up American citizenship as part of his or her constitutional rights.

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See Also: Citizenship; Immigration Acts; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.; Naturalization Acts; Naturalization Language Requirements.

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Naturalization Acts

The history of United States goes in hand in hand with the history of immigration and naturalization. The United States is one of the few countries that grants citizenship based on the principles of *jus sanguinis* (“right of blood”) and *jus soli* (“right of the soil”), and any individual may become a U.S. citizen through the naturalization process, even if the individual was not born to American parents, nor was born on American soil, but meets certain criteria.

These criteria have been changed and updated since the first federal Naturalization Act of 1790. A review of naturalization history before the 1960s reveals significant ambiguity as to what U.S. citizenship meant to legislators of the U.S. Constitution. Wealth, race, and gender were determinate factors in one’s ability to obtain membership in colonial America, as well as who could become a citizen through the naturalization process.

Naturalization Act of 1790

The Naturalization Act of 1790 was passed by Congress on March 26 in order to grant the right to become a naturalized citizen to “free white persons” of “good moral character,” excluding indentured servants, slaves, and all nonwhite populations such as Native Americans, free African Americans, and Asians. The 1790 naturalization law remained active for 162 years.

Until the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which allowed individuals of all background to be eligible for naturalization, the 1790 legislation limited immigration on the basis of the race and background of the individual. The 1790 law also required the individual to reside for two years in the United States. The later residence requirements were extended to five years by the Naturalization Act of 1795.

Upon completion of two years, any free white individual could file a Petition for Naturalization to a “common law court of record.” Based on the court’s approval of one’s “good moral character,” the court could administer the Oath of Allegiance and keep a record of the proceedings so that the immigrant would be considered a citizen of the United States. Citizenship was passed exclusively through the father, even though free white women were allowed to be U.S. citizens. The children of

the citizens of the United States, under the age of 21, and born outside American soil were also recognized as natural-born citizens, without the need for naturalization.

Following the Civil War, during the Reconstruction Era, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution were adopted between 1865 and 1870. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment expanded the definition of citizenship, including African descents; and the Fifteenth Amendment granted voting rights regardless of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

Naturalization Acts of 1870 and 1906

This led to the 1870 Naturalization Act, which was signed into law by President Ulysses S. Grant on July 14, 1870, providing citizenship rights to “aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent,” barring other nonwhites such as Asians from U.S. citizenship.

The Naturalization Act of 1906 was a revision of the Naturalization Act of 1870. Until the 20th century, naturalization to Asians remained restricted. After the *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* case in 1898, the Supreme Court granted citizenship to an American-born child whose parents were from China.

The 1906 Naturalization Act was signed into law by President Theodore Roosevelt. It passed through Congress on June 29, 1906, and took effect September 27. At the end of the Reconstruction Era reforms and the beginning of 20th century, the United States received a massive flow of immigrants (nearly 9 million) and economic difficulties increased the demand for immigration restrictions.

Congress passed the 1906 legislation to organize all existing naturalization laws into a comprehensive statute and strengthen the structure of the immigration application, giving the immigration administration commissioner greater control over the naturalization process. With the Naturalization Act of 1906, naturalization procedures were standardized, knowledge of the English language became a citizenship requirement, and the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization was established to oversee U.S. immigration policy.

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See Also: Alien and Sedition Acts (1798); Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Immigration Acts; Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986).

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Naturalization Language Requirements

Historically, the modern nation and its national language(s) have been tightly coupled through processes of nation-building and nationalism. Nowhere is this more apparent in modern societies than when foreign-born populations speaking a different language arrive to become incorporated into the social, economic, and political fabric of a destination country. The governments of destination countries often address the challenge of incorporating immigrant populations by forging policies that appeal to the national language as both a symbolic and an instrumental means of incorporation.

As a result, naturalization, or the process of becoming a new citizen in a country, often requires proof that an individual can speak the host language fluently. Most developed countries in the world that host immigrant populations have a language requirement of some kind, although the stringency and purpose of such a requirement may vary. In the United States, an immigrant wishing to become an American citizen must demonstrate a basic working knowledge of the English language.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, societies across Europe were engaged in attempts to

make the nation and the state coincide both geographically and politically. One of the ways that the modern state created a modern nation was by uniting the population through a common language. Oftentimes forcibly, European states actively pursued language standardization and the widespread use of a common language in public life and in modern, mainstream education systems. The United States was no exception to this dominant model of nation-building.

The United States is unique, however, in that there is no official, legally defined state language at the federal level. Nevertheless, there are 31 individual states that have passed English-only policies, either by legislation or through voter initiative. Many of these successful attempts to define English as the official language are linked to broader social movements or organizations. The English-only movement, for example, seeks to make English the sole official language of the United States. With the growth of non-English-speaking populations in the United States, the English-only movement has gained momentum as of late.

Aside from the legal status given to English, the English language is also strongly linked to notions of what is American and is currently the dominant language of public life in most parts of the country. Given the current sociopolitical context of the United States, naturalization policy requires that immigrants show a basic level of proficiency in English to gain citizenship.

American law states that no person shall be naturalized who cannot demonstrate a basic understanding of the English language, including the ability to read, write, and speak words in ordinary English. In addition, such a demonstration of language ability need not be made under “extraordinary or unreasonable conditions.” The requirement that immigrants be able to speak English was added to naturalization law in 1906, some time after the formulation of other naturalization requirements. Prior to 1906, immigrants who wanted to naturalize only had to show that they were residents with good moral character who were devoted to the ideals of the Constitution. English language requirements were made more stringent in a 1950 amendment that required an ability to read and write, in addition to speaking English. More recent changes were instituted

in 1978 and 1990, when exceptions to the English language requirement were outlined.

In practice, an immigration officer tests the applicant's speaking and understanding of English at the time of the naturalization interview. During the naturalization interview, the immigration officer asks the applicant questions about the information and documents that the applicant provided when first applying for naturalization. The immigration officer may also ask questions about recent trips taken outside the United States, whether the applicant has a criminal history, and memberships in any organizations. While asking these questions, the immigration officer assesses whether the applicant can understand and answer these questions using proficient English.

The applicant's ability to read and write in English is tested in a separate paper-based test. For the reading portion, the immigration officer gives the applicant three sentences to read. The applicant must read at least one of the three sentences correctly in order to demonstrate an ability to read in English. For the writing portion, the applicant has three chances to correctly write a sentence in English that the immigration officer dictates. After the paper-based tests, the immigration officer informs the applicant whether she has met the language requirements for naturalization.

Although this is the standard procedure for demonstrating English language ability during the naturalization process, there are certain exceptions. There are three classes of people who may be exempt from the English language requirement for naturalization based on their age and length of permanent residency in the United States. If an applicant is over 50 years old and has lived in the United States as a permanent resident for periods totaling at least 20 years, an English language test is not required. Likewise, an English test is not required for applicants who are over 55 years old and have lived in the United States as a permanent resident for periods totaling at least 15 years. For applicants who are over 65 years old who have lived in the United States as permanent residents for periods totaling at least 20 years, an English language test is not required, and designated questions are pre-selected for the civics test. For all three classes of

exemptions, time as a permanent resident does not have to be continuous.

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See Also: Immigration Acts; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.; Language Usage in the United States; Media, Foreign Language.

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Navajo

The Navajo are among the most robust native peoples of North America. Of the 372,000 persons in the 2010 U.S. census who speak a native language as their primary language, over 169,000 speak Navajo. Today, most Navajo reside in the Four Corners area of the U.S. southwest, on a reservation west of *Dinetah*—their homeland when the Spanish arrived in 1626. Today's Navajo Nation includes 300,000 enrolled members, of whom some 112,000 reside on the reservation, which covers 16 million acres (27,000 square miles)—the largest Native reservation.

Many today say that the Navajo "call themselves *Diné*," meaning "the people." The term *Diné* actually designates all categories of persons. The mythical "Holy People" (*Diyin Dine'é*, who emerged from world-systems below our "Fifth World") contrast with the peoples created on the earth's surface (*nihokáá dine'é*), both non-Navajos and the 60 main clans of "the Navajo" proper

(*diné*). The Spanish coined the term *Apaches de Navajó*, “the Strangers of the [cultivated] fields.”

Language, Culture, and Society

From one perspective, Navajo success seems explainable by fortuities of geography: before modern irrigation and air conditioning, few Spaniards, Mexicans, or Americans desired to settle in areas like Dinetah—far from water or cost-effective farming conditions. Before 20th-century discoveries of oil and uranium, Americans saw little there to attract them, sparing southwestern peoples the annihilation Native peoples in more hospitable regions sometimes suffered.

The enduring successes of the Navajo clearly owe immensely to the courage of the Navajo themselves and the resilience of their cultural traditions. Lacking the secrecy requirements of Pueblo peoples (like the Hopi), the Navajo generally welcomed anthropologists and scholars, so outsiders obtained comprehensive descriptions of Navajo culture, including their renowned “chantways” (*óji*)—both the healing chantways that utilize sand paintings and the more fundamental “Blessingway” (*hózhóóji*), which demonstrates women’s centrality in Navajo life. The Navajo are matrilinear, and women hold legal primacy.

“Singers” (*hatalii*)—religious authorities who preserve the chants that empower individuals’ lives within the community—preside at the most sacred Blessingway ritual, the *kinaaldá*, whereby each Navajo girl at adolescence becomes identified with “Changing Woman” (the source of Earth’s life). Such features of Navajo life endured to become photographed, filmed, and detailed in many publications, while those of many other Native Americans were lost long ago.

Scholarly research also explains what the Navajo share with their Pueblo neighbors as well as what makes them unique. The Pueblo peoples speak several unrelated languages. The Navajo, like the nearby Apache, speak an Athabaskan language, a family otherwise represented by languages in Alaska and western Canada. Unlike the Apache, who speak seven distinct languages and maintain distinct cultures, the Navajo people are linguistically and culturally homogenous.

Scholars are convinced that less than a millennium ago, the Navajo and Apache (for reasons unclear) migrated from the far north and

ultimately settled in the southwest not long before the Spanish arrived. However, there is little archaeological record of that migration, nor any mention in Navajo oral history. Navajo culture shares much more with the Pueblo peoples than with most Apache, especially a complex religious culture focused on the sources of life, including the myth of emergence from worlds below, and ceremonial celebration of the primary food source, corn (maize). Unlike the Hopi, the Navajo never formed specialized religious societies with separate social and ritual roles. Navajo houses (*hogan*) were also distinct from Pueblos’ stone/brick dwellings, and most chantway ceremonies were conducted in the family home. Also, the Navajo did not adapt Pueblo ceremonials featuring masked dancers, as some Apache did.

Some notable elements of Navajo life were learned from contact with the Spanish, including rug weaving, sheepherding, and silversmithing. But the Navajo, already sedentary agriculturalists when the Spaniards arrived, were the converse of Native peoples in other regions, whom Euro-Americans



Sandra Begay-Campbell, a Navajo scientist working with the U.S. Department of Energy’s Sandia Labs, holds a portable solar panel intended to bring electricity to isolated Native American homes. Out of an estimated 112,000 Navajo Nation residents, 18,000 were living without electricity in 2010.

strained to convert from hunter-gatherers to farmers. The vitality of Navajo religion, which explains and justifies the cultural and economic bases of life, deterred conversion to Christianity by the Spanish. Today, Navajo individuals draw freely upon both native traditions and modern phenomena, including Western medicine, Christianity, and the peyote-focused Native American Church.

History

Before the 19th century, the Navajo never functioned as a unified political group: apart from suffering raids by neighboring peoples, they lived peaceful lives. After the Mexican-American War (1846–48), the United States entered Navajo territory, setting up forts. Then, in 1861, the U.S. military, led by Kit Carson, invaded Navajo lands and herded some 9,000 Navajo men, women, and children 300 miles to Ft. Sumner at Bosque Redondo.

Today's Navajo consider this "Long Walk" (1864) the pivotal moment in their people's formation. The treaty of 1868 permitted return to their native land, but Americans continued to encroach on it. Navajo children (like those of other Native peoples) were abducted and placed in boarding schools to force them to become English speakers and practitioners of American lifeways.

The U.S. government periodically gave Navajo land to others for mining, railroads, and grazing livestock. In the 1940s, uranium was discovered in Navajo territory, and Americans mined it with little concern for health effects, leading Navajos and others to report increased cancer deaths. Yet during World War II, hundreds of Navajo (like Comanche and others) served the U.S. Army and Marines as code talkers, following Choctaw code talkers in World War I. Navajo code talkers played key roles in victories such as Iwo Jima, and the Navajo have built a Veterans' Memorial to honor all Navajo who have served in the U.S. military.

The Navajo Nation Today

In 1923, stimulated by the discovery of oil and the need for unified response, the Navajo established a tribal council, renamed the Navajo Nation (<http://www.navajo-nsn.gov>) in 1969. In 1991, it was reorganized into three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislature hosts 88 delegates representing 110 local chapters and

conducts some business in the Navajo language. The Navajo Nation Police enforce laws in their territory, including tribally enacted laws such as prohibition of alcohol sales. The Navajo also operate their own college (www.dinecollege.edu), school system, and English-language newspaper (www.navajotimes.com), and perform other public functions. Visitors may tour the circular council chambers and the nation's museum at Window Rock, Arizona.

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See Also: Apache; Code Talkers; Hopi; Long Walk of the Navajo; Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute; Pueblo.

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Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute

The Navajo-Hopi land dispute traces its origins to the 1882 executive order of President Chester A. Arthur granting a 2.5 million-acre reservation to the Hopi as well as "such other Indians" as the secretary of the interior may house there. The Navajo inhabitants of the region included in the 1882 reservation believed they were entitled to remain on the land as "such other Indians." The Hopi have disputed this claim and asserted the right to the entire area of the 1882 reservation. The federal government set aside a portion of the original 1882 reservation as a joint use area for both tribes in the 1930s. Subsequent legal conflicts resulted in the Congressional Navajo-Hopi

Land Settlement Act of 1974, but disputes related to partitioning of the land have continued.

Traditional and Spiritual Claims

Both the Navajo and the Hopi have strong traditional and spiritual connections to the 1882 reservation land in dispute. The Hopi also claim that large portions of their ancestral homelands now lie within the federally recognized Navajo reservation, which had been expanded under presidential executive orders in the late 1800s. The federal government sought to resolve the conflict in 1891 by granting over 500,000 acres within the 1882 reservation for the exclusive use of the Hopi. This area was enlarged in subsequent decades. Navajo families residing on the now exclusively Hopi land were forced to relocate. Legal disputes between the Hopi Council and Navajo Tribe followed, and Hopi rights to the expanded area were upheld.

The Hopi sought legal return of the disputed portion of the 1882 reservation granted to the Navajo in 1934, but the Navajo living on the land refused to leave. The federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) set aside a portion of the 1882 reservation as the Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area (JUA) in 1936. Resident Navajo had received squatters' rights to the disputed JUA as a result of the court's determination based on their non-eviction by the Hopi over the years. In 1958, the U.S. Congress authorized the Hopi and the Navajo to bring lawsuits to settle the question of ownership of the 1882 reservation lands under Public Law 85-54. The Hopi Council subsequently sued the Navajo Tribe in the Arizona District Court in the 1962 case *Healing v. Jones* for full rights to the original 1882 reservation lands. The court ruling declared that the joint use area (JUA) would remain accessible to both tribes with the exception of a small portion, known as District 6, granted for exclusive Hopi use.

Various state and federal rulings have followed the establishment of the JUA as disputes over its fair use have arisen. Resulting decisions have called for Navajo livestock herd reduction in the JUA and bans on construction or development in the JUA. Ongoing issues have centered on ancestral and spiritual ties to the land, claims of Navajo livestock grazing on Hopi land, Navajo refusal to reduce livestock herds, refusal by resident Navajo families to relocate from Hopi land, and difficulties arising

from a federal freeze on construction and development in the disputed territory.

The Congressional Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act of 1974 sought to equally partition the JUA lands lying within the boundaries of the 1882 reservation. The act called for federal mediation between the tribes. Failed mediation would result in an Arizona District Court decision. Money would be provided for relocation, livestock reduction, boundary fencing, and relocation incentives. Land partitioning would provide for open access to spiritual sites as well as equal rights to oil, gas, coal, and other valuable minerals.

Subsequent amendments to the 1974 act and Arizona District Court decisions have periodically changed the partition boundaries. The Navajo-Hopi land dispute has resulted in both sides making accusations of unfairness against the other as well as against the federal government. Some scholars have marked the conflict as an example of progressive versus traditionalist tribal factions, while others have concentrated on the role of the federal government and its recognized tribal governments. Economic development issues have also played a central role. Peabody Coal operates the Black Mesa Mine on land leased from the Navajo and Hopi and employs a number of Navajo workers. Other mining operations and the construction of power plants on sacred land are also controversial.

The Hopi Council claims that the tribe has lost approximately 1 million acres from its original 1882 federal reservation allotment. It has also claimed financial losses resulting from overgrazing by Navajo livestock herds. The Navajo claim loss of ancestral and valuable grazing land and that relocation affects many more Navajo than Hopi families. The Navajo Tribe established the Navajo-Hopi Land Commission to aid the approximately 10,000 to 11,000 Navajo who have relocated. Approximately 100 Hopi families have relocated.

One of the most critical results of the JUA settlements has been the relocation of families belonging to one tribe who found themselves residing in JUA territory apportioned to the other tribe. Approximately 250 Navajo families who have resided in the Big Mountain area for over 100 years have refused to leave, despite the area's designation as Hopi land. The Hopi Tribe offered 75-year leases to these families in 1996, but

conflict arose over the issue of Navajo families not wishing to live under Hopi legal jurisdiction.

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See Also: Hopi; Long Walk of the Navajo; Navajo; Reservations, American Indian.

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Negro Baseball Leagues

From the turn of the century to the mid-1950s, baseball grew from a game played among local teams with disparate rules into leagues with governing bodies, eventually becoming America's "national pastime." The Negro Leagues, in particular, were formed in response to discrimination that prevented African Americans from playing in Major League Baseball (MLB), operating under the "separate but equal" doctrine. Despite the turbulence of leagues emerging and folding, as well as raiding each other for players, black baseball became a source of pride for the African American community. The integration of MLB, however, led to the demise of the Negro Leagues as black newspapers and fans devoted themselves to following Jackie Robinson in what was deemed the "noble experiment."

The history of African American men participating in competitive baseball dates back to 1860. By 1865, black baseball teams had proliferated in northeastern states such as New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In fact, by 1880, some black players, including Moses Fleetwood Walker, played on predominantly white teams. Integrated teams were relatively short-lived, as

legislation, the Compromise of 1887, and *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 ended the Reconstruction Era in the United States, subsequently reintroducing segregation and Jim Crow laws.

Furthermore, a "gentlemen's agreement," established in 1887 among white owners fueled by Chicago White Stockings player/manager Cap Anson, pushed black players out of the major leagues into the minor leagues, then finally out of MLB altogether until Jackie Robinson's debut in 1947. During this time, there was an attempt to create one of the first Negro Leagues, the National Colored League, in 1887. Despite the league's folding after a few months, the seed was planted regarding the establishment of a formal league where black players had an opportunity to compete.

Black baseball played a crucial role in bringing people of varying social status together. African Americans as team owners were often prominent members of their communities. For example, Effa Manley, who owned the Newark Eagles, served as treasurer of the New Jersey chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The relationship between teams and businesses was often reciprocal, as businesses supported teams through advertisements and ball clubs gave back to their communities by participating in games that benefited local charities. Sensing the importance of baseball, local politicians utilized games to increase their visibility and relevance in the community. Baseball games served as important social events, with community members, celebrities, and politicians coming out in droves for Sunday games.

During the formative years of Negro League baseball a continual debate existed about the role that whites should play in the management of the leagues and teams. Some people in the African American community resented that white booking agents and team owners profited off African American players. With the exception of the Philadelphia-based Hilldale Daisies, few black team owners also owned the ballparks in which the teams played. This resulted in African American teams leasing or renting ballparks from white owners through white booking agents, as blacks were excluded from those positions. At first glance, the major league facilities seemed to be an upgrade; however, African American players were rarely allowed to use the locker rooms, and stadium

seating often remained segregated. These facilities rarely employed blacks, which further undermined the financial viability of African American communities. The facilities owned by Negro League teams such as Hilldale Park were often subpar in terms of playing surfaces, amenities such as working bathrooms, and location, often being far from the African American populace. In sum, leasing facilities from white owners cut directly into the economic development of the African American communities that supported Negro League teams.

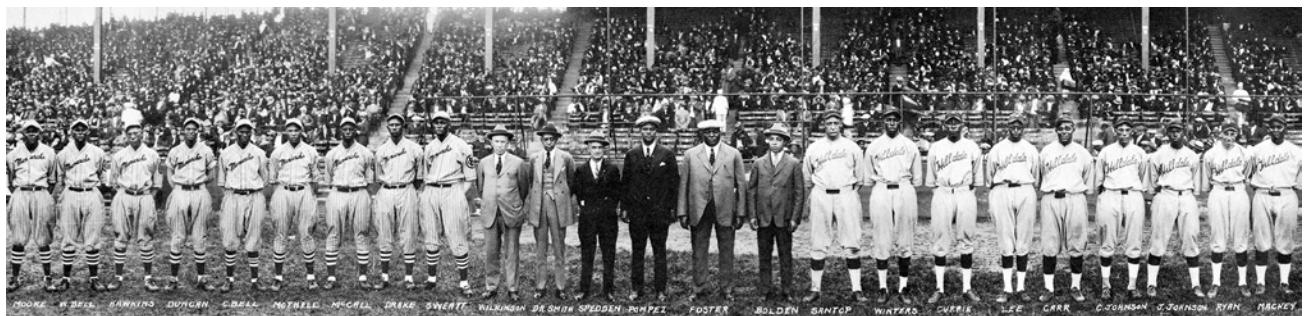
Creating a financially viable league from within the African American community was of the utmost importance, yet whites had more financial capital than many African Americans and, as a result, Negro League franchises themselves were often owned in part or entirely by white businessmen. Even former standout African American player Rube Foster co-owned the Chicago American Giants with a white man named John Schorling. The financial backing of whites enabled Foster to found the Negro National League (NNL) in 1920, which consisted of eight teams located in the midwest.

Two years later, in 1922, Ed Bolden, a black owner of the Hilldale Daisies, led the formation of the Eastern Colored League (ECL), with teams situated in major cities on the east coast under similar ownership circumstances. Though J. L. Wilkinson, a white owner of the Kansas City Monarchs, was well respected for giving back to the African American community, other owners were viewed more negatively for failing to provide adequate financial support for teams. The debate over the role that white entrepreneurs

should have in black baseball continued throughout the existence of Negro League baseball.

Because white fans rarely attended games that pitted black teams against each other, the Negro Leagues depended on black fans to support the enterprise. As mentioned above, the more games that teams played, the greater the revenue they generated. Complicating this matter was the lack of time and spending power of African American fans during that time period. Because many African Americans worked six days per week, games were often played once a week, on Sundays. As the popularity of baseball increased, teams began to rent MLB facilities. Scheduling games around MLB teams proved troublesome because of inclement weather or discrimination (discussed above). This contributed to a haphazard game schedule that inhibited financial growth for many teams, which in turn led to barnstorming.

Barnstorming was important for both economic stability and visibility of African American baseball players. As white fans rarely watched black teams play each other, their minimal exposure to black baseball was through barnstorming tours, which occurred both before and during the existence of Negro Leagues. Almost all revenue generated came from gate receipts, so games against white teams created an additional source of profits for black teams. As a result, a number of teams—including the Kansas City Monarchs, Homestead Grays, and Havana Red Sox—barnstormed around the United States, primarily playing and beating white teams. For these teams, barnstorming tours provided crucial financial resources to which they would not otherwise have access. The



Detail from a photograph of teams lined up before the October 11, 1924, opening game of the "Colored World Series," held in Kansas City, Missouri. The Kansas City Monarchs played against the Hilldale Club, winning 5 to 4, with one game tied. When black teams played each other, white fans rarely attended, and the leagues depended on revenue from black fans.

barnstorming tours also demonstrated to whites that black ball clubs could play at a high level.

In spite of these circumstances, visionary owners tried to eliminate barriers that restricted financial viability. In the 1930s, Wilkinson, the owner of the Kansas City Monarchs, attempted to capitalize on the growing popularity of baseball by playing midweek night games. At that time, games could be played only during the day, when many people worked and therefore couldn't attend. Wilkinson employed a portable lighting system so they could play games after the workday ended. In an additional forward-thinking move, these lights could be transported from game to game. Playing night games proved profitable by attracting thousands of fans to midweek events. As a result, many other teams, both black and white, installed lights at their home fields. Despite the innovation by Wilkinson, the increased popularity of baseball, and the talent of the players, the NNL and ECL could not weather several factors: teams raiding each other for players, inconsistent game schedules, and increased financial instability of the black community resulting from the Great Depression. These circumstances forced both leagues to fold by 1932.

Shortly after those leagues folded, the Negro National League was resurrected by Gus Greenlee, owner of the Pittsburgh Crawfords, and existed from 1933 to 1948. Many of the owners in the new NNL, including the Cuban Stars and New York Cubans owner Alex Pompey as well as Everett Wilson of the Detroit Stars, were African American men who ran highly successful gambling operations that funded their baseball teams. Regardless of their financial success, the NNL still had to work with white booking agents in order to secure games and stadiums. The lone exception to this was Greenlee's Pittsburgh Crawfords, who built their own stadium in 1932.

In spite of this barrier, the NNL became successful through its emphasis on black ownership, high quality of play, and linking the league to an important right being denied African Americans at that time—the right to vote. While sportswriters voted on MLB All-Stars, Greenlee opted to have fans vote for the East-West Classic, as it was called, with ballots that were placed in major black newspapers. The symbolic gesture spawned a major event that brought together African American fans

from different cities. The high profile of the game eventually attracted white sportswriters and front office personnel to see future Hall of Fame players, including Josh Gibson and Cool Papa Bell. During this period, the NNL faced increased competition from the Negro American League, which was founded in 1937. The champions of the two leagues competed against each other from 1942 to 1948. Although the NNL disbanded after the 1948 season, the Negro American League subsumed several Negro National League teams and continued to exist until the 1960s.

Because mainstream media ignored black baseball, an important relationship between Negro League baseball and black newspapers emerged. Through their on-field success against white teams, black baseball teams became a source of pride for African Americans. Black newspapers such as the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the *Chicago Defender* played a large role in publicizing the exploits of African American players and teams. This helped foster a sense of community, as fans were able to not only follow their local teams but also follow teams that played in other regions of the country.

Black newspapers also led the charge to integrate MLB. Wendell Smith, a sportswriter from the *Pittsburgh Courier*, as well as other black sportswriters wrote editorials and lobbied for the integration of baseball. The continual pressure that black, and eventually white, sportswriters put on MLB has been cited as an important factor that led to Jackie Robinson's integrating baseball.

Jackie Robinson's signing with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1945 and his subsequent debut in MLB in 1947 signified the beginning of the end of the Negro Leagues for several reasons. First, as African American fans flocked to MLB to follow Robinson's progress, their economic support of Negro League teams diminished. An additional factor was that black newspapers and media outlets, which had for many years been crucial in supporting and covering Negro Leagues, turned their focus to Robinson. MLB began to sign players such as Roy Campanella from the Baltimore Elite Giants without providing compensation to the team or league. Losing major stars with little to no compensation in return proved difficult to overcome.

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See Also: African Americans; Baseball and Ethnic Diversity; Sports and Ethnic Diversity.

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New Netherland

By the early 1600s, competition between European powers to establish colonies in the New World had already resulted in large claims made on behalf of Spain, England, and France. The Dutch joined the race for colonial riches in 1609, when Henry Hudson, an Englishman employed by the Dutch East India Company, explored the coast of North America, roughly from Chesapeake Bay to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. His reports led the States General, the legislature of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, to issue an exclusive patent to a private company for the exploration and colonization of “Nieuw-Nederland” in March 1614.

Dutch traders quickly arrived to settle in the area of modern Manhattan Island, and in 1615 they founded Fort Nassau on Castle Island in the Hudson River near modern Albany in an attempt to further control the fur trade. Although Dutch land claims ranged from the Delaware River to the Connecticut River, it is estimated that only about 270 Dutch lived in the vicinity of New Amsterdam (modern New York), and another 30 lived at Fort Nassau, renamed Fort Orange, by 1630.

In 1621, the States General gave a trading monopoly in North America to the Dutch West India Company in an attempt to make the colony more productive. Pieter Munuit, who arrived as director of the colony in 1626, quickly organized the area, purchased more land from indigenous peoples, and constructed a fort to guard the settlement. In 1619, the Dutch began offering large

tracts of land to anyone who could bring at least 50 families to the colony to make it productive. Given the title of “patroon,” these large landholders resembled the planters of the south in wealth and land holdings, but the labor was contracted with free people working as tenant farmers.

The patroon was given a number of rights and privileges, including the appointment of local civil officials and creation of local courts. This approach bore fruit with a rapid rise in population and productivity. By the 1640s, it was estimated that some 18 different languages were spoken in New Amsterdam, and the guarantee of freedom of religion approved in the Dutch Republic in 1597 led to a religious diversity that included, aside from the Dutch Reformed Church, Catholics, Quakers, Anabaptists, and both Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews.

The most profitable commercial enterprise continued to be the fur trade. Cordial relations with the Mohawks, a member of the Iroquois Confederacy that controlled the area around the Dutch outpost at Fort Orange, allowed the Dutch to divert a considerable amount of the fur trade away from the French in Canada and into the coffers of the Dutch West India Company. Eventually, declining profits and an ill-advised attack on local indigenous villages brought changes in the colonial administration. Pieter Stuyvesant arrived in 1647 with the title of director-general and a charge of increasing profits. He quickly sent a small army to defeat a group of Swedes who had settled in the vicinity of modern Philadelphia on land claimed by the Netherlands, then incorporated both the land and people into the Dutch colony.

Although he was opposed by many of the colonists because of his strict methods, under Stuyvesant’s leadership, the colony grew steadily in number and economic activity. New Amsterdam became the largest commercial city in North America, and a truly multicultural colony. Although slavery was introduced as early as 1625, the slaves were usually kept together as family units, enjoyed some basic rights, and could be admitted to membership in the Dutch Reformed Church, where they could have their marriages recognized and enjoy other religious benefits. Slaves had legal status, which allowed them to sign documents, testify in court, and bring legal actions (including against Europeans). When the colony eventually

fell to the English, the Dutch West India Company freed all of the slaves, forming the basis for a free African community in New York.

By 1664, New Netherland had grown to a population of about 9,000, including the village of New Haarlem that had been established on northwestern Manhattan Island in 1658. This later became the cultural Mecca for the Harlem Renaissance some 250 years later. But New Netherland would not remain Dutch. The English had long claimed the area of New Netherland based on the explorations of John Cabot. When Charles II ascended the English throne, he determined to enforce those claims. On August 27, 1664, four English warships arrived off New Amsterdam and demanded its surrender under threat of bombardment. Unprepared for resistance, Stuyvesant had no real choice but to surrender. Although briefly recaptured in 1673, New Amsterdam became New York.

Surviving Dutch Influence

Although New Netherland did not survive, Dutch influence did. The concept of the stock market originated with the Dutch. Three presidents of the United States were descended from the van Roosevelt and van Buren families, who originally settled in the Dutch colony. Washington Irving used the Dutch culture of New York for the background of his popular literary tales, including “Rip Van Winkle” and “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow.” Dutch names abound in and around New York, for example, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Dutch words also appear among commonly used English vocabulary: Yankee (*Janke*), yacht (*jaght*), buoy (*boei*), and cookie (*koekje*).

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See Also: Dutch Americans; European Americans; Pennsylvania Dutch.

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New Zealand Americans

New Zealand is an island nation in the Pacific Ocean, settled by Polynesians before being colonized and conquered by the British in the 19th century. Both New Zealand and the United States are former colonies of Britain (though the United States no longer has a predominantly British demographic, and most of its land was never under British control). English is the language of both nations, and both countries are occupied by a predominance of European descendants who coexist with an indigenous population. The cultures are similar, and the nations have generally found themselves on the same side of most global issues, whether military, trade, or other; the notable exception is New Zealand’s antinuclear stance. They also share military intelligence with one another under the British–U.S. agreement that binds the major former British colonies.

Both countries are very involved in the World Trade Organization, as well as in the development of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) region. On the other hand, New Zealand remains thoroughly British when compared to the United States; whereas Americans mostly play and watch sports of American design, New Zealand is a Commonwealth country that plays rugby, cricket, and netball. British television shows are mainstream entertainment in New Zealand, rather than being relegated to a cable channel or public television, and the cuisine is certainly closer to British food than is American cuisine.

Though they share a common heritage, culture, and language, few New Zealanders have immigrated to the United States. Most likely this is the result of a combination of the great expense of the trip—a number of other countries are much closer—and the fact that both are first-world industrialized democracies, whereas a significant amount of the immigration to the United States from such far-off places has been undertaken by citizens of countries that are poorer, less industrialized, or less

democratic than the United States. There has been some tangible benefit, in other words, to offset the expense of relocating to the other side of the globe (from which a visit home to one's family can cost thousands of dollars even today, to say nothing of the expense that would have been faced anytime before the very recent past).

The 2010 census revealed 19,961 New Zealand Americans, one of the 10 smallest ethnic groups in the United States; among native English speakers, only U.S. Virgin Islanders and Bermudan Americans, both of whom originate in much smaller countries, are fewer in number. It is possible that some New Zealand Americans self-identify their ethnicity as that of their ancestors who first came to New Zealand and so count themselves as British Americans, English Americans, Scottish, Welsh, or Irish Americans. Maori Americans are counted by the census as Pacific Islanders.

A significant number of New Zealand immigrants arrived as wives of American servicemen after World War II. U.S. Marine Corps and Army units were stationed in New Zealand, while others took their R&R there, and many of these servicemen married local girls who joined them in the United States when the war ended. More than 400,000 personnel were stationed in New Zealand, in addition to those stationed in Australia—the sudden presence of so many Americans in a relatively small country is sometimes jokingly remembered as “the U.S. invasion.”

U.S. Navy personnel continued to be stationed there long after the war, and New Zealand remained an important ally, fighting on the American side in the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, and the war in Afghanistan—though New Zealand's ban on nuclear warships in its waters suspended American treaty obligations thereto. Military brides continued to be one source, albeit small, of New Zealand American immigration.

Prominent New Zealand Americans include journalist Peter Arnett, who covered the Vietnam and Gulf Wars for CNN; artist Len Lye; National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) scientist William Hayward Pickering; Peter George Snell, a New Zealander Olympian who retired to Texas; born-again Christian evangelist Ray Comfort, author of *The Way of the Master*; *Life* photojournalist George Silk; screenwriter Andrew Niccol, who won an Oscar for

The Truman Show; former California lieutenant governor Leo McCarthy; Sean Marks, the first New Zealander to play professional basketball in the United States; Nobel Prize-winning chemist Alan MacDiarmid; computer scientist David Epstein; Stephen Parke, senior scientist at the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory; play theorist Brian Sutton-Smith, author of *The Ambiguity of Play*; former Anchorage mayor Anton Anderson; and baseball player Scott Campbell. New Zealand-born actors Alan Dale (*Lost* and *The O.C.*) and Melanie Lynskey (*Heavenly Creatures*, *Win Win*, *Up in the Air*) also reside in the United States, as do Jemaine Clement and Bret McKenzie of the comedy music duo Flight of the Conchords.

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See Also: Australian Americans; Dutch Americans; Pacific Islander Americans.

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Newspapers

From the earliest colonial days of the United States, newspapers have been central in influencing the image of multicultural America. All media forms are transmitters of culture and spread information over space that can articulate identity and community identification, values, practices, and beliefs, both positive and negative. However, many ethnic groups have fought for adequate representation in the mainstream press, particularly in terms of race and civil rights, which has led to the formation of a number of ethnic newspapers that provide agency over ethnic groups' media representation. Yet, with the rise of digital technologies, there have been questions about the



A young newsboy holds copies of the prominent African American newspaper the *Chicago Defender* in 1942. A survey by the American Society of News Editors found that the newsrooms of large metropolitan dailies remained 80 percent white in 2011.

efficacy of the form and content of print newspapers, particularly the press, which has long been a communication source for marginalized populations and a formative practice in the development of multicultural America.

As American culture became increasingly literate throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the role, coverage, and quantity of newspapers dramatically increased in the United States because of a number of factors, notably immigration, globalization, and an increasing demarginalization of ethnic minorities. Throughout this period, print newspapers articulated a number of seminal events in the development of multicultural America, including the maintenance and abolition of slavery; the civil rights movement; the growth of Latino, Asian American, Native American, and Middle Eastern populations; and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) struggles for equality. Many of these cultural groups established their own newspapers during this era, written and published by and for their respective interests to inform and deliberate over specific issues relating to their cultural identities, beliefs, and practices.

However, there have been significant struggles for recognition of the interests of marginalized populations in mainstream newspapers. In the 20th century, many questions arose over the nature of the form and content for those who owned and produced the news in representing multicultural ideals, particularly the way in which marginalized cultures have been represented in newspaper content as well as in the newsroom itself. The question of newsroom diversity—race, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, and culture—has long been a critique of many media, but of newspapers in particular. Reporters, editors, publishers, and other journalistic staff have historically been white, American, heterosexual, English-speaking, and, until relatively recently, male, leading to questions over the handling of issues relating to diverse audiences. Many have argued that the prevalence of these identity traits in newsrooms has reproduced hegemonic norms and power structures through the reinforcement of dominant ideologies, as well as the absence of coverage relating to other identity traits. The articulation of American multiculturalism has long been influenced by those who decide what is news.

The issue of racial civil rights in particular was marked by a notable absence of newspaper coverage of the struggle for equality by African Americans. During the 1950s and 1960s, many American newspapers regularly ignored the struggle of the civil rights movement in their coverage of news and opinion, particularly in southern states. Stories on racial violence and oppression, sit-ins, and demonstrations were routinely either not covered or presented as one-sided narratives of civil unrest and criminal activity. Several newspapers, southern and otherwise, have since issued apologies or corrections for the one-sided coverage during this period, most notably the 2004 front-page correction of Kentucky's *Lexington Herald-Leader* for its coverage of the civil rights movement.

Aside from coverage of civil rights struggles, diversity in newspaper staff and ownership has been historically problematic for the development of a multicultural American voice in mainstream newspapers. The *New York Times*, for example, did not have a female African American reporter in its newsroom until Nancy Hicks Maynard, in 1968, and there would not be an African

American-owned major metropolitan city paper until 1983, with the *Oakland Tribune*.

Similarly, women in the newsroom would face challenges throughout the 20th century. Newsrooms were notably male and were resistant to many female reporters working in the newsroom alongside male counterparts. It was not until the 1960s that most newspapers hired their first female reporter.

Although strides have been made in the past several decades, these issues still trouble print newspaper newsrooms. As of 2011, the American Society of News Editors found that the newsrooms of large metropolitan dailies were still 80 percent white. Furthermore, newsrooms are 37 percent female, almost unchanged over the past decade. As one gets higher up in the stature of major metropolitan newspapers' newsroom positions, the percentage of minorities and females drops off precipitously, particularly at the top, with publishers overwhelmingly being white males.

Diversity in the newsroom is a struggle that newspapers have been slow to move on for decades, but many have critiqued the lack of diversity in staff and ownership as a stumbling block toward more cultural acceptance of minority communities and a more balanced narrative in serving these populations.

African American Newspapers

In response to the long struggle for print newspaper representation of a more diverse perspective, several ethnic groups have established newspapers that address their distinct needs and interests. African American newspapers are particularly notable for the role they served in fighting against slavery and for civil rights equality among this historically marginalized population.

Among the first was the 1827 *Freedom's Journal*, a weekly New York-based publication that was circulated in 11 states by Peter Williams, Jr., an African American anti-slavery activist, and among the first ordained black ministers in the nation. The paper was founded in order to counter the white-owned and often racist newspapers, as well as to provide African Americans a community of interest through news and opinion specifically targeted toward this demographic.

Though the paper was only published for two years before evolving into several other

newspapers and publications, it was among the first instances where African Americans were provided a communication medium to foster community as an audience. It also established the tradition of African American and white abolitionist communities using the press as an activist tool, later to include Frederick Douglass's *The North Star* and William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*. These and other abolitionist press papers were widely banned in southern states.

Developing alongside the technological and transportation advances of the Industrial Revolution, the African American press began to expand greatly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This was particularly true in the south, where newly freed slaves still faced cultural, political, and economic segregation, and newspapers emerged in order to both provide a community voice for African American news, as well as to advocate for political issues of racial equality.

The trend of using the black press for these purposes would continue through the 20th century, particularly during the apex of the civil rights struggle of the 1950s and 1960s. Most local and national media, including newspapers, neglected the post-segregation story for years, and there were few African Americans working in newsrooms, leading to the lack of perspective for this community's needs and news. As Ira B. Harkey, Jr., publisher of the Mississippi-based *Pascagoula Chronicle*, stated during the 1950s, "[T]he only time a black man ever got in the paper was if he were in trouble." Several publications became particularly prominent during this era, such as the *Atlanta Daily World*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, and the *Washington Sun*, all still publishing today.

Like most aspects of the newspaper industry, the future of the African American press in print is uncertain. The rise of digital and online media has led some to question the sustainability of print newspapers with a relatively narrow demographic, particularly papers that have a regional audience, rather than a national appeal.

Other Multicultural Newspapers

Much like the case of the African American press, other ethnicities, races, and marginalized groups have developed newspapers in order to communicate on issues that either are of concern to specific

communities or have not been addressed by larger publications. *La Opinion*, for example, is a Spanish-language newspaper published in Los Angeles, founded in 1926, that addresses news, opinion, entertainment, and sports in the Spanish-speaking communities of North America. Given southern California's large Mexican and Central American population, it has the second-largest readership in Los Angeles, after the *Los Angeles Times*, with a daily circulation of 121,000.

Other newspapers, such as the Boston-based *Irish Emigrant* and New York's *Home and Away* serve news of relevance to the Irish American community, covering stories and opinion on Ireland and issues related to this ethnic group, as well as serving as a community information source. Founded in 1999, the *Muslim Observer*, published in Michigan, is distributed for free in many mosques and has a circulation of 20,000.

Similarly, the *Jewish Press* began publication in 1960, alongside a number of other national and regional newspapers speaking to the Jewish community; and the *Catholic Times*, published in Wisconsin by the diocese, reaches over 35,000 people weekly. The *Rainbow Times*, a monthly publication, speaks to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) population in New England. Furthermore, many free alternative newspapers (alt-weeklies) and the dissident press, published primarily in metropolitan areas, tend to lean toward a more progressive perspective and often cover issues of marginalized populations through investigative reporting, a long tradition in the mainstream emergence of these papers from their roots in the underground press of the 1960s.

These newspapers have contributed to the establishment of American multicultural identity, not only in providing a voice for often-marginalized populations but also allowing differing perspectives to have a presence in ongoing discourse in the public sphere. The rise of the multicultural, ethnic, and alternative press has created a space where individuals and groups could exhibit their identity by deciding what is news for themselves, rather than having others make the decision for them, which often led to a silencing of multicultural perspectives. However, the establishment of these presses solidified communities, and among other unifying practices, allowed for a more

diverse newsroom and more diverse readership, which in turn creates a more diverse set of stories that are included for diverse communities.

Today, the traditional notion of "dead tree" newspapers is changing with the rise of digital technology, and there is a corresponding question for the future of cultural diversity, in both newspaper editorial staff and audiences, as well as the future of the ethnic press.

Although the rise of digital media has allowed more citizens to produce and consume journalism-style media than in any previous era, the economic and technological disruption caused by this shift has rendered the traditional business model of newspapers obsolete, leading to a number of troubling questions about the future of newspaper journalism, particularly for small publications with a narrow readership. Many ethnic press newspapers are in a particularly precarious situation. *El Dia*, for example, a Houston-based Spanish-language newspaper, closed its doors in 2009.

However, the current trend of online news sources also shows promise, as online journalism allows for a more localized, targeted meeting of the needs of different cultural communities. The participation of citizens in journalism within their own community can mean a more hyper-localized, community-based meeting of needs. If print newspapers can adapt with a sustainable business model that serves both community and democratic needs, the current social and cultural roles of newspapers will sustain the newspapers' four-century legacy of influencing the development of multicultural America.

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See Also: Culture; Diversity and Inclusion; Radio; Relativism; Television.

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Nez Perce

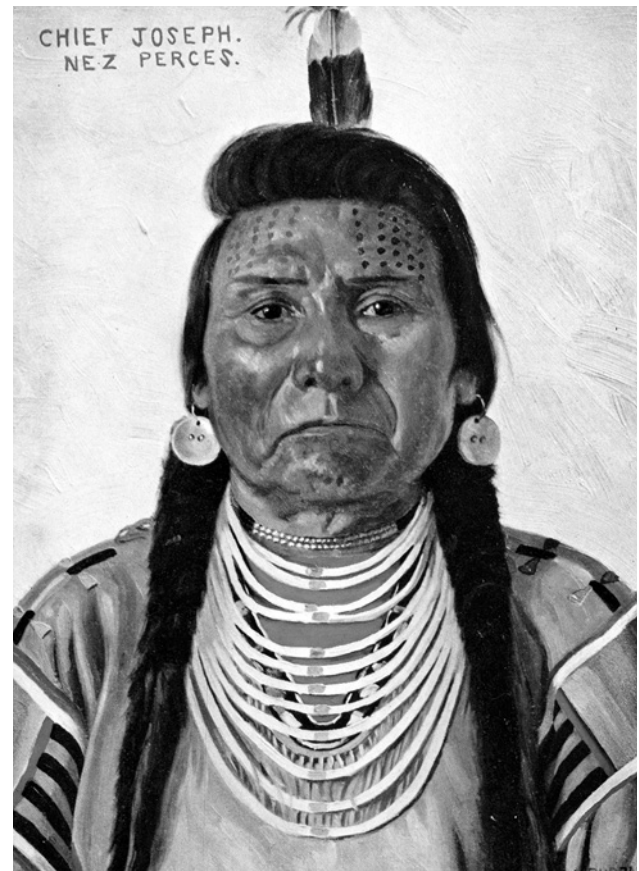
The Nez Perce are a Native American tribe of the Pacific Northwest. Like most American Indian tribes, their name for themselves, *Nimiipuu*, simply means “The People.” The name *Nez Perce*, or Pierced Nose, derives from a misnomer. When the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition first encountered them, their translator misunderstood the Indians’ reference to a tribe farther down the Columbia River who practiced nose piercing. The name nevertheless took hold and has survived into modern times. With a population of approximately 6,000, the Nez Perce were once the largest of the Columbian River Plateau tribes. However, by the early 19th century, war and infectious diseases introduced by Europeans decimated their numbers, as they had done to so many other tribes throughout the Americas. For food, they survived primarily by fishing in the Columbia River and its tributaries. Digging and roasting or boiling the bulbs of the quamash plant were, and remain, a primary food source.

With the introduction of horses by the Spanish, the Nez Perce became renowned among other tribes for their skill at both using and breeding them. Hunting on horseback greatly expanded their range, and they were able to join other Plains tribes in making the buffalo their primary food source. Extensive trade relations existed with many other Indian tribes. Initially, encounters with Europeans were peaceful and trade flourished. However, the never-ceasing westward movement of Americans ultimately led to a clash of cultures. The Americans violated treaties made with all of the Plains tribes, including the Nez Perce. The tribe divided over the white men’s insistence that the Indians must live on reservations. Rather than succumb, Chief Joseph attempted to lead his band to Canada, but in spite of incredibly courageous and effective resistance on the part of a few hundred warriors, the far superior U.S. Army doggedly pursued and captured them.

Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War

The Nez Perce War is one of the most heroic yet heartbreaking chapters in the history of the American west. In 1855, the U.S. government signed a treaty with the Nez Perce, guaranteeing the tribe possession of much of their traditional territory. With the discovery of gold on tribal lands and floods of settlers coming from the east, the Americans wanted a new treaty. In the treaty of 1863, the Nez Perce reservation shrank from nearly 8 million acres to 780,000 acres. In exchange for their land, the Indians received medical care and a hospital, schools, supplies, and financial compensation.

The Nez Perce divided into two groups: those who agreed with the treaty and those who did not. One of the areas lost by the treaty was the Wallowa Valley, home to the band of Chief Joseph



An 1897 portrait of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce tribe. Chief Joseph the Younger led a protest of the treaty of 1863, which had taken millions of acres for the United States, shrinking the Nez Perce reservation from nearly 8 million to 780,000 acres.

the Elder. He refused to leave, saying, "Inside this boundary all our people were born. It circles the graves of our fathers, and we will never give up these graves to any man."

When Joseph the Elder died in 1871, his son Joseph (March 3, 1840–September 21, 1904), also known as Young Joseph, succeeded him with the promise that "A man who would not defend his father's grave is worse than a wild beast." When the army began pressuring Joseph to join those living on the reservation, he refused. Joseph negotiated skillfully and made multiple concessions, and in 1873 he signed an agreement whereby he and his band could remain in their beloved Wallowa Valley. However, in 1877, U.S. Army general Oliver O. Howard told Joseph he and his band would have to join the Nez Perce on reservations and that not doing so would lead to war.

Fully aware that American authorities had the means and the will to force him and his followers onto the reservation, he and over 800 Nez Perce decided to flee. What followed was an epic journey of nearly 1,200 miles. Constantly fighting the U.S. Army in rear-guard actions, the warriors achieved fame for their courage and determination. When the Crow Indians refused to give his band sanctuary, Joseph turned northward. His hope was to reach Sitting Bull's camp across the Canadian border.

After all their travails that included over 100 deaths, many of them women and children, the Battle of Bear Paw Mountains stopped the band only 40 miles from the border. Joseph and most of his followers surrendered to the inevitable and agreed to rejoin their kindred and share their reservation. Instead, they traveled in freezing weather aboard unheated trains to live in the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). Thanks partly to Chief Joseph's continuous lobbying on their behalf, after several years the remnants of the band returned to the northwest, to the Colville Indian Reservation in the state of Washington.

The Nez Perce Today

The Nez Perce National Historic Trail follows the route taken by Chief Joseph and his band. According to the 2010 census, over 3,500 Native Americans identify themselves as Nez Perce, and most live on reservations. Fishing and collecting quamash remain primary food sources, and many

of the tribe's rituals and language are kept alive by every generation. Traditionally well-known horse breeders, tribe members have resurrected that tradition by breeding the Nez Perce horse, a cross between Asian and Appaloosa breeds.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Cheyenne; Great Plains Tribes; Native Americans.

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Nicaraguan Americans

The largest Central American country, Nicaragua was colonized by the Spanish before becoming independent in 1821. Most of its history has been marked by unrest, and relations with the United States have been complicated. For a time, an economic embargo was imposed against Nicaragua as punishment for the socialist Sandinistas coming to power in 1979; this was followed by secret government support, in contravention of Congress, of the Contra rebels seeking to overthrow the Sandinistas, which was funded by an arms-for-hostages deal with Iran.

Shortly after this came to public light, a non-Sandinista conservative president was elected

in Nicaragua, economic sanctions were lifted, and two years later, the officials involved in the cover-up were pardoned. Demographically, the country is predominantly mestizo (68 percent), with a large white minority that is mainly Spanish or German. Indigenous ethnic groups (Amerindians) and West Indian blacks make up the remainder.

There were 348,202 Nicaraguan Americans as of the 2010 U.S. Census. The United States has the second-largest number of Nicaraguans outside Nicaragua, after Costa Rica. Early Nicaraguan immigration was not accurately tracked because all Central American immigrants were grouped together. Immigration of Central Americans in general increased steeply from 1890 to 1920 as demand for labor in the United States rose. This was especially true during World War I, and twice as many Central Americans (17,000) immigrated in the 1910s as in the previous decade.

Ebb and Flow of Immigration

That increase was halted by the quota-based immigration restrictions adopted in 1924, although immigration still stayed higher than it had been in the 19th century. For Nicaraguans, as for other Central Americans, the United States was a prosperous promised land, full of economic opportunities.

Many Central Americans supported families back home through remittances, money that they earned in the United States and sent back. For this reason, Nicaraguan immigrants in the 1960s were in the unusual statistical position of being predominantly female—about two women for every man. Many of the women worked as maids, housekeepers, cooks, and other domestic servants, sending money back to Nicaragua for their families. Most mid- to late-20th-century Nicaraguan immigrants settled in California, principally Los Angeles or San Francisco.

A larger wave of Nicaraguan immigration came in the wake of the 1979 revolution that brought the Sandinistas to power. This was the first time when undocumented immigration of Nicaraguans increased to a substantial number, and documented immigration nearly tripled compared to the previous decade. Just as wealthy conservative Cubans had fled Fidel Castro's regime for Florida, so did the wealthy right-wing supporters of the

fallen regime in Nicaragua, and 20,000 Nicaraguans settled in the Miami area.

Some of them repatriated later, especially when the Sandinistas left office, but many remained and put down roots. Those who did were often well-connected politically—many fleeing the Sandinista regime had worked for the previous government and had friends and connections in the American government. Central Intelligence Agency support of the Contras, working to overthrow the Sandinistas, developed from these relationships.

The largest wave of Nicaraguan immigration came during the Sandinista rule, as the Nicaraguan economy was thrown into turmoil. A special order was issued by the attorney general to except Nicaraguans living in the United States from the restrictions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. Further, about 80 percent of Nicaraguans seeking asylum in the United States were granted it—the highest percentage of any non-European group.

This wave was less prosperous and less political than the earlier wave, and much larger: over 10 percent of Nicaragua's population left the country, settling in Costa Rica, the United States, Honduras, and Guatemala. Most who settled in the United States were mestizos, though a small number of Amerindians from the Garifuna people settled in Houston.

Many of the Nicaraguans who enter the country illegally do so from the Mexican border, hiring "coyotes," the Mexican Spanish term for facilitators who transport people to the United States. This can be an expensive process—border controls have increased steadily, which was true even before 9/11 and the paranoia about illegal immigration—and is dangerous because it means being vulnerable to an admitted criminal, without any means of appealing to an authority. This can mean being cheated, at best; at worst, many would-be immigrants have been robbed, raped, abused, and sold into prostitution.

There are entire communities of Nicaraguans who are predominantly undocumented, especially in Texas border towns (where they are likely the minority in a Mexican American community). The Miami area remains the Nicaraguan American capital, however, and the suburb of Sweetwater has been nicknamed Little Managua. In other parts of the country, Nicaraguan communities

have formed in existing Hispanic American enclaves, especially in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and to a lesser extent in New York, Washington, D.C., and New Orleans.

Nicaraguans have a low intermarriage rate with other groups, and an even lower intermarriage rate with non-Hispanics. Nicaraguan American families tend to be larger than average, strictly Catholic, and predominantly Spanish speaking. The many undocumented workers have found employment through local networking of family and friends, and so cities with large Nicaraguan populations often find them disproportionately represented in lines of work where those networks exist. Although this often means jobs where credentials are not necessary (which can be difficult to produce for undocumented workers who have fled their country), such as factory work or janitorial work, over one-third of Nicaraguan Americans work in white-collar jobs because of their high education levels compared to other Latin American immigrant groups.

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See Also: Costa Rican Americans; Honduran Americans; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996).

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Nigerian Americans

Inhabitants of Nigeria (Niger area) in western Africa or sub-Saharan Africa have been part of the American story from its beginning. As soon as the first immigrants began to arrive from Europe, there was a need for manual labor to build the new world. The need for slave labor touched every

ethnic group in the continent of Africa, especially those not far removed from the Atlantic Ocean. According to C. Reef, the first Africans arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. A case example detailing the description of a runaway enslaved person of Ibo origin was reported twice in the *Virginia Gazette* of March 21 and June 20, 1766.

However, the term *Nigerian American* refers to present-day immigrants from colonized Nigeria, after independence in 1960. Prior to independence, individuals of Nigerian extraction made it to the United States as stowaways on travel ships. Among the prominent stowaways from Nigeria was Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was in the United States from 1925 to 1934.

During this period, and several decades later, Nigerians who traveled to the United States did so as students to further their education, with plans of going back to settle and work in Nigeria. Most of the Nigerians who traveled to the United States pre-independence, and in the decade after independence, eventually went back to settle and work in Nigeria.

Because of the political instability that started a few years after independence and eventually led to the civil war of 1966 to 1971, most Nigerians began to see life outside Nigeria, especially in the United States, as desirable. Following increased educational awareness and better perception of standards of living, Nigerians began to see immigration to the United States as a goal.

As established in the Nigerian constitution, after independence, a Nigerian could hold only one citizenship, not dual citizenship, as was customary for all citizens of the British Commonwealth. This constitutional requirement made it difficult for Nigerians who traveled to the United States after the civil war to truly make America their home. However, this changed in 1991, when Head of State General Ibrahim Babangida made it legal for Nigerians to hold dual citizenship.

This policy paved the way for Nigerians in the United States to become naturalized American citizens and remain Nigerian citizens, making it possible for their children, who were born in the United States, to also become Nigerian citizens. This policy development helped increase the immigration of Nigerians to the United States, as they proudly showed renewed dignity and love for both their country of birth and their country

of adoption. This particular issue was revisited as Nigeria adopted a new constitution in 1999; it was aggressively debated and was finally allowed to remain because it has given immense gains to Nigerians.

The term *Nigerian American* is a recent designation that became popular in the 2000s, as Nigeria as a country was becoming politically stable. This was the result of a successful transition to a democratically elected government as well as the smooth transition that followed the death of a democratically elected president.

Nigerians are proud of their heritage but are critical of the culture of corruption generally associated with Nigeria and its political system. This sense of pride and affinity with Nigeria is well noted and is why Nigerians in America prefer to be known as Nigerian Americans instead of African Americans. This love of Nigeria is reminiscent of a “can do” attitude that pervades every strata of Nigeria’s society, even though the dichotomy of tribalism is difficult.

In Nigeria, the suspicion of tribal loyalty is at the forefront of any national issue but seems to disappear when Nigerians come together in the United States. In the last decade, since Nigeria made improvements in establishing democratic governance, there has been an unrelenting upsurge in terrorist activities originating from the predominantly Muslim north, targeting citizens from the predominantly Christian south and east.

Despite this upsurge in terrorist activity, Nigerians who immigrate to the United States very easily overlook these tribal sentiments and undercurrent of religious tension and are always ready to unite under a patriotic, united national identity.

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See Also: African Americans; Afrocentrism; Citizenship.

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Nishikawa v. Dulles (1958)

Nishikawa v. Dulles (1958) is a U.S. Supreme Court ruling which held that a man who held dual citizenship in the United States and Japan could not have his American citizenship revoked because he had involuntarily served in the Japanese army during World War II. The plaintiff, Mitsugi Nishikawa, was a Nisei (second-generation Japanese American). He was born in 1916 in Artesia, California, to Japanese immigrant parents. Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution mandates that “all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.” Nishikawa was American by birth. He was also Japanese, since his parents were Japanese and registered him as Japanese in the Japanese family registry. He also was a dual-citizenship holder. Nishikawa graduated from the University of California at Berkeley with a degree in engineering. To pursue his study and Japanese-language skill, he went to Japan in 1939. In 1941, while he was in Japan, he was conscripted into the Japanese army, and he engaged in war efforts in China, Indochina, the Philippines, and Manchuria as a mechanic.

After the war, Nishikawa applied for his passport at the U.S. consulate in Japan, but his citizenship was revoked because of section 401 of the Nationality Act of 1940, which said that “a person who is a national of the United States, whether by birth or naturalization, shall lose his nationality by entering, or serving in, the armed forces of a foreign state.” Nishikawa appealed to U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to reclaim his American citizenship. When this effort failed, he took his case to court. The issue in the case was whether he “voluntarily” served in the

Japanese army. Nishikawa testified that his service was a result of coercion by the Japanese conscription law and it was not his voluntary act.

The federal district court and the federal court of appeals denied his citizenship. They argued that if Nishikawa did not want to serve in the Japanese military, he should have consulted with the U.S. consulate before his conscription. They were also suspicious of the fact that Nishikawa went to Japan when the relationship between Japan and the United States was becoming antagonistic.

In his defense, Nishikawa maintained that the U.S. consulate in Japan could not do anything for Nisei. His service in the Japanese army was an unavoidable event. Nevertheless, the lower courts concluded Nishikawa voluntarily served in the Japanese army.

Nishikawa then appealed his case to the Supreme Court. In 1958, the Supreme Court found no evidence that Nishikawa had voluntarily served in the Japanese Army, and his American citizenship was restored.

Kibei

It was a common practice among Nisei Japanese Americans to spend some time in Japan for educational purposes before World War II. Those Nisei Japanese Americans who were born in the United States and later lived in Japan for several years were called Kibei. Nishikawa was one of these Kibei. It is estimated that many thousands of Nisei went to Japan at this time.

Many Japanese immigrant parents experienced discrimination in the United States. They were impoverished and struggled to start a new life in a hostile environment. Parents sent their children to Japan so they could work full time. They also wanted their children to have a tie with Japan in case they had to return to Japan. Parents secured their children's Japanese nationality and sent their children to their grandparents or relatives. Nisei studied Japanese language and grew accustomed to Japanese culture. They eventually came back to the United States as Kibei.

During World War II, approximately 3,000 Nisei Japanese Americans were conscripted by the Japanese army. Since many Nisei had dual citizenship, once they were conscripted, it was difficult to avoid military service by claiming

their U.S. citizenship. Nishikawa attested that he was bullied by his Japanese fellows because of his connection to the United States. Torn between two countries, Kibei in the Japanese army had to fight against their fellow Americans.

Dual Citizenship

The 2000 Census for the first time allowed people to check more than one box for their racial identification. As a result, 2.4 percent of Americans identified as multiracial. The number increased to 2.9 percent in the 2010 Census. Some multiracial people are children of parents whose nationalities are different. For example, if a biracial person's mother is American and the father is Japanese, he/she can have both American and Japanese citizenship. Some multiracial people might be dual citizens.

The census results also show that the United States has a growing number of immigrants from Asia and Hispanic countries. If immigrant parents grant their mother country's citizenship to their children born in the United States, the children of these immigrants are dual citizens. As the number of multiracial people and immigrants continues to increase in the future, so will dual-citizenship holders.

U.S. immigration law in the early 21st century does not differ greatly from the law pertaining to Nishikawa. Section 349 of the Immigration and Nationality Act defines the loss of nationality of an American national and states, "a person who is a national of the United States whether by birth or naturalization, shall lose his nationality by voluntarily performing any of the following acts with the intention of relinquishing United States nationality . . . (3) entering, or serving in, the armed forces of a foreign state if (A) such armed forces are engaged in hostilities against the United States, or (B) such persons serve as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer . . ." Section 401 of the Nationality Act of 1940 essentially contained the same definition.

The United States has been continuously involved in wars during the 21st century. Dual citizens like Nishikawa may have the possibility to serve a foreign country's army, either voluntarily or by force. Under current immigration law, this military service could lead to the loss of their American citizenship. In an era of

multiculturalism, during which many dual citizens live in the United States, the execution of immigration law needs to be practiced carefully so the tragedy of Nishikawa will not be repeated.

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See Also: Dual Citizenship; Japanese American Citizens League; Japanese Americans.

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No Child Left Behind Act (2001)

The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) is a reauthorization of the previously titled Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). ESEA, an extensive statute that funds primary and secondary education, is the most far-reaching federal legislation regarding education passed by Congress. The act's original intent was to (1) forbid the establishment of a national curriculum, (2) emphasize equal access to education, (3) establish high standards and school accountability, and (4) shorten achievement gaps between particular races of students by providing each child with fair and equal opportunities to achieve an exceptional education. The government has reauthorized the act every five years since its inception. As of 2012, the No Child Left Behind Act was the most current reauthorization of ESEA.

According to Rod Paige, secretary of education from 2001 to 2005, the stated focus of NCLB is “to see every child in America—regardless of

ethnicity, income, or background—achieve high standards.” President George W. Bush and Massachusetts senator Ted Kennedy primarily sponsored the 670-page act, which was passed with a strong bipartisan backing by the House of Representatives on December 13, 2001, and by the Senate on December 18, 2001, by a vote of 87-10. Bush signed it into law on January 8, 2002.

As intended, this act was to be a powerful step toward equalizing educational outcomes for all students, thus “leaving no child behind.” However, as implemented, this act significantly changed the lives of students, teachers, parents, and other stakeholders in the U.S. educational system, and the ramifications of the act, particularly in school curriculum and the lives of students from various minority cultures, continue to reverberate throughout U.S. education.

The Act as Intended

NCLB required schools to focus on providing quality education to students who are often underserved; this includes children with disabilities, children from low-income families, non-English speakers, African American students, and Latinos. The law set a lofty goal of making all students proficient in reading and mathematics by 2014. Schools were to ensure that all students learned essential skills and gained knowledge, as defined by each state annually, using predetermined grade-level standards and benchmarks.

With the implementation of NCLB, school funding was tied directly to accountability expectations, as measured by various standardized tests. Through NCLB, states were required to assess third- through eighth-grade students annually in reading and mathematics. These tests were to be based on state standards that reflected “high expectations,” and improvement among disadvantaged children was to be demonstrated by each school's attainment of adequate yearly progress (AYP).

According to the provisions of the act, schools unable to demonstrate AYP were to be provided with assistance and would be subject to escalating corrective actions. Further, under NCLB, schools were required to ensure that they were employing “highly qualified” teachers, meaning those who were degreed, certified, and able to dispense instruction based on “scientifically based research” methods in their classrooms.

In exchange for implementing these greater accountability measures, NCLB was to provide states with flexibility and far-reaching control over how they used a generous outpouring of federal funds for needed items such as teacher retention, professional development, and technology training; states were to be given greater flexibility and control over their programs; and parents in underperforming or unsafe schools that could not meet AYP were to be provided with detailed reports of their students' achievement and given options, such as school transfers and tutoring.

The Act as Implemented

NCLB was intended to positively influence academic outcomes for all children and change U.S. education. However, as implemented to date, NCLB has not met the level of expectations stated nor fulfilled the promises it set forth. Further, it exacerbated some pre-existing educational problems and generated others, primarily for minority children and low supplemental educational services (SES) schools, the very students and schools it purported to help most. Emergent problems from implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act include funding, curriculum narrowing, cheating, and teacher qualification issues.

Funding and Curriculum Narrowing

Despite enthusiasm over what it perceived as long overdue educational reforms, the Bush administration significantly underfunded NCLB but continued to require states to comply with all provisions or risk losing federal funds. As a result, most states were forced to make deep, influential budget cuts in nontested school subjects such as science, foreign languages, social studies, and arts programs, and forgo needed items such as books, field trips, and school supplies. Since the advent of NCLB, class sizes across the country have grown larger as schools try to balance depleted budgets. The underfunding of the law has also affected parents in some school districts who, after being promised benefits such as transfers from "failing" schools and free tutoring, have found limited resources available.

Many academic subjects have been marginalized because of NCLB-driven pressure on schools to strengthen their performance on standardized tests in the areas of reading and math. As previously

mentioned, a majority of states under NCLB have made budget cuts in nontested school subjects such as science, foreign languages, social studies, and arts. Teachers, parents, and educational researchers charge that NCLB only encourages, and rewards, teaching children to score well on a test, rather than teaching with a primary goal of learning or critical thinking, resulting in curriculum narrowing. As a further result of the act, teachers, particularly teachers in low-performing schools, which are often surrounded by minority neighborhoods with low socioeconomic status (SES), have been pressured to teach a narrow set of test-taking skills and have only been allowed to promote a limited range of knowledge. This type of curriculum narrowing most often takes place in schools where curricular options are already limited.

Cheating

Because NCLB enables states to set their own standards and write their own standardized tests, some states have attempted to compensate for inadequate student performance by setting very low standards and making tests unusually easy. The omnipotent specter of NCLB outcomes also hovers over various school systems and individual schools as teachers and administrators across the country, in attempts to lose the label of "underperforming," have become embroiled in various cheating scandals. Cheating or score inflation is suspected in states such as Texas, Georgia, Michigan, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Teacher Qualification

NCLB requires new teachers to possess college degrees in particular subjects. It also requires that both new and practicing teachers pass a battery of proficiency tests. These requirements have caused difficulties for some school districts, which have been unable to hire qualified teachers in "high-needs subjects" such as special education, science, or math, and many areas where school districts already have teacher shortages, such as rural or inner-city communities. In addition, NCLB's definition of what it means to be a highly qualified teacher in no way addresses multicultural knowledge or sensitivities. Only a small number of states have policies or standards for teacher preparation and certification that address the needs of diverse populations. This is cause for concern because,

despite a stated need to attract a balanced representation of teachers from various cultures, an overwhelming majority of practicing and preservice teachers are European American and female, and the numbers of teachers from minority populations are shrinking; while, as the 2010 U.S. Census shows, the United States is clearly moving from a white- and black-dominated American population to one that is multiracial and multicultural.

Current Ramifications

In 2010, President Barack Obama's administration proposed an overhaul of NCLB that encouraged states to raise academic standards, end the identification of tens of thousands of schools as failing, and refocus federal and state energy on turning around the few thousand schools in the worst shape. However, as of 2012, Congress had shown no signs of taking action. Instead, President Obama in 2012 used his executive power to issue NCLB waivers to a large number of states, freeing them from some central provisions of the act and raising the question of whether the program has been essentially nullified.

In exchange for NCLB waivers, participating states, schools, and districts have promised to set new targets aimed at preparing students for colleges and careers. They are also required to establish accountability systems that reward high-performing schools, single out low-performing schools for "rigorous and comprehensive interventions," and develop and implement plans for improving educational outcomes for underperforming groups.

A large part of the Obama plan, which revolves around a grant competition titled Race to the Top, requires school systems to link evaluations of teachers and schools to student achievement on standardized tests. The use of tests to judge teacher effectiveness is a departure from No Child Left Behind, which used test scores to rate schools and districts. Yet with this additional requirement, the continuation of NCLB-type requirements, and little sustainable funding behind it, many are asking if the Obama plan is simply NCLB 2. Will the intended purposes of this new program also be its implemented outcomes? Only time will tell.

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See Also: Educational Achievement; Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965 and Reauthorizations); Multicultural Education; Special Education.

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Northern Irish Americans

Northern Irish Americans trace their heritage to northern Ireland, the part of the Irish island that is now politically separate from the Republic of Ireland to the south. The Republic of Ireland is Catholic and is the source of most of the Irish immigrants who came to the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but Northern Ireland is predominantly Protestant, and most of its immigrants arrived in the colonial and early national periods. Northern Irish Americans are often Scots-Irish or Scotch-Irish Americans, a term only commonly found in the United States.

Northern Ireland is often referred to as Ulster, although Ulster is a region consisting of nine counties, three of which are in the Republic of Ireland. The term's popularity, though, is owed to many Northern Irish and Northern Irish Americans tracing their heritage to the Ulster Scots people, an ethnic group descended mainly from the

Border Reivers, a kinship-based society of raiders along the Anglo-Scottish border, as well as from northern English dissenters. During the reign of King James, the monarch of both Scotland and England, many of these border Scots relocated to the Ulster region of Ireland as part of the Plantation of Ulster, an organized colonization effort that began around 1606.

Colonization was limited to English-speaking Protestants, most of whom were Presbyterians, and the purpose of colonization was to dilute the population of Ireland in order to prevent rebellion. The Plantation of Ulster is often blamed for leading to the Partition of Ireland in 1921, which came about as a result of growing cultural, political, and religious differences between the north and south.

Though one of the goals of the government in the Plantation of Ulster was to Anglicize Ireland through colonization, the Ulster Scots faced persecution at the end of the 17th century, when the Penal Laws granted full rights only to the state-approved Church of Ireland and its members, not the Irish Catholics or the Ulster Scots Presbyterians. This began a period of immigration of Ulster Scots to the United States.

Immigration was steady until 1775, halted because of the Revolutionary War, and peaked in the early 19th century. Because Northern Irish Protestants preceded the large waves of southern Irish Catholics who immigrated later, it is possible that some of the anti-Catholic, anti-Irish sentiment those later immigrants faced was fostered by Northern Irish Americans who still harbored resentments toward their ancestors' Catholic neighbors. The term *Scotch-Irish* was coined in the mid-19th century by Northern Irish Americans—who had previously called themselves Irish—to differentiate themselves from southern Irish Catholics.

Many of the first Northern Irish American settlers were responsible for settling the frontier in New England: the regions of what are now Maine and New Hampshire, then part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The Northern Irish Americans were likely responsible for introducing the potato to Maine, where it became a staple crop and a key ingredient in the region's traditional clam chowder. Though indigenous to the New World, potatoes originated in South America, not North

America, and were popularized in Europe long before Americans began to cultivate them.

Northern Irish populated the western frontier of the colonies, such as the wilderness of Pennsylvania, and were key participants in the French and Indian War. Their descendants, farmers who had been largely autonomous until the federal government formed after the Revolutionary War, waged the Whiskey Rebellion against President George Washington's whiskey tax, which greatly increased their dependence on hard currency.

Some historians have argued that essential elements of the Ulster Scots and the Border Reivers before them—a desire for self-sufficiency, a distrust of and even hostility toward government, a glorification of firearms, and a self-perception deeply informed by notions of honor—became cultural characteristics of regions of the United States, especially the south (where the Northern Irish greatly outnumber the southern Irish) and the mid-Atlantic (the lands that constituted the American frontier in the colonial and early republic eras). President Andrew Jackson was born to Northern Irish immigrants. The patriarchs of the Hatfield and McCoy families of the West Virginia/Kentucky area were both Northern Irish. Scotch-Irish music and folktales have been demonstrated as the ancestors of the music and folklore of the Appalachian Mountain region.

In Castletown, Northern Ireland, in the Ulster county of Tyrone, the Ulster American Folk Park is an open-air museum celebrating the historical connections between Ulster and the United States. Many of the buildings are re-creations of 18th- and 19th-century dwellings where period-appropriate crafts are demonstrated, and there are demonstrations of Appalachian folk music and bluegrass, as well as the Fourth of July and Halloween.

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See Also: Ancient Order of Hibernians; Irish Americans; Scots-Irish Americans; Scottish Americans.

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Norwegian Americans

Although some Norwegians had settled in North America considerably earlier, especially in the Dutch colony of New Netherland, the era of Norwegian mass migration commenced in the 19th century. The arrival of religious dissenters on the sloop *Restauration* in 1825 serves as the symbolic starting point of this population movement, but larger numbers of Norwegians did not arrive until the 1840s and especially the end of the Civil War.

During the subsequent decades, emigration from the long-stretched country on Europe's northern periphery, whose agriculture was not overly favored by climatic and geological conditions, increased rapidly. Because of a shortage of tillable land, the continual population growth—swelling the country's population from 883,000 in 1801 to 1.7 million in 1865—could not be absorbed by a still largely preindustrial economy.

The number of arrivals from Norway to the United States peaked at 196,000 immigrants in the 1880s and over 182,000 between 1900 and 1909; but even so, the domestic population continued to expand to over 2.2 million in 1900. World War I and the subsequent U.S. immigration restrictions brought the period of Norwegian mass migration to a fairly abrupt end, however. Although the era's restrictionist movement was not directed primarily against Scandinavians, the National Origins Act in its final form allotted Norway a yearly immigrant quota of only 2,377.

Overall, 815,000 Norwegians were registered as immigrants to the United States in the period from 1820 to 1950. This number puts Norway among the larger countries of origins, which is noteworthy in view of its modest population base and draws attention to the remarkably high ratio

of emigration. The relatively low rate of return migration among Norwegians as well as for other Scandinavians, estimated at approximately 15 percent during the early decades of the 20th century, further increased the impact of Norwegians on American society. Especially important to this impact was the regional concentration of the immigrants in select states. Whereas Norwegians only accounted for approximately 2 percent of the era's total immigration, they reached much larger percentages in their areas of concentration.

At its peak in 1910, the number of foreign-born Norwegian Americans reached 404,000, with another 609,000 belonging to the second generation. More than half of them established their residence in only three neighboring states, led by Minnesota with almost 280,000 and followed by Wisconsin and North Dakota with 158,000 and 123,000, respectively; outside the midwest, only the state of Washington approached these levels in relative terms. Because of its lower overall population, North Dakota formed—and forms—the state with the highest concentration of Norwegian Americans. As late as 2000, 30 percent of North Dakotans still reported Norwegian ancestry, followed by 17 percent of Minnesotans.

In this upper-midwestern heartland, Norwegian Americans created an impressive infrastructure of religious, cultural, and social institutions, including a vibrant press. Although some Norwegians belonged or converted to other denominations, the vast majority joined Lutheran congregations. Many of these congregations were established along ethnic lines and developed into larger Norwegian American religious bodies. These churches not only served as expressions of Norwegian cultural life in their own right but also founded a variety of additional institutions, especially in the educational sector. Well-known midwestern liberal arts colleges such as St. Olaf College in southern Minnesota and Luther College in northern Iowa trace their traditions to early Norwegian ecclesial bodies.

Norwegian Culture

For several decades, committed Norwegian Americans considered it feasible to uphold and expand an autonomous cultural sphere. This expectation was reinforced by the predominantly rural



From 1820 to 1950, 815,000 Norwegians were registered as immigrants to the United States. In the upper midwest, most joined Lutheran congregations at houses of worship like this Norwegian Lutheran Memorial Church in Chicago, Illinois.

character of 19th-century Norwegian immigration that frequently sheltered its members from the cultural dominance of the majority society. At the turn of the 20th century, more than every second Norwegian American was occupied in agriculture, far exceeding the averages of most other immigrant groups. In these rural enclaves, Norwegian American activists dreamed of creating a Norwegian expression of American life to complement the older British expressions of the eastern seaboard. In the once widely read novels of Norwegian American author and educator O. E. Rolvaag, the memory of this cultural vision still lives on.

In real life, even the midwestern strongholds of Norwegian culture increasingly succumbed to Americanization. In 1910, more than a million Americans listed Norwegian as their mother tongue. By 1960, there were only 322,000 speakers of Norwegian left, of whom 141,000 were first-generation Americans, whereas 141,000 were estimated to belong to the second and 40,000 to the third generation. In spite of a continued trickle of new immigrants, only 55,000 Americans described themselves as Norwegian speakers in 2000.

Notwithstanding their successful social and cultural integration, which also expresses itself in an above-average level of educational and economic attainment, Norwegian immigrants and their descendants have left a distinct mark on American life. In the 2010 census, almost 4.5 million Americans listed full or partial Norwegian ancestry, which indicates a higher level of cultural identification in proportion to immigrant numbers than many other nationalities, including Swedes and Danes. In their upper midwestern heartland, especially, Americans of Norwegian descent have been well represented in cultural, economic, and political life, primarily on the regional level but, as exemplified by Walter Mondale, at times also on the national level. It is not by chance, therefore, that the image of the Norwegian bachelor farmer and other symbolic representations of Norwegian midwesterners have firmly established themselves in the cultural imagination of contemporary America.

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See Also: Danish Americans; Scandinavian Americans; Swedish Americans.

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Nuyoricans

The term *Nuyoricans* refers to New York City inhabitants of Puerto Rican heritage; it was first used in a pejorative sense in the 1960s and 1970s to refer to those Puerto Ricans born in New York. It has been subsequently appropriated as a name of pride.

Puerto Rican Migration to the United States

Puerto Ricans have lived in New York City since the end of the 19th century, when they were part of independence movements to free the remaining Caribbean colonies of the Spanish Empire: Cuba and Puerto Rico. Among the most famous Puerto Ricans living in New York at the turn of the century were Eugenio María de Hostos and Alfonso Arturo Schomburg.

The island came into the possession of the United States in 1898 at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War; 20 years later, inhabitants of Puerto Rico were granted U.S. citizenship, which facilitated travel to the continent. In the first decades of the 20th century, there was a relatively steady stream of workers moving from towns on the island to New York in search of employment. By 1930, there were approximately 52,000 Puerto Ricans living in the United States, 88 percent of whom (approximately 46,000) lived in New York.

Operation Bootstrap

In the 1940s and 1950s, the numbers of migrants increased dramatically, spurred by industrialization efforts on the island. Prior to the war, Puerto Rico was primarily a plantation economy that depended greatly on the production of sugar; the Great Depression, however, highlighted the problems of a single-crop economy when prices of sugar fell dramatically, affecting an already impoverished populace located primarily in rural areas.

During World War II, construction projects to improve the roads connecting military installations prompted the creation of cement factories. In the aftermath of the war, there was a sustained investment of capital from U.S. businesses to diversify the economy, changing the emphasis from rural to urban production. Laborers who had previously worked in sugar production were no longer needed. Those left without employment moved from the countryside to the cities, and after the cities were saturated, on to the continental United States. In the decade of the 1950s, 450,000 Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland.

Island–Mainland Tensions

The moniker *Nuyorican* emerged in the 1960s and 1970s and applies to the community that settled permanently in New York. The late 1960s saw the emergence of a heightened cultural nationalism in the form of the Young Lords Party. Inspired by the civil rights movement and the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Party called for the independence of the island from the United States as well as an educational system that taught Puerto Rican history and culture, among other demands.

The New York community continued to claim Puerto Rican, rather than an American, identity. Often, upon returning to the island, they were confronted with hostility, as the populace there claimed that the offspring of Operation Bootstrap were not genuinely or authentically Puerto Rican. Children born and raised in the United States often did not speak fluent Spanish and knew little of the history and culture of the place idealized by their parents.

Recovery as Point of Pride

Alienated from both their island counterparts and from the mainstream U.S. society that had marginalized the community as one marked by crime and poverty, these men and women were caught in a double bind. There slowly emerged the articulation of a new identity—that of the New York City Puerto Rican, or Nuyorican, best represented in the writings of the time.

In the pages of Piri Thomas's *Down These Mean Streets* (1967) and in the poetry of Sandra María Esteves, Miguel Algarín, Pedro Pietri, and Tato Laviera, among others, is a pride in surviving rampant anti-Puerto Rican discrimination,

poverty, crime, and the racism of the New York City streets. Poets came to be seen as the spokesmen and -women of the community: 1973 saw the founding of a literary gathering that would evolve to become known as the Nuyoricans Poets Cafe on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Founded by Miguel Algarín, it continues to serve as a gathering space for artists, poets, performers, musicians, and dancers. The following year saw the staging of *Short Eyes*, a play by Miguel Piñero, a founding member of the café; it went on to win the New York Drama Critics Circle Award and the Obie Award for Best Play of the Year.

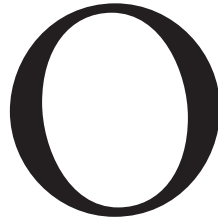
Once a pejorative, Nuyoricans now signifies pride in a distinctly “New York City” identity. According to the 2010 census, approximately 1.1 million New Yorkers self-identify as having Puerto Rican heritage; though this number accounts for inhabitants throughout the state, the New York City Puerto Rican population continues to be the largest of the multiple Hispanic communities in the city.

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See Also: National Puerto Rican Forum; Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund; Puerto Ricans.

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Occupied America: A History of Chicanos

First published in 1972, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* was one of the first textbooks to recount the history of Mexican Americans. The book was written by Rodolfo Acuña, a professor emeritus in the Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies at California State University, Northridge, and in 2012 was in its seventh edition. Since its initial publication, *Occupied America* has become a staple of high school and introductory-level collegiate Chicano and Mexican American Studies courses throughout the southwest.

The book has drawn considerable praise as well as criticism for both its tone and its content, with feelings running high on both sides. After the enactment of an Arizona state law prohibiting the teaching of ethnic studies courses went into effect in January 2012, *Occupied America* was designated as an allegedly inappropriate, “racist,” and “anti-American” book by supporters of the ban, and the Tucson (Arizona) Unified School District was forced to withdraw it, along with six other books that deconstruct race and ethnicity in American society, from its classrooms and libraries.

Rodolfo Acuña: Scholar and Activist

The son of Mexican immigrants, Rodolfo Acuña was born on May 18, 1932, in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. His mother, Alicia Elias, originally hailed from Sonora, and his father, Francisco Acuña, migrated to the United States from Jalisco. Acuña attended Los Angeles State College, where he earned a bachelor of arts degree in social sciences in 1957 and a master’s degree in history in 1962. Six years later, he graduated from the University of Southern California with a Ph.D. in Latin American Studies.

Acuña has long been praised as a scholar, educator, and community activist. Amid the social activism of the Chicano movement, Acuña was hired to help establish a Chicano Studies program at California State University, Northridge, in 1968. He is one of the nation’s foremost scholars of Chicano history and identity, having earned research grants from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

Acuña has authored several other books chronicling the experiences of Mexicans/Chicanos and other Latinos in the United States in addition to *Occupied America*, including *Community Under Siege: A Chronicle of Chicanos East of the Los Angeles River, 1945-1975* (published in 1984), *Anything But Mexican: Chica-*

nos in Contemporary Los Angeles (1996), and *U.S. Latino Issues* (2004).

Three of Acuña's books have won the Gustavus Myers Award for the Outstanding Book on Race Relations in North America, and the journal *Black Issues in Higher Education* named Acuña one of the 100 Most Influential Educators of the 20th century.

A Chicano Studies Textbook

Occupied America serves as an interpretive history of Mexicans and Mexican Americans/Chicanos, which Acuña begins by discussing the sociohistorical legacies of various pre-Columbian indigenous cultures of Mesoamerica, including the Olmeca, Maya, and Azteca, among others. He then analyzes the Spanish conquest of Mexico, noting the devastating impact on the indigenous population.

This is followed by analysis of the colonization of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, along with a contextualization of the Texas Revolution (1835–36) and the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and the sociopolitical fallout of these key historical events in the formation of social identity among persons of Mexican ancestry living in territory now under U.S. authority following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848).

The second half of Acuña's textbook focuses on the social experiences of Chicanos throughout the 20th century, including the Mexican Revolution (1910–20); the growing demand for Mexican labor by U.S. employers in the southwest in the 1920s and the 1940s; the massive deportation campaigns of Mexican migrants and, in some cases, citizens, during the 1930s and 1950s; the rise of the Chicano movement during the 1960s; and the general transition from radical politics toward a reformist/mainstream political framework among Mexican American leaders during the 1980s and 1990s.

Acuña also discusses the rise of reactionary political initiatives in California during the 1990s, such as the passage of referenda aiming to crack down on undocumented immigrants and the banning of affirmative action and bilingual education. Acuña notes that support for these initiatives derived from economic downturns and a societal backlash toward the growing presence and visibility of Mexicans, Chicanos, and Latinos

in American society. Newer editions of *Occupied America* contain an epilogue, titled "Is Antonio Banderas a Chicano?," which discusses the growing population of Spanish-speaking persons and persons of Latin American descent in the United States, the tendency for media and academics to collectively refer to this population under the umbrella term "Latino," and the potentially problematic nature of pan-ethnic Latino identity politics.

Acuña's overarching theme throughout *Occupied America* is the evolving nature of Mexican American/Chicano identity over the course of 500 years of conquest, colonialism, and oppression. The title refers to Acuña's contention that ever since the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th century, followed by other Europeans shortly thereafter, the American continent has been occupied, and this occupation has fostered struggles for inclusion and equality among indigenous peoples and other oppressed groups.

Critics, including conservative figures and some scholars of Mexican American/Chicano history, have expressed disagreement with the textbook's tone, arguing that Acuña focuses excessively on racism and oppression, eschews a dispassionate assessment of history, and overlooks important cases of Anglo-Mexican/Chicano collaboration throughout history. Acuña has lamented that many Chicano Studies departments have now become "ethnic studies" programs that have abandoned social justice causes.

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See Also: Chicano Moratorium; Chicano Movement; Chicanos; Ethnic Studies; Mexican Americans; Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán; Political Correctness.

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Odawa

The Odawa are an Anishinaabe people, a group of Native American tribes indigenous to the United States and Canada, who speak closely related languages. Other Anishinaabe people include the Ojibwe and Algonquin peoples. The word *Anishinaabe* means “First People” and is an autonym used in the tribes’ creation myths. Since sometime before European contact, perhaps as early as the 8th century, the Odawa, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi (an Algonquin tribe) have dealt with each other in the Council of Three Fires, in which the Odawa are called Middle Brother (the Ojibwe are the Elder Brother) and the keepers of trade. The Council of Three Fires provided a trading network for the related tribes as well as a military alliance that fought against the Sioux, Iroquois, British (in the Seven Years’ War), and United States (during the Northwest Indian War and the War of 1812). The council also helped form the Great Lakes Confederacy, a pan-tribal confederacy, after the American Revolution.

Canadian Homeland

The Odawa homeland is Manitoulin Island, an island in Lake Huron, in the Canadian province of Ontario. One of Canada’s largest islands, Manitoulin is home to 108 freshwater lakes, and many of the islands within those lakes have ponds. Four major rivers running through the island—Blue Jay Creek, the Kagawong, Manitou, and Mindemoya—are spawning grounds for trout and salmon. Settlement on the island dates back at least 10,000 years, though it is not known for certain whether the Odawa were the original inhabitants.

Today, there are about 15,000 Odawa living in Ontario in Canada, and in Michigan and Oklahoma in the United States. The Ottawa River, for which the Ontario city of Ottawa is named, is named for the Odawa people, whose name may mean “traders.” For centuries, the Odawa people were known for their intertribal trade, principally in tobacco, corn goods, furs and skins, and medicines. Their trading connections were widespread enough and important enough that many of the tribes they dealt with became known principally by the names the Odawa used for them—such as the Sioux (who call themselves the

Lakota) and the Winnebago (who call themselves the Ho-Chunk).

Today, there are four formally recognized Odawa governments in the United States. The Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa (Ojibwe) Indians was formally recognized in 1980 and includes the Grand Traverse Indian Reservation, consisting of a number of noncontiguous plots in Michigan. The Little River Band of Ottawa Indians was formally recognized in the 19th century and owns land on reservations in Manistee and Mason Counties, in Michigan. The Little River Band represents nine bands of the original Grand River Bands and operates the Little River Casino and Resort.

The Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians, with about 4,000 members, operate the Odawa Casino Resort in Michigan and have a reservation encompassing land in Charlevoix and Emmet Counties. The fourth recognized government is also the only one not located in Michigan. The Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma is located in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, and has 2,500 enrolled members, though only 737 of them live in Oklahoma. The Ottawa Tribe operates the High Winds Casino, the Otter Stop Convenience Store, and two tribal smoke shops as well as an annual powwow on Labor Day weekend and a community health program.

The Odawa tribe ceded some of its lands in Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois for land in Kansas in the 19th century. Most of the Odawa who attempted the trip to Kansas died on the journey, and the climatic adaptation to the dry Great Plains was difficult. The town of Ottawa, Kansas, developed around the reservation, and the Odawa sold some of their reservation land in order to fund the construction of a university. Ottawa University was founded in 1865 as a private, nonprofit, Baptist liberal arts college, and today it operates multiple campuses, serving 3,000 students. Tribe members attend for free. The university’s sports teams are called the Ottawa Braves.

A number of Odawa also live in the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Nation in Michigan. There are a number of Odawa governments that have not yet been granted federal recognition, all of them in Michigan: the Burt Lake Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, Consolidated Bahweting Ojibwas and Mackinac Tribe, Grand River Bands of

Ottawa Indians, Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians, and Mackinac Bands of Chippewa and Ottawa Indians have state recognition; the Maple River Band and Muskegon River Band of Ottawa Indians do not. The Ottawa Colony Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians is recognized as part of the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan.

Perhaps the best-known Odawa is Chief Pontiac (1720–69), who led a rebellion against the occupation of the Great Lakes region by the British military after the French and Indian War. The rebellion began with a siege on Fort Detroit in 1763, and Pontiac was a central figure in Indian resistance to the British for the next three years. Other Native American leaders resented the authority he was granted in diplomatic negotiations, particularly given his arrogance and pomposity. He was assassinated in 1769 because of his growing unpopularity.

The French Odawa trader Petosegay (1787–1885) was a prominent merchant in 19th-century Michigan, owning much of the land that became modern-day Petoskey, Michigan. Petoskey State Park is named for him. The Grand Medicine Society, or Midewiwin, is a secret religious group consisting of Odawa tribe members as well as other Anishinaabe tribe members. Practitioners are called Midew and must be initiated into the animistic religion, after which time they may progress through four degrees of practice. Teachings are passed down orally and on birch bark scrolls. Ceremonies may use cowrie shells, bundles, and other sacred items, and are held at midwinter, at the change of the seasons, and during special festivals like the Raven Festival and the Feast of the Dead.

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See Also: French and Indian War; Native Americans; Odawa; Ojibwe.

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Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages

The Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages (OBEML) was an agency of the U.S. Department of Education (DoE) that was responsible for administering programs authorized under the Bilingual Education Act, also known as Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 and its subsequent amendments. In this role, the OBEML helped guide policy and to provide federal support for bilingual education programs administered by states and local school districts. The OBEML was also responsible for administering the Foreign Language Assistance Program, which was authorized by Title V of ESEA.

As a result of the No Child Left Behind legislation (NCLB), the OBEML was renamed the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students, a change that reflected a policy change that favored the acquisition of English over the maintenance of English language learners' (ELLs) primary language.

Background

The DoE defines “bilingual education” as an education program for children with limited English proficiency. Although bilingual education entails a variety of services, most bilingual education programs focus on English acquisition, acquisition of content knowledge, and maintenance of the primary language.

Bilingual education first was addressed by legislation on a federal level through the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (BEA, or Title VII of ESEA). The BEA established voluntary programs that encouraged school districts to consider new ways

of educating minority-language students. In *Lau v. Nichols* (414 U.S. 563 [1974]), the U.S. Supreme Court held that school districts must provide English-language instruction to students whose primary language is not English—failure to do so would deny children of their rights under § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination based upon race, color, or national origin. After passage of the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, the BEA was amended to emphasize that bilingual education must provide children instruction in English *and* in their native language, thereby maintaining the children's native language and culture while also allowing them to progress through the educational system.

This policy shift, which greatly valued the contributions children from multicultural backgrounds make to the classroom and school community, was in many ways led by the OBEML. In 1978, additional changes were authorized by Congress, as new amendments emphasized that English-speaking children could enroll in bilingual programs, increased the number of English language learners (ELLs) that the program could serve by expanding the criteria for inclusion in the program, and emphasized that native language instruction was to be temporary. Further amendments in 1984 and 1988 as well as a reauthorization of the BEA in 1994 increased the flexibility of programming that schools could offer, expanded funding to state agencies to support bilingual education, and set up preferences for those programs that developed proficiency in two or more languages.

With the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2001, however, the BEA was rewritten and renamed the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act. As the new name indicates, post-NCLB years saw increased emphasis on achievement, especially as measured by standardized testing. Although the federal government still provides funds to support compensatory education that is part of bilingual education programs, the total pool of money available to these programs is less than half the funding that was available before NCLB.

Responsibilities and Policies

The director of the OBEML served as an assistant commissioner of education in the U.S. Office of Education, a role that was elevated to assistant

secretary when the office became the secretary of education within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) in 1972, and became a cabinet-level position eight years later. The director of the OBEML advised the commissioner/secretary of education on matters relating to linguistically and culturally diverse students. In addition, the OBEML had responsibility for oversight of the Foreign Language Assistance program, which Congress authorized via Title V of ESEA.

The OBEML established and implemented policies and procedures related to bilingual education programs that served the United States' ELLs. Representatives of the OBEML were also responsible for the national dissemination of research that supported best practices in bilingual education. Specifically, the OBEML worked with state education agencies (SEAs) and local education authorities (LEAs) to build and enhance the capacity of teachers and schools to serve ELLs through challenge and demonstration grants.

The OBEML also worked with faculty at colleges and universities to help develop high-quality professional development activities for teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, and other school personnel who worked with ELLs. Unlike many agencies that focused solely on English acquisition, the OBEML also worked to encourage appreciation of ELLs' primary language and to encourage respect for cultural and linguistic diversity. Significantly, the OBEML did not report to the Office of Elementary and Secondary Education (OESE) but, as a compensatory education program, reported directly to the commissioner/superintendent of education.

Since the OBEML was reconstituted as the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students, more emphasis has been placed upon monitoring student achievement, especially as measured by standardized tests. Indeed, since the DoE began requiring ELLs to be tested in English after instruction of no more than three years in their primary language, some began to question its commitment to bilingual education. This shift was coupled with new policies favoring structured English immersion (SEI) over other forms of bilingual education, such as two-way/dual-language immersion and late-exit/developmental bilingual education.

These changes have disturbed many who advocate for students and teachers from multicultural backgrounds, since the changes are seen as ignoring the value of ELLs' home language and culture.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Bilingualism; California Propositions 187, 209, and 227; Chicano Movement; Compensatory Education; National Association for Bilingual Education.

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Office of English Language Acquisition

The Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students (OELA) was established as part of the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), a cornerstone of federal education reform policy. OELA addresses requirements for English language learner (ELL) student achievement as prescribed by Title III of NCLB. This agency is also responsible for coordinating, directing, and administering programs to assist ELLs via state- and local-level education agencies (SEAs and LEAs).

OELA supports the efforts of SEAs and LEAs to ensure that their districts reinforce high academic standards, accountability, teacher training,

and parental involvement. OELA also administers the Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) authorized by Title V of NCLB. FLAP is a federal program that seeks to establish and enhance foreign language instruction in K–12 settings. Programs that demonstrate best practices in curriculum development, student assessment, teacher recruitment and development, and parental involvement are funded through three-year competitive, discretionary grants to state and local school districts.

OELA is supported by the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition & Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA). Primarily a research arm of OELA, the NCELA reinforces the mission of OELA to enhance academic achievement for ELLs as outlined in Title III. The agency collects, analyzes, and coordinates research related to educational outcomes for ELLs. It also disseminates the findings of such research to SEAs, LEAs, teachers, parents, and other educational stakeholders. The NCELA is affiliated with the George Washington University Graduate School of Education and Human Development under contract from the U.S. Department of Education.

History of Federal Support for ELLs

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), also known as the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, provided unprecedented academic support to students designated as Limited English Proficient (here referred to as ELLs). Regarded as one of the first official attempts to provide federally funded specialized support to ELLs, the act initially included instruction in Spanish as a native language, English as a second language instruction, and heritage Spanish cultural awareness and appreciation.

Title VII provided funding support to districts through a competitive grant system. A wide variety of curricular, teacher professional development, and student assessment programs were funded under Title VII; however, the act did not provide any specific mandates for the types of instruction that ELLs should receive. Further, though the act indicated that programs for classroom instruction and teacher professional development should be based on scientific research, there was no clear definition of who would determine which programs meet those requirements.

In 2001, the George W. Bush administration eliminated Title VII in NCLB—the administration’s name for the reauthorization of ESEA. One of the sweeping changes of NCLB mandated that ELLs simultaneously attain English language proficiency and meet the same content area standards required of their native-born peers. Though NCLB allowed for district-level flexibility in the choice of curricula for ELLs, the legislation also prescribed greater accountability for ELLs. NCLB mandated that the academic achievement of ELLs was therefore included in administrators’ evaluations of students’ mastery of academic knowledge and skills as defined by NCLB’s high-stakes testing program. For the purposes of accountability, ELLs’ test scores were included in schools’ Annual Yearly Progress calculations.

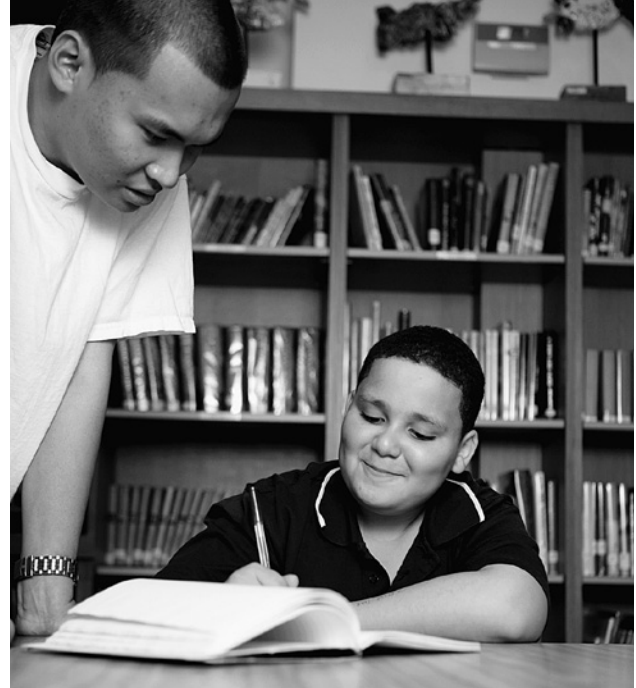
Though OELA was created through NCLB, there previously existed similar federal agencies that focused on the academic achievement of ELLs. Since OELA’s creation, however, there has been ensuing controversy regarding the nation’s commitment to ELLs.

Controversy

Bilingual education advocates say that the name change from Office of Bilingual and Minority Language to Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students signaled a change in national policy toward a more English-only approach of English immersion that disfavors bilingual education programs. Others connect this change to prevailing anti-immigrant national discourse and a rise in anti-immigrant legislation linked to immigration reform.

Although Title III does not prevent or prohibit the implementation of bilingual education, all references to “bilingual” and “bilingualism” have been removed from the bill. In contrast, advocates for ELLs point out that the 1994 authorization of the Bilingual Education Act indeed included language that supported and encouraged maintenance of ELLs’ native languages as they developed and demonstrated mastery of English.

Distancing the new Title III legislation, which focuses heavily on English language acquisition, from the former, more bilingual nature of Title VII, the statutes of NCLB have been renamed and renumbered. For example, OELA replaced



The Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages became the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students after passage of the No Child Left Behind Act.

the former Office of Bilingual and Minority Language Education. The Bilingual Education Act, previously Title VII, became the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act, now Title III. Finally, the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education has been renamed the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA).

Other legislation changes are funding procedures for SEAs and LEAs. A competitive discretionary formula grant that awards monies to districts based on the size of their limited English proficiency (LEP) population replaced funding based on competitive grants under Title III. Critics argue that this change wrangles opportunities for funding away from innovative individual teachers or districts and places it in the hands of SEAs that will have greater control over district-wide dissemination of funds.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Bilingualism; Dual (Two-Way) Immersion Education; English as a Second Language Education; English-Language Learners; No Child Left Behind Act (2001).

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Official English Movement

The Official English movement is a political effort to establish English as the official language of the United States. Although English is overwhelmingly used in state and national governmental operations, the United States has no de jure or legal language policy, so organizations that support "English-Only" or "English as the Official Language" work to pass laws at the local, state, and national levels. Supporters believe that Official English amendments reaffirm the status of English, urge immigrants to assimilate, and caution governmental agencies against spending tax dollars on bilingual services. Critics of Official English contend that the movement, by coercing mainstream conformity, endangers the rich cultural and linguistic diversity that can be both an individual resource and a societal boon.

There are various groups that champion an English language amendment—such as U.S.

English, English First, and ProEnglish. In addition to the notion that making English the single language used in public and governmental operations would unify the nation, mission statements of Official English groups cite American patriotism, a national heritage, and the symbolic importance of having one language along with one flag. English-Only advocates maintain that multilingual policies are costly, are ineffective, and foster immigrants' tendency to segregate.

They argue that decreasing multilingual services—such as with voting ballots, drivers' exams, emergency operators, and interpreting and translating options—would encourage immigrants to integrate and in turn improve their economic prosperity. In conjunction, eliminating bilingual education in schools and increasing English proficiency requirements for citizenship would send a strong message about the importance of knowing English. Advocates of Official English fear that, without these efforts, the primacy of the English language is in danger and linguistic disunity could lead to ethnic separatism.

Opponents of the Official English movement agree that English proficiency is vital to personal and professional well-being but differ in the means to this goal. They emphasize that the United States already has a de facto language policy because the vast majority of businesses and governmental entities operate in English. Therefore, there is no need for a law to protect or promote its use. According to those opposing the Official English movement, people who are not yet proficient in English are already highly motivated to improve their fluency for both social and economic reasons.

The ideology of the Official English movement can be seen as the linguistic equivalent of the "melting pot," where cultural differences are deemphasized or erased in order for minority residents to "assimilate" and blend into the dominant society. The belief follows that minority languages interfere with English acquisition and are better "subtracted." The opposing position encourages individuals to "acculturate" into the multicultural mosaic of the United States, adding mainstream knowledge and ways-of-being to beneficial features of a home culture. The additive linguistic view sees humans as capable of utilizing multiple languages, as evidenced in Europe and countries with regional dialects. As such,

adding an additional language while developing one's native tongue is personally and professionally beneficial.

In addition to addressing speakers of minority languages, the additive philosophy extends to majority or fluent English speakers. If everyone knew English *plus* another language—the English-Plus approach—individuals and companies would be prepared for the global marketplace. Native English speakers would have more opportunities to learn a second language, especially at younger ages in K–12 dual immersion programs, while English learners would have greater access to language acquisition classes via schools, employers, and community organizations. According to English-Plus advocates, promoting multilingual skills is more effective in unifying the country and ensuring national security.

Advocates of English-Plus argue that English-Only laws and policies not only are unnecessary and counterproductive but also have negatively impacted the psychosocial and material well-being of English learners. They have restricted the individual rights of those who are not yet English-proficient and, in many cases, have been found to be unconstitutional. Even when courts overturn English-Only referenda, there can be discriminatory consequences. Misinformation or “language vigilantism” ensues, such as students being penalized for speaking their native language and employees being prohibited from using languages other than English in the workplace. Overt connections between the Official English movement and anti-immigrant efforts have spurred allegations of racism and xenophobia. Some organizations have been classified as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Whether the intentions of the Official English movement are a proxy for fostering anti-minority sentiment will continue to be debated, but arguably a more constructive way to promote the majority language would be to expand programs and resources to learn English. To date, no English-only bill has addressed the perpetual shortage of English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. Moreover, longitudinal data show that native language support improves the acquisition of a second or additional language. Although this may seem counterintuitive to those unfamiliar with research supporting late-exit bilingual and

dual-language education, true advocates of English proficiency recognize the benefits of utilizing—not restricting—the native language.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Bilingual Ballots; Bilingualism; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Hegemony; Language Usage in the United States.

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Ojibwe

The Ojibwe, also referred to as Chippewa, are one of the largest nations among American Indians and First Nations in North America. Twenty-two Ojibwe groups are federally recognized in the United States, located in Michigan (seven), Minnesota (seven), Montana (one), North Dakota (one), and Wisconsin (six). Over 130 groups are identified as belonging to First Nations in Canada. Numerous other Ojibwe groups exist that have not been federally recognized. Despite the ethnic conflict, poverty and disease, and assimilation that have been consistent problems for a large part of Ojibwe history and prehistory, the Ojibwe population remains vibrant and is growing.

According to an Ojibwe creation myth, the Ojibwe came into being when the Creator formed the earth and all the life that would occupy it, finishing with the creation of Ojibwe and natural laws to maintain order. The name *Ojibwe* likely refers to a stylistic component of the Ojibwe mocasin or the cultural tradition of using birch bark in the process of writing. Recorded history places the Ojibwe as originating within Algonquian

groups in northeastern North America along the Atlantic Ocean and likely becoming a distinct collective around 1,500 years ago. This collective was not a single, unified group; rather, it comprised many smaller bands that differed from one another in language and culture but were similar enough that ethnicity was recognized as Ojibwe.

Growing needs for subsistence and resulting conflict over resources led the Ojibwe to migrate west. From the northeast near present-day Newfoundland and Labrador, Ojibwe ancestors traveled west with the Odowa and Potawatomi and ultimately dispersed to the northern plains and Great Lakes regions. Around 1640, French Jesuit priests made contact with groups of Ojibwe who had moved to Sault Ste. Marie in northern Michigan.

Because they became heavily involved in the French-Canadian fur trade, the Ojibwe clashed with the Iroquois Confederacy as the Dutch and British worked to hinder French expansion in North America. The French and Indian War led to Ojibwe alliances with other groups, the introductions of new technologies into Ojibwe culture, and the extension of Ojibwe territory.

Of note is the incorporation of firearms into Ojibwe life, which was significant both in increasing the efficiency of hunting and in assisting the Ojibwe in expanding their territory through the removal of other groups from their lands. Until the mid-19th century, Ojibwe territory included parts of Michigan, Ontario, Quebec, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. As the Ojibwe migrated west, they developed a complex relationship with the neighboring Dakota. Although the Dakota and Ojibwe coexisted peacefully and promoted trade for long periods, the two nations had numerous violent engagements prior to white settlement. An influx of white settlers in the mid-19th century was met with an end to Dakota-Ojibwe conflict as each dealt with the multiplicity of changes caused by the incoming white population.

From 1781 to 1929, the Ojibwe, looking for economic gain, sold and ceded land in Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin to the U.S. government, and land north of the border to Canada, through treaties and purchases. These treaties were signed with the agreement that the Ojibwe could still use the land for its resources. However, the rising population limited Ojibwe access to land, and

soon the nation, having sold most of its land in an attempt to perpetuate survival, experienced economic downturn.

Ojibwe lands were further reduced following the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887, which allowed the U.S. government to distribute “excess” land to white settlers. Ojibwe groups were moved onto developing reservations, where many of their traditions were replaced by Western customs—the placement of children in boarding schools, the introduction of Western religion and denial of Ojibwe spirituality, and alterations of tribal structure. The Ojibwe did not offer much physical resistance to these changes compared to other groups; the last violent interactions between the Ojibwe and the U.S. government occurred in 1898.

In 1934, new leadership in the Bureau of Indian Affairs led to the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which enabled the Ojibwe to form modern tribal governments and, ultimately, strengthened tribal sovereignty. Other legislation has since been enacted, including the Indian Child Welfare Act



An Ojibwe man known as Arrowhead in 1903. In 1910, the population of Ojibwe in the United States was about 21,000. By 2010, that number had grown to over 170,000.

and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, which has allowed the Ojibwe to retain rights over more aspects of their culture. Further, some Ojibwe groups have challenged U.S. sovereignty by reclaiming treaty rights; successful cases have resulted in regaining rights to resources that were promised to them in earlier treaties.

Furthermore, the American Indian Movement (AIM), which became active in 1968, was founded by a group of American Indians in Minneapolis, including George Miller, Dennis Banks, and Clyde Bellecourt, all of whom belonged to Ojibwe groups.

Prior to relocation to reservations, Ojibwe kinship systems were patrilineal, with a distinct emphasis on clan, or totem, as being indicative of an individual's status. Marriage within a totem was forbidden. Many marriages were arranged, and extended family members were considered immediate and essential to a family's functionality. Elders raised children until the age of seven, when they began to learn their roles within the gendered division of labor. Male children learned hunting, fishing, and warfare; female children learned agricultural techniques and skills required for clan function, such as hide tanning and net construction.

Spiritual leaders had a significant role in Ojibwe communities. Whereas clans were predominantly led by individuals who were well suited to filling a role according to the clan's needs, spiritual leaders acted as conveyors of culture. Both members of tribal government and community members from a range of backgrounds fill present-day leadership roles.

Issues that contemporary Ojibwe face are diverse. Tribal enrollment is defined by blood quota, which is problematic because of historical recording practices that invoked racist methods of determining indigenous status. Further, Ojibwe tribes that are not federally recognized are unable to reap any benefits offered by the government. Self-determination remains constantly an issue as Ojibwe seek to have more control over their culture's future. Aside from these concerns, the Ojibwe confront numerous other problems, such as alcoholism, poverty, and crime.

Culture loss is also a serious matter. One major concern for the Ojibwe is the revitalization of their native language. As of 2010, some 50,000 to 60,000 people could fluently speak the language,

but most resided in Canada and were elderly. Because language is essential to the conduct of Ojibwe ceremonies and traditions, Ojibwe traditions are at risk. Some public schools have education programs specific to Ojibwe needs and offer language and culture courses. Ojibwe communities have formed a number of educational institutions, including Turtle Mountain Community College (North Dakota) and Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College and White Earth Reservation Tribal College (Minnesota), to specifically cater to Ojibwe students.

In addition, the rise of gaming has contributed to local economies. The incoming revenue produced by the construction of casinos and creation of jobs have funded community endeavors that benefit the tribes in important ways, most significantly in building schools and cultural centers and increasing medical care.

Notable Ojibwe include author Louise Erdrich, hockey player Henry Boucha, activist Leonard Peltier, environmentalist Walt Bresette, artist George Morrison, and activist and writer Winona LaDuke, who was also a 2000 Green Party candidate for vice president of the United States.

Population estimates vary, but the Ojibwe by 1600 likely numbered around 70,000 to 100,000. The 1910 population listed 21,000 Ojibwe in the United States and 25,000 in Canada. In 1970, the population had risen to nearly 90,000. Census data for 2000 indicate the Ojibwe population had increased to around 150,000. According to census data, as of 2010 the recorded Ojibwe population stood at 170,742, although this number is not necessarily entirely representative of all who identify as Ojibwe or have Ojibwe ancestry. Because of problematic methods of recording ethnicity and the many ways individuals can interpret their ethnic identities, the population estimate offered is likely smaller than the actual population.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; Dawes Act (1887); French and Indian War; Indian Boarding Schools; Indian Casinos; Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian.

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"Ol' Man River"

The story of the impact—and evolution—of "Ol' Man River," the haunting gospel-tinged spiritual that became the signature song from the landmark 1927 Jerome Kern–Oscar Hammerstein musical *Show Boat*, reveals how American pop culture has had to come to terms with the implications of racial stereotyping, whether intentional or not.

At a time when American musical theater meant lightweight comedies with showy dance numbers, fluffy story lines that affirmed the uncomplicated joy of romance, and show-stopping hit songs, *Show Boat* redefined the genre: it was the first production to integrate its musical elements with an enthralling story line (itself based on an Edna Ferber best seller), the first to introduce an accomplished musical score with sophisticated lyrics, and the first to treat adult themes, in this case following the lives and loves of entertainers working a show boat along the Mississippi River during the late 19th century, exploring issues of miscegenation and racial bigotry, emotional abuse within marriage, and long-term self-destructive addictions to both alcohol and gambling.

Early in the play's first act, a chorus of long-suffering African American dockworkers, led by Joe, a stevedore from the show boat, sings of their stoic determination to maintain against the formidable burdens of their difficult lives. "Ol' Man River" uses the metaphor of the steady motion of the river itself to suggest their lot: resignation in the face of such inevitable indignities, with the only respite from such drudgery found in drinking (and an inevitable stretch in jail) and eventually in

the grateful release of death. The song, which used "the N-word" as period-appropriate, captured the plight of impoverished lives spent in thankless backbreaking routine in a (white) world indifferent to their plight, suggested by the river that keeps rolling on. Both the stately spiritual feel of Kern's simple 32-bar melody and the rich texture of the bass solo (itself unusual in musical theater, which at the time preferred to highlight the easy lilt of the tenor register) inevitably conjured the dark legacy of slavery itself.

The song, added late to the score and nearly cut in rehearsal when the production ran long, quickly became the show's most emotionally transfixing moment. Within a year, a recording of the song by the legendary Paul Whiteman Orchestra was a national phenomenon—but that recording, played as a bright foxtrot and sung by Bing Crosby, a white Irish crooner, unintentionally introduced the song's racial implications. When African American actor Paul Robeson, whose majestic voice and commanding stage presence Kern and Hammerstein had in mind when they wrote the song, debuted in the role of Joe in the 1928 London stage production, the song found its most enduring interpretation as a spiritual.

That recording, with the same Paul Whiteman Orchestra, has since become a standard of American musical theater, inducted in 2006 into the Grammy Hall of Fame that each year recognizes recordings from all genres that have historical and cultural significance. Apart from Robeson's interpretation, the song has appealed to a rich variety of artists from Frank Sinatra to Judy Garland, from Ray Charles to the Beach Boys, and in settings that range from boogie woogie to jazz, and from folk to country.

The Reality of Racial Caricature

That legacy, however, also reflects the larger process of American culture confronting the reality of racial caricature. "The n-word" was changed (initially to "darkies" but ultimately to far less offensive collectives ranging from "workers" to "them folks" to "we all"), but the tone of the song, in the early years of the civil rights movement, received vehement criticism as it was said to portray American blacks as perpetual slaves, pitiable and meek, whose only escape was the dead end of alcohol.

It was Robeson himself, as the song became part of his concert repertoire and as he emerged as a vocal advocate for civil rights, who most prominently introduced lyric changes that reflected a far more heroic perception of working-class African Americans. Robeson's lyric changes—despite initial objections of the original lyricist Oscar Hammerstein, who felt Robeson's reading missed the irony of the song—sought to empower the difficult lives of the dockworkers by suggesting that showing any kind of courageous resistance would only land the black man in jail. And instead of offering tears and the fear of death as strategies for enduring that hard life, Robeson's lyrics offered the heroic possibility of fighting for dignity and, should that fail, laughing bravely in the face of such overwhelming suffering.

Over the years, even as "Ol' Man River" became a standard in the American songbook, not only in recordings but also through allusions (and often caustic parody) in numerous films and television programs, the song has become a much broader conscience-raising anthem—overcoming the limits of racial stereotypes to expose larger issues of economic inhumanity imposed on the uneducated working class of any ethnicity. By evoking the ghost of slavery, the song brought to modern theater—and American culture—a provocative affirmation of the heroic endurance of any put-upon class.

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See Also: African Americans; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; N_____ Word, The; *Porgy and Bess*; *Show Boat*; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Omaha

The Omaha are an American Indian tribe. Their reservation is located in northeastern Nebraska and western Iowa, with a total land area of just over 307 square miles. At one time, the tribe's population had declined to only 300 because of sickness and warfare with other tribes. The contemporary tribe's population is approximately 6,000. Though the Omaha faced near cultural annihilation in the late 1800s, they have enjoyed a cultural renaissance since the late 1980s.

Religion and Culture

Central to Omaha religious and cultural practices is a sacred pole made of cottonwood. It is known as Umohoti, or "the Real Omaha." The pole is considered to be a person and is believed to date back to a time before the migration of the Missouri. Umohoti is not the only sacred item crucial to the Omaha. The Cedar Pole and Sacred Shell are the oldest documented central artifacts of the Omaha. Together, they represent the regenerative properties of the universe. These are but a few of the sacred items of the Omaha, and surely many more were lost over the various migrations and hardships of the Omaha.

The pre-colonization Omaha had an intricately developed social structure that was tied to the concept of Earth being tied to sky. This relationship between Earth and sky was viewed as critical to perpetuating all living things, and this was reflected in the tribe's social structure. Sky People were responsible for the spiritual needs of the tribe, while Earth People were responsible for physical welfare. Each half-tribe was divided into five clans, for a total of 10 clans that made up the Omaha. Clans were patrilineal, and each clan had a hereditary male chief. This hereditary chief structure remained at the time of treaty negotiations with the U.S. government in the mid-1800s but had dissolved by the end of the 1800s.

Unlike other nations, the establishment of a new Omaha settlement did not typically signify expansion but the movement of people from a no-longer-habitable location. Prior to European colonization, the Omaha were a large woodland tribe that lived near the Ohio and Wabash Rivers. By 1700, the tribe had moved to the Big Sioux River area and established a village of approximately 400

dwelling and a population of about 4,000 people. In 1734, the Omaha established their first village west of the Missouri River. In 1775, the tribe founded the village of Ton-wa-tonga near Homer, Nebraska.

Decline and Near-Assimilation of the Omaha

Around 1800, smallpox swept the tribe and killed about one-third of its population. This tragedy started a century that would prove nearly fatal to the Omaha Nation. In 1815, the Omaha made their first treaty with the United States. The treaty was one of “friendship and peace,” and no land was relinquished by the tribe.

The relationship established with the United States would nearly destroy the tribe through a cascade of increasingly unfair treaties. As part of the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1831, the Omaha ceded their lands in Iowa east of the Missouri River, with the understanding that they would maintain hunting rights. In an 1836 treaty, the federal government took remaining hunting lands in northwestern Missouri. In the 1840s, the Omaha suffered dangerous threats to their



A late-19th-century photograph of a delegation of three Omaha men was taken at a time when the tribe was threatened with near extinction and took steps to preserve its culture for posterity.

already diminished territory through continued Sioux aggression and settler incursion.

In response to these threats, Chief Big Elk made a deal with Mormon settlers, allowing them to live on Omaha land for a period in exchange for armed protection. Unfortunately, during the two years of cohabitation, the territory’s game and wood resources were greatly diminished. Between 1854 and 1856, the tribe moved to its current location after highly contentious negotiations with the U.S. government.

In 1857, a mission school was established by funneling the tribe’s annuity to the ends of assimilation. Under the guise of mission work, the school served to strip children of Omaha heritage and replace it with “American” culture.

By the 1870s, bison were quickly disappearing. This caused the tribe to increasingly depend on the U.S. government. In 1882, an act of Congress authorized division of reservation land individually to each man, woman, and child of the tribes already established on reservations. This act completely undermined tribal authority. Further congressional action greatly reduced the total value of Omaha annuities and reserved the right to decide the distribution of those annuities.

Rebirth in the Modern Era

At the end of the 1800s, the Omaha faced what looked like cultural extinction. With the help of an anthropologist who was also a member of the tribe, a deal was made in 1888 with Harvard University to keep the Sacred Pole safe. Other crucial artifacts were protected by the families of the tribe. Further steps were taken at this time to preserve the oral history of those who participated in the last buffalo hunts, and the songs of the tribe were preserved on wax cylinders. In 1989, the Sacred Pole was returned to the Omaha. To commemorate this event, the tribe held a powwow that celebrated the Omaha as a people and marked the tribe’s rebirth in the modern world.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Great Plains Tribes; Indian Removal Act (1830); Native Americans; Powwow.

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On the Waterfront

On the Waterfront is one of the most honored American films. It portrays life on the docks of New York Harbor, specifically Hoboken on the New Jersey side, with a great deal of fidelity to the substance of waterfront life and the people involved in it. It deals with themes of corruption and injustice, but it does not fully depict the multicultural aspects of working life on the waterfront, and this absence may be connected to when the film was made.

The film's origins lie in a series of articles published in the New York *Sun* between November 28, 1948, and February 4, 1949. The *Sun's* editors assigned their reporter, Malcolm Johnson, a story about the murder of a hiring boss at the docks, and Johnson expanded the story into an exposé of waterfront crime and the complicity of the International Longshoremen's Association in waterfront crime, winning a Pulitzer Prize for the series. Soon afterward, novelist and screenwriter Budd Schulberg was asked to write a script based on this series. Schulberg did further investigation on the issues presented by Johnson. When the rights to the script reverted to Schulberg, he and director Elia Kazan began to construct a film, as the New Jersey waterfront became known for assaults and mob activity. *On the Waterfront* was released in July 1954.

On the Waterfront stars Marlon Brando as Terry Malloy, a failed boxer who has a job on the docks through the influence of his union-connected brother (Rod Steiger). The union is run with an iron fist by Johnny Friendly (Lee

J. Cobb). Malloy runs an errand that gets one of his friends, Joey Doyle, killed (for testifying to the Crime Commission). The rest of the film shows how Malloy eventually stands up to Johnny Friendly by testifying and by enduring a ferocious beating, all with the help of Joey's sister (Eva Marie Saint) and a principled waterfront priest (Karl Malden), a character based on a real-life person, Father John Corridan, the priest at St. Francis Xavier Church on the Lower West Side of Manhattan. At the Academy Awards for 1954, *On the Waterfront* won Oscars for Best Picture, Art Direction, Cinematography, Directing, Film Editing, and Writing; in addition, Marlon Brando won Best Actor, and Eva Marie Saint won Best Supporting Actress.

Although history tells us that the waterfront has traditionally been one of the most multicultural worksites in the United States, especially as described in *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, *On the Waterfront* erases the ethnic variety of its subject matter. Every speaking character in the film has an Irish surname, and the priest uses the phrase "potato-eater" to describe himself.

A year after the film was released, Schulberg, who had done a prodigious amount of research on the screenplay and understood that a lot of his material did not make it onto the screen, wrote a novel that encompassed the subjects and action of the screenplay. It expanded the character of the priest and provided a thicker description of the environment in which the film had taken place. He did more with the multicultural nature of the docks, referring to the Russian caps, the Italians, and the African Americans seen at the shape-up, the daily assembly of stevedores hoping to receive assignments from the union managers who distributed labor to load and unload the ships waiting at the docks.

On the Waterfront depicts the Irish and Irish American presence on the docks of New York Harbor. The actors playing the stevedores include one African American, and the screenplay lists two Italian American actors playing characters, one of whom is named Tillio. The great majority of the people named in the newspaper articles that underlie the screenplay are also Irish. The articles also refer to both Jewish and Italian mobsters who were implicated in (and, in one case, the victim

of) the waterfront violence examined in Malcolm Johnson's articles for the *New York Sun*.

The film was made at the height of the Cold War. It was released just after the conclusion of the Army-McCarthy hearings, at a time when issues of ethnicity were considered of little significance, and when issues of race were just beginning to come to the forefront as a result of the May 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The film reflected the general American reluctance to magnify concerns of ethnicity during the 1950s.

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See Also: Class and Ethnic Diversity; Irish Americans; Italian Americans; Mafia, Motion Pictures.

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Oneida

The Oneida call themselves *Onyota`a:ka*, or "People of the Upright Stone." The Oneida were a prosperous society living in present-day central New York (from the Lawrence River south to the Pennsylvania border), but during the 17th and 18th centuries, they suffered severe population losses as a result of European disease (smallpox)

and warfare. They are one of the five founding Haudenosaunee nations that compose the Iroquois Confederacy (along with the Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga, and later the Tuscarora).

During the American Revolution, the Oneida fought with the colonists against the British, whereas most Haudenosaunee fought for the British. In recognition of their service, the Oneida received guarantees that their claims to ancestral homelands would be protected. Soon thereafter, the state of New York ignored federal efforts to protect Oneida land and, as a result of more than two dozen treaties (many deemed unconstitutional), Oneida territory was considerably reduced. In search of land, the tribe split into three geographically separate, federally recognized, groups: the Oneida Nation of New York; the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, near Green Bay; and the Oneida Nation of the Thames in Ontario, Canada. Oneida people also live on the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve in Ontario, Canada.

Culture

The Oneida are a matrilineal society in which children are born into their mother's clan, deriving their identity, social status, and responsibilities from clan membership. The Oneida have three clans: Turtle, Wolf, and Bear. Traditionally, they spoke the Iroquoian language, grew crops and hunted, lived in longhouses, and, by the 19th century, practiced several religions ranging from Christianity (influenced by Protestant missionary Samuel Kirkland) to the Longhouse religion of Handsome Lake.

American Allies and Treaties

The Oneida Nation's contributions to the colonists in the American Revolution was recognized back then, as it is today in places like the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., where visitors are greeted with the sculpture *Allies in War, Partners in Peace*, which pays homage to the Oneida.

Following the American Revolution, the U.S. Continental Congress and the Oneida Nation signed the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix, which guaranteed security in Oneida possession of the traditional homelands they inhabited before the war. These terms were reconfirmed in the 1789

Treaty of Fort Harmar. Nonetheless, in the years between 1784 and 1789, the state of New York forced the Oneida to relinquish some of their land through the 1785 Treaty of Fort Herkimer and the 1788 Treaty of Fort Schuyler. As a result, the Oneidas lost most of their ancestral homelands, reducing Oneida territory from 6 million acres to about 300,000 acres.

In 1790, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, making it illegal to purchase Indian land without prior federal consent. The 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua with the Iroquois Confederacy was a peace treaty that called for noninterference in the affairs of the six sovereign nations of the Confederacy and provided further protection of their existing territorial boundaries, including that of the Oneida. Despite numerous treaties that were supposed to guarantee and protect Oneida tribal claims to their land, state and local governments imposed 26 additional treaties (later deemed illegal) that further reduced Oneida territory in New York to a few hundred acres.

As a result of this severe loss of land, the Oneida were forced to relocate in search of territory. In 1822, the Oneida chief Shenandoah (Oskanondonha) purchased rights from the Menominee of Wisconsin, permitting the Oneida to settle on 4 million acres in Menominee territory (which was dramatically reduced to half a million acres by President James Monroe). Between 1832 and 1838 (during the widespread forced relocation of American Indians west of the Mississippi under the 1830 Indian Removal Act), the Oneida from New York relocated to Wisconsin. In 1838, the Treaty of Buffalo Creek called for the removal of the Iroquois, or Haudenosaunee, from New York. Meanwhile Oneida land in Wisconsin was further reduced. As a result, many Oneida remaining in New York sold their land and moved to newly purchased lands (about 5,000 acres) in Canada, near Ontario, in the 1840s (leaving behind about 200 Oneida in New York).

Modern American Indian Law and New York Land Claims

For much of the 20th century, the Oneida of New York and Wisconsin have been embroiled in legal battles to regain land taken in previous centuries and to fight the further loss of land, tribal

sovereignty, and cultural assimilation. In 1970 and 1974, the Oneida Nation of New York, the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, and the Oneida Nation of the Thames filed a land claims lawsuit in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of New York to repossess land illegally taken from them (illegally because it was done without appropriate approval, as required by the U.S. Constitution) by the state of New York after the Revolutionary War.

In 1974 and 1985 (*County of Oneida v. Oneida Indian Nation*), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the transfer of 270,000 acres of Oneida land 175 years prior violated the 1790 Indian Trade and Intercourse Act. This was considered a landmark case in American Indian law, as the court's ruling stated there was no statute of limitations, nor a legal basis to deny the Oneida's claims.

In 1998, the United States further intervened in the suit on behalf of the Oneida against New York. New York, in turn, argued immunity from the lawsuit under the Eleventh Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Although a 2007 lower-court decision dismissed the Oneida's possessory land claims and a 2010 decision reversed an earlier ruling allowing the Oneida to pursue monetary damages from New York, there are two other outstanding lawsuits. Throughout these legal actions, litigation (involving lands held in trust, and property and sales tax) and settlements have been complex and ongoing. In addition to land and damages, what is at stake in these claims is the issue of tribal sovereignty.

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See Also: Indian Casinos; Iroquois Confederacy; Mohawk; Seneca.

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O'odham Tribes

Arizona's O'odham, which means "We, the People," are a group of related desert-dwelling societies. Historically, the O'odham inhabited an enormous area, extending south into Sonora, Mexico, to the Yaqui River, north to central Arizona (around Phoenix, Arizona), west to the Gulf of California and the Colorado River, and east to the San Pedro River. This land base has been called the Papagueria, Pimeria Alta, and Pimeria Bajo, and has been home to the O'odham for thousands of years.

Scholars divide the O'odham into two main groups. The Tohono O'odham (formerly referred to as the Papago, which derives from *Ba:bawko'a*, meaning "people who eat tepary beans," which is pronounced *papago* in Spanish) are the Desert people. They are also the Two Village People because of their annual subsistence migration patterns. The Akimel O'odham (the Pima or River People in Arizona and the Pima Bajo in Sonora), who lived along the permanent rivers in rancharia-style villages, are the One Village People, who could live in one place year round. Both speak dialects of O'odham, a Uto-Aztecan language, although each group has dialects. The O'odham peoples are significant members of Arizona's multicultural population. In 2010, the Tohono O'odham had 23,478 members and the Akimel O'odham had 19,921 members with another 5,000 individuals claiming heritage, but not enrolled tribal membership, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

O'odham people have lived in the Sonoran desert since time immemorial. The O'odham's ancestors are referred to as Huhugam ("those who have gone before"), which has been translated into English as Hohokam. For thousands of years, these people lived along the Salt, Gila, and Santa Cruz Rivers and were attuned to the desert, creating sophisticated canal systems to irrigate crops of cotton, tobacco, maize, beans, and squash. Their irrigation systems can still be seen in Phoenix; they are used as the basis for contemporary canals and roads. The Hohokam had a very complex culture; they built vast ball courts and huge ceremonial mounds, and made fine red-on-buff pottery, baskets, and exquisite jewelry of stone and shell. Meteorological

principles were used to time planting, harvesting, and ceremonial cycles.

The ancestral O'odham developed complex water storage and delivery systems, and they used the land seasonally to maintain sustainability. For O'odham who did not live on a major river, this required migrating from valley homes near washes that supported small fields of tepary beans, squash, and melons or larger irrigable fields to cooler mountain dwellings. O'odham also gathered wild plants (saguaro fruit, cholla buds, and mesquite bean pods) and hunted deer and rabbit by javelin, producing a very healthy diet. They were traders who provided baskets and cotton textiles to groups hundreds of miles from their homes. These patterns of life continued into the contact period, but the movement of Apacheans and Yavapai, Hispanic, Mexican, and Euro-American settlers into O'odham homelands meant that new adaptations were required.

Treaties With Foreign Governments

From the early 18th century to the present, the O'odham lands have been under the control of foreign governments. First came the Spanish; then, with the independence of Mexico, O'odham fell under Mexican rule. Then, through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase, O'odham land was divided in half between the United States and Mexico. In the accord, the United States agreed to honor all land and citizenship rights held by Mexican citizens, including the O'odham. However, the demand for land for settlers escalated with the development of mining and the transcontinental railroad, resulting in the loss of O'odham land. Following the Plan de Iguala, O'odham lands in Mexico were nationalized at a rapid rate. In 1927, Mexico established a few small reserves for indigenous people, but not the O'odham. Today, approximately nine O'odham communities in Mexico lie proximate to the southern edge of the Tohono O'odham Nation. Groups further south are not recognized.

In the United States, the treaties had little immediate effect on the Tohono O'odham. For years, members simply traveled through their lands, practicing traditions essential to their religion, economy, and culture. In recent years, however, the border has greatly affected the Sonoran

and Tohono O'odham; it has become a deterrent to the Tohono O'odham's right to traverse their lands, impairing their ability to collect foods and materials needed to sustain their culture and/or visit family members and sacred sites. On countless occasions, the U.S. Border Patrol has detained and deported Tohono O'odham. Families are also moving away from the militarized no-man's land, leaving the area unpopulated because of an increase in trafficking of drugs and people.

While the international border was not a major issue for the Akimel O'odham, they were affected by Euro-American migrants traveling to California in the 1850s; they were known for their kindness to immigrants, as well as for supplying the Union Army with food during the Civil War. Settlers affected Akimel O'odham life in the 19th and early 20th centuries by damming Arizona's rivers, diverting water to Florence and Phoenix, and undermining the previously successful agricultural system. This drove the O'odham into poverty, which has taken years to overcome.

Division Into Four Communities

The American political division of O'odham land and the reservation system resulted in a new organization for O'odham society. O'odham bands are now structured as four federally recognized tribes: the Tohono O'odham Nation, the Gila River Indian Community, the Ak-Chin Indian Community, and the Salt River Indian Community. Each band is politically and geographically distinct. The remaining band, the Hia-C'ed O'odham, is not federally recognized; members reside on the Tohono O'odham reservation and live in Sonora. Many O'odham individuals and families also live in cities through the United States and Mexico, concentrated in Phoenix, Tucson, and Hermosillo.

The Ak-Chin Indian Community is a federally recognized tribe with 525 enrolled members in 1995. Ak-chin means "the people who live at the mouth of the arroyo," who originally lived along the Santa Cruz River. The members live on the Ak-Chin reservation, located 40 miles south of Phoenix, near Casa Grande and Maricopa in Pinal County with the Maricopa (Pee-Posh, a River Yuman people who migrated from the Colorado River in the 1830s) and a few Tohono O'odham and Yaqui (Yoeme). They were reorganized under a tribal council-style government



A 1907 portrait of a young member of the Tohono O'odham tribe. Today, the Tohono O'odham reservation is the third-largest in the country, extending over 4,453,300 square miles, with a 2010 population of 10,210 people.

in 1961 as the Ak-Chin Indian Community. The reservation was established by executive order on May 28, 1912, and covers 21,480 acres, some of which is productive, irrigated farmland. Current concerns are economic self-sufficiency, health care, and water rights.

The Gila River Indian Community was established in 1859. It has its headquarters in Sacaton, Arizona, 40 miles south of Phoenix, and controls over 550,000 acres of land that is divided into seven districts. The largest Akimel reservations, with over 16,000 enrolled members, the community has a tripartite government with a 17-member elected legislative branch. Irrigation agriculture, diversified industries, and real estate investments with monies generated from successful gaming and tourism enterprises have resulted in a diversified tribal economy. The tribe also has three industrial parks, a museum, and an arts and crafts center, and it owns the Firebird International

Raceway Park. The nation provides health, educational, and social services to its members.

The Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community was established by treaty in 1879 and consists of 52,600 acres located on the eastern edge of Phoenix. Organized as a constitutionally based political entity in 1940 under the IRA, the nation has a seven-member council. It has over 5,000 members and is home to a major casino. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the two groups farmed and supplied Phoenix and Tempe with grain crops; today, living next to a highly urbanized area means that tribally owned businesses and services focus on serving a large, dense population. The Pavilions, a 140-acre retail center, is the largest commercial development on Indian lands.

The Tohono O'odham Nation consists of the Two Village peoples and the Hia C-ed O'odham (Sand Dune People, Areneños, Sand Pima) or No Village People, who are not federally recognized, although there is interest in gaining recognition and separating into two tribes. Hia C-ed families and bands live in the western and driest section of the Sonoran desert in Arizona and Sonora. These families were not able to grow many foods. Tohono O'odham individuals living in Sonora may also be members of the Tohono O'odham Nation. The descendants of the Sobaipuri live at San Xavier Mission Indian Reservation. Their reservation is part of the Tohono O'odham Nation and is administered from the capital in Sells.

The Tohono O'odham reservation is the third-largest in the country (over 4,453,300 square miles). It was established by executive order in 1874 (for San Xavier district), in 1882 (Gila Bend reservation), and 1917 (the main reservation). According to the 2010 census, 10,210 people live on reservation land. The nation is governed by a council and chairperson, who are elected by eligible adult members of the nation under a complex formula intended to ensure that the rights of small O'odham communities are protected, as well as the interests of the larger communities and families. Most of the tribe's income comes from its casinos; these monies are used to provide services for the people.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Native Americans.

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Opera and Ethnic Diversity

Classical music has long been considered the realm of performers of European descent. In Europe, artists of color have been making substantive contributions to opera since the 18th century. Moreover, there have been a number of ethnic Americans with noteworthy careers in the opera that date back to the Reconstruction. By the late 20th century, many of America's most respected opera singers and composers were people of color.

Opera in the United States

With the influx of European immigrants to America came a corresponding increase in the number of operas that focused on their lives. Although George Whitefield Chadwick's *The Padrone* (1912) and Frederick Shepherd Converse's *The Immigrants* (1914) addressed the immigrant experience, white ethnic characters continued to compose the *dramatis personae* of American operas for decades to come. Gian Carlo Menotti's 1954 opera *The Saint of Bleecker Street* featured Italian Americans in the tenements of Manhattan's Lower East Side. *Evangeline*, written by Otto Luening in 1932, concerned Greek American characters in Louisiana. Leonard Bernstein's *A Quiet Place* (1984), which examined modern notions of the American dream, prominently featured a French Canadian character. William Bolcom's 1990 adaptation of Arthur Miller's *A*

View From the Bridge depicted the lives of Italian Americans in 1950s Brooklyn.

Perhaps because of opera's great popularity outside the United States, many of America's most esteemed opera singers and composers—including Maria Callas (Greece), Plácido Domingo (Spain), Rosalind Elias (Lebanon), and Leonard Bernstein (Ukraine)—have international roots. Austria, which is home to a number of well-regarded conservatories such as the University of Vienna, the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna, and Mozarteum Salzburg, produced several of America's most celebrated composers and conductors, including Arnold Schoenberg, Karl Böhm, and Fritz Stiedry. Northern Europe, where the works of Richard Wagner were especially popular, produced a coterie of strong singers who were very popular in the United States, such as Kirsten Flagstad, Christina Nilsson, and Jacques Urlus. Further, Jewish Americans played pivotal roles in the early development of many of the nation's important opera companies, including Leopold Damrosch at the Metropolitan Opera, Oscar Hammerstein at the Philadelphia Opera Company, Joseph Rosentock at the New York City Opera, and Kurt Herbert Adler at the San Francisco Opera. In many ways, the artistic work of these diverse artists contributed to the mainstream of acceptance of ethnic Europeans in America, in addition to popularizing the art form in the United States.

A cultural tradition of great significance in Italy, opera was advanced in the United States by Italian immigrants who sought to preserve their love of the art form in their new homeland. Opera thrived in Italian enclaves and alongside puppet shows, concert bands, chorales, and theaters in New York, New Jersey, California, and Pennsylvania. Italian Americans compose the ranks of America's most esteemed opera composers, including Dominick Argento (a Pulitzer Prize winner for *From the Diary of Virginia Woolf*); John Corigliano, whose *The Ghosts of Versailles* was commissioned by the New York Metropolitan Opera; and Gian Carlo Menotti, who wrote on Italian American themes. Additionally, some of the nation's most successful classical vocalists have been Italian American, most notably tenor Mario Lanza, who was the first singer to make a record that sold more than 2 million copies.

Early Ethnic Composers

The first African American opera company was founded in 1873 in Washington, D.C., by a black barber, William T. Benjamin, and led by a white schoolteacher, John Esputa. Among its earliest members was Mary A. C. Coakley, a former slave who had worked for former first lady Mary Todd Lincoln. African American singer Theodore Drury founded The Theodore Drury Company in New York City in 1900 to showcase the talents of black singers. The company, which existed until 1908, performed for both African American and white audiences.

During the same period, music by African American composers Will Marion Cook and Harry T. Burleigh, and by Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, a black Briton of Sierra Leonean descent, was popular among African American classical music groups. Scott Joplin, celebrated as the “King of Ragtime,” also created two operas with African American content, *A Guest of Honor* (1903) and the jazz-infused *Treemonisha*, which was written in 1910 but not performed in its entirety until 1972. Sioux composer and activist Zitkala-Sa, also known as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, wrote the first Native American opera, *The Sun Dance*, with William F. Hanson in 1913. *Ouanga*, an opera based on the reign of Haiti's first emperor, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, was composed by Cameron White in 1932. Many of these musicians were trained at the New England Conservatory, the Oberlin School of Music, or the National Conservatory of Music of America, which were among the few conservatories that permitted ethnic students to matriculate.

Trailblazing Ethnic Opera Singers

Sissieretta Jones was the first major African American opera star, in the late 19th century. She studied at the New England Conservatory in the 1880s and became the first black singer to perform at Carnegie Hall in 1892. At the height of her fame, between 1881 and 1909, she toured the United States, Africa, south Asia, and Europe, and sang for numerous heads of state. The first Puerto Rican opera star was Antonio Paoli, who performed on five continents and acquired the sobriquet “The King of Tenors and the Tenor of Kings.” Celebrated African American contralto Marian Anderson made history in 1939 when



This 1899 poster printed in New York features Sissieretta Jones, or "Black Patti," declaring her "the greatest singer of her race." Jones was the first major African American opera star; in 1892, she became the first black singer to perform at Carnegie Hall in New York City.

she gave a public concert at the Lincoln Memorial, facilitated by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. When she sang the role of Ulrica in Giuseppe Verdi's *Un Ballo in Maschera*, she became the first black performer on stage at the Metropolitan Opera in 1955, quickly followed by Robert McFerrin's debut later the same month. African American Leontyne Price, one of the most well-regarded opera singers of any ethnicity, made history as the first black performer to sing a leading role at Italy's leading opera house, La Scala, in 1960.

Despite these successes, there were very few opportunities for performers of color. Some

held the perception that although many African Americans were great musicians, they lacked the intellectual prowess and discipline necessary for classical training. Even prominent singers of color found difficulties in being cast in racially appropriate operatic roles. The convention, which still is widely practiced today, was to use makeup (blackface or "yellowface"), wigs, and costumes to alter the ethnicities of performers when they were playing characters of different ethnic backgrounds. Although some pursued careers in Europe, where race frequently mattered less than strong singing abilities, a number of classically trained ethnic singers turned to Broadway operettas.

Porgy and Bess (1935), by George and Ira Gershwin and DuBose Heyward, is perhaps the best known of any American opera; it has become the most frequently produced opera with African American subject matter. Some African Americans felt the opera presented a negative view of black life; accordingly, *Porgy and Bess* was rarely produced in the United States during the years of the racially turbulent 1960s. Nearly all of the roles require black singers, and the Gershwins were opposed to performers in blackface portraying these characters. Many of America's most renowned black opera singers, including Grace Bumbry, Leona Mitchell, Bruce Hubbard, and Gregg Baker, have appeared in *Porgy and Bess* at various points.

The Diversification of the American Opera in the Late Twentieth Century

By the second half of the 20th century, African Americans, Latinos/as, and Asian Americans had become regular fixtures in operas. In addition to company managers and audiences accepting that performers of color could excel at classical music, the proliferation of ethnic composers meant that there were new roles designated for ethnic performers. Cambodian-born composition professor Chinary Ung has written for classical singers since the early 1970s. Carlos Chávez, who employed native Mexican percussion instruments in his work, was commissioned to compose *The Tuscan Players*, also known as *Los Visitantes*, in 1953. Argentine composer Alberto Ginastera wrote three Spanish-language operas: *Don Rodrigo*, which inaugurated the New York City Opera's

new home in 1964; *Bomarzo* (1967); and *Beatrix Cenci* (1971). Param Vir, a British-born composer of Indian descent whose operas include *Snatched by the Gods* (1992) and *Broken Strings* (1992), has often been inspired by South Asian literature and folklore.

In the 1970s and 1980s, operas based on contemporary political subjects became increasingly popular and accorded a range of new opportunities for composers and/or singers of color. Among the earliest contemporary historical operas were Philip Glass's *Einstein on the Beach* (1976) and *Satyagraha* (1980), which focuses on the ideologies of Mahatma Gandhi, Leo Tolstoy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rabindranath Tagore. Composed by African American Anthony Davis, *X, The Life and Times of Malcolm X* (1986) blends swing, bebop, gospel, hip-hop, traditional West African rhythms, classical Western music, and improvised sections. Themes of black nationalism and activism are explored without an express political or polemical intention and are given an operatic voice for the first time.

John Adams wrote a series of operas with historical content, the best known of which is *Nixon in China* (1987). Depicting the 1972 meeting of President Richard Nixon and Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong, the innermost thoughts of the figures such as First Lady Pat Nixon and Jiang Qing are explored in a creative, depoliticized fashion. Adams's *The Death of Klinghoffer* (1991), which recounts the story of disabled Jewish American Leon Klinghoffer, who was executed by Palestinian Liberation Front members, manages to humanize its subjects and discuss Mideast politics with some objectivity.

During this period, many singers of color achieved both classical music and mainstream success. Kathleen Battle has won Grammy, Emmy, and Laurence Olivier Awards for her work. Her frequent collaborator, Jessye Norman, has had several internationally televised concerts. Maori lyric soprano Dame Kiri Te Kanawa recorded the aria "Nuns' Chorus" from Johann Strauss II's *Casanova*, which became New Zealand's first gold-certified record. The recordings of Justino Diaz, the first Puerto Rican to win the Metropolitan Opera National Council Auditions in 1963, are well known outside classical circles. Ramón Vargas's recordings of Mexican folk songs have

received great critical praise. Denyce Graves hosted *Voce di Donna* (Voice of a Lady), a popular weekly syndicated radio show.

Looking Forward: A Multiplicity of Voices

By the 2010s, opera had the lowest attendance rates of any of the performing arts, with only 2 percent of adults having attended a performance in the previous year. Further, more than 80 percent of opera-goers are white. Some studies have shown that increasing diversity in opera is key to staving off its decline in the United States. A number of this period's rising stars were nonwhite performers, including Latonia Moore, Eglise Gutiérrez, and Othalie Graham. Furthermore, particularly strong vocal music programs in Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean public schools have resulted in a new cohort of gifted singers from Asia, including Seo Jung-Hack, Liping Zhang, and Kwangchul Youn. In the Metropolitan Opera's 2006 production of *La Traviata*, both leads were sung by Koreans, tenor Woo Kyung Kim and lyric soprano Hei-Kyung Hong.

As of 2012, classical music organizations, including Hispanics for Los Angeles Opera, the National Opera Association, and the Michigan Opera Theatre, had enacted initiatives to diversify their audiences. Such groups are producing new works, including Toni Morrison and Richard Danielpour's *Margaret Garner* (2005), with Denyce Graves; Charles Lloyd, Jr.'s, *Emmett Till: The Opera* (2008), with Robert Mack; Paula M. Kimper's *Truth* (2012), with Damian Norfleet; and Jorge Martín's *Before Night Falls* (2005), with Jesus Garcia. Their performances have attracted substantial audiences of color. Many of these productions have been helmed by directors of color, such as the Tony-nominated Kenny Leon and Emmy-nominated Tazewell Thompson. Although efforts to increase the number of composers of color are becoming more frequent, statistics reflect an apprehension among opera audiences to embrace new works.

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See Also: Classical Music and Ethnic Diversity; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Operation Gatekeeper

On October 1, 1994, the Bill Clinton administration launched Operation Gatekeeper, an immigration enforcement initiative meant to prevent unauthorized migration across the United States–Mexico border in southern California. Based on a strategy of “prevention through deterrence” and initially focused on the 14-mile stretch between the Pacific Ocean and the base of the Otay Mountains in San Diego County, Operation Gatekeeper led to the unprecedented fortification and militarization of the United States–Mexico border.

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) erected walls, employed new surveillance technologies, and more than doubled the number of U.S. Border Patrol agents stationed on the southwestern border. However, instead of deterring migration, as the INS anticipated, Operation Gatekeeper only increased the human and financial costs of crossing the border by pushing migrants out of public view and into more desolate and dangerous areas.

Background

Operation Gatekeeper was the product of both local and national factors. In the early 1990s, the westernmost part of the San Diego sector was the most heavily trafficked part of the United States–Mexico border. Although some walls and lighting did exist prior to Operation Gatekeeper, the terrain was relatively easy to traverse and migrants could reach pickup points in the United States within a matter of minutes.

As an increasing number of unauthorized Mexicans immigrants settled in San Diego—which remained majority Anglo until 2000—some Californians, including Republican governor Pete Wilson, blamed them for heightened social tensions, an uptick in crime, and the state’s economic woes. Many Californians also faulted the federal government for failing to enforce the nation’s borders.

In response to such concerns, Proposition 187, which aimed to deny unauthorized immigrants access to public education, health care, and other social service benefits, was proposed. In the hope of bolstering his reelection, Wilson quickly embraced Proposition 187, also known as the Save Our State initiative, and it quickly became a central issue in the 1994 state and national elections.

Proposition 187 and the midterm elections forced the Clinton administration to take a stronger stance on immigration enforcement than it had in the past. But Operation Gatekeeper was not entirely without precedent. In September 1993, Silvestre Reyes, head of the Border Patrol in El Paso, Texas, unilaterally implemented Operation Blockade, later renamed Hold-the-Line. Operation Blockade placed hundreds of agents along a 20-mile section of the border in west Texas and resulted in a significant drop in crossings and apprehensions. Wilson and other California politicians saw Operation Blockade as a model of immigration enforcement and called for it to be implemented in their state. Feeling political pressure to lead on immigration, and hoping that voters would strike down Proposition 187, the Clinton administration launched Operation Gatekeeper five weeks before the 1994 elections.

Impact of Operation Gatekeeper

Operation Gatekeeper marked an important shift in federal immigration enforcement policy by focusing on prevention through deterrence rather than apprehensions of migrants already in the country. The most immediate change under Operation Gatekeeper was the militarization of the San Diego sector of the United States–Mexico border. Steel landing mats left over from the Vietnam War were used to construct a 10 to 12-foot-high primary wall along the border. Secondary and tertiary walls made of concrete pillars and wire mesh, both topped with barbed wire, lined many sections of the border as well.

When Operation Gatekeeper went into effect, walls already divided 10 miles of the San Diego sector of the United States–Mexico border. Five years later, more than 50 miles divided the two countries in the San Diego sector, half of which were located in the 14-mile stretch between the Pacific Ocean and the Otay Mountains. Over the same period of time, the number of Border Patrol officers in the San Diego sector more than doubled, from 980 to more than 2,250. The INS installed stadium lighting, electronic sensors, and surveillance cameras, and the Border Patrol used infrared night vision equipment and aircraft to enhance its detection capabilities. Rather than preventing migration, Operation Gatekeeper shifted migration patterns and increased the costs and risks of migrating. The fortification of the San Diego sector under Operation Gatekeeper resulted in the number of apprehensions decreasing from 531,689 in 1993 to 248,092 in 1998. Along the entire border, however, total apprehensions increased during the same period. East of San Diego in El Centro, California, apprehensions jumped from 30,058 to 226,695. In Arizona, apprehensions in Tucson rose from 92,639 to 387,406, and in Yuma they more than tripled, from 23,548 to 76,195. Apprehensions in Texas spiked as well.

Operation Gatekeeper had severe consequences for migrants. To avoid the most heavily fortified sections of the border, migrants crossed in desolate areas, often over rugged terrain. Whereas the time it took to cross the border used to be as little as 10 minutes in the western part of the San Diego sector, it now could take up to three or four days to cross further east over mountainous terrain. As a result, after the start of Operation Gatekeeper the demand for smugglers (known as coyotes) increased and the estimated cost of crossing quadrupled, from around \$300 to \$1,200 by decade's end.

The new policy had significant human costs as well, as the number of deaths from hypothermia, dehydration, heat stroke, and drowning drastically increased. Whereas there were only 23 deaths on the California–Mexico border in 1994, by 1998 there were 145. Since Operation Gatekeeper was implemented, more than 6,000 people have died trying to cross the United States–Mexico border.

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See Also: California Propositions 187, 209, and 227; Customs and Border Protection, U.S.; Deportation (Repatriation); Immigrants, Undocumented.

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Operation Wetback

In 1954, the U.S. Border Patrol program called Operation Wetback was created to stem the tide of undocumented immigrants from Mexico. It was estimated that during the program, 1.3 million mostly undocumented Mexican immigrants were repatriated back to Mexico. The program's creation was a response in part to the overflow of Mexican immigrants who came as undocumented laborers during the late 1940s. Their numbers had exceeded those who came as documented immigrants or guest workers, and anti-Mexican sentiments in the country began to rise.

Undocumented Immigration and the U.S.-Mexico Bracero Program

One of the plausible explanations for the increasing numbers of undocumented immigrants from Mexico was the unintended effect of the U.S.-Mexico Bracero Program (1942–64). In response to perceived labor shortages by U.S. agricultural growers, it was established as a temporary guest-worker program to recruit Mexican immigrant laborers. As the United States entered World War II, U.S. workers moved from rural areas for urban military industrial employment. Women and minorities found employment in urban industrial jobs, often for the first time. This rural-to-urban migration of workers left fewer workers employed in agricultural work.

Agreeing to a bi-national treaty, the United States and Mexico established the U.S.-Mexico Bracero Program. By 1942, recruitment of Mexican workers began from the capital, Mexico City. Only 4,000 braceros (manual laborers) were included in the first lucky group selected to receive work contracts through the program, although it was suggested that many more wanted to come. In September of 1942, Stockton, California, was the first U.S. city to host the arrival of braceros. The program's initial intention was to exist for the duration of the war, but through a series of additional agreements, the program would be extended until 1964.

In the late 1940s, recruitment of undocumented workers was no longer needed. But by this time, word of mouth had reached well into Mexico, and undocumented immigrants who had not been chosen for the program were selected by some states to illegally to cross the border. Therefore, the Bracero Program unintentionally encouraged large numbers of undocumented Mexican immigrants to simply cross, without legal papers, into the United States.

Texas, one of the states that encouraged undocumented immigration, had a long history of racial discrimination toward Mexicans. The Mexican government denied access to guest workers to Texas. However, Texas growers simply looked for Mexican workers willing to work for cheaper wages. Soon, other states began to employ undocumented Mexican immigrants, especially along the border of states such as California and Arizona. Soon, the hiring of undocumented Mexican immigrants became commonplace.

Undocumented Mexican immigrants caught working in the United States were returned to the Mexican border. Mexico was unable to handle the number of captured Mexicans, and it was decided that the U.S. authorities would legalize the apprehended workers. From 1947 to 1951, this method to deal with undocumented Mexican immigrants in the country was called "drying out." After being taken to the border, these undocumented Mexican immigrants would be legally contracted to re-enter the United States as bracero workers and be returned to the farm on which they were found. By the late 1940s, the number of Mexican braceros who entered illegally and were later legalized soon exceeded the

number of braceros who had entered via actual contracts from growers.

The Start of Operation Wetback

Shortly after taking office, President Dwight D. Eisenhower had to deal with the rising number of undocumented Mexican immigrants, and Operation Wetback began in June 1954 to stem the flow. Raids conducted by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officials would find thousands of undocumented Mexican immigrants. According to reports, an estimated 1,000 undocumented Mexican workers were rounded up per day in California. The growth of the U.S. Border Patrol prior to creation of Operation Wetback became useful for the success in capturing so many undocumented immigrants.

Employed as a military operation, the program was deemed a success despite its many flaws. General Joseph Swing was assigned to head the program. Apprehensions of undocumented Mexicans crossing the U.S.-Mexico border by 1949 had reached a level of 280,000. By 1953, 865,000 Mexicans had been caught as undocumented immigrants.

The hysteria of the borders being out of control created national support for the deportation of Mexican undocumented immigrants. Caught in the middle of the operation were children of Mexican immigrants born in the United States. Also rounded up were Mexican Americans who had the difficulty of proving their legal right to be in the United States. Unable to prove their legal status, Mexican Americans were simply deported to Mexico and were forced to find their way back across. In the fall of 1954, the operation trailed off as INS funding began to run out.

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See Also: Bracero Program; Hispanic Americans; Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Immigrants, Undocumented; Immigration, Illegal; Mexican Americans.

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Oppositional Culture

The concept of oppositional culture has its roots in the work of anthropologist John Ogbu, whose research was primarily focused on educational achievement gaps between blacks and whites in the United States. According to Ogbu, minority groups become part of American society voluntarily or involuntarily. Both voluntary and involuntary minorities are likely to face various barriers, but involuntary minorities are at especially high risk of experiencing limited opportunities for success.

Ogbu further asserts that the various immigrant groups' treatment at the hands of mainstream society, as well as the different beliefs that voluntary and involuntary immigrants hold regarding the host society, leads them to develop different survival strategies. For some immigrant groups, African Americans in particular, adaptation to this experience has led to the development of an oppositional culture, which Ogbu argues further disadvantages them.

The differences in life experiences and conditions that mirror the performance gap between minority children and children of the dominant culture are well documented. Much attention is also devoted to the understanding of minority immigrants in the United States, especially in light of the enormous demographic changes driven by the global migration flow over the past few decades. Until recently, much of the debate on life quality had been limited to the dominant group and their subordinate groups' racial classification as the key determinants of various life outcomes.

According to Ogbu, contemporary theoretical explanations have failed to take into account that although race/ethnicity is an important predictor of life chances, the historical development and social forces that propel minority groups' adaptations to immigrant experiences are important determinants of successes and failures in mainstream society. This major omission ultimately limits scholars' abilities to understand the social realities of minority populations.

To counteract these shortcomings, Ogbu postulated two explanations that shape minority groups' social adjustment in America—terms of incorporation and patterns of adaptation. Also formulated to distinguish the life outcomes of voluntary versus involuntary minorities, the oppositional culture theory postulates that some racial and ethnic groups underachieve not only because they face traditional structural barriers experienced by virtually all nonwhite immigrant groups but also because they culturally adapt to these structural disadvantages in ways that exacerbate, rather than narrow, gaps in achievement between whites and nonwhites. To express their antagonism toward the socially advantaged group, Ogbu claims that historically oppressed populations, particularly native-born blacks, develop a subculture in opposition to the dominant culture. Ogbu states that there is much within-group variation when discussing racial/ethnic/immigrant groups—but his interests lie in the dominant patterns of beliefs and behaviors across minority groups.

Group Classifications

In his cultural-ecological theory, minority status is characterized by the power relations among groups, rather than their respective group size. Ogbu classifies minority populations into voluntary and involuntary minorities, who encounter different community forces from wider society. Voluntary minorities are social groups that choose to migrate to the host society in search of better life opportunities. They typically consist of immigrants from abroad, such as China, Japan, India, Mexico, and Cuba. They should be distinguished from involuntary minorities, who did not “choose” to become Americans—groups such as American Indians, whose homeland was conquered in a centuries-long drama of colonization,

and black Americans, many of whose ancestors were brought to the United States as slaves.

Although these groups of minorities face different life experiences marked by cultural and social changes over time, Ogbu particularly stresses the subtle distinctions between these two groups of minorities with respect to their frame of reference, collective identity, intergroup solidarity, and perception toward the dominant culture. These cultural dispositions/adaptations, which have significant bearing on these groups' interactions with broader society, as well as their subsequent academic and economic fate, are passed on to subsequent generations. Ultimately, the minorities bring to their respective society common experiences, values, and cultural models of adaptation. These various ways of adapting to the disadvantages of minority status, Ogbu argues, help explain the poorer outcomes faced by blacks and Native Americans, for instance, compared to immigrants from Mexico or China.

Voluntary Minorities

According to Ogbu, minority groups' motives of migration and terms of incorporation are driving factors that shape their views of their treatment at the hands of the dominant group. Immigrant minorities are incorporated into the host society voluntarily. The decision to migrate is often shaped by the search for opportunities not available in their home country. Immigrant minorities' voluntary entry into mainstream society plays a critical role in their capacities to confront structural barriers while maintaining an optimistic view regarding the future. Contrary to the non-immigrant minorities, who were brought into the destination country through slavery and/or colonization, immigrant minorities tend to regard their social relations with the host country more favorably. In other words, treatment from the dominant group is seldom perceived as a form of oppression, or if it is, it is seen as temporary, and mostly a function of their status as foreigners or their lack of language skills—both of which can be overcome with time and effort.

The life disparities between immigrant minorities and dominant groups have been linked from structural barriers to occupational opportunities and educational advances. Voluntary immigrant minorities are likely to interpret their

circumstances in their new country by using their home countries as a frame of reference. Even though they are relegated to a more subordinate position, immigrant minorities often perceive this relative disadvantage as transitory in their course of adaptation. Most are likely to attribute existing social roadblocks or economic obstacles simply as the price to pay for being foreigners. Thus, rather than seeing the dominant group as a personal threat, voluntary immigrant minorities tend to interpret their experiences as salient but inevitable steps in the process of integration.

In many cases, immigrants' strong adherence to their ethnic support network can help them develop survival strategies to combat social stigma from the dominant group. Hence, many are able to meet the demands of living in two cultures while retaining their heritage culture. This identity affiliation is not developed in opposition to the social identity of the dominant group, which acknowledges education as the mechanism of power that enables upward mobility. Rather, their emphasis on perseverance and hard work often becomes the critical piece of their identity that has life long implications for their economic trajectories.

Involuntary Minorities

Involuntary minorities are minority groups whose status as part of American culture was a result of colonization (in the case of American Indians) or coercion (in the case of blacks). This is especially true for black Americans, who are phenotypically darker and whose ancestors were colonized and brought to the United States permanently. Examples of other involuntary minorities also include Mexican Americans of southwest origins and native Hawai'ians. Like voluntary minorities, involuntary minorities encounter sociopolitical barriers to social mobility and face discrimination by the dominant group as a central aspect of their life experience. However, unlike the voluntary minorities, this social group not only forgoes the freedom that they enjoyed but also experiences greater discrimination and maladjustment.

In addition, unlike voluntary immigrant minorities, involuntary minorities do not have a reference country; therefore, they tend to compare their subordinate position in the racial socioeconomic hierarchy to the dominant (white) groups in their native country. Although most generally intend to

be successful, these caste-like minorities hold contradictory beliefs about how one achieves upward mobility. On one hand, they are fully aware that educational success produces occupational success and that the path to educational success requires hard work and commitment to school. On the other hand, they are cognizant of the reality that such hard work and commitment is less likely to translate into success for blacks than for some other groups.

Because of their cultural beliefs, Ogbu argues that involuntary minorities are more likely than voluntary immigrant minorities to develop an adaptation pattern in opposition to the dominant culture in order to cope with prolonged structural disadvantages. Those who identify with such oppositional identities tend to manifest a lower motivation toward their future, along with mistrust of white institutions—especially schools. These sets of attitudes/behaviors challenge the dominant culture and further discourage the use of conventional strategies to facilitate educational or occupational success. Further, minority group members who hold an oppositional identity are less capable of



The oppositional culture theory postulates that some racial and ethnic groups underachieve not only because they face traditional structural barriers but also because they culturally adapt to these structural disadvantages, going on to develop a subculture in opposition to the dominant culture.

translating their limited resources to overcome the social disadvantages that they encounter.

Consequently, not only do they experience greater alienation from the mainstream culture, but many also eventually come to accept structural barriers as a historical reality that reproduces the existing class structure. One of Ogbu's books included interviews of black students in an affluent Cleveland, Ohio, suburb, where he found evidence of oppositional culture among black students, suggesting that these cultural distinctions are not merely a function of structural disadvantage. However, not all involuntary minorities share the experiences of African Americans. For instance, Ogbu notes that because they became American through conquest, native-born Mexican Americans, like blacks, are "involuntary minorities." Because of their lighter phenotypical characteristics and high rates of intermarriage with Anglos, their children can "pass into white society and avoid membership in the involuntary Mexican American minority group."

Empirical Findings

The oppositional culture theory has been used to assess differences in school performance and social adaptation between voluntary and involuntary minorities. In the seminal work conducted by Ogbu, resistance to school is postulated to be racially and culturally based. Minority groups—blacks in particular—are described as possessing different worldviews concerning schooling. Ogbu notes that the mistrust toward the dominant group held by black students originates from their adverse interactions with the dominant group. Although they realize the importance of hard work and the value of education, they are ambivalent about their ability to alter their future after witnessing previous generations struggle against discrimination and prejudice.

For the black students that Ogbu studied, acting white is socially frowned upon by other black students, and school is rejected, as a domain for white people. Examples of acting white include speaking Standard English, taking honors and advanced placement classes, being smart in class, and hanging out with too many white students. The black students that Ogbu interviewed did not put as much effort into their schooling, in part because they feared peer sanctions for their academic

performance. Some simply did not understand the requirement of good education and labor market participation. Slowly, they became disengaged in the process to attain upward mobility. When black students place fewer expectations on their schooling, poor performance prevails.

In conjunction with peer pressure, negative community forces further distance black students from behaviors and attitudes that are essential for school success, leading to the emergence of an oppositional culture that devalues schooling and work. Many believe that social mobility is unlikely in an environment of educational and occupational racial discrimination. Because of prejudice and discrimination, black students believe that they will receive little gain from their efforts in school and the labor market. Although motivation for maximizing academic returns will lead to better-paying jobs and higher social status, some African Americans view that choice as a rejection of the black community. In other words, to be successful in the mainstream society, one must forgo black culture and adopt the culture of the dominant group.

The concept of oppositional culture has been used by other scholars to better understand the life experiences of other minority immigrants. Like the black students in Ogbu's studies, immigrant minorities' ascribed physical characteristics may present a roadblock on their assimilation pathway. Immigrant minorities who reside in inner-city neighborhoods, for instance, are at risk of developing an adversarial subculture. Similarly, African immigrants who possess similar phenotypical characteristics are often classified in the same category as the disadvantaged native blacks. However, not all minority immigrants are at risk of the downward assimilation trajectories in their quest for upward mobility.

Critiques of Oppositional Culture Theory

Although Ogbu's oppositional culture theory provides a blueprint for understanding power relations, intergroup dynamics, and group affiliations, the theory has generated much debate and criticism. Most empirical research does not find support for the theory's explanation for the gaps in educational outcomes between black and white students. Other theorists have argued that the theory overlooks the complex structural position that blacks are embedded in, leading to the erroneous

perception that they are turning away from opportunities to succeed and are becoming trapped in the culture of poverty. Black children, just like those in other ethnic groups, are aware of the importance of high-quality education. Likewise, they have the desire to do well in school, but they lack the necessary means to acquire the vital skills to success.

Additionally, instead of being penalized for acting white, scholars such as Douglas Downey and James Ainsworth-Darnell, as well as Angel Harris, have found that minority youth incur no penalty for being popular in school. Rather, high-achieving black students were frequently rated as more popular compared to low-achieving peers. Although their minority status affects their educational performance in school, many minority youths who demonstrate a high sense of connectedness with their ethnic group have been more successful. In spite of the contradictory findings, the theory has merits, and is a lasting contribution to the field of educational anthropology.

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See Also: African Americans; Culture; Desegregation/Integration; Identity Development; Whiteness Studies.

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Oprah Winfrey Show, The

The Oprah Winfrey Show was a nationally syndicated daytime talk show that aired from 1986 to 2011. Filmed at Harpo Studios in Chicago and hosted by Oprah Winfrey, the show won 47 daytime Emmy Awards and is the highest-ranking television show in American history. *The Oprah Winfrey Show* aired in over 150 countries and reached millions of viewers every day. Winfrey utilized the show as a platform to tackle a range of issues from fashion makeovers to diet tips and celebrity interviews and also did hard-hitting shows on child sex abuse, political scandal, and racial relations. In 2011, *Time* magazine named Winfrey as one of the 100 most influential people in the world.

Oprah Winfrey was born in 1954 in Mississippi, where she lived during her early childhood years before moving to Milwaukee to live with her mother. After a turbulent adolescence, Winfrey moved to Tennessee to live with her father. At age 17, she won the Miss Black Tennessee pageant and a scholarship to Tennessee State University, where she majored in speech communications and worked at a local African American radio station, WVOL. At 19, Winfrey became the first African American woman and the youngest person to anchor the Nashville evening news.

Early Start in News Media

In 1976, Winfrey took a position co-anchoring the evening news in Baltimore. After a successful run, in 1984 Winfrey took a job in Chicago as cohost of the failing morning talk show *AM Chicago*. The show became the number one local talk show and in 1985 was expanded into an hour-long program and renamed *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. In 1986, the show went into national syndication, and in 1987 it won three daytime Emmy Awards including Outstanding Talk/Service Program and Outstanding Host. In 1988, Winfrey established Harpo Productions, Inc., and acquired the rights to *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, thus becoming only the third American woman to own her own production company and the first woman in history to own and produce her own show.

During its early years, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* followed the standard talk show model

that relied on sensationalism to attract viewers. However, even in its early episodes, Winfrey did not shy away from hard-hitting topics related to race relations in the United States. With its large viewership, the show played a pivotal role in exposing the American public to issues concerning multiculturalism, in particular, issues related to racial tension. Six months after going on the air in 1987, she traveled to Forsyth County, Georgia, where she filmed a tension-filled town hall meeting with the all-white residents. The county had not had a black resident since before World War I, and Winfrey interviewed residents who said they were afraid of black people. During the show's final season, Winfrey returned to Forsyth County, where she found an affluent mixed-race community.

In 1992, the 25th anniversary of *Loving v. Virginia*, a ruling that removed bans on interracial marriages, she produced "I Hate Your Interracial Relationship." That year, she also devoted an episode to viewer reactions to the Rodney King verdict. In 1994, she interviewed a biracial family whose members at times chose to pass as white for an episode titled "Denying My Race." In 1995, audiences were introduced to college student Josh Solomon, who detailed his experiences of living as a black man for a week. In 1996, Winfrey spoke with members of the Little Rock Nine, the African American students who made history in 1957 when they integrated the public high school in Little Rock, Arkansas.

In addition to discussing tough issues concerning race, Winfrey used the show as a platform for launching several campaigns—including a successful drive to establish a national database of convicted child abusers and an ongoing movement to stop texting while driving, the No Phone Zone. Oprah's Book Club, started in 1996, reinvigorated American audiences' interest in contemporary fiction and quickly became a major influence in the publishing world. Each month, Winfrey selected a novel, and viewers read along with Winfrey. Selection for Oprah's Book Club pushed a novel's sales into the millions, creating the "Oprah Effect." Other regular segments included Oprah's Favorite Things, which showcased Oprah's favorite gifts; Oprah's Angel Network, a charity network in which viewers' contributions were used to help others; and Oprah

and Gayle's Big Adventure, episodes that followed Winfrey and best friend Gayle King on a series of adventures.

By the late 1990s, Winfrey had initiated a shift in the programming and aired episodes designed to help viewers "lead their best lives." Winfrey incorporated a series of friends/experts who appeared regularly on the show, including personal finance expert Suze Orman, interior decorator Nate Berkus, therapist/counselor Dr. Phil McGraw, spiritual teacher Iyanla Vanzant, and physician Dr. Mehmet Oz. McGraw, Berkus, and Oz now have their own talk shows. In January 2011, Winfrey and Harpo launched the Oprah Winfrey Network (OWN), and *The Oprah Winfrey Show* ended three months later, in May. Oprah pledged to appear a minimum of 70 hours per year and hosts two new shows, *Oprah's Next Chapter* and *Oprah's Life-Class*.

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See Also: Black Entertainment Television; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Television.

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Order Sons of Italy in America

The Order Sons of Italy in America is the oldest and largest national organization for men and women of Italian heritage in the United States. It was organized and founded in 1905 as a mutual aid society for the early Italian immigrants of the great migration (1880–1923). According to the

2010 U.S. Census, there are more than 17 million Americans of Italian descent in the United States.

History

Italy can claim one of the world's oldest civilizations, but at the same time, Italy is one of Europe's youngest nations. Although the history of its people dates back over 2,000 years, the nation with geographical borders operating under a central government was formed only about 150 years ago. In 1859, what today we call Italy existed as several separate states. In the south, the Bourbons of Spain ruled the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, comprising Sicily, Naples, and southern Italy. The northern regions of Lombardy, Veneto, and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany were under the rule of Austria. To the west and the far north lay the Kingdom of Sardinia, which included the island of Sardinia and the regions of Piedmont, Savoy, Nice, and Liguria. In the center of the land were the Papal States. Rome and Catholic were nearly synonymous, and the geographical region known as the Papal States was situated in the center region.

It was in 1859 that a young military tactician, Giuseppe Garibaldi, began to work for the unification of the separate kingdoms through political maneuvering and military force. Garibaldi realized his goal on September 20, 1870, by attacking and annexing Rome. The invading "red shirts" army seized the Catholic Church, interrupting the First Vatican Council (1868–70), causing bishops to flee and the pope to become a prisoner of the Vatican, and leading 19th century Austrian statesman Klemens von Metternich to have famously scoffed, "Italy is only a geographical expression."

The Sons of Italy in America had a difficult task: creating two new identities for the immigrants—one of being Italian and the other of being American. Originally established as *Figli d'Italia*, the Order Sons of Italy in America was founded by Dr. Vincenzo Sellaro and five other Italian immigrants living in the Little Italy neighborhood of New York City. Their aim was to create a support system for all Italian immigrants that would provide basic education and health and insurance benefits, and that would assist them with their adjustment to America. Old World families had been large enough for each to look after its own, but in the New World, many Italian immigrants were single men, and when families did come

over, rarely were they as full or as extended as in their native land. Newcomers soon realized that their families were unable to effectively deal with most of the problems encountered in the urban setting. Mutual aid societies provided a sense of community, provided nostalgia and encouragement, paid sick benefits and insurance, or otherwise assisted newcomers in their adjustment.

Group Culture and U.S. Impact

In the United States, mutual aid societies of the 19th century were originally based on place of origin, often the town or province of one’s family. Early groups were small, financially weak, and mostly short-lived. The Sons of Italy encouraged small groups to consolidate and shifted members’ focus from towns of origin to a crafted sense of Italian heritage. By 1923, the Sons of Italy were nationwide in scope, numbering nearly 300,000 members within 1,190 lodges.

Immigrants who joined mutual benefit societies contributed small amounts monthly, generally between 25 and 60 cents. In return, the society guaranteed to assist them when they inevitably became injured and to bury them when they died. Eventually, free schools were established to teach the immigrants how to speak and write English and to assist in the paperwork and training necessary to become U.S. citizens.

By the middle of the 20th century the Sons of Italy were expanding their services, offering Italians assistance with their assimilation into America. Sons of Italy began opening community centers with various entertainments, from Italian language newspapers and magazines to sports, theater, and puppet shows. Soon, other mutual aid societies followed suit, expanding their services to provide access to recreational facilities, sporting events, and religious celebrations.

Contemporary Scene

Status anxieties engendered by negative stereotypes generated efforts for second- and third-generation Italian Americans to highlight the contributions of Italians to the development of American culture. Perhaps the most vigorously fought campaign was the effort to have Columbus Day declared a federal holiday. Columbus Day served as a symbolic expression of the dual identity of being Italian American by placing an

Italian at the discovery of the New World and the beginning of American history. The new federal holiday legitimized their claims to being authentically American while allowing them to take pride in being Italian.

This developing sense of pride in being Italian American took the form for the Sons of Italy of an aggressive anti-defamation campaign designed to counter discrimination and prejudice found in the media and in American culture. The Commission for Social Justice was launched in 1979 to fight the negative stereotyping of Italian Americans by the entertainment, advertising, and news industries. Further, a second subsidiary group, the Sons of Italy Foundation, was created as a philanthropic arm of the Sons of Italy, preserving Italian culture, offering scholarships, and promoting a positive identity.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Columbus Day; Culture; High/Low Context Cultures; Italian Americans; Little Italy; *Rocky*; Roma Americans.

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Organization of Chinese Americans

The Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA) was founded in 1973 to bring together Chinese American communities across the United States and to focus on issues in the United States rather than in China. The original concept for the

organization was to create a voice for Chinese Americans, analogous to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for African Americans or the Japanese American Citizens League for Americans of Japanese descent.

The OCA held its first national convention on June 9, 1973, and K. L. Wang was elected the organization's first president. Today, there are over 80 chapters and affiliates of the OCA across the United States, and the organization's focus has broadened to include the interest of Americans from all Asian and Pacific countries.

The mission of the OCA, according to its Web site, is to advance "the social, political, and economic well-being of Asian Pacific Americans." Specific goals include fostering cultural heritage; advancing community building and coalitions; promoting civic participation, education, and leadership; and advocating for social justice. The OCA explicitly refrains from taking positions on the politics of any foreign country. The OCA is headquartered in Washington, D.C., where it monitors national legislation and policy issues and also works in coalition with other Asia-Pacific organizations. The current president is Ken Lee, a 2008 retiree from UPS, where he was the first Asian American to achieve the rank of vice president and where he also served on the corporate diversity committee.

The OCA is engaged in several efforts to draw attention to America's past history with regard to immigrants and to push for reforms in the current immigration system. The 1882 Project takes its name from the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, a federal law that prohibited Chinese laborers from immigrating to the United States and that led to passage of many state and local laws restricting the rights of Chinese living in the country. The 1882 Project aims to educate Americans about the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and to achieve passage of a congressional statement recognizing the wrongs done to Chinese Americans by this act. The OCA opposes current attacks on *jus soli*, or birthright citizenship, which guarantees the right of anyone born in the United States to claim citizenship, and supports the DREAM Act, which provides several pathways for undocumented citizens under the age of 18 to achieve citizenship. The OCA also supports the Reuniting Families Act to help

family members of U.S. citizens receive visas to enter the United States.

The OCA runs several programs to help Asian-Pacific Americans attend an institution of higher education, develop their leadership skills, and advance in their chosen careers. The OCA created its first scholarship program in 1993, and it partners with various companies and foundations to fund scholarships for Asian-Pacific Americans attending institutions of higher education.

In 2011, 10 OCA-AXA scholarships were awarded in recognition of students' academic achievement, leadership, and community service; 15 OCA-UPS Gold Mountain Scholarships to students who were the first in their family to attend college; and 15 OCA-Verizon College Scholarships went to students demonstrating financial need, leadership, achievement, and commitment to community service. The OCA runs a paid summer internship program in Washington, D.C., to introduce students to public policy issues and to help them develop their leadership skills. It also provides a free mentorship program, sponsored by UPS, which pairs Asian American professionals with leaders in their field for a three-month period that includes four one-on-one mentoring sessions and two mentoring networking sessions. The B³ program, created in 2009, aids Asian-Pacific American professionals advance their careers through networking, mentoring, and professional development. The "3 B's" of the program's name stand for Build, Breakthrough, and Believe, and the program provides a number of workshops and seminars on topics such as personal branding and corporate success strategies.

The OCA holds an annual convention, such as the one in Las Vegas, Nevada, August 2–5, 2012. Five individuals received the OCA's Pioneer Award for making important contributions to their professional fields and to the community: Major Kurt Chew-Een Lee, the first Asian American to be commissioned as a regular officer in the Marine Corps and the first to be assigned command of a combat unit; Maxine Hong Kingston, award-winning author of books including *The Woman Warrior*, *China Men*, and *The Fifth Book of Peace*; J. D. Hokoyama, a consultant and retired board member of Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics, Inc.; Shiro Floyd Mori, a leader of the Japanese American Citizens League

and member of the executive council of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; and Karen Narasaki, a national authority on immigration and civil rights, a member of the Asian American Center for Advancing Justice, and immediate past president of the Asian American Justice Center. The OCA also holds leadership summits in partnership with the Japanese American Citizens League; the first such conference was held in 1984, and the most recent in 2012.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Chinese Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Higher Education; Pacific Islander Americans.

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Osage

The Osage call themselves *Wazhazhe*, or "the People." They are divided into two basic moieties (social divisions): the *Tzi-sho* (Sky People) and *Hunkah* (Earth People). The unity of the sky and earth peoples is symbolized by a perfect man who faces east in times of peace and west in times of war. The Osage speak a language that is part of the Eastern Siouan-Catawban (Dhegiha Siouan branch) family and are related to the Omaha, Ponca, and Quapaw. Only a handful of elders still speak Osage but the Osage Nation has an

active revitalization program, and young people are striving today to learn their heritage language. Several groups such as the Four Directions Institute are active in promoting language fluency.

The Woodland ancestors of the Osage lived along the banks of the Ohio River and points east. They were descendants of sedentary farmers (Indian Knoll and Mississippian Oneota cultures) who made yearly migrations onto the Great Plains to hunt buffalo. They probably separated from the Quapaw and Kansa around 1500 as they migrated to what is now Missouri and Arkansas. The horse changed their culture and permitted the Osage to make yearly migrations farther onto the Plains; they also became known as the greatest traders in the Mississippi Valley region. Although the Osage spent more time on the Plains hunting buffalo and trading, they still had agricultural villages. They were encountered by European traders and explorers beginning in 1673; Jacques Marquette called them the "Ouchage" on his maps. French traders came regularly to their 17 villages on the Osage River. After the Spanish took control of the region, Osage trade expanded.

Population movements from the east affected the Osage by the middle of the 18th century. They expanded west into Caddoan territory in the 1760s, forcing the abandonment of the last Caddo village on the Arkansas River in 1870. This gave them access to large buffalo herds and changed their seasonal economic cycle. Next, a series of forced removals pushed the Osage west, then south, although they actively fought each incursion into their territories.

Their first treaty with the U.S. government (1808) established Fort Osage and provided some services in return for peace, giving the federal government authority and eminent domain over most Osage lands—basically half of Arkansas and seven-eighths of Missouri. Their compensation was one-sixth of a cent per acre. The treaty of 1818 forced the Osage to recognize Cherokee and Euro-American settler incursions on their lands. Called the Lovely Purchase, 600,000 acres were presented to tribes removed from the east. The U.S. government gave the Osage \$4,000 for 1.8 million acres of land, which amounted to \$0.045 per acre, then immediately sold it to Cherokee for \$2 million. The U.S. government made a profit from Indian removal.

As part of the Indian removal acts of the 1820s, the Osage “lost” more of their territory to the Cherokee; the two groups fought when the Cherokee arrived under military escort. Overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of Native immigrants, the Osage retreated. Under the Treaty of 1825, “the People” were “assigned” the southeastern portion of what became Kansas Territory as a bounded reservation. The rest of their land was ceded to the Cherokee. They were forced out in 1871. Based on the 1865 treaty, they purchased their old lands from the Cherokee in the northeastern part of Indian Territory and settled in five villages. Government officials estimated that there were about 3,680 “full-bloods” and 280 “mixed-bloods” (primarily people of Osage-French ancestry who were Catholics) at the time. This was probably only 5 percent of their earlier population.

Smallpox and measles epidemics continued to decimate the population, and by 1906, the Osage numbered 2,230, half of whom were classified

as mixed-bloods, a result of increasing intermarriage with non-Indians. This affected Osage religion and healing practices. Some of the 24 clans lost their “Little Old Men” (*nóhžika*) who served as each clan’s religious leader and historian and whose responsibility was to remember all the sacred rites and prayers and pass this knowledge on to their apprentices, many of whom also had died or been forced to attend distant boarding schools. As a result, the religious ceremonies and prayers associated with clans were curtailed.

The Osage belonged to 24 clans organized under a moiety system, which determined who lived where in each village. Each clan possessed its own set of “life symbols,” and its name was taken from the most important of these. Each clan had a unique relationship to particular sacred powers and could influence only that part of the supernatural world. In terms of political organizations, the clans joined to form a confederacy. Each clan had responsibilities: one was responsible for peace and diplomacy, one for



Three members of an Osage group photographed in December 1920. The 2010 U.S. Census found 9,900 tribal members living on the Osage reservation, but they were outnumbered by 37,500 non-Indians also residing within their reservation boundaries. The Osage tribe benefited from the discovery of oil on their land in 1897 and has maintained a thriving economy since 1880.

determining migrations, and another for war. The leaders met for grand councils.

The 2010 U.S. Census lists 9,900 members living on their reservation. Like other reservations that were affected by the Dawes and Curtis Acts (allotment), 37,500 non-Indians also reside within their reservation boundaries. By 1889, due to tenant farmers working Osage lands, the Osage had become the minority population on their lands. Other Osage live throughout the United States and return to their home periodically to visit relatives and participate in dances and social gatherings.

The Osage Nation has been a thriving business, cultural, and economic entity since 1880. Under its first constitution, the council had an elected chief, an assistant chief, 15 legislators, a judiciary system, and an elected police force for each of the five districts. Its most recent constitution was ratified in 2006. By the 1890s, the Osage had over \$8 million banked in the U.S. Treasury. They used some funds to buy rations and livestock (because their last buffalo hunt had been in 1876) and later gave per capita payments to members.

Oil was found on Osage lands in 1897, and title to the natural resource remained with the tribe; the tribal members became essentially stockholders in their nation. Growth from oil remained low until after World War I, and then it led to a boom. Natural gas production is also important to the tribe. Although the Osage technically still have a reservation, when Oklahoma became a state in 1907, it was renamed Osage County. Their large casino is located in Pawhuska.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Cherokee; Dawes Act (1887); Indian Boarding Schools; Indian Casinos; Reservations, American Indian; Trail of Tears.

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Other America, The

Michael Harrington published *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* in 1962. His study helped ignite a national debate on the persistence of poverty amid an otherwise strong and sustained period of economic growth. Indeed, following World War II, the United States had indisputably become the world's most powerful and wealthiest nation. Still, as *The Other America* effectively conveyed, not all shared in the prosperity.

In *The Other America*, Harrington argued that despite a rising standard of living, over a fifth of the population—or about 25 million people—remained deeply impoverished. He found the problem most acute among several specific demographics. First, he claimed that many rural whites, living primarily in Appalachia and the Ozarks, had failed to secure any of the postwar bounty. Their physical isolation from the nation's great cities and the decline of such rural industries as mining and logging left them in a perpetual state of economic depression. Next, he described so-called “rejects,” those who worked in big cities and small towns but who were hopelessly stuck in low-wage employment, unable to find higher-paying union jobs in industry. They lacked basic job protections, had no contract or health care, and had bosses who effectively acted as “monarchs” on the shop floor, according to Harrington.

Beyond what he described as the “invisible” poverty of rural whites, Harrington described several other populations of impoverished people. He found pervasive racism to be a serious impediment for African Americans trying to exit poverty. Racism, according to Harrington, also accounted for their inability to secure well-paid employment. Housing discrimination also ghettoized poor people of color, limiting their opportunities even further. Additionally, poverty plagued older citizens; illness, disease, and hopelessness often typified the experience of growing old in the United States.

With meager old-age benefits, many retired people in the United States lived the final years of their lives in destitution—ill-housed, forgotten, and cast aside by upwardly mobile, younger members of society. For different reasons, Harrington also found widespread poverty among young adults. Unlike older Americans, Harrington

believed that many young people were poor by choice. These “bohemians,” artists, graduate students, and writers—whom Harrington categorized as creative workers—lived in the slums of cities, often at odds with an older generation of ethnic whites.

Beyond a description of who in the United States was poor, *The Other America* advanced the controversial “culture of poverty thesis,” first articulated by anthropologist Oscar Lewis in 1959. Like Lewis, Harrington proposed that poverty was the result of structural economic forces, but perhaps more important, it was also the result of a culture whereby poor people allegedly knew no better and thus showed little initiative to move beyond the social class of their birth.

Harrington believed this was especially true of poor rural whites and urban African Americans. Many of these families had lived in impoverished communities for decades and seemed unable and unwilling to advance into the middle class. Entrenched, generational poverty, maintained Harrington, presented the most intractable problem.

Despite its critics, *The Other America* was nevertheless the most successful and influential study on poverty to come out of the decade, even if it was not the first (John Kenneth Galbraith’s *The Affluent Society* broached the topic as early as 1958). Curiously, *The Other America* was met mostly with ambivalence and failed to create much of a stir. It was not until Dwight Macdonald, a well-known reporter for *The New Yorker*, wrote an extensive review of the book months after its release that it gained a widespread readership. The review, highlighting poverty among poor whites in Appalachia and migrants in the southwest, garnered the attention of the John F. Kennedy administration and liberals throughout the nation.

By the end of 1962 and into 1963, Kennedy, along with key advisers such as Adam

Yarmolinsky, Sargent Shriver, Stewart Udall, and others, crafted a policy to address poverty in the United States. Harrington joined the ranks of other so-called “poverty warriors” such as Galbraith and Harry Caudill, whose *Night Comes to the Cumberland* (1962) provided an accompaniment to *The Other America*.

At the time of Kennedy’s assassination in late 1963, a liberal coalition had already crafted the Area Redevelopment Act as a response to the widespread poverty that Harrington had so thoroughly detailed. In 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson’s presidential campaign echoed many of the book’s themes. Most ambitiously, the Texan called for a “war on poverty.” With his landslide election, Johnson had the electoral mandate and congressional votes to enact sweeping legislation that sought to eradicate impoverishment.

Although debates continue as to how effective the war on poverty truly was, poverty rates indeed declined throughout the 1960s and much of the 1970s. In 1999, *Time* magazine declared *The Other America* one of the 10 most influential nonfiction books of the century, affirming the powerful impact the study had upon politics, public policy, and society in the 1960s.

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See Also: Appalachians; Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Class and Ethnic Diversity.

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Pacific Islander Americans

“Pacific Islander” is a complex, socially constructed ethnic category. Pacific Islander Americans are defined as residents of the United States who have ancestral ties to islands within the Pacific Ocean. Traditionally, Pacific Islanders are grouped into one of three ethnic categories based on the regions of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. Although conceptualizing Pacific Islanders in this way aids classification, it neglects the long history of migration within the Pacific Ocean and creates perilous dichotomies between the three ethnicized groups. Migration within the Pacific is an interesting, and pertinent, counternarrative to the black/white racial paradigm. Pacific Islander Americans are the least common ethnicity in the United States, and prior to the 1960 U.S. Census, Pacific Islanders were lumped with Asians, when included at all. The recent option to identify as multiracial allows for a more nuanced examination of the Pacific Islander experience.

A History of Migration

The first Pacific Islanders are thought to have left Asia at least 2,000 years ago. Sailing in small boats from southeast Asia, the early Pacific Islanders settled in the area we know as Micronesia and

Melanesia. As island populations increased, people began to disperse on longer trips in larger vessels, venturing to the more isolated islands of Polynesia, eventually reaching Hawai‘i and Rappa Nui (Easter Island) in the middle and southeast Pacific, respectively. The journeys were long and dangerous, but those who survived prospered until foreign disease and technology ravished the Pacific.

During the 16th century, European and American voyagers “made contact” with “natives” of the Pacific. In a colonial fashion, Western explorers laid claim to sovereign land, destroyed native culture, and introduced diseases that ravished the island population. By the time ships from Europe reached the Pacific, they needed fresh bodies to man their voyages, and the Pacific Islands became a spot for corporal replenishing.

During World War II, some Pacific Islanders were forced to leave their island homes because of nuclear weapon testing. The Marshall Islands in Micronesia were the site of many nuclear tests and remain one of the most radioactive places in the world. The U.S. government provides special migration and monetary aid to the governments of former test regions because of the nuclear contamination. The extent to which the United States provides enough care for these displaced Pacific Islanders is contested.

As the jet plane has replaced the ship as the primary means of oceanic transportation, migration

within the Pacific has increased and stratified. Whereas a common passenger jet can fly the span of the Pacific Ocean in less than 16 hours, a steamship would require multiple months to travel the same distance. Research has suggested that jet travel creates a migration gap where only the most privileged can out-migrate.

The largest threat to the Pacific Islanders is brain drain. Brain drain occurs when intelligent, high-achieving young adults leave their home islands to pursue an education or career on the U.S. mainland. When these Pacific Islanders wish to return home, they find that attractive jobs are not available and the quality of life is lower in the Pacific, while the cost of living is higher. As a result of these factors, many Pacific Islanders remain in the United States and contribute to the Pacific Islander American population.

Pacific Islander Americans in the U.S. Census

Pacific Islanders first appeared on the census in 1910. The 1910 Census reported eight Maori living in the west. In 1920, the census included Samoan and Hawai'ian categories. The 1930 Census removed the Maori category, and the 1940 and 1950 data have no information on Pacific Islanders; they are presumably aggregated with the "Other Asian" category. The 1960 Census had two categories for Pacific Islanders—Hawai'ian and Part-Hawai'ians—but no other Pacific Islander categories. In 1970, the part-Hawai'ian category was removed, and the 1980 Census added Samoan and Chamorro to the racial categories.

The 1990 Census was the first to racially delineate Asians and Pacific Islanders. The 1990 Census kept the same three categories but added an Other Pacific Islander category distinct from Other Asian. This addition permits extrapolation of Pacific Islanders from the Asian race in census data.

The last two censuses, 2000 and 2010, best illustrate the multiracialism of Pacific Islanders. The 2000 Census was the first census to allow for multiracial identification. This is significant because approximately 54 percent of Pacific Islanders identified as two or more races in 2000. The 2010 Census shows a drastic 40 percent increase in Pacific Islanders. While the population of Pacific Islanders increased, the ratio of mono to multiracial Pacific Islanders remained constant at 56 percent.

Conclusion

The Pacific Ocean accounts for approximately 31 percent of the world's surface area, yet Native Hawai'ian and Other Pacific Islanders (the U.S. census aggregate of Pacific Islander Americans) accounts for only 0.4 percent of the U.S. population. To contextualize the Pacific Islander American experience, we must examine the social construction of Pacific Islanders, the history of migration within the Pacific, and the ways in which Pacific Islanders are incorporated into the U.S. census.

"Pacific Islander" is a socially constructed pan-ethnic group. The Pacific Islander identity becomes important when lobbying for political and economic resources. On a day-to-day basis, Pacific Islanders are more likely to identify with cultural, religious, island, and kin identities than with panethnic labels.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Hawai'ians (Native); Polynesian Americans; World War II.

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Paiute

The Paiute, also spelled Piute, comprise three distinct linguistic and cultural groupings within the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family: the Northern Paiute, the Southern Paiute,

and the Owens Valley Paiute. Despite their linguistic and cultural differences, the Paiute generally consider themselves a collective group, referring to themselves simply as Paiute, or as Numu or Numa, meaning “the People.” The Paiute live within the western and southwestern United States. Like other Native Americans, many reside on reservations and are fighting to maintain their cultural heritage.

The Northern Paiute are located within the western United States in California, Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon; the Southern Paiute are located in Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah; and the Owens Valley Paiute are located in California and Nevada. Other names for the Paiute include Snakes and Bannocks. The desert, steppe, and forest highlands environments shaped a traditional nomadic hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Foods included fish, ducks, rabbits, mountain sheep, antelope, deer, lizards, insects and grubs, piñon



A Paiute woman weaving baskets in a photograph from around 1902. In 2010, the U.S. Census found 13,767 people of full or partial Paiute ancestry out of a total of more than 5.2 million Native Americans living in the United States.

(pine nuts), grass seeds, roots, rice grass, and berries. Their residences were portable huts of willow and brush. Traditional dress consisted of breechcloths or aprons, dresses, belts, leggings, moccasins or sandals, hats, and winter robes or capes.

The central traditional social unit was the extended family, which was economically and politically independent. Families separated for part of the year but would also gather seasonally into bands. Families and larger groupings were fluid in membership. Decisions were generally made by consensus. Religion played a central role in Paiute life and was polytheistic and animistic. Traditional Native American religious movements that had Paiute participation included the Native American Church, the use of sweat lodges, and the Sun Dance. Some Paiute adopted Christian religions as a result of mission efforts led by the Mormons in Utah, among others.

Cultural adaptations related to contact with other Native Americans included trading, the use of horses, and the cultivation of corn and other agricultural products. Contact with U.S. settlers did not immediately begin to significantly alter traditional Paiute culture but would soon have a devastating impact. Infectious diseases to which the Paiute lacked immunity, such as smallpox and cholera, were the leading cause of death resulting from intercultural encounters. The introduction of cattle and agriculture to the region disrupted hunting and led to conflicts over water resources.

Large-scale U.S. intrusion into the area occupied by the Northern Paiute began in the 1840s, although sporadic, largely peaceful earlier contact with explorers, hunters, and trappers occurred. Paiute territory included the path followed by settlers heading west along the Oregon Trail and by miners headed to California and Nevada after discoveries of gold and silver. Pony Express riders also crossed the region. Mormon settlement in Utah also brought large populations of U.S. settlers in contact with the Paiute.

Property disputes were often at the center of frictions between the Paiute and U.S. settlers. The Paiute also led raids on Euro-American camps, settlements, and mines, facilitated by the acquisition of guns and horses. Fighting between the Paiute and U.S. settlers and military forces included the Pyramid Lake War (1860), the Paiute

(Pah-Ute) War (1860), the Owens Valley Indian War (1861–64), the Snake War (1864–68), and the Bannock War (1878).

The federal government established reservations for the Paiute, as it did for many Native Americans, in order to separate them from surrounding settlements. Reservations housing Paiute populations included the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, Duck Valley, Moapa, and Malheur Reservations. Other Paiute gathered in Indian colonies, some located on abandoned military posts such as Oregon's Fort Bidwell and Fort McDermitt.

The federal government later divided the Paiute reservations into small individual allotments under the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887, with remaining lands sold to non-Indian owners. Some reservations and Indian colonies housed schools for varying lengths of time, whereas at others, Paiute children were sent to Native American boarding schools, such as the Stewart Institute in Nevada. Southern Paiute religious leader Wovoka founded the Ghost Dance religion, promoting a harmonic pan-Indian future free of white domination. Western tribes such as the Sioux adopted the Ghost Dance as symbolic resistance to white cultural influences, sparking clashes in the late 1800s as the U.S. military sought to suppress the movement.

The Paiute received increased federal government recognition, tribal self-governance, land protection, and federal aid under the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act) of 1934 and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. In the 1950s, a number of Paiute tribes faced termination of earlier federal recognition, losing land, education, and health benefits. Most regained recognition and services in the 1980s and 1990s after successful lawsuits against the federal government. They have also been involved in western disputes over water rights.

Today, there are numerous federally recognized Paiute tribes living on modernized reservations or in colonies or communities in Arizona, California, Idaho, Oregon, Nevada, and Utah. The Native American population grew from the 2000 to 2010 U.S. Census. The 2010 figures count 13,767 people who identified themselves as of full or partial Paiute ancestry out of a total of over 5.2 million Native Americans. The total U.S. population in 2010 was 1.7 percent Native American,

22 percent of whom lived within American Indian areas such as reservations.

Traditional tribal political leadership exists alongside the federally recognized Western-style tribal governments formed under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Businesses include the federal tax-exempt sale of cigarettes, fish hatcheries and permit sales, sales of traditional Paiute crafts, and livestock grazing. Ties to their cultural heritage are maintained through arts and crafts, language, music, religion, and oral histories and tales.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Dawes Act (1887); Ghost Dance; Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian; Wheeler-Howard Act (1934).

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Pakistani Americans

People from the areas that are now Pakistan have been coming to America since the 18th century to work in agriculture, logging, and mining. Between 1947 (when Pakistan was created) to the mid-1960s, only 2,500 Pakistanis, mostly students, entered the United States. This trickle changed to a steady stream after the per country immigration quotas were eliminated in 1965, and many Pakistanis started coming to the United States for higher educations.

The first wave of Pakistani immigrants were largely Punjabis and Sindhis, with fewer Pashtuns and Balochis. Most of them were Sunni Muslims. Since 2007, over 50,000 Pakistanis have immigrated to the United States. The majority of

Pakistani Americans today—about 65 percent—were not born in the United States. Despite their relatively brief history in their new country, they have made notable contributions to its culture and economy.

For several historical and political reasons, the United States has remained the country of choice for most Pakistanis. Pakistan's close political alliances with the United States and the absence of any colonial baggage in the United States–Pakistan relationship explain the attraction that Pakistanis have felt to America. Immigration of Pakistanis peaked in the 1980s. The 2010 U.S. Census figures put the number of Pakistani Americans at 363,699.

The areas with significant Pakistani American populations are New York (22.1 percent), California (13.1 percent), Texas (12.4 percent), Illinois (7.6 percent), and New Jersey (7.2 percent). Since most Pakistanis who come to the United States are educated, speak English, and have had prior exposure to Western cultures, they tend to assimilate into American society quickly. A study that was based on the 1990 census data gives an idea of the distribution of occupations among Pakistani Americans: managerial and professional (33.5 percent); technical, sales, or administrative (35.2 percent); services (10.2 percent); production, manufacture, and labor (20.5 percent); self-employed (7.9 percent).

The Asian American Center for Advancing Justice reported that the 2011 median household income of Pakistani American families was about \$63,000, compared with \$51,369 for the national average. About 55 percent of Pakistani Americans hold at least a bachelor's degree, compared with the national average of 28 percent. At the same time, 15 percent of Pakistani Americans (the same percentage as for the total population) fall below the poverty line. Their unemployment rate of 8 percent is the same as the national average, but only 55 percent own homes, compared to 66 percent of the total population. Their per capita income of about \$24,700 is lower than the national average of \$27,100. Blue-collar workers, particularly taxicab drivers, earn low wages. About 23 percent of Pakistani Americans have no health insurance—higher than any other Asian American group and much higher than the national figure of 15 percent.

Family and Religion

Family is very important to Pakistani Americans. About 76 percent live in households with both parents—among the highest in Asian American groups and much higher than the national average. Nuclear households are the norm, but extended kinship remains strong. Only 36.9 percent of Pakistani American women are in the workforce. Among the younger generation, however, more women are preparing for and holding professional jobs.

With Islam the faith of over 90 percent in the country of their origin, religion is important to Pakistani Americans. Mosques are used for worship and cultural activities. Since September 11, 2001, mosques have come under strict surveillance and have sometimes been vandalized. Most Pakistani American Muslims believe this Islamophobic phase may pass like similar anti-immigrant eras in this country. To reduce prejudice, Islamic studies programs are being created across the nation, notably the Sohaib and Sara Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies at Stanford University, in California. Pakistani American organizations such as the American Muslim Alliance and Pakistan American Cultural Center are promoting interfaith understanding to improve United States–Pakistan relations.

The Contemporary Scene

Pakistani Americans have made significant contributions in the areas of culture, science, and technology. Research readily yields names of award-winning educators, authors, physicians, scientists, musicians, actors, and filmmakers. In education, the name of the Khan Academy has become a household word across the globe for providing free, top-class online instruction in many academic disciplines.

Pakistani American engineers invented the software tools to help design the iPad and structures like the Olympic Bird's Nest Stadium in Beijing, the cable-stayed Centenario Bridge over the Panama Canal, the Taipei 101 Tower in Taiwan, and the Freedom Tower in New York. Another Pakistani American, Kazi Mobin-Uddin, invented the umbrella that is deployed in the inferior vena cava to prevent embolism during heart surgery.

Among Pakistani Americans in politics have been mayors, city council members, state legislators, and

close advisors to the secretary of state. In a short period of time, Pakistani Americans have made their mark and, from all indications, will continue to contribute to American culture.

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See Also: Afghan Americans; Arab Americans; Asian Americans; Serbian Americans.

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Palestinian Americans

Palestinian Americans are one of the major Arab American population groups. However, they are relatively difficult to count via federally collected data. The 2010 American Community Survey estimated 82,744 people of Palestinian ancestry in the United States, which would make them just under 6 percent of the Arab population and 0.026 percent of the total U.S. population. However, nearly 18 percent of the Arab American population identified themselves as simply “Arab,” which likely includes many Palestinians, and it is also possible that some of the 55,000 people identifying as having Jordanian ancestry are of mixed Jordanian–Palestinian ancestry, given that half of Jordan’s population is ethnically Palestinian.

The data collected by the Detroit Arab American survey suggests that approximately 12 percent of southeast Michigan’s Arab population is Palestinian or Jordanian, making them the third-largest population group of Arab Americans; it is unclear if this is representative of the Arab population of the United States as a whole. Of people who identified as Palestinian in the 2006 to 2010

American Community Surveys, 55.5 percent were U.S. born. The largest Palestinian American populations are located in California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Texas; like other Arab Americans, Palestinian Americans tend to be concentrated in urban areas and the near suburbs.

Demographically, Palestinian Americans compare well to the rest of the American population. Twenty-three percent of Palestinian Americans over 25 have a bachelor’s degree, and 15.7 percent have a graduate degree, as opposed to 17.6 percent and 10.3 percent, respectively, of the total population. This education is reflected in their high household incomes; the median Palestinian American household has an income of \$55,950, more than \$4,000 higher than the median American household. However, 16 percent of Palestinian American families are below the poverty line, which is greater than the American average (10.1 percent).

Palestinian Americans have larger families than the American average (4.12 persons per family, as opposed to 3.17). Over a quarter of Palestinian Americans speak only English at home, and of the remainder, over 80 percent speak English very well. The picture that emerges from the demographic data is of a highly educated, professionally successful, and well-integrated ethnic group.

Although the first waves of migration from the Arab world to North America were mostly from what is now Lebanon, there have been small Palestinian communities in the United States since the early 20th century. However, migration increased prodigiously after World War II, when tensions between Zionists and other European Jews immigrating to Palestine and the native population began to increase.

The war between the newly created state of Israel and its neighbors in 1948 led to the creation of the Palestinian diaspora, consisting both of Palestinian individuals who left their homes during the 1948 war and lived as refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait, and elsewhere and of those who remained within historical Palestine, either in the territory that became Israel or in the West Bank and Gaza, held by Jordan and Egypt until 1967 and by Israel since. Palestinian immigration to the United States increased again after 1967, when the West Bank and Gaza were

occupied, and has remained high. Because of the geographic dispersal of Palestinians, Palestinian Americans have roots in a variety of nation-states, hold different legal statuses, and have different historical and political experiences. They may have emigrated directly from Israel, the West Bank, or Gaza from a neighboring Arab country or from another location, particularly Latin America. However, most people who have at least some Palestinian ancestry identify strongly with that heritage, despite any previous family migrations.

The Palestinian American community is organized in two major ways: first, through hometown associations such as the American Federation of Ramallah (Palestine), and second, through political action in support of Palestinian rights and an independent Palestinian state. Advocacy for Palestine began in the early 20th century, parallel with anti-Zionist organizing in Palestine, and has continued until the present, with a variety of local and national pro-Palestine activist groups that include not only Palestinians but also Jews, non-Palestinian Muslims, and others.

Many diaspora Palestinians have become involved in nationalist politics in Palestine, such as Edward Said, a Palestinian American professor who was a part of the Palestinian Liberation Organization before the Oslo Accords. Palestinian Americans are also active in religious communities, particularly Arab Christian churches such as the Maronite and Melkite churches and the Muslim community in general.

Famous contemporary Palestinian Americans include Ali Abunimah, pro-Palestine activist and journalist and founder of the Electronic Intifada; Suheir Hammad, spoken-word poet; Naomi Shihab Nye, poet; and John Sununu, former governor of New Hampshire.

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See Also: Arab Americans; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay); Zionism.

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Palmer Raids

During the first Red Scare after World War I, the U.S. government conducted a series of raids to capture and deport foreign-born radicals. Named after Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, the Palmer Raids of 1919 and 1920 led to the arrest of approximately 5,000 immigrants, many of whom came from either southern or eastern Europe. When planning the raids, the Department of Justice targeted members of organizations that it deemed subversive, such as the Union of Russian Workers, the Communist Party, and the Communist Labor Party. Although the raids resulted in relatively few deportations, they disrupted immigrant community life and were a significant episode in the history of American nativism.

Causes

As the U.S. government mobilized the population during the World War I, officials emphasized the importance of 100 percent Americanism. Many Americans feared that immigrants might undermine the war effort and needed to demonstrate their loyalty to the nation. After Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia during the 1917 October Revolution, U.S.

government officials feared that a communist revolution could take place in the United States. They were especially concerned that immigrants from the former Russian Empire may have brought foreign ideas about anarchism, socialism, and communism with them from their homeland.

After the war ended, the United States experienced a period of labor unrest that began with the Seattle General Strike in January 1919 and included major strikes in the coal and steel industries. In April 1919, radicals tried to send bombs to prominent Americans through the mail, and in July bombs exploded in several cities. One destroyed the front porch of Palmer's home, where investigators found radical leaflets in Italian as well as the remains of the bomber at the scene.

The incidents convinced many Americans that the government needed to root out foreign-born radicals to prevent a violent revolution. Palmer believed that if left alone, subversive immigrants would destroy American democracy, undermine religious belief, and threaten the well-being of American families.

Raids and Deportations

The Immigration Act of 1918 enabled the government to deport immigrant anarchists and those who supported the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Since the act also permitted the government to deport members of any organization that supported violent revolution, the Department of Justice decided to focus on proving that immigrants belonged to organizations that it considered dangerous. J. Edgar Hoover, the head of the Bureau of Investigation's Radical Division, coordinated the government's efforts. In November 1919, on the second anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, the Department of Justice raided branches of the Union of Russian Workers, a radical organization that also served as a mutual aid society, and arrested hundreds of alleged radicals.

After the first set of raids, antiradicals eagerly awaited the beginning of the deportations. Newspaper reporters emphasized the threat of radical beliefs to American society as they followed the cases of notorious radicals, including anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, long-time collaborators. Berkman had spent 14 years in prison for the shooting of Henry Clay Frick, and

both Goldman and Berkman had served prison sentences for opposing the draft during World War I. The government began its experiment with mass deportation by shipping 249 immigrants including Berkman and Goldman, aboard the U.S.S. *Buford* to Hangö, Finland, so they could cross the border into Soviet Russia. The Department of Justice hoped that more deportations would soon follow.

The November raids against the Union of Russian Workers served as practice for a much larger set of raids against the Communist and Communist Labor Parties, two newly formed organizations with revolutionary principles. Bureau of Investigation agents began the second set of raids on January 2, 1920, and focused on arresting foreign-born members. The government detained and interviewed thousands of alleged radicals in cities nationwide, including New York, Chicago, and Detroit, with the intention of deporting them en masse.

Although the raids targeted radical organizations, immigrant communities felt the effects of the raids more broadly. Immigrants feared attending meetings of mutual aid societies and other groups because of possible arrest. They also complained that employers discriminated against hiring immigrants from the former Russian Empire, believing that they were all dangerous radicals.

The End of the Red Scare

During the months following the raids, accused radicals had hearings in front of immigration inspectors in which Bureau of Investigation agents tried to prove that they belonged to illicit organizations. However, the Department of Justice's antiradical campaign depended on the cooperation of the Department of Labor, which made the final decisions about whom to deport. In the spring of 1920, an opponent of the government's plans, Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis Freeland Post, began cancelling immigrants' warrants. Of the over 2,000 cases that went before the Department of Labor, the Department of Justice succeeded in deporting only 556 immigrants. For his role in ending the deportations, Post had to defend himself against charges of radicalism and was nearly impeached.

Opposition to the raids grew during 1920 as notable Americans like Felix Frankfurter, a future Supreme Court justice, spoke out against the

government's conduct. Opponents noted civil liberties violations such as the government arresting immigrants without warrants and charging excessively high bail. The government also conducted illegal searches and used agent, provocateurs to ensnare targets. After May 1, 1920, passed without the predicted outbreaks of revolutionary violence, the public outcry against the dangers of immigrant radicals began to subside.

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See Also: Deportation (Repatriation); Italian Americans; Jewish Americans; Nativism; Russian Americans; World War I.

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and other demographic shifts. Pan-Africanism believes in unity and solidarity of Africans and people of African descent across regions, while considering the continent as its homeland.

Pan-Africanism dates back at least to the mid-19th century. Both Martin Delany and Edward Wilmot Blyden advocated remigration to Africa. Around the turn of the century, Henry Sylvester Williams organized the first Pan-African conference in London in 1900. However, the expansion of Pan-Africanism happened when black intellectuals and leaders began to voice the need for black solidarity during the World War I period. Prominent thinkers such as Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Kwame N'krumah, and others were the pioneers of this movement.

One of the most influential American figures was W. E. B. Du Bois, who stated that Pan-Africanism was not simply social idealism but also a political and economic platform for black autonomy. Du Bois went on to help organize the Pan-African Congresses in 1919 and 1921. During this period, leaders from Africa and its diasporas gathered to discuss the impact of Western colonization and ways to mend the suffering of blacks.

Pan-Africanism developed as the general global environment changed. Between two world wars, people of African descent and Africans interacted with each other more than ever, and they collectively experienced Western imperialism. As a result, the movement grew to involve not only racial solidarity, as Du Bois called for, but also literal or symbolic repatriations and radical liberation. For example, Marcus Garvey, who was born in Jamaica and later immigrated to the United States, considered Liberia as the homeland of all Africans and people of African descent. He encouraged re-Africanization by the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), entrepreneurship to achieve economic autonomy, educational programs, and other activities.

George Padmore, from Trinidad, was more radical, claiming that both Du Bois and Garvey lacked resistance against capitalist empires. He advocated the demise of all colonial regimes by, for example, defending Ethiopia from Italian invasion, establishing the International African Service Bureau, collaborating with C. L. R. James, and working closely with African independence leaders. Despite some disagreements, Padmore's concept of "United

Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is an international political, cultural, ideological, and economic movement based on the belief that Africans and people of African descent share the same heritage and must work for the liberation of Africa and Africans. Although its multifacetedness and different conceptions make it difficult to reach its singular definition, it is a form of black internationalism that encompasses both the African continent and its diaspora, which has expanded through slavery, immigration, trade,



A supporter of Marcus Garvey photographed outside a Garvey Club and Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) office in New York City in April 1943. Garvey founded the UNIA in 1914 to encourage re-Africanization, entrepreneurship, and educational programs.

States of Africa” reflected Garvey’s “Africa for the Africans” idealism. Both leaders believed that political awareness among Africans and people of African descent would eventually result in the reestablishment of the homeland.

Kwame N’krumah is one of the Pan-Africanists who worked with Padmore. Centering his activism in Ghana, N’krumah encouraged nonviolent civil disobedience. He resisted British colonialism and worked to combine Islamic, Christian, and African theologies and traditions. N’krumah argued that Ghanaian liberation alone was meaningless unless accompanied by the removal of imperialism, colonialism, and racism from the continent.

It was in 1963 that Pan-Africanism grew into the Organization of African Unity. This completed a two-decade-long shift from the U.S.- and Europe-centered Pan-Africanism to the Caribbean- and African-centered movement, which started with the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945. Over this period, Du Bois, Padmore, and other Pan-Africanists moved to Africa. The new organization encouraged the promotion of African cooperation to eliminate colonialism from the entire African continent. This collectivist approach reflected the earlier activism of Garvey, Padmore, N’krumah, and Julius Nyerere. Nyerere, of Tanzania, was also a believer in the reestablishment of the homeland. He supported the liberation of Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe through guerrilla action. African unity, however, did not happen without problems. The 1960s experienced many conflicts between African nations, especially because of the border disputes from the colonial period.

In the meantime, the United States saw Pan-Africanism take shape in various forms. In addition to its political expressions, as were observed from Du Bois, Garvey, Malcolm X, and Stokely Carmichael, black culture also advanced around the idea of Pan-Africanism. The New Negro Movement, the Harlem Renaissance, the Chicago Renaissance, and other cultural movements gave birth to African American artists who expressed Pan-Africanism. Additionally, academic institutions began to offer courses in black studies. In 1969, Temple University established the Afro-Asian Institute, later renamed as the Department of Pan-African Studies.

Pan-Africanism continues to be relevant to many blacks to this day, especially within the context of globalization. Economic and financial cooperation between African and Arab nations has been on the rise since the 1970s. The significance of oil as a natural resource has affected the relationship among countries. The sixth and seventh Pan-African Congresses, in Tanzania in 1974 and in Uganda in 1994, underscored the need for unity within Africa but also with Arab and Latin American nations that experienced economic exploitation. Furthermore, after the end of apartheid in South Africa, the new African Union was established in Libya in March 2001 to address human immunodeficiency virus

and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS), economics, Africa's marginalized position within the world, and other issues.

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See Also: African Americans; Diaspora; Repatriation Program; Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League.

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Panamanian Americans

Panama is a small country, carved from Colombia, and Panamanian Americans are the second-smallest Central American ethnic group, numbering 165,456 as of the 2010 U.S. Census. Part of the Spanish colonial empire, Panama became independent in 1821 and was part of Colombia until 1903. It seceded from Colombia under American pressure, so that the new nation would allow the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to build and operate the Panama Canal. Control of the canal was eventually ceded to Panama in 1999, in accordance with a 1977 treaty. Panama is primarily mestizo (about 70 percent), with a large West Indian black population (14 percent), followed by a 10 percent white population and 6 percent indigenous tribes (the Bribri, Embera, Guna, Naso, and Ngobe Bugle peoples). Over half of the population lives in the Panama City metropolitan area.

Although many Panamanians settled in the United States in the 19th century, they were all but unrecorded. Immigration officials and the census did not differentiate among the many nations of

Central and South America at the time. As of the 1940 Census, 7,000 Americans were of Central American extraction; several hundred were likely Panamanian or descended from Colombians from the lands that became Panama. Immigration slowed down in the early 20th century but accelerated quickly after World War II. In 1960, the Census Bureau began differentiating among South and Central American countries. At the time, Panamanians were one of the largest Central American groups in the country. About twice as many women immigrated to the United States as men, a curious statistic that tends to be found only in Central and South American groups.

Many of the women took jobs as maids, as housekeepers, in other domestic professions, or in the service or restaurant industry, and many sent remittances home to take care of their families. Some were low-level white-collar workers, like typists, data entrants, and clerks. The number of Panamanian immigrants who work in the domestic field is still quite high, at about a fifth of the total. Panamanian immigration increased after U.S. immigration regulations were adjusted in order to encourage relatives of American residents to immigrate, but other Central American groups began to overtake Panamanian Americans, particularly as turmoil in countries like Nicaragua drove refugees into the country.

Brooklyn and the Miami area are home to the largest Panamanian American communities. Panamanian Americans are also found in many cities with military bases: San Antonio; Hampton Roads, Virginia; Jacksonville, Florida; San Diego; Tampa; Fayetteville, Arkansas; Killeen, Texas; Columbus, Georgia; Colorado Springs, Colorado; Clarksville, Tennessee; and El Paso, Texas. Many immigrants were also drawn to the existing Spanish-speaking communities in Florida and California. Large numbers, though, settled along the Gulf Coast and in New England. The largest communities are in New York (29,619); Miami (13,529); Washington, D.C. (7,322); Los Angeles (6,353); Atlanta (5,599); Orlando (4,234); Tampa (3,772); Houston (3,350); Dallas (3,162); Philadelphia (2,841); San Antonio (2,663); Virginia Beach (2,658); Riverside, California (2,556); Chicago (2,300); San Diego (2,144); Seattle (2,002); Baltimore (1,877); Fayetteville (1,788); and Boston (1,749).

The Second Generation

Second-generation Panamanian Americans are likely to pursue an education after high school, whether at a four-year institution or a vocational school. Compared to other immigrant groups, there are very few farm or factory workers, which has held true through most of Panamanian American history. The dawn of the 21st century has seen a rise in Panamanian American prosperity and the white-collar workforce, as more Panamanian American young people obtain college degrees.

A disproportionate number of Panamanian Americans are West Indian, despite the mestizo majority in Panama, which may explain why Panamanians settle in many areas not known for their Spanish-speaking communities—like New England, which does have a strong West Indian and Caribbean community, as well as a number of migrant workers. New England is also home to large Dominican and Puerto Rican populations, many members of which are of African descent. The New England Panamanian American community tends to be spread out among the region's small towns, though there is a community clustered around the greater Boston area as well.

Prominent Panamanian Americans include fashion model Tyson Beckford, salsa singer Ruben Blades, singer Jeff Buckley, Major League Baseball player Rod Carew, jockey Eddie Castro, wrestler and personality Hulk Hogan, writer Sigrid Nunez, and actor J. August Richards of the TV show *Angel*.

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See Also: Colombian Americans; Costa Rican Americans; Ecuadorian Americans; West Indian Americans.

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Pan-Indianism

Pan-Indianism is a term used to describe an identity, culture, and philosophy, as well as organizations and movements comprising intertribal Native Americans united by common goals, usually aimed at expanding judicial, legislative, and political influence.

There are 565 federally recognized, culturally distinct tribes in the United States. Pan-Indianism fosters a new collective identity, what some call supratribal identity or Pan-Indian ethnicity, that is larger than individual tribal affiliations, thereby revealing the possibility of an inclusive American Indian or Native American group whose communal identity is based upon a shared colonial history and ongoing relationship with the United States. Pan-Indianism promotes group solidarity among all Native American members of American society regardless of tribal membership or heritage.

Although Pan-Indianism is thought to be a 20th-century urban phenomenon, it existed in 18th- and 19th-century religious movements like the Ghost Dance; in political organizations in the form of intertribal leagues or confederacies, like the Iroquois Confederacy; and in the failed attempt to create an Indian state in Oklahoma.

The development of a modern Pan-Indian identity was also facilitated by the boarding school experience (at such places as Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania and Haskell Indian Industrial Training Institute in Kansas), which forced Native American students to speak English. Establishing a common language made it possible for students to interact and bond as a result of shared interests and experiences.

Although the primary goal of these institutions was acculturation into American society by eradicating tribal identity, the school setting combined students from many different tribes and initiated the trend toward a new, mixed tribal or Pan-Indian identity. Some of the earliest Pan-Indian leaders, like Dr. Charles A. Eastman (Sioux), attended these intertribal schools.

Pan-Indian Religious Movements

One of the largest Pan-Indian religious movements is the Native American Church (NAC), related to the Peyote Cult from which it evolved, both of

which are known for the religious consumption of peyote (used for thousands of years). The NAC began in the 1870s on reservations in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and gained legal protection when it became incorporated in 1918. The NAC combines a range of American Indian traditions and practices along with Christian imagery and theology. Repeatedly attacked for the sacramental use of peyote, the NAC gives members a Pan-Indian identity that allows them to maintain traditional beliefs within modern society.

Pan-Indian Organizations

The Society of American Indians (SAI) was founded in 1911 and existed until 1923. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., SAI was the first national American Indian organization developed and run by a membership that was exclusively American Indian, primarily middle class, and educated, rather than European American advocates for American Indian rights (so-called Friends of the Indians).

SAI pursued the goals of national Indian reform through education and government policy, which also included securing Indian citizenship. The organization had its first annual conference in 1911 and published a journal from 1913 until 1920 (originally titled the *Quarterly Journal of the American Indian*, later renamed the *American Indian Magazine*).

The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) was founded at a meeting in Denver, Colorado, in 1944. There, 80 delegates from 50 tribes united in opposition to the U.S. government's termination policy that encouraged assimilation by abolishing tribal governments, undermining treaty rights and tribal sovereignty. The NCAI is the oldest and one of the most influential Pan-Indian national political organizations; its principal aim is to improve the quality of Indian life by monitoring federal Indian legislation and contributing to the formation of federal policy that protects tribal sovereignty. The opening of the Embassy of Tribal Nations in the U.S. capital in 2009 is a testimony to the organization's efforts. In the 21st century, the NCAI has also expanded its role by collaborating with indigenous peoples around the globe.

The National Indian Youth Council, Inc. (NIYC), the second-oldest national Indian

organization, was created in 1961 in Gallup, New Mexico, after 10 of its original members, college students at the time, attended the American Indian conference at the University of Chicago earlier that year.

In Chicago a youth caucus was formed to voice their opinions regarding federal American Indian policy and self-determination. Early on NIYC was an activist-oriented Indian rights organization, preserving treaty rights that impacted fishing through "fish-ins" and protecting the environment through lawsuits against mining on Native American lands. The NIYC published a newsletter and copublished the periodical *Americans Before Columbus*. Founded and operated by Native Americans, the NIYC continues its mission of bettering the lives of Native Americans by protecting treaty rights, traditional religious practices, and sacred sites, and through voting rights, public education, and job placement and training.



Representatives from the National Congress of American Indians hold a press conference outside the U.S. Capitol building during "Tribal Unity Impact Week" in October 2011.

Pan-Indianism has also contributed to the development of academic programs and museums dedicated to the preservation and promotion of American Indian art, culture, and history.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; Ethnic Studies; National Congress of American Indians; National Indian Youth Council; Native American Church; Powwow.

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Paraguayan Americans

A landlocked South American country, Paraguay is bordered by Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, and bisected by Rio Paraguay, the "parrot river." Over 90 percent of the population lives in one of the major cities, the largest of which is the capital port city of Asuncion. Most Paraguayans are mestizo, and Paraguay has adopted the native language of Guarani as one of its two official languages, along with Spanish. Guarani is a critical element of Paraguayan identity; Paraguay is the only country in the Americas in which a European language is the less-spoken language.

The Guarani are a group of indigenous South American people, native not only to Paraguay but also to Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, and Bolivia. The increasing prestige attached to the Guarani

language, which today is spoken even by those with no Guarani heritage, is an important part of the changes that have occurred in Paraguay since the end of Spanish colonialism.

During the colonial era, the Spanish made a point of using their language as a way to drive assimilation. Through the 19th and much of the 20th century, speaking Guarani was a lower-class marker. However, the seed for today's construction of Guarani fluency and Paraguay's bilingualism was planted in the 17th century, when the Jesuit missionaries tasked with converting the indigenous population elected to learn Guarani and preach to the natives in that language, rather than teach them Spanish. This removed some of the motivation to abandon Guarani, because the natives could obtain the social status and privileges associated with becoming Christian without having to learn Spanish to do so. The Jesuits' use of Guarani also gave implicit approval to the language.

The Jesuits also helped develop a writing system for the language, which again contributed to its longevity. Guarani has contributed many words to Spanish and Portuguese, as well as several to English, including jaguar, tapir, acai, and piranha.

Paraguayans in the United States

The smallest Hispanic group in the United States, Paraguayan Americans number only 20,023. They are concentrated heavily in the northeast, Miami, California, and Maryland. The largest population by far is in the New York metropolitan area, where 7,500 Paraguayan Americans live, almost 40 percent of the total Paraguayan American population and more than the next 10 largest communities put together.

There are also Paraguayan communities in Washington, D.C. (1,793); Miami (1,531); Los Angeles (509); Chicago (375); Philadelphia (358); Bridgeport, Connecticut (336); Boston (301); Atlanta (267); Houston (264); Dallas (236); Minneapolis (229); San Francisco (191); Baltimore (158); Orlando (144); Richmond, Virginia (131); Phoenix (128); Tampa (113); Las Vegas (109); and Riverside-San Bernardino, California (108). There are only five communities in which Paraguayan Americans make up more than 1 percent of the population, all of them in New Jersey.

Paraguayan immigration to the United States began in the 19th century, but at the time neither

immigration nor the U.S. Census differentiated among the countries of South and Central America. Most of the earliest Paraguayan immigrants had first migrated to another South American country, typically Argentina, Brazil, or Uruguay, or were the children of such immigrants. By far, most Paraguayan immigration to the United States came in the 20th century, beginning in the aftermath of the 1947 civil war. The mid-20th-century immigrants were a mix of refugees from the turmoil, members of defeated political factions, and young Paraguayans seeking better economic fortunes in North America.

More than half of Paraguayan immigrants were unskilled. Slightly more women immigrated than men; domestic work and some white-collar jobs, like answering telephones, doing data entry, or filing, were more open to women than men, and Paraguayan women in such fields would typically send remittances home. Hotel and residential housekeeping is an especially common job among Paraguayan American women, while Paraguayan American men, especially in California and the Great Plains, often work in agriculture. Paraguay and Kansas produce similar agricultural products, and skills acquired in Paraguay are broadly transferable to growing wheat, raising cattle, or other agricultural activities in Kansas.

As a whole, Paraguayan Americans are less well educated than the general U.S. population, with only about 10 percent possessing a college degree. By extension, they are less prosperous than most other groups. Paraguayan Americans are predominantly Catholic, and because they tend to live in heavily Hispanic areas where Spanish-language service and media are available, they are not always fluent in English, especially recent arrivals or older family members. Family support networks are important, and newly arrived immigrants often settle in areas where relatives have already established themselves. In addition to Catholic holidays, Paraguayan Americans may observe Dia de San Blas, the saint day of Blas, the patron saint of Paraguay, and Paz del Chaco, the June 12th celebration of the end of the Chaco War. Paraguay's independence day is May 15.

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See Also: Colombian Americans; Panamanian Americans; Uruguayan Americans.

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Passing/Covering

Many contexts in the United States tend to favor, or implicitly adhere to, standards associated with race, religion, ability, sexuality, gender, and/or socioeconomic status. These standards are often considered, or informed by, white, Christian, able-bodied, heterosexual, male, and/or middle-class standards, for example, having easy-to-pronounce names and easy-to-access spaces, "God" being printed on the currency, and English being the language in which most "official" business is conducted (that is, in the government, on Wall Street, and in many universities).

When a person does not meet these standards in particular contexts, then the person might be expected to hide or minimize possible deviations, such as a man changing his (Hispanic) name from Jorge to George, a woman in a wheelchair who does not mention that she cannot comfortably and privately access a (able-bodied) bathroom, a man downplaying the (Islamic) holidays he celebrates, or a woman who fears letting people know that she does not, or cannot, speak English.

When a person tries to hide or minimize perceived, nonstandard differences, the person negotiates possible stigma. Many people think of stigma as either socially taboo classifications or obtrusive physical disabilities or defects. However, according to Erving Goffman,

stigma applies to any identity that people might find undesirable or offensive. The perception of stigma varies with context—an identity that is stigmatized in one situation may not be a stigma in another, according to Amir Marvasti. Furthermore, a person can manage stigma through passing and covering.

Passing involves hiding, lying, and/or invisibility. According to Harold Garfinkel, passing happens when a person has, or is perceived to have, an identity that the person does not claim as her or his own; she or he exudes a false or inaccurate self and may even try to convince others of this self by keeping particular information secret. Examples of passing could include a lesbian who lies to her parents about her same-sex attraction, a man not talking about his color blindness at work, or parents choosing not to discuss their atheism with their child's teacher. In these situations, people pass—that is, withhold information—in order to escape ridicule from others.

Covering happens when a person feels pressure to conform to (perceived) contextual standards. Covering can apply to identities that are either obtrusive or generally known but that are minimized out of a desire or need to assimilate. Unlike passing, secrecy does not necessarily exist with covering, in that a person allows others to know about her or his nonstandard identity; rather, the person cannot or does not care to emphasize this identity with these others.

Examples of covering could include a woman rarely mentioning her children in (male-dominated) corporate environments, a man who is deaf limiting his affiliation with deaf others, or an interracial couple who downplay their status as a couple by refraining to hold hands in public out of a fear of others' negative responses to their relationship. In these situations, persons cover by minimizing or not calling attention to particular identities.

Passing and covering intersect in a variety of ways. Both involve two identities—one (perceived) nonstandard identity and one (perceived) standard identity. Both require the management of personal information, and both rely on personal and social awareness; a person must recognize not only her or his difference but also that the difference is contextually marginal, and devalued, and that there might be risks in talking about this

difference with others. What makes passing and covering difficult to distinguish between, however, is the challenge of determining intentionality, a difficulty that Goffman marks as “in effect or by intent.”

For instance, consider a man born to a Mexican father and a Caucasian mother. Based on contemporary labeling practices in the United States, this person would be part Mexican, part Caucasian. If the man tried to hide his Mexican ethnicity even to the point of denial, and instead identified only as Caucasian, then the man would attempt to pass as Caucasian. However, if the man were comfortable with others knowing about his Mexican ethnicity and chose to not talk about or emphasize this ethnicity because of particular Caucasian standards, then the man would engage in covering; he would be okay with people knowing about his Mexican-ness, but the identity would not need to be discussed.

However, if a woman felt that the man were hiding his Mexican ethnicity (even though he did not intend to hide it), then the woman might think that the man was trying to pass as Caucasian. Inversely, if the man did not ever claim his Mexican ethnicity, wanting instead to pass as Caucasian, but a family member knew of the man's ethnicity, then the family member might perceive the man as trying only to cover—that is, minimize—his Mexican-ness, not hide from it. As such, while a person may intentionally try to pass or cover, other people may, in effect, perceive the person differently.

Although the benefits of passing and covering include safety, a (false) sense of acceptance and belonging, and material benefits such as employment or citizenship, passing and covering can also be detrimental for a person. With passing, a person might, as Goffman says, “pay a great psychological price” and have a “high level of anxiety” of “living a life that can be collapsed at any moment.” Furthermore, should the person's secret ever become known, others might consider the person dishonest or manipulative.

With covering, a person might feel, or be perceived by others as, dishonest and manipulative for trying to conform too much; as a form of (coerced) assimilation, Kenji Yoshino writes that covering can seem like an “assault on our civil rights,” given that people are able to be different

as long as they do not talk about or call attention to their differences.

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See Also: Americanization; Hispanic Americans; Identity Development.

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Patrón System

A patrón system is used when political officials fill government positions with employees they select personally. When a candidate wins political office, that person often has the right to appoint people to a number of jobs. The patrón system proves problematic when people are appointed to positions solely for their political support or loyalty, rather than for their merit or qualifications to fill a given position. Unique among state governments in the United States, the state government of New Mexico operated under a patrón system of appointments during the state's first 50 years.

At the federal level, a system of checks and balances prevents some negative consequences of the patrón system. For example, requiring Senate approval for many presidential appointments serves as a check on the president's power to appoint unqualified candidates. In most states, government is composed of a mix of elected officials and employees who have risen through a civil merit system. However, under the patrón system in New Mexico, regional political bosses controlled hiring of local and state employees, with

no civil merit system in place. This meant significant turnover after each local election, as campaign supporters were rewarded with positions. One legacy of this system is that it kept the qualifications for many government jobs artificially low in New Mexico, so that favored appointees would meet the hiring requirements.

New Mexico's governmental patrón system was rooted in the older landowning patrón system that had dominated Spanish American cultural arrangements for centuries in what would become the American southwest. In that system, the patrón provided employment, community leadership, and financial security to the *peons* who worked for him. In such cases, the patrón-peon relationship resembled traditional lord-vassal relations. The peons were kept in debt to their patrón, who addressed the community's financial needs from his vast resources in return for loyalty and communal labor.

Some patróns were landowners who employed peons as farm workers or ranchers. Most, however, were village patróns who were social and financial leaders in their small communities. The village patrón's role largely consisted of political leadership, and his power was based primarily on loyalty and respect from local independent farmers who looked to their patróns when village needs arose, from the building of churches and schools to care for the sick and elderly.

After New Mexico gained statehood in 1911 and moved toward political independence, the traces of the older landowning and village patrón systems appeared within the framework chosen for state government. Instead of directly exchanging labor for economic resources, as in the past landowner patrón system, though, a new emphasis arose on exchanging political resources for economic resources, more similar to the village patrón.

Political resources in this context involve community support, loyalty, and respect in ways less tangible than typical in other patrón system relations. Political patróns created societal bonds, which existed because of their clients' dependence on them for political and economic gain. The dark side of the patronage system was that it was grounded in an imbalance of power, in which the clients had no access to valuable resources, except through the advocacy of a political patrón.

Socioeconomic class disparities in the southwest also contributed to the rise of the patrón system. Wealth and resources were concentrated in the hands of the local, wealthy political elite, while many recent immigrants from Central and South America came from countries with similar patrón–client systems. As they settled in the American southwest, they looked to re-create the political systems with which they were most familiar. These new immigrants sought local patrones who could help them gain employment and housing, and in some cases provide grants or loans for businesses and land ownership. The patrones knew that building and maintaining relationships with the local Hispanic population was key to continued success in political office.

Arguments in favor of the political patrón system were that it encouraged political engagement and participation, and that it was the right of a political victor to appoint loyal supporters to choice positions within the system. The appointment system also had the side effect of reducing bureaucracy, since it rendered complex human resources systems unnecessary because of the relative simplicity of the appointment process.

However, in practice, this system had several undesirable results. It caused frequent turnover in political positions, leading to an ill-trained government workforce. It also re-inscribed problematic race relations into government service. Anglo American candidates for office, in addition to their practical qualifications, often had the deep financial resources and broad political networks needed to run successfully for office against Hispanic candidates with less access to such campaign resources. Once appointed, they tended to fill positions with their Anglo American supporters. Thus, the patrón system resulted in few Hispanics being elected or appointed to mid-level and entry-level positions, in spite of the significant percentage of Hispanics in the local population.

In 1961, the Personnel Act created a merit-based system of hiring and promotion, meant to replace the former patrón system. Objective examinations were required to demonstrate a candidate's qualifications and merit for particular positions. Current employees in the system at the time of the Personnel Act, however, maintained significant influence in local and state government, well into the early 1970s.

By 1976, roughly a dozen state agencies were directly overseen by a single individual appointed by the governor, resembling a traditional cabinet system. Yet boards and commissions, over which the governor had no power, oversaw more than 100 agencies. This mixed approach to governance, meshing the patrón system with other models of governance, has persisted to the present day in New Mexico.

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See Also: Hispanic Americans; Hispanic-Serving Institutions; Politics and Ethnic Diversity.

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Patterson v. Alabama (1935)

Patterson v. Alabama (294 U.S. 600, 1935) was a landmark decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that, along with the companion case *Norris v. Alabama* (294 U.S. 587, 1935), established that systematic and arbitrary exclusion of African Americans from jury service was a denial of a defendant's right to equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The case was one of three "Scottsboro Boys" cases heard by the U.S. Supreme Court, which held in *Powell v. Alabama* (287 U.S. 45, 1932) that failure to provide adequate and timely counsel to defendants in capital cases, as provided for by the Sixth Amendment,

was a violation of the “due process” clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Collectively, these decisions advanced the cause of black equality in the United States by opening cracks in the segregated and discriminatory system of justice in the American south.

Background

The Scottsboro Boys saga began in 1931, when two white women falsely accused nine African American young men of raping them aboard a southbound train in northeastern Alabama. The accused narrowly escaped a lynching and subsequently languished in prison while their case evolved into a long legal struggle that revealed the depths of institutionalized racism and white supremacy in the south.

The nine young men, ranging in age from 19 to 12, were hoboing on the Memphis-bound freight train out of Chattanooga, as were their two accusers. All were feeling the effects of the ever-deepening Great Depression, and most were looking for work. A fight between some of the blacks aboard the train and a group of white young men resulted in the whites being forced off just ahead of Paint Rock, Alabama. When word spread of the ouster, a group of white vigilantes assembled in the town, ready to mete out some sort of justice to the group of blacks. It was there that two young white women, Victoria Price and Ruby Bates, fearful of being arrested for vagrancy under the Mann Act, agreed upon their rape story and accused the nine.

That the accused were subsequently taken to the county seat of Scottsboro and actually tried in a court of law for their alleged crime was seen by most whites in Alabama as a progressive step. Whites in Alabama, as across the south, had “redeemed” their state from Reconstruction rule and had, beginning in the 1870s, reestablished white supremacy by way of legally codified racial segregation, black disenfranchisement, and extra-legal violence, including the lynching of blacks accused of heinous crimes, especially rape. The sanctity of white southern womanhood was tantamount to the purity of the white race, and its violation was a blow to the heart of white supremacy. Thus, when black men were accused by white women of rape, the result was generally death, often by mob justice in the form of lynching.

The Trials

Most whites were satisfied that justice had been even more properly done when an all-white jury hastily convicted the nine of rape on the sole basis of their accusers’ testimony. Eight of the nine were sentenced to death as an angry would-be lynch mob gathering outside the courtroom was held back by the Alabama National Guard. The jury could not unanimously agree to sentence 12-year-old Roy Wright to death, and the judge declared a mistrial. An eventual appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court resulted in a reversal in the *Powell* decision, on the grounds that the defendants had only had the benefit of a 20-minute meeting with reluctantly appointed counsel prior to their trial. The cases were remanded, and a new round of trials was held in nearby Decatur, Alabama.

The Scottsboro case then quickly became a cause célèbre. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) sought to represent the accused, but it was muscled out by the Communist Party–affiliated International Labor Defense (ILD). The ILD convinced celebrated New York attorney Samuel Leibowitz to conduct the defense and embarked, itself, on a propaganda campaign to expose the injustice of American capitalism. The ensuing trials thus brought national and international attention to Alabama as the state sought to reconvict the accused, again with juries culled from all-white jury lists.

Heywood Patterson was tried first, convicted, and sentenced to death in the Alabama electric chair, but the trial judge, James E. Horton, sacrificed his career in public office by setting the verdict aside in light of the overwhelming evidence of Patterson’s innocence presented by his defense. Leibowitz tore holes in the testimony of all of the prosecution’s witnesses, most especially by forcing an examining doctor to agree that neither Price nor Bates showed any signs of rape after the alleged incident. When the trials resumed, the new trial judge, William W. Callahan, routinely frustrated the efforts of the defense and helped ensure that the result of the new trials would be the same as the first. Patterson and subsequently Clarence Norris were yet again convicted and sentenced to death. The Alabama Supreme Court upheld the convictions.

Supreme Court Decisions in *Norris and Patterson*

The Supreme Court heard the *Norris* and *Patterson* appeals in February 1935. Leibowitz brought in the relevant jury rolls to show not only exclusion of blacks but an egregiously fraudulent attempt to add black citizens' names after the defense had raised the issue at trial. The court unanimously concluded that the rolls had been tampered with and that the defense had provided adequate evidence of the systematic and arbitrary exclusion of qualified African Americans from jury service, which deprived the defendants of their right to equal protection as provided by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The court refused to accept the argument of local registrars that they had carried out their duties faithfully and that 30 or more years of exclusion of African Americans was simply a matter of there being none qualified to serve. The absence of qualified blacks on the lists for such a period of time was deemed in *Norris* to be a prima facie case for exclusion and grounds for a reversal. In *Patterson*, the justices had to, with some effort, dispense with a technicality (a deadline that Patterson's attorneys had unexpectedly missed) before applying the logic of *Norris* and suggesting that the Alabama Supreme Court should, itself, vacate the judgment against the defendant.

The Fate of the Scottsboro Boys

The Supreme Court decisions did not result in immediate exoneration and freedom for the Scottsboro Boys. The original indictments were quashed, and new indictments were issued. Ruby Bates recanted her testimony and admitted to fabricating the rape story. Victoria Price clung to her story for life, however, despite giving absurdly contradictory and often completely incredible testimony throughout the many trials, and despite the general evisceration of much of the prosecution's case. Even if Alabama jurors knew Price was lying, she was still a white southern woman.

Leibowitz, on the other hand, was a Jewish lawyer from New York who apparently did not respect her. Price's dubious testimony and Leibowitz's unpopularity remained enough to secure guilty verdicts, but the Alabama state authorities began to realize that the negative publicity generated by the cases was too damaging to the state's

image. By 1937, the state had agreed to a compromise by which the charges against the most obviously innocent defendants were dropped. Patterson, Norris, and two others, meanwhile, were reconvicted with a token black presence on each jury and given lengthy prison terms or, in Norris's case, another death sentence.

Ultimately, four of the reconvicted five were quietly paroled after the furor of the cases had died down, allowing the state to avoid the sort of publicity that would have surrounded outright acquittals. Powell and Norris were released in 1946. Patterson escaped to Michigan, where the governor refused to extradite him back to Alabama. Each of the defendants suffered the psychological effects of over a decade's imprisonment in some of the most notorious prisons in the country. None ever led what might be considered a normal life upon his release.

The Legacy of the Cases

When the Scottsboro Boys cases reached the U.S. Supreme Court, due process and equal protection were a myth for blacks in southern state justice systems. With *Powell*, *Norris*, and *Patterson*, the court signaled its intention to scrutinize this situation. This was a departure from a century and a half of Supreme Court jurisprudence and a significant development in the history of the American system of federalism. The court's intervention in the state's criminal process was, in these cases, indicative of just how egregiously spurious the trials had been.

The Scottsboro decisions were a significant contribution to the American system of criminal justice. They certainly did not result in immediate equal justice for African Americans in the south. When Alabama governor Bibb Graves responded to them by warning local officials to reconstitute their jury rolls to prevent widespread vacation of indictments, the results were probably token. But in time and through further litigation based on the *Norris* and *Patterson* precedent, blacks took their places on jury lists and on juries themselves. Also, the right to counsel established in *Powell* was subsequently extended to indigent defendants in all felony cases.

Extrajudicially, these decisions, along with those obtained through the NAACP's campaign to dismantle segregation, were an early rallying point for

civil rights awareness and organization in the inter-war period. In popular culture, the cases have been represented in such works as Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* and are still a powerful reminder to many Americans of the reaches of national prejudice in the first half of the 20th century.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Constitutional Amendments; Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity; Lynchings; Miscegenation; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Race; Scottsboro Boys Trials; Supreme Court, U.S.; White Supremacy.

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Pawnbroker, The

In outline, *The Pawnbroker*, a film directed by Sidney Lumet and released in 1964, has little that is unusual in the way of plot. Sol Nazerman (actor Rod Steiger), a Jewish Holocaust survivor, runs a pawnshop in East Harlem with help from his Puerto Rican assistant, Jesus Ortiz (Jaime Sánchez). However, the shop is a money laundering front for racketeer Rodriguez (Brock Peters). Jesus's plan to have the neighborhood gang raid the safe goes awry when he takes a bullet intended for Sol. Jesus dies, and grief-stricken Sol stumbles into the street as the film ends inconclusively.

This simple synopsis is complicated by the fact that Sol is a survivor of Auschwitz—this was the first American film made from the point of view of a concentration-camp survivor—and from this challenging starting point, Lumet explores

recurring issues of inhumanity, prejudice, and the human condition against the backdrop of contemporary multicultural America. *The Pawnbroker* is not only a commentary on the horrors of the Holocaust, which in itself would have been a remarkable subject in the mid-1960s, but also does not spare the viewer in its conclusion that modern America has its share of parallel atrocities.

A viewer watching *The Pawnbroker* for the first time with no prior knowledge of its content has to work hard to piece together Sol's story. It opens with a sequence before the credits, aestheticized by slow motion, showing a family—a boy and girl, their parents (the father is a youthful Sol), and grandparents (whose European Judaism is denoted by their traditional garb) enjoying a rural picnic. The change in soundtrack from joyous music to harsh cacophony connotes an end to the idyll, but this is not yet seen.

Instead, the film moves to the present day, when Sol is visiting his sister-in-law's family, in a scene of affluent Long Island suburban life. We know Sol is with his sister-in-law because she laments about her beautiful sister and that it is almost the 25th anniversary. The anniversary of what is not expressly told, but at this point the film begins its most radical technique, a series of parallel cutting, as Sol sees flickering images of his wife taken from the idyllic precredits scene. From now on, parallel cutting will occur at key moments, sometimes too brief to be fully perceptible, sometimes long sequences that answer narrative puzzles.

The story really begins with the next sequence, as Sol drives to work in Harlem. Again, the film shows its innovation, with its authentic location shooting presenting a grimy city with a dense ethnic and racial mix. Three contrasting cross-cut scenes establish interlinking relationships, showing the details of Sol's pawnshop; Jesus's cramped apartment, in which he shows his aspiration, telling his mother not to speak Spanish; and Rodriguez's palatial home.

As Sol leaves the pawnshop that evening, a dog barking triggers a full-blown flashback to Auschwitz. He is plunged into the memory of a fellow inmate and friend, Rubin, trying to escape but being pulled down by a guard's dog; in Harlem, a gang is beating a man, who clings to fencing in an identical pose. In this way, *The Pawnbroker* is far more than a film that dares

to criticize the Holocaust; man's inhumanity to man has been transposed from 1930s Germany to 1960s New York, and this applies also to women. Jesus's girl (Thelma Oliver), trying to make money for Jesus's dreams of his own pawnshop, tries to seduce Sol. As she bares her breasts (this nudity is another pioneering element of the film), the parallel cutting virtually superimposes an identical image of Sol's wife. As the girl, in the present moment, beseeches him to "look," in a flashback Sol is forced by the commandant to look as various members of the "joy division," and then specifically his wife, service SS guards. The point is made by the editing that past and present are interchangeable while exploitation goes on.

Although the film explores religious, racial, and ethnic prejudice, more significantly, it also examines how economic exploitation underpins all prejudice. Sol has earlier told Jesus that "money is all" (ironically framing himself as a Jewish stereotype), but upon discovering that the girl works for Rodriguez, he is forced to recognize that he is part of an exploitation racket harming other women as the Nazis harmed his wife. From this point, Sol begins to tentatively thaw from his emotional deep freeze, and when Jesus is mortally wounded in the pawnshop raid, Sol holds his hands and caresses his face.

However, the film is too prescient a commentary on modern life to provide a palliating happy ending. The parallel cutting is not merely a technique but also a metaphor for the film's worldview. Sol remains not just a victim but also by the haunting image of Jesus's blood on his hands, a perpetrator too.

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See Also: *In the Heat of the Night*; *La Bamba*; *West Side Story*.

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Penitentes

This secret religious society is found in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado and is also known as Los Hermanos Penitentes ("The Penitent Brothers"). Members of these Hispanic Catholic all-male societies practice penances, including flagellation and carrying heavy wooden crosses, in order to atone for their sins. At one time, there may have been as many as 20,000 members in these groups; today, membership is estimated at around 1,000.

Origins

The Penitentes' historical roots are most likely in the Third Order of St. Francis, a religious order for non-ordained Catholic men and women established in 1221. Franciscan missionaries from Spain had established Third Order Fraternidades (fraternities) in New Mexico and elsewhere in North America by the 1680s. Participants in these brotherhoods were not ordained men. Rather, these laypeople vowed to live by a set of rules, including simplicity in dress, fasting, daily prayer, regular confession, and works of charity and penance. Because they believed that sin could be atoned for in part through suffering, one penitential practice the Franciscans approved was self-flagellation (whipping) without loss of blood.

As Franciscan missionaries spread their order and the Catholic faith throughout Latin America, local fraternities took on their own structure and shape, adapting faith practices to fit their own cultural framework. Historical records are imprecise, but evidence suggests that the Penitentes grew out of one or more of these fraternities. When Mexico gained independence in 1821, many of the missionary orders pulled out of Mexico and the southern United States for a time. The resulting

shortage of local parish priests left fraternities to continue praying in their community while developing their own worship practices.

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, a series of archbishops tried to repress the activities of the Penitentes, denouncing their practices as barbaric and ordering them to desist with their practices and processions. In 1846, the United States took over the territory of New Mexico, and shortly thereafter, the first Bishop of Santa Fe, Jean Baptiste Lamy, was installed. He tried to put an end to the Penitentes by barring them from local Catholic churches and denying the sacraments to their leaders. This drove the groups into hiding, but meetings and ritual practices continued in secret. The conflict between the Penitentes and Catholic Church leaders continued until 1947, when Archbishop Edwin Byrne officially recognized them as a lay order.

Group Structure and Initiation Rite

Each chapter of Penitentes is locally based, and there is no central authority overseeing all the groups. Their meetings are held in buildings known as *moradas*, usually stone or adobe one-room buildings with a single entrance and a simple cross over the door. The leader of each chapter is known as the *hermano mayor*, or chief brother. Primarily, the societies focus on the virtues of humility and charity by providing monetary and spiritual support based on the needs in their local communities.

Initiation into a Penitente fraternity takes place over a yearlong period, culminating during Holy Week, when all new members are marked with a cross cut into their flesh on their backs with a sharp piece of flint. There are three degrees of membership, each with its own initiation ceremony. Members of the most advanced Third Degree are expected to inflict various forms of self-punishment as part of their penitential rituals.

Related female auxiliary organizations were variously known as the Veronicas or Auxiliares. Their work was largely to support the men in their Holy Week processions and activities, rather than participating directly in the Penitentes' ritual practices.

Rituals and Holy Week Practices

Historical information suggests that the Penitentes took the Franciscan practices of bodily

punishment to extremes in their early years. They were also once expected to shed a small amount of their own blood as part of penance, but these physical self-woundings ceased within the groups around the time of World War II. However, since most writings about the Penitentes include sensational details from the late 1800s and early 1900s, they are perhaps best known for their approach to seeking forgiveness through physical pain.

Holy Week each year marks the height of their ritual practices. Members meet at the *morada* to sing and pray around the clock. On Holy Tuesday, some of the men dress in special white pants called *calzones* and are whipped outside the *morada* as they ask forgiveness from all the observers. On Holy Wednesday night, they form a public procession, the Procession of Sorrow. The members divide into two groups—the Brothers of Light, who carry candles and serve as a choir, and the Brothers of Blood, who strip to the waist and carry heavy wooden crosses or scourge themselves with whips made from yucca. The procession goes along a predetermined route, marking the traditional Stations of the Cross. It concludes at a hill chosen by each chapter as the local site of Calvary, the place where the historical Christ is believed to have been crucified. On Holy Thursday, they reenact the arrest and trial of Jesus.

The processions culminate on Good Friday, the Catholic feast of Christ's crucifixion, with a procession called the Encuentro ("encounter"). Each chapter performs its Encuentro differently, but all include a meeting of men and women who walk several miles between the *morada* and a local church while recalling the events of Jesus's crucifixion and death in song and prayer.

Until 1896, the penitents marked Good Friday with human crucifixions that drew public attention and eventually the anger of Catholic Church authorities. The Penitente chosen to represent Jesus in the crucifixion was usually bound rather than nailed to the cross. Modern-day versions of this Good Friday procession often include the raising of an empty cross adorned with symbols including a barbed-wire crown, which represents Jesus's crown of thorns; a spear such as the one used to pierce Jesus's side; and steel railroad spikes to represent the nails used to fasten Christ to the cross.

The Penitentes' membership numbers have dropped over time, but the intensity of their communal ritual practices still inspires believers' devotion and scholars' contemporary study.

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See Also: Latinos; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Spanish Americans.

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A Pennsylvania Dutch barn decorated with two traditional circular painted hex signs in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, in 2009. The Pennsylvania Dutch (or "Deutsch") are actually descended from German settlers who arrived in the area before 1800.

Pennsylvania Dutch

A distinctive group of immigrants who settled in southeastern Pennsylvania before 1800, the Pennsylvania Dutch are known for their ideal of independence gained from private ownership of farms. The region prides itself on its early posture against slavery and its diversity in religion. The title *Pennsylvania Dutch* is something of a misnomer. Although it seems to indicate an association with the Netherlands, it is in fact a transliteration of the German word *Deutsch*, meaning German. Although often associated with the Amish, there is no one religious affiliation of the area; many Pennsylvania Dutch are Lutheran, members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, as well as Amish or Mennonite. Until

World War II, many spoke a dialect of German known as Pennsylvania German, but since that time, most now speak English.

Before the American Revolution, thousands of German immigrants had found a home in Pennsylvania. Germany as it is known today did not exist at that time; it was a group of independent states without a centralized government. After the Thirty Years' War, the Palatinate region of southwestern Germany became inhospitable to members of Protestant faiths. William Penn, a Quaker, had been granted a tract of land by Charles II in payment for a debt; Penn vowed to undertake the creation of a land of religious freedom.

Having heard of Penn's utopia, in 1683, the first 34 German Mennonites sailed to Philadelphia on the *Concord* and founded Germantown (now a neighborhood of Philadelphia). From that time until 1727, about 8,000 immigrated to the colonies, with about 700 going to North

Carolina, 2,300 going to New York, and the rest settling in Pennsylvania.

The resettlement of Palatines from 1727 for the next 28 years resulted in 58,000 Germans settling in Pennsylvania. From the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France in 1756, immigration slowed. Nevertheless, by 1790, the German settlers went from being a small minority to being a major factor in the new nation, gaining a reputation for their agricultural work, religious outlook, and political acumen.

Social groups organized around Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry often require members to trace their heredity to immigrants who arrived before 1800. Although there was significant immigration from Germany to the United States after this period, these later immigrants came from different areas in Germany and tended to move to cities in the west.

The first attempt to calculate the size of this population by the U.S. Bureau of the Census was in 1909, in the study titled "A Century of Population Growth." By examining surviving census records, the researchers attempted to use their inexact knowledge of surnames to count the German settlers in Pennsylvania in 1790. This process was stymied, however, because they failed to recognize names similar to British names (Mann, Peters) and also simplifications of spelling (Baumann to Bowman, and Albrecht to Allbright). This study determined that Germans made up 5.6 percent of the country's population and 26.1 percent of Pennsylvania's population in 1790.

A more recent study, however, shows that 38 percent of the 1790 population was of German origin. Thomas Purvis compares the frequency of German American surnames from 1727 to 1808, providing a better method of calculating the number of people of German descent. This study shows that the southeastern corner of Pennsylvania was the primary stronghold of the Pennsylvania Dutch in 1790, with Montgomery County having 57 percent German population. Northampton, Berks, Lancaster, Dauphin, and York Counties had at least 50 percent of residents who were of German descent. The high percentage of Pennsylvania's white population of German extraction had no equivalent anywhere else in the United States.

Although the people of this region have a faith rooted in Christianity, they are also known for

their folk traditions that border on magic. *Spelwerk* can be counted as one of the oldest traditions of European magic in the United States. John George Hoffman published a collection of home remedies and invocations in 1820, *Pow-Wows*. Growing out of this tradition are painted barn signs, aimed to please tourists, with images of stars, roses, and stylized birds. Certainly before 1800, barns would not have been painted; decorating barns is a more modern pastime. Nevertheless, the barn decorations draw from a panoply of earlier designs.

The Pennsylvania Dutch are easy to recognize in popular culture. The 1955 Broadway musical *Plain and Fancy*, named after the "plain" Amish and other austere groups and the "fancy" immigrants such as Catholics, depicts a barn-raising in a traditional Amish community. The region was also portrayed in the 1985 movie *Witness*, starring Harrison Ford and Kelly McGillis.

Tourists today are encouraged to experience the Pennsylvania Dutch area in Lancaster County as a slower lifestyle. The folk wisdom of this region is highlighted, as are its hardworking residents, who shy away from the enticements of modern life and choose instead a plainer way of living. Handcrafts, such as cabinetmaking, weaving, masonry, wheelwrighting, and millinery, are highlighted for visitors. Pennsylvania Dutch cuisine, including egg noodles, red beet eggs, soups, birch beer, funnel cakes, shoofly pie, apple dumplings, apple butter, pretzels, and scrapple, is well known.

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See Also: Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; Amish; German Americans.

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People of Color

People of color is a phrase that is commonly used in America to refer to nonwhites in the population. It is an all-encompassing expression that expands upon and may eventually replace the term *minorities* when referring to racial minorities in aggregate. As a generalized concept, “people of color” frames the sociological, political, and enumerative racial dynamics of nonwhites. “People of color” is a shorthand way of referring to Latinos, African Americans, Asians, American Indians, and myriad other racial/ethnic categories in the United States, all as a group.

For centuries, race has been a key issue around which American institutions and social relations have been constructed and sustained. The term *people of color* reflects one way of framing how groups are organized around race and how, in the very broad sense, there have been unequal distributions of power, privilege, and status between whites and other groups in the population. This relatively new expression stems from an attempt to articulate progressive ideas about race and power in which whites (as a race) have historically held power and privilege, and nonwhites have been excluded.

Collectively, people of color in the United States constitute 27.6 percent of the population. The U.S. census distinguishes six categories of race/ethnicity, as defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget’s classification system: white; Latino or Hispanic; black or African American; American Indian or Alaskan Native; Asian; and Native Hawai‘ian or other Pacific Islander. The latter five, singularly and collectively, are generally considered people of color.

The largest group of people of color in the population during 2010 was Hispanic/Latino. African Americans (or black, Negro) is a second subset of people of color who were 12.6 percent of the population in 2010. The Asian race was the third-largest, at 4.8 percent of the 2010 population. American Indians/Alaska Natives comprised less than 1 percent of those who lived in America at this time, and Native Hawai‘ians and other Pacific Islanders were the smallest group, constituting just 0.1 percent of those living in the United States in 2010. The 2000 census was the first in American history to allow people to self-identify with multiple racial categories.

Approximately 9 million people, or 2.4 percent of the population, claimed two or more races in 2010. Bi-racial and multiethnic people are often considered people of color because it is likely that one or both of their parents are nonwhite.

Minority, Colored, and People of Color

In contemporary America, people of color are in the minority. Popular and social science narratives have expanded so that the term *minority* can refer to religion, sexual preference, and disability. When used to describe blacks, Latinos, Asians, Hawai‘ians, American Indians, and other nonwhites, “minorities” is slowly falling out of favor for several reasons. First, “minority” primarily connotes the fact that a group is few in number relative to the majority. Although people of color are the numerical minorities in the overall population in most areas of the country, they constitute the majority, or a very large visible minority, in many others. Various urban areas, schools, and workplaces throughout the United States contain greater numbers of nonwhites than whites, and thus in a purely quantitative sense, people of color are not minorities in many places.

Second, people of color have made significant strides politically and economically throughout the country and are represented in positions of governance within universities, corporations, government, and law. This challenges the concept of minority when it refers to power and political status, as it often does, because the term is a broad sociological concept that can describe ethnicity, gender, sexual, age, and religious categories of people who are poorly or rarely represented in prestigious and powerful positions. Third, although the word *minority* is still frequently used as a synonym for people of color, there is a growing sense that its meaning is constrained by a relation to “minor,” meaning “less than.” Finally, the term *majority* is not interchangeable with “white.” One usually says “whites” and “minorities,” often in the same sentence, to refer to whites and nonwhites, making it illogical to refer to one group by their racial designation and others by their numbers, sociopolitical status, or legacy of oppression.

Racial identities change, and the ways in which people think of themselves in terms of race evolve over time. Consequently, racial categories and the words used to describe those categories are

changing to examine the complexities of race in America; by framing race as a social construct, rather than a biological designation; and to provide context for viewing race as a mechanism for negotiating social relations. “People of color” is the upshot of constructing language that helps examine the politics of racial identity, shifting dynamics of power among racial groups, and complex conversations about people’s shared experiences of racial subjugation.

Debate

Many people are unsettled about the term *people of color*, for various reasons. First, many assert that among Latinos, blacks, Pacific Islanders, Asians, and other people of color, there is neither a collective identity nor a shared history. Thus, to use one expression to describe many groups is to suggest falsely that they have solidarity in terms of their consciousness and culture, or at the least a common history. Second, it has been argued that the term *people of color* has meaning only in relation to whites and has no significance as a stand-alone concept. In this way, the term supports a racial binary: white people, and everyone else. As a third point of contention, many are uncertain about how it differs from “colored people.” Although most are familiar with the segregation and discrimination of the Jim Crow era, in which the words *colored people* were punctuated throughout the south to designate distinct spaces for whites and blacks, many believe that the phrases sound alike, and therefore mean the same thing. Finally, the term seems to situate skin color at the center of racial discourse.

In addressing the first point, advocates and adversaries of the term discuss whether it is a suitable way to describe nonwhites—culturally and politically. The primary issue is whether a collective identity or shared history exists among people of color. Every race has had a distinct migratory trajectory to America, and each group’s experience of racial oppression has been different. Blacks were forced into slavery, American Indians were colonized in their native land, and the Chinese migrated as exploited workers. This first point, thus, centers on whether people of color hold a perception of their racial identity and social location in ways that are similar to and linked with other people of color.

“People of color” is a point of departure for examining the shared experience of being relegated as “other” because of one’s race. Oppression can be measured in many ways and has manifested differently for every group. The consequences of creating and enforcing laws that restricted access to resources was one form; another was through the use of violence and internment; another was in the refusal to allow citizens to participate in the political process—simply because of their racial or ethnic status. To refer to all groups of nonwhites in the aggregate sense as people of color is to recognize that they share historical experiences of subjugation based on their race, even though those histories are not the same.

The phrase is seen to create an us-versus-them model for analyzing race in America. Rather than addressing and redressing racial oppression by focusing on each racial group singularly, the expression *people of color* seems to oversimplify the complexities of race by classifying people in binary and/or oppositional terms. This bifurcated approach to distinguishing racial categories also raises questions about the consequences of a binary, which may include perpetuating racial divisions rather than seeking a way to end them.

As a response, some would argue that whether or not there is language to frame race relations beyond a whites-and-everyone-else model, many people in the United States think in these terms.



The term people of color, while problematic, is one relatively modern way to conceptualize racial groups. In addition, the term women of color emerged in the 1970s as a similarly all-encompassing way to describe diverse women who had had comparable experiences with racism.

Racism, and the sense of disconnect it caused for hundreds of years, has influenced people's ideas and expressions, which reflect a binary set of relations. Moreover, the phrase *people of color* is very often used beyond the dialogue about the relationships between whites and nonwhites. It is also utilized to examine sociological phenomena such as poverty rates, educational attainment, and voting trends—not in relation to whites, but as variables with distinct sociopolitical and cultural implications.

Colored People Versus People of Color

The third dimension of the debate is concerned with what the term actually means and how it is distinct from “colored people.” During the first 12 U.S. census data collections, from 1790 to 1900, “colored” was used to enumerate the racial group known today as African American/black. In 1909, when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was created, “colored” was a non-offensive term to describe persons of African ancestry. The organization is still active and continues to include “colored people” in its name. In the decades that followed, and as “Negro” became a more polite term to describe blacks, “colored people” developed negative connotations.

In spite of the term's negative implications, or perhaps because of them, “colored” was still widely used in the U.S. south. Signs designating separate public spaces for whites and “colored people” peppered the American south during the Jim Crow era, beginning in 1890, and many of the laws supporting segregation remained through the mid-1960s. Also, it was normative in everyday conversation—especially among southern whites—to refer to blacks as “colored people” through the late 1960s.

In his 1963 “I Have a Dream” speech, Martin Luther King, Jr., used the term *citizens of color*, referring to black people. “Citizens of color” did not catch on, though. Toward the end of the civil rights movement in the mid- to late 1960s, the Black Power movement emerged. Spurring shifts in the identity politics of black Americans, the Black Power movement was largely responsible for African Americans adopting the term *black* to identify themselves. Still, it is unclear what the exact distinction is between “colored people” and “people of color,” except that there has been a

significant shift away from a very specific historical era marked by racial segregation, toward an era of multiculturalism—and the journey along the way has been rife with new racial classifications, social movements, and identity politics. “People of color” represents a modern way to conceptualize racial groups, and there is a distinction between the two terms.

The feminist movement gained momentum alongside the civil rights movement, and solidarity between various oppressed peoples became a common form of resistance against oppression. White feminists borrowed from and supported protest strategies used in the civil rights movement. Black women, urged to choose between woman-centered and race-based struggles, were at the fore of reframing social oppression as a multiplicative, intersectional struggle—hence, they constructed organizations comprising marginalized heterogeneous groups as they positioned themselves as a collective body.

In 1977, an organization known as the Black Women's Agenda was founded to delineate the particular needs of black women within the broader feminist movement. Presented at the International Women's Year Conference in Houston, Texas, a document known as the Black Women's Action Plan was approved by most of the delegates. At that event, women from various ethnic groups wanted to adopt the Black Women's Agenda and its principles. Participants then sought an all-encompassing term to envelop the multi-layered oppression of nonwhite women. The term *women of color* emerged as a way to describe diverse women who shared similar challenges with racism in and beyond the mainstream feminist movement.

As a final issue in the debate surrounding the term *people of color* is that the word *color* seemingly frames race as a biological designation. Social scientists have always noted that race is a construct that centers on the meanings that people attach to skin complexion and hair texture. Contrary to politics that undergirded the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, racial categories are not quantifiable. The law required that each person born in the United States be assigned to a racial category—at a time when the only two classifications were white and colored. As socially constructed notions, racial classifications are political, historical, and upheld by definitions such as

the “one-drop rule” from that era, which defined colored people as having any African or Indian ancestry. Just as the law was overturned in 1967 and the U.S. census continues to change its classification system, people’s ideas about what distinguishes one race from another also change.

Members of the Asian race who have origins in the southern region of India, for example, sometimes have complexions as dark as many or most African Americans. Their skin color does not distinguish them as black, though. Other examples are rooted in the fact that people with bi-racial parents, one of whom may be white, may choose to identify as a person of color, or not. Thus, as a sociological ideal, the term is a concept, a way to understand race relations and phenomena affecting groups of people. It is not meant to focus pointedly on skin color or any other biological fact. In sum, race is a social phenomenon that is about shared meanings among people, social arrangements between people, and constructed notions of how people see themselves.

People of color have made tremendous contributions to every segment of American society. Many have challenged and enhanced ideas about race relations, ethnic identity, multicultural politics, and normative assumptions about race. As the number of people of color in the population grows, the multicultural nature of the nation will intensify and define the limitless possibilities of future generations.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Multicultural Education; Race; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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Pérez v. Sharp (1948)

A critical forerunner to the landmark 1967 *Loving v. Virginia* case (whereby the United States Supreme Court rendered state statutes against interracial marriages unconstitutional), the lesser-known but historically significant *Andrea D. Pérez and Sylvester Davis, Jr. v. A. W. Sharp* lawsuit of 1948 marked the end of antimiscegenation law in California by overturning the state’s ban on interracial marriage that had been established in 1850, shortly after California gained statehood.

The plaintiffs in the case, Andrea Pérez and Sylvester Davis, were of Mexican American and African American heritage, respectively. Pérez and Davis had met at work in Los Angeles during World War II and quickly fell in love, but a county clerk refused to issue a marriage license to the couple on the grounds that their wedding would violate California’s antimiscegenation law. Forty states have enacted antimiscegenation laws at some point in their histories, and 38 states still maintained such statutes by the end of World War II. California’s statute, enacted in 1850 and revised in succeeding decades, declared, “no license may be issued authorizing the marriage of a white person with a Negro, mulatto, Mongolian or member of the Malay race.” Although ensconced in since-discarded racial terminology, the California statute essentially prohibited whites (including Mexicans) from marrying blacks, Asians, and Filipinos.

On their marriage application, Pérez identified her race as “white” and Davis as “Negro.” At the time, the U.S. government officially recognized Mexicans as racially white, even though the American public popularly viewed and treated Mexican Americans as a nonwhite minority group, as anti-Mexican prejudice and discrimination were commonplace across the southwest. Such a contradiction reveals the inconsistencies between race as a politically defined category and race as a popularly constructed sociocultural concept.

Following the rejection of their marriage application, the couple sought the intervention of the California Supreme Court to overrule the county clerk’s denial. The court ruled narrowly, 4–3, in favor of Pérez and Sharp, ruling that marriage is a fundamental human right and that the state cannot interfere with this right by imposing

race-based restrictions. The court also found California's antimiscegenation law to violate the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits states from denying life or liberty to its population and guarantees equal protection of laws to all persons. Writing for the majority, Associate Justice Robert Traynor commented, "A member of these races may find himself barred from marrying the person of his choice, and that person to him may be irreplaceable."

Legacy

With the ruling in *Pérez v. Sharp*, California became the first state of the 20th century to rescind its antimiscegenation law. California also became the first state to overturn its ban on interracial marriage in more than 60 years, since Ohio had done so in 1887. Other states followed suit in the aftermath of *Pérez v. Sharp*, and by 1967, 14 other states had rescinded their antimiscegenation statutes. The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Loving v. Virginia* struck down bans on interracial marriage in the remaining 16 states that still had such laws on the books.

Although interracial marriage was highly taboo at the time of the *Pérez v. Sharp* ruling, social attitudes have changed significantly since the court's ruling in 1948. Today, interracial marriage in the United States has reached an all-time high, and the 2010 study by the Pew Research Center found that 15 percent of all marriages in the United States are between persons of different racial or ethnic backgrounds.

This trend is particularly common in the western states. For example, more than 40 percent of all marriages in Hawai'i and approximately a quarter of all marriages in California, New Mexico, and Nevada are interracial marriages. The Pew study revealed that support of interracial marriage is highest among racial-ethnic minority groups, younger adults, the college educated, self-described liberals, and residents of the northeast and west coasts.

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See Also: Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Intermarriage Court Decisions; Intermarriage Demographic Trends; *Loving v. Virginia* (1967).

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Perspectivism

Perspectivism claims that what exists and how we can know what exists are experienced only from a particular point of view. It denies that there is an objective reality independent from the perspectives of individuals or groups. Perspectivism is often mentioned in connection with multiculturalism because beliefs and values vary from one culture to another. Even within the same culture, people with varying religious, racial, ethnic, or gender identities may see issues of truth or justice differently. If each person has a different vision of acceptable beliefs or behavior, then it seems there is no way to privilege one set of practices over another. This dilemma is called relativism; it is an objection to perspectivism that various theorists answer differently.

Perspectivism was developed in the 1700s, and by 1882, the term was used to describe the theory that the world consists of different, equally valid points of view, each offering a unique perspective that is indispensable to the whole. Some aspects of perspectivism appear in many philosophical approaches, including phenomenology, existentialism, pragmatism, and analytic and process philosophy. What these approaches have in common is a move away from an external standard of reality and truth, such as God or a realm of eternal truths or universal concepts. They also include the idea that our interaction with the physical world adds an important dimension—for some, the only dimension—to truth and reality.

German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche used a comparison with perception. The way we see things is influenced by our perspectives—not only our physical connection with what we are looking

at but also the internal concepts that we use to organize our experience of reality. People who have different organizing concepts (such as cultural influences) have different views of the world.

An example of this can be found on a small triangular island in Hawai'i. The native Hawai'ians thought the island looked like the fluke at the end of a lizard's tail and called it Mokoli'i (little lizard). Westerners named the island Chinaman's Hat. Either way, one has a clearer perception of the island when one is physically near to it, and one has a fuller perspective of the island when one knows that it has two names.

But there is a way that perception and perspective are unrelated. With perception, one can point to a physical object that exists apart from one's view of it, and one can consult laws of optics to determine the accuracy of one's perception. If a person is colorblind or using binoculars, the way that that person sees the island is affected in predictable ways, and he or she can determine which perception is more accurate. However, there is no way for a person to experience the world without internal concepts. One's beliefs influence the way that one sees things, and someone's belief that something is true captures only how it appears from that person's perspective. With no objective reality and no neutral standard of truth, each perspective is relative.

Nietzsche suggested that although perspectives are unique to the individual, they overlap sufficiently that we can communicate. The idea of a triangle-shaped island was common to Hawai'ians and Westerners, and they could each understand why the other chose its name, even though they saw something different when they looked offshore. One way that people can broaden their own perspective is to try to see things from other points of view. There may still be times when perspectives are incommensurable and have views of truth that are incompatible. In these cases, there is no way to automatically select one over the other.

Because there is no privileged perspective, the best one can do is to compare different perspectives to one another to expose limitations or evaluate strengths. If many perspectives hold the same view, that view can be said to be "truer." Nietzsche was comfortable with the idea that there is no such thing as objective truth. It is possible to make a

weaker claim by saying that we simply can't know what is true, given our limited perspectives.

Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset added social and historical dimensions to the idea of individual perspective. Humans relate to the world in a dynamic process of becoming, rather than being. This means that we have no fixed "nature" but rather a history—the set of circumstances into which we are born and within which we create ourselves. For Ortega, each life is a point of view about the universe; each perspective is a part of reality. Conflicts may arise because one perspective is reduced or limited, but it is not false in an absolute sense. It takes the combination of perspectives to arrive at reality, which is the world as it is being created by our individual lives. If we could collect all the perspectives of all the individuals who ever lived and will live, we would have what there is of truth. Rather than there being an objective, neutral, "God's eye view" of the world, Ortega said that God sees the world through humans, that we are the eyes of divinity.

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See Also: Pluralism; Political Correctness; Relativism; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Peruvian Americans

The home of the ancient Inca Empire and later conquered by Spanish colonists, Peru lies on the west coast of South America. It became

independent from Spain in 1821. Spanish is the most common and official language, but 13.2 percent speak Quechua, the most common of the indigenous languages.

As in most countries in Central and South America, mestizos of mixed heritage outnumber people of purely European descent, but not by as great a margin as in other countries. Mestizos are a plurality, not a majority, at about 47 percent; both the indigenous population (30 percent) and the European population (18.5 percent) are larger than in most of South and Central America.

The European population is mainly descended from the Spanish colonists, but Peru attracted a number of French, British, German, Croatian, and especially Italian immigrants in the 19th century. Compared to many other countries on the continent, Peru also has more Asians (3 percent, including the largest Chinese community in the region and the second-largest Japanese community) and fewer blacks, though Afro-Peruvians are an important minority.

Peruvians in the United States

There are 435,363 Peruvian Americans as of the 2010 Census, a large figure given that most immigration has occurred in the last 30 years. Two waves of immigration preceded the late 20th century. Along with many other groups, some Peruvians flocked to San Francisco in the 1840s and early 1850s in response to the gold rush, and many remained in the country thereafter; and in the 1950s, a Peruvian American community developed in the Detroit area.

From the 1980s on, a larger number of Peruvian immigrants began to arrive, fleeing economic turmoil in Peru. They settled principally in New Jersey, Florida, and New York. Nine of the 10 communities with the highest percentage of Peruvian Americans are in New Jersey (East Newark, 10.1 percent; Harrison, 7.01 percent; Paterson, 4.72 percent; Kearny, 3.82 percent; and Prospect Park, 3.22 percent) or Florida (The Hammocks, 3.36 percent; Virginia Gardens, 3.24 percent; Bay Harbor Islands, 3.11 percent; and Doral, 2.95 percent). The remainder is in Port Chester, New York (3.3 percent).

The Peruvian consulate is located in Paterson, New Jersey, and Market Street in Paterson has been nicknamed Little Lima for the number

of bodegas, travel agencies, markets, and Peruvian restaurants serving the Peruvian American community.

Peruvians are predominantly Catholic and tend to settle in areas where there is a strong Catholic community, especially a Spanish-speaking Catholic community. The church has been instrumental in helping immigrants pursue citizenship and find employment, as well as providing social networking.

Peruvian American Culture

Some elements of Peruvian culture preceded the main wave of Peruvian immigration, having been passed on to other Latino communities and then to the United States. The soda Inca Kola, for instance, is a Peruvian brand that has long been carried in Latin American grocery stores. “Kola” or “Cola” in Latin American countries more often denotes a sweet cream soda than the acid-heavy spiced colas of North America; Inca Kola was introduced in Peru in 1935 and is intensely flavored with lemon verbena. It has since become a Peruvian cultural icon. Also preceding most Peruvians is Pisco, a clear, unaged brandy developed by the Spanish colonists after they imported grape vines from the Canary Islands. Pisco remains one of the few distilled liquors made in Peru and the only one commonly exported; it has been available in the United States since at least the 19th century and in fact was once more common.

Peruvian restaurants are rare in the United States but may be found in Los Angeles, Miami, and New York, where there are the largest Peruvian American communities. Though similar in some respects to other South American cuisines, Peruvian cuisine depends more heavily on the potato, which is native to Peru. Some of these potatoes are boiled, mashed, and air-dried in the cold, becoming chunos—dried potatoes that may be used as a staple starch throughout the year. Other potatoes are sliced and served with cheese sauce.

Peru is also known for its anticuchos—grilled meats, notably chunks of heart—and cebiche, raw seafood dressed with citrus juice and other seasonings. Peruvian American markets often sell huacatay, a black mint native to Peru and difficult to find elsewhere, and lucuma, a native fruit sometimes called the eggfruit, with a flavor similar

to maple syrup and sweet potatoes. Lucuma is a popular candy and ice cream flavor.

Prominent Peruvian Americans include actor Josh Keaton, biologist Carlos Bustamante, actor Benjamin Bratt, film and television director Miguel Arteta, rapper Immortal Technique, and painter Alberto Vargas, known for his Vargas girl pinups.

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See Also: Bolivian Americans; Brazilian Americans; Chilean Americans; Colombian Americans; Ecuadorian Americans.

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Philippine Independence Act (1934)

The Philippine Independence Act, also known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, guaranteed the Philippines self-governance and independence from the United States following a 10-year transition period. During American colonization, Filipinos entered the United States primarily as *pensionados*, who were government scholars attending schools in the United States or as low-paid migrant workers for Alaskan fisheries and farms and plantations in California, Hawai'i, and other states. Under the Philippine Independence Act, Filipinos could be newly defined as aliens or immigrants. Under the act's provisions, the year following

the passage of the Philippine Independence Act marked the institution of the Philippine Commonwealth government and a new constitution to be effective during the transition to Philippine sovereignty. The constitution formed the basis of the Philippines' constitution after independence. However, the nature of the interim government—and particularly of its immigration and foreign policy, currency, and overseas trade—remained at the discretion of the United States during the this period, the end of which was actually delayed until 1946 because of complications relating to Philippine campaigns during World War II.

Drafted by Representative John McDuffie and Senator Millard Tydings, the Philippine Independence Act is partly a revision of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Independence Bill, which, despite being approved by Congress in the face of President Herbert Hoover's veto, was subsequently defeated in the Philippine legislature because of what were deemed to be overly strict clauses relating to trade and immigration, as well as the presence of stipulations—particularly the establishment of a high commissioner and permanent American military bases in the Philippines—that would have resulted in merely a semblance of independence. Manuel L. Quezon, who would eventually become the second president of the Philippines, traveled to Washington, D.C., in order to ensure new terms under the Tydings-McDuffie Act, obtaining more promising conditions relating to American military presence and certain aspects of foreign policy.

Other terms were not as easily negotiated, nor could the terms of the Philippine Independence Act be deemed wholly egalitarian. For example, the annual quota of 50 Filipino immigrants to America not only represented a drastic decrease in Filipino movement to and from America but also contrasted with American immigrants, whose entry and residence in the Philippines were unrestricted. This disparity mirrored the proviso that American goods enter the Philippines without tariffs or other restrictions, while Filipino goods—most notably sugar, coconut oil, and cordage—were taxed beginning in the second half of the transition period.

The Philippine Independence Act allowed continued American sovereignty in the Philippines on multiple levels. For example, the U.S. government

had to approve all loans to the Philippines from other nations, and the U.S. Supreme Court could review all Filipino court rulings. Despite these and other restrictions, the Philippine legislature believed the bill represented the most favorable agreement that could be attained at the time, with the understanding from President Franklin D. Roosevelt that the Philippine government could later renegotiate the conditions.

While allowing for Filipinos to be considered immigrants, the act's immigration quota limited travel to and from the United States to the Philippines and would later open the way for Filipinos to be included in the restriction placed against all Asian immigration (with the exception of a 1946 clause allowing sugar plantation laborers to immigrate to Hawai'i if needed). These limitations created problems for those Filipinos in the United States, who had to either choose to remain in America, indefinitely severed from their family members in the Philippines, or risk returning to the Philippines without hope of employment or return to the United States. One year after the Philippine Independence Act was passed, Congress passed the Filipino Repatriation Act of 1935, allowing free passage for Filipinos back to the Philippines. Only around 2,000 Filipinos took advantage of the offer.

The Philippines' conversation with the United States about independence began as early as the late 1890s during the Spanish-American War, when future Philippine president Emilio Aguinaldo attempted and failed to secure a written confirmation of America's support for the future of Philippine independence. Aguinaldo's aim was not realized until 1916, when the Jones Act (or the Philippine Autonomy Act) established the Philippine Senate and provided for the possibility of independence when a more stable government was in place. The Philippine Independence Act superseded the Jones Act and created specific provisions leading to independence from the United States.

Legally recognized independence finally came for the Philippines on July 4, 1946—two years after the Tydings-McDuffie Act's intended date. This day marked the end of America's official colonization of the Philippines, which began in 1898. Just two days before the Philippines' Independence Day, President Harry S. Truman signed the Luce-Celler Act, which opened up the opportunity for

American naturalization and citizenship to Indian and Filipino Americans, while keeping a quota system in place for future immigration of both groups.

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See Also: Asian American Categorization (Essay); Asian Americans; Filipino Americans.

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Philippine-American War

The Philippine-American War (1899–1902) was an unsuccessful rebellion by Filipinos opposing the annexation of the Philippines by the United States, to which the country had been ceded by Spain by Article 3 of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Spanish-American War. Although Filipinos had allied with the United States against Spain, they sought sovereignty, not new masters. The American government expressed skepticism of the Philippines' ability to remain independent of foreign powers without U.S. protection but of course was also motivated by its own imperialist aims. Opposition to the annexation in the United States led to the founding of the Anti-Imperialist League on June 15, 1898, and was an important part of the ongoing dialogue on American foreign policy and the country's role in world affairs.

The Philippine archipelago had been inhabited for tens of thousands of years, and its communities had both cultural and trade relationships with other Asian countries long before the

Spanish claimed the territory in the 16th century and proceeded to colonize the islands. It was Spanish rule that led to political unity among the islands, which were governed first as part of New Spain and later as their own colonial unit. Roman Catholicism was quickly and firmly established. Although there were many revolts against Spanish rule, the organized push for independence began with dissatisfied Criollos—ethnic Spanish born in the Philippines—in the 1870s. The anti-colonialist secret society known as the Katipunan began the Philippine Revolution in 1896; American support arrived as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898, in which the United States intervened on Cuba's behalf in that colony's war for independence.

American assistance arrived on May 1, 1898, in the form of a fleet of warships were commanded by Admiral George Dewey. Dewey negotiated an alliance with Emilio Aguinaldo, one of the leaders of the rebellion, and the U.S. Navy defeated the Spanish in Manila Bay. Aguinaldo and Dewey's men were able to take the capital city of Manila, and the Filipinos declared themselves independent on June 12.

Spain surrendered to the United States, and the Spanish-American War ended on August 13, 1898. The new Filipino government had organized itself in the meantime, convening a new congress on September 15 and approving a new constitution on November 29. Aguinaldo was elected president on January 23, 1899. Schools were set up—free public schooling had been promised by Spanish law but had not been implemented—as well as a new university and currency.

The Spark of War

The Treaty of Paris took none of this into account. It was signed on December 10, 1898, and the ratifications were exchanged on April 11, 1899, ending the Spanish Empire outside its African territories. Many in the U.S. Senate objected to the treaty's cession of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, and parts of the West Indies to the United States because it established the United States as a colonial and imperial power rather than as an ally of those who wished to declare independence from such vassalage as the United States itself had.

Many Americans called for the lands to be returned to their people. The debate transpired in

Congress and newspapers for months, motivated by fundamentally different approaches to American foreign policy. President William McKinley supported the imperialist faction, in favor of retaining and ruling the islands, and of extending the U.S. reach in the world. The Philippines were deemed incapable of self-determination, and Spain was paid \$20 million in return for the loss of its territories.

The Aguinaldo government warned the United States that any attempt to press its claim on the Philippines would be resisted. After several rounds of negotiations failed, Aguinaldo was authorized to declare war on the United States, doing so on January 20, days before his temporary revolutionary government was replaced with the new constitutional government.

The battle in Manila was fierce, and the insurgents were unprepared for the military prowess of the Americans. After fighting most of the evening, the Americans withdrew briefly, only to return, firing artillery from ships stationed in Manila Bay. The insurgents ran to the jungle to regroup but ran into more American troops. America lost 50 soldiers, and the insurgents lost 1,000 men.

The Filipinos were not deterred from their goal of independence. The Americans pushed the rebel forces into the country's interior. There was little resistance from townsfolk, and the insurgents moved quickly out of the firing line. In late summer of 1899, Aguinaldo requested a 90-day cease-fire to debate the possibility of surrender. The request was dismissed. The American commander at the time, Major General Elwell Otis, stated that only full and immediate surrender was acceptable on the American side.

Fighting slowed in 1899 as Aguinaldo rethought his strategy. The following year, a presidential election was scheduled in the United States, and Aguinaldo intended to use that fact to his advantage, knowing that many Americans disagreed with the war.

To ensure that the Philippine issue dominated American headlines, the Filipino forces adopted the tactics of guerrilla warfare, with the jungle providing cover. With the climate and the sympathy of civilians on their side, they executed surprise attacks on increasingly weary American forces. However, this led to vicious reprisals, including the capture and torture of local

villagers. Despite the American public's disapproval of these tactics, McKinley was reelected to a second term.

The Americans established a civil government in the Philippines in May 1900, replacing its military rule. Former judge William Howard Taft was appointed governor-general of the Philippines, though Taft had opposed the annexation and McKinley knew his real aspiration was the Supreme Court. Taft proved to be a popular governor with both the Filipinos and the Americans now living on the islands. He was able to convince Pope Leo XIII to sell church-owned lands to his government and Congress to give him the millions of dollars necessary to purchase those lands, which he then sold cheaply to Filipinos. In 1903, when Taft was finally offered a seat on the Supreme Court, he turned it down out of concern that his job as governor-general was not finished. The following year, he accepted a position as secretary of war, as it allowed him to remain involved in Filipino governance.

In the meantime, Filipinos adapted to the changes introduced by the American government, including the long-promised public schools and new monetary system as well as improvements to public infrastructure. However, Aguinaldo and his insurgents were not satisfied with anything less than independence, and the American military soon came to the conclusion that the solution to the war was not to defeat the Filipinos but to eliminate Aguinaldo.

American General Frederick Funston executed the plan to capture the Aguinaldo, putting an end to Filipino resistance. Funston recruited Filipinos who were openly opposed to Aguinaldo, disguised them as insurgents, and led American officers posing as prisoners of war to Aguinaldo's headquarters. Days later, in March 1901, the Americans and Filipino allies together overpowered Aguinaldo and his men and arrested him. He surrendered to the United States on April 19, and by the summer of 1902, the fighting had ended. In the end, 4,232 Americans and about 16,000 Filipino soldiers had been killed in the fighting, as well as 200,000 civilians. The Philippines remained an American territory but were allowed to elect their own government, and the 1916 Jones Act promised that independence would eventually be granted. This finally arrived in 1946, after

a four-year occupation by the Japanese during World War II.

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See Also: Filipino Americans; Philippine Independence Act; Spanish Land Grants; Spanish Missions; Spanish-American War.

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Picture Brides

From 1908 to 1924, thousands of Japanese and Korean women came to the United States as "picture brides," marrying Japanese or Korean men whom they had never met and had seen only in pictures. The vast majority were Japanese. This practice arose in large part after the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 between Japan and the United States prohibited further Japanese immigration to Hawai'i and the United States, but at the same time allowed women and children to join their husbands and fathers. This practice essentially ceased in the 1920s, when, because of anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States, the Japanese government ceased issuing passports to picture brides. This practice had a large impact on Japanese immigration to the United States, and some historians believe that the majority of Japanese Americans today can trace their ancestry to a picture bride.

Japanese and Korean Immigration

Beginning in the late 1800s, several hundred thousand Japanese men traveled to Hawai'i and the west coast of the United States to work as laborers, with plans to make money and then return home. Between 1886 and 1924, almost 200,000 Japanese nationals entered Hawai'i, and 113,362 returned to Japan. Despite their plans, during this time period, many men did not make enough money to return home to Japan. Koreans first immigrated to work on Hawai'i's sugar plantations in 1903, but all Korean immigration stopped in 1905 when Korea became a Japanese protectorate. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea, and immigration resumed. Between 1910 and 1924, approximately 700 Korean women went to Hawai'i as picture brides.

In the early 1900s, for a variety of reasons, anti-Japanese sentiment flared in California. In order to address that sentiment and to allow Japanese American children to attend public schools in California, the United States and Japan entered into the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907. (The agreement was entered into unilaterally by President Theodore Roosevelt and was never ratified by Congress.) In essence, this agreement halted the issuance of passports to Japanese laborers for travel to Hawai'i or the United States, and many Americans believed that this would stop Japanese immigration to the United States.

However, the agreement did allow for passports to be issued to individuals joining a spouse or a parent, and as a result, women and children were allowed to immigrate to Hawai'i and the United States. This provision gave rise to the practice of using picture brides, and because of it, over 25,000 picture brides arrived in Hawai'i and the west coast of United States between 1908 and the early 1920s. The vast majority were Japanese. The practice also changed the gender composition of immigrants, particularly from Japan. Prior to 1907, 87 percent of Japanese admitted to the United States were men; after 1907, 58 percent were women.

The arrival of these numbers of women, particularly those from Japan, revived anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States. The exclusionists, who opposed Japanese immigration in general and the practice of picture brides, argued that this type of marriage was immoral and also that the practice violated the Gentlemen's Agreement because the women were really immigrating to

work as laborers in the fields. The exclusionists also feared that the children of these marriages would be able to purchase land and settle down. In addition, there was some sentiment that the picture brides were actually prostitutes. As a result of this continued anti-Japanese sentiment arising out of the practice of picture brides, Japan ceased issuing passports to picture brides in 1920.

Picture Bride System

The term *picture bride* was coined because the men in Hawai'i and the United States sent pictures back to their families for use in finding a bride. Once the men's families received a picture, they began the search for a wife, often with the help of a go-between. The process of finding a picture bride was modeled on traditional Japanese and Korean arranged marriages and was not that different in practice. As in traditional marriages, the go-betweens looked at the family background, health, age, and wealth of the women and made matches. The primary difference was that, unlike a traditional arranged marriage, the men marrying a picture bride had no input into selecting a wife. Once the woman's name was entered into the family registry, the couple was considered married, despite never having met, and the woman was then eligible for travel documents to the United States. However, because the United States did not recognize these marriages, mass wedding ceremonies were held when the women arrived in the United States or Hawai'i, often on the docks or in hotels.

Women became picture brides for many reasons: some economic, some social, some rooted in family pride. Some saw the marriage as a way to send money back to their families in Japan and Korea. Some became picture brides out of family obligation and honor. Others became picture brides to escape the traditional structures of Japanese or Korean family responsibility, and to gain freedoms that they would not have had in Japan or Korea.

Upon arrival, many of the women found conditions to be vastly different from what they expected or had been led to believe. On average, the grooms were 10 to 15 years older than the women they married. The photos they had sent home were often touched up or out of date and did not accurately represent the man's wealth, class, or social status. The men often borrowed clothing to wear in the photos and/or posed in front of



A woman working in a Japanese store in Honolulu, Hawai'i, around 1910. Between 1908 and the early 1920s, over 25,000 mostly Japanese picture brides arrived in Hawai'i and the west coast of United States. Before the practice began, 87 percent of the Japanese admitted to United States had been men; after 1907, 58 percent were women.

cars, houses, or other items that they did not own. Some men even sent photos of another man. When the women arrived in the United States, they were often surprised by the men's age and their living conditions, which were not of the quality they had been led to believe by looking at the photos.

Life as a Picture Bride

Despite what they were led to believe, picture brides did not have an easy life. Many of the women did work in the fields alongside Japanese or Korean immigrant men. They worked in jobs that were similar to those of men, and those jobs included irrigating crops, weeding plantations, and cutting and stripping cane. Women sometimes worked these jobs carrying a child on their back. In 1920, 14 percent of plantation workers were women, and of those women, 80 percent were Japanese.

Despite the fact that they worked in jobs that were very similar to those of their husbands and other men, these women were paid less than men. In 1915, Japanese women plantation workers made approximately 65 cents for every \$1 made by a Japanese male plantation worker. In addition to their field work, these women were also responsible for cooking, cleaning, sewing, and

child rearing. Some picture brides left work in the fields to work for bachelor men, doing laundry or cooking.

Regardless of where they worked, these women built networks through women's groups and churches. The women worked to preserve their traditions and heritage, including the cultural values of family, obligation to community, the importance of hard work, perseverance, and the drive to succeed. Most of the women settled into their marriages or just accepted them. Japanese couples tended to have fewer marital issues since they were often from similar geographic areas of Japan, whereas the Korean couples were often from different areas of Korea.

Korean picture brides left plantation life sooner than many Japanese women, and many moved to Honolulu to start businesses. Some of the picture brides rejected their husbands and went back home. Some also eloped with another man, which damaged not only their reputation but also their ability to stay in the United States, as these women could be deported back to Japan. (Japanese law provided that men had the right to decide their wife's residency.) The practice had an enduring impact on the demographic makeup of Hawai'i in

particular. Historians believe that the majority of Japanese Americans throughout the country have a picture bride in their lineage.

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See Also: Gentlemen's Agreement (1907); Japanese Americans; Korean Americans.

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Pigmentocracy

Pigmentocracy thrives in every region and culture in the world. A pigmentocracy is a society or state of affairs in which skin color determines socioeconomic and/or political status. In theory, any imbalance of power favoring people of one skin tone over another could be considered a pigmentocracy. Historically, however, pigmentocracies have consistently favored lighter-skinned groups over their darker-skinned counterparts. It is a behavior pattern and cultural norm that remains persistent and predictable across boundaries and generations.

The United States, although known worldwide as a melting pot of races and cultures, has not been immune to the phenomenon of pigmentocracy. Stark forms of pigmentocracy could first be found in colonial times, when slavery took hold in the nascent nation. The displacement and mistreatment of Native Americans could be counted as a manifestation of pigmentocracy, as could the internment of Asian Americans during World War II. Repression of these and other racial minority groups by whites persisted postwar and post-slavery. From forced Native American land cessions to the Three-Fifths Compromise to *Plessy v. Ferguson*, pigmentocracy has often left its imprint with full government consent.

Pigmentocracy does not always exist so starkly and with government sanction, however. Subtle variations of skin tone within a particular race or ethnicity have sometimes been perceived as advantageous or disadvantageous. Some have claimed that lighter-skinned African Americans have social advantages over those with darker skin; Barack Obama, Condoleezza Rice, Colin Powell, and Jesse Jackson have been cited as examples of this phenomenon. Among Asians, some have perceived preferential treatment among northeast Asians, including Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans, over the traditionally darker-skinned southeast Asians, including Filipinos and Hmong. Among Hispanics, some have claimed that light-skinned Cuban Americans have had socioeconomic advantages over darker-skinned individuals from Latin America.

Although the United States holds no monopoly over the phenomenon of pigmentocracy, its ethnic heterogeneity likely makes it more susceptible to perceptions of racial differences. The 2010 U.S. census data proven especially helpful in illustrating the multicultural mosaic that America has become. Census results indicate that in 2010, 12.6 percent of the U.S. population was African American, 16.3 percent was Hispanic or Latino, and 4.8 percent was Asian. Within each of these categories exists a broad range of subgroups, each with different ethnic and cultural identities. Although this magnitude of diversity is a defining attribute as well as a point of pride for America, it may also be a contributing factor to the perpetuation of pigment-based biases within groups and subgroups. In addition, 2010 Census data indicate that 2.9 percent of the U.S. population consists of individuals of two or more races; this may also have an impact on pigment-based bias among ethnic groups and subgroups.

The effects of pigmentocracy have been devastating for its victims. The ravages of slavery and postbellum civil rights violations have been well documented, but the modern effects of pigmentocracy can also prove deep and drastic. Consider, for example, the phenomenon known as the bleaching syndrome. This occurs when dark-skinned minorities feel such overwhelming pressure to assimilate into light-skinned culture that they use chemical substances in an attempt to lighten their skin tone. Some of these chemicals may be ineffective or

even toxic, and skin bleaching is often considered a drastic response to racial and cultural pressures. Recent advances in technology include laser skin treatment, a potentially less risky alternative to chemical bleaching, but this does not address the underlying forces that would cause one to attempt skin lightening in the first place.

Media-perpetuated stereotypes may constitute another persistent effect of American pigmentocracy. Some would claim that lighter-skinned actors are given preference over darker-skinned actors when television and film roles are cast. It has also been alleged that darker-skinned actors, when they are cast, are more likely to be assigned roles of unsavory characters. If this is the case, then a re-evaluation of ethnic roles and biases in popular media will be warranted to make substantial progress in combating the effects of pigmentocracy.

The most plausible explanation for pigmentocracy might be that it is an unfortunate residual effect of the historical mistreatment of ethnic minorities by whites. Thus, as colonists and their progeny oppressed those with darker skin tones for many decades, this became the norm, and lighter skin tone became equated in people's minds with higher sociopolitical standing.

Pigmentocracy has existed in America from the outset in one form or another, and some would claim that it will persist as long as there are visible differences in skin tone. Numerous factors, some patently visible and others subtle, contribute to the persistence of pigmentocracy in the United States. Blame has been cast on policymakers, the media, and even human nature for the perpetuation of pigmentocracy. The debate endures as the American narrative continues to unfold and each new generation addresses this challenging issue.

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See Also: African Americans; Equity and Equality; Ethnicity; Minority Group/Majority; Mixed-Race Americans; Privilege; Slavery.

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Pinky

Pinky, a popular 1949 Twentieth Century-Fox film, grapples with issues of southern racism and racial identity in the postwar United States through the story of its protagonist, Patricia (Pinky) Johnson, a light-skinned, mixed-race woman who has passed as white. At the film's opening, Pinky has returned to Mississippi after attending nursing school for several years in Boston. While in the north, she has passed as white and has become engaged to the white Dr. Thomas Adams. Her impending marriage spurs Pinky's visit to her poor, darker-skinned, African American grandmother ("Aunt" Dicey), who has presumably raised Pinky and is her only living relative.

Dicey condemns Pinky's passing, conceptualizing it as a betrayal both of her efforts to educate Pinky and of God. When Pinky visits the local town, she is involved in several incidents that highlight the community's racism, including an unwarranted arrest by white police officers. Later, she narrowly escapes being sexually assaulted by two white men. These encounters, which arise partly from confusion over her racial identity, cement her decision to leave the south immediately and to return to Tom, who has discovered her racial identity and has dismissed it as a part of her past that can be overcome. They can still marry, he argues, and she will become the white Pat Adams.

On the eve of Pinky's departure, Dicey asks her to nurse a white southern aristocrat, Miss Em, who is dying from a heart ailment. Pinky reluctantly agrees out of loyalty to Dicey. Over the following few days, the bedridden Miss Em becomes a surrogate maternal figure for Pinky, urging her always to "be herself." After Miss Em dies, her newly written will reveals that she has left the bulk of her estate to Pinky. The will is challenged by Miss Em's white

relatives. Against Tom's pleas to walk away from the lawsuit and the property, Pinky decides to go to court. The judge, after a brief trial, delivers an unexpected speech about the role of justice in the United States and upholds the will. Despite her love for Tom, Pinky chooses to embrace a black identity and to remain in Mississippi to fulfill Miss Em's belief that she will make "good use" of the estate. The film closes with Pinky at Miss Em's Clinic and Nursery School for black children, which she has opened on the property.

Pinky stars Jeanne Crain (Pinky), Ethel Barrymore (Miss Em), Ethel Waters (Dicey), and William Lundagin (Tom). Dudley Nichols and Philip Dunne adapted the story from the 1946 novel *Quality*, written by the white Mississippi author Cid Ricketts Sumner and first serialized in *Ladies' Home Journal*. The film, produced by Darryl F. Zanuck and directed by Elia Kazan, had a production budget of over \$1.5 million. During production, Zanuck brought in black activist Walter White (longtime secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] and his daughter, Jane White, as consultants. The Whites pushed for a more aggressive stand on race issues, but Zanuck had the final word, and the film's potential for offering a more progressive anti-racist statement was tempered.

Perhaps partly because of that tempering, *Pinky* was a box-office success, premiering in New York City on September 29, 1949, and drawing large crowds in both the north and the south. It was the second-highest grossing film of the year, bringing in over \$4 million and out-grossing the spate of other postwar "race films" premiering that year. Most reviewers praised both the film's production quality and the actors' performances, and although some had reservations about a white actress playing a mixed-race character, Crain was nominated for an Academy Award for best actress, and both Barrymore and Waters were nominated for best supporting actress for their performances.

Pinky successfully negotiated Hollywood's prohibitions against representing scenes of interracial sexual contact such as kissing (partially by casting a white actress in the role of Pinky and partially by not representing Pinky's interracial parentage); however, in the segregated south, it encountered occasional resistance from local film censors. Acting on an ordinance that aimed to

protect the community from inflammatory scenes that would disturb the peace, Atlanta's censor Christine Smith, backed by the Atlanta Library Board, had 34 seconds of film removed, including a slap, a kiss, and a threatened rape.

The film was banned outright in Marshall, Texas (the State Supreme Court later overturned the ban). While profiting from such publicity, Twentieth Century-Fox also helped counter fears of the film's potentially liberal social realism by promoting it as melodrama or as one woman's tragic love story, rather than as a chronicle of black oppression in general. Although it was groundbreaking in its day for dealing with the issue of racial passing and exposing gendered and economic racism (especially in the south), even some contemporary reviewers noted that the film relies on racial stereotypes and oversimplifies the complexity of the racial climate, making Pinky's ultimate choice too easy and unrealistic.

Pinky's resolution also essentially upholds segregation and the idea of distinct, biologically based, racial categories: Pinky renounces any claim to whiteness, refuses to marry her white fiancé, embraces her blackness, and works to uplift "her race." In 1949, however, such a resolution set well with many blacks and whites, the majority of whom understood race through the "one-drop rule" and conceptualized passing as a betrayal. Within that framework, *Pinky* was a daring triumph.

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See Also: Miscegenation; Mulatto; Passing/Covering; Race; Race Mixture in the United States; Racism.

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***Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)**

Plessy v. Ferguson is the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case that established the legal precedent of the “separate but equal” doctrine in 1896. The court’s decision upheld state laws requiring racial segregation in public facilities. This doctrine had widespread implications; it was used to create a bifurcated society and has been viewed as extending constitutional sanction to Jim Crow segregation laws. This legal precedent set the stage for more than 50 years of rigidly dividing society along racial lines, especially in the deep south, where blacks were legally mandated to use separate public facilities and accommodations and attend separate schools.

In the end, the Supreme Court’s *Plessy* decision was viewed as legitimizing racism under state law and is now considered one of the most catastrophic racial decisions ever rendered. It was not until the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case that the “separate but equal” doctrine was found unconstitutional and legal racial segregation outlawed within the United States.

The Challenge

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* case was a coordinated effort to challenge the constitutionality of the segregation laws in transportation throughout the south. In 1892, Homer Plessy purchased a one-way ticket aboard the East Louisiana Railway for travel from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana. Plessy was arrested for violating the 1890 Louisiana Separate Car Act, which obligated railway companies operating in the state to provide equal but separate accommodation for whites and blacks. This act also denied first-class

accommodations to nonwhite women and men who could afford to pay the higher fare.

Plessy was not discernibly African American based on visual physical features; his racial and ethnic background was such that he was an octaroon, given that he was seven-eighths Caucasian and one-eighth black. The great majority of the south subscribed to the “one-drop” clause, which designated as black any person with one drop of “black blood.” Based on the racial designations at the time, knowledge of Plessy’s racial descent meant that he would be treated as a black person. The segregated transportation laws impacted all blacks throughout the south and especially Louisiana Creoles, who had achieved some measure of economic and social vitality. Plessy paid the higher fare so that he could obtain a first-class ticket on the train, and he refused to move to the blacks-only car upon request. Plessy was immediately arrested and remanded for trial.

Court Case

In the initial case of *Plessy v. the State of Louisiana*, Plessy argued that the state law requiring segregated trains had denied him his rights under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. The court ruled that segregated trains could be operated within the state in accordance with the state law at the time. As a result, Plessy was convicted.

The ruling was then appealed to the Supreme Court of Louisiana, which upheld the lower court’s order. This was followed by an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 in order to reverse the lower court’s decree. The primary arguments used on Plessy’s behalf were that his Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendment rights had been violated. The Thirteenth Amendment was established in 1865 and outlawed slavery.

In effect, the main argument of Plessy’s case was based on the proper interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause and the judiciary’s historical complicity with legislative mistreatments of racial minorities. Additionally, it was argued that Plessy was not discernibly black and that the railway officials erred and had deprived him of his entitlement as a white citizen. This line of argument was based within the designations of racial classification as property.

Earlier rulings in the *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849) and the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857)

cases, both of which were decided prior to the Fourteenth Amendment, upheld the legality of state statutes requiring the separation of races, as long as blacks were given alternate facilities or accommodations. These court rulings effectively denied citizenship rights to blacks.

The *Roberts* case was especially significant to the *Plessy* ruling, as it was argued that racial prejudice was not created by law and probably could not be changed by law. In the court's ruling in *Roberts*, not only was segregation of races upheld but also the idea of racial classification. Just as important, the judiciary system was not responsible for eradicating racial prejudices that were not created by law. In the *Plessy* case, *Roberts* and several other cases were used in support of a legal tradition of state laws with regard to racial classification and segregation. Similarly, the *Dred Scott* case provided a solid example of the Supreme Court upholding state law, which was adopted as standard practice.

In the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy*, Justice Henry B. Brown described race differences in natural biological terms; he maintained that distinctions between the two races would always exist because of skin color. Framing the argument in this way posited racial segregation as a biological fact that could not be changed or determined by government. Similar to what was written in the *Roberts* case, the Supreme Court justices in *Plessy* maintained that legislation was powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences. In effect, the justices argued that changing the consequences of race was not attainable with limited tools and a limited government.

Additionally, Brown asserted that segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment's equality clause were congruent in that racial segregation placed no additional burdens on black citizens because the law applied equally to both races. Brown wrote that laws permitting or requiring the separation of blacks and whites in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other.

Legacy

The Supreme Court's decision to uphold the "separate but equal" doctrine allowed for a government sanction of material advantages that attached to

being regarded as a white person in the United States. These benefits have extended far beyond the age of segregation and helped galvanize the rhetoric of white supremacy, the possessive investment in whites, and white property rights.

The legacy of the *Plessy* case is also evinced beyond its presumptions regarding racial differences; what was clearly at play as well was the constitutive power of law to define, construct, regulate, and maintain categories. The focus on *Plessy*'s mixed-race heritage and his racial classification clearly reveal the ways in which the U.S. government was complicit in constructing race and establishing a rigid color line in society. This color line created deep divisions in both the north and south, and it was used to bolster black codes and establish Jim Crow laws. Additionally, the *Plessy* case has held important ramifications for interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment, the treatment of racial minorities, and the government's role in maintaining a racial order adjudicated by law. The "one-drop" rule was designed to denigrate blacks in wider society and racially assign those of mixed ancestry to a lower social status. In this way, the federal government enabled states to continue to enforce a discriminatory racial taxonomy.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Civil Rights Acts; Constitutional Amendments; *Dred Scott v. Stanford* (1857); Jim Crow Laws; Quadroon.

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Pluralism

Pluralism is a circumstance in which groups have and preserve separate social and cultural differences, identities, and structures. The term describes the ways that subgroups within a larger society maintain their unique cultural identities. When practicing pluralism, ethnic groups may maintain components of their subculture while also coexisting with relative equality in a larger society. Racial and ethnic relations in the United States are often explored through the lens of cultural pluralism.

Horace Kallen was one of the founding scholars to write about pluralism. He argued that individuals did not have to sacrifice their unique cultural identities to participate fully in American society. He stated that separate cultural groups, with separate languages, religions, and practices were in line with democratic ideals and American values. He espoused that acculturation was not necessary and that the United States instead could be comprised of a mosaic of diverse cultures and individuals.

Many pluralist theorists argue that ethnic groups can maintain their distinct cultural identities while also being able to adapt to the dominant cultural norms of mainstream society. Such theorists state that in the United States, individuals are able to maintain a state of both diversity and unity because they are able to agree on a set of basic values. However, members of minority groups may associate mainly among themselves, work similar trades, intermarry, and live in distinct communities. An equation to describe pluralism may be $A+B+C=A+B+C$, while assimilation could be described as $A+B+C=A$, and amalgamation could be described as $A+B+C=D$.

Two major distinctions exist within pluralism—cultural pluralism and structural pluralism. In cultural pluralism, groups maintain their own identity by perhaps speaking different languages, advocating differing values, and having different religious beliefs. With structural pluralism, the coexistence

of differing cultural groups may be less noticeable, but the groups may be segmented into dissimilar social positions. For example, differing groups may have the same accent and eat similar cuisine, yet they may be a part of separate social systems, such as attending different churches and schools.

There is a third type that can be described as the ability to integrate without experiencing acculturation. Such groups are able to achieve economic mobility without becoming Americanized (such as learning English and adopting norms). One example is an enclave minority group that establishes its own neighborhoods with interconnected commerce centers and businesses. Examples include Chinatowns and the Cuban American community in south Florida. Middleman minority groups, on the other hand, may be located throughout a broader area. Examples include Korean American grocers and hotels owned by Indian Americans dispersed throughout large geographic areas. Professional success among these groups is tied to support and aid among members of these subcultures.

Ethnic groups in the United States may lose aspects of their visibility when they experience acculturation. However, many may maintain a cultural identity by being prideful in their heritage and keeping relationships with fellow members of their cultural subgroup. A lack of tolerance toward diversity has been and remains a persistent problem within the United States.

The United States has been a pluralistic country since its colonial start, as early settlements were ethnic enclaves comprised of individuals of different nationalities and religions. Immigrants settled in clusters as a result of chain migration. For example, Germans and Scandinavians settled in the midwest, Polish immigrants in Chicago, French immigrants in Louisiana, Asian immigrants in California, Irish immigrants in Boston and New York, and Cuban immigrants in Miami. These groups were able to aid the adjustment of settling into a new land by establishing and living in neighborhoods that were microcosms or replicas of their homelands. There are examples of parallel social institutions, in which churches, schools, and other institutions from their original homeland are duplicated in their new homeland. Take, for instance, Dutch settlements in the 1800s, which were very similar to Holland counterparts.

Assimilation and Pluralism

When evaluating racial and ethnic relations in the United States, while America prides itself as a melting pot, Americans typically expect new residents to assimilate quickly. Many Americans view pluralism as a deterrent to assimilation and cohesion in society. When evaluating dominant–minority relations, the positivity of this relationship depends on the extent minority groups are expected to adapt. If minority groups are expected to assimilate, then pluralism, though a natural process among first- and second-generation Americans, will likely draw a negative reaction from those of the dominant culture, resulting in some who see pluralism as going too far. For example, the growing number of Spanish-speaking peoples in U.S. cities has likely led to an increase in calls for immigration reform measures and English-only policies.

Throughout American history, different ethnic groups have acculturated to the dominant culture with varying degrees of ease. African Americans have a high level of acculturation, while members of large Hispanic groups may be less acculturated, in part because of the renewal of traditions and language that are reinvigorated as a part of new immigration waves.

Ethnic identity can be considered the product of pluralism in the United States. For example, self-consciousness and culture shock lead immigrants to embrace their ethnic identities and live in communities in which they may receive support from those sharing similar experiences. These ethnic subcultures may not be known in their previous home countries. For those in the United States, immigrant groups may transition from a village mentality to a national identity. They may speak differing dialects, have lived in different regions, and have feuds back in their homelands, but they are brought together by the cohesiveness of living in a new land together. Take Italian Americans, for example. Many may have first identified with their home cities, such as Naples, Genoa, Calabria, and Salerno, yet most identify themselves as simply Italian over the course of time, in part because this is the classification attributed to them by the dominant culture. These communities are reenergized when new immigrants arrive. Contrary to what some believe, assimilation and pluralism can take place simultaneously within different groups to varying degrees.

Convergent subcultures are ethnic subcultures that tend to assimilate with relative ease. As years progress, there is less distinction between the convergent subculture and the dominant culture. Persistent subcultures, however, resist assimilation. Groups such as Hasidic Jews, the Amish, and some Hutterites choose traditional lifestyles as opposed to embracing modern advances and technology. Some groups, such as Native Americans who live on reservations and Chinese Americans who live in Chinatowns, will preserve their own particular cultural identity while integrating with few aspects of the dominant culture. This persistence to maintain one's unique cultural identity has often not been looked upon favorably by members of the dominant culture. This can lead to conflict, racism, stereotypes, and discrimination.

Multiculturalism and Pluralism

The concepts of diversity and pluralism encompass the notion of multiculturalism, which stresses mutual adaptation and initiatives of tolerance and inclusion. In K–12 curricula, multiculturalism in the United States once meant simply including references to the contributions of non-European peoples to the U.S. fabric. This has morphed over time into a new pedagogical philosophy in which an awareness and appreciation of diversity is interwoven into American education. There are some who have championed a pluralist philosophy in which various subgroup identities are stressed instead of a national cohesive identity. The United States remains a country in which pluralism is alive, yet forces for assimilation are continually strong.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Curricular Integration; Equity and Equality; Ethnic Studies; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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***Plyler v. Doe* (1982)**

In *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), by a 5–4 vote, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a Texas law that allowed individual school districts to charge the parents of undocumented immigrant children tuition to attend public schools. Justice William Brennan, writing for the majority in *Plyler v. Doe*, said that laws restricting the children had no state interest and were a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The decision, giving undocumented children the right to a free education when offered by the states, stands after three decades, but remains controversial and is part of the discourse when access to public services for undocumented immigrants is challenged. The decision was a challenge to a Texas law, originally passed in 1975 with little discussion and debate, as part of a broader education bill. The law prohibited spending state funds on students not “legally admitted” to the United States, and allowed school districts to refuse to enroll such students. There was very little discussion or legislative history regarding the law, which was passed at the end of Texas’ biannual, 140-day legislative session.

The Tyler Independent School District began charging \$1,000 as tuition for undocumented immigrant students after passage of the bill. James Plyler was the superintendent of the Tyler Independent School District when the policy was created. Approximately 60 students out of a district of 16,000 were impacted. When children were excluded, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) was contacted. MALDEF followed the path established by other

civil rights groups early in the 20th century and represented the families who were impacted by the policy.

The case was initially heard in September 1977, and a Texas federal district judge granted a preliminary injunction instructing the district to admit the children after certifying the case as a class action. Judge William Wayne Justice protected the children on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides equal protection and due process under the law. This constitutional finding was appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which affirmed that the relevant Texas statute violated the equal protection clause. The Supreme Court agreed to hear the case, combined with *In re Alien Children Education Litigation*, which represented separate challenges to the Texas law.

Plyler v. Doe was argued before the Supreme Court on December 1, 1981. In conference, the justices were closely divided and initially voted 5–4 to overturn the legislation. The majority opinion was written by Justice William Brennan, who found for a 5–4 majority after he cleverly worked with centrist judges to craft a consensus. Brennan included undocumented immigrants as a protected group under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Brennan was joined by Justices Lewis Powell, Thurgood Marshall, Harry Blackmun, and John Paul Stevens.

Brennan consulted very closely with Justice Powell in order to achieve his majority, sending early drafts to him and other sympathetic justices. Powell’s views and worldview played a profound role in shaping the scope of the decision. His majority opinion in *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973) ruled that education was not a fundamental right. Powell had also become increasingly concerned about border security and undocumented migration throughout his time on the court during the 1970s. Powell had served on the Richmond, Virginia, school board during struggles with segregation and the implementation of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The swing vote of his day, Powell had a narrow rationale reflected in the opinion of the court, which focused on the concept of the innocence of the children.

The dissent in *Plyler* was authored by Chief Justice Warren Burger and was joined by Justices Byron White, William Rehnquist, and Sandra Day O’Connor. The dissent rejected the idea that



The decision in Plyler v. Doe (1982) overturned a Texas law allowing school districts to charge parents of undocumented immigrant children tuition for public schools and gave undocumented immigrant children the right to a free education when offered by the states. The decision still stands, and as a result, 65,000 undocumented children are able to graduate from high schools every year.

undocumented children were protected by the equal protection clause. Burger asserted that the majority was tailoring its interpretation to fit the case before the court.

Plyler v. Doe remains a contentious and controversial case. The legacy is reflected not so much in review by the Supreme Court doctrinally, or in school districts attempting to violate the ruling, as in continuing debate over access to public services by undocumented immigrants. Although even James Plyler now regrets the legislation and the reaction of his district, supporters of immigration restriction still on occasion call for the types of restrictions that were the basis for the legal challenge. As a result of *Plyler*, 65,000 undocumented children graduate annually from American high schools, creating a continuing challenge of what to do in terms of providing access to employment and higher education for them.

Laws restricting immigrant access to public services have been overturned or scaled back by

federal judges, most prominently the 1994 California Ballot Initiative Proposition 187, and more recent laws passed in states such as Alabama. Sitting chief justice John Roberts expressed skepticism about the opinion of the court in 1982, a fact that was brought up during his Senate confirmation hearings. The idea of innocent children who should not be made to pay for the choices of their parents continues to be significant in attempts to pass legislation such as the federal DREAM Act that Congress has considered at various points since 2001, state level legislation regarding in-state tuition rates, and broader efforts to obtain rights for undocumented immigrants. Although *Plyler* has not attracted the aggressive challenges of contentious decisions in areas such as affirmative action, it remains at the center of continuing questions for the American polity.

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See Also: Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Mexican American Youth Organization; Mexican Americans.

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Pocahontas

History is currently learned, in part, through representations and portrayals in popular culture. The 1995 animated feature film *Pocahontas* is significant because it has been alternately described as an affirmative, positive delineation of American Indian culture by many in the mainstream media, or fraught with racism and sexism by just as many cultural critics. The 33rd animated film produced by Walt Disney Pictures, *Pocahontas* is the first to be based upon a historical character and an American Indian, with a subsequent video game, sequel feature, and the multimillion-dollar cross-marketing of thousands of ancillary products.

The film is noteworthy because of its international box office success, numerous Academy Awards, and showcasing of a Native American heroine. *Pocahontas* also includes mixed messages, alters historical events, and engages in commoditization. An analysis considers the multicultural perspectives of race and gender, historical inaccuracy, and Native American stereotypes.

Race and Gender Perspectives

The film was initially applauded from a gender perspective because it emphasized a strong female

character. Pocahontas's role is that of an adventurous young woman who respects the earth and communicates with trees and animals. Racially, although it depicts the Powhatan people as "generalized" Indians, the film offers a mostly positive portrayal. Disney claimed its intentions were honorable and that the production utilized Native American consultants and voice-over actors.

Several consultants, however, including Shirley "Little Dove" Custalow McGowan, had strong objections after it was evident that Disney's story was inaccurate fiction. She criticized animators for designing the lead character as a shapely woman instead of an 11-year-old Pocahontas. Physically, Disney's Pocahontas is a multicultural pastiche of four women, according to the supervising animator, having Asian eyes, flowing hair, and white supermodel Christy Turlington's face and body. The phrases "Indian Barbie" and "Poca-Barbie" were the predominant descriptors in film reviews and widely used product endorsements.

Film Plot Versus History

In the Disney version, in 1607, a ship of British settlers, including John Smith and Governor John Ratcliffe, set sail for the New World seeking gold. The Englishmen build a fortress, James Town, while Smith encounters Pocahontas, who earlier argued with her father because she did not wish to marry Kocoum, a warrior. Pocahontas teaches Smith about life; they fall in love; Kocoum and other warriors engage in a fight with the English; and Chief Powhatan declares war, captures Smith, and plans to execute him. Pocahontas successfully stops Smith's execution, and when Ratcliffe attempts to shoot Powhatan, Smith saves his life by taking the bullet instead. The final scene shows Smith sailing back to England to heal while a lovelorn Pocahontas remains to help her people.

Historians concede that a mythology of Pocahontas serving political purposes has existed. However, the verified account of Pocahontas includes her being approximately 11 years old in 1607, when John Smith arrived and never saving him from execution but instead being kidnapped by the British in exchange for prisoners held by Chief Powhatan. She subsequently was required to convert to Christianity, and marry colonist John Rolfe, a 28-year-old widower, and was used as a symbol of the potential to "civilize savages." The

non-Hollywood Pocahontas, baptized as Rebecca Rolfe, was presented to society in England as evidence of the good will between the Powhatan and the settlers, and she tragically died at 20, homesick for her people. She was buried in Gravesend, England. Many critics have questioned whether Disney had a responsibility to portray an accurate account of a true historical figure, while others appreciate an American Indian heroine in a major film production despite the fictionalization.

Stereotypes and Commoditization

For the 5.2 million people in the United States who identify as Native American or American Indian/Alaska Native in combination with one or more other races, authentic depictions in popular culture are important, given Hollywood images of the past that ranged from evil “savages” to childlike superstitious creatures. There has been criticism of the mostly white/Asian amalgamated beauty standard and physical characteristics of the Disney Pocahontas.

Equally questionable was the more than \$125 million spent on merchandising *Pocahontas* with sales of faux Native clothing, cups, underwear, kids’ meals, and Barbie-like dolls. Of particular concern to many was the film’s repetition of the terms *savages* and *primitives*. Lyrics from the song “Savages, Savages” include “What can you expect/ From filthy little heathens?! Their whole disgusting race is like a curse./ Their skin’s a hellish red/ They’re only good when dead.”

University of Texas anthropologist Pauline Turner Strong has explained that for many Native Americans “savage” is the “S” word, potent and degrading. The song, however, can also be viewed as a demonstration of racism of the past and as part of history.

As one of the most influential media production companies in the world, Disney created a film that showcased a story of American Indians to millions, but one that also raises questions about the media’s treatment of ethnicity and race.

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See Also: Anglo-Powhatan Wars; Ethnic Studies; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Motion Pictures; Native Americans.

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Polish American Historical Association

The German and Soviet invasions of Poland in September 1939 spawned a wave of refugees, some of whom fled in the face of the advancing armies and some of whom were caught abroad, unable to return because of the subsequent German and Soviet occupations. A group of émigré scholars met in New York City on May 15, 1942, where they established the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences to continue their own academic activities and to promote the Polish cause.

The Institute was divided into four scholarly sections based on discipline, one of which was the Historical and Political Sciences Section headed by the prominent historian Oskar Halecki. At a meeting on September 11, 1942, Halecki suggested the creation of a special committee to conduct research on the history of the Poles in the United States. Thus was born the Commission on Research on Polish Immigration, headquartered in the Polish Museum of America in Chicago under the leadership of Mieczysław Haiman.

The commission held its first annual meeting in New York City in December 1943, followed



Furniture and artifacts preserved in the Polish Museum of America in Chicago, Illinois. The Polish American Historical Association traces its roots to a meeting of a group of wartime Polish émigré scholars that took place in New York City on May 15, 1942.

by its second, which convened at Saints Cyril and Methodius Seminary in Orchard Lake, Michigan, in October of the following year. At this second meeting, the members voted to change the name of the organization to the Polish-American Historical Commission and to begin publishing an academic journal they named *Polish-American Studies*. Three years later, no doubt because of the negative stigma attached to “hyphenated Americans,” at its midyear meeting in June 1947, the members voted to discard the hyphens in its name and its journal and to seek membership in the American Historical Association and the Catholic Historical Association.

The early membership of the organization consisted primarily of priests and nuns, with a sprinkling of secular teachers and researchers. Most were not trained academics, and the early issues of the journal, while providing interesting information, could hardly be called scholarly in nature. Following the death of Haiman in January 1949, the organization once again changed its name to the Polish American Historical Association (PAHA). The organization also came increasingly under clerical leadership, with two of the more prominent leaders being Rev. Joseph Swastek,

who served as president and was the longtime editor of its journal, and Rev. Mieczysław J. Madaj, a president and long-term executive secretary who gradually assumed a leading role from the 1960s through the mid-1980s. Another obvious reflection of clerical influence was the removal of the headquarters from Chicago to St. Mary’s College in Orchard Lake, Michigan, in 1950.

Beginning in the 1960s, Madaj and Eugene Kusielewicz began a movement to attract more secular academics to the organization and to increase its professional nature by linking its annual meetings to those of the American Historical Association and offering an annual Haiman Award to recognize scholarship on the Polish American experience. Both of the latter changes took place in 1965. In 1969, the headquarters was again moved from St. Mary’s College to Madaj’s home base at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Mundelein, Illinois, but it soon migrated once again, back to the Polish Museum of America, where it was incorporated as a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization on October 16, 1972. In 1975, the American Historical Association accepted PAHA’s application for status as an affiliate society, and five years later, PAHA became a contributor to the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History.

By the early 1970s, PAHA was attracting the attention of younger scholars interested in pursuing research on ethnic and immigration history. One of these, Frank Renkiewicz, was named editor of *Polish American Studies* in 1972, and quickly changed its appearance and professionalized its manuscript review process and content. Concurrent with these changes was a gradual shift from a primarily clerical to a primarily secular membership and leadership during the late 1970s.

With this came a renewed interest in promoting serious scholarship, leading to the establishment of the Halecki Prize for the best book on Polish American history and culture in 1981, followed by additional awards including the Swastek Prize for the best article appearing in the organization’s journal, the Stanley Kulczycki Prize for graduate and postgraduate research, a Creative Arts Prize, a Distinguished Service Award, a Civic Achievement Award for those engaged in local projects, and the Amicus Poloniae Award, bestowed on people who were not of Polish heritage but made contributions to the study of Polonia.

In 1998, PAHA returned briefly to St. Mary's College before signing an agreement for permanent offices and archival space at Central Connecticut State University in New Britain, Connecticut, in 2004. An interdisciplinary organization with members in several countries, PAHA publishes scholarship in all fields of the humanities and social sciences, sponsors an annual academic conference, provides major funding for the Ohio University Press Polish and Polish American Studies Series, and supports other worthy scholarly projects. In 2008, *Polish American Studies* joined the History Cooperative developed by the University of Illinois and became a member of the JSTOR (Journal Storage) archival project, the premier academic repository for full-text electronic history journals.

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See Also: American Council for Polish Culture; Immigration History Research Center; Polish Americans.

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in eastern Europe between Russia and Germany, its modern borders resulted from Soviet demands for substantial portions of eastern Poland and the Allies' wish to compensate Poland to some extent with areas formerly in Germany. With a population of more than 38 million, Poland is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union. Though historically a multicultural, multireligious state, because of the enforced border changes and the destruction of 6 million Poles, one-half of them Jews, by the Germans and Russians during the war, it is today a nation that is composed of over 96 percent ethnic Poles, while more than 88 percent of whom identify themselves as Catholics. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, nearly 10 million people claim to be of Polish descent, ranking this group as the sixth-largest overall.

Historical Development

Prior to 1870, Polish immigration was largely that of individuals or single families, with an occasional small group. The first recorded presence of Poles in America was three or four skilled artisans who arrived in Jamestown in 1608 and a handful of settlers who appeared in the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. Most of the Poles in each colony were probably Protestants, since Catholics were banned in Jamestown, and it is known that some Poles moved to the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands to be among coreligionists.

During the American Revolution, several Poles were prominent as supporters of the colonists' quest for independence. The principal sales agent for Continental Congress securities in Europe was Pieter Stadnitski, whose family had migrated from Poland to the Netherlands. In North America, Haym Salomon, a Polish Jew, was arrested by the British at least twice for pro-revolutionary sympathies. He loaned money to the Continental Congress to keep the revolution afloat and also assisted individual members of the congress to remain in Philadelphia.

The two best-known Poles in the revolution were Kazimierz Pułaski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko. As a volunteer aide, Pułaski was cited for his role in saving the Continental Army at the Battle of Brandywine, after which General George Washington appointed him a brigadier general and Commander of the Horse, for which he is often referred

Polish Americans

Poland has existed over the centuries in various forms, with widely changing borders. Its current configuration is a result of World War II, when it was the only Allied nation to lose territory as an outcome of being on the winning side. Located

to as the Father of the American Cavalry. He was mortally wounded during the Franco-American siege of Charleston, South Carolina, in October 1779. By presidential proclamation, October 11 was established as “Pulaski Day,” and on November 6, 2009, he became only the seventh person to be accorded honorary American citizenship.

Tadeusz Kosciuszko arrived in the late summer of 1776. As a talented engineering officer, he was named chief engineer of the northern Army under General Horatio Gates. Kosciuszko played a critical role in the American victory at Saratoga that led to the French Alliance, and he was also the chief engineer for the construction of West Point, today the site of the U.S. Military Academy. He is also known for having penned a will in which he left his American estate to purchase the freedom of enslaved people and provide for their education.

Between 1783 and 1870, Polish immigration continued to be mostly that of individuals, except for three specific occasions. First, political exiles from the November Uprising of 1830–31 arrived, beginning with a group of 234 who landed in New York in March 1834. An estimated 580 arrived by 1837. To maintain contact with one another and promote the Polish cause, they formed the Association of Poles in America, the first Polish organization in America.

Similarly, in the wake of the revolution in 1846, an estimated 500 more Poles arrived by 1851. They formed the Democratic Society of Polish Exiles in America, with ties to a parent group in Paris. Among the early exiles were Marie E. Zakrzewska, who founded the New England Hospital for Women and Children; Ernestine Potocka Rose, who was largely responsible for the passage of the first married woman’s property act; Gaspar Tochman, who founded the Polish-Slavonian Literary Society; sculptor Henryk Dmochowski-Saunders, who created busts of Kosciuszko and Pułaski that were placed in the U.S. Capitol building; romantic poet Cyprian Norwid; the antislavery editor of the *Deutsche Schnellpost* Jan Tyssowski; and future Civil War Union generals Wladimir Krzyzanowski, Joseph Kargé, and Albin Schoepf.

In 1854, the first group of economic settlers arrived in Texas under the Franciscan Rev. Leopold Moczygeba. Eventually numbering some 1,500, they founded the colony of Panna Maria,

the oldest recognizably Polish settlement in the United States. By 1870, there some 50,000 Poles in 20 recognizably Polish settlements located primarily in Texas, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and New York. These settlers were the precursors of a mass migration of an estimated 1.5 million Poles “for bread,” to use the phrase popular among Polish historians, between 1870 and 1914.

During these years, 49 percent came from Russian-occupied Poland, 47 percent from Austrian Galicia, and the remaining 4 percent from German Poland. The typical immigrant was a single agricultural laborer between the ages of 14 and 44, with two-thirds being male. Although 64.5 percent had been engaged in agriculture in Poland, about 90 percent settled in urban industrial areas in America, mostly in the quadrant from New England to Pennsylvania and west to the Mississippi River.

“Polonia”

It was during this period of mass migrations that the larger infrastructure of “Polonia” was established. A deep division between a clerical faction, which promoted Polish American unity through Catholicism, and a secular faction, which promoted the idea that anyone supporting the Polish cause, regardless of ethnic or religious background, was welcome, led to the founding of the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Polish National Alliance. Bitter disputes raged between the two for decades, preventing formation of a unified national ethnic organization, but each provided valuable benefits to its members in the form of low-cost insurance, leadership opportunities, educational benefits, and other support.

Both espoused assistance for the restoration of Poland’s independence, as did the Polish Falcons, an athletic association much like the German Turnverein, which assisted in the creation of a Polish army from among the immigrant communities in America and Canada to fight for the Allies in France during World War I.

Dissent also marked Polish religious affairs in America. Jewish Poles tended to join Jewish organizations, with only a minority identifying as Polish. Among Catholics, serious opposition arose to the Irish domination of the American Catholic hierarchy and its dismissive attitude toward

Polish customs and tradition. The latter resulted in the formation of the Polish National Catholic Church as an alternative for more nationalist-minded Poles, and in lengthy quarrels with Irish bishops within the Catholic Church.

Beginning in the first decade of the 20th century, Poles were among the stronger supporters of unionization. In large numbers, they joined the United Mine Workers, the United Textile Workers of America, the Industrial Workers of the World, and later the Congress of Industrial Organizations, where they, along with other Slavic workers, are estimated to have constituted about 40 percent of the original membership. Notable leaders included David Dubinsky, Frank Wachter, John Kikulski, Leo Krzycki, Stanisław Rokosz, Stanley Nowak, and Joseph Yablonski, as well as the later American Federation of Labor leader Richard Trumka.

Following World War II, between 1945 and 1966, some 225,000 Poles entered the United States, mostly anticommunist refugees. These included a higher proportion of intellectuals, scientists, journalists, and political leaders than in previous migrations. Occupationally, 16.3 percent were executives, 29.5 percent professionals or semiprofessionals, 16.6 percent skilled workers, and 16.3 percent unskilled workers. Beginning with the relaxation of immigration laws in 1965, some 178,000 Poles arrived as immigrants, and another 957,000 entered the United States as temporary visitors by 1990. Of these, about 35,000 were political refugees of the Solidarity movement. Again, a high proportion of these were engaged in professional, managerial, technical, and sales occupations.

Cultural Impact on the United States

Among the most important organizations promoting Polish history and culture in America are the Polish American Historical Association, the Kosciuszko Foundation, the Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences of America, the American Council for Polish Culture, and the Polish Museum of America. Polish Americans have also made major contributions to nearly all facets of American cultural life. Important political leaders have included Zbigniew Brzezinski, John Gronouski, Barbara Mikulski, Edmund Muskie, Roman Pucinski, Dan Rostenkowski, and Clement Zablocki. Film producers Samuel Goldwyn and the Warner Brothers

were major developers of the American motion picture industry, as were directors Stanley Kubrick, Joseph Mankiewicz, and Roman Polanski, along with popular performing artists Charles Bronson, Gilda Gray, Ted Knight, Linda Kozlowski, Carole Landis, Pola Negri, and Stephanie Powers. Artists such as Magdalena Abakanowicz, Władysław Benda, Richard Bolesławski, Wojciech Fangor, Sigmund Menkes, Elie Nadelman, and Korczak Ziolkowski have established national and international reputations, as have entrepreneurs Max Factor, Barbara Johnson, Edward Pizsek, Helena Rubinstein, and Martha Stewart.

Poles have contributed as scientists and engineers to everything from inventing the moon rover and the electric mixer to preventing polio. Notables include Paul Baron, Mieczysław Bekker, Richard Feynman, Casimir Funk, Ralph Modjeski, Frank Piasecki, Stephen Poplawski, Albert Sabin, Andrew Schally, Stanisław Ulam, Frank Wilczek, and Steve Wozniak. Music has been enriched by Emanuel Ax, Pat Benetar, Rik Fox, Josef Hofmann, Bronisław Kaper, Jan Kiepura, Pee Wee King, Gene Krupa, Liberace, Helena Modjeska, Karen O, Artur Rodzinski, Artur Rubinstein, Ritchie Sambora, Leopold Stokowski, and Bobby Vinton. Journalism has benefited from such well-known names as Mika Brzezinski, Robert Goralski, Michelle Kosinski, Jim Miklaszewski, Andrew Nagorski, Billy Packer, Mike Royko, and David Seymour. There is hardly a field of endeavor in which Polish Americans are not among the prominent members.

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See Also: American Revolution; Civil War, U.S.; Dillingham Commission (United States Immigration Commission); Immigration Acts; Polish American Historical Association.

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Political Correctness

The phrase “political correctness” (as well as its variant, “P.C.”) has several potential meanings but generally denotes efforts that aim to remove offensive or potentially offensive language toward African Americans, as well as other racial/ethnic minority groups, women, gays and lesbians, and other historically marginalized social groups, from print and public speech. The phrase is also used in reference to efforts designed to bring about greater visibility and inclusion of such groups within academic curricula, particularly within literature and social science courses. Critics of these efforts most often use the expression “political correctness” in a pejorative context.

Nevertheless, the principles of political correctness live on, particularly in higher education. These principles attract both supporters and opponents, depending upon one’s personal perspective as to whether such principles are regarded as desirable for American society. At its core, political correctness promotes the concept of increased awareness and sensitivity toward racial/ethnic, religious, gender, sexuality, and other minority groups as a worthwhile goal for American society, but not everyone agrees with either this principle or the manner in which this goal is implemented.

Political correctness is a relatively recent phenomenon that arose from the increased visibility and awareness of the social experiences of minority groups in American society in the wake of the civil rights, women’s rights, and gay rights movements. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, several universities across the United States sought to diversify their campuses by actively recruiting minority students and faculty, as well as designing to be more inclusive of non-white and nonmale perspectives and requiring

students to take multicultural courses as part of the general education curriculum.

Some universities implemented speech codes, which banned certain words or language deemed offensive from campus, or established disciplinary procedures for persons who uttered such language. At times, these policies constituted censorship, an unconstitutional infringement on freedom of speech, so many universities abolished speech codes by the mid- to late 1990s in favor of promoting calls for greater tolerance of diversity on campus.

Debates over political correctness reflect larger sociocultural divisions in American society over desired values and ethics, along with the general manner in which citizens envision the nation. Given this, battles over political correctness represent one dimension of the nation’s contentious “culture wars,” which have received considerable media coverage since the 1970s.

American Indian Mascots

The topic of Native American imagery and ethnic identities serving as mascots for high school, collegiate, and professional sports teams has generated considerable and passionate controversy over the past three decades. At issue are questions regarding the appropriateness, or lack thereof, of team names, mascots, and cheerleading rituals that invoke American Indian symbolism. Further compounding this matter is the fact that although numerous athletic teams have Native American-themed logos (such as the Cleveland Indians, Florida State Seminoles, Kansas City Chiefs, and Washington Redskins), the vast majority of athletes and virtually all of the coaches and owners of these teams are not of American Indian heritage.

Critics of Native American mascots, including Richard Estrada and Ward Churchill, point out the double standard of political correctness by noting that the use of other ethnic groups’ names and symbolism as mascots would be deemed highly offensive and intolerable in American society. Only when pertaining to American Indians is such behavior condoned and vehemently defended. Opponents of such mascots claim that generic team names such as “Indians,” “Braves,” and “Chiefs” homogenize the diverse experiences of indigenous people by

falsely implying the existence of a singular Native American culture. Others have claimed, specifically, that the term *Redskins* and the Cleveland Indians' logo of a reddish-complexioned and grinning, bucktoothed Native American caricature are racially offensive icons.

Supporters of American Indian mascots claim that such team names and imagery intend to honor, rather than demean, Native Americans and that attempts to stifle these mascots constitute politically correct hypersensitivity. Sports fans tend to be highly defensive of their respective teams, and discussions regarding the appropriateness of American Indian mascots have sparked fierce opposition. Still, few would assert that hypothetical sports logos such as "New York Jews" or "Washington Blackskins" pay homage to Jewish or African American history and culture.

As a result, some teams have dropped their Native American mascots. Stanford University changed its logo from "Indian" to "Cardinal" in 1970, and St. John's University modified its "Redmen" moniker to "Red Storm" in 1994. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) banned the use of Native American mascots by sports teams during postseason competitions in 2005, although it granted certain exceptions to colleges and universities that used specific names with the permission of the respective tribal group (such as the Florida State Seminoles and Utah Utes).

Multiculturalism and Diversity Training

Since the 1980s, many colleges, universities, and workplaces have implemented mandatory diversity training programs designed to heighten student, faculty, and employee awareness of racial/ethnic, gender, religious, and sexuality differences and to cultivate a more harmonious environment. This transition toward a social philosophy of multiculturalism, as opposed to assimilation or Anglo conformity, grew out of the post-Civil Rights era, in which progressive activists began to conceptualize the United States as a "salad bowl" rather than a "melting pot."

It must be noted, however, that pluralism (ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic) has existed in American society since the colonial era, although prior to the 1960s, such diversity was often viewed suspiciously and as a potential

threat to mainstream Anglo-Protestant heritage and identity. Whereas Anglo conformity assimilation paradigms encouraged, or even demanded, that ethnic minority groups shed their respective cultural lifestyles as quickly as possible in order to adopt those of the dominant society, multiculturalism exalts group differences and envisions ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity as something that enriches American society.

The proliferation of mandatory cultural diversity programming and workshops throughout the 1980s and 1990s spawned a highly profitable multicultural industry, with notable diversity training agencies including the American Society for Training and Development, the Conference Board, and the Society for Human Resource Development. A variety of different approaches toward diversity training emerged as a result of competing ideas as to what constituted adequate diversity training, generating criticism.

The "isms" approach, popular in the 1980s and early to mid-1990s, attempted to make students and employees more aware of various forms of inequality and oppression in American society, such as racism, sexism, and heterosexism (homophobia), through activities and vignettes that often engaged in mock role reversal. Some critics of the "isms" approach labeled it "straight white male bashing," while others pointed out that issues of power and privilege are always relative and never absolute—a point that the "isms" approach often neglected to take into consideration. Antiracist activist Jane Elliot, famous for her "brown eyes–blue eyes" workshop, remains the most well-known proponent of the "isms" approach.

Another approach toward diversity training, known as the "cultures" approach, aimed to raise individuals' awareness of the cultural lifestyles of people different from themselves. This approach often consisted of performances that highlighted foods, dances, music, and artwork traditionally associated with particular groups, or workshops that informed participants of the ways of life of different groups. Critics noted that exposing individuals to aesthetic and colorful displays of cultural differences did little to stem intergroup conflict, as such performances centered on the "safe" aspects of group differences while allowing stereotypes, prejudices, and misunderstandings to remain unexamined and unchallenged.

Others pointed out that the “cultures” approach typically invoked superficial generalizations about specific groups. In a fast-paced and highly competitive ethnically diverse corporate setting, for example, how practical or effective would a diversity seminar that features a group of Mexican Americans wearing sombreros and dancing to mariachi music be in fostering the social knowledge necessary for employees to cultivate successful working relationships across group lines?

Criticism and Defense of Political Correctness

Those on the political right have led most of the backlash against political correctness. Conservative critics of multiculturalism and diversity programming, such as economist Thomas Sowell and political pundit Dinesh D’Souza, contend that such efforts actually exacerbate, rather than alleviate, social divisions among students at colleges and universities. Such critics claim that attempts to promote campus diversity ironically foment tensions between and among different racial and ethnic groups, despite administrative intentions to cultivate greater tolerance and tranquility.

For example, Sowell has asserted that administrators commonly treat the executive boards of ethnic minority student organizations as the de facto spokespersons for their respective ethnic student bodies. In this regard, Sowell claims, administrators assume that the demands, grievances, opinions, and agenda of a campus’s black or Latino student organizations accurately reflect and represent those of the campus’s overall black or Latino student populations. Because of the high levels of support that they receive on the part of the administration, their high degree of visibility on campus, and the prominent role they play in campus social life, ethnic student organizations become flashpoints around which the presumed authenticity of ethnic minority students’ identities are measured.

Students who do not join their respective ethnic organization or participate in its activities may face ridicule from members on the grounds that nonparticipants allegedly lack pride in their respective heritage, are “sell-outs,” or are more closely allied with whites. D’Souza has criticized efforts to diversify curricula by claiming that revising courses in order to incorporate nonwhite, non-Western, and female perspectives dilutes the

quality and intellectual rigor of such courses by rooting academia in identity politics rather than scholarship.

On the other hand, supporters of ethnic student organizations point out that the overwhelming majority of students and faculty at most liberal arts colleges and universities across the nation are white, and many have had little prior exposure to or contact with persons of color. Students of color frequently experience a certain degree of social alienation on campus and in the classroom within this context, and ethnic student organizations serve to provide minority students with a positive social outlet that addresses the emotional, academic, cultural, and recreational needs of such students by offering them a space to meet with others who share similar experiences.

Observers have noted that even with the recent move in higher education toward multiculturalism, the content of social sciences and humanities courses still focuses primarily on white, Western, male experiences and ideas. American history courses are taught largely from the perspective of white middle- and upper-middle-class males, with glaring omissions in such courses regarding the historical experiences of American Indians, African Americans, women, and other minority groups. World history courses often center heavily on the histories of, and wars waged by, western European nations, with minimal focus on the social, political, economic, and cultural consequences of European colonialism on non-European peoples in other regions of the world. Among the activities promoted by ethnic student organizations on college campuses include offering educational seminars, talks, workshops, and conferences on these traditionally neglected dimensions of humanities and social science courses.

Although conservatives vehemently decry political correctness as intolerant, undemocratic, Marxist-Leninist, and un-American, the right wing engages in its own versions of political correctness that attempt to designate appropriate and inappropriate thoughts and to stifle the free exchange of speech. During the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, for example, numerous conservative political figures and television and radio pundits admonished those who opposed the war as either allegedly failing to “support the troops” or of “supporting the terrorists” in an effort to silence criticisms of the war

or of President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney's foreign policy.

In the years since September 11, 2001, wearing an American flag lapel pin has become such a standard practice among political figures that those who opt not to wear a pin have faced criticism for being "unpatriotic." This issue received considerable attention during the 2008 presidential primaries, when Barack Obama refrained from wearing a lapel flag. Others have also pointed out that discourses of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American society are often slanted with a pro-Israeli/anti-Palestinian bias, and those who hold other perspectives on this issue, or who draw attention to this bias, face the risk of being labeled "anti-Semitic."

Recent Issues

Controversy over the societal consequences of political correctness escalated during the spring of 2007 following the on-air remarks of talk radio host Don Imus regarding the Rutgers University women's basketball team. While contrasting the physical appearances of the University of Tennessee's female players with those of Rutgers the morning after the NCAA women's championship game, Imus described the Rutgers team—which consisted of eight African American players and two white players—as "some rough girls" and "some nappy-headed hos." Imus's comments immediately sparked protests and calls for his dismissal from CBS Radio from critics such as Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson, and others who deemed his words both racist and sexist. CBS President Les Moonves fired Imus one week later amid a firestorm of controversy. Imus's defenders chalked up his firing to politically correct hypocrisy and countered that similar comments uttered frequently by African American rappers occur unnoticed within American society. Cultural critic Roger Kimball blogged:

I don't have much time for vulgarians like Don Imus. But I am ready to give him if not three then at least two cheers. His brand of irreverence is not everyone's cup of tea. But the idea that he should be pilloried and hounded out of his job because [Al] Sharpton and [Jesse] Jackson managed to whip up a frenzied, racially inspired campaign against him is nothing less than disgusting.

Since the mid-2000s, conservatives have challenged the alleged liberal biases of professors and the general campus culture of several colleges and universities across the nation. Spearheaded by David Horowitz, a liberal-turned-conservative activist who openly accuses higher education of promoting "leftist indoctrination," conservatives over the past decade sought to advance an Academic Bill of Rights that aimed to protect conservative-minded faculty and students from being denied promotion and tenure, or being penalized academically, respectively, for espousing points of view that ran counter to the allegedly hegemonic liberal social climates of many colleges and universities. The Academic Bill of Rights and its major proponent, the conservative organization Students for Academic Freedom, declined in size and significance by the end of the 2000s.

However, the movement did exert enough influence during its heyday to prompt the Pennsylvania state legislature in 2005 to conduct a series of hearings on whether a "politically correct" and "liberal" bias existed within the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education and state-related universities such as Temple University and the University of Pittsburgh. Critics referred to such investigations as "right-wing witch-hunts" that were aimed almost uniformly at social sciences and humanities departments, ethnic studies, and women's studies courses. The generally conservative viewpoints of professors in economics and business administration departments did not generate criticism from Horowitz's efforts, illustrating brilliantly that what is considered to be "politicized" speech almost always consists of speech that is critical of, rather than in support of, the status quo within society.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Ethics; Tolerance.

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Politics and Ethnic Diversity

The dynamics of ethnicity have long played a role in American politics, ranging from deliberate attempts by political candidates and parties to attract voters of particular racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, to the subtle use of racial and ethnic phenomena as “wedge issues” to polarize the electorate. The latter strategy relies on a “divide and conquer” approach aimed at pitting the dominant, majority group (white voters) against particular racial and ethnic minority groups by invoking political discourses that depict African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, immigrants, or others as posing an alleged threat to the interests of white voters or as incompatible with, or antithetical to, the American nation. The Republican and Democratic Parties have both engaged in racial and ethnic politics over the years, although the intended targets of such political tactics have shifted as the nation’s demographics have shifted.

The subject of politics and ethnic diversity generated significant media interest following the 2012 presidential election, in which Democratic incumbent Barack Obama won a decisive reelection victory against Republican challenger Mitt Romney. Despite widespread predictions of a close contest and strong optimism among Republicans of a Romney victory, Obama accumulated 332 electoral votes. Following the election, media analysis focused on the relative ease with which Obama defeated Romney, with much credit given to Obama’s strong level of support among African American, Latino, and Asian American voters.

The outcome of the 2012 election led media personalities and political insiders from both major parties to contemplate the future of ethnic dynamics on American politics in coming years.

Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

During the early years of the republic, ethnic politics focused primarily around issues of slavery and the subjugation and removal of American Indians from lands desired by ruling elites for settlement and development. However, the influx of millions of Irish Catholics during the 1840s and 1850s made immigration a volatile political issue for the first time in the nation’s history—a phenomenon that persists to this day. During this period, the American Party (the Know-Nothing Party) emerged.

The Know-Nothings called for restrictions on immigration and for increasing from five to 21 years the required length of residency before an immigrant could apply to become a naturalized citizen. In the 1856 presidential election, the Know-Nothings nominated former President Millard Fillmore as their candidate, but Fillmore only managed to win Maryland. The Know-Nothings disbanded over the next several years as the nation diverted its attention from immigration to the more pressing issues of slavery and the Civil War.

Following the Civil War, the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution conferred American citizenship, and consequently the right to vote, to African Americans. Black voters overwhelmingly supported the Republican Party over the next 70 years, largely because “Lincoln freed the slaves,” and Republicans in Congress supported Reconstruction efforts to ensure blacks their rights in the south. Several blacks won election to public office in the south during Reconstruction. Pinckney Pinchback, the son of a mulatto slave mother and white slave master father, became the nation’s first African American governor when he briefly served as governor of Louisiana from December 1872 to January 1873.

Heavy waves of immigration during the late 19th and early 20th centuries brought large numbers of Irish, Italian, Jewish, and other European ethnic groups to American shores. Many immigrants settled in or near the large cities of the eastern seaboard, where local political machines

attempted to capture their votes in exchange for providing immigrants with food, housing, jobs, or other services.

The most well-known political machine, Tammany Hall, operated in New York City and brought thousands of Irish Americans into city politics. William Russell Grace became New York City's first Irish American and first Roman Catholic mayor in 1881. By the early 1900s, Irish Americans had become crucial in local politics in New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

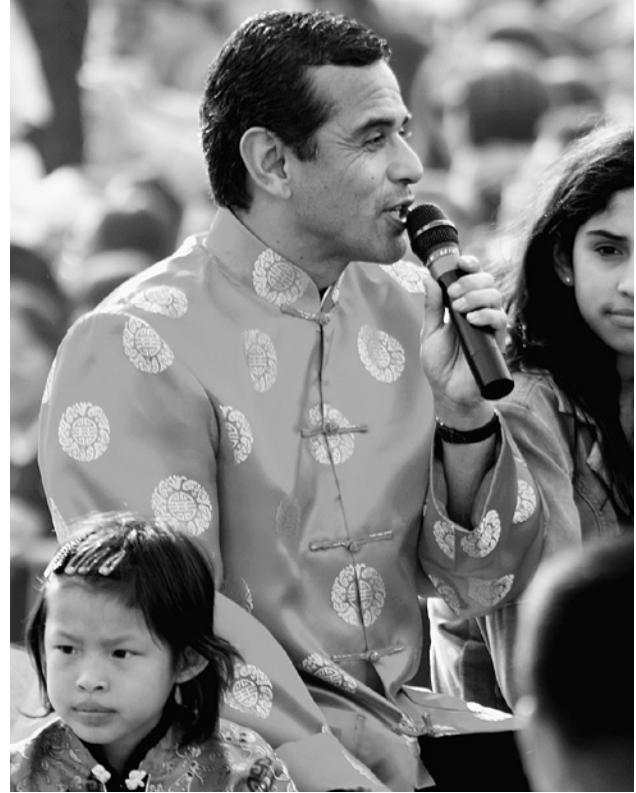
By 1940, Italian American mayors had been elected in New York City, New Orleans, and San Francisco. Eastern European Jews became instrumental during the U.S. labor movement of the early 20th century and have overwhelmingly supported the Democratic Party since the 1920s.

Al Smith, the first Irish Catholic presidential candidate, ran unsuccessfully for the nation's top political office in 1928, although Smith championed many of the policies and reforms that eventually became part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's (elected in 1932) New Deal during the Great Depression. Capitalizing on the Republican Party's anti-immigrant positions of the 1920s, as espoused by Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, as well as the difficult economic times of the 1930s, Roosevelt assembled a multiethnic political coalition consisting of Irish, Italian, and Jewish Americans, working-class Anglo-Protestants, Mexican Americans, and African Americans.

Mid- to Late Twentieth Century

President Roosevelt's New Deal coalition established the Democratic Party as the dominant party in U.S. politics over the next two generations, as Democratic candidates won eight of 12 presidential elections between 1932 and 1976. However, the success of key civil rights legislation during the administration of Lyndon Johnson, such as the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, has been cited as a major factor in turning large numbers of white voters away from the Democratic Party and toward the Republican Party. The Civil Rights Act outlawed racial segregation in public accommodations, and it effectively rescinded the widespread Jim Crow practices of the U.S. south.

The Voting Rights Act rescinded poll taxes and other tactics, also rampant in the south, aimed at



Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, the city's first Mexican American mayor in more than 130 years, celebrating with the city's Chinese community at the 107th annual Golden Dragon Parade in 2006.

limiting the number of African Americans deemed eligible to vote, thereby diluting the voting power of this community in states with large black populations. Johnson remarked upon signing the Civil Rights Act into law that the Democratic Party had conceded the southern states to the Republican Party for a generation; in reality, the U.S. south today is the most solidly Republican region of the nation—a phenomenal transition, given that the “Solid South” voted almost unanimously Democratic in presidential elections prior to the 1960s. Johnson also appointed the first African American to the U.S. Supreme Court: Thurgood Marshall in 1967.

Sensing opportunity with white southerners' newfound dissatisfaction toward the Democratic Party, Republicans began a highly successful, long-term campaign to win over this constituency, beginning in the late 1960s. Designated the “southern strategy,” this initiative consisted of pandering to

white southerners' resentment of civil rights legislation and African Americans' social and political advancements. The strategy championed "states' rights" (a popular refrain from the Jim Crow era, which implied that federal efforts to bring about racial integration were unconstitutional), appealing to religious conservatism, promising to restore "law and order," and vehemently opposing school busing, affirmative action policies, and welfare.

Meanwhile, African Americans shifted their political allegiance to the Democratic Party. Roosevelt was the first Democrat to win the majority of the black vote in 1936, and the Democratic presidential candidate's share of the black vote has only increased since then. Harry Truman won 77 percent of the black vote in 1948, whereas Johnson won 94 percent of the black vote in 1964. Blacks' newfound political power enabled African American candidates to win mayoral contests in several of the nation's largest cities.

Carl Stokes became the first African American elected mayor of a metropolis in 1967, in Cleveland. In 1973, Maynard Jackson was elected mayor of Atlanta, and Ernest Morial became mayor of New Orleans in 1978. Other early African American mayors of major U.S. cities include Harold Washington of Chicago (elected in 1983), Wilson Goode of Philadelphia (1987), and David Dinkins of New York City (1989).

One of the most prominent African American political figures in U.S. history, Tom Bradley, was elected mayor of Los Angeles in 1973 and served five terms until retiring in 1993. Highlights of Bradley's administration include Los Angeles's emergence as a global financial center and the nation's second-largest city, and successfully lobbying for Los Angeles to host the 1984 Summer Olympics. However, Bradley came under criticism during the 1992 Los Angeles riots amid widespread accusations of police misconduct toward the city's black and Latino communities.

In 1982, Bradley became the first African American to run for governor of California. Although polls on the eve of the election suggested that Bradley would win the contest by a relatively comfortable margin, he lost to his Republican opponent, George Deukmejian, of Armenian heritage. Bradley's stunning defeat led to the invention of the political science term *the Bradley effect*, which implies that African Americans running against

white opponents in a predominantly white electorate experience inaccurate polling data because of white voters' alleged reluctance to indicate their underlying opposition to black candidates, out of fears of being perceived as racist.

Ronald Reagan became the nation's 40th president in 1980 after defeating Jimmy Carter in a landslide election. Reagan famously praised a delegation of Asian Americans for their "values" and "success" during a February 1984 speech at the White House, reifying the "model minority" image of Asians. Critics have challenged the "model minority" thesis for its blatant racial favoritism. Others assert that one-dimension depictions of Asian Americans overlook the tremendous socioeconomic diversity within this population while serving as a trope with which to deny the persistence of racial inequalities in society. In August 1988, Reagan signed a bill that issued a federal apology for the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, and awarded \$20,000 as reparations to each living person who had been relocated under Executive Order 9066.

Reagan's vice president, George Herbert Walker Bush, defeated Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, the son of Greek immigrants, in the 1988 presidential election. The 1988 contest featured one of the most notable political advertisements in history, the notorious "Willie Horton" ad, run by the Bush campaign. Devised by Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater, the ad criticized a Massachusetts weekend prison furlough program supported by Dukakis by focusing on an African American inmate convicted of murder. Willie Horton had raped a white woman in Maryland after stabbing her fiancé while on furlough in 1987. The ad, aired during the final weeks of the campaign, displayed a menacing mug shot of Horton and linked Dukakis to his crimes. Former presidential candidate Jesse Jackson criticized the ad as racist and pandering to white fears of black masculinity. Bush appointed Clarence Thomas, the second African American to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court, to replace the retiring Thurgood Marshall in 1991.

William Jefferson Clinton, the Democratic governor of Arkansas, defeated Bush to become the nation's 42nd president in 1992. Clinton's strong level of support among African Americans, as

well as his relatively high degree of awareness and insight into issues of importance to African American voters, earned him the affectionate designation as “the nation’s first black president” from some African American scholars. Clinton’s presidency occurred during a time in which the nation’s attention shifted from foreign policy concerns such as the Cold War and the Gulf War toward a preoccupation with domestic policy and social issues. These issues, including crime, immigration, welfare reform, and affirmative action, either implicitly or explicitly invoke racial and ethnic dimensions, and Clinton was forced to grapple with issues of race more than any president since Johnson.

During the 1994 midterm elections, the Republican Party regained control of both chambers of Congress for the first time since the 1950s, after picking up 52 seats in the House of Representatives and eight seats in the Senate. Deemed the “Year of the Angry White Male” by media outlets, the 1994 Republican revolution was spurred by the rightward shift of the American electorate on issues such as crime, taxes, gun control, and immigration, and it prompted Clinton to govern from a more centrist political stance for the duration of his presidency.

One high-profile California ballot referendum from 1994, Proposition 187, sought to exclude undocumented immigrants from public schools and hospitals, while also requiring public employees to report suspected illegal aliens to federal authorities. California voters approved Proposition 187 by a 59–41 percent margin, and its reverberations were felt nationwide. Many political experts considered that the massive public rallies against Proposition 187, staged largely by enraged Mexican American protesters in cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, provided a threatening scene to many white voters, contributing to the measure’s large margin of approval.

Clinton and Vice President Al Gore publicly opposed Proposition 187, whereas several key Republican figures, such as California Governor Pete Wilson, Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, and political advisor and commentator Pat Buchanan, adamantly supported the measure. Illegal immigration and crime dominated the 1994 California gubernatorial campaign, and Wilson’s strong anti-illegal alien rhetoric and

his wholehearted support for Proposition 187 enabled him to overcome a double-digit deficit in the polls and defeat his Democratic challenger, Kathleen Brown, to win reelection.

Political scientists credit Proposition 187 as a major factor in California’s transformation from a once reliably Republican state to a solidly Democratic state in recent years. Proposition 187, along with the strong anti-illegal immigration rhetoric espoused by Governor Wilson and California Republicans, alienated large segments of the state’s growing Latino and, to a lesser extent, Asian American communities, leading the majority of voters from these backgrounds to register as Democrats since 1994.

Shortly after its passage, a federal judge blocked implementation of Proposition 187 on grounds that it was unconstitutional. In 1999, California’s Democratic governor, Gray Davis (who succeeded Pete Wilson), dropped Proposition 187 from the courts, effectively killing the measure. Nevertheless, the fallout from the 1994 California campaign damaged the Republican Party’s reputation among many within the state’s growing minority constituencies.

Although opposed to Proposition 197, Clinton increased funding for the U.S. Border Patrol and increased deportations of foreigners with criminal records. Clinton also signed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) into law in September 1996, one month after he approved the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). Popularly termed “welfare reform,” PRWORA established work requirements and job training in exchange for public assistance, and it denied public assistance to legal immigrants. Welfare reform enjoyed strong bipartisan support, driven in part by racial stereotypes of black single mothers and allegations that immigrants entered the United States to obtain publicly funded services.

Clinton initiated a “national conversation on race” in June 1997, which attempted to heal the country’s racial and ethnic antagonisms in order to bring about “one America.” The Clinton administration assembled a commission of seven members, including scholars John Hope Franklin and Ronald Takaki, to serve as advisors to this racial initiative.

Recent Years: 2000 to 2012

The early 21st century witnessed an unprecedented rise in the number of racial and ethnic minorities elected to public office at the local, state, and federal levels. The changing complexion of America's political establishment corresponded to a dramatic shift in the nation's demographics. These changes signified a rapidly transforming U.S. electorate, particularly in key electoral states such as California, Texas, New York, Florida, Virginia, and Colorado.

Al Gore selected Connecticut Senator Joe Lieberman as his running mate during the 2000 presidential campaign, making Lieberman the first Jewish vice presidential candidate in U.S. history. The 2000 election ended in controversy, with the results of ballots cast in several southern Florida counties disputed by both major political parties. The contested results in Miami-Dade County took on an angle of ethnic antagonism that was reflected in emotionally charged public demonstrations between the respective supporters of Gore and his opponent, Texas Governor George W. Bush. The vast majority of African Americans backed the Democratic candidate, while the majority of Cuban Americans supported the Republican nominee.

Eventually, Bush was declared the official winner of Florida and, consequently, the presidency, by a mere 537-vote margin. Political insiders attribute Gore's loss in the Sunshine State to President Clinton's decision earlier that year to use federal agents to forcibly remove Élian González, a 6-year-old Cuban refugee, from the custody of his relatives in Miami in order to return González to his father in Cuba. The move angered many within the local Cuban American community, prompting rallies and turning sentiments against the Clinton–Gore administration.

Bush promised to govern as a “compassionate conservative” and assembled the most racially diverse presidential cabinet to that point in American history. Bush appointed three African Americans to high-level positions during his first term, including General Colin Powell as secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice as national security advisor, and Rod Paige as secretary of education. Bush also named Elaine Chao, a Taiwanese immigrant, as secretary of labor, and former California Congressman Norman Mineta, a Japanese American,

as secretary of transportation. Spencer Abraham, an Arab American of Lebanese descent, became Bush's secretary of energy, while Cuban American Mel Martínez was appointed secretary of housing and urban development. During his second term, Bush named Alberto González, a Mexican American, as attorney general, and Carlos Guitiérrez, a Cuban American, as secretary of commerce.

Despite Bush's relatively hawkish positions on foreign policy, espoused by the “Bush Doctrine” in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks that culminated in the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, Bush exhibited moderate views on immigration policy and lobbied for a guest worker program with Mexico. Bush's positions on immigration enabled him to improve his standing considerably with Latino voters, as he won 44 percent of the Latino vote during his 2004 reelection over Democratic Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. At the same time, however, advocates of stricter immigration controls within his party, such as Colorado Congressman Tom Tancredo, openly condemned Bush's views on immigration.

An outspoken critic of illegal immigration, Tancredo warned that immigration from Latin America, particularly Mexico, threatened to permanently change the ethnic composition, cultural values, and language of the United States through the alleged refusal of Latinos to acculturate into mainstream American society. As growing numbers of legal and illegal Mexican and Latin American immigrants settled in urban and suburban communities across the nation during the early 21st century, immigration emerged as a contentious political issue, reminiscent of the backlash against immigration in California during the 1990s that fostered Proposition 187.

Barack Obama, the son of a white mother and a Kenyan father, burst onto the national political scene in 2004 when he delivered the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention. He easily defeated his African American Republican challenger, Alan Keyes, to win election to the U.S. Senate in 2004 and become the only black senator at the time of his tenure. Touted as a rising star in the Democratic Party after his election, Obama generated a mass following through his persuasive rhetorical style, multicultural background and awareness, and outspoken criticism of

the war in Iraq. His quick rise through the ranks of the Democratic Party drew comparisons to John F. Kennedy, and Obama launched a historic campaign in 2008 that culminated in his landslide election over John McCain as the nation's first black president. Despite some concern within the media that Obama would suffer from the "Bradley Effect" and fail to become president, Obama won 95 percent of the African American vote, 78 percent of the Jewish vote, 67 percent of the Latino vote, and 62 percent of the Asian American vote, while capturing 43 percent of the white vote.

The milestone of Obama's successful presidential campaign overshadowed other significant political developments of the early 21st century; however, a number of other ethnic minority candidates from a variety of backgrounds won election to public office nationwide, as members of both major political parties. Michael Steele, the first black lieutenant governor in Maryland's history, served as chairman of the Republican National Committee from 2009 to 2011. Bobby Jindal, the first Indian American to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives since Dalip Singh Saund in 1963, was elected governor of Louisiana as a Republican in 2007. Jindal's election marked the first time in the nation's history that an Indian American had been elected governor of a state. In 2010, Nikki Haley, the daughter of Sikh immigrants from India, became the second Indian American to be elected governor of a state, when South Carolinians voted her to lead the Palmetto State.

After South Carolina Senator Jim DeMint resigned from the Senate in 2012, Haley appointed Congressman Tim Scott as DeMint's replacement. Scott is the first black senator since Obama, in 2008. Joseph Cao, the first Vietnamese American congressman, represented New Orleans in the U.S. House of Representatives from 2009 to 2011. Prominent Republican Mexican Americans to have won election as governor in recent years include Brian Sandoval of Nevada and Susana Martinez of New Mexico, both elected in 2010. Senators Marco Rubio of Florida and Ted Cruz of Texas, both Cuban Americans, are influential members of the Tea Party wing of the Republican Party.

Meanwhile, several prominent Democrats from underrepresented racial and ethnic backgrounds have also been elected over the past decade. During his first year in office, President

Obama nominated Sonia Sotomayor, of Nuyorican heritage, as the first Latina to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court. In May 2005, Antonio Villaraigosa, a second-generation Mexican American, became the first Latino mayor of Los Angeles in more than 130 years. As mayor of the nation's second-largest city, Villaraigosa has been touted as a promising "rising star" within the Democratic Party. Another Mexican American, Bill Richardson, served as governor of New Mexico from 2003 to 2011 and ran as a presidential candidate in 2008. Richardson previously served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and secretary of energy during the Clinton administration.

San Antonio Mayor Julián Castro, also Mexican American, delivered the keynote address at the 2012 Democratic National Convention, as the first Latino to deliver the keynote address at either major party's convention. Duval Patrick was elected governor of Massachusetts in 2006, becoming the first African American to be elected governor of a state since Douglas Wilder narrowly won election as governor of Virginia in 1989. Cory Booker, the African American mayor of Newark, New Jersey, has achieved nationwide recognition from his frequent media appearances on political news programming and at one time announced plans to run for the U.S. Senate.

Future Outlook

The racial and ethnic diversity of the nation's public officeholders will continue to increase as the nation's demographics diversify. During his reelection in 2012, President Obama carried 93 percent of the black vote, 73 percent of the Asian American vote, 71 percent of the Latino vote, and 39 percent of the white vote. Romney, on the other hand, won 59 percent of the white vote, and 88 percent of those who voted for Romney were white.

The low levels of support for Romney and the Republican Party among voters of various ethnic minority backgrounds during the 2012 election has evoked much political discourse as to the future of both the Republican and Democratic Parties, given the rapidly shifting demographic composition of American society.

Several media outlets, for example, repeatedly mentioned that the Republican Party's future prospects grow even dimmer, given the fact that approximately 50,000 Latinos turn 18, and thus

are eligible to vote, each month. Other political and media pundits have noted that by 2050, the U.S. population will be approximately 25 percent Latino and 10 percent Asian American. The implication is that these demographic trends spell disaster for the Republican Party, based on recent voting patterns.

Many have suggested that the Republican Party's low support among Latinos stems from its tough stance on immigration policy, opposition to the DREAM Act (a bill that would grant legalized status to persons brought to the United States illegally during childhood), and support for English-as-the-official-language legislation. Asian Americans have also shifted against the Republican Party, given that George H. W. Bush won 55 percent of the Asian vote in 1992.

Some analysts attribute the shift among Asian Americans toward the Democratic Party as a result of the Republican Party's immigration positions, as well as its recent gravitation toward the religious right, which has resulted in anti-scientific efforts to teach creationism in public schools and denial of global warming (significant because many Asian Americans are either immigrants who hold degrees in science or the children of scientists). Because of their rapidly growing numbers, Asian Americans have been described as "the next sleeping giant" in American politics.

However, one should not necessarily make bold future political calculations based on current voter preferences, because political winds shift frequently in response to changing social and cultural concerns. Furthermore, voting patterns do not stem solely from one's racial or ethnic background, but are influenced by a confluence of other factors, including social class, religious affiliation, and personal matters of importance to an individual.

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See Also: Amnesty; Civil Rights Movement; Presidency, U.S.

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Poll Taxes

Poll taxes, sometimes referred to as a tax per head, represent a specific payment required from individuals to the governing body before they are able to vote in elections. Poll taxes have existed throughout history in different nations, states, and municipalities. These taxes were first initiated during times of war as a way to generate additional revenue. Sometimes, these taxes have been unfairly used against certain groups of people, chiefly to prevent their ability to vote. In the American south, before the advent of the civil rights movement, poll taxes were often used to prevent African Americans from voting. Patterns related to poll taxes occur over time and space. When objectionable, poll taxes are frequently used along with other devices, such as literacy tests, to prevent one group from voting because of their race, color, home language, or other protected status.

Poll taxes are documented in the Book of Exodus and were also found in the Middle Ages in England and France. During the time of the Roman republic, citizens had two direct taxes to pay before they were able to vote in elections. Although the Roman taxes were different from most modern poll taxes, they were highly influential. In 1695, the French assessed the *capitation* during wartime. This tax was used to fund the

French armed forces, and the tax was assessed depending upon social class. This tax was in addition to the *taille*, the direct tax system of France. The English also used versions of poll taxes between the 13th and 17th centuries.

Often assessed during times of war, these taxes changed so that individuals were assessed an amount based on the value of their personal property. In times of war, poll taxes were often used as a means of generating needed revenue. All areas under English control, including the American colonies, were expected to contribute to this. As a way to prevent the wealthy from shirking their responsibilities, means were devised that were intended to prevent underpayment of taxes.

The hearth tax, for example, required every homeowner to pay a certain tax based on how many hearths were in the house. After the Glorious Revolution of 1689, the hearth tax was replaced with a window tax in which tax inspectors would count windows from the outside and not have to enter the privacy of people's homes. Failure to pay one's taxes precluded one's right to vote in elections.

United States

In the United States, poll taxes have played a role in attempts to preclude certain voters from exercising their rights to participate in the electoral process. Although poll taxes are not inherently discriminatory, many southern states used them as a means to prevent African Americans and other multicultural groups from voting during the late 19th century. These efforts to institute poll taxes occurred after passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which gave all men, regardless of race, the right to vote. This right to vote had not previously been guaranteed, but the proposal and ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and other legislation gave African Americans the right to vote after the Civil War. In the years immediately following the conclusion of the war, many African Americans voted, sometimes electing black members of Congress and other representatives.

During the latter half of the 19th century, many southern farmers struggled with falling prices for agricultural commodities. Seeking a scapegoat for their problems, many white voters set out to diminish the role of African Americans in elections

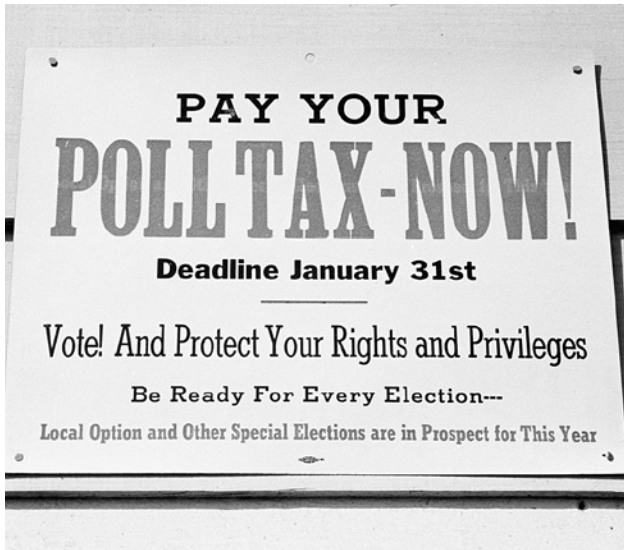
by removing their ability to vote. Throughout the southern states, white politicians created laws and restrictions that greatly affected people of color. These efforts included the Jim Crow laws, which segregated people of color from those who were white, creating social divides that were difficult to overcome.

During this period, poll taxes were also used as a requirement that must be met in order for an individual to vote. Poll taxes made it much more difficult for people who were poor to vote. Although there were poor whites as well as poor blacks, in some communities, the poll taxes were assessed only on African Americans. Poll taxes and other acts of segregation greatly reduced the number of African American voters participating in southern elections.

State and local governments that sought to circumvent the Fifteenth Amendment frequently did so solely to diminish the ability of African American, Latino, Asian, and other non-Caucasian people to vote. To that end, many poll tax statutes contained a "grandfather clause," which precluded any Caucasian male from the tax if his father or grandfather had voted before the tax's implementation. Poll taxes were often coupled with literacy tests, often administered only to non-whites, to effectively disenfranchise people of color.

Although many opposed poll taxes for this reason, in *Breedlove v. Suttles*, 302 U.S. 277 (1937), the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a Georgia poll tax that had been used to exclude African Americans from voting. The court made this ruling because the statute authorizing the poll tax indicated that it applied to everyone regardless of race, even though it was not assessed.

Without the right to vote, in many communities, African Americans, Asians, Latinos, Native Americans, and others were effectively excluded from the electoral process. This had the effect of ensuring that their access to schools, hospitals, government services, and colleges and universities was limited or completely curtailed. As African Americans and other people of color were unable to vote in elections for law enforcement agents or the judiciary, many believed that the criminal justice system was biased against them. The criminal justice system was unable to equitably resolve crimes against people of color or to provide them a fair hearing when accused of committing a crime.



A poll tax notice photographed in Mineola, Texas, in January 1939. The Supreme Court barred the use of poll taxes in state and local elections with its decision in *Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections* (1966).

Civil Rights Movement

Opposition to poll taxes grew during the first few decades of the 20th century. Groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began asserting that poll taxes were unconstitutional because they limited certain groups' ability to vote. In 1962, Congress proposed the Twenty-Fourth Amendment, which barred Congress or the states from imposing poll taxes in federal elections. Congress was responding to repeated complaints by many African Americans regarding disparate and discriminatory treatment that prevented them from participating in elections.

Coupled with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Twenty-Fourth Amendment greatly increased African American participation in federal elections, although it did nothing to regulate the use of poll taxes in state and municipal elections.

By this point, only four states had poll taxes: Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. The Supreme Court strengthened the protections provided by the Twenty-Fourth Amendment with its decision in *Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, 383 U.S. 663 (1966), which overturned the earlier decision in *Breedlove* and barred the use of poll taxes in state and local elections. The Court

held that poll taxes were unconstitutional, pursuant to the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, and that voter qualifications have no relationship to wealth.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 also helped end electoral practices that resulted in African Americans and other multicultural groups being denied the right to vote. The Voting Rights Act mirrors the language of the Fifteenth Amendment and prohibits states from engaging in behaviors or establishing practices or procedures that result in the denial of members of any groups of the right to vote because of their race or color. Intended to ban the use of literacy tests that had been used to prevent African Americans from voting, the Voting Rights Act also established a system that established federal oversight of the voting process nationally.

States with a history of engaging in discriminatory practices that prevented individuals from multicultural backgrounds from voting were precluded from implementing changes affecting voting without first having those changes approved by the U.S. Department of Justice. Through the Twenty-Fourth Amendment and the Voting Rights Act, substantial change occurred in many southern states, where voting had traditionally been the purview of less than 50 percent of the eligible population.

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See Also: African Americans; Bilingual Ballots; Civil Rights Acts; Constitutional Amendments; Freedom Riders; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Voting Rights Acts.

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Polynesian Americans

Polynesian Americans comprise Native Hawaiians, Samoans, Tahitians, Tongans, Indigenous Australians, native New Zealanders, Wallisians, Futunans, Tokelauan, Niueans, Fijians, Tuvaluans, Cook Islanders, Rotuman, Rapa Nui, and Maori, from over 1,000 islands across more than 70 million square miles (181 million square kilometers) in the central and southern Pacific Ocean region. A wide variety of languages are spoken by Polynesian Americans, including English, Hawaiian, Samoan, Fijian, Tongan, French, Tokelauan, Niuean, Rapa Nui, Spanish, and Rotuman. Anthropologists consider Polynesians to share genetic, linguistic, and cultural ancestry that dates back to the prehistoric Austronesian peoples who originated in Taiwan.

Many of the religious, navigational, agricultural, and weather-predicting customs are similar throughout Polynesia. The Polynesian American community is largely Christian, with most identifying as Mormons or Catholics. The most populous subcategories of Pacific Island Americans are Native Hawaiians, Samoans, Tongans, and Maori. The terms *Pacific Island American* and *Oceanian American* include Americans of Polynesian, Micronesian, and Melanesian descent. Historically, Polynesian Americans have been overrepresented, relative to their population, in agricultural and military careers.

According to the 2010 census, there are 540,013 Pacific Islands Americans, who account for 0.2 percent of the population of the United States. If those with partial Polynesian ancestry are included, that number more than doubles to 1,225,195, or 0.4 percent of the population. Large Polynesian American communities exist in Hawai'i, California, Alaska, Utah, Oregon, and Washington. "Samoan American" refers both to individuals from the independent nation of Samoa and to those from the U.S. territory of American Samoa. American Samoa has been an unincorporated territory of the United States since 1899. As such, American Samoans are U.S. nationals; this status accords a direct and simple path to U.S. citizenship.

During the U.S. occupation of American Samoa in World War II, American military personnel outnumbered native Samoans. This exchange

shaped the culture and encouraged emigration to the United States. As of the 2010 census, there were nearly four times as many people of Samoan descent living in the United States—primarily in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Honolulu, Las Vegas, Salt Lake City, Seattle, and Anchorage—than in American Samoa.

By the 20th century, nearly all Polynesian Americans were Christians, mostly Mormons. Many Polynesian Americans celebrate international holidays and festivals, including Diwali, Chinese New Year, and Pasifika. Polynesian American cuisine closely mirrors that of the native islands, with crayfish, seaweed, breadfruit, and coconut factoring heavily in many dishes. Rugby, Australian-rules football, and cricket are traditionally the most fashionable sports among Polynesian Americans, although American football and wrestling have gained in popularity.

Some American representations of Polynesian culture have not been initiated by Polynesian Americans—or especially authentic portrayals. After World War II, Tiki culture, which is a kitschy interpretation of various Polynesian customs, became fashionable in the United States. Some of the more successful expressions of Tiki culture include the television show *Gilligan's Island*, the fusion jazz music of Martin Denny and Les Baxter, and tropical-themed attire, nightclubs, and restaurants. Tiki culture was especially popular in the 1950s and 1960s, and a resurgence in interest occurred in the 1990s.

Cultural Influence

Significant contributions to the existing literature on the Polynesian American experience have been made by fiction writers (Kiana Davenport, Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl, Vilsoni Hereniko) and scholars (historians Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa and Herb Kawainui Kane; documentarian Haunani-Kay Trask). Polynesian American characters have been represented prominently in books (*Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre* and *Moloka'I Nui Ahina*), on stage (*Mele Kanikau* and *Think of a Garden*), on television (*North Shore*, *Living Lahaina*, and *Hawaii Five-O*), and on film (*Lilo & Stitch* and *Princess Kaiulani*). In addition, the inspiration for Earl Derr Biggers's fictional detective Charlie Chan was a Honolulu law enforcement officer named Chang Apana.

Daniel Akaka, the first U.S. senator with Hawai‘ian ancestry, served in the House of Representatives from 1977 to 1990 and in the Senate from 1990 to 2012. John D. Waihe‘e III became the first Native Hawai‘ian elected to a major office when he became governor of Hawai‘i in 1986, a post he held until 1994.

Polynesian Americans are represented throughout the entertainment industry. Among the earliest was Tahitian-born Anne Chevalier, credited as Reri, who starred in a series of 1930s films. Filmmaker-activist Kayo Hatta, dancer-choreographer Carrie Ann Inaba, and science fiction film director Richard Earl Cunha have made significant contributions behind the scenes. Dwayne “The Rock” Johnson, Keanu Reeves, and Jason Momoa have played leading roles in major Hollywood movies. Al Harrington, Mark Dacascos, and Anthony Ruivivar have been series regulars on network and cable television programs. Yvonne Elliman, Jason Scott Lee, and Loretta Ables Sayre have essayed leading roles in Broadway and West End productions.

Polynesian Americans have populated the ranks of professional sports in the United States for decades. In particular, football (Troy Polamalu, Esera Tuaolo, and Manti Te‘o), wrestling (Sam Fatu, Peter Maivia, Afa Anoa‘i, and Sika Anoa‘i), and rugby (Vaea Anitoni, Vahafolau Esikia, and Fifita Mounga) are popular among Polynesian Americans. Greg Louganis, who won one silver and four gold medals in diving at the 1976, 1984, and 1988 Olympic Games, is also of Polynesian descent.

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See Also: Australian Americans; Hawai‘ians (Native); Native Hawai‘ian Categorization (Essay); Pacific Islander Americans; Samoan Americans.

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Popular Music and Ethnic Diversity

America’s cultural identity (comprising class, race, language, religion, and gender) has shaped understanding of American music. The sources of popular music in America prior to the American Revolution were abundant. Indigenous inhabitants—Native Americans—were the primordial musicians, creating diverse sacred ceremonial sound with singing, chants, flutes, and percussion, reflecting ghost religion relationships with nature. The musical punctuation of Native Americans was characterized by pre-Columbian cultural diversity.

European exploration brought mostly amateur musicians, as different nations sought to exploit untapped resources to create continuous wealth. Early British influences could be heard in sea chanteys, featuring call-and-response phrasing; French trappers brought paddling songs as they opened inland river routes; and Puritans brought Elizabethan and Jacobean psalms. Indeed, the first popular English-language song in North America was a nursery rhyme called “Rock-a-Bye, Baby,” thought to have been penned by a *Mayflower* traveler describing the Native American practice of keeping swaddled babies in birch-bark cradles hung on tree limbs while kinfolk worked nearby. European ballads were transplanted to New England and then migrated slowly westward. Enslaved people carried West African music to the south, and Spanish missionaries introduced church music to indigenous populations along the Pacific Coast.

Musicians and composers in early America resisted musical nationalism and passed on vernacular music from their homelands that in time blended into new sounds. Americans seemingly were conflicted in their musical tastes: “highbrow” society fostered appreciation of “good” music, transplanted as classical music from Europe, while indigenous working-class music including jazz, country music, and rock was described with the derogatory term “lowbrow.”

Prior to the American Revolution, sacred music, originating with 16th-century Protestant movements in western Europe, favored popular secular ballads rather than pentatonic tunes from English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and French

cultures. During the Great Awakening, individuals were encouraged to express their religious fervor more publicly, which was reflected in musical innovation as new communities opened southern and western frontiers. The Appalachians formed an important musical hearth where Scots created new ballads and love songs with the easily transported and easy-to-learn dulcimer. These influences were then carried to the Ozarks, where they further evolved. On the frontiers, working-class communities also embellished European dances by employing a form of call-and-response; British folk dances derived from the quadrille evolved with the addition of a caller, who shouted out dance steps in an improvised way, creating popular, uniquely American square dances.

Early Instruments Used in American Popular Music

The plucked Appalachian mountain dulcimer was the earliest music instrument carried into the rural south; thought to have been derived from the German *scheitholt* or the Scandinavian *langeleik*, it was introduced in Pennsylvania during the early 1700s. The fiddle, known to many religious denominations and Native Americans as “the devil’s instrument,” became the chief musical vector for preserving folk melodies as settlers carried it to the western frontiers beginning with the Meriweather Lewis and William Clark Expedition (1804–1806) to open westward water routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean.

The banjo, derived from African traditions, was brought by enslaved people to North America as early as the mid-1700s; it was an instrument whose strings were plucked, and its resonating body consisted of parchment stretched over a metal hoop. During the 1800s, an additional “drone” string was added to the banjo, and it became a favorite instrument in minstrel and hillbilly music carried by Forty-Niners to California. The guitar moved northward from Mexico through Texas and California during the early 19th century. African Americans popularized the guitar first in Texas, then carried it into the lowland south. Freed blacks carried the guitar into other regions following the Emancipation Proclamation.

The earliest American sheet music for guitar was published in California and New York during

the California gold rush. White musicians east of the Mississippi did not play the guitar until the 1880s. Prominent white musicians of the 20th century, including Hank Williams and Merle Travis, learned the guitar by studying African American techniques. The easily transportable autoharp was originally a parlor instrument. The guitar-like ukulele was introduced by Portuguese immigrants and adapted by Hawai‘ian musicians during the 1880s, and it was popularized during the 1915 International Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco.

Transportation and Music Migration

Some have argued that music is the slowest social trait to change, but ethnic music was exchanged on battlefields of American identity. Patriotic songs of the American Revolution derived from familiar British melodies included “Yankee Doodle,” which became the first American popular song. It also set a precedent for using new lyrics to adapt older tunes to serve American tastes.

The War of 1812 marked a turning point for the building of cultural independence from Great Britain. The story of the creation of America’s national anthem captures the early cultural fusion in popular music. Prior to the battle for Baltimore in 1814, Americans were demoralized by the dramatic defeats at Bladensburg, Maryland, and Washington, D.C., when military leaders floundered. Maryland Governor Levin Winder dramatically changed tactics by placing local authority jurisdiction over federal in Baltimore’s defense. These local militias reflected cultural diversity from the region. Normally insular German communities from Pennsylvania were thrown into a multicultural and multilingual militia, where they were exposed to new ideas and perspectives. Regular call-and-response drills to open effective communications channels with coastal watchmen and scouts, so men from different socioeconomic backgrounds bonded during ordinary fatigue duties.

The Battle for Baltimore (September 12–14, 1814) proved to be a turning point when British forces were repulsed at Fort McHenry had been instituted earlier and Baltimore was saved. “The Star-Spangled Banner,” composed of lyrics from the patriotic poem “Defense of Fort McHenry,” by Frances Scott Key, was set to the popular British

melody called “The Anacreontic Song,” and the hybrid song was published in newspapers. Played at local events, it was eventually adopted by the U.S. Navy as the official tune played to raise the flag in 1889.

Blackface Minstrelsy and the Bowery Irish

New York City’s lower Broadway and the Bowery became the epicenter for the first distinctly American form of theater in the 1830s and 1840s, which gave rise to the music industry in the United States. Blackface minstrelsy including racist burlesques and comedy featuring white performers who appropriated stereotypes of southern plantation life and black culture catering to white audiences. Minstrel music came from a number of contemporary musical trends popular on the East Coast, including medicine shows, traveling circuses, Irish dance, African rhythms, and the noisy celebration shivaree.

Minstrel tunes employed the pentatonic scale (familiar to many ethnic groups); they were catchy and quickly embellished by lyrics of quotidian boasts and hard-knock humor. The interlocutor (master of ceremonies) of a minstrel show took center stage with “Gentlemen, be seated.” His telling of the company’s history followed. The cast performed bawdy entertainment with fiddles, banjos, tambourines, and bone castanets. Two rowdy “end men” exchanged salty jokes between the songs and dances that were performed using black plantation dialect.

Stephen Foster (1826–64) pioneered multiculturalism in popular music, creating a mosaic of ethnically diverse sounds, in his songbook portfolio ranging from “Camptown Races” (1850), which featured the vocal call-and-response of military calls and African traditions; to “Ah, May the Red Rose Live Always” (1850), in the style of Scottish balladry; to “In the Eye Abides the Heart” (1851), reminiscent to a German lied; to “Oh! Susanna,” the European troubadour song transformed into an African American tune and carried west by hopeful gold seekers (it was transformed with new, ironic lyrics to become the unofficial anthem of the gold rush with “Oh California”); and to “Beautiful Dreamer” (1862), written in an Italian *bel canto* style.

California, admitted to the Union as a free state, attracted all races that traveled by land and sea

in search of opportunity, and white families often came face-to-face with African Americans for the first time. A number of Jewish American composers later shaped popular music from Broadway, including Irving Berlin, Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copeland, George Gershwin, and Jerome Kern.

African musical traditions and idioms were integral to the evolution of popular music genres in America, including rhythm and blues and jazz, which crossed social lines, and later rock and roll, soul, and hip-hop music. Blues music began to emerge with the abolition of slavery by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, when work songs, spirituals, and hollers (the soulful expressions of bondage) were subordinated to religious expression and transcendence in ballad form.

Transportation advances further promoted American ethnic diversity in music as people carried music to the frontiers. Black laborers carried call-and-response chants and field hollers that subsequently fused with Native American traditions to create foundations for country blues, which were carried via the Mississippi River to New Orleans, helping make it a hub where French and Spanish music changed tempos. The earliest blues singers were born during the 1880s. By 1900, a fusion of black and white folk music mingled in a primitive form of the blues with a twelve-bar tune.

Radio Introducing Music to the Masses

Bawdy burlesque and comedy shows became popular between the mid- and late 19th century and were eclipsed by vaudeville, which was more family-oriented. Radio as a means for mass communications revolutionized American musical tastes during the 1920s. During the Great Depression, while the United States’ gross national product and newspaper and magazine advertising billings dropped dramatically, radio advertising steadily increased. “Dialers,” radio listeners, wanted variety.

For the radio industry to grow, it needed to be considered a household necessity—a home without a radio was a house without a window. “Jamborees,” lighthearted entertainment, became radio’s means to attract new audiences by attempting something novel during the 1930s. Weekly frolics started as rehearsals for shows where program formats were ironed out and then revealed during the second hours of programs.



An elderly African American man playing a banjo around 1902. The banjo's roots are in African musical traditions brought to North America by slaves in the mid-1700s.

Jamborees and frolics came and went, but some became station perennials. Dialers eagerly awaited reliable novelty entertainment, and radio offered “the ideal broadcasting bait.” Radio columnist Joseph E. “Dinty” Doyle observed, “week in and week out radio offered ‘darned good entertainment’—the *Jamboree* has become an institution.” “Oklahoma Singing Cowboy” Gene Autry launched his career in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on KVOO radio during the 1930s and 1940s. Country music is a hybrid of Anglo-Celtic ballads transplanted to the rural south during the colonial period, where they absorbed regional vocal and instrumental influences. Country music carried regional culture westward.

Improvisation in American Popular Music

Jazz originated in New Orleans from local, black, and Creole folk music in the 1890s. It evolved dramatically as it was carried to other regions over time, where it fused with local tastes: Chicago during the 1920s, New York in the 1930s, and San Francisco in the 1940s.

The musical choice of flappers was jazz, which revolutionized dance. During the period between the end of World War I and the Roaring Twenties, popular jazz music became intertwined with radical social change as adolescence was recognized as a distinct age group and gendered fashion trends of flappers focused attention on youth culture. Women across ethnic lines donned easy-care bob hairstyles, shorter skirts, and sporty fashions, and adopted masculine habits including smoking, drinking, and driving cars.

During urban-centered booms, language and sound mingled in working-class venues that turned into new kinds of musical expression. Scat singing (or specialty choruses) developed—vocal improvisation employing nonsense syllables of melodies and rhythms where the voice becomes the equivalent of an instrument used in jazz music. Scatting derived from African music tradition was first used in ragtime and was made popular by Louis Armstrong in the 1920s. Later, during the Dust Bowl drought, refugees moving westward from Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas included many country music artists. Oklahoma residents demonstrated a transient restlessness reflected in American mobility, and they resisted homogeneity and conformity. Bob Wills introduced western swing (western jazz) in the late 1920s in Fort Worth, Texas.

Zydeco music, popularized around 1920 and indigenous to southwest Louisiana and east Texas, blended African American and French Cajun traditions dating from the Civil War. The Big Band era (1935–56) spotlighted musicians including Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, brothers Jimmy and Tommy Dorsey, Ella Fitzgerald, Glenn Miller, Artie Shaw, and Woody Herman. Jazz enjoyed a strong Jewish influence with musicians including Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw, Stan Getz, and Al Jolson. Goodman broke down segregation in American popular music. New York was the birthplace of bebop, dance jazz featuring a lot of improvisation.

Honky-tonk roadside dance bars emerged after the repeal of Prohibition, serving truck drivers, farmers, laborers, and oil field workers. Beginning in the mid-1930s, boomtowns emerged when a single resource, commodity, or activity was discovered. Boomtowns attracted newcomers and entertainers with lucrative salaries or investment opportunities, and local entrepreneurs catered to the needs of workers to exploit newfound affluence. If a boomtown was dependent upon a single commodity and did not diversify its potential resources to sustain the original community, it experienced “bust” cycles of catastrophic economic collapse that could make its population decrease in size as fast as it had increased; in extreme situations boomtowns then became ghost towns. Honky-tonks offered “hell-raising” dance music with a heavier beat, and honky-tonk bands were the first to employ the electric guitar in the 1930s to amplify sound over rowdy dancers.

Popular Music and Modern War

Prior to World War I, jazz music belonged to black America. The war carried black soldiers, some of whom were jazz and blues musicians, throughout the United States and into parts of western Europe. During World War II, musicians changed careers when a 20 percent wartime entertainment tax for singing or dancing venues hampered the viability of jazz nightclubs. Musicians joined armed forces bands, where they obtained additional music training. American music evolved rapidly after World War II, as musicians with military training went to college on the G.I. Bill. Singing cowboys like Gene Autry and Woodward Maurice “Tex” Ritter used motion pictures and television to introduce western music to national audiences. Some African American jazzmen adapted to the musical tastes of white society.

The G.I. Bill financed the education of a generation of musicians: it entitled them to \$500 for “at least 12 months of education or training, or a refresher or retraining course.” Veterans attending San Francisco State College had professional dance band experience and wanted a course focused on dance band music that offered opportunities to experiment with innovative approaches to scoring pop tunes. They started a social movement in music when they asked a student leader to

lobby the music department for a “dance band” class. San Francisco State eventually offered the first known college-sanctioned jazz course for credit in the United States.

Percussionist Callen “Cal” Tjader (1925–82) was the first American musician to bridge traditional Latin music and jazz-pop music. His earliest Afro-Cuban recordings, captured in San Francisco in 1954, featured Jerome Richardson on flute and Richard Wyands on piano. Tjader first enrolled at San Jose State College for teacher training after serving as a medic in the U.S. Navy. Tjader found that many young musicians left San Jose State because performing or even rehearsing jazz was discouraged, “with the threat of being thrown out if caught.” Tjader built relationships with African American students at San Francisco State, including bassist Ron Crotty and hard bop pianist Wyands. Students performed and conducted their arrangements, ranging from modified bop to modern symphonic style.

Country pop emerged out of Nashville during the 1950s as a result of Hank Williams’s popularity in the 1940s. By 1953, Williams’s song “Cold, Hard Heart,” recorded by Tony Bennett, crossed over to the pop charts and sold one and a half million copies. Rock music, combining black gospel, rhythm and blues, and white country and western music, came out of Cleveland in the midwest in the early 1950s. Music remained segregated until 1953, when Bill Haley (1925–81) and Haley’s Comets recorded “Crazy Man Crazy,” which became the first rock and roll album to make the Billboard Pop charts. In Memphis, Jerry Lee Lewis and Elvis Presley (influenced by Bo Diddley) used radio, television, and film to introduce the sound to white audiences.

Latin American rhythms and dance have influenced popular music in the United States over time: the rumba in the 1930s, the mambo in the 1940s, the cha-cha in the 1950s, the *bugalu* in the 1960s, and salsa in the 1970s. In 1959, after Fidel Castro’s revolution, Cuban refugees fled to South Florida (specifically Dade County), bringing cultural sounds to Miami. A distinctive Miami music soon reflected a specific ethnic subculture fusing Cuban and North American popular music that took hold in the 1970s as Cubans became the majority in Miami. California surf rock, utilizing Mexican and Middle Eastern techniques to create

a “wet”-sounding reverb, was popular between 1961 and 1966. Acid rock was introduced during the Monterey Pop Festival in 1967 and then took hold in San Francisco during the Summer of Love.

Urban Contemporary Music

Rap music originated in Jamaica, traveling to the Bronx during the late 1960s. Clive Campbell (DJ Kool Herc) employed pioneering techniques of manually manipulating records on a turntable while performers spontaneously created lyrics. Country music, though white-dominated, was derived from European, African, Native American, and Hawai‘ian traditions. Country rock out of Austin, Texas, emerged during the 1970s with Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings. Although the country music industry has been dominated by white male artists, women like Loretta Lynn, black artists like Charlie Pride, Cajun artists like Doug Kershaw, Latinos like Freddie Fender, and Jewish singers like Kinky Friedman have influenced its sound. American popular music will continue to evolve to reflect growing ethnic and lifestyle diversity.

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See Also: Folk Music and Ethnic Diversity; Gospel Music; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theatre and Ethnic Diversity; Rock Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Porgy and Bess

Porgy and Bess is an American opera with a score by George Gershwin, libretto by DuBose Heyward, and lyrics by Heyward and Ira Gershwin. The opera is based on Heyward’s novel *Porgy* as well as the stage adaptation of the same name he cowrote with his wife, Dorothy Heyward. Gershwin’s score is arguably the best known of any American opera. Although some have denounced the depiction of black Americans in *Porgy and Bess*, it has become the most frequently produced opera with African American subject matter. A number of the songs have become part of the standard repertoires for jazz, pop, and classical music, including “Summertime,” “I Got Plenty o’ Nuttin’,” “It Ain’t Necessarily So,” and “Bess, You Is My Woman Now.”

The Origins of *Porgy and Bess*

Porgy and Bess follows the narrative of the play more closely than that of the novel. Porgy, a disabled man who makes his living begging and gambling, falls in love with Bess in 1930s Charleston, South Carolina. The drug-addicted Bess is trying to get away from her abusive lover, Crown, and her persistent and profane drug dealer, Sportin’ Life. Porgy accidentally kills Crown while attempting to protect Bess from him. While Porgy is being questioned by the police, Sportin’ Life uses Bess’s addiction to entice her into accompanying him to New York. Upon discovering that Bess has left him, Porgy sets out to find her.

An actual native of Charleston, Samuel Smalls, was the inspiration for the title character of Heyward’s novel. He lived in an all-black slum on Church Street known as Cabbage Row, on which the fictitious Catfish Row was based. Like Porgy, he rode in a goat-driven cart due to a physical impairment. Heyward wrote some of the novel’s speeches in Gullah, an English Creole spoken in some parts of the southeastern coast of the United States. The success of the novel led the Heywards to adapt it for the stage. *Porgy* was produced twice on Broadway, once in 1927 and again in 1929.

George Gershwin first read *Porgy* in 1926, and immediately, his interest in collaborating with the Heywards on a musical adaptation was piqued. Nevertheless, scheduling conflicts did not afford the opportunity to begin work until

1933. They conducted research in Folly Beach, a small island off the coast of Charleston, before returning to New York to complete the opera. Although DuBose Heyward contributed most of the text, Ira Gershwin did write the lyrics to many of the opera's best-known songs. Gershwin was inspired by jazz, work songs, spirituals, and other genres of African American music; in fact, he stipulated in his will that performance rights were to be granted only to productions employing black singers.

Production History

To perform the score, a large group of African American classical singers was engaged, with Anne Brown, Todd Duncan, and John W. Bubbles essaying leading roles. The first performance of *Porgy and Bess* occurred in 1935, in a private concert at Carnegie Hall. Gershwin made a number of emendations prior to its Broadway opening on October 10, 1935, at the Alvin Theatre. Rouben Mamoulian assumed directing responsibilities. Noted African American choirmaster Eva Jessye was selected to direct the choristers. The production was met by a lukewarm reception from critics and audiences alike.

A much more successful truncated version of the opera, which eliminated much of the recitative in favor of a conventional musical theater style, was produced on Broadway in 1942, 1943, and 1944. Yet another, more traditionally operatic version toured the world beginning in 1952; the cast, which included Leontyne Price, Cab Calloway, and Maya Angelou, performed on Broadway at the Ziegfeld Theatre, as well as in Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union. A 1959 movie adaptation, featuring Dorothy Dandridge, Sidney Poitier, Diahann Carroll, Brock Peters, Pearl Bailey, and Sammy Davis, Jr., performed poorly at the box office and faded into obscurity.

As some African Americans felt the opera presented a deeply negative view of black life, *Porgy and Bess* rarely was produced in the United States during the years of social upheaval in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the lavish 1976 Broadway revival, which was first produced at the Houston Grand Opera and restored the complete score, was a considerable critical and financial success. It won the Tony Award for Most Innovative

Production of a Revival and was remounted at Radio City Music Hall in 1983. *Porgy and Bess* made its Metropolitan Opera debut on February 6, 1985, with Grace Bumbry, Simon Estes, and Gregg Baker.

A 2012 Broadway revival, starring David Alan Grier, Audra McDonald, Joshua Henry, and Norm Lewis, was rechristened *The Gershwins' Porgy and Bess* and received a substantial rewrite by Pulitzer Prize winner Suzan-Lori Parks. She made a number of changes to the plot and music to make the opera more accessible to contemporary audiences. Despite receiving mixed reviews, the production won Tony Awards for Best Revival and Best Actress in a Leading Role (McDonald).

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See Also: African Americans; Musical Theatre and Ethnic Diversity; Opera and Ethnic Diversity.

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Portuguese Americans

Portuguese Americans are Americans descended from residents of Portugal and the Portuguese islands of Madeira and the Azores. The broader term Luso American refers to Americans whose heritage can be traced to the broad Portuguese-speaking community created by Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, including Brazil, Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, and parts of China and India. That said, Portuguese Americans and Luso Americans tend to settle in the same communities, for the same reason Spanish-speaking Americans settle in many of the same

communities despite tracing their heritage to different countries; there are still elements of shared culture, and especially language.

Portugal is a European country on the Iberian Peninsula, which it coinhabits with the much larger country of Spain. After the peninsula was conquered by Moors in the eighth century, Portugal established its independence in the 12th century, preceding Spain's independence. Portugal was a major force in the Age of Discovery, as evidenced by the geographic diversity of its colonial holdings, and established its empire before the Spanish or British established theirs.

The Azores are an archipelago of nine islands in the north Atlantic, about 930 miles off the coast of Lisbon, Portugal, and are one of the country's two autonomous regions. The other is Madeira, an Atlantic Ocean archipelago north of the Canary Islands, consisting of the islands of Madeira, Porto Santo, and the Desertas.

There were 1,477,335 Portuguese Americans as of the most recent census, about 0.5 percent of the country.

The First Portuguese Americans

Portuguese presence in North America predates the creation of the United States, though the first Portuguese to come to the continent were explorers who did not settle down. João Rodrigues Cabrilho was the first to navigate the coast of what is now California, for instance, and before Miguel Corte-Real was lost at sea around 1502, he navigated the far northeast coast. A popular theory among amateurs and the general public is that Dighton Rock, a large boulder in Berkeley, Massachusetts, covered in petroglyphs, is a testament to Portuguese presence in Massachusetts either in Corte-Real's time (shortly after Columbus's discovery of the Americas) or even from a pre-Columbian contact.

Two things are noteworthy: first, that the popularity of the Portuguese petroglyph theory owes a great deal to the prevalence of the Portuguese American and Luso American population in Massachusetts, who would be interested and gratified by the idea that their forebears preceded the Puritans to their present home state; and second, that



An April 1942 meeting of the Provincetown, Massachusetts, board of selectmen, which was made up nearly entirely of men of Portuguese descent. The Azorean and continental Portuguese of Provincetown acquired political power after experiencing anti-Catholic discrimination in the early 20th century.

the same petroglyphs have been used to support numerous other theories, including the more recent pop history theory that they were the creation of Chinese explorers in the early 15th century.

Immigration to Massachusetts did begin quite early, however, and the first Portuguese settlers in the United States came to Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket in the pre-revolutionary period. The so-called Virginia Hercules, Peter Francisco (1760–1831), was an Azorean immigrant to Virginia, and he served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War as a teenager. By age 16, at the Battle of Brandywine, he was already six and a half feet tall—in an age when people on average were several inches shorter than they are today.

Francisco was a fixture of the revolutionary period; he was in attendance when Patrick Henry gave his “Give me Liberty, or give me Death!” speech in Richmond, Virginia, and fought in several decisive battles of the war. His friends included the Marquis de Lafayette, who requested General George Washington to have a special sword made for Francisco that would befit his size.

Many of the Portuguese descendants in the United States immigrated from the Azores and Madeira, probably accounting for the majority of Portuguese Americans. Madeirans settled mainly in New England and the mid-Atlantic region, where they were active in the whaling industry in the 18th and 19th centuries. More arrived after Madeira's 1846 famine.

New Bedford, Massachusetts, celebrates an annual Feast of the Blessed Sacrament, the world's largest Madeiran heritage celebration, in Madeira Field. Tens of thousands attend, from all over New England and further afield. The city is also home to the Museum of Madeira Heritage. Madeirans also settled in Hawai'i, where they introduced the ukelele, a traditional Madeiran musical instrument that has since become heavily associated with Hawai'ian folk music.

Azoreans began immigrating to the United States in the 17th century, settling principally in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The Californian community of Azorean Americans is populated mainly by descendants of Massachusetts's Azorean Americans who later traveled west, settling in the San Joaquin Valley and San Diego. In New England, Azoreans were, like Madeirans, very involved in the whaling industry and

commercial fishing. Some traveled further north to work the Maine lobster boats. By the end of World War I, there were a third as many Azoreans (100,000) in the United States as in the Azores.

Fall River, Massachusetts, is well known for its Portuguese culture, much of it originating with Azorean immigration during the whaling era. If not for the influx of French Canadians and Irish during the Industrial Revolution, when Fall River's was the most active textile mill city in the country, the city would have a majority Luso American population. Today, 47 percent of the population is of Portuguese background, the highest percentage of any community in the United States. The Great Holy Ghost Festival in August is a celebration of the town's Portuguese culture and attracts hundreds of thousands of participants from the Portuguese American community.

Rhode Island is the state with the highest percentage of Portuguese Americans and is consequently the only predominantly Catholic state in the country, making it a particular outlier in New England, the homeland of Boston Brahmins and other white, Anglo Saxon Protestant subgroups. Providence has a number of Portuguese restaurants and markets as well as a sizable Brazilian population. There is also a large Portuguese American community in nearby Pawtucket. Nearly all settlements in Rhode Island have some Portuguese Americans in the population; they are as prevalent and as assimilated as Irish Americans are in the rest of New England.

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See Also: American Revolution; Brazilian Americans; European Americans.

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Potlatch

Among many Pacific Northwest Native American and First Nations cultures, a potlatch is a gift-giving festival that traditionally served as the foundation of the cultures' economies. The word itself derives from Chinook jargon, the pidgin trade language used in the region in the 19th century (with about 100 native speakers remaining today).

The word is a false cognate for "potluck," though in white communities in some parts of the country, potluck dinners are sometimes called potlatches, possibly out of the erroneous belief in an etymological connection. Potlatch nations include the Coast Salish of British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon (which includes the Snohomish, Skagit, Snoqualmie, and other peoples); Haida of British Columbia and southeast Alaska; Heiltsuk of British Columbia's Central Coast; Kwakaka'wakw of Vancouver Island; Makah of Washington; Nuuchah-nulth of British Columbia; Nuxalk or Bella Coola of British Columbia; Tlingit of Alaska, British Columbia, and the Yukon; and Tsimshian of Alaska and British Columbia.

The Kwakaka'wakw are sometimes erroneously called the Kwakiutl, and the first major anthropological work on the potlatch system was part of German American Franz Boas's in-depth study of the Kwagu'l people, a Kwakwaka'wakw tribe whose government is called the Kwakiutl First Nation. Throughout the region where the potlatch system is used, property concepts and traditions are well established, in contrast with stereotypes of Native Americans (based on tribes farther east) as being blissfully ignorant of concepts of private property or land ownership. Hunting and fishing grounds are traditionally passed down within families.

A basic barter system originally supplemented what was primarily a subsistence economy, meaning that each family or group of families provided for its own needs: hunting, fishing, growing, foraging, and preparing its own food, as well as the raw materials necessary for clothing, shelter, tools,

and other items. The barter system allowed not only for specialization and differentiation of labor but also for value to accrue according to rarity, making food and furs more valuable in hard times, and imparting extra value to well-made goods, which in turn provided the motivation for artisans to develop their skills beyond the bare necessities. Precious minerals and metals, especially copper, were an important part of the trade system.

Over time, the potlatch system supplanted this barter system, depending on surpluses of goods. In the potlatch system, social status is determined not by wealth per se but by the capacity to give wealth away. In order to demonstrate one's social status, a family would host a potlatch ceremony at which it was expected to provide gifts for all who attended. The most common unit by which wealth was measured was the wool blanket, which had several advantages for this purpose, namely, that it was nonperishable, could be produced by most families, did not exhaust a resource, and served a practical end.

Pieces of copper could be exchanged for blankets, and the value of any given coin was referred to in terms of the number of blankets it could be exchanged for, but it would be misleading to consider these coins or currency in the same sense as in Western economic systems.

The value of these pieces of copper was not static, and the fluctuations to which it was subject do not easily compare to those experienced by currency systems. Copper pieces were bid on at auctions held at potlatch ceremonies, and if a piece of copper sold for a higher value than it had previously represented, the prestige attached not to the seller—who from a Western viewpoint has earned a profit—but to the buyer, who has demonstrated his power and wealth. Further, if the host is able to hold a potlatch and still retain copper—still possess a surplus even after a party in which he gives many things away—he is accorded considerable prestige and honor. Gifts given at a potlatch ceremony might include prepared or dried foods, ingredients like sugar or flour, copper or blankets or foreign currency, and made goods. In the past, slaves were given away as well.

The potlatch system serves to redistribute wealth throughout the community, preventing serious wealth inequality and the formation of an impoverished class, as well as preventing the

formation of a wealthy class of heirs who can prosper without labor by living off inheritances. Among the Kwakwaka'wakw, there are reports of the potlatch having grown so competitive that gifts were destroyed after being received, as an extreme display of wealth—the potlatch equivalent of lighting a cigar with a hundred-dollar bill.

In different cultures, the potlatch is celebrated with various songs, dances, and other rituals. Dances may tell the story of the host family's heritage and famous ancestors, for instance. Although the potlatch is usually held in the winter, when the redistribution of surpluses is most helpful, it may also be held to celebrate a wedding, funeral, birth, or special occasion of some other sort.

The potlatch was outlawed in the late 19th century in both the United States and Canada, the government perceiving it as destructive and wasteful in part because of reports of destroyed gifts. The ban has since been repealed.

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See Also: Alaska Native Categorization (Essay); Native Americans; Powwow.

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Surrounding the site of England's first permanent American colony, Jamestown, the Powhatans were the first Native American population with whom the English had sustained interaction. Despite early attempts at cooperation, cultural conflicts between the Powhatan inhabitants and English colonists eventually contributed to demographic decline and the breakup of the confederacy, though Powhatan descendants persist today.

Inhabiting the coastal plain of the Chesapeake Bay's western shore, Virginia's Algonquian peoples shared similar languages and subsistence practices. Men cleared the land on which women cultivated maize, beans, and squash. Men hunted and traded with inland communities, while women processed deerskins and gathered edible plants near villages. Seasonal mobility across a tribe's territory and a low population density discouraged Algonquian tribes from constructing permanent dwellings and accumulating personal property.

During the late 16th century, Wahunsenacawh, or Powhatan, inherited power over six tribes. Powhatan proved adept at conquest and at redirecting rivalries between Algonquian tribes, organizing defense against neighboring Siouan-speaking enemies. Combining diplomacy, warfare, and intimidation, Powhatan built the largest chiefdom on North America's Atlantic seaboard. The confederacy eventually incorporated 30 tribes into a paramount chiefdom, with individual tribes retaining some autonomy and their own chiefs while acknowledging Powhatan's supremacy. Powhatan constructed kinship relations to secure his power, adopting subordinated chiefs into his household, marrying elite women in conquered villages, and sometimes replacing defeated local chiefs with his own blood relations. Extended kin relations enabled Powhatan to gather and redistribute to build obligations and reinforce his control.

The 1607 English arrival at Jamestown met with ambivalence from the natives. Powhatans weighed the appeal of trade for metal tools and weapons, and the possibility of English allies, against prior encounters in which Europeans had raided, kidnapped, and killed Algonquins. Hoping to enlist the English as allies and trade partners, Powhatan avoided outright warfare. Accustomed to incorporating neighboring peoples as subjects,

Powhatan Confederacy

The Powhatan Confederacy was a 17th-century chiefdom comprising Algonquin-speaking tribes and centered on Virginia's Chesapeake Bay.

he ritually adopted the captured governor of the colony, John Smith, as his son and a subordinate chief, expecting the kin relationship to secure an alliance and trade relations.

English colonists misunderstood this arrangement, continuing to act in their own interests while dismissing Algonquian culture as inferior to their own, and characterizing natives as lazy, ignorant, and uncivilized. Many expected Algonquins to submit to English authority and adopt English culture by converting to Christianity, donning European clothing, reorienting economies around agriculture and private property, and establishing permanent settlements.

Cultural Exchanges

Some Virginians did cross between English and Algonquian cultures as trade partners or hostages, and colonists and natives deliberately exchanged several young men in hopes that they would acquire information and translation skills. Several colonists escaped Jamestown's poor conditions to join the Indians, but Jamestown's leaders captured and executed the deserters, fearing their example might prompt others to abandon English culture. The executions demonstrated colonial leaders' unwillingness to sanction the coexistence of alternative cultures in Virginia.

English attitudes about the incompatibility of cultures increasingly shaped Anglo-Algonquin relations. Powhatan's policy of avoiding direct conflict limited intercultural violence, though English breaches of diplomatic protocol and demands for supplies, and native harassment of the intruders, did produce some incidents. By 1610, mounting tensions between the disillusioned Powhatan and an expanding colony replenished with supplies and personnel from England generated regular skirmishes. An uneasy peace ensued when colonists captured Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, her subsequent marriage to John Rolfe and conversion to Christianity bolstering English confidence that Algonquins could undergo cultural transformation.

Opechancanough, who succeeded Powhatan as paramount chief in 1618, proved less reluctant to confront English settlers who continued to press cultural conversion and claim new territory. Hoping to contain the colony, the chief coordinated a 1622 attack that destroyed English livestock

and plantations and killed approximately one-third of Virginia's English population. Colonists retaliated by destroying native villages and food supplies, and hostilities continued until a 1632 peace agreement exacted major land concessions from the Powhatans. Renewed attacks on English plantations in 1644 failed to halt the spread of English power. Instead, Opechancanough's capture and death in 1646 deprived the Powhatan Confederacy of central leadership, and the sustained English campaign against the Powhatans forced survivors to flee or make peace.

By 1669, a Powhatan population that had numbered perhaps 24,000 in 1607 had been reduced to around 2,000 by decades of war and exposure to disease. Survivors were restricted to a few small reservations surrounded by English settlements, the Powhatan Confederacy's failed resistance to English expansion supporting the English views of Algonquian culture as incompatible with and inferior to English culture, and of Indians themselves as outsiders to colonial society. Powhatan descendants nonetheless maintained their ethnic identity in the wake of colonization and pressures to Anglicize, though only the Pamunkey and Mattaponi retain reservation lands today. Descendants live in North Carolina and New Jersey, and are among the 80,924 Virginians who identified as American Indians or Alaska Natives, alone or in combination, on the 2010 U.S. Census, a 53 percent increase from 2000.

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See Also: Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; *Pocahontas*.

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POWWOW

Powwows are events that reflect upon many aspects of American Indian society. Powwows are essentially tribal, forging tribal bonds and solidifying tribal culture. This is what makes attending powwows in different regions of the United States distinct. When one attends a powwow, people representing a number of Indian nations are also recognizable, making the event intertribal. This is what makes a local event more expansive.

Indian Country Today newspaper explains the origins of the common usage of the word *powwow* as a misunderstanding by European explorers, who viewed sacred dances and thought that a word used at the dances, *pau wau*, referred to the dance itself. As the number of tribes using the English language grew, “powwow” as a reference to a tribal gathering was adopted.

What Makes a Powwow?

Essential elements of the powwow include circles, the drum, singers, dancers, head staff and emcee, and veterans. Circles are important to connect the powwow to indigenous identity. The drum is surrounded by the singers, who form two circles. The women constitute the next circle, followed by the dancers. The elders surround the dancers, with the veterans surrounding the elders. The spirits/spirit world is the final outside circle.

Representative of the nature of life, both human and mythological, cyclical ideas are present in everything from agriculture to song. Circles appear in the powwow beginning with the arena, the central location for dancing and drumming. The arena houses other concentric forms such as the drum, and in the case of an outdoor powwow, the arbor, under which many drums may be located.

The drum has often been referred to as the “heartbeat of the [Indian] nation.” The phrase *to sit on a drum* means to sing and drum at a powwow. Drumming teams are called singers. All members of the drumming team make up “the drum.” In powwow parlance, the drum also refers to the physical drum itself, but rather describes the physical drum, the singers/drummers who sit on the drum, and the ritual actions they perform. There may be anywhere from six to 12 singers sitting on a drum.

There are typically two styles of drums, referred to as northern and southern styles. There are subtle differences in song pattern and drumming patterns, as well as the obvious regional origins that mark the two styles. The northern style is usually higher in pitch and faster in beat. The southern style is usually lower in pitch and slower in beat. The styles originated regionally, but today they are found in all regions of the United States.

Specific roles are necessary for the functioning of a powwow. These roles are described in no particular order of importance. The arena director is responsible for the maintenance, upkeep, and proper actions of others in and around the arena. The master of ceremonies, or emcee, keeps the powwow moving. He may inform spectators and non-Natives attending the powwow of appropriate behavior, tribal knowledge, and tradition. He may also tell stories and histories, as well as keep the powwow moving by announcing dances that are forthcoming and which drum is in rotation to perform the next song.

The head veteran oversees and participates in many important facets of the powwow. The head veteran leads the dancers into the arena at Grand Entry, blesses and honors the arena as sacred space, and typically resolves all questions and concerns that powwow committee members and attendees may have. The head veteran is the person to consult when there is a breach in powwow protocol or if someone has a cultural question.

One of the aspects a first-time visitor to a powwow notices is the county fair-type atmosphere evoked by the traders on the outer edge of the arena. Colorful tents and awnings hold traders displaying blankets, clothing, feathers, jewelry, and other items available for sale. The traders don’t only sell crafts and souvenirs for the spectators and visitors to a powwow; they also provide tools and supplies for the dancers who make their own regalia.

A powwow attendee would also find a number of Native food booths. Food traders offer a selection of non-Native foods as well as foods linked to indigenous communities such as corn soup, Indian tacos, buffalo burgers, and fry bread. Food is often considered the glue of Indian communities. Dancers at powwows have been heard joking that if there is any conflict between two people or groups of people, just feed them and all will be well. At a



A team of three drummers surrounds a drum during a powwow; as many as 12 “singers” may play a single drum, or “sit on a drum.” Drumming is central to powwows and varies by region, with a faster northern style and a slower southern style, and when a drum is referred to in regard to a powwow, it describes the physical drum, the singers/drummers who sit on it, and the actions they perform.

majority of weekend powwows, a feast provided by the powwow committee is held to feed all participants of the powwow, and the public is invited after all powwow participants have been fed.

The Census at Powwow

The 2010 Census reached far and wide in Native America to publicize and promote participation in the data gathering. The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) hosted an art contest open to American Indian, Native Hawai‘ian, and Alaska Native students with the theme “2010 Census: Our People, Our Nations, Our Future.” This contest became part of a larger partnership between the NCAI and the Census Bureau around the campaign “Indian Country Counts,” with the goal being to count every indigenous person in the country. NCAI advocates the importance of counting every indigenous person because the data collected contribute to the head count for health and human services provided to indigenous nations by the federal government. The largest concern in counting indigenous people is that it is estimated that more than half of Native people do not live on or near reservation communities

and are missing out on services provided to indigenous people.

The Census Bureau created an extensive list of paid tribal residents to spread the word and is attending powwows across the country to share information. As powwows attract a wide variety of American Indian people, both urban and rural, they are a good point of contact. Many nations held Census Powwows, including Southern California American Indian Resource Center in San Diego, California; Coeur d’Alene Nation in Plummer, Idaho; and the 2010 Census Drum Circle and Rally & 39th Annual Spring Powwow at the University of Washington.

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See Also: Dance and Ethnic Diversity; Native Americans; Reservations, American Indian.

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Presidency, U.S.

American presidents represent much of the geographic and ideological diversity of the United States, but they fail to represent the racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of the nation. The United States has elected 44 presidents throughout its history; 42 were white Protestant males. While the occupants of the White House have been overwhelmingly homogeneous, religious and racial barriers have at times been shattered; however, major barriers remain.

Before John F. Kennedy, who was Irish Catholic, was elected in 1960, all presidents had been Protestant. In 2008, Barack Obama was the first black man elected president. Over the past two generations, an increasingly multicultural American society has played a changing role in determining the winners of presidential elections, and executive actions taken by many presidents have had a substantial impact on multicultural America.

Al Smith

Alfred E. Smith was born to Irish Catholic parents in New York City and became a career politician. Smith became the first Catholic presidential nominee in 1928. His career started by working his way up through Tammany Hall to secure backing for a seat in the New York State Assembly. Smith later won four terms as New York governor. However, Smith is best remembered for losing the 1928 presidential election badly to Herbert Hoover. Smith won only eight states and 41 percent of the vote. Although Smith tried to wage his campaign on the issues of the day, he was unable to overcome constant questions about his Catholicism and connections to Tammany Hall

in New York City. Among the questions he faced about becoming the first Catholic president was how his allegiance to the United States weighed against his allegiance to the Catholic Church and the pope. His overwhelming loss was attributed in no small part to concerns about his religion, a barrier that would not be broken until 1960, when Kennedy would become the only Catholic president ever elected. Both Herbert Hoover and Richard Nixon were Quakers, and there is some debate about whether Quakers should be considered Protestants. However, neither of these presidents faced any serious challenges during their candidacies or terms in office because of their religious affiliation.

John F. Kennedy

In 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected the 35th president of the United States. Kennedy, born to a prominent Irish Catholic family in Brookline, Massachusetts, was the first non-Protestant elected president, overcoming the concerns and discrimination against Catholics and Irish Americans that had doomed Al Smith's presidential campaign 32 years earlier. After graduating from Harvard and serving in the Navy during World War II, Kennedy was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served there for three terms. In 1952, Kennedy defeated Republican Henry Cabot Lodge to become a U.S. senator. Kennedy served as Massachusetts' senator for eight years before running for president in 1960.

Kennedy and his brother and campaign manager Robert were concerned about repeating the same path as Al Smith and thus sought to stay ahead of the issue of religion. Kennedy publicly confronted concerns about his religion, assuring voters that the pope would play no role in U.S. politics. Meanwhile, the discrimination that Irish Americans faced across the nation had been receding for some time, but acceptance was accelerated in part because of heroic actions taken by many Irish Americans during World War II. During the primary campaign, Kennedy outmaneuvered his main opponent, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, to win an improbable Democratic nomination.

On November 8, 1960, John F. Kennedy won an extremely narrow victory over Richard Nixon to become president. His election was historic

in that Kennedy became not only the first Irish American and first Catholic to be elected president, but he was also the youngest elected president in U.S. history. Kennedy's victory was a huge breakthrough in the battle against religious discrimination. His election showed how far the nation had come since Al Smith's campaign in 1928. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas on November 22, 1963, marking the last time that a Catholic has held that office.

Groundbreaking, Yet Unsuccessful Candidates Following Kennedy

In 1968, Shirley Chisholm, a Democrat from New York, became the first African American woman elected to the House of Representatives. Four years later, Chisholm ran for the Democratic nomination to become president. Although she did not win the nomination, coming in fourth behind George McGovern, Chisholm was the first nonwhite candidate for a major party nomination in U.S. history. Though Shirley Chisholm did not run for president again, she remained a U.S. representative from the state of New York until 1983, where she was a tireless advocate for racial and ethnic minorities, women, and the underprivileged.

Jesse Jackson, a civil rights activist and Baptist minister, was the most successful nonwhite presidential candidate prior to the election of Barack Obama. Jackson, who had never been elected to public office, ran for the Democratic Party nomination in 1984 and 1988. In 1984, Jackson came in third behind former Vice President Walter Mondale and Senator Gary Hart. He ran a better campaign four years later, winning more votes and states than in 1984. At one point during the campaign, Jackson was the leading candidate in terms of pledged delegates, though ultimately he came in second to Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts.

In addition to Shirley Chisholm and Jesse Jackson, there have been two other African American candidates who have sought a major party nomination for president. Alan Keyes, a conservative activist who played a small role in the Ronald Reagan administration, ran for the Republican nomination in 2000 and 2008. Also, Reverend Al Sharpton ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2004. However, neither Keyes nor Sharpton were particularly competitive.

Joseph Lieberman was a four-term senator from Connecticut, serving from 1989 through 2013. In 2000, Al Gore selected Lieberman to be his vice presidential running mate, making Lieberman the first Jew to run on a major party ticket. By most accounts, Lieberman's religion did not play a major role in the course of the general election. The Gore-Lieberman ticket won 79 percent of the Jewish vote, which was within 2 percent of the Jewish vote given to the two previous Democratic tickets. Gore won the plurality of votes in 2000, but lost the electoral college battle after a chaotic and controversial recount and Supreme Court decision.

The 2012 presidential election marked another religious breakthrough when Mitt Romney became the Republican nominee. Romney, the former governor of Massachusetts, was the first Mormon nominated by a major party. Romney's Mormonism played only a minor role in the primary campaign, and even less in the general election when he lost to Barack Obama.

Barack Obama

Barack Obama became the 44th president of the United States on January 20, 2009, and remains the current president after his reelection on November 6, 2012. He is also the first nonwhite person to win the presidency. Obama was born in Honolulu, Hawai'i, on August 4, 1961, to Ann Dunham, a white woman from Kansas, and Barack Obama, Sr., a man of Luo ethnicity, born in the Nyanza Province in Kenya. Obama did not have a relationship with his father because his parents divorced when he was 2 years old, his father returning to Kenya shortly thereafter, and Obama and his father had only one additional meeting before his father's death. Nonetheless, Obama's biracial heritage was something he was well aware of at an early age, both while living in Indonesia for several years and especially after returning at age 10 to live with his maternal grandparents back in Hawai'i.

Two years after graduating from Columbia University, in 1983, Obama moved to Chicago to work as a community organizer in the Roseland and Altgeld Gardens communities on the south side, both of which were predominantly black and poor. During this time, Obama traveled to Kenya to meet his paternal family, connecting for the first time with his African ancestry and

drawing connections to his experience of race in America. After returning from Kenya, Obama entered Harvard Law School. There Obama was elected the first African American editor and president of the *Harvard Law Review*. He completed his law degree from Harvard magna cum laude in 1991 and returned to Chicago to begin working as a civil rights lawyer and part-time law professor at the University of Chicago.

Obama's political career began after his return to Chicago. He organized voter registration efforts for the Bill Clinton campaign in 1992, and he ran for and won a seat in the Illinois State Senate in 1996. After an unsuccessful bid to become a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, he became a U.S. senator in 2004, the third African American senator

in history. During the buildup to the election, Obama gained nationwide attention for the first time following his keynote address at the Democratic National Convention. In February 2007, he launched his campaign to become president. In a very close contest, Obama defeated the once heavily favored Hillary Clinton for the Democratic nomination. He then went on to win the general election, defeating Republican John McCain, becoming the first African American to be elected president.

There was substantial attention paid to the historic nature of Obama's presidency, both during the campaign and after his electoral victory. In a nation scarred by its slaveholding past and rife with racial conflict throughout its history, the first black man elected president was welcomed by



President Barack Obama and his family hosting a Passover seder dinner in the White House in April 2009. The Obama family's Seder dinners, a Jewish tradition, are believed to have been unprecedented at the White House and are now an annual tradition. Obama was the first African American and the first nonwhite person voted into the office of president of the United States.

many as a sign of progress. Many suggested that Obama's election may have started a postracial era in America. However, many were concerned about a black man becoming president.

Obama rarely commented on his race or the historic nature of his election. However, one notable exception was a speech he gave on March 18, 2008, responding to an increase in attention paid to controversial comments made by Obama's former pastor, Jeremiah Wright, severely criticizing the government and the ongoing racism he saw in America. Obama's speech, titled "A More Perfect Union," addressed the subjects of race and inequality in the United States, including white privilege and the continuing tensions between races. He ended his speech by discussing the progress that had been made and the hope that Americans could move beyond a focus on racial differences and toward a unified effort to deal with shared social problems in society. His speech was seen as one of the best of his career and was one of the most important points in the campaign, reaching a huge audience. Many pundits and politicians have suggested that it helped him to win both the primary battle and the general election.

Multicultural Voters and the Presidency

The United States, while always a nation of immigrants, has become much more multicultural over the past two generations than at any point in American history. After the Immigration Act of 1965, immigration has exploded, especially from Latin America and Asia. As a result, the racial and cultural diversity of the United States is growing quickly, with the U.S. Census Bureau predicting that whites will become the minority by 2050. This growing racial and ethnic diversity has also impacted voting patterns, and nonwhite demographic groups increasingly make up a larger and larger percentage of the voting population.

These nonwhite voters, as a whole, have voted much more often for Democratic candidates for president than for their Republican opponents, though this varies dramatically based on year and demographic group. Black voters are the most consistent in their support for the Democratic ticket, with at least 82 percent of blacks voting for the Democrat in every election since 1972. Latino

voters, the fastest-growing voting demographic, have also consistently favored the Democrats, though less overwhelmingly than blacks. Since 2000, the majority of Asian Americans have also supported the Democrats in presidential elections.

Democrats have long held the support of most racial and ethnic minorities who go to the polls. However, Obama's presidential election victories were because of an even greater level of support from racial and ethnic minorities across the nation than his Democratic predecessors. In the 2008 election, Obama won 95 percent of the black vote, 67 percent of the Latino vote, 62 percent of the Asian American vote, and 66 percent of the "other race" vote, all higher than any other Democratic candidate in modern American history. Meanwhile, Obama earned 43 percent of the white vote. Though far from a majority of whites, this mark met or exceeded every Democratic candidate's share of the white vote going back to 1972.

In 2012, Obama won the support of 93 percent of the black vote and increased his support among Latinos to 71 percent and among Asian Americans to 73 percent. His overall margin of victory was very close to his margin of victory in 2008. The demographic changes across the nation and voting trends among nonwhite voters have led to many discussions about how the Republican Party can attract more support from racial and ethnic minorities. Some politicians and academics have suggested that, without adjusting some conservative positions on issues like immigration, the Republican Party may continue to face increasing odds in presidential elections. Others have argued that Obama was uniquely suited to attract support among nonwhite voters.

Women and the Presidency

No woman has occupied the Oval Office, and only one had a reasonable shot at winning a major party nomination for president. Victoria Woodhull, a newspaper editor and strong advocate for women's rights, became the first woman to run for president when she was nominated by the newly formed Equal Rights Party in 1872. The party nominated former slave and abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass as her running mate, though he did not attend the nominating convention. This also marked the first time that

an African American was nominated on a presidential ticket. Laura Clay was the first woman to run for president on a major party ticket when she was named at the 1920 Democratic National Convention. Clay, like several women through the end of the 20th century, ran for national party nominations, but they had little support and did not have any realistic chance of earning the nomination. But two women have been nominated for vice president on major party tickets: Geraldine Ferraro, who ran on the Democratic ticket with Walter Mondale in 1984; and Sarah Palin, who was selected by John McCain to run on the Republican ticket in 2008. Both of these tickets lost their elections.

The closest that a woman has come to winning a major party nomination for president occurred during the 2008 election, when former First Lady and then New York Senator Hillary Clinton was a candidate for the Democratic nomination. Prior to the primaries, Clinton was the favorite to win the nomination. In June 2008, Clinton lost the party nomination to Barack Obama, marking the end of an extremely competitive nomination battle. Obama would go on to become the first African American elected president that November. After the election, Clinton was confirmed as Obama's secretary of state, a position she held through early 2013. There remains substantial speculation that Clinton will run for the presidency in 2016, and if she does, many suggest that she would be one of the two favorites to win the party nomination, the other being Vice President Joe Biden.

Executive Orders

Many presidents have used the power of the office, and as head of the executive branch, to affect issues pertaining specifically to racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. The foremost tool that presidents use is known as the executive order. Presidents can issue executive orders pursuant to the various roles and powers that belong to the office. Once signed, these orders have the effect and formal status of legislation. In 1948, Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9981, which established the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, committing the government to racially integrating the military, which was segregated at the time. This was extremely controversial within

the military but marked one of the major victories for civil rights activists before the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision desegregated all public facilities on May 17, 1954. Although the desegregation of the military did not happen overnight, the military was fully integrated by the end of the Korean War.

Beyond issues of segregation, many presidents have issued executive orders prohibiting various forms of discrimination in government hiring and contracts. On June 25, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which prohibited discrimination in the national defense industry based on race or national origin. The executive order also established the Fair Employment Practices Commission to enforce the new policy. This was the first federal action to promote equal opportunity and prohibit employment discrimination in the United States, and it pertained to federal agencies and all unions and companies engaged in war-related work. However, this executive order came about only after substantial pressure brought by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and other black leaders, who threatened a major march on Washington if no order was enacted supporting civil rights in the workplace. President Dwight Eisenhower amended this order when he signed Executive Order 10479 on August 13, 1953, establishing the antidiscrimination Committee on Government Contracts.

Continuing in the trend of moving toward eliminating discrimination by the federal government, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 on March 6, 1961, which established the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity. This executive order was a landmark event in the history of affirmative action efforts in the United States because it marked the first time that this term was used in an official capacity by the federal government.

Following Kennedy's death and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, President Lyndon Johnson issued Executive Order 11246 on September 24, 1965. This order superseded Executive Order 10925, issued four years earlier, by prohibiting employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, and national origin by those organizations receiving federal contracts and

subcontracts. It also clarified and strengthened the federal government's official efforts toward affirmative action by including a provision that government contractors "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." In 1967, President Johnson amended the order to also ban discrimination based on sex.

Two years later, President Richard Nixon signed Executive Order 11478, supporting equal employment opportunity for all civilian employees of the federal government regardless of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, handicap, or age, through a continuing affirmative program in each executive department and agency. Finally, the prohibition of discrimination based on sexual orientation was added by President Bill Clinton with Executive Order 13087, issued in 1998.

Presidents have also used executive orders to enforce discriminatory actions. President Franklin Roosevelt did this during World War II, with the forced removal and internment of people of Japanese descent, many of whom were American citizens. Issued on February 19, 1942, Executive Order 9066 authorized the evacuation of all persons deemed a threat to national security from the west coast to relocation centers farther east. One month later, Executive Order 9102 was issued, which created the War Relocation Authority (WRA), the U.S. civilian agency responsible for the forced relocation and internment. After encouraging voluntary evacuation of the areas, involuntary removal and detention of these residents began. Over the next six months, approximately 122,000 men, women, and children were moved to assembly centers and eventually to guarded relocation centers, known as internment camps. Nearly 70,000 of the evacuees were American citizens.

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See Also: Cabinet Secretaries; House of Representatives, U.S.; Senate, U.S.

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Privilege

Privilege refers to unearned group-based advantages that some people have over others. The term is commonly used to describe situations in which some group or individual has benefits that are not based on solely, or in some cases at all, their skills and abilities, but rather because of who they are. According to professors Linda Black and David Stone, scholars differ on how precisely they define and describe privilege. There are, however, five basic commonalities in the current understanding of the concept. First, privilege is a special advantage; it is neither common nor universal. Second, it is granted, not earned or brought into being by one's individual effort or talent. Third, privilege is a right or entitlement that is related to a preferred status or rank. Fourth, privilege is exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion or detriment of others. Finally, a privileged status is often outside the awareness of the person possessing it.

Scholars have discussed male privilege and privileges related to social class, sexual orientation, and other variables. Most frequently, however, discussions about privilege have focused on race. White privileges are advantages held by light-skinned persons in institutions such as schools, colleges, the workplace, and criminal justice. They are also manifest in each person's daily life, although they are often presented as earned, not ascribed. Acknowledging privilege is essential to understanding racism and prejudice against ethnic groups.

The idea of privilege is not new. People of color have long spoken and written about privilege in terms of advantages that European colonists held over people of color. Sociologist, historian, and

civil rights activist W. E. B. Du Bois discussed privilege in 1935, noting that it was a legacy of colonialism. Authors James Baldwin and Gloria Anzaldúa described the many advantages held by those with light skin, although they did not use the term *privilege*. In 1965, activist Theodore Allen wrote specifically about white privilege, calling on white people to “repudiate their white skin privileges.” Radical authors in the 1970s also described and critiqued privilege, reflecting not only on their white privilege but also on their class privilege, ethnic privilege, and sexual orientation privilege. In 1987, sociologist Peggy McIntosh helped popularize the concept of privilege in her essay, “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack.” Since the 1980s, there has been growing interest in what has been called privilege studies. Scholars have noted that focusing only on dichotomous understandings (such as black versus white, male versus female) fails to fully recognize the many intricacies and intersections of privilege.

McIntosh’s work dramatically increased interest in the subject of privilege. Although initially reflecting on the privileges males have in a society that remains male-dominated, McIntosh focused her seminal piece on white privilege. She describes white privilege as an invisible knapsack, something white people carry around with them daily but are carefully taught not to recognize. Importantly, privilege is not something that only occurred in history. Rather, privilege is still manifest in each person’s daily life. McIntosh began thinking about these issues when she noticed that men rarely admitted that they are advantaged, even while admitting that women might be disadvantaged. Denying that one is a member of a group that receives advantages or privileges simply because of the group’s status is a way of maintaining the status quo. Once whites admit that they are privileged, they can then move toward taking individual and collective action that reduces disparities.

Invisible Advantages

According to McIntosh, in the United States, people are taught to see any advantage they may have as a sign of their hard work and good moral character. Whites are not taught to see themselves as oppressors. To acknowledge privilege would

require white people to grapple with the myth of meritocracy. McIntosh went through the process of “unpacking her knapsack,” or listing the many ways that she, as a white woman, was advantaged over those with darker skin. These are things that white people have taken for granted as normal, neutral, and universal. White privilege is far less transparent than the individual and institutional forms of racism commonly discussed. These privileges allow white people to continue to disproportionately benefit from structural arrangements and institutions while presuming that their benefits are the result of their hard work, skills, and moral character. White people come to expect certain privileges or perks as something that is due to them.

McIntosh is careful to note, however, that privileges and oppressions are interlocking. That is, while whites benefit from numerous privileges in U.S. society, poor white people, those with disabilities, and women have significantly less privileges than able-bodied, affluent white men. McIntosh notes that some privileges simply make whites feel more comfortable in the world, while others allow whites to escape insult, injury, and injustice. Most keep whites from being angry. For instance, she discusses the fact that she can go shopping without being harassed or followed, she can turn on the television and see people of her race widely represented, and her children are typically taught about their racial and ethnic groups’ contributions to U.S. history.

Although people of other racial or ethnic groups are often asked to speak for their entire group, whites are privileged to rarely, if ever, have to do so. Similarly, whites have the privilege of being able to criticize the dominant culture, with little threat of repercussions. Even things as simple as finding “flesh” colored bandages that are fairly close to a white person’s skin color is a form of white privilege. White privilege can be seen in wage differentials, housing segregation, access to mortgages and loans, the quality of schools, and more. According to professor Robert Jensen, all white people, not just those who are overtly racist, have white privileges. Jensen notes that when he seeks admission to a university, applies for a job, or looks for housing, he has the advantage of looking like those who make the decisions most of the time. He is therefore not perceived as

threatening, and even if he does or says something slightly critical or less than stellar, he is given the benefit of the doubt. The ultimate privilege is to acknowledge that whites have advantages over other racial and ethnic groups but be able to ignore the importance of those advantages.

Professors James Forrest and Kevin Dunn note that the privileges McIntosh described are not universally held by all whites. Rather, certain white ethnic and cultural groups receive the benefits of privilege while other ethnic groups, including Hispanic Americans, are left out. Similarly, professor Lawrence Blum maintains that focusing narrowly on white privilege misses the important differences among white ethnic groups.

Language of Privilege

Scholars have written much about how language and word choice reinforce privilege. For instance, a group of young black and/or Hispanic young men is often referred to as a gang, with all the negative connotations, whereas a group of white young men is far less likely to be assigned that negative label. Criminologists have described how crime reporting typically offers myriad explanations for the crimes of middle-class whites, yet few when the perpetrator is a person of color. The implication is that it is not surprising when people of color commit crime; therefore, no explanation is needed. The fact that white-perpetrated crime requires explanation suggests that white privilege is in action, because whites are not presumed to be innately criminal or violent. The spate of mass shootings in the United States in 2012 prompted discussion of the fact that most mass and spree killers are white.

David Sirota, a panelist for CNN and writer for Salon.com, asserted that although racially profiling white men would be ill advised, critical analysis is needed, given that some 70 percent of mass shootings are perpetrated by white men. Too often, Sirota maintained, white men portray themselves as victims of affirmative action and racial progress instead of recognizing the many ways they still benefit from current arrangements and policies. Instead of being labeled a “thug” (if he was black) or a “terrorist” (if he was of Arabic origin), Adam Lanza, the man who shot and killed 26 people at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut, has not been

assigned these generalized labels. Antiracist educator Tim Wise noted that whites talk about tragedies like Sandy Hook and Columbine by saying that “it shouldn’t have happened here.” This is an example of white privilege, as Wise explains: 6-year-olds should not be murdered anywhere, either in nice, affluent white communities or in poor black and brown communities.

John Hartigan, an anthropologist, asserts that poor whites are also given labels that clearly show the boundaries of privilege. “White trash,” “hill-billy,” and “redneck” are labels that highlight the intersections of race, class, and ethnicity in terms of privilege.

Acknowledging privilege does not mean that people have no merit or have not earned their positions. It simply means that whites have advantages that help them along the way, whereas someone with differently colored skin, someone from another ethnic or national origin or social class, or a person with a disability may have had to work harder for the same accolade or accomplishment. Many white people claim that they are colorblind; that is, they do not see color, but only individuals. As many scholars and activists have noted, however, being colorblind should not be the goal. Colorblindness fails to see difference where it matters. Difference shapes people in both good and bad ways. When people fail to see differences, they continue to ignore inequalities. Some people claim to celebrate difference but do so in a very limited, superficial way, such as eating Indian cuisine. To eradicate privilege, however, allies must pay attention not just to these unique cultural practices but also to power differentials.

For example, black men in particular have to be aware of race in their interactions with law enforcement. Asian Americans are acutely aware of race in the educational system, which presumes their superiority and thereby puts huge pressure on young people. One privilege of being white, then, is to not have to think about one’s race. Research has shown that white families rarely talk about race, and when they do, they are discussing others, not themselves.

Dismantling White Supremacy

McIntosh has adapted her original work several times, focusing on specific institutions such as criminal justice, in which white privilege is

manifest. McIntosh has also written extensively about male privilege. Years after her original essay, McIntosh has reconsidered her use of the word *privilege*. She has written that she now believes it to be misleading, if not inappropriate, as privilege generally connotes a favored state, something everyone desires. Many of the conditions she lists, however, are not at all desirable and are instead divisive and disempowering to certain groups. Critics such as Lewis Gordon and Naomi Zack reject the word *privilege*, arguing instead for the term *rights*. Gordon maintains that privilege is not something people need, whereas rights are and thus should be the aspiration. Author, poet, and political activist Ewuare Xola Osayande asserts that whites should simply call privilege what it is: white supremacy.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/ Equal Employment Opportunity; Anti-Racist Education; Diversity and Inclusion; ; Intersectionality.

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Protected Class

Protected class is a term used in antidiscrimination law to describe the groups of persons provided protection against discrimination. The protections against discrimination are provided by a number of federal, state, and local laws. The federally protected classes were initially race, color, national origin, and sex. Additional protected classes have since been created, including age (being over the age of 40), disability, and genetic information. Some state and local governments have added sexual orientation as a protected class. If a person is denied an opportunity or treated unfavorably solely because he or she is in a protected class, he or she will have a legal cause of action against the discriminating party.

The concept of protected class grew out of, and evolved from, federal law concerning employment discrimination. Some of the earliest protections were created under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This law prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, thereby providing protection to these classes. Other statutes have added to the protected classes. For example, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 prohibits employment discrimination based on age.

Persons with disabilities became another protected class under the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. In the Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act of 2008, Congress added genetic information as a protected class. Other federal laws provide discrimination protection to these classes in areas other than employment. Also, many states, counties, and local municipal governments have passed laws prohibiting discrimination and in some cases created additional protected classes (such as sexual orientation).

Legally Protected Classes

Race as a protected class does not apply only to members of minority groups or groups that have faced historical discrimination. Courts have held that the protections apply regardless of the race. For example, a policy that limited hiring or promotion to African Americans would still adversely affect a protected class because such a policy would be prejudicial against whites. The

extent to which policies can favor racial groups that have historically suffered from discrimination to the detriment of whites continues to be a subject of some debate and is sometimes referred to as “reverse discrimination.”

Color as a protected class refers to discrimination based on the relative skin complexion of an individual, generally favoring persons with lighter skin over persons with darker skin. This kind of discrimination is sometimes present within persons of the same race (e.g., favoring light-skinned African Americans over dark-skinned African Americans), or it can be a proxy for what is otherwise racial discrimination.

National origin as a protected class goes to many of the same concerns as with race and color but also recognizes that at times the place from which a person or his or her ancestors came may be a basis for discrimination. Therefore, this class prohibits discrimination because a person is Italian or Polish but also includes broader ethnic designations such as Latino or Middle Eastern. It has also been interpreted to include cultural groups, such as Gypsies, Cajuns, or Kurds.

Sex, as a protected class, refers to gender. A person is in a protected class regardless of whether male or female, so males are protected as well as females. Sex, however, has not been interpreted to include sexual preferences, sexual activity, or sexual practices. Homosexuality, bisexuality, polygamy, and other such classes are generally not considered within the parameters of the protected class of sex.

Religion as a class includes recognized and organized faiths, such as Christian, Jewish, and Muslim. It also includes subcategories, such as Baptist, Orthodox, and Sunni. In addition, religion includes moral or ethical beliefs as to what is right and wrong, if sincerely held, even if not tied to any particular religious group. The protected class includes those who question or espouse a lack of religious beliefs (e.g., agnostics or atheists). It does not include unprotected secular or political beliefs. The Ku Klux Klan has been held to be a political organization, not a religion.

More recent statutes have created age (40 and over) as a protected class. This class applies only to discrimination based on a person being over a certain age. Therefore, minimum hiring ages of less than 40 do not implicate the protected

class. Also, distinctions that favor older workers, even to the detriment of younger workers who are over the age of 40, are not prohibited. The law was designed to protect older workers from discrimination.

Disability is also a protected class, whether the disability is actual or perceived. For example, an employer cannot discriminate against an employee because he or she has diabetes or because the employer thinks the employee may have diabetes. A disability is defined as a medically recognized physical or mental condition that affects a major life activity.

The concern that information acquired by genetic (DNA) testing could lead to discrimination resulted in the passage of laws that include genetic information as a protected class. Employers are limited in their ability to request, require, or make use of this information. The inclusion of genetic testing as a protected class arose from concerns that employers might try to use this information to predict future health, thereby discriminating against an employee or applicant whose genetic tests demonstrated a likelihood of acquiring some condition or illness in the future.

Federal statutes do not place sexual orientation in a protected class, nor is sexual orientation included in the prohibition based on sex. Some states, counties, and municipalities have created statutes that prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation. The protection provided under these laws varies widely, with the underlying objective generally being to prohibit discrimination against gays and lesbians. However, to date, efforts to make sexual orientation a protected class under federal law have not been successful.

Theories Supporting Discrimination Claims

There are two generally recognized theories that provide support for a claim of discrimination brought by a person in a protected class. First, persons in a protected class are protected from “disparate treatment discrimination.” This means that a person or entity cannot choose to treat people in the protected class less favorably.

The second kind of claim that can be brought by one in a protected class is called “disparate impact discrimination.” Disparate impact discrimination provides protection against

discrimination even when the policy that is the basis of the claim does not on its face discriminate against a protected class, but the effect is to discriminate against people in the class.

For example, if an employer had a policy stipulating that to be considered for employment, an applicant had to be over six feet in height and be able to bench press 150 pounds, the policy itself does not make any mention of race, color, national origin, or sex. However, because far fewer females than males in the population are over six feet tall and females (as a population) have less upper-body strength, such a requirement would effectively eliminate most females from consideration for the position. The impact of such a policy would be to disproportionately discriminate against females and, hence, adversely affect the protected class of sex.

Some discrimination against all protected classes, except race, is allowed if the discrimination is otherwise justified under the circumstances. The standard for permitting just discrimination can vary depending on the statute, but the governing principle is that discrimination will be tolerated when it serves a significant and necessary, nondiscriminatory purpose. For example, discrimination based on sex is justified when sex is a “bona fide occupational qualification” (BFOQ). An employer could require that an applicant be able to lift 150 pounds (even though that requirement would discriminate against female applicants) if lifting 150 pounds was an essential component of the job.

Likewise, with regard to disabilities, a person with a disability will lose the protection of being in the protected class if he or she is not “otherwise qualified” for the job. An employer would not be illegally discriminating against an applicant with a disability if the disability precluded the applicant from being able to do the job. Courts do view BFOQs and other similar allowances for discrimination with suspicion and may inquire into whether there are other nondiscriminatory means of accomplishing the same objective.

In the area of discrimination law, the protected class delineates the groups that are provided protection. The law provides relief to a person who falls into one of these groups if that categorization was the basis for discrimination by another party. This type of protection has been provided by the federal government as well as state and

local governments. The groups classified as protected classes have grown over time. The exact protections provided and the exceptions to the protection can vary from law to law.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Civil Rights Acts; Executive Order 8802 (1941); Racism; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978); *Ricci v. DeStefano* (2009).

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Protocol of Querétaro (1848)

The Mexican-American War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. When representatives of the belligerents met in Santiago de Querétaro on May 30 of that year to exchange their ratifications of the treaty, they negotiated a protocol consisting of three articles explaining the treaty’s amendments.

The original treaty is historically notable for being the oldest living treaty between Mexico and the United States and for granting citizenship to Mexicans who remained in the new American lands for more than a year. The protocol, however, has also been the subject of controversy because of the American government’s refusal to honor it, claiming that the representative who negotiated it, Nicholas Trist, exceeded his authority in doing so.

The version of the treaty ratified by the U.S. Senate (as required by American law) differed from the original version by eliminating Article X, which would have required the United States to honor land grants made by the Spanish and Mexican governments in the lands now ceded to the United States. Wording in Article IX was also changed such that Mexicans would be granted citizenship “at the proper time (to be judged by the U.S. Congress)” rather than “as soon as possible.” The protocol as negotiated by Trist downplayed these changes by affirming that they did not constitute a change in the legitimacy of Mexican land grants or the rights granted to Mexican residents of the ceded lands.

Negotiation of the Treaty

Luis Cuevas, Bernardo Couto, and Miguel Atristain negotiated for Mexico on behalf of interim Mexican president Manuel de la Pena y Pena. In 1847, U.S. President James K. Polk had sent Nichols P. Trist as his emissary with a draft of the settlement, but he recalled him from service the following year. Across the continent, Trist met with Mexican negotiators anyway, hammering through the most difficult provisions regarding money, land, and recognition of Mexican citizens. Neither the Mexican nor American congresses supported the treaty signed in February 1848 but ultimately acquiesced, understanding that the only other option was a return to active warfare, which neither side wanted.

In February 1848, at the tentative end of nearly two years of war between the United States and Mexico, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was negotiated and exchanged for ratifications in the congresses of Mexico and the United States, in both English and Spanish. Both nations were to return with original, signed, and ratified copies of the treaty within four months or less. Unfortunately for Mexico, when the representative returned with the U.S. version, important modifications and rationale were included.

To appease those in the U.S. Congress who felt that the United States should take all of Mexico and leave nothing for the losing side, Article X of the treaty was removed, which had agreed to honor the character of land grants as they had been given, the same as if they had remained within the boundaries of the newly defined Mexican nation.

Article IX was substantially shortened, taking out specific references to the Catholic Church. By removing this article, the United States wanted to clarify what it meant by taking such action. The protocol explained that land grants would be recognized if the grantees proved their legitimate title in the American legal system.

Effects of the Treaty

The protocol presented major roadblocks for Mexicans who wanted to maintain title to their land. First were the vagaries of both Spanish and Mexican land grants, which were frequently given without complete knowledge or mapping of the area in question. Second were the two types of land grants given, both *hijuela* (“person”) and *ejido* (“communal”), which did not coincide with U.S. property law or ideology about land ownership in the era of manifest destiny. Third was the challenge of possessing written documentation versus long-term tenure on the land over generations. Finally was the frequently insurmountable task and expense of negotiating the American legal system in English.

In practice, the “American tribunals,” as mentioned in the protocol, frequently failed to honor Mexican land grants in the ceded territories, even when all was in order, and despite the significant hurdles petitioners faced in even pressing their claims at that level.

The result was predictable; the majority of Mexican grantees became landless, impoverished, and politically disenfranchised. Approximately 90 percent of land grants changed hands within 50 years, often monopolized by unscrupulous squatters or land barons with access to capital and legal networks.

One such example was the Santa Fe Ring in New Mexico. Initially, grants were reviewed by surveyors general who made recommendations to Congress for ratification, which then issued a patent to grantees conveying to them the title of their landholding.

In 1891, the U.S. Congress established the Court of Private Land Claims to dispose of the remaining cases not finished by the surveyors general, complicated by the intervening War Between the States. The 1897 U.S. Supreme Court case of *United States v. Sandoval et al.* also provided an interpretation that all communal lands were

actually held by the Mexican government, not local communities, thus in signing the treaty, those lands had been conveyed by the Mexican government to the U.S. government.

By the end of the land claims court in 1904, less than 10 percent of grants had been awarded, and even those with personal holdings had now been stripped of access to water, grazing, and other natural resources on *ejido* lands, making their grants worthless in the arid southwest. Though granted citizenship sooner than other peoples displaced or disadvantaged by manifest destiny, Mexican Americans were given far fewer advantages and rights than they were initially promised. The distrust and anger over this issue manifested itself in the land grant movement in New Mexico as part of the Chicano civil rights movement.

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See Also: Bear Flag Revolt; Gadsden Purchase; Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); Manifest Destiny; Mexican-American War.

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Public Health and Ethnic Diversity

The health of the U.S. public varies greatly over time and geographic location. Diseases and health conditions of the greatest concern also change. Population health also varies greatly across ethnicities and cultures. In an effort to understand community health and promote community

health, public health is an interdisciplinary field relied on to promote a healthier society. In general, public health is the prevention and promotion of health among populations, ranging in size from small communities to entire countries. Typically, public health is defined as both the science and art of promoting health. In order to accomplish these goals, public health initiatives include analyzing population health and promoting healthy communities.

By utilizing policy and research strategies, public health professionals garner understanding of health issues and chronic diseases in populations. Public health is primarily focused on the overall population health, which can be described as the health of groups of people. Thus, paying attention to the changing demographics of the United States is imperative in preventing disease and injury while promoting healthy living.

Therefore, with the increasing ethnic diversity of the U.S. population, one cannot ignore the impact that these changes and shifts have on the health needs of individuals and the health needs of the population at large. What once may have been seen as effective public health policy and treatments now may or may not be as effective as it could be for an increasingly diverse population in which public health institutions must now answer a call to provide equitable access to all people by intersecting ethnic diversity into the practice of public health. Historical health trends and the sometimes inequitable service provided to the public in the past offers insight into the importance of creating public health services that are accessible and effective for all populations such that the existence of a healthy public is created and supported.

A healthy public gets sick less frequently. Consequently, the prevention of disease and injury is paramount. Additionally, a healthy community spends less money on health care and thereby enjoys better economic productivity and an improved quality of life. Public health attempts to help all individuals increase their well-being. For example, helping children to be healthy is of great importance because as children thrive, they miss less school and demonstrate overall better academic performance. This result not only assists a community in economic prosperity but also has an added bonus of educating citizens who



Lieutenant J. G. Cody Thornton (at right, in uniform) of the U.S. Public Health Service being interviewed during the kick-off of the Food Safety Inspection Service (FSIS) Food Safety Discovery Zone, May 6, 2010, on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., during Public Service Recognition Week. The Food Safety Discovery Zone is a mobile education center for the FSIS Food Safety Education that travels to schools and civic functions teaching safe food handling. The U.S. Public Health Service and U.S. Department of Agriculture Food Safety Education Service cooperate on the operation of the Food Safety Discovery Zone.

become resources for a community. Public health ultimately attempts to reduce human suffering, creating myriad ways to deliver public health services such as education and prevention, and preparing people for the impact of catastrophes from community-trusted sources may be important in weaving diversity into public health.

Although public health is often considered a newer scientific field in the United States, its history is traced in international societies ranging back to 2000 B.C.E. and earlier. Societal crises, typically disease states that impacted a large portion of a society, created fear and received attention. Often, the attention became the impetus for societies to intervene to reduce illness and death. When these health crises emerged, it was evident that something had to be done to stop the spread of death and disease.

Without modern medical science, the etiology and often the treatments were tied to supernatural

beliefs, but they were attempts to thwart the spread of disease. Some made great sense. Societies built drainage systems, removed bodies of the dead, and even looked for a greater understanding of the human body.

However, the contemporary roots of public health in the United States date back to 1798, when the U.S. Public Health Service was established. This federal government entity is now housed in the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Since the inception of the U.S. Public Health Service, health has expanded to nearly every corner of government. Components of health can be found in the Social Security Administration, Department of Labor, Department of Homeland Security, Department of Defense, and Department of Veterans Affairs. These diverse agencies realize that public health is intertwined with most public and governmental concerns and thus should be considered when

making decisions that impact the population as a whole. It was common, historically, for agencies to treat public disease and injury primarily on a responsive basis, intervening after a disease state or crisis occurred. Now, however, many policies, agencies, and educators are realizing that prevention is of great importance, both to promote healthy living and to increase financial benefits.

Public Health Today

The need for public health services to serve a multiethnic and multicultural America is immense, immediate, and real. The emerging diversity of the current U.S. population is of great concern to public health because health conditions do not equally impact various cultures within the United States. Population health differs by subpopulations and cultures, depending on such factors as gender, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, and ethnic background.

Understanding these differences, also called disparities, and ultimately how to combat them is a focus of public health researchers. The disparities between disease states across cultures are of great concern. These differences, however, occur for many different reasons and not in isolation. Some of these differences may be attributed to such complex factors as health literacy, ethnic-based genetic precursors, financial access, access to nutritional foods, and the treatment of minority cultures.

The great diversity that occurs across populations often requires different treatments and different ways to promote prevention. Even when the causes of a disease are understood, the education and prevention strategies that work with one subpopulation may not work with the next. Although efforts might be made to address one specific public health concern or disease, the effectiveness of treating the same disease among different ethnic groups may suffer due to lack of understanding of each group's unique needs and their approach to seeking healthy habits and lifestyles. Therefore, as the ethnic diversity of the United States has increased, there is a call for increasingly diverse and equitable ways to address public health concerns among different ethnic populations.

Not only might public health need to diversify delivery of services, but diversity might also be

incorporated into public health by addressing the ability for all populations to access public health services. For example, public parks are an excellent community resource for providing opportunities to enhance public health in that parks allow people to get outdoors and be more physically active. However, not all populations have access to public areas that are safe or suitable for use. Therefore, it could be suggested that increasing public access to these kinds of public facilities might positively affect public health and well-being by taking into account the different needs of ethnically diverse populations.

Efforts to decrease ethnic stereotypes may also be of special concern to public health institutions' efforts to incorporate diversity into practice because stereotypes and misinformation could have the potential to prevent entire subgroups or populations from seeking the treatment they need. For example, some people may be under the impression that certain diseases only affect specific populations. Misinformation and beliefs among the public could be a challenge to maintaining public health. Addressing misunderstandings related to ethnic diversity in public health is essential, and it could be said that a goal of public health for now and into the future could be to utilize diverse public health service providers and trusted community members in helping address misunderstandings.

To complicate this matter, the current racial and ethnic composition of public health professionals, public health faculty, and public health workers in the United States only began appearing in the professional literature in 2003. Findings indicate that the public health workforce does not mirror the diversity inherent in either current or future U.S. population statistics. Most public health practitioners, students, and public health faculty are Caucasian. Former U.S. Surgeon General David Satcher described the need for diversity within the public health workforce as "important because it defines the parameters of opportunities for our children; it enriches the lives of our future professionals; and because if we are going to achieve the goal of eliminating disparities in health, we'll need a diverse group of health professionals to accomplish it."

The current composition of public health professionals and researchers does not mirror the

populations they most want to impact. Thus, diversity among the public health workforce needs expansion. Additionally, public health is in part a field of scientific inquiry, thus a need exists for all public health professionals to understand how to educate and intervene in cultures of which they may not be a part.

The current composition of the public health workforce and the need for attitudes, knowledge, and skills to work cross-culturally are exacerbated by a preference in some cultures to embrace education and prevention strategies that come “from the inside.”

The United States is experiencing changing demographics that require public health professionals to work with patients who are culturally different. Thus, training public health professionals to effectively work with people whose backgrounds differ from the practitioners’ is of paramount importance in providing quality care. This objective, if met, would not only increase the cultural diversity of the public health workforce, it would also help bring a greater ability to reach diverse populations and potentially increase health outcomes and eradicate health disparities.

Public Health and Ethnic Diversity

Because the U.S. population is so diverse, practicing public health professionals, public health faculty, and public health professionals in training from all backgrounds need to be equipped with cultural competence skills to serve this ever-increasingly diverse public. Several public health organizations, such as the American Public Health Association (APHA) and the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (AHRQ), have addressed the need for cultural competence through their organizational policies and statements. These calls to the field are attempts to not only promote professionals to work effectively with diverse populations but also to increase the diversity of the public workforce.

In addition, the accreditation bodies, such as the Council on Education for Public Health (CEPH), deem that training programs must address issues of cultural competence, health literacy, and health care disparities. Infusing such ideals into the training of new professionals will help ensure a public health workforce that is better equipped to

work with the many faces of diversity that they will encounter.

Public health is both an art and science. Differences in health states are found not only within the United States but also across the world. In the United States, many disparities occur in general health and well-being across cultures. However, these differences are not greatly understood. Though public health has a rich history of interdisciplinary study, there are few forums, think tanks, and academic homes where comprehensive research is dedicated to public health. However, public health graduate degrees and grants focusing on meeting public health needs are changing the landscape of public health. A continued focus on research that looks at first understanding where public health disparities occur is paramount to then finding intervention and prevention strategies that will meet the ever-diversifying population.

Public health is concerned with the health of populations. As the United States becomes increasingly diverse, public health professionals need the attitudes, knowledge, and skills to work with populations from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Honing these skills will allow public health professionals to more effectively reach diverse populations. Additionally, the current public health workforce does not mirror the populations for whom they are working. Thus, there is a great need to enhance the workforce diversity within public health.

Public health is concerned not only with the health of the public but also with preventing and educating populations about health issues. Prevention and education are more cost-effective than treatment of disease states. Thus, public health professionals need to influence the U.S. health care system, whereby prevention and education as well as treatment are valued and reimbursed. If this goal is accomplished, fewer disparities and better health outcomes for all U.S. populations can be anticipated.

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See Also: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Health Beliefs and Practices; Health Disparities and Ethnic Diversity; Intercultural Education.

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Pueblo

The Pueblo people consist of a number of Native American tribes that are indigenous to the United States, and they are named for the villages, or *pueblos*, they were living in when they first encountered the Spanish in the 16th century. Pueblos are adobe, mud, and stone structures consisting of multilevel buildings surrounding open courtyards, and they strongly resemble modern apartment complexes. The Spanish designated certain tribes as Pueblo based on their use of these buildings. When Spanish territory was ceded to the United States, those tribes were recognized by the federal government as Pueblo.

There are 21 recognized communities: the Hopi people of Arizona; Zuni people of New Mexico; Pueblo people of Acoma, Cochiti, Jemez, Isleta, Laguna, Nambe, Ohkay Owingeh, Picuris, Pojoaque, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Sandia, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, and Zia, New Mexico; and the Pueblo people of Ysleta Del Sur, Texas.

The ancient Pueblo peoples, sometimes referred to as the Anasazi from the Navajo term for "ancient enemies," are one of the four major groups of the ancient southwest, along with the Hohokam, Mogollon, and Patayan. They inhabited the Colorado plateau and large parts of New Mexico and Nevada, and they introduced adobe dwellings built along cliff walls, accessible by rope or rock climbing. Ancient Pueblo towns are notable for the clear sense of community planning and the prevalence of multi-story and multi-purpose buildings. The first Pueblo Era began around 750 C.E., during a golden age for the Pueblo peoples, during which the population grew rapidly because of amenable weather for agriculture and improvements in technology. Some pre-Columbian pueblos are still inhabited today, although modern residents generally maintain contemporary homes in addition to the pueblo. Pueblo construction has also had a considerable influence on southwestern architecture, art, and aesthetics.

The Pueblo peoples were the first to successfully revolt against the Spanish, who in 1680 had been in the New World for nearly 200 years. The Pueblo Revolt began on August 10, 1680, and was a coordinated attack by 2,500 Pueblo warriors. The Spanish withdrew for 12 years, and in abandoning their settlements, they also abandoned their horses, which became the wild mustang herds of the southwest.

There is great cultural and linguistic variation among Pueblo peoples. Some anthropologists have followed the lead of Paul Kirchhoff in considering two basic groups of Pueblo peoples. One is the Tanoan-speaking Pueblos, excluding the Jemez, who organize into nonexogamous patrilineal clans; whose traditional religious beliefs include dualism, the origin of people from under water; the ritual importance of multiples of three; and who count five directions, beginning in the west; and the other groups include the Jemez, Hopi, and Zuni, who organize into exogamous matrilineal clans; whose religious beliefs include the origin of people from underground; and the ritual importance of four and seven; and who count four or six directions, beginning with the north. Other scholars have focused primarily on linguistic differences or on the differences between the irrigating farmers of the east and the dry farmers of the west.



Pueblo youth taking part in a minority outreach natural resources science day camp in New Mexico in September 2012. They are photographing blackbrush plants alongside U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service lab scientists.

Many Pueblo communities today hold annual ceremonies that are open to the public. Often, it is the feast day of the Roman Catholic patron saint assigned to that pueblo by Spanish missionaries, though those saints were chosen because their feast days coincided with traditional ceremony days. Ground cornmeal is often used as a sacred substance, as well as prayer sticks.

Among the western Pueblo peoples, the *kachina* figures largely in traditional beliefs. Kachina dolls are familiar to the general public,

but the dolls represent spirit beings who are personifications of aspects of the natural world—including ancestors, elements, natural phenomena like lightning, specific places, and abstract qualities. Local Pueblo communities often have a pantheon of kachinas that include the sun, thunderstorms, corn, and the wind. The Zunis hold that kachinas live in a mythical lake, reached through the junction of the Zuni River and the Little Colorado River, whereas the Hopi believe that kachinas live in the San Francisco Peaks of Arizona. Rituals and ceremonies often involve the use of dancers in kachina masks.

Most Pueblo communities also have *kivas*, special rooms used for religious rituals. They are square walled, are usually underground, and have been found in buildings dating back as far as the Pueblo I Era, which began in 750 c.e. Kivas are often used in the veneration of kachinas, although the earliest kivas predate the earliest evidence of kachinas by several centuries. Acoma Pueblo, near Grants, New Mexico, was built in the 12th century and is the oldest continuously inhabited village in the United States. It consists of the three villages of Sky City, McCartys, and Acomita, and is inhabited by the federally recognized Acoma Pueblo Tribe.

The present size of the community consists of about 10 percent of the land that was traditionally held. The Acomas are Keres-speakers, a group of seven mutually intelligible dialects spoken by Pueblo tribes. There are about 5,000 Acomas. The pueblo has no electricity, sewage disposal, or running water, but the reservation land surrounding the mesas has modern buildings.

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See Also: Hopi; Native Americans; Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

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Pueblo Revolt (1680)

The Pueblo Revolt was an uprising by the Pueblo Indians to drive the Spanish from their homeland of New Mexico. The revolt stands as the most successful example of resistance by indigenous peoples of the New World against a European colonial power. The Spanish would not reassert their presence in the region for 12 years.

Background to the Revolt

Inspired by the riches found in other parts of the New World, Juan de Onate gained permission from the Spanish Crown to establish the colony of New Mexico in 1598 in the hope of benefiting from the great mineral wealth reportedly located in the region. Unfortunately for Onate and the Spanish and Mesoamerican colonists who accompanied him, the region's supposed wealth turned out to be a myth. The colony was a tremendous disappointment, and the Spanish Crown nearly shut it down in 1605, a mere seven years after its founding.

Though there were no vast riches to be found, the Crown allowed the colony to continue because of what the Spanish did find in the region: a group of politically distinct, yet culturally and linguistically related, indigenous communities they collectively labeled Pueblos (the Spanish word for "town"). Though the archaeological record is not complete, the Pueblos had probably lived in the locations where the Spanish encountered them for several centuries.

Unlike other Indian communities in the region, the Pueblos already lived in towns and practiced year-round agriculture, two qualities that made them more "civilized" in the eyes of the Spanish, as well as more likely candidates for Christianization. In fact, it was the vast potential harvest of souls that Franciscan missionaries saw among the Pueblos that ensured the colony's survival into the 17th century.

Spanish occupation was very difficult on the Pueblos. The Spanish insisted that the Pueblos pay tribute in the form of agricultural products, as well as labor owed to prominent Spanish colonists. Pueblo women endured assault, and Pueblo men humiliation. Perhaps most seriously, the Franciscan monks waged an all-out war on Pueblo religious practices, which they saw as inspired by Satan.

They destroyed sacred places and objects, and they severely punished religious leaders or any Pueblos found participating in the now-forbidden rites.

The Revolt

In the late 17th century, Spanish oppression was only one of the difficulties the Pueblos faced. Severe drought and other climate changes hit the region hard. Nomadic and seminomadic raiders, such as the Apache and the Navajo, stepped up their attacks on the colony, and Spanish and Pueblo suffered alike. If the Spanish were going to oppress the Pueblos, interrupt important religious practices that the Pueblos believed could affect the weather and climate, and prove incapable of stopping the raids, then perhaps their presence could no longer be tolerated.

The catalyst that finally ignited an intolerable situation was probably the arrest of 45 Pueblo leaders on charges of sorcery in 1675. The Spanish governor sentenced four men to hanging, while the rest were publicly whipped, then released. Among those released was a man from Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo (San Juan) named Pope. Pope traveled to another Pueblo community called Taos and began to plan a revolt with the help of leaders from other pueblos. Communicating through messengers carrying knotted ropes that served as countdown calendars, Pueblo leaders planned a widespread uprising on August 11, 1680. However, Spanish officials captured two messengers because of warnings from sympathetic Pueblos, so the revolt actually began a day early, on August 10. Despite the early warning, the Spanish failed to understand the seriousness of the revolt and were caught completely off guard.

Most Spanish colonists lived in isolated ranches or settlements far from the capital in Santa Fe. The colony's missionary population mostly lived in the pueblos themselves. Within a matter of days, the Pueblos had killed perhaps as many as 400 colonists and had killed 22 of the colony's 33 Franciscans. They also completely destroyed many of the colony's churches and outlying settlements.

The Spanish survivors fled to Santa Fe or to Isleta Pueblo, in the south of New Mexico, one of the few pueblos that did not participate in the revolt. Neither group of survivors was aware of the other, and each thought it was the only one left. Believing everyone else in the colony to be

dead, the survivors at Isleta Pueblo finally set out for El Paso on September 15.

Meanwhile, the survivors who had reached Santa Fe settled in for a long siege under the leadership of Governor Antonio de Otermin. By the end of September, Otermin was dangerously short on men, resources, and especially water. He decided to attempt to fight his way out of the city and head south. Surprisingly, the Pueblo besiegers allowed the Spanish to leave without further conflict, and Otermin's column of survivors began its journey toward El Paso on September 21, eventually reuniting with the survivors from the Isleta Pueblo column once they arrived. After a little over 80 years, the Spanish colony had been destroyed.

The Revolt's Aftermath and Legacy

In 1692, Diego de Vargas successfully reentered New Mexico and began reasserting the Spanish authority over the region. He encountered little resistance, as the unity that had bound the Pueblos together during the revolt had quickly disintegrated in the decade following. Still, the first few years of the renewed Spanish presence in New Mexico were tense, culminating in a minor and geographically limited second revolt in 1696. For the most part, though, the Pueblos accepted that the Spanish were a permanent part of their world. They would remain in New Mexico until Mexico declared independence in 1821 and claimed the colony as part of its territory.

The Spanish, however, had come to accept that the power they could assert over the Pueblos had real limitations. Franciscan monks, though still disapproving of Pueblo religious life, carried out their work with less arrogance and fewer demands upon the population. Colonial officials still levied resources from the Pueblos, but much of the cruelty and oppression of the colony's previous era was gone. In fact, genuine cooperation between the Spanish and the Pueblos developed as they increasingly joined forces against common enemies in the region, such as the Navajo and Apache, as well as the newly arrived Comanche.

The Pueblo Revolt and the leading figure of Pope have captivated the imagination of artists, writers, and scholars alike. The sheer scope of the uprising, as well as its tremendous if temporary success, make the revolt a fascinating subject. Some historians have even gone as far as to label

the Pueblo Revolt as the continent's first war for independence, predating the American Revolution by almost a century—a not entirely inappropriate comparison, though it has its limitations.

Perhaps the greatest legacy of the revolt, however, is the rich and unique cultural heritage of New Mexico—a blending of Hispanic and indigenous influences born out of several centuries of interaction between the Pueblos and Spanish colonists and their descendants. Without the revolt, the era of cooperation so important in such interactions might not have occurred.

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See Also: All Indian Pueblo Council; Native Americans; Pueblo.

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Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund

One of the foremost civil rights organizations dedicated to protecting the rights of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos in the United States, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF) is a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization established in 1972. The organization's founders included three Puerto Rican lawyers, Jorge Batista, Victor Marrero, and Cesar Perales. The primary activities of the PRLDEF include providing legal counsel to members of the Puerto Rican and larger Latino population on behalf of

court cases that directly impact these communities and advocating local, state, and federal governments on matters of concern to the Puerto Rican/Latino communities.

Three major areas of focus within the PRLDEF include law, education, and civic participation. Additionally, the organization offers preparatory courses and scholarships for Latinos pursuing careers in the legal field. Since its founding, the organization has renamed itself LatinoJustice PRLDEF, highlighting that its mission objectives have taken on more of a pan-Latino focus rather than a singular emphasis on Puerto Rican issues.

Litigation and Bilingual Issues

The first legal action taken by the PRLDEF occurred in September 1972, when the newly formed organization joined with ASPIRA, a non-profit organization that aimed to improve educational opportunities for Puerto Rican students, in filing a class action lawsuit against the New York City Board of Education for its alleged negligence toward students who lacked English fluency. ASPIRA and the PRLDEF contended that the Board of Education had failed to take the linguistic needs of its students who lacked fluency in English into consideration with its educational policies, which thereby undermined the quality of education such students received.

This lawsuit culminated in an August 1974 consent decree, which established bilingual education classes in New York City public schools for students with limited English proficiency. Such students would be taught in their native language while they also studied English to improve their linguistic skills. *ASPIRA, Inc. v. Board of Education of the City of New York* remains one of the landmark court cases pertaining to educational rights in U.S. history, as it firmly established bilingual education within New York City and resulted in the subsequent adoption of bilingual education programs by other school districts across the nation.

The issue of language rights also factored into several other major PRLDEF court cases throughout the 1970s. The *López v. Dinkins* case (1973) procured bilingual ballots and interpreters to allow Spanish-speaking and Chinese-speaking parents to vote in New York City school board elections. In 1974, the ruling in *Torres v. Sachs* mandated the provision of bilingual ballots for

all elections held in New York City, while the outcome of *Ortiz v. New York State Board of Elections* (1974) required bilingual ballots for all elections held statewide. These voting rights cases were particularly significant in that both New York City and upstate New York were home to sizable Puerto Rican communities.

Under the Jones Act of 1917, all residents of Puerto Rico had been conferred American citizenship and were free to migrate to the mainland United States without immigration restrictions. As U.S. citizens, Puerto Ricans held the right to vote in local, state, and federal elections, although many Puerto Ricans lacked English fluency or literacy, which impeded their right to cast ballots printed exclusively in English prior to the 1974 verdicts. Following these decisions, the PRLDEF secured the right for bilingual ballots in nearby Philadelphia (*Arroyo v. Tucker*, 1974).

Other Activism

In the 1980s, the PRLDEF took legal action to protect the participation of Latino voters in the electoral process. For example, in 1981, the PRLDEF joined with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund to fight the proposed realignment of state legislative districts within Chicago that would have diluted the size and political strength of the Latino vote. This resulted in the creation of two majority-Latino voting districts.

In 2000, the organization turned its attention to the Caribbean when it joined with Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., and filed suit (*Waterkeeper Alliance v. Department of Defense*) against the United States Navy to cease its 60-year military live-fire exercises in Vieques, a small island off the eastern coast of Puerto Rico.

In 1999, the U.S. Navy admitted it had accidentally fired 263 bullets laced with depleted uranium in Vieques in violation of federal law, and further opposition to the Navy's presence intensified after David Sanes, a Vieques resident and civilian naval employee, was accidentally killed in 1999 during a routine bombing exercise. Sanes's death led to protests among the local population for the Navy's removal from the island, which prompted numerous Puerto Rican luminaries, including actress Rosie Pérez, recording artist Ricky Martin, professional boxer Félix Trinidad, and New York Congresswoman Nydia Velázquez, to join the cause.

The lawsuit filed by Kennedy and the PRLDEF called for the Navy to withdraw from Vieques, to clean up its environmental degradation of the island, and to compensate the local population for financial damages incurred from the Navy's presence. Ultimately, the Navy withdrew from Vieques in 2003. In 2007, the PRLDEF won a permanent injunction against an ordinance enacted in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, that mandated that landlords verify the citizenship status of tenants before renting out their properties.

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See Also: Bilingual Education; Hispanic Americans; Puerto Ricans.

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Puerto Ricans

Puerto Ricans have a diverse ethnic heritage, that includes ancestry from the Taino people of the island, Spaniards, and Africans primarily from West Africa. Most Puerto Ricans speak Spanish at home (in 2010, 95 percent of those on the island did so as well as 65 percent in the 50 states) and identify as Hispanic or Latino. Although most Puerto Ricans are Roman Catholic, some also celebrate Santería, which survived from Yoruba beliefs in Nigeria. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, but island residents do not pay federal taxes or have a voting representative in Congress; they also cannot vote for the U.S. president.

Despite Puerto Ricans' diverse backgrounds and migration throughout the United States, they have retained a sense of community and identity fueled by their history, continued use of the Spanish language and its dominance on the island, and ease of back-and-forth travel from the island to the 50 states.

The Spaniards first claimed the island for Spain in 1493. By 1511, the Taino population had declined so dramatically—from diseases and hard labor—that Spaniards then turned to enslaved people from West Africa to provide their new workforce. Puerto Ricans remained under Spanish control until 1897, when the Spaniards granted them greater autonomy; the following year, they chose their first elected officials, who served a few months until the Americans invaded the island in July 1898 at the close of the Spanish-American War.

In December 1898, Spain gave the United States the island of Puerto Rico as part of the Treaty of Paris, which formally ended the war. No Puerto Ricans participated in the proceedings, and Puerto Rico remained under U.S. military occupation, with its status uncertain, until the Foraker Act of 1900 established a civil government under the control of the United States. The following year, English became the dominant language in the school system. As with other U.S. territories, the American president appointed the territory's governor and justices, but it was not clear whether the U.S. Constitution would apply to island residents and whether or not the island was a territory similar to the continental ones.

In 1901, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Downes v. Bidwell* that the islands of Puerto Rico and Guam were unincorporated territories and not on the path to statehood like previous ones. Puerto Ricans received the status of "nationals" rather than citizenship. Later decisions clarified that Puerto Ricans had the right to migrate freely to the United States but did not have voting rights or control over the government of their island; thus, they were neither foreigners nor citizens.

Politics

In 1917, the United States extended citizenship to Puerto Ricans via the Jones Act. Although they now had protection under the U.S. Constitution, islanders still did not have much say in

politics, as they could not choose their own governor, did not have voting representation in the U.S. Congress, and could not vote for the U.S. president. Even the extension of citizenship had been decided without their direct input. The new status offered some protection, but it also meant that they had to register for military service, serving in segregated units.

After some years of conflict over the island's status and movements for independence, in 1948 the United States authorized Puerto Ricans to elect their own governor. The first elected governor, Luis Muñoz Marín, supported changing the language of instruction in the schools to Spanish, although English would continue to be taught as a second language.

Four years later, the United States Congress provided Puerto Ricans with a choice between remaining a colony or choosing to become a commonwealth; they opted for the latter and became an *estado libre asociado* (associated free state), or commonwealth, which meant that they would elect their own leaders and make their own laws while remaining subject to U.S. federal courts, military service, and trade laws.

Some Puerto Ricans desired independence from the United States, whereas others wanted the island to become a state, but these options were not presented; few desire independence today, although many are interested in Puerto Rico becoming a state. Island residents remain under commonwealth status today.

Migration

Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland United States in several waves, with the largest group coming to the states following World War II. Even before Puerto Rico came under U.S. control, there were a few Puerto Ricans, primarily merchants in coastal towns such as Boston, or working-class cigar makers who resided in cigar-rolling towns such as Tampa, Florida, or New York City, in the late 19th century. After the Spanish-American War, Puerto Ricans migrated in organized groups to places such as Hawai'i and Louisiana to perform low-wage agricultural jobs.

Following World War II, the ease and affordability of air travel dramatically increased the exodus, especially since there were few employment opportunities on the island after sugar

corporations took control of much of the land, offering primarily temporary jobs during harvest season and at very low wages. In the 1950s alone, there was a net migration of over 470,000 people leaving the island, which more than doubled the number who had left during the first four decades of the century.

Puerto Ricans on the mainland settled first primarily in East or Spanish Harlem in New York City to work in the garment industries and restaurants and at other unskilled jobs that did not require the English language. There, they experienced some ethnic tensions as they competed with African Americans and Italians in the same neighborhood for unskilled jobs and affordable housing. They also faced discrimination because of their skin color (some were considered white and others black) and language issues. As unskilled jobs disappeared in the 1960s and 1970s, many Puerto Ricans lived in poverty. Language problems—Puerto Rican students were put into regular English-language classrooms and expected to learn—contributed to their difficulties. Since the 1970s, more Puerto Ricans have moved to other states, such as Florida and Illinois, for opportunities.

Culture and Cultural Impact

Off the island, Puerto Ricans' sense of themselves as a group grew because of their experience living together in New York City and their distinct experience as a group of migrants who were citizens but who did not speak the dominant language on the mainland. During the 1950s, Puerto Ricans on the mainland established various organizations to help members of their community and to strengthen and celebrate their identity and culture. The annual Puerto Rican Day Parade, started in 1958, has become a major cultural event with over one million spectators each year.

Puerto Rican culture has influenced America especially through its music. Fusing African American music with the beats of Afro-Cuban music, Puerto Ricans contributed to the sounds of salsa or "sauce" music. Popular in the 1930s and 1950s with famous Latin jazz stars such as Tito Puente, its sounds and popularity were revived in the 1990s with singers Ricky Martin and Marc Anthony. Others famous entertainers of Puerto Rican descent include Sammy Davis, Jr., Jennifer

Lopez, Rosie Perez, and Geraldo Rivera. Puerto Rican authors have also had an impact, from Piri Thomas in the 1960s to the more recent memoir and novels by Esmeralda Santiago.

Contemporary Scene

Puerto Ricans live throughout the 50 states and on the island, although today more Puerto Ricans live off the island than on it (as of 2010, there were approximately 3.7 million on the island and well over 4 million on the mainland). Puerto Ricans are one of the largest groups of Latinos in the United States. They have remained in the public spotlight because of the size of their population, the ongoing debates over the island's status (primarily over statehood or commonwealth status), the increased recognition of the growing Latino population in the United States and attention to their interests and politics, and President Barack Obama's recent appointment, in 2009, of

Sonia Sotomayor as associate justice to the U.S. Supreme Court.

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See Also: Nuyoricans; Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund; *West Side Story*.

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Multicultural
A M E R I C A

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A Multimedia Encyclopedia

Volume 4

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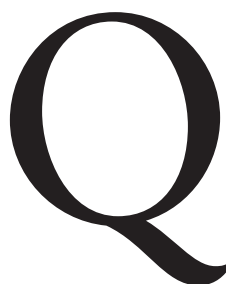
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Quadroon

In an American historical context, *quadroon* is a term used to describe a person of one-quarter African descent. In most instances, quadroons had one black grandparent and three white grandparents. Quadroon is a cognate of the Spanish term *cuarterón*, with which it shares a meaning. Similarly, individuals with one black great-grandparent and seven white great-grandparents were known as octoroons, as *octo-* is a Latin-based prefix indicating eight.

Quadroons in American History

Because of policies based on hypodescent, whereby children born of mixed unions are assigned to the subordinate ethnic group, quadroons and mulattoes of African American and European lineage were considered to be black. As such, in antebellum America, quadroons were subject to existing slave laws. Even for those without African ancestry who were labeled as quadroons or mulattoes (including those of Native American and Caucasian descent), the categorization meant that they could be sold into slavery legally in the United States. Similarly, Jim Crow laws regulated the rights of quadroons, along with black Americans.

During slavery and well into the 20th century, many quadroons and mulattoes enjoyed privileges that most African Americans did not,

especially those who were closer in phenotype to white Americans. Some inherited property from their white parents, and a very small number owned enslaved people themselves. As such, some with lighter complexions and phenotypes atypical of most individuals of African descent posed as white, Native American, Arab, or Asian to avoid the discrimination African Americans faced. In addition, the phenomenon of racial passing, which occurs when a person of one ethnic background presents himself or herself as a member of a different ethnic group, may have been commonplace among multiethnic Americans in the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries.

In the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s, several southern states, including Virginia, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and Georgia, codified laws that defined Americans with any African ancestry, irrespective of the percentage, as black. Other states, including North Dakota, Utah, Florida, Missouri, Nebraska, and Maryland, established the threshold for identification as African Americans as one black great-great-grandparent or one great-great-great-grandparent.

Quadroons in Literature

The social tribulations faced by mixed-race people—especially when they resulted in racial passing—were a common trope in 19th- and early 20th-century American literature. In particular,

in abolitionist literature beginning in the 1840s, quadroons, along with mulattoes, were used to evoke sympathy from white audiences for the plight of black Americans. These stories featured characters who looked like the white readers but suffered as African Americans did. Furthermore, this genre often featured a biracial heroine who was light-complexioned enough to pass for white, and she struggled because she was unable to find full acceptance from either black or white communities. Once her true ethnic background was made public, she lost her comfortable station in society and was reduced to bankruptcy, sexual victimization, slavery, and/or death.

These plays and novels were aimed at white women readers; their intention was to warn audiences of the dangers of racism by way of identification with a character who shared their social class and appearance. Quadroon characters, many of whom are ill-fated, are depicted in the following works: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem "The Quadroon Girl" (1842); Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852); "Song of Myself," an 1855 poem by Walt Whitman; Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868); George Washington Cable's *Old Creole Days* (1879); Kate Chopin's *Désirée's Baby* (1893); James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912); Anne Rice's *The Feast of All Saints* (1979); and Gabriel Garcia Márquez's *Love in the Time of Cholera* (1985).

Quadroon Balls

During the 19th century, in some parts of the American south, including Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, quadroon balls were held to facilitate an elaborate system of concubinage, called *plaçage*, between multiethnic women and wealthy white men. New Orleans, in particular, has been associated with this practice. Outside the United States, the custom also was commonplace in Haiti.

Historical Racial Terminology

Similar colonial-era terms, including *mulatto*, *mulatta*, *mulatress*, *quarteronne*, *octoroon*, *quintroon*, and *hexadecaroon*, also describe individuals partially of African descent and have fallen out of fashion. These expressions currently are used when discussing racial identification in

a historical context. In the contemporary United States, "quadroon" is considered an antiquated, and even offensive, expression. Since the 1960s, people of multiracial heritage—according to 2010 U.S. Census data, 2.9 percent of Americans, or more than 9 million people, identify as multiethnic—more commonly have self-identified as biracial, multiracial, multiethnic, or mixed-race. However, in Australia, quadroon continues to refer to individuals who are of one-quarter indigenous Australian heritage.

The term *octoroon* dates back to the 19th century, when its first recorded usage was in Dion Boucicault's melodrama *The Octoroon*, which debuted at the Winter Garden Theater in 1859. *The Octoroon*, in turn, is based on Thomas Mayne Reid's 1856 novel *The Quadroon*.

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See Also: Mixed-Race Americans; Mulatto; Pigmentocracy.

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Quinceañera

In its most simple definition, a *quinceañera* refers to a young woman's 15th birthday party to celebrate her coming of age. The Spanish word *quince* (15) added to *añera* means "the 15-year-old," but the term *quinceañera* refers to both the girl turning 15 and the party associated with this



A girl in a traditional white dress poses with family members during a quinceañera—a traditional ceremony for a girl's 15th birthday celebrated by Latin Americans, Mexicans, and Latinos in the United States. In addition to family and godparents, other celebrants often include 14 female maids and their 14 male escorts. The average cost for a quinceañera is \$5,000.

birthday. Quinceañeras are observed throughout Latin America and in many areas of the United States. Some claim that the quinceañera is traditionally rooted in pre-Columbian cultural practices, with the celebration marking a young woman's entrance into womanhood or achievement of of marrying age. However, the concrete evidence for this is lacking. Contemporary roots for the quinceañera span from European (Spanish influence) to cultural heritage that has simply been "passed down" through generations. Today, the celebration marks an entrance into womanhood. It is not usually accompanied by marriage, but rather marks an opportunity to begin dating and participating in traditional womanly activities like wearing makeup and high heels.

Because they are still seen as a coming-out party these events can become quite costly and extravagant. There are several cultural practices

associated with the event that mark the young girl's entrance into being a woman in her community that may shift because of the family/community geographic location, class status, and/or religious background.

Although a quinceañera is not a religious sacrament, many parties have a strong religious influence and the members of the quinceañera party will attend a mass prior to the celebration. Due to this, as well as the large numbers of people associated with the celebrations, observers sometimes liken quinceañeras to weddings.

The Ritualized *Fiesta*

The party itself is often an elaborate event for which many community members, besides the girl's immediate parents, may help fund the extravagant *fiesta* (party). Today, the average cost for a quinceañera is \$5,000. Families with modest

incomes will save a long time to pay for the event, as well as employ the help of the girl's *padrino* (godfather) and *madrina* (godmother) or other *compadres/comadres* who share in the child care of children in their community, or those who are bonded by the system of *compadrazgo* (becoming coparents to a child, another adult, or a couple).

The young girl will traditionally wear a white dress and will select a color theme for her party. In more recent years, shades of pink, blue, and even black have become popular dress colors. The girl is accompanied by a male escort and usually 14 female maids (*las damas*) and their 14 escorts (*chambelanes*). In the months leading up to the quinceañera these 30 young people will meet to learn the traditional *folklórico* dances associated with the quinceañera, or more contemporary choreography for the staged dance that is a central aspect of the grand entrance into the party.

Other rituals during the party include giving the young woman *la última muñeca* (the last doll) to symbolize the movement from girlhood to womanhood. During the crowning ceremony, the young woman is given a tiara or another expensive piece of jewelry to celebrate her birthday and mark her status as a pure young woman ready to enter adult (chaste) relationships. There is often a ceremonial taking off of her flat shoes and replacement of them with her first pair of heels that can be facilitated by her father, followed by a father-daughter dance. If the young girl does not have a father, some of these duties may be fulfilled by a godfather, an uncle, an older brother, a male cousin, or even her mother.

Cultural Significance

For Chicanas and Chicanos, the quinceañera celebration provides Chicanas a space to perform their cultural identities beyond the constraints of mainstream, dominant U.S. culture. In the United States, by the mid-20th century, young girls from all social classes celebrated their 15th birthdays by having a quinceañera celebration. For young women learning their roles as (heterosexual) women, this event becomes, as Norma Cantú defines it, a powerful Chicana life-cycle ritual. Joined by other events, like *el cambio de vida* (the change of life—menopause) and the *cinquentañera* (the 50-year celebration), these life-cycle rituals aid in the socialization of what it means to be a woman in one's community. Additionally, celebrations such as the quinceañera

become the means through which marginalized cultures find validity in their own lives, and in the case of the quince this is a celebration that specifically honors women.

Contemporary Popular Culture Representations

As Latina/os have become a larger ethnic minority group in the United States, quinceañeras have gained popularity through contemporary cultural representations. There is a Quinceañera Barbie, and quinceañeras have been the subject of episodes of the television shows *Dora the Explorer*, *Wizards of Waverly Place*, and *Austin and Ally*. In 2006, the film *Quinceañera*, with the tag line "Fifteen is not so sweet," gained notoriety at the Sundance Film Festival, and MTV's Tr3s (the bicultural American-owned Latina/o-themed MTV network) has aired several seasons of a reality show titled *Quiero mis quince* (I want my quince). The show, which began airing in 2006, details the planning and execution of young girls' quinceañera celebrations across Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States. Books that detail the planning for every aspect of the quinceañera are available for young girls and their parents, providing advice on such things as how to book a limousine and hire a photographer or videographer; what kinds of food, music, and dances are important; and tips on invitations and all aspects of the ritual. Countless Internet resources are also available for planning these events.

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See also: Chicanos; Clothing and Ethnic Diversity; Feminism and Ethnic Diversity; Folklórico; Latinos; Mexican Americans.

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Qur'an

The Qur'an is the primary religious text of Islam, which according to Islamic tradition was revealed to Muhammad. There are several important differences between the Qur'an, the Tanakh (Old Testament), and the New Testament. The Tanakh and the New Testament both consist of multiple books that were composed independently and assembled at a later date, representing a variety of literary genres. The Qur'an is a single work, divided into 114 chapters called sura, consisting of a series of revelations given over a period of years. Originating as an oral work, it was written down during Muhammad's life and compiled into a single work shortly after his death. Further, while many Jews and Christians consider the Tanakh and the New Testament to be divinely inspired, the Qur'an is considered the literal words of God, transmitted to Muhammad by the angel Gabriel.

Divine Revelation

Islam considers the Qur'an the only uncorrupted record of divine revelation, but earlier books identified in the Qur'an are considered to have been divinely inspired, including the Scrolls of Abraham (considered lost), the Tawrat (the Torah, the five books of the Pentateuch credited to Moses), the Zabur (attributed to King David, and so probably referring to the book of Psalms), and the Injil, the gospel of Jesus, which Muslims believe survives only in piecemeal, in fragments repeated in both canonical (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John) and noncanonical (Peter, James, and others) gospels. The kitab—the holy books of Islam—includes all these books, but only the Qur'an is considered to survive in an uncorrupted form, and thus only the Qur'an represents the actual words of God rather than the work of man.

The Qur'an itself assumes some familiarity with the earlier Jewish and Christian scriptures on the part of the reader and interpolates or summarizes some of their content. Major biblical figures found in the Qur'an include Adam and Eve and their children; Abraham and the other patriarchs; Moses and his brother Aaron; prophets such as Elisha and Jonah; kings of Israel like David, Saul, and Solomon; Jesus and his parents; and John the Baptist. Later Islamic scholars have interpreted some Jewish and Christian scriptural passages

as referring to Muhammad, much as Christian theologians have reinterpreted many Jewish prophecies in a Christian context.

The Qur'an is explicit about the ways in which Islam differs from the other faiths of "People of the Book." Jesus, for instance, is believed to be the product of a virgin birth and is viewed as a prophet, but is neither the Son of God (instead, God caused him to be born to Mary just as he caused Adam to be created from dirt) nor was he resurrected (he was instead miraculously saved before he could be crucified, and "Allah raised him up unto Himself," in the words of the fourth sura). Without a divine Son, there is no Trinity, and indeed belief in Tawhid, God's indivisible Oneness and uniqueness, is the most fundamental tenet of the faith.

Abraham, the patriarch to which Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all trace their origins, is considered to have possessed a true revelation about the nature of God and God's Oneness, but no written version survived, and the oral version of his revelation became corrupted over the generations. The eldest son of Abraham, Ishmael, is the biblical figure to which the Qur'an traces the origin of the Arab people. The Qur'an considers Allah to be the same god as the god of Judaism and Christianity and promises that those Jews and Christians who were righteous and lived before Muhammad's revelation received salvation in the afterlife. These many connections to and commentaries on Judaism and Christianity explain why some of the earliest criticisms of Islam by Christian writers approached Islam not as a heathen religion but as a heretical form of Christianity (one influenced by Arianism, which was similarly nontrinitarian).

According to Islamic tradition, Muhammad received his revelation from Allah, through the angel Gabriel, beginning in 610, at the age of 40. Because the suras of the Qur'an are not arranged chronologically, it is sura 96 that records the words of the first revelation: "Proclaim! in the name of thy Lord and Cherisher, Who created —Created man, out of a clot of congealed blood. Proclaim! and thy Lord is most bountiful. He who taught the pen taught man that which he knew not." The first revelation was delivered in a cave on Mount Hira, near Mecca, where Muhammad had been praying in solitude for weeks. Muhammad

continued to receive revelations for the rest of his life, until his death in 632. According to the traditions of Sunni Islam, he responded to the first revelation with distress, and considered suicide, possibly out of fear that people would believe he was possessed; he received the Qur'an in pieces over the course of his subsequent revelations, and grew stronger in his faith and resolve. According to Shia Islam, he received the Qur'an both all at once and in subsequent revelations, and faced his revelation without fear.

According to the Qur'an, Muhammad was chosen to receive this revelation in order that unbelievers might be warned of a coming punishment that would be visited upon their communities. The Qur'an serves the purpose of



A young girl studying the Qur'an. The Qur'an consists of 114 surahs or chapters, each of which starts with the words "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful." Muslims consider the Qur'an to be the word of God.

correcting the corrupted revelations of the books that came before it.

Translations

The first translation of the Qur'an into English was produced by Alexander Ross in 1649, but his was a translation of a translation, using a French text as his source. Englishman George Sale produced the first translation directly from the Arabic in 1734, and a small number of translations were issued by others in England in the 19th century. Not until the 20th century were any English translations produced by Muslims themselves. But the Qur'an was known to many of the intellectual elite in early America (Washington Irving, best known for "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," published an 1849 biography of Muhammad). Thomas Jefferson purchased a copy of George Sale's translation in 1765, while a law student at the College of William and Mary. He retained it in his library's religion section until selling it to the Library of Congress in 1815 (as part of a large collection of books assisting in the replacement of the library burned by British troops during the War of 1812), and 242 years later, it was used in the 2007 swearing-in ceremony of Keith Ellison, the first Muslim congressman.

Use in Swearing-In Ceremony

Ellison represents Minnesota's 5th district (which includes Minneapolis) and is a member of Minnesota's Democratic Party affiliate, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party. Ellison is an African American born in the United States to parents born in the United States. Raised as a Roman Catholic, with a brother who became a Baptist pastor, Ellison was largely nonreligious until converting to Islam as a college student in Detroit. His decision to use the Qur'an in his swearing-in ceremony was greeted with vocal criticism from some, primarily in response to a column by conservative columnist Dennis Prager and the condemnation of Ellison's choice by Congressman Virgil Goode (R-Virginia). Donald Wildmon's American Family Association supported Prager and opposed Ellison's choice.

The controversy over Ellison's choice was preceded by a similar 2005 court case, *ACLU of North Carolina, and Syidah Matteen v. State of North Carolina*. It began when computer analyst

Syidah Mateen, testifying in a hearing, asked to swear on a Qur'an rather than the Bible that was offered. When no Qur'an was available, she took her oath by affirmation, as allowed by law. Subsequently, she attempted to donate a Qur'an for courthouse use, only to have the donation refused and told that an oath sworn on the Qur'an would not be considered a legal oath. The relevant state statute requires the use of "the Holy Scriptures" for administering oaths. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) took up the case when it was clear North Carolina courts were reluctant to rule that such "Holy Scriptures" could include the Qur'an. In January 2007, less than two weeks after Ellison was sworn in, the North Carolina Court of Appeals declined to judge the case's merits but allowed it to go forward. Later in the year, the Superior Court ruled that non-Christians must be allowed to swear on non-Christian religious texts.

In the actual swearing-in of representatives, members of the House take the oath of office en masse, without the use of a Bible or any other text. Such texts are used in individual reenactments after the fact, which serve a ceremonial purpose. Prager and other critics erroneously claimed an unbroken tradition of swearing in on a Bible, when in fact numerous legislators had either used a book other than the Bible or had used no book at all, while even several presidents had eschewed the use of the Bible when taking the presidential oath of office. Nevertheless, criticism of Ellison rested on the implicit claim that the United States was a Christian country, and that Muslims by extension were unwelcome participants in elected office. Goode specifically warned that a lack of stricter immigration restrictions could result in "many more Muslims elected to office and demanding the use of the Qur'an," according to a letter he sent to his constituents.

In language that was typical of 21st-century Islamophobia, other critics questioned Ellison's loyalty to the Constitution and alleged a loyalty to sharia. Much as Catholics had been condemned in the 19th and 20th centuries for the perception that their loyalty must be to the pope rather than to their country, so too was Ellison condemned for the perception that swearing-in on the Qur'an would commit him to uphold sharia law rather than the law of the United States.

Kitman

One of the Islamic concepts cited by critics of Islam in America is that of "kitman," a term originating in Persia (from the Arabic for "secrecy") but referring to passages in the hadith and the Qur'an such as that of Sura 16, which forgives those who profess disbelief in Allah while under duress. Kitman is that profession of disbelief, concealing either one's Muslim beliefs or opposition to authority in times when open opposition or open professing of those beliefs is unsafe. The idea of kitman, of this specific form of deception as one that was not sinful, developed in places where Muslims were persecuted, especially in Communist countries in the 20th century. Critics, however, have used the existence of the concept in Islamic history to paint a picture of "secret Muslims" and of avowed Muslims with secret agendas.

American Islamophobia

American Islamophobia is not endemic to the 21st century, and anti-Muslim and anti-Arab sentiments had previously been inflamed in the 20th century in response to terrorist incidents, conflicts between Israel and Arab states, and the 1970s energy crisis. Non-Muslim Americans had tended to have little contact with the Islamic world; apart from several significant groups that tended to settle in specific parts of the country, immigration from the Middle East had been sparse until late in U.S. history. The association for some Americans between Islam and terrorism was so strong that after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, there were numerous incidents of hate crimes committed against Muslim Americans—even though that bombing was committed by white, Christian, native-born American Timothy McVeigh. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the country's subsequent entrance into two different wars against Muslim countries, combined with an increased fear of terrorism, exacerbated these fears, and a number of hate crimes against Muslims (or victims believed by the attacker to be Muslims) have occurred.

Not all hate crimes are aimed against people or private property. In July 2010, the pastor of Gainesville, Florida's Dove World Outreach Center, Terry Jones, announced a plan to burn 200 Qur'ans on the ninth anniversary of 9/11.

Jones's statements against Islam described it as a violent religion that sought the imposition of sharia law in the United States. The Dove World Outreach Center is an evangelical Christian church with only a few dozen members; Jones had spent most of the previous decade working there part-time, spending the rest of his time overseeing a charismatic church he had founded in Cologne, Germany. Jones was widely condemned, not only in the name of religious tolerance, but also out of concern for reprisal attacks against U.S. troops. Indeed, violent demonstrations against Jones were held in Afghanistan.

Jones appeared to relent, canceling his 2010 plans. Months after the original plan, however, Jones held a mock trial of the Qur'an on March 20, 2011, and at the end of a six-hour performance, a single copy of the Qur'an was burned. Less than two weeks later, demonstrators in Afghanistan, protesting Jones's actions, attacked United Nations staff members and their guards, resulting in several deaths and more injuries.

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See Also: Black Muslims; Muslim Americans; Nation of Islam.

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R

Race

Anthropologists and other social scientists and humanists believe that what is known as race and racial identity is a cultural or social construct. Social scientists often use the terms *cultural* and *social* interchangeably. To anthropologists, “cultural” (culture) is broader and includes shared belief systems and other cultural knowledge. The term *social* focuses more on society, social identities, and social institutions, such as the family and the law.

To say that race is a culturally created construct is not to deny that there is no relationship between humans in a physical sense. Anthropologists talk about physical and genetic differences among the species *Homo sapiens* as human variation and not race. In other words, there are many varieties of human variation, but none of that variation constitutes separate races. For anthropologists, race is about understanding the history of the United States; the establishment of intransient, racialized social hierarchies; and the laws, customs, traditions, and behaviors that perpetuate a racial hierarchy, with European Americans at the top.

Historically, 18th-century European elites classified people in their colonies, including the colonial United States, into a hierarchy of categories that placed northern Europeans at the

top of a pseudo-evolutionary scale. They ranked the darker-skinned people in the colonial United States (Africans and Native Americans) lower on the racialized social hierarchy that developed in the colonies. The plantation political economy and the ownership of land and slaves to work the land became the paramount way in which people in the colonies achieved social and economic status.

A connection between social race and citizenship was established as early as 1790, the year the first U.S. Census was conducted. In accord with the new U.S. Constitution and in keeping with slaveholding, which was then legal, the first census counted each enslaved individual as three-fifths of a person when determining state populations. Native Americans were not even identified in censuses dating from 1790 through 1840. Sixteen U.S. marshals and 650 assistants conducted the first U.S. Census. It took the marshals 18 months to visit colonial households and compile a final tally of 3.9 million people in the new nation, including nearly 700,000 slaves.

If social scientists and biologists claim there is no such thing as biological race, but that it is instead a social construction, why does the modern U.S. Census still ask a question about race? In addition, there are laws at the federal as well as the state level that prevent discrimination on the basis of so-called race, ancestry, and

natural origin. The answer given by officials at the U.S. Office of Management and Budget is that although once used to support discriminatory practices, race data gathered by the U.S. census is now used to help enforce civil rights laws and to collect information to help the government better serve underserved populations.

Social Science

The idea that race, races, and racism are cultural inventions—that is, created historically in the United States to legitimize social inequality between groups with different ancestries, national origins, and histories—helps explain this apparent contradiction.

In this sense, race is very much real as a social and cultural construct. In short, even though human beings are clearly one species and there are no biological races, race as a social construct exists and has real consequences. In today's world, especially in multicultural America, there is a need for people to understand how cultural race operated in the past, operates now, and must change for the better in this pluralistic country. The 2010 Census illustrates this point.

Census Documentation of Social Race

The "Race: Are We So Different?" initiative developed by the American Anthropological Association posits that the concept of race is not real biologically, but that it is very much real as a social and cultural construct. The goal of anthropologists is to make sure that their students and the general public understand how the fluidity of the concept of social race has changed over time and is in the process of changing today as well. For example, there are anthropologists and other scholars who think that the race questions on the 2000 and 2010 U.S. Census forms were cumbersome, inaccurate, and inadequate, especially as they related to capturing the experiences of mixed-heritage people (the fastest-growing identity category in the United States). Kim M. Williams's book *Mark One or More: Civil Rights in Multiracial America* (2006) chronicles the political grassroots movement that resulted in the 2000 Census enabling Americans, for the first time ever, to define themselves as having more than one identity.

Even more troubling for scientists and humanists is the question of who gets to decide what is

included on the census forms and the usefulness of the census data in documenting how people in the United States actually define their identities. Research has documented the fact that people in the United States, especially the Millennial and Gen X generations, identify themselves beyond the stationary, fixed categories contained on the 2000 and 2010 census forms. It is up to the federal government (with help from the American people who perceive and live in a world of differently configured "racial identities") to design new ways of thinking about and talking about "race."

Ken Prewitt, director of the 2000 U.S. Census, has stated his belief that the race questions used on the 2010 census were "broken," especially regarding the question of race and Hispanic ethnicity. While acknowledging the need to collect census data by race and ethnicity in order to shed light on disparities and discrimination based on color, ancestry, or immigrant status, Prewitt noted that this collection should be done more carefully. He argued that if the census form asked the question, "What national origin, ethnicity, tribe, language group, or ancestry do you consider yourself to be?" and then asked respondents to list all of the identities that are important to them, the census would enable respondents to speak for themselves.

According to Prewitt, this change would finally move the census away from the archaic racial hierarchy established in 1790. In addition, Prewitt said it would finally move the nation away from the use of the term *race* itself, allow people to define for themselves who they are, and enable people to claim their multiple identities. Prewitt argued:

This question does not assume that a recently arrived Ethiopian belongs to the same (social) race as 10th-generation descendants of enslaved people from Africa's Gold Coast. It does not put fifth-generation Chinese Americans in the same box as first-generation Vietnamese. It does not count an Argentinean who speaks only English the same way it treats a Mayan immigrant.

Race may be a biological fiction, but that does not mean race does not exist. Race is a social and cultural reality and profoundly impacts

Americans' lives. Most people recognize that race in the United States is real, and most Americans probably experience race as a social (rather than biological) reality. But the idea that race is a human invention, a social construction, and a cultural creation is complex and difficult to communicate. There is particular resistance to the idea that race is only a cultural construct in some quarters, even today. Race seems to be ubiquitous. How could it be a pure invention?

Culture and Classification

What does it mean to say that race is a cultural creation? To understand this, one must understand the concept of culture and how profoundly culture shapes reality. Culture shapes every aspect of human experience. It affects what people hear, smell, taste, feel, and see. It structures the social world and social interactions. The human world is largely a cultural and social invention—but one that is very real. Race, too, is a cultural invention—but it is experientially, emotionally, and cognitively real, deeply internalized in the human psyche.

Race is a culturally and historically specific way of categorizing human beings. Like other human creations, classifications shape how people experience reality. The U.S. system of racial classification has a basic contradiction at its core: reconciling democracy and meritocracy with inequality and stratification.

There are contradictions between American ideology and the reality of class differences. The American system of racial classification emerged partially to resolve contradictions between American political rhetoric and American economic and social reality. These contradictions have existed since the founding of the republic, when “all men are created equal” excluded (besides women) those of African or Native American ancestry, along with the vast majority of nonpropertied Europeans.

But American political rhetoric also was forged in the context of attempts to create a unique American identity, one that contrasted with “old Europe.” America was “destined” to be a “democracy” and a “meritocracy,” unfettered by European notions of class, royalty, and attaining civil rights simply because of one's birth or social status. This is reflected in the language of the U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence,

with their emphasis on individualism, freedom (from government constraint, state-imposed religion, and aristocratic-ascribed privilege), and the pursuit of happiness.

Race, Power, and Systems of Inequality

Race is not simply a cultural or psychological phenomenon. It emerged in a context of unequal power relations as an ideology to legitimize the dominance of certain groups. Race, then, is fundamentally part of a system of stratification and inequality. People indoctrinated in American individualism often have difficulty understanding abstract notions of a social system, social stratification, and how one's social position impacts individual experiences and opportunities.

Fluctuations in racial categorization and definitions of “whiteness” reflect demands for population growth set against a backdrop of powerful elites seeking to maintain a system of social stratification and cultural dominance. A race-based system of social classification became a way of maintaining the dominance of elite white groups, politically and socially, while simultaneously recruiting new populations. Race became a central basis for organizing labor and maintaining an economically stratified system, first in the agricultural sector and then in the growing industrial sectors. Racializing the labor force helped mask the pervasive class stratification and structural inequality that have always characterized American life. The American system of racial classification is most accurately viewed as a historically and culturally specific “legitimizing ideology,” a complex and unique way of explaining, justifying, and perpetuating a system of social, economic, and political inequality.

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See Also: Race Mixture in the United States; Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay); Racism.

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Race Mixture in the United States

In every stage of the United States' development, the mixture of races has taken place. Driven by exploitation, oppression, war, disease, and a search for freedom, many different and often competing groups came together on the shores and farms, in the fields and factories, and in the towns and cities of what would become the United States of America. Unfortunately, the struggle for status, resources, and land has had a profound impact on the intermingling of races. The historical narrative presents a static picture of various groups interacting, but the history of race mixing is, in fact, more fluid and complex because it is littered with laws, attitudes, and practices that are antithetical to the principles of freedom, equality, liberty, and justice.

On one level, race mixing has been so prevalent in the United States that the colonial government of the British colonies, the fledgling government of the United States, and the government of the slaveholding south instituted laws, customs, and practices designed to stop African, native, and white Americans from consorting with one another across racial lines. After the 1860s, the rejoined U.S. government worked equally hard to ensure that whites did not consort with people of Asian, African, Indian, or Hispanic descent. On another level, although race mixing has been a source of conflict, violence, hatred, and pain, the mingling of races provides the rich and diverse elements that have shaped the unique culture of the United States.

Since the earliest colonists landed, race mixing was a result of different races, ethnicities, cultures, and nationalities interacting socially, culturally, economically, and sexually. Given the predominance of men as planters, settlers, soldiers, and servants in the early 17th century, the lack of suitable white females produced the long and sordid history of race mixing in the United States. Punishment, penance, ostracism, legislation, lynching, and even death could not deter people from interacting with people of a different racial group. The practice of race mixing has been prevalent throughout the history of the United States, and it has had a profound impact on the development of multicultural America.

Race Mixing in the Colonial Years

In the newly formed British colony, the first groups to intermingle were whites and Native Americans of various tribal or ethnic affiliations (i.e., Powhatan, Narragansett, Nausets, Wampanoags, and Pequots). Many Native Americans befriended both black and white men and women. In Virginia and Massachusetts, the colonists at Jamestown and the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock would not have survived without the assistance of indigenous people. Although whites and Native Americans fought over land, they also traded and taught each other aspects of their respective cultures. In many instances, marriages between white men and Native American women were unions designed to bring peace or better trade/economic relations between whites and Native American groups. The most noteworthy of these unions was between Pocahontas and John Rolfe.

The Middle Passage

The Atlantic slave trade played a pivotal role in race mixing among enslaved Africans and white seamen, many who impregnated enslaved African women off the coast of Africa or during the long voyage, known as the Middle Passage, to the New World. These mixed children, born in transit, were the first of the mulatto class of blacks in the United States. These encounters between white men and African women led to the accompanying attitude of entitlement that would set the stage for the continued rape of enslaved African/black women in the United States until slavery ended with the conclusion of the Civil War.

Race Mixing in the Colonies

During the early colonial era of the U.S. colonies, whites, Native Americans, and blacks intermingled freely. In this era, people and status were determined by class (gender was subjugated); the three classes were planters, settlers, and servants. The servant class (which included indentured servants) consisted of both whites and blacks, and men and women, who were bonded for a determined time. The misery of working long and tedious hours, poor nutrition, living in deplorable conditions, and suffering the same brutal punishments while working for the same capricious masters forced men and women to find solace in each other's arms, irrespective of color. The close interactions between red, black, and white were a result of large numbers of white men immigrating to the British colony without a corresponding number of white women. The

number of marriage-eligible white women did not increase until the late 17th century, and it did little to thwart race mixing in the colonies. The die had already been cast. Although there were instances when black men consorted with white women, the majority of unions and/or trysts between black, white, and red involved white men and Native or black women.

In 1630, 11 years after "20 negars" disembarked from a Dutch man-of-war in Jamestown, the first instance of intermingling that created a stir in the colonial government of Virginia involved Hugh Davis's fornicating with a black woman. Ten years later, James Sweet received the punishment of penance for impregnating a black woman to whom he was not married. Ironically, the black woman did not receive penance; instead, she was "whipt" for getting pregnant. When



These people, on their way back from buying supplies near Melrose, Louisiana, in July 1940, were identified by the photographer as "mulattoes" or mixed race. In 1951, miscegenation laws remained on the books in 29 U.S. states; it was not until 2000 before all statutes against interracial marriages and race mixing were removed.

shaming, penance, ostracism, and other forms of religious sanctions failed to keep black, white, and red apart, even whipping could not stem the tide of interracial dalliances that led to the growing number of mixed-heritage peoples.

By the mid-17th century, the situation in the early colonies reached epic proportions. From a legal standpoint, each colony designed legal machinations to impede the mixing of races. Because of their large numbers of free blacks, and with a special emphasis on restricting the intermixture of the bonded and enslaved with whites, Maryland, Virginia, Massachusetts, and South Carolina were the front-runners in implementing repressive measures designed to curtail the intermingling of the races. In 1662, the colonial government made two very important decisions. The first, in Virginia, outlined specific penalties for whites (doubled the fine) if they were found guilty of having sexual relations with blacks. This law was the first of many to drive a wedge between white and black intermingling, while differentiating between black and white. In the same year, Act XII assigned the status held by the child to the mother. Originally, English common law assigned a child's status according to the station of the father.

Although black and white women both were subject to sexual violence, Act XII placed a great deal of emphasis on black women. However, women as the subjects of their masters (irrespective of color or condition—enslaved or indentured) were not free from unwarranted sexual advances. It was virtually impossible to prove one's owner guilty of rape, as such sexual activity was customarily deemed "consensual." The predominance of men in the colonies' burgeoning county court system precluded women's rights to a fair hearing/trial. In many instances, the women were deemed promiscuous. Despite the idea that religious piety and devotion to God should alleviate sexual desires, the clergy played a pivotal role in placing the onus on women, as they routinely charged women with "enticing" men into sin.

Between 1699 and 1715, each of the colonies had statutes that forbade blacks from sexually intermingling with whites. For black males, the penalty for sexual relations with a white woman was death (usually inflicted instantly, without the benefits of due process, and became the precedent

for "mob law"). Black Codes made it virtually impossible for a black man to be alone with a white woman. Also, a number of statutes were enacted to stem the growing incidence of illegitimate children among the servant class of women (irrespective of color) because they were susceptible to the men who held their indenture.

However, the laws were lenient in terms of white males impregnating black or Native women, which led to the development of the diverse hues and shades in blackness. From an economic standpoint, it stands to reason that white men were not "punished" for impregnating black women (many of whom were owned as "property" and/or in their employ). Once the international slave trade was deemed illegal, the influx of enslaved Africans diminished exponentially. The only way to increase the enslaved population was through the "natural" increase of exploiting the reproductive labor of enslaved black women.

Despite efforts to dissuade interracial relationships, Louisiana built an entire social hierarchy on the socially questionable, but sanctioned, custom of race mixing. Under Spanish rule, the legalities of race mixing were honored in the recognized racial classifications of mulatto (which would soon be expanded to include octoroon and quadroon). Even though race mixing created serious tensions concerning the growing color line between free and enslaved, these distinctions would remain, even after Louisiana became a state in 1812.

In some instances, white males sought to protect the offspring of their illicit relationships. In other instances, black women used the heartstrings of their lovers to ensure better lives for their mixed-race offspring. In most instances, the mixed-race offspring did not benefit. Unfortunately, many black women were raped by their owners, overseers, and other white men, all of which added to the growing population of mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons. A great many of the growing numbers of "unsightly" mixed-race offspring were sold to increase profits, pay off debts, and/or bring peace to the master's household, given the displeasure of a master's wife at the sight of his mixed-race offspring.

Marriage

Marriage has played an enormous role in the formation of the United States. With the specter of

race, marriage (its position as the seedbed of society, given the stability it provides the family and the offspring it produces) becomes an extremely complicated institution. Through the proliferation of legislation, marriage played a significant role in the history of race mixing, especially for African, Asian, Hispanic, Native, and white Americans.

In 1665, Maryland banned interracial marriages, and by 1681 it had set in place an act that singled out the tawdry nature of white women consorting with black men. The subtle change in language reflected the growing disdain among “colony-born” whites for the practice of miscegenation. In 1665, black men and women were off-limits, but within a span of 16 years, black men and white women were the only ones admonished for interracial liaisons. White women were castigated for lewd and lascivious desires, whereas the sexual proclivities of white men went unpunished. Noting the incongruity of these rules, Kathleen Brown asserts, “lawmakers left little doubt that they viewed White unions with Black people as threatening to patriarchal authority, property, and the security of labor.”

By this time, slavery had become a major institution in the colonies, and efforts were made to ensure that interactions between whites and blacks (especially white women and black men) were strictly forbidden. In 1691, the Virginia Assembly addressed the issue of race mixing between blacks, mulattoes, Native Americans, and whites. It passed a provision that expelled any white man or woman from the colony within three months of marrying a black, mulatto, or Native American (provided they were not indentured to anyone at the time of the marriage). If she was not free, a white woman would be penalized if she were to bear a child (the child would be penalized for being born to a white servant mother and a nonwhite man). Also, if she was free, her penalty was 15 pounds (if she could pay); otherwise, the mother was bonded to the Church for five years, and the child for 31 years. If the female was a servant, after completing her bonded service, she would have five years added to her sentence to the Church. Conversely, during western expansion, especially in places like California, Nevada, New Mexico, and Washington, allowances were made for white and Native marriages to be constituted as legal. In the interest of whiteness, people with red, yellow, and, in some

cases, brown skin were allowed (in these western states) to legitimize the offspring of their mixed-race unions through marriage.

Amalgamation and Miscegenation

During the late 17th century through the mid-to late 20th century, much of the impetus for denying race mixing stemmed from notions of “racial purity” that undergirded the doctrine of white supremacy. Property rights, voting rights, and protecting the rights of citizens owe much to efforts aimed at maintaining the idea of racial purity between each of the distinguishable groups of people, based on the visible markers of phenotypical differences.

Fear is a major factor in the proliferation of miscegenation, or “anti-race” mixing legislation and has played a profound role in shaping the attitudes and behaviors of Americans. The United States went through a number of panics during which violence, discrimination, and legislation made newly arrived immigrant groups into economic, social, and political scapegoats. Racial purists feared that the white race would be diluted, polluted, and dumbed down with the influx of immigrants from China, Japan, and eastern Europe. These are a few of the arguments that were constant refrains in the rhetoric of miscegenation. The idea of racial purity was of special import for the expanding group of people of European descent, who would constitute the nomenclature of whites and Americans.

In addition to the miscegenation legislation designed to prohibit interracial relations and marriages, a slightly different approach was the wealth of legislation designed to keep black, white, red, yellow, and brown peoples separated from one another, irrespective of their common class concerns. The resurrection of black, brown, red, and yellow “codes” precipitated a slew of laws that were later challenged in state and federal courts during the 20th century. Slavery, with its hodgepodge of laws, and Jim Crow segregation were both designed to reinforce the hegemony and ideology of white supremacy.

The idea of the United States as a “melting pot,” a place where the “one” comprised many different cultures, began to gain traction as a unifying idea for the country. On one hand, liberals have embraced the idea of cultures melding. On

the other hand, there were white segregationists who vehemently opposed the idea of a colorful American tapestry. Red, black, brown, yellow, and white were the color designations used to identify the corresponding racial categories and legal status of those considered Indian, African, Hispanic, Asian, and “American.” These color classifications also determined who could and could not “mix” in the United States. Given the growing popularity of nativism (the idea that native-born whites were superior to the influx of immigrant groups especially), various immigrant groups were originally ostracized for fear of polluting the purity of the white American race. Eventually, Jewish, eastern European, Irish, Polish, and Italian people were melded into whiteness.

Whites’ Attitudes Toward People of Color

Buoyed by Charles Darwin’s findings, the backlash of white southerners to the advances blacks, and the growing discourse on race mixing in Europe (from nations that had embarked on colonial or imperial projects; that is, England, France, and Germany) and the growing disdain for race mixing led to even stronger prejudicial attitudes in the United States. By the dawning of the 20th century, the literature against race mixing or the intermingling of races was daunting. Miscegenation rallies and numerous treatises, texts, columns, and editorials in the United States’ growing newspaper and magazine industry heralded the dangers of “race mixing.” Academics routinely wrote about the evils of miscegenation, as countless texts were published chronicling the deficiencies in Native, African, and Asian Americans. These efforts were instrumental in ensuring that the “amalgamation of races” would fail and that opposition to miscegenation would rule the U.S. landscape well into the 20th century.

Writers of every ilk wrote about the “changing face” of America. For some, the evils that awaited the nation were too many to ignore. For others, amalgamation signaled both the end of racism’s hold on American society and the divisive discourse of race. In 1900, Charles Chesnutt published a series of articles on “The Future American” that outlined the impediments to the process of amalgamation. According to Chesnutt, the intermingling of “races” would lead to the breakdown of the color line. Conversely, C. B. Davenport

cautioned against racial intermixture, noting that these races of “immigrants” were just as dangerous as white Americans intermingling with blacks. In his humble estimation, “miscegenation commonly spells disharmony—disharmony of physical, mental, and temporal qualities and this means also disharmony with environment.”

Another issue for race purists was the confusion that race mixing caused, as it blurred racial distinctions, undermined the rhetoric of the “natural order” of the separation of the races, and threatened the “color line” in the U.S. racial hierarchy. Questions of identity, citizenship, the “one-drop” rule, and the issue of passing, gave rise to the continued calls against race mixing and the evils they would precipitate. Passing was especially troublesome because people of African ancestry whose color appeared white were allowed to participate (pass) in society as if they were white.

As Jim Crow segregation reintroduced Black Codes into U.S. society, after the 1860s, brown, red, and yellow codes became integral aspects of American culture. Like Black Codes, red, yellow, and brown codes sought to limit the rights and legal protections of each group while dictating the rules of social deference afforded to whites. The Yellow Codes made the internment of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor a possibility. The festering legacy of Brown Codes (steeped in the bloody struggles for California and Texas) is evident in the recent construction of a fence along the Mexican–U.S. border. Also, it has given rise to legislation aimed at targeting illegal aliens and questioning the citizenship of Hispanic Americans. The Red Codes of the early colonists and the history of hostilities between Native Americans and whites led to the escalation of hostilities between whites and Native Americans and the proliferation of duplicitous governmental policies, the Removal Act (which led to the forced removal of Native Americans from the eastern United States and the Trail of Tears), civic and civil acts of debasement, violence, overt hostility, the near eradication of Native Americans, and the eventual imprisonment of Native peoples on reservations.

Attitudes against race mixing were not the sole purview of whites. Although resistance movements all formed in response to the debilitating discourse of white supremacy, the damage of discrimination, exploitation, and oppression, a wide

variety of groups agitated for citizenship rights and protections, especially among African and Native Americans. The ideologies of the Nation of Islam, Black Nationalism, the Back to Africa movement, and the Native American movement rest on equally limiting views of race mixing, similar to those of white supremacists.

“Change Gone Come”: Legal Challenges to Miscegenation Legislation

Throughout the history of the United States, race mixing has been a hotly contested idea, and society has only relatively recently begun to ease restrictions on interracial marriages and/or relationships. Irrespective of geography, class status, ostracism, and violence, people of different racial, cultural, and ethnic groups fell in love and pursued marriage, despite the numerous social, economic, financial, and physical obstacles.

Thirteen states (Connecticut, Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin, Vermont, Hawai‘i, and Alaska) and the District of Columbia have never regulated interracial marriages or sexual relations, but the last two of these states became part of the Union after 1900. The remaining states of America, in one form or fashion, instituted antimiscegenation laws during their existence. Pennsylvania (1780) would be the first to repeal such legislation, and Massachusetts, Maine, Michigan, New Mexico, Ohio, and Rhode Island would follow, all repealing anti-miscegenation legislation before 1900. All states below the Mason-Dixon line (the line that separated slaveholding states from free states before the Civil War) forbade interracial marriages well into the 20th century.

Until the end of the 20th century, the penalties for violators of anti-miscegenation statutes ranged from expulsion from the state to imprisonment for terms ranging from six months to over two years. Despite the penalties designed to deter interracial marriages, many interracial couples, during the postwar years, challenged the legality of miscegenation legislation (all of which dated back before the late 1800s). By 1951, miscegenation laws remained on the books for 29 states. *Pérez v. Sharp* (1948) was one of the earliest cases that sought to end the restrictions of miscegenation legislation. In California, as in much of the United States, people of Hispanic descent were counted as “white” and

were held to the same standards with respect to marriage. Andrea Pérez (a Hispanic female) and Sylvester Davis (an African American male) sought to marry but were denied because of California’s miscegenation laws.

It seemed that the victory of *Pérez v. Sharp* within California’s Supreme Court would appear hollow, but it led to other cases that challenged the idea of marriage between a white and a person of color, including *Naim v. Naim* (1955, Virginia) and *McLaughlin v. Florida* (1964, Florida). Each case addressed different questions, but the case filed by Mildred Jeter (an African American female) and Richard Loving (a white male), *Loving v. Virginia*, 1967, challenged the laws in Virginia regarding marriage between a black and white American, gaining the attention of the U.S. Supreme Court. Approximately 13 years after the pivotal *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) case, the Supreme Court’s decision that a state’s right to limit one’s ability to choose a spouse based on color or race was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment led to the unraveling of miscegenation legislation throughout the United States. As the statutes fell, *Time* magazine heralded the victory with a cover story photo of Peggy Rusk and Guy Smith titled “An Interracial Wedding.”

It would take until 2000 for all statutes against interracial marriages and race mixing finally to be removed. Referendums in South Carolina and Alabama cleaned the slate, but although these referendums passed, in each case, more than one-third of the voting public voted to keep the laws on the books.

What Led to the Change in Attitudes?

Regardless of place of origin, previous economic status, or religious beliefs, each immigrating ethnic group had to acculturate and/or assimilate into American culture. One aspect that facilitated assimilation was the attitudes that newly arrived ethnic groups took toward subordinated groups already in U.S. society. In many instances, ethnic groups that were establishing themselves in the United States tended to interact favorably with African Americans because they were also ostracized and seen as “outsiders.”

The pull to become part of the U.S. body politic prompted many ethnic immigrants to accept

prejudicial attitudes, especially as European ethnic groups began to assimilate into U.S. society and meld into “whiteness.” After the turn of the 20th century, first-generation ethnic immigrants (from Asia, Europe, or Africa) tended to avoid race-mixing arrangements. However, second- and third-generation ethnic immigrants (especially those who were born and raised in the United States or were offspring of native-born ethnic immigrants parents) were less likely to share the prejudices of previous generations.

The civil rights movement prompted many young blacks and whites to work together for the sake of ending segregationist practices. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) all benefited from the participation of whites in their efforts, despite the awkwardness that Black Power precipitated. Freedom Riders, lunch counter demonstrators, voting registration participants, and rights educators were groups in which whites and blacks worked and bled together for the equal rights and protections of all U.S. citizens.

Despite its earlier problems, integration had a marked impact on the growing interactions among previously separated groups of people. The breaking down of racial barriers in employment, housing, education, sports, and the military has increased the interactions among people of different ethnic or racial groups. It took time, but attitudes against different groups began to change as young people interacted in the different venues of U.S. life, especially in the hallways and classrooms of elementary, middle, and high schools; in the classrooms and dorms of colleges; on the fields and courts of their sporting events; and in the barracks and foxholes of the military. Notwithstanding the prevalence of prejudice, the contact from these experiences has worked to soften prejudicial ideas. Similarly, in the past 20 years, images in popular culture (i.e., television, videos, and movies) showing the intermixture of races have led to more lenient attitudes toward race mixing.

Race Mixing in Popular Culture

The first major media to influence attitudes toward race mixing were the burgeoning newspaper and

magazine industries. Pamphlets, tracts, individual presses, and local and regional newspapers contributed articles, recurring columns, editorials, and special features addressing the ills of race mixing in the United States. The issues of mixed-race offspring, race mixing, and the consequences of races intermingling in everyday life were the subjects of many fictional and historical re-creations of the American history and culture: Victor Sejour’s “The Mulatto,” *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, Harriet Jacob’s *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Mark Twain’s *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, William Wells Brown’s *Clotel*, Charles Chesnut’s *The House Behind the Cedars* and “The Wife of His Youth,” Nella Larsen’s *Quicksand* and *Passing*, Jean Toomer’s *Cane*, Dorothy West’s *The Wedding*, George Schuyler’s *Black No More*, Danzy Senna’s *Caucasia*, and Emily Raboteau’s *The Professor’s Daughter* all address race mixing in some fashion.

In the 20th century, Hollywood took differing approaches to race mixing. Lauded for its cinematic innovations, *The Birth of a Nation* rekindled passions against race mixing, and showed it to be the bane of U.S. society. Films such as *Veiled Aristocrats*, *Pinky*, and *Imitation of Life* (both the 1936 and 1959 versions) led to more recent films giving a more balanced view of race mixing, such as *Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner*, *Guess Who*, *Crash*, and *Our Family Wedding*. Television has been a bit slower to embrace race mixing, in daytime and primetime fare. *Star Trek* only intimated a “mixed race” relationship between Captain Kirk and Lieutenant Uhura, but *The Jeffersons* put the issue of race mixing front and center as the characters Helen and Tom made the first regular primetime interracial couple a reality.

The history of race mixing is ever present in the growing interpenetration of cultures, sounds, and flavors infusing the arts in the United States. Children born of parents from different cultures and/or races have innovated and presented tantalizing taste combinations that are now standard fare on cooking shows and in restaurants. Also, the music scene has benefited from race mixing as neighborhoods and schools blend sights and sounds that have revolutionized American musical genres and broadened their appeal throughout the rest of the world.

Conclusion

Today, interracial and/or interethnic marriages are at an all-time high in the United States. Since 1967, mixed marriages (both interracial and interethnic) have continued to increase, but the largest increase has been in the past 30 years, as antagonisms have subsided, attitudes have changed, and laws are routinely enforced to protect citizens' rights to date and/or marry outside their ethnic or "racial" group. Hope Yen (2012) notes that every twelfth U.S. marriage is mixed. The result of this influx is the growing number of children who are of mixed racial/ethnic heritage.

Since the original census was compiled in 1790, the shift in categories reflects the growing sophistication of census data collection, but more so, it is a result of the impact of race mixing on U.S. society. The recent movement for the recognition of "biracial" designations has heightened the understanding of the long history of race mixing in the United States. Also, it complicates the rhetoric of racism in society as countless people, like President Barack Obama, are asked to choose which aspect of their heritage they will honor as they provide census and other relevant data. The impact of race mixing will continue to be felt in the United States because Hispanics will become the largest "racial" group in the United States, throwing the lexicon of American racism into disarray.

Had the United States not gone through its circuitous history with respect to race mixing, the stage might have been set earlier for a biracial president. With centuries of racial animus/prejudice informing the attitudes and actions of the United States, people considering crossing the taboo threshold of race mixing (via intermarriage or sexual liaisons) have come to consider/weigh the benefits and consequences of such a decision. Today, the consequences are not as severe as they were in 1691, but the persistence of prejudice still makes the future of race mixing in the United States a challenge for those who let "love be their guide."

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Desegregation/Integration; Intermarriage Court Decisions; Intermarriage Demographic Trends; Intermarriage,

History of; Melting Pot; Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; People of Color.

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Race Riots

Riots with an ethnoracial dynamic have been a facet of U.S. history since at least the early 19th century. The causes of these disturbances range from anti-immigration sentiments and religious differences to economic rivalry and denial of opportunity to people of color more generally. The rise of urbanization and the ghettoization of specific racial groups in the United States has historically been a major factor in urban rebellions in the 20th century. The Great Migration (1910–40) of African Americans to the northern section of the country precipitated a conflagration of riots between whites and blacks in the first three decades of the 20th century, as evidenced with the "Red Summer" of 1919 and the Tulsa Riot of 1924 that culminated in the burning of Black Wall Street in Tulsa, Oklahoma. There were hundreds of disturbances in the civil rights era, and the L.A. Riots following the Rodney King verdict in 1992 were likely one of the largest race riots in U.S. history, involving primarily whites, African Americans, and Koreans.

The history of race riots began with ethn racial rivalries between old and new immigrants from Europe. Most scholars agree that the terms *race* and *ethnic* had similar, if not the same, connotations in the 19th century. In fact, Europeans used a variety of racial labels to classify one another by region, religion, class, and color, including such terms as Teutons, Irish-Iberian, and the Jewish race. The old immigrants were primarily white Anglo-Saxon Protestants from Great Britain, constituting the first significant wave of European immigrants to populate North America after 1607 to the early 1800s. There were noticeable hostilities between second-generation immigrants of Anglo-Saxon ancestry, first-generation German immigrants, and the later influx of Irish Catholic immigrants

in the British North American colonies in places such as Pennsylvania and New York as early as the late 17th century. The anti-immigration riots and anti-Catholic riots that took place in the early nineteenth century constitute some of the earliest forms of ethn racial rioting in the United States.

Race Riots and Ethnic Conflict to the Mid-19th Century

There were conflicts between African Americans and whites, as well as attacks against Irish Catholics, and Chinese immigrants, through the 19th century. The racially tinged civilizational conflict between whites and Native Americans has been well documented in U.S. history. Many of the conflagrations between whites, blacks,



A body of a dead black man is displayed on the bed of a truck for other black men to view as they were "captured" and held at the Tulsa Convention Hall, one of the holding places for "Negros" during the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921. Although almost forgotten in American history, this deadly and costly riot began over a black man being accused of sexual assault.

and immigrants took place in major cities, as precipitated in part by global migration, industrialization, and urbanization, such as with the Cincinnati Riots of 1829 that involved rioting against African Americans. The Charlestown, Massachusetts, Anti-Catholic Riot revealed a growing hostility between the old and new immigrants. In the 1830s, public conflicts between abolitionists and anti-abolitionists also became more intensely racial. This period was marked by both anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic violence, particularly at mid-century, during the height of immigration. The Massachusetts Convent Burning (1834) and the Five Points Riot in New York (1835) are two major incidents that marked the period. In 1855, “Bloody Monday” occurred in Louisville, Kentucky, involving anti-German rioting. The San Francisco Vigilance Movements between 1851 and 1856 involved systematic attacks against the Irish.

The Second Great Awakening of the 1830s helped facilitate an increased public awareness of the call for the abolition of slavery. This in turn led to the politicization of slavery as both a moral and social reform issue with the creation of the Liberty Party and the *Liberator*. The conflicts between abolitionist and anti-abolitionists was racial in that many liberal-minded whites such as Henry Lloyd Garrison and John Brown aligned themselves with black abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth against white anti-abolitionists. The adherents of abolitionism and anti-abolitionism were both at times willing to use violence to get their point across.

Race Riots in the Civil War and Reconstruction Era

The decade of the 1850s has often been described by historians as the “turbulent 1850s” because there was a series of racially charged incidents that helped increase the chance of a war between the states. Two major incidents of the 1850s that helped spark the Civil War are the race war at “Bleeding Kansas” and John Brown’s Raid at Harpers Ferry. The incident known as “Bleeding Kansas” was instigated by the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which called for popular sovereignty in the Kansas-Nebraska region. Both abolitionists and anti-abolitionists rushed to the Kansas territory to influence the outcome of

voting on the issue of slavery in the region. John Brown was involved in the violence that ensued in Kansas and later led the violent raid against Harpers Ferry in 1859 that was an attempt to gather arms against the supporters of slavery. The Civil War and Reconstruction period (1861–1877) was characterized by racial conflict and violence in significant ways well beyond the battlefield.

Slavery was the major cause of the Civil War, and conflicts over African American involvement in the military culminated in events such as the New York Draft Riots that took place July 11–13, 1863. In September 1862, President Abraham Lincoln announced that the Emancipation Proclamation would take effect January 1, 1863 meaning that enslaved persons in those states still in rebellion against the Union would be liberated. This was a type of formal recognition that the War Between the States was now being fought to end slavery and henceforth was a “race” war. The public announcement of the Proclamation paralleled years of support for emancipation in places such as New York City. The abolitionists involved in the New York antislavery movement garnered wide support and attracted large crowds in the city. In March of 1863, a more strict draft law was imposed, but African Americans remained exempt from the draft.

The draft riots that ensued after the first draft lottery was held on July 11, 1863, were also fueled by the labor competition between Irish, German, and black workers, as many white immigrants feared that black migrants would take jobs away from whites in the city. The riots that took place starting on July 13, 1863, lasted for six days. The rioters (mostly white immigrant mobs) attacked military and governmental buildings, black businesses, and institutions such as the Colored Orphan Asylum at Fifth Avenue. The riots ended with more than 100 killed and estimated damages of \$1.5 million. Lincoln was forced to send troops from the Army of the Potomac to restore order to the city. The army remained stationed around the city for weeks following the riots. There also were race riots in cities such as Memphis, Tennessee (1866), Opelousas, Louisiana (1868), and Camilla, Georgia (1868), following the war into the Reconstruction period, which was marred by racial violence and unparalleled lynching of African Americans.

The period between the end of the Civil War and the decline of Reconstruction (1865–90) was particularly marred by racial violence. In this period, hundreds of African Americans were made subject to extralegal violence and lynching. A series of anti-black associations that formed at the end of the war and during the Reconstruction period. These organizations, including the Klu Klux Klan (KKK), the Knights of the White Camellia, and the '76ers, used violence against both Reconstruction officials and African Americans. These organizations supported white supremacy, opposed "race mixing," and sought the restoration of white rule in the American south. There were race riots and lynchings in various parts of the country, during the late 19th century, including such places as Mississippi, Denver, and South Carolina. The records on lynching compiled by Ida B. Wells and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) more generally indicate that thousands of African Americans were lynched between the late 19th century and the emergence of the modern civil rights movement in the 1950s.

In this period between the war and the end of Reconstruction, there was continued strife between immigrants and anti-immigrant factions, such as with the Ward Island Riot of 1868 and the Orange Riots (1870–71). The Ward Island Riot involved conflicts between interned German and Irish immigrants following an altercation between two internees and resulted in the wounding of 30 men and the arrest of 60. The Orange Riots involved Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in New York City. There was an anti-Chinese riot in Los Angeles in 1871, and the Sherman Cola Riot of 1871, involved Welsh miners against Irish and German American miners. The politics of Reconstruction led to several violent outbursts between whites and African Americans in such places as Colfax, Louisiana (1873), and Yazoo City Mississippi (1875). There was also continued egregious violence against Native Americans on the Great Plains, as evidenced with the massacre at Wounded Knee (1890) following the Reconstruction period.

Race Riots In the Jim Crow Era

Segregation laws in U.S. history are often referred to as "Jim Crow" laws. Segregation constitutes a policy of physically separating socially designated

"races" in residential, educational, recreational, and public facilities. Segregation may be defined as either *de jure*, codified in legal proclamations, or *de facto*, defined as segregation in fact despite the absence of legal statutes. The phrase *Jim Crow* originated in the 1830s and is believed to have been first associated with the minstrel show performances of Thomas "Daddy" Rice. Rice (a white American) blackened his face with burnt cork and danced a jig while singing the tune "Jump Jim Crow" in an attempt to satirically emulate what he perceived to be black culture. By the 1850s, the Jim Crow character created by Rice had become a main feature in the 19th-century minstrel show while the term *Jim Crow* became utilized by writers in the late 19th century to describe the new legal system that emerged after Reconstruction.

The restoration of white home rule to the American south occurred between the years marked by the signing of the Compromise of 1877 and the Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). The major feature of the Compromise of 1877 was that military Reconstruction of the south came to an end, providing for the return of white southern self-rule of the former Reconstruction governments. The Supreme Court decision in *Plessy* mandated that separate but equal public facilities were constitutional, allowing southern states and locales to enforce a policy of segregation to maintain the separation of the races in nearly every arena of southern social life. The use of violence continued to be a mechanism deployed to ensure that blacks and whites were indeed kept separate. The KKK and white citizen's councils used lynching, beatings, and intimidation to curtail the rights of black citizens across the American south in the Jim Crow era.

In this era, there continued to be ethnoracial conflict involving blacks, Irish Catholic immigrants, Italian immigrants, and various other ethnoracial groups. African American writer James Weldon Johnson labeled the 1890s "the terrible 1890s" due to the fact that on average, nearly 100 African Americans were lynched every year for the decade from 1890 to 1900. In New Orleans of 1891, several Italians, who were implicated in the murder of police Chief David Hennessy, were lynched. There were race riots in Omaha, Nebraska, and a serious battle between Irish and Italians in Buffalo, New



Riot police in Toledo, Ohio, prepare to move against protesters in October 2005. The Toledo Riot took place when a neo-Nazi organization planned a march to protest African American gang activity in Toledo.

York, in 1894. The years between 1898 and 1900 were particularly violent in that riots occurred in Wilmington, Delaware; Lake City, South Carolina; and Greenwood County, South Carolina, in the year 1898 alone. The first decade of the 20th century included riots in such places as New York City; Little Rock, Arkansas; Springfield, Illinois; and Atlanta. In 1910, there were nationwide riots after the heavyweight championship fight between Jack Johnson and Jim Jeffries that took place in Reno, Nevada, on July 4, 1910.

The Great Migration of African Americans to northern cities after 1910 came with a series of racial conflicts in the second decade of the 20th century. This is evidenced in the significant rioting that took place in East St. Louis; Chester, Pennsylvania; and Houston, Texas, in the year 1917. The Red Summer of 1919 included riots in Washington, D.C.; Chicago, Illinois; Omaha, Nebraska; Charleston, South Carolina; Longview, Texas; Knoxville, Tennessee; and Elaine, Arkansas. The impetus of many

of these riots involved issues related to work, housing, and the rising prosperity of African Americans in metropolitan centers following the first phase of the Great Migration of African Americans to northern cities. The Tulsa Race Riots of 1921 led to the burning of Black Wall Street. The Rosewood Massacre that took place in 1923 in Florida led to the nearly complete demolition of a prosperous all-black section of the town.

Race Riots and Urban Rebellions in the Civil Rights Era

There were more than 500 urban rebellions from 1960 to 1969 in the United States, during the civil rights era. This era was particularly violent in that the assassination of many people associated with the civil rights movement took place in this period. Medgar Evers was slain by white vigilantes on June 12, 1963, and this attack was soon followed by the terrorist attack against the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Alabama that led to the death of four little schoolgirls. In 1964, three civil rights workers—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner—were slaughtered by members of the KKK. This violent decade was marred by both political assassinations and race riots directed against civil rights workers. The causes included police brutality, unfair housing practices, unemployment, and racial discrimination more generally. Two of the most serious rebellions occurred in the Watts section of Los Angeles and in Newark, New Jersey.

Major cities such as Newark were also engulfed by rebellion in the 1960s. Poverty, diminishing purchasing power, and deteriorating living conditions in the Central Ward (where most of the expanding black population resided) led to the conflagration that was known as the Newark riots in 1967. On July 12, 1967, an African American taxi driver named John Smith was beaten by Newark police officers for allegedly resisting arrest. Before the riots that followed the beating of Smith, lasting through July (amid rumors that the police had killed him), then-Mayor Hugh Addonizio had offered to condemn sections of the Central Ward to make way for the building of the University of Medicine and Dentistry. The Newark riots ended with 26 killed, 1,500 wounded, as well as 1,600 arrests and the destruction of an estimated 167 groceries (many of these establishments

never returned to the city). Middle-class communities of all races fled the city in the 1970s and 1980s, along with vital industries leaving behind a city increasingly marred by political corruption, crime, and urban decay. Some 125 cities erupted in racial violence following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968.

The Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders

The Kerner Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was created by President Lyndon B. Johnson following the riots in July 1967. Governor Otto Kerner, Jr., of Illinois was the chair of this commission. This commission was created to investigate civil disorders and disturbances in the interest of providing recommendations for future legislation. The members of the commission included political figures from major metropolitan centers including Mayor John Lindsay of New York, Senator Edward Brooke from Massachusetts, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and Police Chief Herbert Turner Jackson of Atlanta, Georgia, among others. The core questions facing the commission, as prompted by President Johnson, included an investigation of causes, parameters of the rioting, and what could be done to prevent such disturbances in the future.

The bipartisan commission came to conclude that racism was at the root of the riots and urban disturbances. It came to conclude that denial of economic opportunity also was at the core of the rioting. The denial of opportunity led to unemployment and poor housing conditions. The commission recommended that new jobs programs, a revamped housing policy, and a stop to de facto segregation in northern metropolitan centers might serve as solutions to the problems that led to the rioting.

Race Riots and Urban Rebellions in the Post-Civil Rights Era

The post-civil rights era did not signify an end to race riots and ethnorracial conflicts. The influx of immigrants from non-Western countries after 1965 has helped reshape the social geography of the United States in significant ways. The United States is increasingly becoming a non-white society. The overwhelming majority of new Americans come from places such as Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. These new immigrants have begun to settle in metropolitan centers such as

New York City, Miami, Los Angeles, and Jersey City, New Jersey, among various other locales. The ethnorracial riots that have taken place in the post-civil rights era have primarily taken place in metropolitan centers across the United States. The core issues driving these racial disturbances include police brutality, economic competition, and issues related to the rights of immigrants.

In the 1980s and the 1990s, there was a series of noticeable clashes between various ethnorracial groups. There were riots between Latinos, African Americans, and Haitians in Miami between the years 1980 and 1989. These disturbances were primarily related to concerns about police brutality and economic justice. The riots in Queens and Bensonhurst in New York in 1989 involved African Americans and Italians, and that same year, African Americans clashed with whites in Virginia Beach, Virginia. The killing of an African American child by a Jewish motorist sparked the Crown Heights riots of May 1991, while hostilities between African Americans and Cubans in Miami reached a boiling point once again in the 1990s. The acquittal of several white Los Angeles Police officers for the beating of African American motorist Rodney King culminated in riots from April 29 to May 5 of 1992. These events came to be known as the L.A. riots of 1992, and were considered perhaps among the worst in U.S. history. The beating of a white truck driver, Reginald Denny, who stopped at a traffic light was caught on tape and further fueled the conflagration. This incident was soon followed by the beating of a Guatemalan immigrant by the name of Fidel Lopez. Several businesses owned by Korean Americans were targeted, and this precipitated a strong response from the Korean American community in Los Angeles as a whole.

The ever-changing social geography of the United States has often been illustrated in conflicts between ethnorracial groups. The United States is one of the most ethnically diverse nations in the world. The country continues to experience monumental changes as it becomes less white.

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See Also: African Americans; Great Migration; Race.

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Racism

A widely accepted definition of racism does not exist. Instead, significant historical changes in U.S. race relations over the course of the 20th century, particularly the civil rights movement, have given rise to different conceptions of racism. Although nearly all scholars believe that racism still exists in the United States, there is considerable disagreement about its nature and extent. Some of the definitions of racism are complementary; others are incompatible. Even as the nation becomes increasingly multicultural, the topic of racism remains an important and widely debated concept.

The Historical Context

As early as the 18th century, European philosophers argued for the existence of separate races

based on certain physical differences. Physical anthropologists furthered the notion of racialism in the 19th century. As recently as the mid-20th century, a not insignificant number of well-respected members of the medical and scientific establishment maintained the belief in scientifically discernible, superior and inferior human races. This perspective, called scientific racism, placed non-Europeans between Europeans and primates on the evolutionary scale. At the dawn of the 20th-century civil rights movement, this sentiment still prevailed, as most white Americans believed that blacks and other racial minorities were biologically (i.e., intellectually) inferior to whites, and were therefore not entitled to the same rights and privileges as members of the dominant group. Today, most white Americans no longer openly endorse such beliefs. Exceptions include hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, and skinheads, who remain committed to the anachronistic tenets of scientific racism.

The civil rights movement was largely successful in discrediting claims that Americans of color were biologically inferior to whites. Prior to that point, the prevailing understanding of racism was one of overt racial prejudice based on the claim of essential biological difference. These purported differences were then used to justify widespread racial oppression, through both law and custom, throughout the United States. Landmark court rulings and civil rights legislation of the 1950s and 1960s finally eradicated overt, state-sanctioned racial apartheid and over time made public expressions of racial prejudice by individuals and groups socially unacceptable. Differing interpretations as to the meaning of these historical changes have caused significant disagreement among scholars. Emergent conceptions of racism in the contemporary period find their origins here.

The Traditional Perspective on Racism

Fifty years of public opinion polls show a significant decline in whites' self-reported racial prejudice. Over a similar period of time, Americans of color have increased their representation in the top half of the income and wealth distributions; they attend elite institutions of higher education in record numbers, sit at the heads of *Fortune* 500 companies, and serve at the highest levels



The November 1979 Iranian hostage crisis precipitated a wave of anti-Iranian sentiment in the United States. Even though most of these racist sentiments have gradually declined over the years, some Iranian immigrants in the United States distance themselves from their nationality and identify themselves instead by their ethnic or religious affiliations.

of elected office. The number of interracial marriages continues to grow as well. Millions of white Americans voted for Barack Obama in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections.

Scholars who endorse a traditional definition of racism cite these types of examples as incontrovertible evidence of a widespread decline in racism. These traditionalists view racism as solely an individual-level phenomenon. Here, racism is conflated with racial prejudice. That is to say, the nature or character of racism in, say, 1812 or 1912 is essentially the same as in 2012. The major difference is that whereas racism was common and widespread during the earlier periods, it is now rare and for the most part isolated in the southern United States. Those in this camp define racism as an irrational belief concerning the biological inferiority of racial out-group members. Therefore, individuals of any race may espouse racist beliefs. For example, this

perspective suggests that whites and blacks may be racist toward one another.

Since racism is said to reside solely in the realm of individual ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes, the traditional perspective suggests that the best way to address racism is through education. One must learn that racially prejudicial beliefs are irrational, wrongheaded, and no longer socially acceptable.

Emergent Perspectives on Racism

The social customs and conventions that had stipulated a second-class citizenship for Americans of color, particularly black Americans, abated in the wake of the civil rights movement. Despite being free from the strictures of state-sanctioned racial discrimination in the areas of voting, housing, education, and the labor market, however, most Americans of color still found themselves with grossly unfavorable life chances relative to

white Americans. As a consequence, some scholars began to reexamine the traditional perspective of racism as overt racial prejudice. These individuals developed an understanding of racism that encompasses the interpersonal and the institutional, the overt and the subtle, and the intentional and the unintentional. Also fundamental to those in this second camp is the claim that racism can mutate across different historical periods and sociopolitical contexts.

This highlights a principal difference between traditional and emergent definitions of racism. The latter are more encompassing and structural; the former are more limited and psychological. Most definitions of racism within the emergent perspective tend to be sociological in nature; that is, racism is seen as a structural, group-level phenomenon. As such, racism can be a characteristic of groups, organizations, and institutions as opposed to solely one of individuals.

At the tail end of the civil rights movement, Kwame Ture (formerly known as Stokely Carmichael) and Charles Hamilton published the book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (1967), in which they introduced the term *institutional racism*. Ture and Hamilton argued that overt, interpersonal forms of racism did not sufficiently account for the totality of racial oppression experienced by blacks. Rather, whites' racial prejudice could explain only the micro-level racism borne by blacks. For instance, being a victim of vitriolic racial epithets or racially motivated violence was disturbing and unacceptable, but fundamentally an individual-level phenomenon. While acknowledging the terrorizing nature of this variety of racism, Ture and Hamilton claimed that the life chances of Americans of color were also routinely constrained by laws, policies, and procedures throughout the country. They argued that the dominant interpersonal understanding of racism (that is, racism equated with racial prejudice) needed to be augmented with a more sociological (or macro-level) understanding of whites' use of power within institutional settings (public and private) to ensure that the life chances of all Americans of color (particularly blacks) remained severely limited.

Today, social scientists, as well as other scholars who study race and racism, continue to document institutional policies and practices that result in racially disparate outcomes for people of

color. For example, an organization may have a formal policy or informal practice of hiring the family members and friends of current or past employees. Given the historical and contemporary racial privilege of whites, along with the fact that most Americans' peer groups and intimate relationships are racially endogamous, these policies ensure that a disproportionate number of new hires will be white. Another example of institutional racism is the way in which students of color are significantly more likely than white students to attend schools with fewer resources, less or unqualified teachers, and dilapidated facilities. A final example consists of the large racial disparities in most criminal justice outcomes, such as arrest, conviction, and sentencing. An important component of institutional racism is that it can operate in the absence of overt racial prejudice and discriminatory intent on the part of individuals. The traditional perspective does not acknowledge this type of racism, as its focus is singularly on the conscious racial animus of individuals.

In addition to conceptualizing racism as institutional in nature, scholars working within the emergent perspective have also identified subtle or covert varieties of interpersonal racism. Here it is claimed that many whites still harbor a latent animus toward racial out-group members. However, they cannot express it overtly as such. One can no longer claim that specific racial groups have less innate intellectual ability without being stigmatized as a racist. Therefore, in the post-civil rights era, members of the dominant group communicate their racial beliefs and frustrations in other ways, most notably through claims of cultural inferiority. For example, although most whites do not publicly express and may no longer believe that Americans of color are intellectually inferior to whites, they often believe that these groups have pathological or inferior cultures. Drawing largely on negative racial stereotypes, they perceive nonwhites as responsible for their lower socioeconomic standing in society relative to whites because of their endorsement and/or tolerance of destructive behaviors such as crime, anti-intellectualism, laziness, alcohol and drug abuse, welfare dependency, anger, and sexual promiscuity. These moral and cultural attributions have been directed most strongly toward African Americans, Latinos, and reservation-bound Native Americans. This

practice of espousing negative racial stereotypes is often referred to as cultural racism.

Lastly, the failure of most whites to acknowledge the continuing reality of racism in the post-civil rights era, along with their unwillingness to support policies that would meaningfully improve the life chances of Americans of color, is seen by most scholars in the emergent tradition as a new type of racism. These contemporary definitions of subtle or covert interpersonal racism have been referred to as *laissez-faire*, color-blind, quiet, and symbolic racism.

The Future of the Traditional and Emergent Perspectives

The opportunities of Americans of color to experience their full human potential remain limited in nearly every socially meaningful sphere, from housing to the labor market, from education to the criminal justice system. Most of these disparities can be observed in data from government sources such as the 2010 Census, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Uniform Crime Reports, and the Departments of Labor, Education, and Housing and Urban Development. Most scholars of race and racism do not attribute all of these racial differences to racism; however, the weight given to the role of racism in producing these racial disparities is strongly dependent on the definition of racism used.

A generational shift is occurring among scholars of race and racism across a variety of disciplines. This may more strongly disrupt traditional conceptions of racism. The extent and durability of any major change in the prevailing understanding of racism toward the more encompassing variety will likely be mitigated by the theoretical and methodological assumptions of some disciplines. Also, beyond the scholarly debates, there is a strong countervailing sympathy among a majority of the general public, elected officials, and the media for the traditional definition of racism as racial prejudice. Whether the claims and empirical evidence in support of nontraditional definitions of racism will resonate with an increasingly racially and ethnically diverse American public is yet to be seen.

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See Also: Black Codes; Civil Rights Acts; Critical Race Theory; Jim Crow Laws; People of Color; Race; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Radio

Commercial radio began in 1920 with Pittsburgh's KDKA, the first licensed commercial broadcast station in the United States. These first broadcasts were supported not by advertising or listener donations, but by a related product: newspapers operated radio stations to publicize the paper's brand, while radio manufacturers and department stores operated radio stations to give the public more reason to buy radios. In the early 1920s, radio clubs sprang up on college campuses and through community centers such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and other civic groups.

Because most locations for radio clubs were segregated, African Americans formed separate radio clubs, primarily in urban areas. Everett Renfroe was one of the first African Americans in Chicago to get a ham radio license, in 1921, Miles

Hardy was one of the first African Americans in New York to get his license. Hardy founded the Pioneer Club in 1921; this was a group dedicated to teaching black youth about radios and electronics. Within a few years of the advent of commercial radio, there were some African American announcers and engineers working in the industry, although segregation policies narrowed their opportunities. In 1921, Black Swan Records was created, as the first African American record company. Ethel Waters, the first major recording star for Black Swan Records, also became the first African American to entertain live on radio. Jack L. Cooper was, at the time of commercial radio's rise, the only African American radio announcer. His success was widely recognized, despite the racism and segregation of the times, and by the end of the 1920s, he hosted a radio show: *The All Colored Hour*. Cooper's career in radio spanned 30 years.

Early Radio Through the 1940s

Early radio was as diverse in its subject matter as television would later become, including live and recorded music programs, news, comedy, dramas, mysteries, soap operas, and shows adapted from popular comic strips. Like television, radio primarily featured white people. This gradually became less true in music programming, beginning with the prominence of blues and jazz, which were referred to as "race music" until the end of the 1940s. Though so-called race music soon attracted nonblack audiences, jazz and blues programming was an example of radio programming aimed at a specific ethnic market. Throughout the country, there were numerous examples of such programs, including Spanish-language radio programming and foreign-language news and music aimed at recent immigrants. The Rockford, Illinois, Salvation Army produced Temple Toner in 1936, for instance, a Swedish-language program of music and religious content that was broadcast on a local AM station. It ceased broadcasting in 2011.

Ethnic music was often carried on English-language stations as well, and in some areas it was quite mainstream. Polka music, which was introduced by eastern European immigrants, was especially popular in the Milwaukee, Cleveland, Chicago, and Madison, Wisconsin, markets, where

the respective polka scenes were vibrant enough to produce well-known local musicians and distinct regional styles of polka. Although the intended audience was the eastern European immigrants who had grown up with the music, polka soon became strongly associated with the regional identity of these cities. As with jazz and blues, radio broadcasts made it easy for people to discover new forms of music or explore music without needing to attend a live performance—which might have been difficult for rural Americans in sparsely settled communities or prohibited by segregation laws for others. The broadcast of different musical traditions was a significant force in the development of American music in the later 20th-century.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, racial humor, as part of an outgrowth from vaudeville traditions, was commonplace. Shows like *The Amos 'n Andy Show*, used stereotypical humor as their main currency. Even so, African American announcers and other radio professionals were eventually represented in the field. Many major cities sold radio advertising blocks to African American businesses in the 1930s, and in 1949, the first African American radio station was founded in Atlanta.

Early radio also served as a political medium. In 1924, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) broadcast its annual meeting over the radio. By 1947, WDIA in Memphis became the first station to program exclusively for African Americans. This trend was followed in other cities, and by the mid-1950s, there were hundreds of stations with programming targeted exclusively for African Americans. Also, in 1947, San Antonio's KCOR became the first radio station to program exclusively for a Latino audience. Throughout these years, however, minority ownership of radio stations was minimal. The advent of television in 1939 impacted radio. Many radio stations applied for television licenses in the 1940s, and the anticipation of the visual medium impacted the access given to minorities attempting to work in radio.

Most early foreign-language radio programming was offered as a block on a radio station that also broadcast other programming. The first dedicated foreign-language commercial radio station owned and operated by a Mexican American was KCOR, a San Antonio AM station run by Raoul Cortez. Although foreign-language programming has often

focused on news, music, and religious programming, KCOR was a diverse station offering as many types of programs as the English-language stations, including radio dramas the station produced. Once KCOR had demonstrated its profitability, other all-Spanish stations were founded in Texas and elsewhere in the southwest, mostly owned by non-Hispanic entrepreneurs and businesses.

The 1960s and Beyond

The 1960s and 1970s saw a growth in public radio and other educational media. Public radio tended to originate from college campuses, and it did so as various ethnic pride and power movements and the feminist movement flourished on campuses across the United States. As new ethnic minorities immigrated to the United States from cultures that were still more radio dominated, urban ethnic programming gained market power. Talk radio programs with a wide spectrum of political positioning arose nationwide, but minority- and woman-owned stations were few, and as a result, programming decisions largely remained in white male hands.

Although most foreign-language programming never went beyond the regional level and remained aimed at fairly small markets, Spanish-language radio and television had become big enough commercial concerns that a wave of Spanish-language advertising companies developed. Specialized advertising helped bring even more revenue to the sector, contributing to its growth. Hispanic ownership of radio stations remained low, and the predominantly Anglo-owned stations began to develop into conglomerates. Tichenor Media Systems, for instance, owned a large number of Spanish-language stations in Texas. It was later, in 1997, merged with the Heftel Broadcasting Corporation, and then purchased by Univision in 2003. Univision had begun as the Spanish International Network, the United States' first non-English-language television network, founded by Emilio Nicolas, Sr., the son-in-law of KCOR's Raoul Cortez. Meanwhile, in 1978, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) made a commitment to increase minority ownership of broadcast media.

In 1990, the Supreme Court's decision in *Metro Broadcasting v. FCC* affirmed that under the 1934 Communications Act, the FCC was obligated to ensure diversity in broadcasting. The decision

came after growing complaints about the diminished decision making power of minorities in the broadcasting world and the formation of several industry and civil rights groups pursuing a change in that area. Nevertheless, by the dawn of the 21st century, minority ownership was at a nadir in both television and radio.

In 2002, the FCC instituted sweeping changes in its media ownership rules, some of which had been prompted by the FCC's stipulation that there was insufficient evidence showing that ownership impacted broadcast viewpoint. The FCC was reprimanded for these changes in 2003, in the Third Circuit Court of Appeals *Prometheus v. FCC* decision, which pointed out the FCC's failure to address the overwhelming dominance of white men in media ownership. An attempt to appeal the case to the Supreme Court was unsuccessful.

Despite this admonition, the FCC once again floated the possible elimination of media ownership limits in 2006. An in-depth study of the media consolidation issue titled *Off the Dial* was completed, and the results were discussed widely in 2007, along with criticisms that the FCC had abdicated its responsibility to regulate and support increased diversity of ownership. Various national women's rights and civil rights leaders, along with two FCC member commissioners, denounced the FCC for its failure to address the problem of lack of diversity in minority media owners, particularly in radio. They also demanded that the FCC, at a minimum, halt the media consolidation process.

Off the Dial found a variety of results that indicated that the diversity of radio by 2007 was very limited. The study found that the average local radio market has 16 white male-owned radio stations but only two minority-controlled stations and one female-owned station. It also found that women owned only 6 percent of all full-power radio stations, though they are 51 percent of the population. Similarly, people of color owned 7.7 percent of stations, although they made up 33 percent of the population. Congresswoman Hilda L. Solis of California, the National Organization for Women (NOW), the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, the Women's Media Center, and senior fellow at the Center for American Progress and chair of the Media and Telecommunications Task Force at

the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Mark Lloyd all decried these numbers as contrary to the public interest.

Off the Dial was especially significant because it was the first complete assessment of all licensed commercial radio stations. This set it apart from previous reports from the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) and the FCC summaries on these issues. *Off the Dial* was the only study to include the significant numbers of minority and female owners that had been omitted from previous analyses. *Off the Dial* found that there was almost no diversity at the top of radio station management. Only 4.7 percent of radio stations were owned by companies with a female CEO or president, and of those stations not owned by women, only 1 percent had female CEOs or presidents. Similarly,

only 8 percent of radio stations were owned by a company with a CEO or president of color, and of those companies not owned by minorities, less than 1 percent had CEOs or presidents of color.

The study showed that female- and minority-owned stations were more local, more often; this proof of localism was directly aimed at the FCC's reasoning. Minority- and female-owned stations also thrive in less-concentrated markets; as the proposed changes were designed to intensify concentration, it was likely that this condition would further negatively impact women and minorities. The study further found that even in radio markets where minorities composed the majority (23 of the 298 American markets), the number of minority-controlled stations was low. In fact, there were only seven markets in which minorities owned more than one-third of the stations.



African American students in a radio technicians' class at Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1943. By the mid-1950s, there were hundreds of U.S. stations with programming targeted exclusively for African Americans. Minorities overwhelmingly prefer minority-controlled radio stations, trusting those stations to understand their concerns.

Off the Dial found that minority owners were more likely to air programming that appealed to minority audiences, even though more dominant formats were higher earners. Minority and female ownership were strongly correlated with a market that aired both conservative and progressive programming (compared to a more narrow conservative focus). This serious media consolidation and resulting market concentration kept women and minorities off the dial, and further moves in that direction would worsen the diversity situation, which was already dire. Eventually, the FCC succeeded in 2010, when the Third Circuit revisited the issues and ruled that the FCC could lift the bans on media consolidation.

Foreign-language programming continues in the 21st century, but outside Spanish-language and Spanish-English bilingual programming, it has dwindled. Of the 833 radio stations offering foreign-language programming (14,619 stations total) in a 2011 survey, only 136 offered non-Spanish programming. The diversity shown by these stations is considerable, with 34 different languages represented by those 136 stations, including Creole, Gaelic, Punjabi, and all of the Romance languages. Programming continues to serve local needs in this respect.

WFAR in Danbury, Connecticut, for instance, airs Portuguese-language programs daily, for the area's long-established Portuguese American community, much of which is bilingual. Despite the general contraction of foreign-language radio, Spanish-language radio has been on the rise in the 21st century, as the Hispanic population of the country grows. In Texas, for instance, the number of Spanish-language radio stations increased from 57 in 1990 to 150 in 2010.

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See Also: Media, Ethnic; Media, Ethnic Participation in; Media, Foreign Language; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Television.

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Rage of a Privileged Class, The

Since the founding of the United States, there has been a social class of African Americans who have been regarded as middle to upper class. Entrepreneurs such as Paul Cuffe, a businessman in the late 1700s and early 1800s, would thrive in spite of racial barriers. During the antebellum period before the Civil War, during Reconstruction, and during Jim Crow segregation in America, the African American middle class provided much of the leadership initiative toward the eventual freedom for all members of their community. However, following the end of the civil rights movement, the tension between the individual multicultural self, the somewhat open American society, and corporate institutions would cause some in the African American community to experience a sense of “rage” regarding the fact that material and professional success could not protect them from racism.

Ellis Cose utilizes a framework for critiquing wealth, social mobility, and psychological dispositions of African Americans in his best-selling book *The Rage of a Privileged Class*. Although this framework is limited and has an inadequate conception of racism, it is useful as a device to explore the discontent of upwardly mobile African Americans. The central argument of the book is that a group that had achieved an admirable level of success, as opposed to previous generations of

African Americans, was silently angry about its perceived status in American society.

In *The Rage of a Privileged Class*, Cose followed in this vein, exposing and exploring the frustration that upwardly mobile blacks have with American society. He utilized interviews among the affluent to show that even well-to-do and successful African Americans experienced slights, insults, and biases that left them with frustration and a pessimistic outlook that was the result of historical development, a particular group culture, and an apprehensive view toward contemporary society.

In exploring these themes in the book, it is important to take a brief look at the historical development, organizational culture, contemporary scene, and future implications for the African American middle and upper classes and multiculturalism in America.

Historical Development

C. Vann Woodward noted that although a small African American, entrepreneurial, business-oriented class existed in the northern states prior to the beginning of the Civil War, the largest number of this community lived in the south and, by the 1880s, reflected their white counterparts' ideology of the "gospel of progress and wealth" in the so-called New South. This idea of progress and wealth was also reflected in the dominant ideology of racial uplift promoted by the new African American entrepreneurial/business class from the 1880s to the eve of World War I.

Rayford Logan remarked that the ideology of racial uplift was the notion that more fortunate African Americans were responsible for assisting their less fortunate brethren during a period when the civil and political rights of the African American community were under assault, during the historical period referred to as the Nadir. Although it was a self-help ideology in response to white supremacy, it was limited because without civil rights, the African American community could not protect the "fruits" of its labor; for example, thriving African American communities such as "Black Wall Street" in Tulsa, Oklahoma, were destroyed in acts of racist violence.

However, as Cose noted, following the victories of the civil rights movement, the more socially mobile privileged class of African Americans was

frustrated by the largely symbolic gains made in corporate America. Interview after interview with executives and managers recorded the insights of a generation that was frustrated with how its member were treated at work and, in the case of some, how their status did not protect them from egregious acts of racism.

Organizational Culture and Contemporary Scene

The origins of organizational group culture and the African American socially mobile class community can be traced back to the American Revolution, the founding of the Free African Society precursor of the African Methodist Episcopal church, and the founding of Prince Hall Masonic lodges and other local and national civic organizations, which attracted men and women of an emerging business class. These organizations were influential in the arena of education as a means to bring about changes in civil rights and human relations and to involve their members in social or political action.

However, as Cose remarked in *The Rage of a Privileged Class*, there was relative surprise in the 1990s at the discovery of black middle-class anger, which had grown in size during the post-civil rights era. This anger was the result not of Jim Crow policies but of the perceived glass ceiling and institutional or structural challenges during a time of conservative ascendancy, which was ushered in by the election of President Ronald Reagan and a backlash against liberal programs such as affirmative action.

Y. M. Alex-Assensoh remarked that following the civil rights movement, the African American community underwent a cultural transformation in the last decades of the 20th century. The influx of African and African-descended immigrants from the Western Hemisphere and the Caribbean region introduced a multitude of experiences to the traditional African American category of the U.S. population. For example, Kwame Appiah noted that the experience of colonialism and colonial struggles impacts personal experiences of African immigrants more than the civil rights/Black Power struggles of their African American counterparts. Ellis Cose's interview of John Ogbu, an African immigrant, supports this: ". . . the immigrants did not measure their success or

failure primarily by the standards of white Americans, but by the standards of their homelands.”

Although these success stories were salient, isolated individual victories such as electing an African American president or the existence of African American corporate chief executive officers and government officials does not necessarily imply systemic transformation.

Implications for the Future of Multicultural America

Since the turn of the 21st century, the African American community has been undergoing a change, as implied by the 2010 U.S. Census. For example, since the 2000 census, American citizens have been allowed to pick more than one racial category on their census document, and a small but growing number of African Americans have selected this option. Moreover, the practical reality behind the Barack Obama presidency and the visibly hyped success of a few African Americans is that racial problems still linger, to the point of invisibility of highly successful black Americans. So even though black educational outcomes continue to lag behind whites, subprime lending practices disproportionately affect blacks and other people of color, and prisons are overcrowded with black and brown inmates, the success of a few—especially during an age of austerity—has made such problems more difficult to discuss or redress via policy.

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See Also: African Americans; Civil Rights Movement; Identity Development.

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Raisin in the Sun, A

A Raisin in the Sun, the landmark play written by Lorraine Hansberry, opened on Broadway on March 11, 1959. It was Broadway’s first play written by an African American woman and the first directed by an African American. It was also the first play written by a black American to win the Best Play of the Year Award from the New York Drama Critics Circle. The original production ran for more than a year, playing 530 performances. Weaving a universal tale of a family seeking to realize its dreams of social equality, *A Raisin in the Sun* has come to occupy a hallowed space in the African American canon. Hansberry depicts the basic middle-class aspirations of blacks and whites as basically the same, while strongly embracing pan-Africanist and protofeminist ideologies. The title is taken from Langston Hughes’s 1951 poem “Harlem.”

Set in Chicago’s South Side, sometime between World War II and the late 1950s, *A Raisin in the Sun* chronicles the Younger family as they grapple with the receipt and subsequent loss of a \$10,000 insurance check. The close-knit clan—comprising Walter Lee; his stalwart mother, Lena; his patient wife, Ruth; his ambitious sister, Beneatha; and his adolescent son, Travis—shares a stifling, cramped two-bedroom flat. Trapped in a cycle of poverty, dead-end jobs, and missed opportunities, Lena contends that utilizing the windfall to purchase a new home in an all-white neighborhood and pay for medical school for Beneatha are the best ways to ameliorate her family’s quality of life. Conflict ensues when the Youngers disagree about how best to spend the money: on Walter Lee’s ill-conceived scheme to purchase a liquor store or on Beneatha’s unconventional aspiration to become a surgeon. Karl Lindner, a representative from Clybourne Park, the all-white neighborhood where the Youngers plan to move, offers to pay

the family not to move there. Walter Lee claims his place as head of his family when he explains to Lindner that his family is willing to endure racism for its shot at the American Dream.

The general plot was inspired by actual events from Hansberry's childhood in Chicago. Born on May 19, 1930, she was introduced to the poetry of African Americans at an early age, with the works of Countee Cullen, Waring Cuney, and Langston Hughes bearing a special influence. In 1940, when she was only 10, the U.S. Supreme Court heard *Hansberry v. Lee*, in which her father, Carl Augustus Hansberry, contested a restrictive covenant that limited the real estate that African Americans could purchase in Chicago. The family endured violent and dehumanizing treatment at the hands of their neighbors while they inhabited the suburban home in a previously all-white neighborhood.

Bringing *A Raisin in the Sun* to the Stage

Novice producer Philip Rose had a difficult time raising the funds to open a show about a black family, directed by an inexperienced African American director and written by a 29-year-old unknown black woman. However, the play eventually opened to universal acclaim and was one of the first Broadway shows to attract a considerable black audience. The production boasted an accomplished cast—including Sidney Poitier, Ruby Dee, Diana Sands, Claudia McNeil, Lou Gossett, Jr., and Glynn Turman—and was nominated for four Tony Awards in 1960. A screen adaptation, with most of the original stage cast, was produced in 1961, with Hansberry providing the screenplay and Daniel Petrie directing. The film was nominated for two Golden Globe Awards and won the Gary Cooper Award at the Cannes Film Festival that year.

Hansberry's former husband and literary executor, Robert Nemiroff, produced a musical adaptation of the play, which premiered on Broadway on October 18, 1973. *Raisin*, with a score by Judd Woldin and Robert Brittan, was the success of the season, running for 847 performances and winning the Tony Award for Best Musical. The libretto, by Charlotte Zaltzberg and Nemiroff, relies heavily on the play's text, utilizing numerous passages verbatim, as Nemiroff accorded the writers access to Hansberry's unpublished plays, journals, and diaries.

The Legacy of *A Raisin in the Sun*

Other noteworthy productions include a televised version, which aired originally on February 1, 1989, starring Esther Rolle, Danny Glover, and Helen Martin, and the play's only Broadway revival, which opened on April 26, 2004, and ran for 88 performances. That production, as well as the 2008 televised version it spawned, starred Phylicia Rashad, Sean Combs, Audra McDonald, and Sanaa Lathan. It was nominated for four Tony Awards, included Best Revival of a Play, and won Tony Awards for leading and featured actresses Rashad and McDonald.

On February 1, 2010, Bruce Norris's play *Clybourne Park* premiered to critical and commercial acclaim. It explores integration, racial relations, and gentrification in the eponymous neighborhood just prior to and then 50 years after the Youngers move in. The work won a number of honors, including the Laurence Olivier and Tony Awards and the Pulitzer Prize for Drama.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Motion Pictures; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Ramadan

For Muslims throughout the world as well as for the millions of Muslims in the United States, Ramadan is the most important time of the year. Non-Muslim commentaries on Islamic culture often focus on the influence of the religion on



Each day before dawn, Muslims observe a pre-fast meal called suhoor, and at sunset, families observe a fast-breaking meal known as iftar, shown above set out on the floor. These two meals are a traditional part of the Ramadan.

Middle Eastern laws and governments, or the role of Muslim extremists in terrorism, while ignoring the faith's spiritual values that are exemplified in the celebration of Ramadan. The ninth lunar month in the Muslim calendar, Ramadan is the month in which Muslims claim the Prophet Muhammad first received his revelation from Allah, which was recorded in the form of the Qur'an. The rituals and observances held in Ramadan are in remembrance of this event. Observance of Ramadan is one of the Five Pillars of Islam, the basic obligations of all Muslims.

Specifically, Ramadan is observed with a month-long, daylight fast. Although this requires an intense level of commitment, it is a religious observance that like the fasting of Catholics during Lent, is easily accommodated by work and school schedules and so does not require any adjustments in one's public life. On the other hand, in many countries where Muslims are the majority of the population, Ramadan is very

much a part of public life, with restaurants opening before sunrise to accommodate the fasting schedule. Muslims fast from dawn until after sunset each day for the 29 to 30 days of the month. During this time each day, Muslims refrain from eating food, drinking liquids, or engaging in sexual relations. According to the practices of the Muslim faith, there are many rewards for fasting, but these rewards are multiplied during the month of Ramadan. In Muslim countries, work and school hours are usually shortened during Ramadan, both to allow more time for religious observance and to account for the low energy levels of those who are fasting. In the United States, Muslims who do not experience such accommodations may find it difficult to adjust.

As a lunar month, Ramadan does not begin on a consistent day of the 365/366-day solar calendar. Most American Muslim communities follow the lead of the Islamic Society of North America in determining the start and end dates for Ramadan. The observance always begins at sunset. In 2013, for instance, Ramadan was observed from sunset on Monday, July 8, until Wednesday, August 7.

All Muslims are to start fasting during Ramadan after they reach puberty. However, there are exemptions for those who are sick or unhealthy. In addition, there are exemptions for those who are traveling, on their menstrual cycle, ill, suffering from old age, pregnant, or breastfeeding. Although fasting during Ramadan is not compulsory for children, many Islamic children strive to complete as many fasts as possible as practice for later in life.

Although Muslims are expected to fast during the daylight hours of Ramadan, they are allowed to eat before dawn and after dark. During the month-long celebration, practitioners of Islam observe a morning meal before dawn called suhoor. Just before dawn, Muslims stop eating and get ready for the first of the five daily prayers required as another of the Five Pillars. After sundown, Muslims are able to break their fast with another ceremonial meal, known as iftar. Iftar is typically celebrated buffet style, with large numbers of people from the social group. This is a time of fellowship with family, friends, and members of the larger community. After the celebration, practitioners of the faith then stop for the fourth prayer of the day.

In the United States, iftar dinners held by mosques are often open to the public, and many mosques host interfaith events during Ramadan to encourage interfaith fellowship and discussion. Because Ramadan is the period when one's Islamic practices are made the most explicit, it is an opportune time to be open to such discussions, given the questions non-Muslim neighbors, friends, and colleagues may have. Some American non-Muslims observe the fasting of Ramadan in a show of solidarity. This has especially made headlines in the 21st century, when the Internet has made it easy for participants to blog or tweet about their Ramadan experiences, and when there has been a general increased public awareness of Islam. Sometimes these non-Muslim allies express the hope that their support shows that the anti-Muslim sentiment expressed by mosque protesters and others is not universally felt.

Charity and Personal Self-Improvement

Ramadan is also a time of spiritual reflection, self-improvement, and increased devotion to Allah. During the month of Ramadan, Muslims are expected to put more time and effort into their faith. Fasting is supposed to help Muslims to turn away from worldly things. The fast helps Muslims to cleanse the soul. It also teaches them increased self-discipline, self-control, and self-sacrifice.

Islam emphasizes empathy, and Muslims are encouraged to increase their charitable activity during Ramadan as part of spending the month living a more pious life. Since 2009, American Muslims have participated in the National Eid Toy Drive, which collects money and toys for needy Muslim children. The drive was organized by the Baitul Salaam Network in Georgia, an anti-domestic violence group. The All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS), a large mosque in the Washington, D.C., area, serves meals at homeless shelters every day of Ramadan, funded by collecting money from attendees at its iftar dinners.

It is also common to read the entirety of the Qur'an over the course of the month. Prayer meetings are held in mosques throughout the world, in which sections of the Qur'an are recited so that Muslims can complete the entire book by the end of the month. These recitations usually lead up to Laylat al-Qadr, which is considered the most holy night of the year. Laylat al-Qadr is sometimes

referred to as "the night of power" because Muslims believe that the first revelation of the Qur'an was sent down to Mohammad on Laylat al-Qadr. In Chapter 97:3 of the Qur'an, this night is described as "better than 1,000 months." Eid ul-Fitr, or the festivity of breaking the fast, is the final feast day that marks the end of the holy month of Ramadan.

American Muslims trace their origins to over 80 different countries. In many parts of the country, mosque attendance during Ramadan is an experience that highlights the pluralism of American Islam while also providing reassurance and comfort to recent immigrants and temporary visitors such as international students.

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See Also: Muslim Americans; Muslim Students Association; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Raza C3smica, La

La Raza C3smica (the Cosmic Race) is a term coined by the late Mexican educator, politician, and philosopher Jos3 Vasconcelos in his eponymous essay published in 1925. A seminal piece of Latin American literature, "La Raza C3smica" highlights the growth and implications of multiculturalism in the Americas and elsewhere. Throughout the essay, Vasconcelos articulates the idea of an impending "fifth race," which would be a mixture of all the other acknowledged races in the world to create a new civilization: Univers3polis.

More a philosophical treatise than a purely scientific study, "La Raza C3smica" suggests that the people of Latin America have a spatial, cultural,

and sacred competency essential to profess, and to teach others about, this future universal era of humanity. In other words, Vasconcelos argues that through generations of interbreeding among what he called the black, Indian, Mongol, and white races would emerge an ultimate race that not only would bear the best traits of its predecessors, but would also be the vanguard of a new civilization. The underlying principle is that the people of the “New World” have the major racial influences of the “Old World” to fully realize the creation of a modern world.

La Raza: Historical Precedence and Modern Controversies

For Vasconcelos, La Raza C3smica would be a normative expression of a unified theory of global ethnic relations. His primary testament is the recognition of the broad social and political challenges of race in the Americas. Yet, the term *La Raza C3smica*, and the abbreviated form La Raza, have come to signal many meanings and various controversial political and politicized affirmations. At issue is that Latin America would be the birthplace of this *Univers3polis* and that the Spanish culture would be the standard-bearer of the new race. This preference ignores various issues of the physical and cultural colonization by the Spanish in the New World and arguably elevates Hispanics above others. Nonetheless, throughout his essay, Vasconcelos challenges the “abhorrent” theories of biological and racial (Aryan) purity by offering an optimistic theory of miscegenation or race-mixing.

The modern usage of the term *La Raza* is also controversial, generally because its literal English translation is “the race.” More specifically, the term is controversial because the phrase is widely used by various groups emanating from the Chicano and Mexican American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, with varying connotations of separatism and racial superiority. The term *La Raza* has its origins in Vasconcelos’s “La Raza C3smica,” which he originally wrote and published in Spanish. As such, the term is much more dynamic and fluid, with a translation much closer to meaning “the people,” or specifically the Latina/o people of the Americas born of mixed blood (a cosmic people) and not born of so-called racial purity.

Vasconcelos suggests that the term is meant to be inclusive of all races, instead of privileging just one racialized category; his is an argument for racial diversity instead of racial supremacy. Vasconcelos coined La Raza C3smica at a specific historical moment, which further complicates its significance and specifically complicates its interpretations. La Raza C3smica is a product of Mexico (a predominantly mixed-race nation), its historical trajectory (post-Mexican Revolution of 1910–20), and the political aspirations of its author, who later would unsuccessfully run for president of Mexico in 1929 as an “opposition” candidate.

Latina/os as La Raza C3smica

According to the U.S. Census, race is a broad sociopolitical, rather than biological, self-identification data item that takes into account cultural and ancestral characteristics. Respondents can choose one or more races from five categories (white, black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawai’ian or Other Pacific Islander), while also indicating whether they are of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity. The census defines race and ethnicity as separate and distinct identities, with Hispanic or Latino origin asked as a separate question.

Consequently, Hispanics or Latinos can be any part or mixture of the five racial categories. Latina/os are unique compared to other ethnic and racialized subpopulations, primarily because they are included in essentially every racialized subpopulation that society has created. This notion is similar to what Vasconcelos visualized as a future “fifth race” emerging in the Americas. This “race” would be an infinite amalgamation of all the races in the world, one beyond color, to create a new people: La Raza C3smica. Latina/os are not differentiated by perceived biological distinctions, and Latinos in the United States do not all speak the same language. Latina/os also are not a singular national origin group. No matter how one defines Latina/os, demographics show that they are the largest and fastest-growing ethnic subpopulation in the United States, composing more than 15 percent of the total U.S. population, and often challenging imposed racial categorizations.

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See Also: Chicano Movement; Chicanos; Ethnicity; Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Miscegenation; Mixed-Race Americans; Race; Race Mixture in the United States.

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Raza Unida, Partido de la

El Partido de la Raza Unida (the Raza Union Party or RUP) was founded in Crystal City, Texas, in January 1970, with leaders from the previously successful student organization Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO). RUP served as a viable third Chicana/o political party to challenge the traditional two-party domination of Texas politics by Democrats and Republicans. RUP held its first political convention in 1972, creating a unique platform and running candidates under its name at the municipal and state levels. It expanded unevenly throughout the southwest and midwest, but by 1978, it had lost momentum and ceased to exist. Women formed a caucus within the party—Mujeres por la Raza.

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded in Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1929 to combat discrimination. In 1948, Dr. Hector P. Garcia founded the American G.I. Forum (AGIF), also in Corpus Christi, to help veterans receive their benefits after service. PASSO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations) grew out of the Viva Kennedy-Viva Johnson clubs of the 1960 election by merging with leaders from LULAC, the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), and the Community Service Organization (CSO).

It had the goal of becoming a national Latina/o political body but did not succeed outside the state. PASSO experienced limited electoral

success in the city council race in 1963 in Crystal City. Mexican Americans elected five candidates, referred to as "Los Cinco," who served a single term. It was the first all-Mexican American city council and demonstrated the power of ethnic-based voter organizing. PASSO also worked with black organizations in Houston and San Antonio to elect ethnic American politicians.

Student Involvement

After Los Cinco failed to be reelected, MAYO took up the mantle of Texas politics and helped create the Raza Unida Party. MAYO fought educational segregation and discrimination from its inception in 1967. It utilized sit-ins and walkouts, and it engaged many youth not yet of voting age who were concerned about the lack of access to college preparatory classes, racially disparate school discipline, and the lack of Chicana/o role models and curriculum.

The party began when MAYO founders Jose Angel Gutierrez and Mario Compean proposed its establishment at the only national convention of MAYO. In 1970, the newly created political party won 15 city council, mayoral, and school board races in Crystal City. In 1972, RUP branched out, running Ramsey Muniz for governor and Alma Canales for lieutenant governor, along with other candidates for state treasurer, the railroad commission, and the statewide board of education. The party spread to California, Colorado, and Wisconsin.

Muniz ran again in 1974 after receiving 6 percent of the vote in 1972. The party also ran representatives for many districts in the state house of representatives. The platform and campaigns run by Raza Unida candidates emphasized their ethnic roots but often paralleled the Democratic Party in many key issues like education, health care, and transportation. Activism in RUP waned after the 1974 electoral losses and the 1976 arrest of Ramsey Muniz on drug charges. In 1978, RUP ran founder Mario Compean for the Texas governorship. Based on the low number of votes that Compean received, the party lost its state funding, from which it could not recover.

The legacy of the Raza Unida is substantial. RUP demonstrated the power of the Latina/o electorate in a way not even seen in the Viva Kennedy-Viva Johnson clubs. The promotion of

a separate political platform composed of issues concerning the community solidified the need of all future candidates to address Latina/o voters as a unique, identifiable constituency. Many civil and political organizations sprang up in its wake. In 1975, Congressman Edward R. Roybal from California founded the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO), which hoped to increase the ranks of elected officials through education, voter registration, and lobbying, which would make supportive legislation on Latina/o issues more possible. The Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC) was formed in 1976 with Texas congressmen Kiko de la Garza and Henry B. Gonzalez and was modeled after the Congressional Black Caucus to create unity and a voting bloc among Latina/o elected officials.

Current Efforts

RUP also trained numerous community leaders and activists. At the 2012 Democratic National Convention in Charlotte, North Carolina, Julian and Joaquin Castro addressed the delegates and the nation as the current mayor of San Antonio and Texas House Representative from the 125th District, respectively. Julian and Joaquin are the twin sons of Rosie Castro, one of the founders of Raza Unida, who ran unsuccessfully for the San Antonio City Council in 1971 on behalf of the party. Both sons acknowledged that their mother took them to meetings and rallies as young children, which influenced them and shaped their careers. Rosie Castro and her sons' central roles in the 2012 convention that re-nominated the first black president of the United States, Barack Obama, testified to the power of the Raza Unida to shape a Latina/o electorate and transcend both local and ethnic politics to speak to a wider national audience.

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See Also: Mexican American Political Association; Mexican American Youth Organization; Poll Taxes; Southwest Voter Registration Education Project.

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Reconstruction

Reconstruction was the period in U.S. history from 1865 to 1877. Following the Civil War, the nation embarked on a concerted effort to rebuild and reform the defeated south politically, socially, and economically. Ultimately, the desired result was a new, readjusted south—one that stood in political accord with the rest of the nation as well as a region that peacefully and meaningfully incorporated the 4 million newly freed slaves into its ranks at all levels.

Ultimately, Reconstruction proved to be just as much a social experiment as it was political. Although all 11 former Confederate states eventually pledged loyalty to the Union and unequivocally embraced the abolition of slavery, achieving the Reconstruction's primary goals was not easy. Widespread racial violence, political corruption, and the eventual neglect of Reconstruction policies by the federal government left much of the work undone.

Today, historians debate the overall effectiveness and success of Reconstruction and its stated aims. The general consensus, however, is that Reconstruction was a failure, particularly since racial animus further embedded itself into southern culture long after Reconstruction. In the subsequent decades, the region as a whole also failed to achieve an adequate economic and political rebirth that produced a groundswell of tangible improvements, especially for southern blacks.

Presidential Reconstruction: Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan (1863–1865)

Though the end of the Civil War marked the beginning of Reconstruction, some scholars insist

that during the early years of the Civil War, President Lincoln possessed the forethought and wisdom to draft plans for eventually reconciling the nation long before the war's outcome was known. In December of 1863, Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. Therein, the president relied primarily on his constitutional powers to grant pardons and reprieves to rebellious Confederates. Using this enumerated constitutional authority, Lincoln planned to offer pardons and amnesty to all southerners except those who had served as high-ranking military and government officials during the war. Lincoln's plan mandated at least 10 percent of a southern state's 1860 population to swear loyalty to the Union before that state could form a new state government and write a new state constitution. Once a Confederate state met Lincoln's rather lenient requirements, it could return to the Union and proceed to rebuild and recover from the war with full federal support. Since he never recognized secession or the formation of the Confederate States of America as legitimate or constitutional, Lincoln envisioned a Reconstruction plan based on forgiveness and not revenge. Lincoln's main priorities were to rehabilitate an injured south and preserve an already fragile Union.

Some in Congress, namely the Radical Republicans, saw Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan as doing little to penalize the rebellious Confederates for their seemingly indefensible actions. In fact, the Radicals refused to recognize the two reconstructed states of Arkansas and Louisiana under Lincoln's plan. Known to many as "Lincoln governments," the two states encountered bitter opposition during their relatively seamless re-entry into the Union. Some Republicans, for example, refused to recognize representatives from the two states, believing that seating those congressmen would cede too much authority to the president over Reconstruction matters. By 1864, the fact that both states were now known to many as "Lincoln governments" only drew the ire of Radical Republicans, who scoffed at Lincoln's outwardly lenient plan.

In July of that year, the Radical Republicans offered their own tougher, more punitive reconstruction program in the form of the Wade-Davis bill. After making its way through Congress, the bill required at least 50 percent of a Confederate

state's voting population to take what was known as the Iron clad Oath. By swearing their loyalty to the Union and maintaining that they had never supported secession or rebellion, southerners could then reclaim their American citizenship. Former Confederate state government officials and highly ranked military officers, however, would be banned from public office once new state constitutions were drafted and new state governments were in place. The Wade-Davis bill also stipulated that each new southern state constitution expressly abolish slavery as a condition for re-entry into the Union. Although the bill passed both houses of Congress, President Lincoln found it unnecessarily harsh. For this reason, the president used the pocket veto to effectively kill the bill.

Johnson's "Restoration" Plan

Shortly after the assassination of President Lincoln on April 14, 1865, Vice President Andrew Johnson ascended to the presidency. Johnson, a southerner whom Lincoln appointed for his loyalty to the Union during the secession crisis and subsequent war, resumed the business of reuniting the nation. On May 29, 1865, Johnson issued the Proclamations of Amnesty and Reconstruction, which required southern states to renounce secession. Johnson's well-known disregard for the south's planter class resonated in the provision that those with property valued at more than \$20,000 would be prohibited from taking the loyalty oath. Instead, these wealthy southerners would have to personally appeal to the president for amnesty, which was issued at Johnson's discretion.

The president's plan also required only 10 percent of a state's voting population to proclaim loyalty before that state could go on to draft a new constitution. Johnson's "Restoration" plan also placed civilians rather than military officials in charge of the new provisional state governments. Most noticeably, Johnson's plan did not do much to protect or provide for freedmen. It also did not provide suffrage rights. On the contrary, Lincoln's plan at least called for limited voting rights for black men of note or those with educations or demonstrated military service.

Under Johnson's plan, all except one of the former Confederate states complied with the president's requirements for readmission into the

Union. It was also under Johnson's plan that the old guard in the south, namely white Democrats, returned to power and began a bitter campaign to terrorize and discriminate against blacks through a series of restrictive laws known as the black codes. These laws varied by state and greatly curtailed blacks' civil rights and economic opportunities, mainly by ensuring black dependence on a system of labor relations that looked similar to slavery.

Northerners and Radical Republicans viewed the south's return to a form of neoslavery as an affront to their own heightened expectations for Reconstruction. They held President Johnson primarily responsible for those immediate failures, especially because they believed his efforts did little to improve the plight of southern blacks. Moreover, the fact that Johnson refused to support an extension of the Freedmen's Bureau bill and other policies aimed at ensuring the emergence of a fully reconstructed south propelled congressional Republicans to search for their own solutions.

For the remainder of his term, President Johnson would vie with Congress over the direction of his Restoration plan for the south. In many instances, Congress would also challenge the president's authority to enact certain policies. The two sides would fight with equal passion to ensure their particular vision for Reconstruction, even if it meant blocking southern representatives from taking their seats in Congress or enduring the drama of an unprecedented impeachment trial for a sitting president.

Congressional Reconstruction

By the election of 1866, tensions between newly formed southern state governments, Congress, and the president were at a high point. Because of their failure to meet all of the Reconstruction requirements set forth by Congress and the president, none of the southern states was allowed to vote in the federal election that year. The Radicals' bold maneuver incensed Johnson and helped increase the Radicals' majority in Congress, effectively placing the Reconstruction agenda in their hands. President Johnson, however, was not pleased. In retaliation, he issued his own series of proclamations that once more demanded that the former Confederate states re-establish their state governments and quickly reintegrate into the Union. Again, Johnson made no overtures to

protect black rights, a move that only placed him deeper in the Radicals' disfavor.

Pushed by the Radical Republicans, Congress in early spring 1867 passed the First Reconstruction Act, which granted a southern state readmission into the Union once it had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment (adopted in 1868) and made guarantees for black voting rights. Congress also divided the south into five military districts, to be controlled by Union commanders. Johnson balked at the legislation and threatened to veto it. When he did in fact veto parts of the Radicals' Reconstruction plans, Congress simply overrode his veto. After a few congressional sessions, more Reconstruction acts managed to escape presidential veto and, eventually, a constitutional protection of black voting rights made its way into the federal constitution in the form of the Fifteenth Amendment (1870). Still, tensions between Congress and the president increased, ultimately resulting in Johnson's impeachment in spring 1868. However, the president was able to avoid conviction and removal from office by only one vote.

The Last Days of Reconstruction

After President Johnson's intensely partisan impeachment trial, his power and authority as chief executive waned. His last days in office were neither productive nor effective, and it was not until Civil War hero Ulysses S. Grant came into office in November 1868 that the business of reconstructing the south fully resumed. Nonetheless, unlike his predecessor, Grant largely deferred to Congress on Reconstruction matters. After some resistance, he appointed military commanders to supervise the five military districts and made strong attempts to enforce both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. His administration saw the establishment of the Justice Department and took great strides to safeguard black civil rights throughout the south. Grant's administration also acted decisively to suppress the reign of terror inflicted on southern blacks by the Ku Klux Klan and private citizens. He even signed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which allowed blacks to gather in public and enjoy a host of public accommodations.

As the election of 1876 loomed, Grant and congressional Republicans turned their attention to other matters of national importance. Reconstruction priorities gradually fell from prominence.

Once the Democratic Party resurged all across the south and the Compromise of 1877 effectively withdrew federal troops from the south, Reconstruction ended. Within a short time, the few gains blacks achieved during Reconstruction were slowly rolled back. Jim Crow was introduced, and the south traveled down a path of long-standing racial discord and violence that lasted well into the middle of the 20th century. Though not enslaved, southern blacks endured years of sharecropping and tenant farming while seeing little to no significant economic gains brought by Reconstruction. Although the so-called Reconstruction Amendments can be credited with embedding the notions of freedom and equality deeper into the nation's consciousness, on the whole, the period bears an altogether less favorable legacy.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Codes; Civil War, U.S.; Jim Crow Laws; Slavery.

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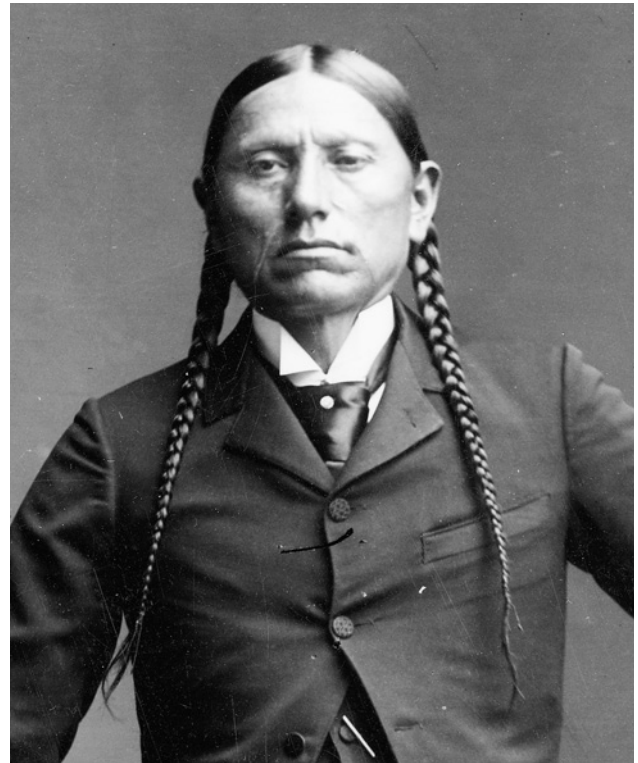
Red River War

The Red River War (1874–75) was a U.S. military campaign against the Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, and Southern Cheyenne Native American

tribes along the Red River in the Southern Plains states of Texas and Oklahoma. Tribal members angry at the poor conditions on the reservations and wholesale slaughter of buffalo herds joined those bands that had resisted relocation to reservations to raid a nearby post at Adobe Walls. The U.S. Army responded with the Red River War, a campaign that ended Native American resistance in the Southern Plains, destroying their traditional nomadic buffalo-hunting culture in the process.

The growing presence of settlers traveling west through the Southern Plains as well as federal military withdrawal from the region during the Civil War (1861–65) had resulted in conflict between settlers and the Southern Plains tribes. The U.S. government had relocated the Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, and Southern Cheyenne to two western Oklahoma reservations under the 1867 Treaty of Medicine Lodge.

The relocated tribes were angered by harsh living conditions on the reservations and the failure of the federal government to furnish promised services



Comanche Chief Quanah Parker in a photograph circa the 1880s or 1890s. The end of the Red River War is usually marked by the surrender of Chief Parker and his band at Fort Sill in June 1875.

and supplies. Tribes were also angered over outside encroachment on reservation land and the buffalo hunting grounds to which they were granted access as well as the widespread destruction of the Plains buffalo herds on which their culture and livelihood centered. As the buffalo herds disappeared and the reservation tribes slipped into poverty and dependence on government rations, many felt that war was the only suitable option left.

Some Native Americans discouraged by poverty and threats to their traditional culture began to leave the reservations and join bands of Native American renegades and raiders who had resisted removal. The resisters united under leaders such as renowned Comanche Chief Quanah Parker and their calls for a war against European Americans to restore their homelands and traditional way of life. A group of approximately 300 Native Americans united to attack a group of close to 30 buffalo hunters at the Adobe Walls frontier post on June 27, 1874. The better-armed hunters were able to withstand the Native American assault, forcing the Native American bands to retreat.

The Native American bands then separated and once again began raiding across the region. Meanwhile, the Adobe Walls incident drove the U.S. Army to take concerted action to end remaining Native American resistance along the Southern Plains. The U.S. Army pursued an overall military strategy of converging several columns of troops entering the area from different directions in order to surround the Native American bands and cut off any avenues of escape. The U.S. troops would then go on the offensive and force surrender. The Native Americans adopted more guerrilla-style tactics and often engaged the U.S. forces in order to divert attention from their villages or from escaping groups of women and children.

General Philip Sheridan was in command of the U.S. Army forces during the Red River War. Colonel Nelson A. Miles, Lieutenant Colonel John W. Davidson, Lieutenant Colonel George P. Buell, Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie, and Major William R. Price led the columns of U.S. military forces. Notable Native American chiefs who participated included Quanah Parker, Lone Wolf, Satanta, and Big Tree. The U.S. forces had the advantage of superior weapons and generally favorable weather conditions. Although the Native Americans did have access to firearms,

many of them were older models. The Battle of Red River (August 30, 1874), fought between the Sixth U.S. Cavalry and Fifth U.S. Infantry under Colonel Nelson A. Miles and the Southern Cheyenne, was the first battle of the Red River War.

The U.S. Army and Native American resisters fought a series of battles estimated at between 14 and 20 along the headwaters of the Red River in northern Texas, the Texas Panhandle, and western Oklahoma over the next year. Most of these were brief skirmishes between small numbers of combatants, and casualty rates were generally low. Other notable battles included the Battle of Lyman's Wagon Train (September 9–11, 1874), the Battle of Buffalo Wallow (September 12, 1874), the Battle of Sweetwater Creek (September 12, 1874), the Battle of Palo Duro Canyon (September 28, 1874), and the Battle of Round Timber Creek (November 6, 1874).

Final Resistance

The Battle of Palo Duro Canyon played a key role in demoralizing the Native American resisters. The Fourth U.S. Cavalry under Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie attacked and destroyed a group of Native American villages in the canyon, scattering the Native American people, destroying their supplies, and capturing over 1,400 of their horses. Many of the resisters were forced back onto the reservations by the prospect of looming starvation and defeat as winter approached.

The end of the Red River War is usually marked by the surrender of Comanche Chief Quanah Parker and his band at Fort Sill in June 1875, although isolated pockets of Native American resistance continued into 1876. The Red River War effectively ended Native American resistance to European American settlement, opening the Southern Plains region to settlement and ranching. Their defeat marked the end of the traditional nomadic buffalo-hunting culture of the Southern Plains tribes as they lost their traditional homelands and were largely confined to the Oklahoma reservations.

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See Also: Great Plains Tribes; Native Americans; Reservations, Native American.

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Refugee Act (1980)

The Refugee Act of 1980 was built upon the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965. Its primary goal was to create a systematic, uniform, and unbiased procedure of refugee resettlement. As a result, it repealed discrimination on the basis of national origins and opened doors to refugees from all parts of the world who have played important roles in contributing to America's multiculturalism.

To achieve its goal, the legislation had five objectives regarding refugee resettlement. First, it redefined "refugee" in accordance with the United Nations, 1951 convention's definition. Prior to this legislation, the United States primarily categorized refugees as those fleeing from communist countries and repressive regimes in the Middle East. The adoption of the United Nations' definition in 1980 repealed this discrimination and applied "refugee" to any person who is unable or unwilling to remain in his or her country of nationality because of "well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion." Individuals who have "ordered, incited, assisted or otherwise participated in [such] persecution" are excluded from this definition.

This definition applied to individuals who were already present in the United States under a legal designation known as political asylum, such as Vietnamese refugees and boat people who had arrived before 1980. Moreover, it authorized granting refugee status to people in detention who may be permitted to leave their country if

accepted by other governments, such as in the Cuban political prisoner release program. Second, the Refugee Act of 1980 raised the annual limitation on regular refugee admissions from 17,400 to 50,000 each fiscal year. Third, it provided for an orderly procedure to deal with emergencies if the number of admitted refugees exceeded the regular ceiling. This provision added flexibility to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Fourth, to ensure congressional control, the act required consultation with the Congress regarding the admission of refugees and particularly the admittance ceiling. Fifth, the act provided monetary assistance, medical benefits, and a wide range of social services to refugees to facilitate the resettlement process.

In addition to these refugee provisions, the act explicitly permitted individuals within the U.S. borders to apply for "asylum" or "restriction on removal" status because of threats to life or freedom. As with refugees, such people could apply for permanent residence status after one year of living in the United States.

Historical Context

Senator Edward Kennedy, following the work left behind by his brother President John F. Kennedy, spearheaded the legislation during the 1970s. In 1981, he publicly advocated the bill as reflecting America's immigrant heritage of welcoming all migrants who contribute to its richness in culture and diversity, new economic vitality, and other American values. The bill captured the attention and concerns of the American public, who witnessed the massive exodus of people from southeast Asia as well as other communist and repressive countries. This was followed the large wave of Vietnamese "boat people" who risked their lives on boats to escape communism.

Although the American public was sympathetic to refugees, it also feared the opening of the "floodgates" to a large and sudden increase in the refugee population. To address this concern, the law established a normal ceiling of 50,000 refugees a year (which is 10 percent of immigration flow to the United States), procedures for controlling emergency cases, and congressional supervision over the admission process. Proponents of the legislation noted that many other developed countries were more generous in their refugee

admission policies than the United States, including Canada, France, and Australia. On September 6, 1979, the bill was unanimously adopted by the Senate. It remained intact until it was signed into law on March 3, 1980, by President Jimmy Carter.

Contemporary Context

In order to achieve the objectives of the Refugee Act of 1980, U.S. refugee resettlement programs have been working closely with key international humanitarian institutions, such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and other countries with similar commitment to refugees. Today, the United States has welcomed more than 3 million refugees from more than 65 countries. In 2010 alone, the United States received more than 73,000 refugees and 20,000 asylum seekers.

Meanwhile, the trajectories of adaptation for refugees who arrived in earlier waves have been mixed. Some groups, such as Cubans, have shown signs of successful integration into the United States and are on their way toward becoming “Americans.” However, other refugee populations, such as Hmong and Cambodians, continue to struggle on the margins of American society. Many refugees—although they may now refer to themselves as Americans or hyphenated Americans—have reestablished ties with coethnic members in other countries and even those in their homelands. Through these transnational efforts, a number of scholars have recategorized the movements as “diasporas” or “refugee diasporas.”

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See Also: Cuban Americans; Immigration Acts; Refugees; Vietnamese Americans.

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Refugee Relief Act (1953)

President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the Refugee Relief Act, originally referred to as the Emergency Migration Act, on August 7, 1953. The act was partly his response to the postwar refugee populations from Europe and those fleeing communism in the growing Cold War—especially from Italy, Greece, and the Netherlands—and various groups from the Middle East.

The 1947 Truman Doctrine had defined the post–World War II world as a struggle between two opposing ways of life and different worlds. Those fleeing communist countries were perceived more positively and welcomed as fleeing from oppression into liberty.

The Refugee Relief Act was a broad-based, non-quota refugee law providing for the admission of up to 209,000 refugees to the United States before December 31, 1956. This act earned a place in the history of U.S. immigration policy by setting factors for immigration in such categories as refugees, escapees, and German expellees, rather than by quota. The designation of “escapee” was new to the language of law.

The act provided for admissions of relatives of persons in the United States (family reunification), those with the status as a persecuted person (for race, religion, or personal opinion), those unable to return home to a communist or communist-dominated country, and those who were unable to return to their homes because of natural calamity or military operations.

Shift in Immigration Policy

The Refugee Relief Act was a significant step in immigration policy away from the quota-driven policies prescribed by several key acts. Immigration policy had been set by the National Origins Act of 1924, which established quotas for immigration,

favoring northern Europeans and almost entirely excluding Asians. In 1948, President Harry Truman signed the Displaced Persons Act, providing a quota of 202,000 refugees to be admitted to the United States, which increased to 415,744 by 1950. This act favored ethnic Germans, Baltics, and those with an agricultural background; it effectively discriminated against Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. It was set to expire in 1953.

A third controversial immigration policy was the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, also known as the McCarran-Walter Act, which was passed over the veto from Truman. This was considered discriminatory, favoring various racial groups by establishing annual quotas of immigrants, specifically one-sixth of one percent of the 1920 white population (154,657 visas). The majority of quota immigrants came from northern and western Europe.

Humanitarian and Political Goals

The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 set no limit on the number of visas for relatives of refugees. It also provided for the following: Chinese and Arab refugees; those expelled from Germany; Germans and Austrians escaping communists; Italian, Dutch, and Greek refugees and relatives; war orphans; and other Asian refugees. This three-year program admitted almost 190,000 refugees; 30 percent were Italians who had lost their homes in an earthquake, Yugoslavians, and Egyptians.

Public opinion favoring the admission of refugees grew with the increase of the Cold War. In 1953, almost half the Americans polled about refugees favored the admission of 240,000 displaced persons.

The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 thus addressed humanitarian and political goals. A National Security Council memorandum from March 26, 1953, called this act a means “to encourage defection of all Soviet nationals and ‘key’ personnel from the satellite countries” in order to “inflict a psychological blow on Communism” and “material loss to the Soviet Union” by providing a drain of intellectual talent of professionals.

Secretary of State Dulles named Edward Corsi as special assistant for refugee and migration problems. In 1931, President Herbert Hoover had appointed Corsi as federal commissioner of

immigration, and Dulles called him “the best qualified man in the United States” for making sense of the Refugee Relief Act. Corsi had opposed the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationalization Act of 1952. Representative Francis Walter, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, accused Corsi of being a communist sympathizer, a McCarthy-era ploy. Corsi was dismissed. He claimed that refugees were investigated too harshly and that the act was hampered by security fears.

The bill was amended to make it difficult for groups of refugees to be admitted, as it required all refugees to undergo a scrupulous security screening, verify their activities for two years prior to application, give evidence of a guaranteed job by a U.S. resident, as well as a home. The act became known as the “Church bill,” because so many religious organizations sponsored refugees. The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 provided legal and infrastructure means of accommodating refugees, a vital part of the story of U.S. refugee and immigration legislation that continues to unfold.

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See Also: Immigration Acts; Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S.; Refugee Act; Refugees.

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Refugees

“Refugees” refers to individuals who are forced to leave their home countries because of war, conflict, or persecution. The causes for displacement

range from ethnic, religious, and tribal violence to government upheavals and social movements. Refugees are persecuted on the basis of their race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, and membership in a social or political group. Unlike immigrants, refugees do not receive any protection from their government: In most cases, their governments are the persecuting entity. As a result, refugees have a well-founded fear of returning to their home country.

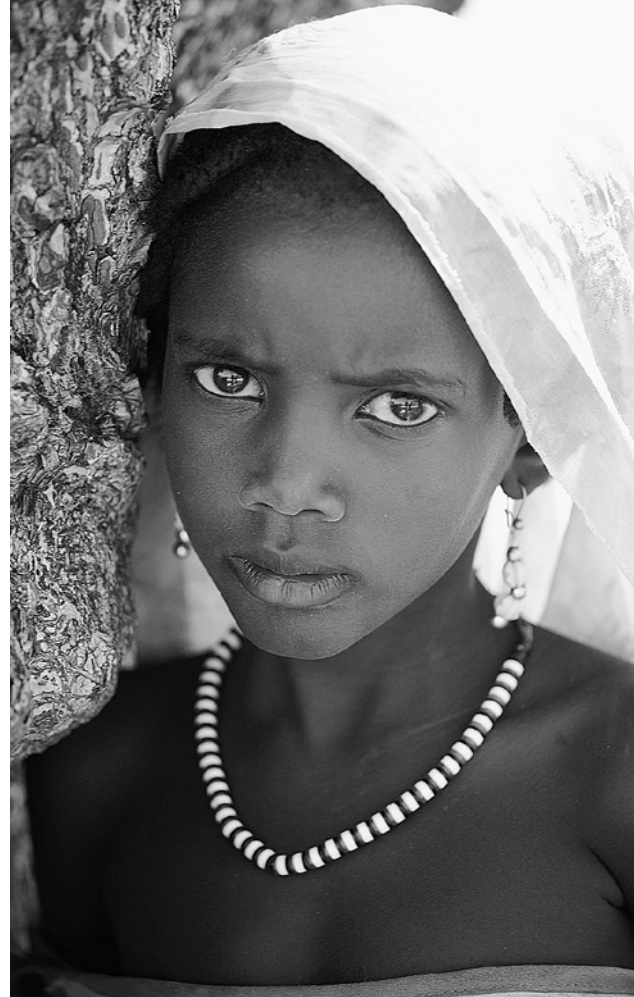
Refugees and immigrants are distinct from one another in this sense: Refugees are forced to move out of their countries for fear of their lives and freedom, whereas immigrants move of their own volition and for opportunity. For these reasons, international laws treat refugees and immigrants distinctly. Generally, the condition of the refugees' country of origin takes time to improve, and as a result, many refugees reside in refugee camps for years, even up to decades. Nations also provide aid to refugees through resettlement and humanitarian aid.

The term *refugee* emerged at the same time as the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. The treaty assigned populations to new territories and created the concept of a sovereign state. In 1685, the Edict of Fontainebleau outlawed Protestantism in France. As a result, about 200,000 Huguenot Protestants left France, settling in non-Catholic places in Europe, such as the Netherlands and Germany. This was the first historical event of a population fleeing their home country for fear of persecution, and it brought the word *refugee* into the English language.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reports that in 2010, there were 264,574 refugees living in the United States. In 2011, an estimated 800,000 people became refugees across international borders, while approximately 4.3 million individuals were displaced because of persecution or conflict.

Refugees in the United States

On March 17, 1980, Congress passed the Refugee Act, which is a commitment to provide refuge to victims of religious, political, ethnic, and other forms of persecution. The law developed the Federal Refugee Resettlement Program to grant the effective resettlement of refugees and to assist them to achieve economic self-sufficiency



A Sudanese refugee staying in a refugee camp in 2010 after her family escaped from the janjaweed in Sudan. Sudanese families such as hers are among recent refugee groups that have been admitted by the United States.

as quickly as possible after arriving in the United States. The law also created the legal status of asylum and provided the framework for resettlement programs across the world by outlining the guidelines for establishing refugee eligibility in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.

Over the years, the United States has admitted refugees from conflicts, wars, and persecution. Some examples are the Vietnamese who escaped the fallouts of the Vietnam War; the Bosnians and Kosovars who fled their region's civil war and ethnic cleansing; the Rwandans, Burundians, and Congolese who escaped from the extreme

political and ethnic violence of their respective countries; the Sudanese who broke away from the attacks on the minority populations of the Darfur region; the Burmese who were displaced by the military regime's persecution; and Iraqis who worked with the United States during its military tenure in Iraq.

Refugees hail from distinct social and economic backgrounds—some come with no English language skills and little formal education; some come with college or professional degrees; some operated successful businesses in their country of origin; some join their extended family in the United States, while others arrive alone in their new country. Like immigrants, refugees contribute their skills by providing labor and entrepreneurship, stimulating economic growth and service delivery, in addition to promoting diversity and actively participating in society through volunteering and building social capital in their new countries. Albert Einstein, Elie Wiesel, Henry Kissinger, and Madeleine Albright are examples of refugees who came to the United States to start new lives and were extremely successful in their endeavors. Many refugees, after making the difficult transition of starting over, obtain financial and social success.

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See Also: Boat People; Refugee Act; Refugee Relief Act; Naturalization; Undocumented Immigrants; War Refugee Board; World War II.

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Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)

Among all judicial decisions concerning affirmative action, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) is especially interesting because both opponents and supporters of affirmative action claim it as their judicial victory. *Bakke* is the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case that required medical school admission of a white applicant while also allowing race to remain as one factor in college admissions. This case affirmed the legality of affirmative action, including admissions quotas, in higher education. However, the court ruled that solely race-based quotas were not constitutional and ordered that the University of California end its dual admissions policies. *Bakke* further clarified that qualified members of the majority could not be automatically excluded from public programs receiving federal assistance. Such exclusion violates Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The court, however, was by no means in consensus, with only a 5–4 vote deciding the case. As a sign of further dissent, there were no fewer than six differing opinions offered following Justice Lewis Powell's announcement of the split decision.

Facts of the Case

Allan Bakke, 35 years old and white, applied and was rejected in 1973 and again in 1974 for admission to the University of California Medical School at Davis. The medical school admitted 100 students each year and reserved 16 of those spots for qualified nonwhite students through a special, separate admissions process. Bakke sued in the California courts and ultimately in the U.S. Supreme Court, arguing that his rejection was based solely on his race. Bakke's test scores and GPA were higher than any of the admitted nonwhite students occupying the 16 spots reserved for them in the medical school class. Two issues are at the center of Bakke's cases in both the California and U.S. Supreme Courts. The first is the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The second is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits exclusion from federally assisted programs on the grounds of race, color, or national origin.

Legal History

In the initial trial court, it was found that the medical school's program constituted a quota and, therefore, violated Fourteenth Amendment equal protection, state constitutional protections, and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The court noted that people applying for the 16 reserved spots were compared only against other minority applicants, and not against the entire applicant pool. This dual admissions policy had the effect of establishing two separate admissions standards—based solely on race. This dualism violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which ensures that states provide “equal protection” of their laws to anyone within their jurisdiction. The trial court also banned the University of California Medical School at Davis from considering race during its admissions process. The university appealed, arguing that racial diversity was a compelling interest both for the state and regarding education. The California Supreme Court concurred with the trial court that the special admission program violated Bakke's equal protection. Then the court went one step further and ordered that the medical school admit Bakke. This part of the decision is often viewed as a victory by opponents of affirmative action.

The Supreme Court reviewed this case *in certiorari*. The only two issues considered by the Supreme Court in reviewing the California Supreme Court's case were the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection issue and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Supreme Court concurred that Bakke's equal protection and his rights under Title VI had been violated. The order that he be admitted to the medical school was upheld. However, the court overturned the ban on considering race as one part of the admissions process. This part of the U.S. Supreme Court decision is viewed by supporters of affirmative action as a judicial victory.

In his majority opinion, Justice Powell articulated the court's examination of the medical school's dual admissions program:

Racial and ethnic classifications of any sort are inherently suspect and call for the most exacting judicial scrutiny. While the goal of achieving a diverse student body is sufficiently compelling to justify consideration of race in admissions

decisions under some circumstances, petitioner's special admissions program, which forecloses consideration to persons like respondent, is unnecessary to the achievement of this compelling goal, and therefore invalid under the Equal Protection Clause.

Justices William Brennan, Byron White, Thurgood Marshall, and Harry Blackmun articulated the court's position that maintaining race as one admissions factor is necessary to overcome historic underrepresentation of nonwhites in the medical field:

Racial classifications call for strict judicial scrutiny. Nonetheless, the purpose of overcoming substantial, chronic minority underrepresentation in the medical profession is sufficiently important to justify petitioner's remedial use of race. Thus, the judgment below must be reversed in that it prohibits race from being used as a factor in university admissions.

This opinion illustrates the primary challenge inherent in affirmative action programs: remedying historic discrimination without creating a new standard of unintentional discrimination.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Civil Rights Acts; Constitutional Amendments.

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Relativism

Relativism is a philosophical concept claiming that there is no absolute truth. Truth is relative—a subjective value dependent upon perception.

Essentially, relativism postulates that the limits of the mind and the conditions under which knowledge can be gained affect knowledge in general. This philosophical framework is not limited to a single doctrine but is instead a myriad of views that shares one common theme: the idea that all forms of experience and even reality itself must be seen as relative to other things. Strands of relativism with this common theme turn up in virtually every area of philosophy. However, relativism has also spilled over into academic disciplines outside philosophy and into American popular culture as well. In fact, relativism plays a central role in America's culture wars.

In his *Philosophical Investigations*, philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein claimed that we humans can understand and evaluate our own beliefs and behaviors or the beliefs and behaviors of others only within the social, historical, and cultural context out of which those behaviors or beliefs emerged. This philosophical position was taken up by anthropologists. For the discipline of anthropology, relativism is a methodology. Researchers must suspend their own beliefs and their own social, historical, and cultural biases in order to understand the beliefs and behaviors of others within their social, historical, and cultural context. The purpose of this methodology is to avoid what sociologist William Graham Sumner called ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism involves the application of one's own cultural standards to assess the culture of others—putting one's own group at the center of the universe and evaluating all other groups based on that standard.

It is this kind of relativism—cultural relativism—that is of most importance to those studying multiculturalism. Cultural relativism was a response to the ethnocentrism that existed in the West. The Western tradition promulgates the idea that Western art is the most aesthetically sound, Western values are the most virtuous, and Western beliefs are truth with a capital “T.” According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the first use of the term *cultural relativism* was by Alain Locke, a philosopher and social theorist. Locke used the

term in 1924 to describe Robert Lowie's “extreme cultural relativism” in Lowie's 1917 book *Culture and Ethnology*.

Anthropologist Franz Boas introduced the principle of cultural relativism to the discipline of anthropology in his research. Boas first articulated the idea in 1887 when he wrote, “civilization is not something absolute, but . . . is relative, and . . . our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes.” Boas argued that one's own culture mediates perception. This, according to Boas, can limit one's perceptions. What is most interesting about Boas's work on culture is his definition of what culture entails. Boas understood culture to be much broader than one's taste in food, art, music, or social or religious practices. For Boas, culture was “the totality of the mental and physical reactions and activities that characterize the behavior of the individuals composing a social group collectively and individually in relation to their natural environment, to other groups, to members of the group itself, and of each individual to himself.”

Cultural relativism became a common term among anthropologists after the death of Boas in 1942. During the latter half of the 20th century and into the 21st century, cultural relativism was the underlying philosophical principle used to justify multiculturalism. This brand of relativism assumes that the various cultural groups in a given society have different modes of thought and standards of reasoning. Because of this, one can only describe these modes of thought and standards of reasoning and not evaluate the validity of the practices of various cultural groups.

Culture Wars

It is this application of relativism that has ignited the “culture wars” in the United States. For much of the history of the United States, the cultural norms of the dominant group were considered the standard by which all of the other groups were judged. Because of the anthropological methodology of Boas and the work that he and his students had done in cultural anthropology, the cultural norms of the dominant group could no longer be considered the standard. Instead, each culture was to be described in terms of its own modes of thought and standards of reasoning—each culture was to be seen in terms of its own social, historical, and cultural context.

The problem with Boas's methodology is it allows one only to "describe" the modes of thought and the standards of reasoning of a given culture. For much of America's history, the dominant groups were not just describing these other cultures but also evaluating them. If one were only to describe a culture, then one could not make value judgments about the cultural practices of that culture. However, if one is not able to make value judgments about the cultural practices of a given culture, can there be any values? When the values of the dominant culture clash with the values of the minority culture, how can one decide which is the greater value? Some would say that this perceived lack of values leads down a slippery slope to nihilism, where nothing is of value to anyone. Others would say that the peoples of minority cultures must be respected by the people of the dominant culture and that in order to show the proper respect, the dominant culture must be tolerant of the values of the minority cultures.

An example of how culture values can clash with one another is the controversy involving Latina author Sandra Cisneros and the San Antonio Historic and Design Review Commission. In the 1990s, Cisneros bought a 100-year-old house in the King William Historic District of San Antonio. After renovating the house, she decided to paint it bright purple. The San Antonio Historic and Design Review Commission told Cisneros that because the house was a part of the historic neighborhood, she would either have to paint the house an approved color or prove to the commission that the color she chose was historically accurate.

Cisneros claimed that Latinos had lived in and around the neighborhood for 100 years, and although purple might not have been a color that the German Americans who built the mansions in the King William Historic District would have chosen, it was a color that could have been chosen by the Mexican Americans in the Mexican neighborhood where the house had originally stood. The San Antonio Historic and Design Review Commission didn't accept Cisneros's argument. Eventually, the controversy was settled when the San Antonio Historic and Design Review Commission claimed that the paint had faded to lavender and lavender was an approved

color for the house. Cisneros had to make some minor changes to the house but was not forced to repaint it.

Although Cisneros was not forced to repaint her house, the San Antonio Historic and Design Review Commission was also not forced to make a decision about aesthetic value. The dominant group in the neighborhood (upper- to upper-middle-class whites) likely considered the bright purple house to be gauche; however, bright colors are prevalent in the Latino aesthetic. How can one make value judgments about these aesthetics if there are no absolutes or values because of cultural relativism? Does this mean that the rap music of Snoop Dogg can be on an equal footing with the poetry of Byron because there are no objective aesthetic values? Can Native Americans use peyote and Rastafarians smoke marijuana because their cultural and religious practices compel them to do so? Advocates of cultural relativism would say yes.

The detractors of cultural relativism would say that if there can be no absolutes in terms of cultural values, then there is nothing to bring people together as a society. Instead of having a society in which all Americans can live within similar social, historical, and cultural contexts, American society will be splintered into myriad groups of various cultural identities. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., refers to this as "cultural Balkanization" in his book *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*.

However, some would claim that America is not about one's nobility, social class, race, or ethnicity. America is an idea—an idea promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—and these people feel that as long as Americans believe in the ideas in those founding documents, that is enough of an absolute to hold Americans together as a people.

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See Also: Culture; Ethnocentrism/Xenophobia; Perspectivism.

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Religion and Ethnic Diversity

As in other regions of the world, ethnicity and religion have intertwined so closely in the United States that it is often appropriate to speak of synthetic “ethnoreligious” identifications—German-Catholic, Japanese-Buddhist, Indian-Sikh—rather than considering ethnicity and religion as entirely separate categories. On the other hand, ethnic and religious identifications have at times escalated in importance to the minimization of the other: for example, it is possible to distinguish between the independent Polish National Catholic Church, which may have at times prioritized ethnic considerations to a greater degree than did the (also intensely nationalist) canonical Polish Catholic Church. Ethnoreligious identifications have also been closely linked in the United States to processes of migration, both for indigenous peoples (Native Americans) and for so-called immigrants, who, given their broad range of migratory practices (such as permanent settlement, sojourning, cyclical migration), may more simply and aptly be called “migrants.”

Migration has proven to be at once a “theologizing” and “ethnicizing” experience, as new expressions of ethnic and religious identification have emerged in the United States, often in dialectic relationship. Yet, both “de-theologization”—in the form of religious nominalization, disaffiliation, or loss of faith—and “de-ethnicization,” through, for example, processes of assimilation, have characterized the U.S. ethnoreligious experience. In short, ethnicity and religion have intersected and diverged in widely varying patterns in U.S. history: while it is possible to discern broader

ethnoreligious trends and assert useful overarching generalities, it is also critical to consider the idiosyncrasies of particular cases.

Any discussion of ethnicity and religion in U.S. history must take into consideration the complexities and historical development of ethnic and religious classification. For most of U.S. history, hardly anyone used the terms *ethnic* or *ethnicity*, and certainly not in the current sense of a culturally and historically—as opposed to biologically—determined phenomenon: not until the 1950s did “ethnicity” gain terminological currency and begin to achieve widespread usage. Before then, “race” and “nation” provided the preferred nomenclature for individuals and groups, both those that today might be distinguished as “racial,” on the one hand, and as “ethnic,” on the other.

Thus, historical commentators referred to the “Italian,” “Slav,” or “Irish” *racess*, in much the same way as they did to the “Asiatic,” “Negro,” or “Hispanic” *racess*. Until the 1990s, it had been common to assume that, when earlier commentators used the term *race* to refer to those groups and individuals that might today be called “ethnic,” they simply meant “ethnic,” in the modern sense. Yet, revisionist historians and practitioners of “critical whiteness studies” have demonstrated convincingly that “race” often indicated both cultural and biological underpinnings, regardless of whether the term was applied to blacks, Native Americans, Poles, Greeks, or any number of other “groups.”

Given the ambiguous and evolving meanings of ethnicity alongside race and nationality in U.S. history, this article considers “ethnic,” “racial,” and “national” groups and individuals (in the commonplace, contemporary sense of those terms) together, in conjunction with religious experience. This is not to say that the experience of Asians in U.S. history was the same as for blacks or for Poles; it is merely to adopt a definition of “ethnicity” broad enough to encompass a wide range of cultural, social, and historical phenomena.

Similarly, “religion” implies certain ambiguities, stemming from the term’s origins in Western Christian society and development during the Western period of Enlightenment and afterward. Initially referring only to particular phenomena within Christianity, the term was subsequently

applied to other cultural traditions outside Christianity, along with certain presuppositions about what made religion “religion.” In other words, a dichotomy of religion (Christianity) versus paganism or superstition gradually gave way to the classification of many traditions as “religions,” with Christianity first designated as the “superior” religion, and then, even in the later, more egalitarian view of “religions,” with Christianity serving as the benchmark. Thus, religions have been denoted as such by criteria such as tangible institutional affiliation and coherent, consistent systems of belief (as opposed to practice), attended by clear and mutually exclusive boundary demarcation.

Yet many “religions” in the world do not conform so neatly to those criteria, insofar as they may exhibit low levels of institutional affiliation, the emphasis of practice over belief, and fluid, porous boundaries. “Hinduism” was actually initially a colonial British category, referring to a wide array of beliefs and practices on the Indian subcontinent, which were often not mutually exclusive to one another. Historically, Chinese have been able to blend Buddhism with Daoism or other popular “religious” practices without the dissonance that “mixing” religion might cause in the West (imagine, for example, the difficulties associated with identifying as a “Christian Muslim”). Because virtually every religious tradition in the world finds representation in the United States, thanks especially to its major role as a “receiving” migratory region, it is important to keep some of the ambiguities of the term *religion* in mind, for several reasons.

First, American Buddhism and American Judaism, as an example, may exhibit markedly distinct structural features or emphases on belief versus practice. Second, it has often occurred that traditions, which have historically exhibited low levels of institutionalism and exclusivity, have nevertheless taken on more clearly defined institutional forms (for example, a Buddhist “congregation”) and emphasized belief in the U.S. context, in a process sometimes referred to as “de facto congregationalism.” Lastly, the emphasis of some traditions—both Eastern and Western—upon “practices” can often result in the blurring of the religious with the ethnic, such that it may be difficult to distinguish the two.

The Colonial Encounter and the Early Republic

Native Americans, as a widely variegated population, maintained a wide array of religious practices and beliefs, which served as indicators of group distinctiveness. The first Europeans appearing in the New World alternately regarded indigenous peoples as “noble savages” in a type of Garden of Eden or as a racially inferior and superstitious enemy of the colonial enterprise, with the latter view becoming increasingly prominent as Europeans’ demand for land rose and a particular conception of an American nation developed.

The “white man’s burden” entailed the supposed civilization of indigenous peoples, not only in terms of their general cultural practices, but also in the sense of promoting conversion to Christianity. Yet, while this missionary impulse helped justify the harsh exploitations of colonialism, missionaries also acted at times—within limits—to check colonial excesses, including those based upon racial assumptions of the subhumanness of indigenous peoples. As generally happens in colonial processes, both colonizing and colonized populations marked each other as “other” and attributed superiority to themselves based upon distinct criteria. While the possibility for more differentiated views of the other—as “Cherokee,” “Apache,” “Seminole,” “English,” “French,” “Spanish,”—existed, more powerful was the tendency to group all “Indian heathens” and “white Christians” into homogenizing, broadly applied, and mutually exclusive categories.

Like indigenous peoples, however, Europeans settling in America exhibited a wide range of ethnic and religious identifications upon their arrival, primarily thanks to the multiple regions of migratory origin from which they hailed and the legacy of Europe’s Protestant Reformation, the origins of which (ca. 1517) came shortly on the heels of the opening of the Age of Exploration/Expansion (ca. 1492). For some of the earliest predominantly Christian explorers and later settlers, the religious mission of colonizing/settling in America was of no small import; and for some, Christianizing the Americas also meant claiming American regions for the “right kind” of Christianity.

Sir Walter Drake, for example, claimed regions of the East Coast in the name not only of the British Empire but also of Protestantism, against

Spanish and Portuguese Catholic claims, even as the Spanish sought to establish robust Catholic missions in the American southwest. English Puritans, too, saw themselves as founding in the New World a “City on a Hill,” as a shining beacon to illuminate the supposedly religiously degenerate Europe they left behind. English Methodists and Anglicans, Spanish Catholics, Dutch Reformed, Scottish Presbyterians, Lutheran Swedes, German Catholics and Reformed, French Huguenots, and others all comprised the earliest European settlers, who, as ethnically and religiously defined individuals and groups, established varying degrees of cultural and political dominance in specific American regions, accompanied also by varying degrees of religious tolerance and intolerance. At the same time, regional, urban/rural, generational, and other variations in “American” assimilation and religious nominalism served as an important counterbalance to the ethnoreligious features of European settlement. In addition to the large numbers of European Christians who arrived, much smaller numbers of Sephardic Jews (that is, of Spanish and Portuguese background), came to the United States during this period; it was not until the 1880s, however, that larger numbers began to arrive.

The ethnoreligious experience for involuntary migrants to the Americas—namely, enslaved Africans—took on a distinct trajectory in American history, which nevertheless intersected with broader trends. A considerable scholarly debate has emerged surrounding the character and significance of religion among enslaved Africans, the key components of which have been: (1) the degree to which “slave religion” entailed vestigial tribal traditions from Africa and/or the adoption of the hegemonic Christian religiosity of white American society; and (2) the role that religion played in providing a source of support and resistance in the context of enslavement, or alternatively, a mechanism of subjugation and control, wielded by masters. On the first point, most scholars agree that at least some African religious traditions persisted among first-generation slaves and continued to have at least some influence upon subsequent generations. Enslaved Africans (including, it bears mentioning, small numbers of Muslims) exhibited a wide range of distinctive religious practices. Scholars differ widely on their

assessment of the degree to which such traditions persisted.

Clearly, Christianity became the dominant religious tradition of enslaved Africans and their descendants in the United States, but it is difficult to trace which features of American black Christianity can be attributed to the pre-slavery influence, given the lack of documentation and the coincidence of many characteristics of black Christianity, such as various charismatic aspects, with forms of white Christianity—a project made more difficult by the wide range of black Christian traditions that developed. Elements within white society clearly employed Christianity both as justification for enslavement on a racial basis and as a mechanism of social control.

The Bible did not condemn slavery itself and racial supremacists found support in supposedly biblical notions of racial hierarchy. Furthermore, some scholars have argued that black Christianity’s “other-worldly” focus upon future deliverance at the end of the age shifted the focus of slaves, and later, free blacks, away from acting to resist their current subjugation. Yet black churches, by way of providing one of the few opportunities for slaves to gather together, also developed into the primary touchstones of collective black/Negro identity, both during the period of slavery and afterward, as evidenced by the positioning of black churches at the heart of the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

New Migration of the 1880s to the 1924

The age of mass migration to the Americas began in the 1880s, in conjunction with the industrialization of America, the advent of relatively fast and inexpensive steam travel across the Atlantic Ocean, the expansion of railroads in both European and American continents, and numerous other factors. As the American region receiving the largest numbers of new arrivals from previously underrepresented regions of origin, the United States witnessed a dramatic transformation in multicultural dynamics during the period. While many migrants continued to originate from northern and western Europe, for the first time, large numbers of southern and eastern Europeans began to arrive. Broader American society regarded these migrants as “new,” not only based upon region of origin, but also religion and

bioculturally defined ethnicity/race. In various segments of American society, including the press, popular culture, industry, and politics, the new immigrants were regarded as racially “other,” culturally and religiously exotic, and often backward, degenerate, and threatening.

While the Catholic Church had been the largest single denomination in the United States since the 1850s, together the various Protestant denominations far outmeasured Catholics in sheer numbers and social and political influence. They continued to do so even after the 1880s, but the arrival of the southern and eastern European Catholic masses, and, in relatively smaller numbers, Eastern Orthodox Christians, represented, for some, a threat to white Protestant hegemony and even a possible mechanism for foreign political influence in America: Catholics might submit to the will of the pope before that of the American government, so the thinking went, while adherents of Russian Orthodoxy might favor the prerogatives of the tsar. Nativist, anti-immigrant responses to perceived threats varied and issued from various sources, including media, political parties, legislation, and union policies.

While “off-white” or “provisionally white” non-Protestants encountered various forms of socioeconomic marginalization, it is also true that they could eventually assimilate into dominant white culture in a manner and at a rate that others—such as migrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America—could not. Indeed, part of the “whitening” of southern and eastern Europeans, as well as of earlier migrants such as the Irish, entailed defining themselves against those groups who were prevented from assimilating. With the advent of the Great Migration of blacks from the American south to the north in the 1910s, economic competition between blacks and “white ethnics” produced some of the more violent racial conflicts in U.S. history (for example, the Chicago race riots), and southern and eastern European migrants and their descendants often exhibited especially strong forms of antiblack racism. Still, it must be noted that migrant sources issued some of the strongest (if not the most influential, given their limited audiences) critiques of American racial dynamics; U.S.-published Rusyn/Ukrainian Greek Catholic newspapers like *Svoboda*, for example, cited the lynching of blacks—alongside

the reporting of bloody massacres of industrial migrant laborers—as evidence of the hypocrisy of “free America.”

It is critical to avoid projecting the ultimate assimilation of white ethnics into white American society—perhaps by the 1950s—to earlier periods; furthermore, that absence of assimilation was a major “internal issue” within non-Protestant religious organizations, as well. As the largest centralized denomination, American Catholicism especially encountered major challenges with its increasingly variegated ethnic constituency. The Irish had by the 1880s wrested dominance within American Catholicism from the earlier predominant English and French, in terms of sheer numbers as well as representation in the lower and higher clergy. German Catholics had tested that dominance in the 1860s and 1870s by asserting the rights of distinctively German Catholicism. The battle with Cahenslyism (named after Peter Cahensly, an advocate of German Catholics) set the precedent for the American Catholic hierarchy’s preference for unity against particular ethnic prerogatives, as influential Catholic hierarchs championed the Americanization of the church.

Americanization gained traction as a method by which to secure greater acceptance and influence of Catholicism within American society, in response to the general suspicion and hostility of the Protestant establishment. These intersecting forces set the stage for subsequent disputes in the age of mass migration, as southern and eastern European migrants established their own ethnically defined churches, especially in the industrialized northeast, but also in smaller numbers elsewhere throughout the United States. The hierarchy’s conflicts with the new Polish, Slovak, Czech, Croat, and other types of Cahenslyism centered not only upon the threats to Catholic unity represented by strong ethnic identifications but also relatively effusive ritual practices of *festas* and processions espoused by “other” Catholics: Hispanic and Italian Catholics were singled out especially by the more reserved Irish hierarchy, but eastern Europeans, too, met with disapproval.

Even more problematic to the goal of centralization and Americanization were the Eastern Rite or “Greek” (Byzantine Rite) Catholics—who adopted a number of different ethnic identifications (Rusyn, Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian,

Romanian, Syrian). Formerly Eastern Orthodox but now Catholic for several hundred years, these churches nevertheless retained their former Eastern rite—including not only the liturgy in non-Latin languages, such as Old Church Slavonic—but also customs such as a married clergy. In other words, while the Poles might have spoken a different language, at least—from the perspective of the American Catholic hierarchy—their celibate priests celebrated the liturgy in Latin. In part due to such hostilities, but also due to the interaction of “old country” influences and relative religious toleration extant within the United States, many of these Greek Catholics converted to the Russian, Carpatho-Rusyn, or Ukrainian Orthodox Churches (depending in part upon which ethnic option held the greatest attraction for them), while many others simply joined Latin Catholicism, especially through intermarriage. The American Greek Catholic Church itself fractured into two separate ethnically defined dioceses in the 1920s.

Such internal divisions also characterized American Judaism during the period, as the largely Sephardic Jewry that had arrived prior to the 1880s were now joined by the largely Ashkenazi Jewry of eastern Europe and Russia, which the former often regarded as culturally, perhaps even ethnically, distinct, backward, and uneducated. Whereas older generations of Jews, such as those hailing from Germany, joined emerging American Reformed Judaism in large numbers, Russian and eastern European Jews remained bastions of Orthodox Judaism, though naturally, exceptions existed on both counts.

In large part due to racial hostilities, the enactment of severe immigration restriction laws in 1921 and 1924, which set national quotas based upon the pre-1880 (pre-massive southern and eastern European migration) U.S. population distributions, effectively closed the United States to southern and eastern European migrants, who were diverted to other migratory regions in the Americas (Canada and South America), which had been destinations for substantial numbers of such migrants even before then, extending back to the 1890s. Such restrictions codified the racial inferiority that multiple segments of U.S. society had exhibited toward the New Immigration. After 1924, Americanization proceeded apace, helped

along by citizenship drives organized through ethnic churches as well as the efforts of Protestant social welfare groups, churches, and missionaries, many of which had been greeting new Catholic and Orthodox Christian arrivals since the late 19th century. The Catholic Church’s Americanization of itself also escalated, though such Americanization took place in a decidedly “Hibernian cast,” given the Irish hierarchy’s dominance. The period 1924–65 (the period of immigration restriction), then, notwithstanding the persisting strength of ethnoreligious identifications, was one of Americanization in both the ethnic and religious realms.

Migrant Transnationalism

Events in the 1960s, especially the relaxation of immigration restrictions in 1965 and the coalescence of the civil rights movement, marked significant transformations in the interaction of ethnicity and religion in U.S. history. Since the 1990s, scholars have spoken of “migrant transnationalism,” the tendency of migrants to establish and retain dense ties, including economic and social remittances, with regions of origin, through remigration and correspondence.

Scholars in this subdiscipline initially contended that migrant transnationalism represented a new dynamic, particular to post-1965 migrants; they posited it as a response to hegemonic forces of global capitalism, racialized socioeconomic marginalization directed toward these “new” new immigrants, who hailed largely from Asia and the Global South, and vastly improved travel and communication technologies in the form of air travel and telephonic/electronic communication. Many subsequent scholars, however, have provided a needed correction to this view of migrant transnationalism as entirely “new.”

Already by the 1880s, commentators derided that era’s “new immigration” not only on racial/cultural/religious bases but also based upon the temporary nature of their migration. Advances in communication and travel technologies of that era had made return and cyclical migration across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans far more viable—a critical motivating factor, in fact, for out-migration in the first place. The vast majority of late-19th- and early-20th-century migrants came to the United States intending to return to regions of

origin, and large numbers did so—many of them multiple times. The additional motivation of racialized socioeconomic marginalization emanating from American society during the period has already been mentioned. Estimates suggest that one-fourth to one-third of all migrants between 1880 and 1924 returned to regions of origin, with that number much higher for migrants from particular regions and villages (well over half in many cases). In other words, at least as early as the 1880s, substantial numbers of migrants were engaging in what scholars now call migrant transnationalism. The distinction with the post-1965 era lies primarily in the extent, degree, and pervasiveness of migrant transnationalism: there is no denying that 20th- and 21st-century advances in technology have contracted time and space even beyond the contractions discernible in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Migrant transnationalism, both before and after 1965, has held great significance for intersections of religion and ethnicity in U.S. history, corresponding to the great complexities associated with various migratory practices. Haitian Catholic migrants living in Florida, for example, might gather together in prayer or participate in fund-raising events for their parish in their region of origin. Such activities are not merely “backward-oriented”: they are not directed only toward the place from which they came; instead, they are often consciously forward-oriented, toward the place to which they will go, upon return visits or ultimate remigrations.

In other words, a migrant in the United States who contributes toward the addition of church bells in a region of origin might do so knowing that he or she will hear the same bells upon their return to a native village. Over time, cultural and social transformations in regions of origin, due to the influence of migrant remittances, can also exert reciprocal impacts to regions of destination. Thus, if more regular church attendance may be the norm in the United States, remigrants might spread the impulse for regular attendance to a region of origin, with the result that subsequent waves of migrants departing for the United States may already have undergone Americanization, in particular ways—in this case, in the form of predisposition, through remigrant influence, to attend church regularly in the United States.

While the experience of post-1965 immigrants, especially from Asia and the Global South, has not fundamentally differed from the experience of late-19th- and early-20th-century migrants in either racial or religious terms, there are certainly major distinctions. In the first place, many broader societal sources tend to mark such migrants as significantly phenotypically—and therefore biologically—distinct. To be sure, earlier white ethnics were also marked as such (perhaps most famously the Irish and Italians, as seen in contemporary caricatures), but the designation of Hispanics, Asians, blacks, and Arabs as “non-white” has potentially greater longevity than for Irish, Italians, Slavs, and others, who have, by and large “become” white, in widely held American racial taxonomies. Second, because many of these migrants bring with them religious traditions that have heretofore been underrepresented in American society, they challenge the well-known assimilatory triad of American religiosity—Protestant, Catholic, and Jew.

Civil Rights

Race and ethnicity also merged closely with religion in another major phenomenon of the 1960s: the civil rights movement. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., in his sermons to his constituents and in responses to his white critics in his famous “Letter From Birmingham Jail,” found inspiration for his message of racial equality in the legacy of historical African/slave/Negro/black Christianity, in themes of Mosaic liberation, the civil disobedience of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and calls for social justice in the teachings of Jesus. Religion also factored heavily in the civil rights movement’s major divisions, as Malcolm X, along with the Nation of Islam, espoused more militant black supremacist, separationist, antiwhite, and, by extension, anti-Christian rhetoric, prompting King to condemn this trend as a force for “bitterness and hatred.”

Following his later split with the Nation of Islam and its leader Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X’s adoption of a less militantly exclusionary philosophy of civil rights also rested upon a combination of ethnic/racial and religious factors: he cited his travels in Africa and the Middle East in his realization of the broad spectrum—“all colors, from blue-eyed blonds to

black-skinned Africans”—represented as equals within global Islam.

Several other developments in American ethnoreligious dynamics emerged in conjunction with civil rights in the late 1960s and early 1970s. First, parallel civil rights movements developed, such as the American Indian Movement (AIM), which pressed the U.S. government to honor treaties that it had made and broken with America's indigenous peoples. Religion played a role, as evidenced, for example, in the writings of Leonard Peltier, a major leading figure in the AIM, convicted—unjustly, his supporters have argued—of killing two Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents in a 1975 gun battle on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. In his *Prison Writings*, Peltier appeals to Native American religion—Sun Dance—to come to terms with the injustices perpetrated against his people, whose only guilt, he writes, consisted in the “Aboriginal Sin” of “being Indian.”

A second phenomenon, largely inspired by the black roots movements of the 1960s, was “white ethnic” revivalism in the 1970s. This development harbored the return of “hyphenated Americanism,” as Polish-, Greek-, Italian-, and other assimilated Americans sought to rediscover their ethnic heritage in demonstrations of “symbolic” or “optional” ethnicity, a project frequently incorporating the religious: community churches again provided a token of and venue for ethnic expression, as they had in the earliest migrant generations. As an example, churches became some of the most common sponsors for food and cultural booths at various nationality-day events, which emerged in the 1970s and continue today.

The Post-9/11 Context

Today, in a post-9/11 era, Muslims and Islam, more than any other religious tradition, challenge notions of which types of ethnicity and religion may be compatible with American-ness. Certain popular conceptions have equated Arab-ness and Muslim-ness with terrorism. At times, the equations have proven more facile: dark (though not “black”) skin, turbans, or burkas have meant “terrorist” or “Jihadi.” Cases of mistaken identity—not only the misidentification of innocent Arab Muslims as terrorists, but also the confusion of other religious traditions and ethnic groups for Arab Muslims—have resulted in violent

encounters, such as the targeting of Burka-wearing Muslim women immediately following 9/11, or the 2012 mass shooting at a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin. That many media sources felt it necessary, in the latter case, to convey the fraught message that “Sikhs are not Muslims” is telling of the complexities of contemporary racial and ethnic designations in American society, as well as the social anxieties exhibited by many Americans.

More recent debates over whether the Chechen Muslim brothers responsible for the 2013 bombing of the Boston Marathon were white (as many commentators noted, their region of origin, the Caucasus, marked them as Caucasian, par excellence) further complicate American ethnoreligious taxonomical schemes. Those discussions also serve as a reminder that such ethnic and religious classifications are by no means fixed in U.S. history, but rather will continue to evolve in response to changing social dynamics.

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See Also: Ethnicity; Immigration Acts; Nativism; Race.

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Repatriation Program

The Repatriation Program was a series of actions carried out by the U.S. government from 1929 to 1939 that led to the deportation or coerced emigration of hundreds of thousands of people of Mexican descent living in the United States. Mexicans and Mexican Americans were targeted because they tended to be easily identified and could be easily relocated to the Mexican border. Constitutional rights to due process, counsel,

and protection from unlawful search and seizure were often ignored and private property was forfeited. Although repatriation was voluntary and deportation compulsory, many of those classified as repatriates were de facto deportees, who were pressured or otherwise induced to leave.

Because of conflicts in statistical sources, there is disagreement over the exact number of repatriates. The low estimates are around 500,000. More recent studies suggest that the number was well over 1 million. The Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program, passed by the California State Legislature in 2005, cites the figure at 2 million repatriates. Of these, more than 1 million were born in the United States as U.S. citizens, and many of the others were legal residents.

The Great Depression in the United States, between 1929 and the end of the 1930s, was one of the worst economic disasters to befall the nation. The national unemployment rate rose to 25 percent. Veterans marched on Washington, D.C., demanding the early payment of their pensions, and Dust Bowl migrants, economically ruined by drought and storms, left the Great Plains for states like California.

Private companies began withholding jobs from those they perceived as "un-American," and labor unions lobbied the government to protect their members. Mexican Americans, excluded from participation in many occupations and segregated residentially, were scapegoated as the cause of economic hardships.

Deportations

The deportations began under President Herbert Hoover, who promoted them as a cure for the high unemployment of the Great Depression, known by Mexican Americans as La Crisis. He claimed that the action would protect "American Jobs for Real Americans." This was a common theme throughout the next 10 years: Removing Mexican Americans from the country would remove them from competition for the reduced number of jobs while saving relief agencies money by reducing the number of recipients. The program was considered voluntary for legal residents but was coercive and targeted the vulnerable, such as hospital patients who needed medical care during their removal.

In 1931, the 11-member Wickersham Commission reported the practice of immigration checks and raids in various public places without warrants. Even when specific inducement was not provided, the anti-Mexican climate and the clear sense of Mexican Americans being unwelcome motivated many to leave the country. Mass-media coverage frightened those of Mexican heritage, and some immigrants of financial means voluntarily returned to Mexico with their belongings, but those were the rare exception and did not prove the rhetoric of voluntarism designed to appease Americans about the program.

In Los Angeles, the Chamber of Commerce openly encouraged the employment of men based not on legal status but on skin pigment. Los Angeles County welfare offices threatened to withhold assistance from Mexican Americans and provided inadequate food for those deported, as in a November 1932 incident in which 78 children on a train were poorly provisioned and several were deported without an adult. Those who refused to leave voluntarily were removed by police and taken by force to train stations. Once in Mexico, deportees often had no resources, often had no family, and were dumped in the desert on the other side of the border with little choice but to attempt re-entry to reclaim their lives in the United States. Obtaining a copy of a U.S. birth certificate from Mexico in the 1930s was nearly impossible. Some born in the United States did not speak Spanish and were in a country that they had never even visited. Once in Mexico, Mexican Americans faced discrimination as foreigners who were not welcome in a country even more devastated by the global economic crisis than the United States.

In 2003, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) sought an apology and financial reparations from the state of California on behalf of those whose rights were violated. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) has worked with MALDEF in recognition of the similarities between the abuses of the Repatriation Program and the later Japanese American internment camps.

In 2005, the California State Legislature passed Senate Bill 670, authored by Democratic Senator Joseph Dunn from Orange County. SB 670 issued an apology for the unconstitutional

removal of people of Mexican ancestry from the state in the Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program. Senator Dunn also promoted teaching about the episode. Some deportees have filed suit against the U.S. government, with no results.

In February 2012, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, under the leadership of Gloria Molina, also voted to issue an apology to repatriates. This apology accompanied the unveiling of a monument to deportees in La Plaza de Cultura y Artes in Los Angeles, the site of a government raid in 1931 that netted hundreds of Angelenos. The U.S. federal government has not yet issued an apology or financial compensation, as it did to Japanese Americans whose rights were violated a generation later.

Repatriation is still an open chapter in American history. Less than a decade after repatriation, the U.S. government encouraged millions of young Mexican men to come into the country under the Bracero Program to do agricultural and rail work to support the Allied war effort during World War II. Young U.S. citizens removed to Mexico during repatriation received draft notices in Mexico to serve in the U.S. military because they were citizens. The flexibility and political expediency of what it meant to be a real American swung 180 degrees in less than a decade for those of Mexican heritage.

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See Also: Deportation (Repatriation); Ethnocentrism/ Xenophobia; Great Depression; Immigration Acts; Melting Pot; Mutualista.

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Research, Cultural Variables in

As the U.S. population changes, increasing numbers of individuals from multicultural and linguistically diverse backgrounds are participating in investigations. Commensurate with the changing population demographics, there is a need to consider a range of cultural variables that were not accounted for in the past. Previously, the dominant research designs used a standard against which diverse groups were compared. The standard typically consisted of mainstream (white) Americans. When behavioral differences were reported between the standard and underrepresented groups, the differences were often interpreted as deficits. Cultural variables were rarely used to account for why differences occurred between mainstream and minority groups.

Critical Variables

With the increase in population diversity, original data must be obtained and analyzed relative to unique characteristics of those from multicultural backgrounds. Commensurate with greater consumer participation, investigators should enhance their knowledge about critical variables that characterize experiences of multicultural individuals and ensure that results are interpreted in a culturally sensitive manner.

Culture is a multifaceted construct and evolves from the integration of experiences, social class, language, geographical location, religion, and a common history. Shared traditions, values, beliefs, customs, and rules for behavior also reflect culture. Culture is transmitted by social practices that are carried from one generation to the next and shapes a variety of everyday human behavior.

Tangible Versus Intangible

Tangible manifestations of a culture include music, dress, dance, literature, and art. Intangible reflections of a culture include sociolinguistic practices, communication patterns, kinship relations, family structure, community organization, beliefs, values, and attitudes. Beliefs, values, and attitudes are critical elements of culture. Beliefs refer to judgments, opinions, and expectations

that are accepted among a group of people as truthful. Values are inclusive of group and individual behavioral norms, ethics, religious practices, and shared attitudes. Values are perceived as abstract in nature and serve as internalized guiding principles, leading one to attach more or less regard to different types of human endeavors. Attitudes are an interrelated set of beliefs that characterize, assess, or recommend activity relative to a person, object, or situation. Collectively, values, attitudes, mores, social habits, language, and customs of a culture will distinguish one cultural group from another.

Language is one of the strongest manifestations of culture and is a primary mechanism for cultural transmission. Language varies among cultures, serves as an indicator of group membership, and is a primary means of communication.

Interpreting Data

To interpret research data, the investigator must gain insight into family cultural practices about child rearing and attitudes about schooling. Understanding how language is used to socialize children into a specific culture, and how home literacy and language practices may differ from what is expected at school, are crucial variables. Results on teacher attitudes and expectations are beneficial for interpreting data because many educators are unaware of the impact that their attitudes have on child performance. Educators' attitudes and expectations appear to be influenced by perceived intelligence, class, race/ethnicity, and oral language patterns. Data interpretation is also affected by which achievements or difficulties contribute to child and family cultural differences versus educators' perceptions, teaching methods, and assumptions about typical developmental processes.

In the process of becoming literate, children must learn interactive skills that relate to spoken and written discourse. Children's perceptions and how they receive information about the world are shaped by the social and cultural conditions in which they live. Consequently, it should be determined whether life at home is at odds with life at school. Research designs should consider the appropriateness of measurement procedures and consider whether variables are culturally valid; that is, do these variables occur in the culture of

the targeted group? Demographic and cultural variables include age, gender, primary languages spoken, ethnicity (worldview/perceptions of life), religion, education and literacy level, occupation and socioeconomic status, country of origin (traditional beliefs), transportation (access and interaction with mainstream culture), and communication patterns and practices.

Finalizing Research

Questions that an investigator should explore before finalizing a research design include: How does the target sample identify itself with respect to culture, ethnicity, or ethnic derivation? How does the cultural group view the world with respect to natural, supernatural, and metaphysical forces? What is the general time orientation of the cultural group? How are individual motivation and determination viewed by the community cultural group? How is the concept of “self” perceived and described by the cultural group? To what degree does the cultural group observe the mainstream rules, social customs, values, and practices? Do the traditional communication forms within a cultural group merge, parallel, or conflict with mainstream culture?

Culture reflects patterns of social regularities, with some aspects tangible and others intangible. To reduce ethnocentric bias in interpreting results, investigators should be knowledgeable about differing belief systems, values, and social regularities of the cultural group of interest.

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See Also: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Racial and Ethnic Definitions (Essay).

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Reservations, Native American

The American Indian population is not evenly distributed geographically because of the variety of federal policies that have had an impact on tribally owned land. The Indian Removal Bill was signed in 1830 by Andrew Jackson. This bill called for the removal of all American Indians east of the Mississippi. Several tribes were relocated to what is now Oklahoma, including the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, and Chickasaw. This had a continuing influence on the demographic distribution of the American Indian population. According to the 2010 census, 2,123,549 American Indians who self-identify as American Indian alone, or in combination, reside in the west.

There are 326 reservations in the United States, the majority in the west. These include traditional reservations, pueblos, rancherias, missions, villages, and communities. According to the 2010 census, 15 tribes have received federal recognition since 1978, and 16 petitions for federal recognition have been denied. A reservation consists of land reserved for a tribe under treaty, executive order, or administrative or federal statute, but title to the land is held in trust by the federal government. There are 56.2 million acres that are considered trust land.

The Navajo reservation is the largest, with 16 million acres, larger than West Virginia; the smallest is the Pit River Tribe's cemetery, at 1.32 acres. Some reservations are larger than states; for example, 22 reservations are larger than Rhode Island or Delaware. Approximately 56.2 million acres are held in trust by the United States for various Indian tribes. The origins of reservations vary; some were parts of the tribal land base, some were created during the Indian removal period when the federal government established geographic areas to relocate tribes, and some are parcels of land established after re-recognition. These areas were generally land that was not fit for farming or other desirable uses.

The reservation land base has been impacted by two major federal policies: allotment and termination. A major federal policy that influenced reservation landholding was the allotment policy, or Dawes Act of 1887. During the allotment



This photograph from around 1939 shows part of the Laguna Indian reservation near Laguna, New Mexico, 45 miles west of Albuquerque. There are currently 326 reservations in the United States; many originated with land that was not fit for farming or other desirable uses, leading to generally poor conditions among the relocated tribes.

period, land within the reservation was parceled to individuals, and surplus land was sold to settlers at low prices.

As a result, the majority of residents within reservation boundaries are non-Indian. This “checkerboarding” pattern often results in conflicts that arise because non-Indians within reservation boundaries are subject to tribal policy. Tribes have jurisdiction over planning, zoning, and negotiating grazing, timber, and mineral leases, with Bureau of Indian Affairs oversight.

Tribes control economic development within their reservation boundaries and, to some extent, trust land. This has led to an increase in economic growth for some tribes through the development of destination casinos, tourism, resource development, construction, ranching, and agriculture. These economic growth opportunities have provided employment opportunities to both tribal and non-tribal members.

Reservations were also impacted by termination legislation that was passed in 1953. This governmental policy called for the end to the federal-tribal relationship. This impacted 109 tribes and 1,365,801 acres of reservation land, mostly reservation and trust land in Oregon, Washington,

and California. Some of the tribes that were terminated regained their federal recognition but did not regain their reservation land.

Indian country is diverse in terms of social and political power. Both civil and criminal laws on reservations, which are under the jurisdiction of the tribal nation, are different from the laws in the surrounding areas. American Indian reservations vary in terms of the systems of government, federal recognition (some tribes are only state recognized), and regulations. One of the most difficult jurisdictional issues surrounds crime on reservations. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is responsible for arresting and prosecuting felony offenders within reservation boundaries. As a result, serious crimes that occur on the reservation are often not investigated or prosecuted. Often, those who are prosecuted are not investigated properly.

Until 2010, tribes could only prosecute crimes that carried sentences of less than one year. Some reservations are in states that are considered Public Law 280 states, allowing state jurisdiction within reservation boundaries. In these states, there is considerable controversy about who has jurisdiction in criminal offenses. Even though reservations are plagued by poverty,

unemployment, and other social ills, there are many positive aspects to American Indian life on the reservation. Reservations are diverse and provide a cultural milieu for American Indians to gather to participate in traditional life, interact with close-knit family and friends, and have a sense of place.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Native Americans.

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and remain. Immigrants who have settled in the United States and complied with all legal mandates for naturalization—becoming a citizen or national of a country—may become U.S. citizens.

Immigration law does not utilize the term *illegal aliens* to refer to immigrants residing illegally in the country, yet the term is used in many legal files and cases in the judicial system at large; it is also recognized in common usage. U.S. law commonly uses the term *unauthorized alien*, while the term *undocumented immigrant* is becoming more ubiquitous in common usage. Because of the laws granting personhood to corporations, the term *alien* may also be applied to corporations headquartered abroad with branches in the United States, which are known in common parlance as alien corporations. The 2010 U.S. Census states that 80 percent of U.S. residents born abroad who arrived prior to 1980 were naturalized U.S. citizens by 2010.

Antecedents

The legal use of the term *alien* was formally established in 1798 by the U.S. government when it was utilized in the Alien and Sedition Acts while the nation was engaged in hostilities with France. The four acts, signed into law during the administration of President John Adams, were created to offer protection from potentially seditious and hostile actions by French immigrants, French-sympathizing citizens, and Irish settlers. The Alien and Sedition Acts, considered by many to be oppressive and unjust, were controversial as a political point of contention in their day. They were abolished in 1802.

Thus, modern government policy considerations on the legal status of immigrant residents in the United States continued during the 19th century. Late-1700s immigration laws provided naturalization as citizens only to immigrants who were “free white persons” who had lived in the country for five years, but the Naturalization Act of 1870 was expanded to include African natives and people of African descent. As the Alien and Sedition Act of 1789 demonstrated, immigration laws have been used to bar people from entering the country, as was the case of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

In 1907, the U.S. government created the Dillingham Commission, with the purpose of

Resident Aliens

In recent years, because of the growing importance of migration movements and rights, the original and contemporary meanings of the term *alien* have attracted extraordinary attention in the jurisprudence, academic, and human rights fields.

According to Public Law 112-238, an alien is “any person not a citizen or national of the United States.” It is important to distinguish between aliens and immigrants, as the law clearly defines the term *immigrants* as a subcategory of aliens. Aliens are all people who are not U.S. nationals, and immigrants are people who move into a region or country with the intent to settle

conducting a study on the state of immigration. The commission published its extensive report on immigration in 1911, establishing that recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe—as opposed to older immigrants from northern and western Europe—were considered undesirable. The commission's report served as the basis for the establishment of national quotas as well as the immigration reduction acts of the 1920s, which restricted the annual number of immigrants to 150,000. These acts sought to proscribe immigration from Asian countries and restrict the number of immigrant Jews.

The Magnuson Act of 1943 allowed Asians immigrants the right to become naturalized citizens and abolished the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The War Brides Act of 1945 established the precedent of naturalization by marriage, and the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (better known as the McCarran-Walter Act), abolished restrictions based on race but kept national origin quotas in place.

The quota system was abolished by the Hart-Celler Act of 1965, which opened the door to more democratic immigration measures. This gave way to an exponential increase in immigration numbers from the 1970s onward, with the arrival of a higher percentage of non-European nationals and women. The Immigration Act of 1990 raised immigration numbers by roughly 50 percent. The U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform of 1997 recommended a significant decrease in immigration. Despite the increase in immigration numbers in the last decades, the U.S. Census reported that the labor force in the United States included proportionately fewer foreign-born people in 2007 than in 1900.

Resident Aliens in the United States Today

According to the American Community Survey (2010), 13 percent of the 307 million residents in the United States were born in another country, accounting for close to 40 million immigrant residents currently living in the United States. As of 2010, according to the U.S. Census, 44 percent of these were naturalized as U.S. citizens. Alien residents from Latin America account for 53 percent of the immigrant population overall, making it the largest immigrant group. That is followed by Asia, with 28 percent of immigrants; Europe

region with 12 percent; Africa, with 4 percent; North America with 2 percent; and Oceania, comprising less than 1 percent. Among the percentage born in Latin America, 55 percent were born in Mexico. Mexican nationals account for 29 percent of the total for all foreign-born people currently residing in the United States.

California, New York, Texas, and Florida account for over 50 percent of foreign-born residents, with California hosting over 25 percent of the overall foreign-born population. One in five residents in New York and New Jersey is foreign-born, making California, New York, and New Jersey the states with the highest foreign-born percentages of their overall population. The percentage of foreign-born residents in the midwest region—except for Illinois, which accounts for 14 percent—ranked at less than 8 percent, with North and South Dakota accounting for only 3 percent each. South-central states—with the exception of Texas and Oklahoma—also rank low, accounting for less than 5 percent of the foreign-born population.

Education, Labor, and Other Demographics

According to the 2010 census, close to 70 percent of immigrant residents are high school graduates, and over 25 percent of foreign-born residents 25 years and older have graduated with at least a bachelor's degree. The immigrant population is more likely than the U.S.-born population to be in the labor force, with over 25 percent working in professional, management, and other related occupations and approximately 25 percent working in the service and production fields. The median income of foreign-born households, however, was on average less than that of U.S.-native households, making it likelier for the foreign-born to live in poverty.

The immigrant adult population is younger than the U.S.-born population, with the median age of foreign-born residents (44.4) approximately five years lower than the median age of native residents. Over 80 percent of the foreign-born population is between the ages of 18 to 64, with approximately half that number between the ages of 18 and 44. Among the U.S.-born population, 60 percent are between the ages of 18 and 64, with only 35 percent between 18 and 44. On the other hand, nearly 27 percent of U.S.-born

residents are less than 18 years of age, compared to only 7 percent of foreign-born residents. This is because children born to foreign residents automatically join the ranks of U.S. native residents.

Among the nations of origin, alien residents from Africa have the lowest median age (38), while the European and North American foreign-born populations had the highest median age (51.3 each).

The sexes are divided almost equally among U.S.-born and foreign-born populations, at roughly 50 percent male and female each. Fifty-eight percent of foreign-born residents over 15 years of age are married, while 26 percent never married, compared to 47 percent of native residents within the same age range. Among the countries of origin, Asians have the highest proportion of married people at 66 percent, while African and Latin American nationals have the lowest, at 54 percent. U.S. natives rank higher among the separated or divorced. In general, according to the census, foreign-born women demonstrate a higher fertility rate than those born in the United States.

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See Also: Alien and Sedition Acts (1798); Immigration Acts; Immigration History Research Center.

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Restrictive Covenant

Historians of legal racism point to former Confederate states' adoption of Jim Crow laws between the 1880s and the turn of the 20th century as the most palpable enshrinement of white supremacy

into American law after the end of slavery. Yet, even as Republican-dominated northern states disavowed Jim Crow, they upheld and even advanced the notion that white Americans had an inalienable right to all-white communities through the adoption of racial restrictive covenants. Though they differed from state to state, racial restrictive covenants were provisions written into the deeds to residential property that prevented any nonwhite person from purchasing a restricted dwelling.

Restrictive covenants excluded not only blacks but also, in some cases, Italians, Jews, or Catholics. Although evidence suggests that forms of the restrictive covenant operated as early as 1852, they became a standard feature of housing deeds in the wake of the 1917 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Buchanan v. Warley*. In *Buchanan*, the Court ruled that a housing ordinance in Louisville, Kentucky, that barred African Americans from any home purchase violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The *Buchanan* decision dismantled one of the few examples of de jure segregation in northern and western states at the dawn of the first wave of the Great Migration of southern African Americans into large and mid-sized towns throughout the region.

Effects of the *Buchanan* Decision

As African Americans placed increasing pressure on the imagined borders of residential whiteness, during World War I, whites across the north, midwest, and west responded with a wave of terroristic violence in African American communities in defense of their "right" to white-only communities. A series of white mob attacks during the "red summer" of 1919 from Oklahoma to the nation's capital spoke to the intensity with which whites understood the possibility of racial mixture as a threat to their very survival. While working-class whites pursued violent means to maintain residential segregation, real estate professionals began to integrate racial and ethnic restrictive covenants into real estate documents in order to reassure anxious white homeowners who were convinced that proximity to black neighbors would cripple their property values.

Racial and ethnic restrictive covenants attempted to sidestep the *Buchanan* decision by privatizing the enforcement of de jure racism outside the Jim Crow south. In *Buchanan*, the court

had limited the power of legislatures to place racial conditions upon the sale or purchase of private property. Restrictive covenants, by contrast, framed racial exclusions as a component of any citizen's right to exclusive control over his or her property. However, because residential covenants, like wills of inheritance, were notarized and enforced by state officials, ostensibly "private" racial prejudices were once again backed up by the force of law. Even after the elimination of racial restrictive covenants, the logic of racial exclusion remained enshrined within notions of constitutionally protected property rights for decades to come. From suburban opposition to school busing in the 1970s to contemporary conflicts produced by the rise of all-white private subdivisions, the figure of "property rights" courses through organized opposition to racial integration.

Shelley v. Kraemer

Racial restrictive covenants proliferated throughout the northern and western states from the end of World War I until the 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision, a period that also witnessed the rise of hypersegregated black communities in the nation's largest urban areas. Racial restrictive covenants, however, not only limited where African Americans could live geographically, but also placed a glass ceiling on African American attempts to achieve upward mobility during the interwar decades. Prior to the Great Migration, nearly every city that would eventually become home to a large black "ghetto" contained a significant population of elite and middle-class African Americans, the descendants of free blacks, leaders within black reform movements, or entrepreneurs who served black customers.

As poor, southern African Americans poured into urban territory delineated for black residency during the war, middle-class and elite African Americans hoped to purchase homes in other communities in order to avoid the increasingly overcrowded urban "black belts" and to signal their economic mobility. The spatial limit on African American residency meant that black middle-class homeowners were often overtaken by and associated with the significantly more impoverished African American migrant class. Restrictive covenants, then, dissolved material class boundaries between African American communities,

making it difficult for African Americans to accrue generational wealth via property ownership.

The barriers to African American mobility that were represented by restrictive covenants were a primary target of black political organizing in the 1930s, and reverberated throughout black artistic production for most of the early half of the 20th century. The National Organization for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) racial legalism strategy included lawsuits against the constitutionality of restrictive covenants. The most famous is *Hansberry v. Lee*, wherein author Lorraine Hansberry's father, Carl Hansberry, sued for the right to move into a home within Chicago's Washington Park neighborhood when neighbors balked at the previous owner's decision to sell to the Hansberry family. The events surrounding that case, in particular Carl Hansberry's single-minded investment of monetary and emotional resources, inspired the events within Lorraine Hansberry's Pulitzer Prize-winning 1959 play *A Raisin in the Sun*. African American intellectuals from St. Clare Drake to Robert Weaver wrote extensively about the way that restrictive covenants barred African Americans from a critical component of American citizenship and subjectivity—homeownership.

The Supreme Court's eradication of restrictive covenants in the 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision proved a major turning point in the manifestations of segregationism in the United States. Across the country, white homeowner groups in large cities vociferously protested the decision as both an encroachment on their property rights and an attack on the value of hard-fought wealth. Within large cities, white homeowners again turned to violence to enforce patterns of segregation no longer enforced by the law. Others decided to abandon the urban core in favor of suburban developments that promised emigrating whites freedom from the taint of racial mixture.

The spatial and economic exigencies of suburbanization made it significantly easier to uphold the architecture of residential segregation. The costs associated with suburban homeownership, including regular car maintenance, gas, and upkeep, automatically disqualified many racial minorities from attempting to move into suburban communities. Most realtor professional organizations included explicit reference to the importance of dissuading, and outright preventing, African Americans from

purchasing homes within suburban areas. Rather than ending residential segregation, the death of restrictive covenants contributed to its reconfiguration in post–World War II America.

The move away from restrictive covenants altered the nature of inter-ethnic tension between second-generation European immigrants. Prior to *Shelley*, restrictive covenants had not only limited mobility of African Americans but also often included stipulations barring sale to Italian, Jewish, or other “new” immigrants who were “not quite white” upon arrival in the early 20th century. In new suburban communities, however, white ethnics had little choice but to imagine themselves as part of a unified racial collective, one that stood in stark contrast to the increasingly black inner city, rather than as members of exclusive ethnic groups organized into intra-city ethnic enclaves. The end of restrictive covenants thus also worked to push white ethnics to coalesce into the racial identity known as “whiteness.”

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See Also: Ethnoburbs; Segregation; *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948).

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the results of firefighters’ promotion examinations, when doing so denied white candidates who had done well on the examinations the right to acquire promotions. The case demonstrates how nonminorities also have rights under legislation that was designed to prohibit employers from discriminating against minority candidates.

The city of New Haven had created examinations to measure the candidates’ job-related knowledge for the purpose of ranking the candidates seeking promotions in the fire department. Efforts were made to ensure the examinations would not unintentionally favor white candidates. Many candidates spent significant time and resources preparing for the examinations. When the examinations were graded, almost all of the promotions would go to white applicants and none go to black candidates. The city became concerned that using the examinations as the basis for the promotions would have a discriminatory impact on the minority applicants and, therefore, made the decision to discard the results of the examination.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It is unlawful under Title VII for an employer to hire, refuse to hire, or otherwise discriminate against any individual with regard to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment because of that person’s race, color, sex, or national origin.

Originally, Title VII was viewed as prohibiting what is called “disparate treatment,” treating an employee or applicant less favorably because of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin. Title VII would clearly prohibit an employer having a policy that demonstrates a preference for, or a bias against, someone because of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin. For example, an employer cannot have a policy that says only whites will be hired.

In 1971, in the case of *Griggs v. Duke Power*, the Supreme Court interpreted Title VII as also prohibiting employer practices that, although facially neutral, had a discriminatory impact. In some situations, an employer may have a policy that makes no mention of race, color, sex, or

Ricci v. DeStefano (2009)

Ricci v. DeStefano is a U.S. Supreme Court case decided in 2009. The court found it was a violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for the city of New Haven, Connecticut, to discard

national origin, but in application of the policy, persons falling within one or more of the protected classes may be effectively precluded from consideration. For example, minority candidates as a group are less likely to have higher academic credentials; automatically disqualifying an applicant who does not have a bachelor's degree for consideration for a job would mean minority candidates would disproportionately be precluded from consideration for the job.

This kind of precluded discrimination is known as "disparate impact." If an employer does engage in behavior that results in a disparate impact, it will not violate Title VII if the employer can prove the action was job related.

However, if the complaining employee or applicant can show the employer could have used another practice that was just as effective that did not result in a discriminatory effect, then the employer would be still be liable. So, a disparate impact case is largely based on an initial statistical disparity and then an inquiry into whether the practice is warranted, and if so, whether there is a better way to achieve the same objective that does not result in discrimination.

The City's Dilemma

The city found itself in a difficult position. If it validated the examinations, there was a potential claim that the examinations demonstrated "disparate impact" discrimination because no blacks and very few Hispanic candidates would qualify for a promotion. In contrast, discarding the examination results because (almost) only white candidates would be eligible for promotions meant the city would be making a conscious decision to not use the tests, to the detriment of the successful white applicants solely because they happened to be white. Tossing out the examinations, therefore, would indicate "disparate treatment" against the successful white candidates.

The city believed it could engage in the disparate treatment discrimination against the white applicants (discard the examination results) if doing so was based on a good-faith belief that these actions were necessary to avoid potential disparate impact liability. The city believed it could disregard the examinations (to the detriment of the white candidates) because of the threat that the minority applicants could sue if the

city validated the examinations and promoted the white candidates.

The court found that an employer cannot engage in disparate treatment discrimination merely based upon a good-faith belief of disparate impact liability. The court, however, also rejected the notion that the disparate treatment discrimination could be justified based only upon a determination that the employer in fact was in violation of Title VII for disparate impact behavior. Rather, the court adopted the standard that disparate treatment discrimination was justified only if the employer had a strong basis in evidence in believing it would be subject to disparate impact liability. In other words, there has to be strong evidence the employer would lose the disparate impact case that could be brought by the minority applicants.

In *Ricci*, the court found the examinations were job related and consistent with business necessity, and there was no equally valid and less discriminatory way to effectively rank the candidates. Therefore, although statistically minorities were adversely impacted, that mere statistical disparity did not support a finding of actual discrimination. The court found that using the examinations to rank the candidates was consistent with the objectives of Title VII. The city could not disregard the examinations just because they resulted in minority candidates not being in the group eligible for promotion. It violated the white candidates' Title VII rights for the city to do so.

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See Also: Civil Rights Acts; Executive Order 8802 (1941); Racism.

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Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, The

The civil rights and black power movements spurred various reactions among white Americans, including the resurgence of pride in ethnic roots among European Americans. Michael Novak's book *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics: Politics and Culture in the Seventies* (1972) not only described this revival but also encouraged it as an antidote to many of the problems Novak perceived with the crisis of liberalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Novak proposed a "new ethnic politics" that challenged not only the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) establishment by replacing the model of assimilation with a culturally pluralistic paradigm but also attempted to thwart the technocratic, neoliberal excesses of the Democratic Party.

Novak sensed that elite liberals were pulling away from the working-class base of the New Deal coalition and replacing it with an alliance among middle-class professionals, student activists, and racial minorities. According to Novak, this was an unsustainable marriage. Although he admitted that the liberal elites had been more receptive to black claims to full citizenship in the short run, an alliance of white ethnics and blacks would prove more durable and fruitful. He charged that middle-class liberals abhorred the gritty business of exercising power and were unwilling to actually put any of their own advantages on the line to achieve social change, especially when it came to racial integration. Novak acknowledged the visceral tensions between African Americans and the white working class but argued that they did not need to love each other, but could join together out of mutual respect, or even mutual need.

The book expressed the grievances of an increasingly hard-pressed working class. According to Novak, white ethnics believed they were losing clout as part of the New Deal coalition. They considered themselves cut out of Great Society-era social programs. Perception mattered here more than reality, as white ethnics believed that the liberal agenda was "for blacks only." Likewise, intellectuals extended a great deal of sympathy to nonwhite cultures but appeared to chastise working-class whites as hidebound. The

New Left, Novak claimed, had condemned white ethnics while glorifying racial minorities.

Though Novak's argument was disjointed and polemical, he did diagnose a serious deficiency in liberal politics. As historians argued, many liberals lost interest in economic inequality, believing the country had solved its conflicts between capital and labor. The fight for diversity was necessary, but too often it was framed as a battle for individual rights and did not address the structural economic difficulties facing the working class.

Criticism of Novak's Argument

Novak meant his book to be a warning, but by focusing on ethnicity rather than class, he offered a blinkered view of race in the United States. Novak intimated that blacks were the beneficiaries of liberalism, overlooking how whites, regardless of their ethnic history and their own struggles with discrimination, had long profited from racial privilege in comparison to African Americans and other minorities. Novak also rejected almost any white-ethnic responsibility for upholding white supremacy. "Our ancestors owned no slaves," Novak stated. "Most of us ceased being serfs only in the last two hundred years."

The correlation of racism only with slavery omitted the century of discrimination after emancipation. Racial discrimination was clearly evident in Jim Crow craft unions, New Deal programs, and even the G.I. Bill, which worsened the racial gap because black veterans could not get into many colleges and were barred from obtaining suburban homes due to discrimination from the private lenders doling out government-subsidized mortgages. These progressive efforts advanced many white ethnics into the middle class while often leaving blacks behind. Similarly, while deindustrialization and capital flight damaged the working class as a whole, racial minorities suffered disproportionately.

A great deal of the white resentment in the 1970s came from the realization that whites would have to give up these racial privileges. Rather than countering the divisive drift toward identity politics, Novak exacerbated it by urging whites to reclaim their ethnic selves and avoid confronting how they profited from racial inequality.

Novak predicted, and perhaps hastened, the rightward turn of white ethnics, and the book

hints at his own conservatism. Blue-collar whites felt threatened by the New Left and turned to the politics of conservatives such as George Wallace, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan. Novak claimed that big government had undermined the family and the neighborhood, the institutions most sacred to white ethnics. He called for a return to a “politics of smallness” and chastised Democrats for believing that government could always cure injustice. Liberalism, already on the ropes due to radical dissenters, the Vietnam War, and racial polarization, was now being abandoned by people soon to be known as Reagan Democrats.

The book had a lasting effect on multiculturalism, though Novak later repudiated this link. His assertion that people aware of their own identities and backgrounds were more willing and capable to engage others became axiomatic in diversity training. Novak’s calls to acknowledge the divergent ethnicities of European Americans also contributed to changes in the census, as the U.S. Census Bureau added an “ancestry” question in 1980.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); White Categorization (Essay).

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It emerged in the mid-1950s as a dominant cultural force, both in the United States and globally, through the first decade of the 21st century. The origins of rock and roll were multicultural, drawing heavily from African American, Anglo American, and Mexican musical practices.

Most historical narratives of rock and roll’s early history focus on the dual influence of country music and rhythm and blues. Since the early 1920s, southern vernacular music had been marketed primarily to white (hillbilly, and later country and western) and black (race, and later rhythm and blues) audiences. Yet, musicians and audiences gravitated to musical practices, regardless of race-based marketing strategies, and many musicians and songs moved freely between black and white communities, despite the social practice of segregation and its impact on the publishing, recording, and radio industries.

This was especially true by the late 1940s, when rhythm and blues recordings by Big Joe Turner, Ruth Brown, and others—produced and distributed primarily by independent record labels—began to garner the attention of teenagers listening to black radio stations around the United States. By the mid-1950s, white radio stations—led by such disc jockeys as Dewey Phillips (WMBB, Memphis) and Alan Freed (WJW, Cleveland, and WINS, New York), among others—were programming rhythm and blues with greater frequency, promulgating rhythm and blues and early rock and roll to a much broader audience than the often low-powered black stations could reach. As the popularity of rhythm and blues increased during the mid- to late 1950s, major record labels responded to the youth market in two ways: obtaining the contracts of popular rhythm and blues and rock and roll musicians, and releasing “cover” versions of rhythm and blues songs by white artists, with the intent of drawing sales away from independent labels.

Great Diversity

The first generation of rock and roll musicians comprised a greater degree of ethnic and racial diversity than would be evident in rock music for decades to come. African American musicians, working within the broad array of styles categorized as rhythm and blues, dominated the early rock and roll consciousness as such musicians

Rock Music and Ethnic Diversity

One of the most influential musical practices of the second half of the 20th century, rock music was forged in the crucible of multicultural exchange.

as the Platters, Little Richard, Chuck Berry, and Chubby Checker dominated radio playlists, achieved crossover success in the pop charts, and appeared in early rock and roll films and television programs.

Similarly, white rockabilly musicians hailing from the Memphis area, including most notably Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Carl Perkins, dominated the pop and rhythm and blues charts during the second half of the 1950s, while other rockabilly musicians enjoyed great regional success. Still more white artists, who were associated primarily with mainstream pop music, crossed over into the rhythm and blues charts with great frequency in the late 1950s. Early rock and roll was also greatly influenced by the work of Jewish songwriters, producers, and session musicians, including songwriting team Jerry Lieber and Mike Stoller, and session bassist Carol Kaye. Similarly, Latin American influences can be heard in the underlying rhythmic pulses of much early rock and roll. Mexican American artists promoting early rock and roll included Pacoima, California's Ritchie Valens (1941–59), who scored five national singles on the Del-Fi Records label, including “Donna” and “La Bamba,” the latter of which was based on a traditional Mexican *huapango*. Valens's career was, however, short-lived, as he perished in a plane crash with Buddy Holly and J. P. “Big Bopper” Richardson at the age of 18.

Target for Persecution

In light of its multicultural influences, rock and roll was a target for white supremacists and others who opposed efforts to integrate the public sphere during the 1950s. In the American south, leaders of the Ku Klux Klan used racist rhetoric to connect the music with immoral and savage behavior, and pro-segregationist Citizens' Councils protested at rock concerts in cities throughout the region, arguing that rock and roll promoted integration. Such responses were not exclusively southern; rather, racially motivated outrage has been documented as far away as California and Massachusetts. White reaction to rock and roll was not uniform, however, and the widespread celebration of the music by white teenagers across the United States likely amplified parental concerns about the influence of African American culture on their children.

These concerns were expressed on the national stage during the “payola scandal” of 1959–60, when the Federal Trade Commission, the U.S. House of Representatives, and a federal grand jury investigated complaints—led by the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), a performing rights organization that was losing market share to Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI), the performing rights organization that represented most rock and roll songwriters—that used the specter of communist infiltration of American youth to reveal a complex system of bribes and corruption in the promotion and broadcast of rock and roll music.

Rock radio in the 1960s was no less ethnically diverse than it was in the 1950s. Although national charts and publications were increasingly dominated by white artists in the 1960s,



White rockabilly musician Elvis Presley is regarded as one of the most important rock musicians of the 20th century. His voice was extremely versatile, encompassing success in many genres, including country, pop, gospel, and blues.

local music scenes fostered ethnic diversity in rock music. Several studies have documented the predominance of Latino-influenced garage rock music in mid-1960s San Antonio, the “eastside” or “Chicano” sound of such Los Angeles bands as Thee Midnites, The Village Callers, and Cannibal and the Headhunters, and the soul- and Afro-Caribbean-influenced boogaloo popular among the Nuyorican community.

Contemporary Rock and Roll

Despite the prevalence of local communities of ethnically diverse rock musicians across the United States and the international stardom of such musicians as Jimi Hendrix and Carlos Santana, rock music was increasingly cast as a predominantly white male activity by the late 1960s. By the mid-1980s and 1990s, however, African American and Hispanic rock musicians increasingly created rock music that was infused with racial and ethnic markers. Los Lobos, a Los Angeles-based band formed in 1973, performed with southern California punk bands for several years before its debut major-label release, *How Will the Wolf Survive?* reached national airwaves with songs blending *norteño* and rock sounds and discussing the experiences of illegal immigrants. It scored a number-one hit with its version of Valens’s “La Bamba” in 1987.

Similarly, as Josh Kun describes, the Mexican-born *rock en español* movement began to take root in the United States, first with Mexican immigrants, and by the 2000s with subsequent generations of Chicano/as. Finally, Maureen Mahon has documented the work of the Black Rock Coalition, which included such national touring acts as Living Colour and Me’Shell Ndegé-Ocello, to create a “postliberated black aesthetic” in rock music in the last decades of the 20th century. More recently, “gypsy punk” bands comprising members from eastern Europe and Israel based in New York—including especially Balkan Beat Box and Gogol Bordello—have drawn international attention for their efforts to express anxieties about post-Soviet and Jewish identity by appropriating Roma, Jewish, and punk iconography and musical practices.

Although rock music’s dominance in radio airplay and record sales has diminished in the past two decades following the national ascendancy of

hip-hop, rock music continues to be an important medium through which musicians and audiences articulate ethnic identities through music.

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See Also: Hip-Hop; Jazz and Ethnic Diversity; Motown; Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Rocky

The film *Rocky* encapsulates the American dream: With hard work, anyone can become a success. Rocky Balboa, the “Italian Stallion,” represents the experience of Italian immigrants who come to America in the hope of building a better life but come up against mounting obstacles. Although the film was overwhelmingly popular with American audiences, the cultural elite dismissed the film and its fans. The struggle over the placement of the Rocky statue highlights issues of class, ethnicity, and cultural elitism.

Rocky Balboa is an underdog club fighter who works for a loan shark, Tommy Gazzo. Rocky represents the majority of America's working-class immigrant citizens. In Philadelphia, Italian immigrants populate South Philadelphia, Bella Vista, Girard Estates, Marconi Plaza, Packer Park, and the Italian Market area. According to the 2010 census, Italian Americans compose over 50,000 households in Philadelphia. Rocky lives in a cramped Philadelphia apartment, surrounded by relics of a career that never took off.

In the movie, the current heavyweight champion is an African American named Apollo Creed. He is looking for a public relations gesture to enhance his image. For the national bicentennial, why not give some local a shot at the heavyweight title? Apollo plans on boxing a few rounds with an unknown contender, giving him a shot at the title, only to knock him out before the evening news. Flipping through a local Philadelphia boxing book, he eyes Rocky, nicknamed the "Italian Stallion," and immediately knows that he has found his patsy.

Out-of-shape Rocky is seen huffing and puffing as he attempts to jog the stairs of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Rocky trains intensely, running, lifting, and sparring. Undergirded by Bill Conti's inspirational score, the training montage crescendos with Rocky racing up the Philly stairs with a rising sense of hope. During the fight, Rocky gives Apollo Creed more of a challenge than expected. In the end, both men look ravaged, and the decision comes down from the judges: one for Rocky and two for Apollo. Although the technical win goes to Apollo, the audience understands that merely going the distance with the champ was a victory.

The plot of *Rocky* closely mirrors the life of the man who wrote it. Sylvester Stallone was a bit actor and screenwriter who for two years attempted to break into Hollywood with little success. Living with his family in a small West Hollywood apartment, Stallone struggled to pay his bills. While watching television, Stallone saw a boxing match between Muhammad Ali and an underdog club fighter from New Jersey, Chuck Wepner. Everyone was surprised to see this small-time fighter go the distance with the champ, even though he lost by a split decision. Stallone reportedly cranked out the *Rocky* screenplay in only three days.

Steadfast Stallone

Irwin Winkler and Robert Chartoff liked the story and agreed to pay the near-starving Stallone \$75,000 for the rights to make it as a small-budget film. Stallone, contrary to their wishes, insisted on playing the lead. Winkler and Chartoff wanted to buy the rights to the script outright, and cast a recognized actor such as Burt Reynolds as its lead. Stallone remained steadfast until United Artist agreed. Because of the low budget of the film, Stallone recruited his father, brother, and wife to play minor roles; even the family dog, Butkus, was brought in. The film was shot in 28 days and came in under its \$1 million budget.

On opening day, Winkler and Chartoff read Vincent Canby's film review in the *New York Times*: "sentimental little slum movie . . . [with] an unconvincing actor." The rags to riches story stirred audience emotions and inspired people to fight for their dreams. *Rocky* became the highest-grossing film of 1976, earning over \$225 million. Rocky was nominated for 10 Academy Awards in nine categories, winning three: Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Film Editing. Sylvester Stallone became the third person in Oscar history to be nominated in a single year as both an actor and a screenwriter. The film turned Stallone into a major star and spawned five sequels: *Rocky II*, *III*, *IV*, *V*, and *Rocky Balboa*. Winkler and Chartoff framed Canby's review, which hangs next to their 1976 Academy Award.

Cultural Icon

The famous scene of Rocky running up the steps of the Philadelphia Museum of Art has become a cultural icon. In 1982, Sylvester Stallone donated the bronze statue of his Rocky Balboa character, with arms raised in victory, to the city of Philadelphia. Placement at the top of the "Rocky Steps" of the museum seemed like a natural location. A controversy ensued, which lasted 20 years, between the city's cultural elite and the heavily immigrant citizenry over the location of the statue and the definition of art. Moe Brooker declared that the statue was not art, it was a movie prop. As a member of the six-person Arts Commission, Brooker derided the statue's artistic merit. Against popular support from the citizens of Philadelphia, academics insisted that only they had the training to identify true art. Several

individuals retorted that the museum contained an assortment of cultural pieces, deemed by the Arts Commission to be art, including Duchamp's urinal. In 2006, the statue was relocated to the right side of the museum.

Today, the film is recognized as a classic. In 2006, the Library of Congress selected *Rocky* for preservation in the U.S. National Film Registry as a film that is culturally, historically, and aesthetically significant. That same year, the Writer's Guild of America selected Stallone's original screenplay as one of the top 100 best screenplays of all time. In 2008, the American Film Institute released a poll ranking *Rocky* as one of the 10 best sports films in history.

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See Also: Academy Awards; Acculturation/Assimilation; Columbus Day; High/Low Context Cultures; Italian Americans; Little Italy.

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Roles, Social and Cultural

In his play *As You Like It*, William Shakespeare wrote that "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players: They have their exits, and their entrances, and one man in his time plays many parts." These words highlight the essence of social role theory, an approach to understanding human behavior that is based on the metaphor of a play. This theory proposes that people learn to act in accordance with social expectations, and that these social expectations are set by membership in different social categories, such as gender, age, ethnicity, and/or

religious affiliations. Roles that shape behavioral expectations may be general, such as acting "like a man" or "like a woman," but can also be more nuanced, such as acting "like a mother" or acting "like a teacher."

Importantly, people have many different roles throughout their lives, and even at the same time. Thus, a person may simultaneously understand herself as a woman, a daughter, a mother, an employee, a friend, an athlete, a political moderate, and so on. Each social role comes with its own set of expected behaviors that people learn to abide by. These expectations are termed social norms; they are the unwritten rules about how people are expected to act given their role(s) in society. Social norms are reinforced through a process of social sanctions and rewards, usually described as socialization. Failure to conform to the behaviors expected of one's role can lead to stigmatization and social exclusion, whereas adherence to one's role brings positive social rewards. For example, if a little boy hurts himself and cries, his parents might say "Stop that! Boys don't cry" (a sanction), whereas a little girl who hurts herself and cries might get cuddles and kisses (a reward).

Gender Roles

Gender roles are a set of societal expectations placed on boys and men and girls and women based on the biological sex category they were born into. Sociologists describe gender as a "master status," referring to the extent to which one's gender role is salient in virtually every social context. Sociologists draw on the concept of "doing gender" to describe how gendered behaviors and roles must be constantly performed in order to be socially accepted. Belonging to a certain gender may also shape expectations for how to behave as a member of a certain cultural or ethnic group.

Notably, the behaviors expected of men and women have varied substantially across cultures and across the history of the United States. The nuclear family model that was common in middle- and upper-class white families in the 1950s is often referred to as a model of the "traditional gender roles" that modern gender expectations are compared to. In this traditional model, women are expected to assume all responsibilities



A 19th-century caricature by Honoré Daumier titled *A Female Author Neglecting her Family*. Gender role beliefs that men were more suited to earning a living while women should remain tied to the duties of the home persisted well into the 20th century.

within the “private sphere” of the family home, such as cleaning, cooking, and child rearing, and are expected to be less assertive, more nurturing, and less independent than men. In contrast, men are expected to be the breadwinner of the family and to take charge in the “public sphere” and dictate political matters. Men are traditionally expected to be financially responsible, strong, assertive, less emotional, and less emotionally expressive than women.

Although many people appreciate the way that traditional gender roles assign responsibilities in a seemingly straightforward manner, these traditional gender roles have also been critiqued for contributing to gender inequality and sexism; in the traditional model described above, women are taught to be less powerful than men. Luckily, gender roles have changed substantially over time, with most adult women now actively

participating in the workforce, and most men contributing more in the home than was common in the 1950s. These contemporary gender roles offer greater flexibility for both men and women to pursue different paths.

Cultural Roles

Cultural roles refer specifically to societal expectations of behavior based on cultural group memberships. For example, membership in a particular religion can be an important component of one’s cultural roles. For example, as part of their roles within a religion, priests in the Catholic Church are expected to be celibate, and Muslim women are expected to wear hijabs.

Membership in an ethnic group is another form of cultural group membership. Gender roles differ across ethnic groups. In contrast to the 1950s (white, middle-class) housewife, for women to work outside the home has been a necessity for working-class African American families for many generations. This necessity shapes gender expectations; compared to white men, black men are historically more supportive of mothers and wives working outside the home. African American women have also been stereotyped as having traits that contradict traditional notions of women’s roles, such as displaying greater strength, independence, and directness. Compared to white women, African Americans are more likely to be directly involved in caretaking of immediate and extended kin, to live in multigenerational households, to be single mothers, and to be caring for nonrelated children or grandchildren. Thus, the roles expected of women differ in some ways between African Americans and whites because this role intersects differently with marital roles, generational roles, parenting roles, and work roles.

Another frequent focus of interest has been gender roles within Latino American families. The label *Latino American* encompasses a wide range of ethnic cultures and thus it is impossible to make generalizations across all of these groups. Yet, it has been proposed that there are stronger separations of roles between men and women in Latino cultures, sometimes referred to as machismo and marianismo. The concept of machismo suggests that men should be dominant, virile, and independent. This machismo can lead

men to be protective of their families and to work hard for their families, but can also lead to controlling behaviors within the family.

The concept of *marianismo* suggests that women are expected to be passive, nurturing, and submissive to men. Within these cultures, women strongly define their roles in terms of what they are contributing to the family and direct child rearing. Despite the prevalence of the *machismo* versus *marianismo* stereotypes, the extent to which there is actual adherence to these roles is a matter of substantial debate.

Social Roles and Intercultural Communication

Perceptions of the proper social roles of speakers and listeners can also vary across gender roles and ethnic groups. Depending on one's social roles, people are expected to communicate in certain ways. For example, women are generally expected to speak more quietly and less directly than men. However, as demonstrated above, different cultures conceptualize social roles differently, which leads to cultural differences in communication.

Within the mainstream U.S. culture, the social role of the speaker in a conversation is to state a point while making eye contact and nonverbally engaging with the listener. The listener is expected to not interrupt the speaker, listen intently, and make an effort not to negate the speaker. Once the speaker has completely finished, the listener is then permitted to speak. This mode of communication is referred to as linear. However, the expectations of the speaker and listener have been found to be different across racial/ethnic groups.

For example, some studies suggest that African Americans tend to have a more dynamic mode of communication, where the listener is permitted to interrupt because interrupting the speaker conveys engagement, interest, and understanding.

The differing expectations of the social role of speaker versus listener can lead to misunderstandings and occasional conflicts during inter-ethnic interactions. For example, a Euro-American speaker may feel that an African American listener is violating his/her role as a polite listener if they interrupt them, whereas an African American speaker may feel that Euro-Americans

are not demonstrating interest if they do not interrupt!

Another interesting case involves differences in expectations or nonverbal communication. Within some Asian American ethnic communities, younger individuals are expected to avoid eye contact with an older speaker, as a sign of deference and respect, whereas a non-Asian American speaker may misinterpret a lack of eye contact as a show of disrespect or disinterest. Thus, when the different ethnic social role expectations of "speaker" and "listener" interact across cultures, we are bound to find cultural misunderstandings. And yet, when individuals are exposed to many cultures, they may learn and understand the variety of roles that are normative in different social contexts.

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See Also: African American Categorization (Essay); Age Distribution (Essay); Asian American Categorization (Essay).

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Roma Americans

Roma Americans (or Romani Americans) are a diverse group of people with a common history, heritage, and language (Romani) that is traced back to northern India in the 11th century. Gradually, over the following centuries, the Roma spread westward throughout all parts of Europe, adapting to and adopting from the peoples around whom they lived, all the while retaining a degree of cultural distinctiveness. In English, the Roma have popularly, though inaccurately, been called Gypsies, a name originating from a belief in their Egyptian origins. Modern linguistic, genetic, historical, and cultural studies have disproven this story of origin. Today, Roma or Romani is their preferred name, because of the inaccurate stereotypes the term *Gypsy* implies.

Although it is likely that some Roma were brought to the Americas in the 16th through 18th

centuries from a variety of European locations as servants, enslaved people, and convicts, the first verifiable wave of Roma immigration to the United States began in the 1840s and 1850s. They mainly arrived in family groups from Great Britain. More immigrated in the 1870s and 1880s, and another wave came in the early 20th century. These Roma immigrants tended to arrive from southern and eastern Europe. After 1970, increasing Roma immigration occurred from the communist countries of eastern Europe. Roma Americans have come to the United States from nearly every nation in Europe.

Early Roma immigrants listed such diverse occupations as farmer, laborer, showman, animal trainer, horse trader, musician, and coppersmith, among others, to census takers. In the 19th century Roma American men tended to pursue such nomadic European occupations, while women often practiced fortune telling. As the car replaced



After a first wave of Roma immigration to the United States in the 1840s and 1850s, another group began arriving in the 1870s and 1880s. More currently, a wave of Roma immigration has taken place since the 1989 collapse of Communism in eastern Europe. This portrait of a Roma family and their camp was likely taken near Bethesda, Maryland, in 1888.

the horse, men shifted to such work as selling and repairing cars and metalworking. Mobility has been a key trait of Roma culture, and although some Roma Americans travel or move as urban migrants in search of employment, others are no less sedentary than non-Roma Americans.

Roma have suffered extreme persecution throughout European history, including enslavement and deportation. Anti-Roma laws were the norm, and prejudice has continued through the 20th century—most deadly during the Holocaust, when 1 million Roma may have been killed. Such discrimination has likely caused increased immigration to the United States, although Roma have also emigrated for the same reasons as the non-Roma around them. In the United States as well, Roma have frequently experienced discrimination based on perceived stereotypes about them, as well as their traditional culture.

For example, laws against fortune telling or special licensing requirements in the United States have targeted Roma people. Today, Roma Americans, like the international Roma population, are becoming more politically active and better organized as they struggle to achieve their civil and human rights.

Roma Americans are a very diverse group, yet they retain a sense that they are one people. Roma have historically possessed a strong group identity, yet simultaneously adapted to the surrounding culture. They tend to maintain an exclusionary culture, likely both a cause and effect of the discrimination they have faced based on stereotypes created by the ignorance of non-Roma people. At the same time, some American Roma have exploited these stereotypes to their benefit as performers; however, the stereotype of the Gypsy as dangerous and a thief has caused more harmful results.

Although Roma social life tends to be inward-looking toward other Roma, economic life tends to center around non-Roma. Traditional Roma taboos separate not only Roma from non-Roma (*gadže*), but also contamination from purity. Despite this, each Roma group has picked up aspects of the *gadže* cultures they have lived among over the past several hundred years. Their diverse geographical history has created the different cultural characteristics between each Roma group that has come to the United States. Some

of these groups include the Romniels from Great Britain; the Ludar from Romania; the Rom—subdivided as Kalderash, Lovari, and Machvaya—from across eastern Europe; the Sinti from Germany and Italy; the Baschalde from Slovakia and Hungary; the Romungre from Hungary and Transylvania; the Horchanay from the South Balkans; and the Kale (or Gitano) from Spain. Because each of these groups had its own long history before immigration to the United States, even though they are all considered Roma Americans and share much linguistically, culturally, and historically, they are also very different from each other and have continued to consider themselves as distinct groups after their arrival in the United States. Despite this, there has recently been an increasing sense of a common identity, often fostered through the shared experience of organizing against discrimination.

Because Roma Americans have immigrated to the United States from a variety of different nations, and because most census and immigration records have recorded only nationality (and not ethnicity), their numbers are very hard to know for certain. Estimates on Roma Americans range from 500,000 to 1 million. Most Roma Americans live in the nation's biggest cities, where the greatest economic opportunities exist. Roma Americans practice many different religions, usually based on the version of Christianity common in their country of origin, but fundamentalist Christian denominations have been growing in popularity among them. Many Roma do not admit their ethnicity to non-Roma, and many non-Roma in the United States are unaware that there is an American Roma population. Americans rarely realize how Roma cultures differ from the stereotypes of the Gypsy.

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See Also: Epithets, Ethnic and Racial; Ethnicity; European Americans.

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Romanian Americans

Although immigration from Romania was numerically insignificant before the 20th century, it grew steadily after World War II. Whereas the Immigration Act of 1924 set a quota of 603 Romanians admitted annually, U.S. Census data after World War II shows a population of over 100,000 people of Romanian ancestry living in the United States after 1945. More recently, the 2010 Census identified 338,997 people of Romanian ancestry living in the United States today, (approximately 0.12 percent of the U.S. population), with the highest population densities in Michigan, Illinois, Oregon, Washington, New York, Ohio, Arizona, New Jersey, Florida, and California.

History of Romanian Immigration

Although there were immigrants from Romania before the 1870s, they were few and not well documented. However, two Romanians in particular were recognized for their service in the Civil War: Captain Nicolae Dunca, who fought for the Ninth New York Volunteers, and General Gheorghe Pomutz, who fought with the Fifteenth Iowa Volunteer Regiment and was promoted to the rank of brigadier general (the only Romanian in this rank to date). Between 1870 and 1900, approximately 18,000 immigrants listed Romania as their country of origin. Before 1895, most immigrants from Romania to the United States and Canada were Romanian Jews from occupied provinces, such as Bessarabia (under Russian occupation) and Bukovina (under Austrian occupation). By 1924, when Congress enacted a new immigration act, about one-third of all European Jews had resettled in America; it is estimated that approximately 50,000 Romanian Jews had immigrated to the United States before 1929. Besides Jews, other Romanian nationals who immigrated included Hungarians, Germans, Armenians, and Gypsies.

The reasons for immigration ranged from religious and ethnic persecution, to economic

hardship and the search for new economic, social, and political opportunities. Before 1895, many of the Romanian immigrants were tradesmen, who tended to immigrate with their families. After 1895, unskilled workers and peasants started to immigrate to the United States, especially from Transylvania, although Macedonian Romanians from Turkey, northern Greece, and Albania soon joined in. However, about two-thirds of the Romanian immigrants returned home during the first two decades of the 20th century. After World War II, the Displaced Persons Act made possible the immigration of Romanian refugees, and an estimated 10,000 people came to the United States.

Between World War II and 1989, immigration from Romania was caused by political circumstances, such as the occupation of Romania by Soviet troops, the Hungarian Revolution, and the heightening of restrictions during Nicolae Ceausescu's last decade of dictatorship in the 1980s. Political persecution and dissidence also motivated the immigration of political refugees and intellectuals. After 1989, the Immigration Act of 1990 and its Diversity Visa program also facilitated the immigration of Romanians to the United States. In addition to social and economic opportunities, educational opportunities have motivated the immigration of Romanians in recent decades.

Romanian American Culture

The social, economic, and political life of Romanian Americans has oscillated between reliance on local and regional organizations (like the boardinghouse or the mutual aid society) and the entrepreneurial spirit. Small entrepreneurs of Romanian origin owned immigrant banks, restaurants, saloons, and pool houses; after 1920, many Romanians joined the skilled labor market and upward mobility followed economic success. Various levels of assimilation into the host country marked several generations of Romanians in the United States, from an early-20th-century reliance on community and religious organizations, to subsequent migrations to urban and suburban areas, to nearly complete assimilation of the third and fourth generations. Besides the boardinghouse and the mutual benefit society, the Romanian Orthodox Church in the United States offered spiritual and material support. In addition to the Romanian Orthodox faith, religious

allegiance was divided between Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism.

Over 35 Romanian newspapers, weeklies, and monthlies were published in the United States as early as 1905. *The Romanian* and *America* were the most influential Romanian newspapers, with large readerships and prominent literary contributors from the old country. Some of the most accomplished Romanian writers and historians contributed to *America* from across the Atlantic Ocean, including Nicolae Iorga, Liviu Rebreanu, Cezar Petrescu, Ioan Slavici, Victor Eftimiu, and Lucian Blaga. A number of other Romanian newspapers were published in the United States after 1912, as well as humor magazines written in Romanian and, during the 1920s, Romanian newspapers espousing radical political opinions. More recent journals (*Orizont Romanesc/Romanian Horizon* and the *Romanian American Review*) have addressed popular, literary, and scholarly audiences.

Notable Romanian Americans in the 20th and 21st centuries include Elie Wiesel, a Nobel Peace Prize-winning author; Mircea Eliade, a professor at the University of Chicago and a renowned historian of religions; George Emile Palade, a biologist and winner of the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine; actor Edward G. Robinson (who changed his name from Emanuel Goldenberg); director and screenwriter Jean Negulesco; and writer, journalist, and political commentator Marcus E. Ravage.

The list of more recent notable Romanian Americans includes gymnast Nadia Comaneci; National Public Radio contributor and writer Andrei Codrescu; writers Norman Manea, Dorin Tudoran, and Nina Cassian; literary critics Marcel Cornis-Pope, Matei Calinescu, Virgil Nemoianu, and Christian Moraru; political scientist Vladimir Tismaneanu; and director and theater professor Andrei Serban.

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See Also: European Americans; Jewish Americans; Macedonian Americans; Roma Americans.

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Roots

Alex Haley's extensive 12-year research into his family genealogy produced the epic novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1976) and inspired the 1977 television miniseries of the same name. Winner of the Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award, the narrative spans 200 years and six generations, originating with Haley's male progenitor, Kunta Kinte, who Haley determined was born in Juffure, Gambia, in 1750. As a child in Henning, Tennessee, Alexander "Alex" Murray Palmer Haley (1921–92) often heard his grandmother recount fragments of their family story. The "carefully preserved" oral tradition that enabled pieces of his family history to be passed down from generation to generation foreshadowed the *griot* (historian or storyteller) whom he would eventually meet in Gambia, West Africa. The majestic narrative of this senior griot finally linked Haley's grandmother's stories to a specific forebear in the village of Juffure, Gambia, of the Kinte family.

In the process of uncovering his family history—a journey that took him to three continents and countless libraries and archives—and piecing together a narrative from his maternal line, Haley was keenly aware that his genealogical narrative would represent the "symbolic saga of the African American people." Thus, Haley conducted his research with the knowledge that the story of Kunta Kinte and his descendants in the United States embodied, to a certain extent, the story of all black Americans.

Not only did the mammoth book his research produced initiate national dialogue around heritage, history, and the painful wounds of slavery, but it also modeled a method for genealogical research, especially for Americans of African descent. No longer would black Americans futilely yearn for and dispiritedly accept an “erased” African past and lost maternal language. Haley’s narrative demonstrated the possibility of recovering an African ancestral family history, down to the very village of origin. Thus, Haley’s ambitious undertaking reclaimed an African past for the millions of Africans “exiled” in America. On a practical level, the research documented in the final chapters of the book also outlined a framework for genealogical searches that made finding one’s “roots” an essential component of black identity formation.

Given the huge swath of history the narrative covers, Haley decidedly emphasized Kunta Kinte’s complex and fulfilling life in Gambia before captivity. Although Kinte was kidnapped and enslaved as a teenage boy when he was chopping wood to build a drum, his story does not begin there. Refusing to start the narrative of his family history at the moment of his African ancestor’s capture, Haley instead devotes a considerable section of the book to Kinte’s life of freedom in Gambia before captivity and the terrors of the Middle Passage. This attention to the pre-captivity Africa years and Kinte’s fierce resistance once enslaved in the New World suggests how rich a history the “Kintes” of America’s racial past experienced in their homeland. Haley seems to refute early-20th-century scholars who lamented the absence of “Africanisms” for black Americans in the United States.

Criticism and Controversy

The main criticism leveled against *Roots* was that the novel distorted reality at best, and represented Haley’s attempt to pass off a fake as original at worse. Critics argued that the book blurred the line between fact and fiction, therefore disqualifying it as a “true” history based solely on historical facts. If anything, it should be classified, the argument continued, as a fictional multi-generational (auto)biography. Novelist Harold Courlander, author of numerous books on Africans, Americans, and Indians, including *The African* (1967), filed a lawsuit in the federal district court in New

York in 1978, claiming that Haley had plagiarized 81 passages from his book. In addition to the copied paragraphs, Courlander alleged that Haley copied his plot, characters, ideas, situations, and language in a general sense. Haley denied reading *The African* before writing *Roots*. Although the two authors reached a financial settlement out of court, the allegations of scholarly dishonesty tarnished for many readers the redeeming qualities of *Roots*. Some of Haley’s harshest critics, like the judge in the trial, called Haley’s work a “hoax.”

After reiterating his rigorous research methods, including multiple library searches, visits to archives, and other repositories, Haley addressed the fact-versus-fiction question directly in his last chapter, when he wrote: “Since I wasn’t around when most of the story occurred, by far most of the dialogue and most of the incidents are of necessity a novelized amalgam of what I know took place together with what my researching let me to plausibly feel took place.” Regarding the question of plagiarism, Haley defended himself by admitting that research assistants gave him the passages, and their appropriation was unintentional. Although allegations and doubts regarding the veracity of Haley’s claims surged after its publication, most strongly in the 10 years following its release, the compelling family narrative continued to capture the American imagination.

Roots Televised

For many Americans, the televised miniseries, *Roots*, started a national discussion around this shameful and painful moment in history and the deep contradiction on which the United States was founded. Considered the “television event of the year,” the multigenerational family saga became an instant classic and cultural touchstone. Executive producer David L. Wolper convinced ABC to approve the 12-hour miniseries, although it originally only wanted it to conform to the standard 2.5-hour format. The final production—written for television by William Blinn and Ernest Kinoy, and directed by David Greene—aired over several weeks in January 1977 in the United States and was eventually exported to countries worldwide.

Most people knew of the startling, sometimes horrific scenes of the film, even if they had not watched the miniseries in its entirety. Perhaps the

most infamous scene from the television miniseries is the one in which the pernicious slave driver forces Kunta Kinte, played by Levar Burton, to abandon his African name and accept his subjugation and renaming as Toby. The incessant questioning, “What’s your name?,” followed by the lash of the whip, imprinted itself onto the American psyche. The torture of Kinte and his forced renaming relate to Haley’s first book, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), in which he dedicates substantial narrative space to explaining Malcolm’s renunciation of his “slave name” and its substitution with the letter “X.”

The visual idioms established in crucial scenes in the *Roots* miniseries, from the Middle Passage scenes in the foul bowels of the slave ship to the slave auction, the renaming, and relentless whippings at the hand of the diabolical slave driver, became the common imagery of slavery for the American public and the international audience. In his “Dedication,” Haley notes that *Roots* was published in the bicentennial year of the United States. This was a propitious coincidence as the experiences of the memorable cast of characters—Kunta, Bell, Kizzy, Fidder, Chicken George, and others—force the reader to reexamine the monstrous alongside the hopeful, a juxtaposition that reflects the American story. Despite the controversies around the validity of *Roots* as a historical book, both the iconic text and the provocative miniseries it spawned indelibly changed the way Americans, and readers and viewers around the world, imagined slavery and its legacy in the United States.

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See Also: *Beloved*; Fugitive Slave Acts (1793 and 1850); Middle Passage; Slave Narratives; Slave Revolts; Slave Trade; Slavery.

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Russian Americans

Beginning with the first wave of Russian immigration to the United States in the 1880s and 1890s, Russian Americans have created vibrant communities in cities throughout the United States, especially in the northeast, the midwest, and along the Pacific coast. The term *Russian American* can refer to diverse groups, including migrants from territory formerly controlled by the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union as well as from Russia proper. According the 2010 Census, over 3.1 million Americans are Russian or of Russian descent.

Russia’s Colony

In the 1700s and 1800s, the Russian Empire created a colony based on the fur trade in the North American Pacific Rim. Although the Russian migrants numbered only in the hundreds, Russia’s colonial mission made an impression that lasted long after the Russians sold Alaska to the United States in 1867. Russian fur traders intermarried with native peoples. Their children, termed *Creoles* by the Russian Empire, both tied Russian migrants to the colonies and provided a source of labor for the Russian American Company, which oversaw the colony. From 1812 to 1847, the Russians operated Fort Ross, in California, to help supply their territories further north. Russians brought their language, culture, and religion to the region, making a conscious effort to spread Orthodox Christianity to the indigenous inhabitants. Many indigenous people continue to view Orthodoxy as their native religion.

The First Wave of Migration

Migrants from the Russian Empire began coming to the United States in much larger numbers in the 1880s and 1890s. During the wave of immigration from Russia that lasted until the beginning of World War I, approximately 3.2 million Russians entered the United States. Since the census listed immigrants by their country of origin, about half of those counted as Russian were actually Russian Jews fleeing religious persecution and searching for economic opportunity denied to them in Russia. After the death of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, pogroms, religiously motivated violence sanctioned by the state, forced Jews from their

homes in the Pale of Settlement, territory in Eastern Europe where they had to live.

These immigrants tended to come as family groups with the intention of making the United States their permanent home. They settled in major cities in the northeast and midwest, often working in the garment industry. New York City's Lower East Side was the most famous of these Jewish immigrant communities. Other immigrant groups classified as Russian included Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Poles, since their territory belonged to the Russian Empire. The Russian Revolution of 1905 inspired the migration of political dissidents as well as Jews who had tried to adapt to Russian society by speaking Russian instead of Yiddish and studying secular subjects.

In 1914, World War I cut off migration from Europe across the Atlantic, but migration from Russia continued to the west coast. California's Angel Island served as the point of entry for those who made their way to the United States by crossing Asia. In the 1890s and early 1900s, religious nonconformists, including Baptists, Doukhobors or Old Believers, and Molokans, began emigrating in search of religious freedom. Both the Molokans, or "milk drinkers," and the Doukhobors were persecuted in Russia for their pacifism. Although most of the 5,000 Molokans who settled in California entered through other ports, several hundred passed through Angel Island. During World War I, Russian Jews and others seeking to avoid military service and discrimination in the Russian Army also tried to immigrate to the west coast.

The Russian Revolution and Soviet Union

The October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, which brought the Communists to power, and the ensuing civil war led to another wave of migration. Opponents of the Bolshevik takeover fled Russia, often by traveling through China and Japan. These migrants were more likely to belong to the middle and upper classes, but in the United States they faced difficulties, including a language barrier, that forced them to take jobs as laborers.

Growing concern over the spread of radicalism in the United States after the Russian Revolution led American officials to watch for Russian radicals trying to infiltrate the country by posing as refugees. The government arrested members of radical organizations including the Union of Russian Workers,

the Communist Party, and the Communist Labor Party. Although raids on radical organizations affected many immigrant groups from eastern and southern Europe, the government sometimes mistakenly classified arrestees as Russian. Also known as the Palmer Raids, the campaign disrupted Russian immigrant community life.

In the 1920s, the Soviet Union tried to gain greater control of its borders, closing off emigration. However, émigrés continued to flee Russia for the United States in smaller numbers. In the decade following World War II, 20,000 Russians classified as displaced persons entered the United States.

During the Cold War, the number of Russian immigrants increased and decreased for a variety of reasons, such as Russian–American relations and economic conditions. Beginning in the 1970s, the Soviet Union permitted Russian Jews to leave in larger numbers. Some non-Jews successfully posed as Jewish émigrés to escape. In the 1980s and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, their numbers continued to grow, reaching over 100,000 by the 1990s.

Russian Americans have established communities in the northeast, most notably in New York City's Brighton Beach neighborhood. Although many of the Russian Americans living in New York City, New Jersey, and Philadelphia have Jewish roots, these newer migrants speak Russian as their native language and often lack strong religious ties. Fears of organized crime rings and the development of a Russian mafia operating in these neighborhoods spread during the 1990s. Jewish organizations as well as government-sponsored programs have aided Russian Americans' adjustment to American life. Despite the language barrier, many Russian immigrants had access to higher education and held professional jobs before migrating and have since used these skills to become upwardly mobile in America.

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See Also: Belarusian Americans; Carpatho-Rusyn Americans; Jewish Americans.

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Salvadoran Americans

El Salvador, the smallest country in Central America, is sometimes referred to as a nation of emigrants. It is estimated that as many as 20 percent of Salvadorans reside in the United States. Salvadorans have been present in the United States since the early 20th century; however, until the 1980s, they formed a relatively small group. The numbers climbed drastically after thousands of immigrants arrived, fleeing the civil war of 1980–92. The U.S. census data reflect this substantial increase—between 1980 and 1990, the foreign-born population from El Salvador grew nearly fivefold, from 94,400 to 465,400. In 2010, over 60 percent of Salvadoran immigrants had arrived after 1990 because of chain migration and environmental disasters in El Salvador.

In 2010, the Salvadoran population formed the fourth-largest Hispanic/Latino community in the United States (3.3 percent), behind Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. In 2000–10, it was also one of the fastest-growing groups, increasing by over 150 percent (from 655,000 to 1.6 million). Since large-scale immigration is a recent phenomenon, more than 60 percent of Salvadorans in the United States are foreign-born. However, because of the obstacles to the legalization of their status, the proportion of naturalized U.S. citizens among Salvadorans has been low (28 percent in 2010).

Although their communities are scattered all over the country, almost eight in 10 Salvadorans settled in the west and the south, mainly in California (35 percent) and Texas (13 percent). Los Angeles County is home to the largest Salvadoran community (22 percent). They also form large enclaves in the District of Columbia, where they form the largest Hispanic group, Chicago, and New York.

Immigration Since 1979

The brutal civil war in El Salvador, waged between the U.S.-supported right-wing government and the left-wing Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), took a devastating toll of 70,000 to 75,000 casualties (approximately 1.5 percent of the population), mostly civilians killed by the army or death squads. Another consequence of the war was a soaring number of displaced people and refugees. In total, more than one million people (over 20 percent of the population) fled the country, while over half a million were internally displaced.

As the Ronald Reagan administration refrained from categorizing Salvadoran immigrants as “political refugees,” but rather called them “economic immigrants” (overpopulation, poverty, and unemployment were cited as important factors), they were liable for deportation. This gave rise to the sanctuary movement, which sought to provide

the immigrants with shelter, transport, and legal advice. Although in the 1980s, Salvadorans constituted the largest group of asylum applicants in the United States (25 percent), only a small proportion was given asylum (2–3 percent), and the deportation rate was very high (approximately 26,300 in 1981–89). In 1989, over 136,000 eligible Salvadorans (i.e., those residing in the United States before January 1, 1982) adjusted their status under the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA).

In 1990, thanks to the struggle of immigrants' rights groups, eligible Salvadorans were granted temporary protected status (TPS). At the same time, the settlement in *American Baptist Churches v. Thornburgh* (known as the ABC case) dictated the reopening of the rejected applications for asylum by Salvadorans and Guatemalans, and

encouraged others to apply. Upon the expiration of TPS, Salvadorans were granted deferred enforced departure (DED), which was later extended until they could reapply for asylum. The strict 1996 immigration law changes, the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), made it more difficult for ABC class members to obtain permanent residency, while leading to the deportation of thousands of convicted felons on the newly broadened felony grounds for deportation of non-citizens. However, the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) of 1997 exempted eligible Salvadorans from some provisions of IIRIRA. In 2001, Salvadorans were again granted TPS after El



Salvadoran migration to the United States brought Salvadoran cuisine to the country as well. Pupusas, thick handmade corn tortillas, are available wherever Salvadoran communities are found. Salvadoran restaurants called pupuserias have sprung up across the country, where pupusas are sold and made. This restaurant is located in Riverbend, New Orleans.

Salvador was hit by earthquakes, and about 212,000 people benefited.

Salvadorans in U.S. Society and Politics

Racially, Salvadorans are a mostly mixed-origin group. In 2010, half of them reported “some other race” (the biggest share among the Hispanic or Latino population), while 40 percent did so as “white.” They form a tight, mostly Catholic community that seeks to preserve its culture, while traditional rituals and celebrations remain important. Since Salvadorans in the United States are mostly foreign-born immigrants, in 2010, as few as one in 10 spoke only English at home; nevertheless, nearly half reported speaking English proficiently.

The Salvadoran contribution to U.S. society and culture has been growing. Authors include Mario Bencastro (novelist) and Rubén Martínez (author and Emmy Award-winning journalist). Dagoberto Reyes’s sculpture *Porque emigramos/ Why We Immigrate* (1993) stands in MacArthur Park in Los Angeles. Salvadorans are also among actors and actresses (e.g., Maurice Bernard, Emmy Award winner), musicians (e.g., Alvaro Torres, singer and 1994 BMI Songwriter of the Year; and T-Bone, Christian rapper, Grammy nominee, and GMA Dove Award winner), and sportspeople (Rosie Casals, tennis player; and Hugo Pérez, former U.S. national soccer team player). In fashion, Christy Turlington, a renowned model (e.g., for Versace and Calvin Klein) is of Salvadoran origin.

Salvadorans have not yet constituted a significant political force in the United States. However, their high concentration, as well as increasing participation in social and political life, may bring important changes. Salvadorans have been elected as officials at county and state levels, for example Ana Sol Gutierrez (Maryland State delegate), while Emanuel Pleitez was a 2013 candidate for Los Angeles mayor. Salvadoran American activists and advocates (such as Saul Solórzano, who died in 2011) have been active in building the community and helping its members to participate in American society. Numerous organizations, such as El Rescate (founded in Los Angeles in 1981), offer Salvadorans social or legal assistance.

In 2012, the national campaign for permanent residence for Central Americans holding TPS was

launched as a joint effort of such organizations as the Central American Resource Center (originally the Central American Refugee Center, established in 1981, CARECEN-DC and CARECEN-LA); the Salvadoran Humanitarian Aid, Research and Education Foundation (SHARE, Berkeley); Centro Romero (Chicago); and the Salvadoran American Leadership and Educational Fund (SALEF, Los Angeles). At the local level, the organizations offer various programs. SALEF, for example, also provides scholarships to students who want to pursue higher education, regardless of their immigration status.

The community is often associated with organized crime, as many of the gangs that originated in Los Angeles were formed by Salvadorans (Mara Salvatrucha, MS-13) or recruit Salvadorans. Because potential gang involvement poses a real threat to youth, some organizations and programs provide mentorship and work to prevent gang involvement. For example, the Los Angeles-based Homies Unidos, founded by Salvadoran Alex Sanchez, also helps former gang members reintegrate into their communities.

In 2010, Salvadorans were almost half as likely as Hispanics as a whole to have at least a bachelor’s degree (7 percent, as compared to 13 percent). Nevertheless, their income is slightly higher than that of all U.S. Hispanics, and the poverty level is lower. A majority of Salvadoran Americans work in service, production, transportation, sales, construction, and maintenance; and only one in 10 works in management, business, science, or the arts.

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See Also: Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996); Nicaraguan Americans; Refugees; Sanctuary Movement.

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Samoan Americans

Samoan Americans are American citizens who are from Western Samoa (Independent State of Samoa) or American Samoa, or who have Samoan ancestry. Samoan Americans are the second-largest Pacific Islander group in the United States, second only to native Hawaiians. The Samoan archipelago of 15 inhabited islands is divided into two countries. American Samoa comprises the eastern islands, including Tutuila, home to Pago Pago, the capital. Native-born residents of American Samoa are U.S. nationals; they cannot vote in presidential elections and do not pay income tax, although immigration to the rest of the United States is much easier for American nationals than for people of other countries. Western Samoa or the Independent State of Samoa comprises the western islands in the archipelago, four of which are inhabited. Western Samoa is an independent country and is a member of the British Commonwealth. Its population is about 182,000—a little less than the number of Samoans living off the archipelago.

Like other Pacific Islanders—notably, Native Hawaiians—Samoan Americans arrived in the United States to be agricultural and factory workers in the mid-20th century. Honolulu, Hawai'i, and Long Beach, California, have the largest Samoan communities outside Samoa; Samoan Americans make up about one-third of the population of Long Beach. The Seattle-Tacoma area also has a generous Samoan American community and is home to the First Samoan Christian Congregational Church. There are approximately 184,400 Samoan Americans; this figure comes from the 2010 census and includes those of partial Samoan ancestry. Large numbers of Samoans also live in New Zealand, from which Samoans gained independence. Despite emigration from the Samoan archipelago, Samoan Americans and others of Samoan descent continue to share a unique culture that is strong inside and outside the homeland.

History and Immigration

The Samoan archipelago islands were colonized between 500 and 800 B.C.E. by the Lapita, an oceanic people who came from Indo-Malaysia via coastal New Guinea. These people also colonized Tonga, and together with Samoa and French Polynesia, these island nations formed the roots of Polynesian culture. Later settlers went from Samoa and Tonga to Tahiti, Hawai'i, and the Marquesas. Early explorers found Samoa to be populated with people who were expert shipbuilders. Explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville came to Samoa in the 1700s; when he arrived, Samoans met his ship in their boats and brought what were most likely cocoa nuts and the root used in the making of kava; these gifts constituted a *sua*, a ceremonial sign of respect toward travelers.

These same offerings were given to explorer La Perouse in 1778. His expedition was ill fated, and 11 members of his crew were eventually killed by Samoans after the French explorers shot and killed a Samoan for allegedly trying to steal an iron bolt. This report was verified by a missionary who also reported that the French hoisted a Samoan up to a mast by his thumbs as punishment for petty thievery. However, the French role in these affairs was glossed over, and the Samoans gained a reputation for being brutish and violent. In the 1820s and 1830s, missionaries arrived in Samoa and Tonga. John Williams, their leader, received permission from the Samoan chief to leave missionaries in Samoa; two years later, a Christian faith flourished in Samoa. The highest chief agreed with the missionaries that he would avail himself of their educational opportunities. Soon thereafter, a version of the Bible was produced in Samoan.

These religious influences had an almost immediate impact and caused profound changes in Samoan culture. Samoans forfeited their religious beliefs and changed their cultural practices in significant ways; notably, warfare became frowned upon by Samoans, as did polygamy, abortion, and existing traditional clothing norms. In the 1830s, the United States began to explore the Samoan archipelago. Samoan and American co-involvement was established and quickly deepened with this contact. The geopolitical influence of Samoa was boosted by its proximity to fertile whaling grounds and the top-notch harbor of Pago Pago.

Tensions rose between the original colonists (from New Zealand), the new American arrivals, and the Germans who also sought control of the area. Eventually, these conflicts led to the division of the islands into east and west, as they are today. Samoan immigration to the United States, Australia, and New Zealand increased during the 1950s. Samoan students, soldiers, and seminarians fostered the relocations and offered support to later Samoan immigrants.

Samoan American Culture

Samoan Americans served as soldiers for the United States during the Korean conflict and the Vietnam War; their bravery and sacrifice were notable. Samoan Americans began to excel in sports and made a number of major contributions on the field. Samoans such as Governors Peter Coleman and A. P. Lutali proved influential in the formation of U.S. Pacific Rim policy. However, large numbers of Samoan American immigrants found work only as unskilled laborers and used government benefits. Samoan Americans experience prejudice and racism. This is heightened by a lack of proficiency with English that many Samoan Americans face.

Traditional Samoan diets consist of rice or taro, fresh fish, fruit, and sometimes meat. In recent years, even the diet on Samoa has become Westernized. This adoption of a high-fat diet, along with an often sedentary lifestyle, is behind the high incidence of obesity, cardiovascular illness and diabetes among Samoan Americans. Traditional Samoan healing practices include the use of local herbs by healing professionals. Samoan traditionalist healers practice in Samoan American communities. In general, Samoans and Samoan Americans accept and believe in Western medicine, but traditional healers are also still used, primarily to deal with diseases that are tied to social problems.

In Samoa, full-body tattoos applied by traditional means are common. This painful process is thought to help men appreciate the pain of childbirth. This is another example of the Samoan perception of a connectedness between physical ailments and experiences, and spiritual realities. Samoan Americans celebrate standard American holidays, as do Samoans. Christmas and Easter tend to be of the most importance in Samoan American communities. Samoans also celebrate

“White Sunday” on the second Sunday in October. On this holiday, childhood is celebrated by the entire community, and this is the one day on which children will be served first at the table, rather than their elders. Samoan Americans continue to celebrate White Sunday in their U.S. communities.

The Samoan language is a sort of Polynesian dialect. The language has three levels of formality for different uses; Common Samoan is used for everyday matters, Respect Samoan is used in more formal communication between people of different social ranks, and Rhetorical Samoan is the source of literature and intellectual communication. Most Samoan Americans speak some Samoan. Samoan Americans continue to maintain traditional Samoan family values in the United States. All members of the community are expected to honor, serve, and support their extended families, particularly their elders. For Samoan Americans, family pride is cultural pride, and breaking either familial or cultural rules can bring shame to the entire family.

These strong feelings of duty toward family members often result in Samoan Americans sending large portions of their earnings home to Samoa. These foreign earnings make up a large portion of the Samoan economy, particularly for Western Samoa. As Samoan Americans slowly assimilate, however, there is concern in Samoa about this support continuing. Education is valued in Samoa and by Samoan Americans. Many seek education in the United States and New Zealand. Common Samoan American majors at college include the social sciences and education.

Current Issues

Perhaps the best-known Samoan American today is Dwayne Douglas Johnson, better known as “The Rock.” Johnson was a college football player and went on to become one of the most successful professional wrestlers of all time. The Rock, in more recent years, has become an actor with a large following. Al Noga is a professional football player and has played for the Minnesota Vikings and the Washington Redskins. Mavis Rivers was a noted jazz vocalist in the United States, who entertained troops as a singer when she was a girl and went on to record albums for Capitol Records and Reprise.

Because “Pacific Islander” has become a U.S. census category, there is hope for greater attention to and funding for uniquely Samoan American problems, such as health issues. Samoan Americans are becoming increasingly assimilated into American life, and this leaves the economic future of especially Western Samoa in question. Historically, when Samoan Americans resisted assimilation, they remained closely tied to the island. They would often work in the continental United States to save up money, then return home or send money back for family. However, as Samoan Americans assimilate more, they bring their families with them to the mainland and are much less likely to return home. This results in a “brain drain” and lowered foreign investment and other funds in Western Samoa.

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See Also: Hawai‘ians (Native); Pacific Islander Americans; Pacific Islander Categorization (Essay).

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San Jacinto, Battle of

Following Mexican independence in 1821, the new government sought means of boosting the national economy. One region that appeared ripe for agricultural expansion was the state of Coahuila y Tejas, which, though rich in land, remained quite small in population. To increase the populace and promote economic activity, Mexico sought to attract Americans to the area, requiring that they become Mexican citizens and abide by Mexican law. Under these provisions, Stephen F. Austin established a colony of about 300 Americans along the Brazos River in January 1823. Over time, more immigrants arrived, attracted by

free or very inexpensive land. A survey conducted by Colonel Juan Almonte in 1834 estimated the population of Texas at about 36,000, including 15,000 Indians, 15,400 Texians (Anglo Americans), 3,600 Tejanos, and 2,000 people of African heritage. The last of these groups proved to be a growing problem because Mexican law prohibited slavery, but immigrant owners of enslaved people insisted on bringing these people with them.

History

In 1835, President Antonio López de Santa Anna Pérez de Lebrón, a veteran of the Mexican War of Independence, abolished the Constitution of 1824, disbanded the congress, and assumed dictatorial powers. Anglo settlers generally opposed this move, as did a number of the Tejanos. Hostilities broke out in October 1835 when rebels captured the Mexican positions at La Bahía and San Antonio de Béxar. The rebels forced Mexican troops out of the state, declared their independence, and proceeded to form a provisional government. As news of the outbreak spread, American volunteers began to arrive, mostly from the south, to fight for Texas independence with the long-term motive of seeing it enter the Union as a new state where slavery would be legal.

Responding to the rebellion, in early 1836 Santa Anna ordered some 6,100 troops with 20 artillery pieces to subjugate the province, divided into two columns. General José Urrea led one force north through the coastal region, while Santa Anna took command of the other column aimed at restoring Mexican authority in San Antonio de Béxar and the surrounding area. On March 6, following a 13-day siege, Santa Anna ordered an assault that overran the Alamo, offering no quarter to the defenders and executing a few who managed to survive the initial attack. Later that same month, Urrea accepted the surrender of more than 350 rebels at Goliad, after which the unarmed prisoners were slaughtered.

While Mexican forces pacified the regions around Goliad and San Antonio, politicians in Washington-on-the-Brazos debated the future of Texas, and not a few launched critical attacks on General Sam Houston, whose ill-trained army retreated eastward. Although ordered to fight, Houston knew his command would be no match for Santa Anna’s army. Overconfident in the face

of Houston's continuing retreat, the Mexican commander split his wing of the army into three main columns in an attempt to trap the Texans. Houston retreated to a position near the San Jacinto River, where skirmishes with Mexican patrols began on April 20. Santa Anna went into camp with some 1,300 men and prepared to rest his troops before continuing the pursuit.

Sensing an opportunity to catch Santa Anna by surprise before his army reunited, Houston ordered a late afternoon assault on April 21, even though his army of 910 was outnumbered. Santa Anna failed to post sufficient pickets and scouts, allowing his force to be surprised. His army attempted to form, but the swift attack overwhelmed the unprepared soldiers within a few minutes, with most sources agreeing that the battle lasted less than a half hour. Houston's troops suffered from nine killed and 30 wounded, while Santa Anna's force was mauled with some 630 killed and 730 captured, of whom 208 were wounded.

Santa Anna was captured attempting to escape dressed as a common soldier. As a condition of his release, he was forced to sign an agreement to withdraw Mexican forces from Texas and support the cause of Texas independence once back in Mexico. Although the Mexican government disavowed the agreement and continued to claim Texas, it did nothing further to subdue the wayward state. Several nations recognized Texas as independent; however, Texans who favored admission to the United States were disappointed because of northern opposition to the admission of another slave state. As a result, Texas existed as an independent republic for eight years until its admission to the Union in 1845 sparked the Mexican-American War.

Conclusion

The Battle of San Jacinto, which led to Texan independence, led ultimately to the inclusion in the United States of a large area that brought with it significant Spanish and Mexican culture, the addition of new cuisine, and additions to American English of such words as adobe, plaza, patio, lariat (*la reata*), ranch (*rancho*), empresario, villa, and loco. The popular song "The Yellow Rose of Texas" is said to have been originally written about a mulatto woman named Emily Morgan who was rumored to have distracted Santa Anna's

attention in the hours leading up to the surprise assault. In commemoration of the engagement, in April each year, a San Jacinto Day Festival is held at the San Jacinto Battleground State Historic Site, and another celebration is held in San Antonio.

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See Also: Alamo, Battle of the; Mexican-American War; Tejanos.

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San Pascual, Battle of

The Battle of San Pascual was fought near the present-day city of Escondido on December 6, 1846, during the Mexican-American War. General Stephen Watts Kearny led the U.S. forces against a group of Californios under the command of General Andres Pico. Californios were Mexican residents of California, rebelling against U.S. attempts to control the territory. It is one of the bloodiest and most well known of the California battles, and debates over the outcome have continued into the present. Today, the site is home to the San Pascual Battlefield State Historic Park.

President James Polk sent the U.S. Army, 1st U.S. Dragoons, under Kearny, also known as the Army of the West, out of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to march to California. Kearny had arrived in California after first occupying Santa Fe and claiming New Mexico for the United States, declaring himself military governor on August 18. Kearny's forces comprised both civilians and soldiers, including dragoons, engineers, and renowned western guides Antoine Robidoux and Jean Charbonneau. Their instructions were

to militarily take control of California from its Hispanic occupants, the Californios, claim it for the United States, and establish a civilian government, as had been done in New Mexico.

Kearny's men left New Mexico for San Diego on September 25. On October 6, western guide Kit Carson met Kearny en route and delivered word that Commodore Robert Stockton and Colonel John Frémont had gained control of California for the United States. Kearny continued toward San Diego but ordered most of his men to return to Santa Fe. Kearny would later learn that a Californio rebellion in southern California had forced the Americans to retreat to San Diego. He sent word of his arrival in California ahead to Stockton.

Stockton sent Kearny a small volunteer escort under Captain Archibald Gillespie and informed Kearny of a nearby force of approximately 150 Californios under General Andres Pico. Kearny decided to reconnoiter Pico's camp in preparation for an attack. Lieutenant Thomas Hammond led the reconnoitering group, which conflicting reports varied at three, six, or 11 dragoons. Californio deserter Rafael Machado led the party to a nearby Indian camp, whose members shared knowledge of Pico's position. The noise made by Hammond's men, however, alerted Pico's men to the Americans' presence.

The Attack

Kearny decided to launch an immediate attack on Pico's Californio forces, despite the late midnight hour, cold temperature, and exhaustion of both men and mounts. Kearny's forces became stretched out as they crossed a ridge between Santa Maria and San Pascual, as their mounts traveled at varying rates. Fighting broke out when a group of Kearny's forces prematurely charged the Californios, even though the main body of American forces was a considerable distance away. After a skirmish and Californio retreat, a group of Americans pursued and charged the Californios. The Americans were surrounded, and several officers were killed. Kearny arrived but was quickly wounded. The Californios then withdrew from the battlefield.

The battle lasted less than an hour but resulted in heavy casualties. American casualty estimates ranged from 17 to 21 dead and from 18 to over 30 wounded, including General Kearny Captains

Warner, Gillespie, and Gibson and Antoine Robidoux. General Pico reported one casualty and 12 wounded, but scholars believe the figure to be higher. The San Pascual Battlefield State Historic Park marks the site, which hosts an annual re-enactment as well as monthly living history activities.

After the Battle of San Pascual, the two sides met in other minor skirmishes as the American forces broke camp and sought to make their way to San Diego. Kearny's men were forced to take defensive positions at several points. Stockton sent a relief force under Lieutenant Gray out of San Diego, while Kearny held Mule Hill until the relief arrived on December 11. Kearny and his remaining men reached San Diego the following day. Kearny's southwestern campaign earned him a promotion for his performance, but later scholars felt that the Battle of San Pascual was both costly to the U.S. forces and unnecessary. The Mexican-American War ended in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceding large tracts of Mexican land to the United States.

Both leaders claimed victory in the engagement. Kearny and his supporters claimed victory because he held the battlefield and, later, Mule Hill. Pico and his men, however, had proven better equipped and more effective. General Kearny, like many of his soldiers, had felt a cultural and military superiority over their Hispanic Californio opponents. Scholars have since criticized Kearny for his underestimation and lack of knowledge of the enemy combatants and their abilities, as well as his discounting of the poor quality of the American mounts, cold temperature, and weak condition of his men after their lengthy march.

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See Also: Californios; Mexican Revolution; Mexican-American War.

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Sanctuary Movement

Born in the early 1980s, the Sanctuary Movement was a grassroots solidarity movement that, through immediate help in the form of transport, shelter, or legal assistance, responded to the emergency situation of Central American refugees in the United States (mainly Salvadorans and Guatemalans). It grew out of a religious commitment to pursue social justice and solidarity; at the same time, it was protesting U.S. foreign policy toward the region. The movement is often regarded as one of the most important acts of civil disobedience in the United States since the 1960s.

Historical Background

The civil wars in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador (1974–96) brought an unprecedented scale of violence that resulted in the deaths of over 250,000 people, including Archbishop of El Salvador Oscar Romero, assassinated in 1980. Central American conflicts forced hundreds of thousands of people to leave their homes in search of refuge either in other parts of their countries or abroad. It is estimated that over 2 million settled in Mexico, Canada, and the United States, mostly as unauthorized immigrants.

Although the U.S. Refugee Act of 1980 gave all those fearing persecution in their home country a right to apply for asylum, the applicants from “enemy” communist/socialist countries were favored, while those fleeing right-wing U.S.-supported regimes were usually denied asylum. Categorized as “economic immigrants,” they were, if apprehended, liable for deportation. Salvadorans and Guatemalans were thus discriminated against, as opposed to Nicaraguans, which was reflected in the asylum application approval rates.

The Development of the Movement

The Sanctuary Movement started as a mostly local interfaith initiative. It was born in Tucson, Arizona, thanks to several people of different religious denominations (such as Quaker Jim

Corbett, Catholic Frather Ricardo Elford, and Presbyterian Reverend John Fife), with the help of local immigration-rights group the Manzo Area Council and the Tucson Ecumenical Council.

Embracing the Judeo-Christian tradition and the ancient practice of sanctuary, as well as following the examples of similar initiatives in the past (such as the 19th-century Underground Railroad and the sanctuary given to those escaping the draft during the Vietnam War), the movement soon expanded into a nationwide network. Sanctuary Movement activists justified their actions as the free exercise of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution but also claimed that the U.S. government was violating national as well as international law.

One of the first activists was Jim Corbett, a Quaker rancher from Tucson, who in the summer of 1981, moved by the personal experience of a friend, started his struggle to bail out as many Salvadorans as possible from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) detention centers, initially accommodating them in his house. Deeply disturbed by the way the administration handled Salvadorans, which often violated their rights, he soon established a network of people willing to assist the immigrants and help them cross the U.S.-Mexico border.

The first church to officially offer sanctuary to undocumented immigrants was Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson. Reverend John Fife initially obtained the consent of the congregation’s elders to shelter the refugees in the church building, and then the church approved the idea of publicly declaring sanctuary. On March 24, 1982—the second anniversary of Archbishop Romero’s death—Fife publically opened the church for the immigrants and hung out two banners in Spanish (“This is the Sanctuary of God for the Oppressed of Central America” and “INS: Don’t profane the sanctuary”). The event, which can be considered the formal beginning of the movement, gained much media interest. Several other churches also agreed to provide sanctuary.

The movement grew steadily during the following years to include about 70,000 people in 34 states. It took the form of a loose network of faith-based communities, human rights activists, and organizations. In total, about 500 churches

and congregations participated (Quakers, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Mennonites, Jews, and so on). Some congregations, such as Roman Catholics, were, however, divided on the issue. At least one state (New Mexico) and over 20 cities also symbolically declared sanctuary. Sanctuary workers also operated in Canada and Mexico.

The movement was not homogeneous, and different groups developed various strategies. The Arizona network focused on humanitarian assistance, whereas the Chicago Religious Task Force, which had helped establish the network of sanctuaries, targeted the U.S. policy by attracting public attention to the refugee problem through public appearances of refugees, marches, demonstrations, and caravans. The Arizona and Chicago groups also disagreed on which groups to assist and whether sanctuary was civil disobedience or civil initiative.

As it acted in violation of law, the movement soon came under surveillance. In one case, the undercover Operation Sojourner (1985) led to the indictment of 16 activists (including Corbett and Fife) for conspiracy and smuggling illegal immigrants. Eleven of them faced trial; eight, including Fife, were found guilty and put on probation.

The movement gained national and international attention and contributed to the changing of the refugees' legal status. The *American Baptist Churches v. Thornburgh* lawsuit, filed in 1985, charged that Salvadorans and Guatemalans were discriminated against in the asylum process. The settlement in 1990 dictated the reopening of the rejected asylum applications by these nationals and encouraged others to apply. Earlier in 1990, thanks to the struggles of various immigrants' rights groups, eligible Salvadorans were granted temporary protected status. By 1993, the movement gradually came to an end; however, the struggle for the legalization of Salvadorans continued.

The New Sanctuary Movement

Recently, a new sanctuary movement has developed across the United States. As in the 1980s, it is a network of individuals, congregations, and organizations that stand against family separations through deportations.

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See Also: Guatemalan Americans; Nicaraguan Americans; Refugees; Salvadoran Americans.

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Sand Creek Massacre

The Sand Creek Massacre occurred on November 29, 1864, when members of the Colorado militia attacked a friendly Cheyenne and Arapaho encampment, killing over 130 people, mostly women and children. It is remembered as one of the worst atrocities of the Indian Wars.

Background to the Massacre

In 1851, the United States, the Cheyenne, and the Arapaho (along with several other Indian nations) signed the Fort Laramie Treaty, which recognized the claims of the various signatory Indian nations to a vast territory in what is now the Southern Plains. However, the discovery of mineral wealth in the conceded territory, as well as the increased demand for agricultural land by American citizens and newly arrived European immigrants, put an unbearable strain upon the treaty. In response, several Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs agreed to sign the Treaty of Fort Wise in 1861, which greatly reduced their claims to the territory conceded in the earlier treaty. Not all of their fellow Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs approved of the new treaty, and the decentralized nature of Native American political structures meant that these chiefs did not feel bound to honor the 1861 agreement. Thus, although some

Cheyenne and Arapaho bands on the Southern Plains accepted the new limited territory spelled out by the Treaty of Fort Wise, not all did so.

As flocks of settlers and gold rush participants flooded the Southern Plains, groups of Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors who did not hold to the Treaty of Fort Wise attacked in retaliation. U.S. military forces responded, and a series of skirmishes broke out throughout the region. Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors, like most Native American warriors, avoided direct, large-scale confrontations, preferring hit-and-run raids before disappearing back into the surrounding landscape they knew so well. The greater difficulty, however, was that it was incredibly difficult, if not impossible, to determine which bands of Indian warriors were friendly and which were not. In order to resolve this issue, military officials instructed friendly bands to camp near military forts in order to identify themselves as friendly and avoid military reprisals.

The Massacre

Black Kettle, one of the signers of the Treaty of Fort Wise, decided to move his band of Cheyenne and accompanying Arapaho closer to nearby Fort Lyon in a gesture of peace and to reaffirm his people's friendly status. His people set up camp near the Sand Creek riverbed. He flew an American flag in the midst of his camp, an action military officials had assured him would mean he would not be attacked. With no obvious threat to the camp at hand, most of the men headed out to hunt nearby buffalo. Meanwhile, Colonel John M. Chivington and 700 members of the Colorado militia set out from Fort Lyon. Chivington was under immense pressure from the governor of Colorado to utilize his militia forces before their terms ended at the end of the year. So far, Chivington and his men had seen little to no action in the Indian Wars, and they probably were greatly frustrated by that fact. Chivington soon came across the Sand Creek encampment and decided to attack, despite the obvious signs that the encampment was friendly. After purportedly drinking heavily the night of November 28, Chivington's men attacked early the next morning.

The Aftermath and Legacy of the Massacre

The attack was devastating. Some survivors managed to hide in holes dug in the sandy riverbank,

but over 130 Indians were killed, mainly women and children. Chivington's men scalped and mutilated most of the dead, taking various body parts as war trophies and displaying them for a time back in Denver. Several skulls were sent to the Smithsonian Institution for further study and were not returned to their home communities until the late 20th century.

Chivington enjoyed a temporary hero's status, but his reputation soon plummeted during congressional investigations into the massacre. He escaped formal punishment from the military only by resigning his commission. Black Kettle continued to try to seek peace, only to experience continual disappointment because of the duplicity of government and military officials, as well as the anger and retaliation of his fellow Cheyenne. Only a year after signing yet a third treaty with the United States that guaranteed peace for his people (the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867), Black Kettle and his wife were shot in the back and killed while fleeing an attack on their village led by George C. Custer.

The Sand Creek Massacre remains a shocking example of the tragedy and inhumanity of the United States' treatment of indigenous peoples. Today, the site of the massacre is a National Historic Landmark.

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See Also: Arapaho; Cherokee; Native Americans.

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Sanford and Son

Though not the first television program to feature African American family interactions, *Sanford*

and Son marked the beginning of an era in television history that combined a newfound cultural diversity with entertainment that crossed racial and ethnic boundaries. Along with *The Jeffersons* and *Good Times*, *Sanford and Son* brought a slice of African American life into American homes in the 1970s, all the while raising the bar for high-quality television entertainment. A weekly program focusing on an aging man and his son, *Sanford and Son* was often provocative, sometimes poignant, and always funny.

A Shift in the Landscape

The civil rights movement that jolted the nation in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in very different, and much more diverse, prime-time television fare. No longer would the small screen be solely dominated by all-white casts, as seen in such programs as *Leave It to Beaver*, *The Donna Reed Show*, and *My Three Sons*. Just as Sidney Poitier had changed the face of cinema during the 1960s, it was time for multiculturalism to emerge in American television programming. While patriarch George Jefferson of *The Jeffersons* would strut and vaunt his nouveau riche lifestyle, the grittier side of life for many African American families had yet to be portrayed properly in situation comedy format. (*Good Times* would accomplish this, but not for another two years after the debut of *Sanford and Son*.) Finally, in 1972, with a bold idea and a legend in the starring role, NBC producer Norman Lear (of *All in the Family* fame) brought *Sanford and Son* into Americans' homes.

"Family" Redefined

Although Lear made the show possible, few would disagree that the star and selling point of *Sanford and Son* was the incomparable and irrepressible Redd Foxx. Foxx, already a successful comedian in the predominantly African American comedy clubs along the so-called Chitlin' Circuit, brought unmatched charisma and comedic timing to *Sanford and Son*'s protagonist, Fred G. Sanford (the character was known for his hilarious habit of insisting on including the "G." each and every time his name was brought up). At 65 years of age, the character was a widower and junk dealer living with his son, Lamont (played by Demond Wilson) in a poor section of Los Angeles. Painting a realistic picture of ghetto life, the show featured

a father-and-son family that bickered and bantered but undeniably cared about each other. The extended family included such memorable characters as Aunt Esther, Grady, Bubba, and Rollo, to name a few. While these were not all blood relatives, they nonetheless redefined the meaning of the term *family* in a way that had not been seen on American television before.

A New Level of Diversity

Just as groundbreaking as *Sanford and Son*'s realistic depiction of struggling African American life was its cast's unprecedented ethnic diversity. One example of this was Noriyuki "Pat" Morita (later of *Happy Days* and *Karate Kid* fame), who played Lamont's Japanese American friend; another was Gregory Sierra, who played Fred's Puerto Rican next-door neighbor. Although the irascible Fred was sometimes short-tempered with these characters, the show must be credited for its unflinching portrayal of intercultural relations, which had their ups and downs on *Sanford and Son* just as they did in real life.

Irrespective of Fred's personality shortcomings, *Sanford and Son* was among the first network sitcoms to reflect the nation's growing diversity. Even in the decades since the 1970s, few television programs have represented as many races and cultures as *Sanford and Son*. Consider the fact that according to 2010 U.S. Census data, from 2000 to 2010 there was a 12.3 percent increase in the percentage of the total U.S. population that was black or African American, a 43 percent increase in the portion of the population that was Hispanic or Latino, and a 43.3 percent increase in the percentage of the population that was Asian. Although subsequent sitcoms such as *The Cosby Show*, *Diff'rent Strokes*, and *Benson* have shown varying degrees of diversity, it is *Sanford and Son* that set the stage for true multiculturalism within the sitcom format.

A Lasting Impression

Although *Sanford and Son*'s run ended in 1977, its influence on the sitcom genre and on American intercultural relations has not diminished. Verbal barbs aside, Fred and the other characters populating the show were generally portrayed as decent, family-oriented people with struggles and emotions that were decidedly human. While

millions watched and enjoyed *Sanford and Son*, the program had the effect of holding a mirror to the viewers: Though certain characters might have been black or white or Latino or Asian, they were all just like the viewers. They were all Americans, and they represented a broad mix of races, cultures, and backgrounds. Thankfully, *Sanford and Son* was able to bring Americans together through dialogue, truth, and laughter. No doubt about it: Fred G. Sanford would have been proud.

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See Also: African Americans; *All in the Family*; *Cosby Show* *The*; Ethnicity; Ghetto; Television.

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Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez (1978)

The 1978 *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* Supreme Court case simultaneously reaffirmed

multicultural identities for tribal nations and disaffirmed multicultural identities for members of those nations. This case is about cultural identity, equal protection under the law, and dualism for Native Americans. The intersections of recognition, redistribution, and identity politics apparent in *Martinez* demonstrate the complexities of defining and redefining tribal groups. Examined in conjunction with 2010 U.S. Census data, *Martinez* illuminates the contradictions between these intersections of American multiculturalism.

Adjudicating or Restricting Rights

This case challenged the Santa Clara Pueblo Council's right to pass an ordinance defining who can be Santa Claran. Ms. Julia Martinez and her daughter Audrey claimed the ordinance disenfranchised them in violation of civil rights guaranteed in Title I of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 (ICRA). The ordinance outlined four membership rules to determine who can become a Santa Claran: all children born of Santa Claran marriages, children of marriages between male members and nonmembers, not children of marriages between female members and nonmembers, and nobody naturalized as a Santa Claran. Ms. Martinez married outside the Santa Clara Pueblo, and her children were denied Santa Claran membership in accordance with these rules. The Martinezes challenged the ordinance, with specific regard to gender, claiming discrimination on the basis of sex and ancestry.

The case was first heard by the district court, where it was determined to be the appropriate forum or jurisdiction for the case. It found in favor of the Santa Clara Pueblo. The court of appeals heard the case next, agreeing on jurisdiction but disagreeing on the result, finding in favor of Martinez. Ultimately, the case went to the Supreme Court on November 29, 1977, and was decided on May 15, 1978. The Supreme Court disagreed with both lower courts regarding jurisdiction and did not judge the case.

The court found dual objectives in the ICRA, with provisions for strengthening both the position of tribal members and tribal self-determination. It determined it was not appropriate to judge the case because it would be interfering with a sovereign nation's right to self-government.

It concluded that Congress only provided for habeas corpus relief, in ICRA, not civil relief so tribal courts were the appropriate forums for judging disputes affecting personal and property interests; therefore, the Santa Clara Pueblo and only the Santa Clara Pueblo should decide who can be a member and who cannot. Noteworthy in the only dissenting opinion is the fact that the Pueblo court and lawmaking body are one and the same, so the Martinezes were left with no authority from which to make appeal.

Recognition and Redistribution

Almost 100 years before the *Martinez* case, the Indian General Allotment Act of 1887, or the Dawes Act, demonstrated the gendered preference for tribal male property owners by allowing males larger land allotments. Without membership, the Martinez children were denied the ability to represent their tribe or to enjoy allotments of property granted by the U.S. government. Permission to be a Santa Claran allows not only for recognition of cultural identity by the tribe but also for redistribution of inheritable wealth.

Subsequent acts have been passed, authorizing the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to determine Native American identity. To this day, the BIA requires Native Americans to submit their blood for testing in preparation of Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood forms. Native American cultural identity must be certified by blood and membership in a federally recognized tribe. These conflicting paradigms further illuminate the disenfranchisement of the Martinez children. Their blood is Pueblo, but they are not. At the time that *Martinez* was decided, there were 287 recognized tribal governments, including the Santa Clara Pueblo; in 2012, there were 566. Cultural identity remains a complex dualism for Native Americans, whether recognized as tribal members or not.

Identity Politics

Additional identity discrepancies are apparent in the 2010 U.S. Census. Beginning in 2000, individuals were permitted to self-identify with more than one race. From 2000 to 2010, persons identifying as only American Indian and Alaska Native grew by more than 18 percent. However, persons identifying as either only American Indian and

Alaskan Native or a combination of races grew by 27 percent. In 1978, the Santa Clara Pueblo included 1,200 members living on the reservation and 150 members living elsewhere. In 2010, 49,695 persons identified as only Pueblo and 62,540 people identified as part Pueblo.

The 2010 Census grouping for Pueblo includes Santa Clara and 15 other Pueblo tribes; in 2000, it included the Hopi as well. People self-identify when surveyed for the census, so no blood testing or proof of membership is needed. In contrast to the restriction on identity that *Martinez* failed to judge, one can find self-identified multicultural Pueblo living throughout the United States.

Trajectories for American Multiculturalism

Martinez discusses cultural identity, equal protection, and dualism for Native Americans, revealing possible future trajectories for American multiculturalism. Conceptual frameworks of recognition, redistribution, and identity politics demonstrate the complexities of defining tribal membership. If these frameworks are in concert, multiculturalism is realized, but if dual frameworks coexist for tribal identity and self-identity, multiculturalism is realized only as an answer to a survey question, without fulfillment of equality for all cultures. Finally, 34 years after *Martinez*, in 2012, the Santa Clara Pueblo voted to allow tribal membership to the children of Pueblo women and nonmembers. The new rules will be determined by the Tribal Council. In the future, there will be more Santa Clarans in America.

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See Also: All Indian Pueblo Council; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Dawes Act (1887); Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Tribal Enrollment.

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Santería

Santería is a syncretized Afro-Latino religion that blends elements of Roman Catholicism with traditional elements of various West African faiths. The name *Santería* loosely translates into Spanish as "the way of the saints." *Santería* is confined largely to Latin American societies that are home to sizable populations who have descended from slaves brought to the Spanish-speaking empire from the 16th through the 18th centuries, such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela. As a result of increased immigration from these regions, the number of *Santería* adherents in the United States has grown considerably over the past 40 years. An initiate undergoing the process of conversion to *Santería* is known as an *iyawó* or *yaguó*. The highest-ranking priests within *Santería* are known as *babalawos*, a position that is reserved exclusively for males. *Santería* is one of several syncretic religious practices stemming from the original Yoruba worship of *orishas* (spirits) and other West African beliefs to have emerged within the context of the transatlantic slave trade in the Americas; others include *candomblé*, *shango*, and *vodou* (voodoo). In a similar vein to Latin being the official language of the Roman Catholic Church, the Yoruban dialect *Lucumi* is the language used in *Santería* rituals.

Historical Overview and Theology

As the conquistadors exerted their colonial influence throughout the Spanish-speaking empire in the 16th and 17th centuries, plantation-based industries harvesting tobacco, sugarcane, cotton, and other goods became mainstays of the colonial economies. These labor-intensive industries resulted in the importation of large numbers of enslaved Africans as workers to meet production demands. The vast majority of slaves taken to the Spanish colonies were ethnic Yorubans from

present-day Nigeria and Benin; more than 1 million Africans were taken to Cuba alone between 1500 and 1800. Over the course of colonial history, the Spanish clergy was generally more tolerating of the animist and polytheistic beliefs of African and indigenous peoples than their Protestant counterparts in North America, thus permitting a hybridization of traditional West African and Roman Catholic religiosity.

Santería does not feature a centralized authority (such as the Vatican) or an official written canon or dogma; as such, *Santería* practices are largely passed down orally and specific practices and beliefs vary geographically. However, basic *Santería* theology consists of a belief in one supreme deity (named *Olodumare*) who communicates to humans through a variety of *orishas*, who are akin to Catholic saints. More than 400 *orishas* exist within *Santería*. In order to receive favors or protection from evils, *Santería* worshippers sacrifice the blood of animals as offerings to various *orishas*. These sacrificial rituals (known as *obé*) are accompanied by ceremonial dancing and drumming.

Francisco "Pancho" Mora, the first-known Cuban *santero* (a low-ranking *Santería* priest) to settle in the United States, arrived in New York City in 1946. However, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that *Santería* began to enter the United States in significant numbers with the arrival of various waves of refugees from Cuba following Fidel Castro's Communist takeover. More than 450,000 Cubans fled to the United States between 1959 and 1975.

The Mariel boatlift of 1980 resulted in approximately 125,000 additional Cuban refugees, many of whom were of Afro-Cuban descent and less affluent than their fellow countrymen who entered during the prior two decades, settling primarily in southern Florida during the spring and summer of that year. Although official statistics on the religious affiliations of these newcomers do not exist, it is generally acknowledged that this influx contained a large portion of persons who practiced *Santería*.

Today, *Santería* is commonly practiced within Afro-Latino communities in Miami, New York City, and Los Angeles. In such communities, *botánicas* (akin to spiritual healing shops) selling religious statues, candles, oils, herbs and other

medicines, and other religious objects important within Santería have become commonplace. However, it is nearly impossible to determine the number of Santería worshippers in the United States today because the Census Bureau and the office of Citizenship and Immigration Services (CIS) do not ask individuals their religious identification.

Also, the stigma against Santería within the larger society may dissuade practitioners from openly disclosing their Santería beliefs. Nevertheless, the *Los Angeles Times* estimated the number of followers of Santería in the United States to range from 1 million to 5 million in 2005.

Throughout the years, Santería has entered both Latino and mainstream Anglo pop culture via references in music, television, and movies. During various episodes of *I Love Lucy*, the quintessential American sitcom of the 1950s, the character of Ricky Ricardo (portrayed by Cuban actor Desi Arnaz) played a drum while performing the Latin ballad “Babalú,” a reference to the orisha Babalú-ayé. Arnaz’s social impact cannot be overstated, as National Public Radio has declared that “When *I Love Lucy* appeared in 1951, mainstream America knew very little about Latino culture. Ricky Ricardo changed all that; his heavily accented English—and his rapid-fire Spanish—were as new to some parts of the country as TV itself.” Additionally, Latin salsa and mambo stars such as Tito Puente, Celia Cruz, Eddie Palmieri, and La India have incorporated Santería music into their own works.

Conflict and Controversy

Santería remains a mysterious religion to most Americans and is often portrayed as an “evil,” “dangerous,” or “satanic cult” practice in television and film. Santería’s incorporation of animal sacrifice as part of its rituals has led to fierce opposition among animal rights activists and confrontations with law enforcement in various communities across the nation.

In one high-profile case (*Lukumi Babalú Ayé, Inc. v. City of Hialeah*), the local government of Hialeah, Florida, responded to the opening of the Church of Lukumi Babalú Ayé in 1987 by implementing a series of ordinances that prohibited the killing of animals. In June 1993, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the City of Hialeah’s

ordinances violated the First Amendment’s constitutional guarantee of religious freedom and that the state cannot prohibit the sacrifice of animals as part of religiously mandated rituals.

In early January 2013, the decapitated bodies of a goat and three chickens washed up on the shore of South Beach (Miami) after being dumped into Biscayne Bay. Although not conclusively linked specifically to either Santería or vodou, the incident generated headlines throughout the nation and provoked outrage among opponents of both of these Afro-Caribbean religions. This controversy will likely intensify in the coming years as the number of santeros will probably increase as a result of immigration from the Caribbean, a desire among U.S.-born citizens of Caribbean heritage to reclaim their cultural roots, and as part of the “new age” religious movement among mainstream, middle-class whites who adopt the spirituality of alternative religious practices within the United States.

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See Also: Cuban American National Foundation; Cuban Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Saturday Night Fever

Saturday Night Fever, considered one of the best movies of its time and one of the favorite movies of film critics Gene Siskel and Pauline Kael, was a 1977 story about the disco subculture in Brooklyn. Directed by John Badham, who would go on to popularize hacking with 1983’s *WarGames*, the film starred John Travolta and cemented his

fame. The soundtrack, featuring the Bee Gees and the signature song “Stayin’ Alive,” is one of the best-selling movie soundtracks of all time. The single was used to help promote the film before its release, and the popularity of both movie and soundtrack solidified the relationship between popular music and movies—pioneered by *The Graduate*—and the economic value of cross-media marketing.

The Multicultural Disco Scene

Disco was a multicultural phenomenon. The music drew from funk and soul styles, Latin salsa music, and the AM rock popular in the suburbs, for an audience that was primarily black, Latino, or gay. The signature syncopated electric bass line was featured prominently alongside soaring (and often reverberated) vocals and the steady “four on the floor” bass drum beat. The first article about disco music and disco clubs appeared in the September 1973 issue of *Rolling Stone*, and WPIX-FM in New York City aired the first disco radio show the following year. In contrast with rock music and the protest music popular with the counterculture movement, disco music was meant for dancing.

British journalist Nik Cohn was assigned to cover the New York disco scene—the capital of the scene, along with Philadelphia—by *New York Magazine* in 1976, the result of which was the article “Tribal Rites of the New Saturday Night.” The story was published as fact, and the rights were bought almost immediately, forming the basis of *Saturday Night Fever*.

Years later, Cohn admitted that the story was fabricated; he knew little about disco and less about the American working class that he covered in the story, and had in fact based the characters on his British friends from the 1960s. Knowing that the disco subculture was fashion-conscious, he drew on his experiences in the Mod subculture more than a decade earlier and based his story on a series of educated guesses.

The film draws a contrast between the two lives of Tony Manero (played by Travolta), an Italian American in a working-class family. In the disco, Tony reigns supreme. He has friends, he is admired and pursued by women, and he experiences the pleasure of being excellent at what he does best—dancing. At home, however, he is the black sheep in his family compared to his brother,

a priest, which is a circumstance that hardly changes even after his brother quits the priesthood. He deals with parents who respect neither him nor each other and endures the drudgery of a dead-end job that seems unlikely to provide him with the means to move out of Brooklyn and into the suburbs, as he dreams.

Sexual and Racial Tensions

The movie also explores the sexual and racial tensions of Brooklyn in the late 1970s. Tony’s popularity in the club gives him access to women, and the popularity of his “tribe” leads to them feeling entitled. Tony attempts to rape his dance competition partner and soon after witnesses a gang rape by his friends. Another friend deals with the pregnancy of his devout Catholic girlfriend and the prospect of a shotgun wedding.

Racial tensions play a major role in the plot. At the time, Brooklyn was undergoing a seismic shift in demographics, as traditionally Jewish and Italian neighborhoods became more heavily black and Hispanic and the borough attracted more recent immigrants. Early in the movie, one of Tony’s friends is hospitalized in an attack, establishing how dangerous these racial tensions have become. Although the friend originally blames the Barracudas, a Latino gang resented by Italian Americans whose families have deeper roots in the area, he later admits he is not sure of the identification.

Late in the movie, when Tony and his partner win the dance competition, Tony comes to believe that the Puerto Rican couple they competed against actually performed better but lost because of the judges’ ethnic prejudice. In a sign that he is outgrowing either his surroundings or the need for the disco to feed his ego, he refuses the trophy, giving it to the Puerto Ricans. However, his moral victory is undercut, as it is immediately followed by his attempted rape of his partner, Stephanie, in the parking lot of the club.

In an unusual move, the movie was re-released the following year with a PG rating. The new, edited version attracted a larger audience, as families were willing to take their children to it, as most of the profanity and nudity had been removed and the violence and sex were de-emphasized. The new version was six minutes shorter, despite adding several new scenes, including a dance number

to “Disco Duck.” Although the original R-rated version was occasionally shown on cable television in the 1990s, it was never released on videocassette and remained generally unavailable until its DVD release in 2002. The 1983 PG sequel, *Staying Alive*, was a generally more commercial movie that was widely panned by critics.

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See Also: *Dirty Dancing*; Motion Picture Production Code; Motion Pictures; Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Saudi Americans

Saudi Arabia is a Middle East kingdom bordered by Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates and occupying most of the Arabian Peninsula, which juts out from western Asia into the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The country’s name comes from the House of Saud, which has ruled the kingdom since its 1932 founding. An absolute monarchy, it is not a theocracy but does ground its political and legal system in the Wahhabi school of Islamic thought, which is fiercely monotheistic. Saudi Arabia’s modern importance results from its possession of the world’s second-largest oil reserves, which accounts for most of the government’s revenue and nearly all of the country’s exports.

There are 7,419 Saudi Americans, according to the 2010 Census, making them one of the smallest ethnic groups in the United States; most of those Saudis are residents who will not seek citizenship.

There is no evidence of Saudi immigration to the United States prior to World War II, and immigration to the United States by Arabs inhabiting the area before it became Saudi Arabia is a distinct but unattested possibility. The first Saudis to move to the United States did so because they were diplomats and diplomatic staff working for the Saudi embassy in Washington, D.C., in the World War II era. After the war, however, Saudi families began to send their sons to the United States for college, much as they had sent them to Britain earlier; after the war, the United States was in a better position economically than war-ravaged Europe, and perhaps as relevant, had demonstrated its prominence in the coming new world order.

The government of Saudi Arabia is wealthy, but the people for the most part are not. The government uses its wealth to provide far more for its citizens than the West would ever consider practical. Early oil wealth, for instance, paid to bring electricity and air conditioning to the country, and later financed other infrastructure improvements in order to keep the country—except for the most rural areas, which generally lagged behind—up to date with the modern world, an expensive task given the vast amount of land (one-third the size of the United States) across which its population is distributed. Another use of that oil money is to finance Saudi students’ education.

Saudi men studying abroad—almost always men, as women traveling abroad are required to be chaperoned—are provided with all the fees charged by the school (tuition, room and board, textbooks, health insurance fees), a stipend for clothes and incidental expenses, and one round-trip ticket to Saudi Arabia each year, so that they can visit their families. This had the added benefit of encouraging Saudi families to educate their children. Additional economic incentives encourage marriage—Saudi women marrying Saudi students, for instance, can have their educations paid for as well, which provides the new family with more money.

Education in the United States

Studying abroad was exceptionally common in the late 1940s and through the 1960s, and the first Saudis to settle down in the United States did so after being educated here. In the meantime, Saudi Arabia had begun opening its own universities, which eventually decreased the prevalence

of studying abroad, under pressure from Muslims who worried about sending their children to non-Muslim countries for such extended periods. The educational connection between Saudi Arabia and America has remained strong, however; in any given year, there are thousands of Saudi students in the United States, and the government of Saudi Arabia has made many grants to American colleges, including an endowment to the University of Southern California that established that school's Islamic and Arab Studies program. Saudi student houses have been an important way for Saudi students to stay connected to their culture, and many schools with large Saudi populations hold special days of cultural celebration, or open houses to connect with students of other ethnicities. Some of these groups receive funding from the Saudi government through the embassy. Saudi American students and professors have become important contributors to many fields of study.

The number of Saudis living in the D.C. area, largely connected to diplomacy, is large enough that in 1984, the Islamic Saudi Academy of Washington opened, in Alexandria, Virginia. A private preparatory school, it enrolls 1,200 students from pre-kindergarten to 12th grade. Though initially intended to serve the Saudi community, it accepts all Muslim students and offers a curriculum that includes Islamic studies, Arabic, Arabic sign language, and the standard academic subjects. The academy received funding from the Saudi government.

Saudi Americans, like Saudi Arabians, are predominantly Muslim. They are nearly always fluent in English, and adults are usually in professional fields and well educated. Most Saudis do not move to the United States permanently. Those who do, or who wish to get married in the United States before they return, have access to a database maintained by the Islamic Society of North America, which keeps track of single Saudi adults living in North America and interested in marriage. Saudis are strongly discouraged from marrying anyone who is not from Saudi Arabia or one of its immediate Arab allies: Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates. Women who are Saudi citizens, in particular, require permission from the king to do so, and men face economic disincentives. This is a large part of why the Saudi

population, though able to navigate American culture with ease, has few prospects for assimilation in the same sense as other ethnic groups.

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See Also: Iraqi Americans; Jordanian Americans; Muslim Americans.

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Scandinavian Americans

Scandinavia is a cultural region of northern Europe marked by a shared heritage. The term was originally coined in the 18th century to refer to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Because Finland was controlled by Sweden at the time, and Iceland by Denmark, some uses include those countries as well, reflecting the common cultural heritage. This is true when referring to the meaning of “Scandinavia” in the phrase *Scandinavian American*, for instance, the more geographically accurate term *Nordic American* never having caught on. There are 11,890,524 Scandinavian Americans as of the 2010 Census, including those who self-identify as Scandinavian American or Northern European American. Such self-identifications are not uncommon—nearly as many Americans call themselves Scandinavian Americans on the census survey as Finnish Americans—and may reflect either an uncertainty about all the nooks and crannies of

one's heritage or the commonality of intermarriage among Scandinavian American groups.

Scandinavia is not just a convenient idea. The idea of a shared heritage among the Scandinavian countries was important in Scandinavism, a cultural and political movement supporting cooperation and mutual facilitation among the Scandinavian countries. At its strongest in the 19th century, when similar movements resulted in the unifications of Germany and Italy, Scandinavism was not successful in its efforts to unify Scandinavia in a single political entity, but it was an important idea in the conception of the ethnic identities of many of the Scandinavian immigrants to the United States in the 19th century. The Scandinavism movement was succeeded by a new Cold War formulation, usually called Nordism because of its inclusion of Finland, Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands, that emphasizes the economic cooperation of the Nordic Council and a sort of collaborative nationalism in which national identities are distinct but conceived within a larger model of Nordic political identity.

Viking Revival

Scandinavism was itself a product in many respects of the Viking revival of the 18th and 19th centuries. As nationalism rose in many European countries, Scandinavian countries re-embraced and rediscovered their Old Norse heritage. Norse sagas, ideas, and iconography became popular again, much as Egyptology was becoming popular in the Western world, or as ancient Greece and Rome had been rediscovered in Renaissance western Europe. Composer Richard Wagner was very taken with Norse mythology, drawing on it in the composition of his "Ring" cycle. New translations and commentaries of the Norse sagas were issued in various languages. Excavations revealed Viking ships and a complete Viking helmet (the only one unearthed to this day) in Norway. All of this emphasized and explored the common heritage of the Scandinavian region, as well as the importance and contributions of Scandinavian forebears. Again, this was the cultural context of the world in which many Scandinavian immigrants lived.

One of the ideas circulated during the Viking revival was that of a Norse pre-Columbian discovery of the New World. Identifying voyagers who had encountered the Americas before Columbus

has long been a pastime of historians both professional and amateur, and most such discoveries have little to recommend them. But the theory that Leif Ericson had landed in North America has proven to be true. Ericson left from Greenland—geographically part of North America but an extension of Scandinavia—where he had lived in a colony settled by his father, Erik the Red, in the 10th century. Around 1000, his ship landed in what is now northern Newfoundland and established a large colony known to the Norse as Vinland. Ruins of Vinland were later found in 1960, providing archaeological evidence for a theory that had been argued for over a century.

Vinland most likely means "meadowland," an etymology that fits the area in which the ruins were found; "vin" in this sense was used in many Old Norse farms. Pieces of jasper used as fire strikers have been found in the buildings of the ruins, from both Iceland and Greenland. The existence of Vinland explains a small number of artifacts found throughout Canada and Maine, which many had hypothesized were evidence of Norse settlement—including an 11th century Norwegian penny and rune stones. In this sense, the Vinlanders were the first Scandinavian Americans. It is unknown what became of them; though Vinland was clearly eventually abandoned, it isn't certain whether its inhabitants returned to Scandinavia, moved farther south, married and assimilated into Native American cultures, or simply died off.

First Settlers

Scandinavians were among the first Europeans to settle North America, in the colonies of New Sweden (which included parts of present-day Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) as well as in New Netherland. In New Netherland, Danish immigrants were the first settlers in the Bronx and Harlem. Log cabins, strongly associated with pioneer settlements in the United States, were introduced to North America by Swedish colonists in the early 17th century. New Sweden was soon transferred to the control of the Dutch—and thence to the English—but most of the Swedish and Finnish settlers remained. English settlers on the east coast did not build log cabins, but settlers moving west were introduced to the technique. Many log cabins survived even after larger houses were built and were converted to outbuildings.

Though some amount of Scandinavian immigration always took place, it particularly accelerated after American independence and in the 19th century. In 1907, the Swedish government noted that it had become difficult to find a household anywhere in the country that did not have a relative in the United States. Scandinavian immigration in the previous century had been tremendous. Scandinavians were a key part of the settling of the ever-advancing west, and as with other immigrant groups, Scandinavians tended to settle in areas where there was an existing community speaking their language; this led to many mixed-Scandinavian settlements, which became more common than specifically Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish settlements. Scandinavian Americans, who were primarily Lutheran, settled extensively in Minnesota, where today they make up a third of the population (1.6 million) and contributed to the region's distinctive accent. The second-largest concentration of Scandinavian Americans is found in California (1.2 million), followed by Washington State (739,043), Wisconsin (728,248), Illinois (575,991), Michigan (403,888), Florida (355,458), Oregon (339,031), Iowa (338,161), and Utah (333,405).

Antislavery and the Civil War

Scandinavian Americans were largely antislavery, even those who were not active in the abolitionist movement. During the Civil War, only 19 Confederate soldiers are known to have been Scandinavian Americans, including Augustus Forsberg of Virginia, who was eventually promoted to colonel by war's end. In contrast, several thousand Scandinavian Americans served in the Union Army. Scandinavians serving the Union included U.S. Navy Admiral John Dahlgren, a Swedish American who took Savannah, participated in the siege of Charleston, and oversaw the blockade of Southern ports. Scandinavian American General Charles Stolbrand commanded forces at Vicksburg and Savannah. Of course, the northern states had more Scandinavian Americans—tens of thousands compared with the 1,000 or so of the Confederate states. It was also a period of intensive Scandinavian immigration and expansion: the Scandinavian American population increased (through both immigration and birth) by 55,000 between the 1850 and 1860 censuses.

The most famous Scandinavian American involved in the Civil War was John Ericsson, a Swedish immigrant and engineer. Having previously worked on steamships and steam locomotives, Ericsson designed the revolutionary USS *Monitor* for the U.S. Navy, in response to the news that the Confederacy was using the hull of the wrecked USS *Merrimack* to build an ironclad ram. Ericsson's team, largely Swedish Americans and Swedish immigrants, had the *Monitor* ready in only 118 days. It was a heavily armored ship with a 360-degree rotating turret equipped with cannons. The *Monitor*'s hull was submerged underwater, with an armed deck that overhung it and an additional belt of armor. The *Monitor*'s cannons were Dahlgren guns, designed by Admiral Dahlgren. The Battle of Hampton Roads, on March 9, 1862, was the first battle in the world between two ironclad ships: the *Monitor* and the CSS *Virginia*, as the rebuilt *Merrimack* was christened. The battle was indecisive, but the *Monitor* succeeded in preventing the *Virginia* from damaging the Union's blockade ships. Ericsson continued his engineering work for the Union, including a torpedo boat and new torpedo designs.

Heritage and Cultural Foundations

In the 1970s, the Scandinavian American Heritage Society (SAHS) of New Jersey was founded by a pan-Scandinavian American group of New Jersey natives to celebrate their heritage. The SAHS puts on a midsummer celebration every year on a Saturday in June, near the solstice, to celebrate the longest day of the year. In addition to food and entertainment, the midsummer celebration includes folk dances and vendors selling items imported from Scandinavia. The midsummer celebration sometimes coincides with the local Barnensdag, or Children's Day. Numerous cultures have a day they call Children's Day; in the United States, Children's Day observances actually predate both Mother's Day and Father's Day. However, the United States never adopted a nationally observed Children's Day, and most Children's Day observances are the product of local and regional cultures. Often observed in Scandinavia, Children's Day is observed through much of Scandinavian America as well. Often, the date of observation will be sometime in early summer, for reasons both of weather and to

provide activity for children during the period of school vacation. In areas where Children's Day has been observed for many years, it is most often associated with and conducted by a local church; in other parts of the country, it may be put on by the local government or a cultural organization like the SAHS.

The Scandinavian American Cultural and Historical Foundation, located in the Scandinavian Center of California Lutheran University in Thousand Oaks, California, is a major museum and library complex of Scandinavian American resources. The center offers an annual Nordic Spirit Symposium, a two-day lecture program, and since the 1970s has run the largest Scandinavian festival in the southwest. The festival celebrates the Scandinavian heritage of the Conejo Valley of California and was begun by Swedish American professor Armour Nelson and Norwegian American professor John Nordberg in 1973. The first festival, the following year, included an open house, a scholarly lecture on Scandinavian heritage, Scandinavian folk dancers, and a smorgasbord. About 600 people attended; the festival has grown considerably since and transpires in numerous venues throughout the college campus, including vendor booths, the campus chapel, and a local park. Activities include flower headwreath making, dancing around the maypole, croquet, craft and food tables, a demonstration of making bobbin lace, an extensive Scandinavian food court, and the game of Kubb.

The Maypole and Kubb

Kubb is a lawn game associated with the Vikings (and sometimes called Viking chess, especially in the United States) and originating in Sweden, with variations played in other Scandinavian countries and the Scandinavian diaspora. The goal is to knock over the king—the tallest of 11 wooden blocks (the rest of which are called “kubbs”)—by throwing batons at it. Eau Claire, Wisconsin, is the kubb capital of North America and hosts the American kubb championship. Kubb is offered as a unit in some gym classes in school districts with large Scandinavian American populations. Kubb is related to Finnish skittles, a game in which skittle bats are thrown at blocks called skittles. Although kubb is thought to be of modern origin despite its claims to be a

Viking game, Finnish skittles has been played in Finland for centuries.

The maypole is an element of many European folk festivals, especially prevalent in Scandinavia, and is usually included at Scandinavian American festivals held at the proper time of year. Traditionally that is May Day (May 1), the celebration of spring, or Whitsun, the seventh Sunday after Easter. However, as Scandinavian American festivals have tended to gravitate around one of three times of year—Christmas, harvest, and the summer—in the United States it is common for the maypole to be erected at a midsummer celebration. It is widely assumed that the maypole had significance in pre-Christian Europe and is a surviving pagan icon; however, there is no consensus about what exactly its significance or purpose was, and the many theories circulated and sometimes repeated as fact are purely speculation. The Scandinavian maypole is typically decorated with a cross and rings. Some Swedish-speaking populations refer to the maypole as a midsummer pole.

The maypole is accompanied by maypole dances, in which groups of dancers dance around the maypole. The archetypal maypole dance is the ribbon dance, in which dancers dance in a circle holding a ribbon attached to the pole. This is more common in Anglo America; in Scandinavian America, maypole dances are done to lyrical songs, with the dancers enacting dance movements based on the song lyrics, including hopping like frogs during the Swedish song “The Little Frogs.”

Cuisine

Scandinavian Americans are renowned for their traditional cuisine, including *kottbullar*, better known as Swedish meatballs. Throughout the country, there are many variations on Swedish meatballs, depending on the traditions of the Swedish Americans who settled in the area and the other groups they interacted with. Typically, they're made from a mixture of multiple ground meats, stretched with breadcrumbs and milk, and flavored with onions, white pepper, and allspice. They are notably smaller than Italian American meatballs (but roughly the same size as meatballs in Italy). Traditionally served in gravy, sometimes enriched with cream or sour cream, they may be served with boiled or mashed potatoes, lingonberry jam (a sour fruit found in far northern climates) or cranberry

sauce, or pickles. The combination of richness—the meat and gravy—with the tartness of pickles or tart fruit is especially characteristic of the cuisine.

At the holidays, Scandinavian Americans often enjoy *lefse*, flatbread made with potatoes and flour. It is often served with savory food in Scandinavia, but Scandinavian Americans are more likely to eat it buttered with sugar, fruit, or syrup, or spread with peanut butter. Throughout the Scandinavian American states, *lefse* is sold in supermarkets, but it is a tradition in some families to make it at home as a group, with children learning the task from their grandparents. *Lefse* festivals are held in many midwestern and mountain-state cities, usually sometime between November and Christmas; Fargo's *Lefse* Festival is held in August.

One food associated with all Scandinavian American celebrations is the *aebleskiver*, a spherical pancake cooked in a special pan that allows each *aebleskiver* to be turned with a skewer as it cooks, in order to achieve its shape. Traditionally unsweetened except with small pieces of apple, they are served with jam or syrup. At Christmas, they are served with mulled wine, much as cider and doughnuts are served together in other communities. They are also often sold to raise money for school or church groups.

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See Also: Danish Americans, Finnish Americans, Icelandic Americans, Norwegian Americans, Swedish Americans.

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Scarface

Scarface is the title of two American gangster films, the first (1932) directed by Howard Hawks, and the second (1983) directed by Brian De Palma. Hawks's *Scarface* was adapted from a 1929 novel of the same name by Armitage Trail, loosely based on the life of Al Capone, whose nickname was "Scarface." De Palma's *Scarface* was a remake of the 1932 film, but instead of Italian American bootleggers operating in Chicago, it features Cuban immigrants to Miami vying for control of the drug trade during the cocaine boom of the 1980s. Both films have been greatly influential in the mobster genre, also drawing criticism for their lavish portrayal of violence and excess, and for the promotion of negative stereotypes about minorities.

The 1932 Prohibition-era film stars Paul Muni as Tony Camonte, an ambitious mobster who kills the South Side's main crime boss, Big Louis Costillo (played by Harry Vejar), acting on the orders of Johnny Lovo (played by Osgood Perkins). Not satisfied with being Lovo's lieutenant, Camonte plans to rise to the top of the illegal beer business in Chicago, taking on the Irish gangs that control the North Side and stealing Lovo's girlfriend, Poppy (played by Karen Morley). Camonte ends up killing Lovo, but by then, his violent methods and the inter-gang warfare he provoked have attracted the police's attention. While holed up in his fortified apartment, Camonte is killed by the cops in a shootout.

Part of the early gangster cycle, Hawks's film was different in that it showed far more violence than other mobster movies. The high number of people killed and the use of Tommy guns in a series of montages are characteristics that set this film apart at the time, drawing attention from the Hays Office, which made repeated demands to rewrite the script. However, violence is just part of the aesthetic of excess that permeates the film, which is also lush with parties, material possessions, and

pleasure enjoyed by the mobsters. In that regard, this *Scarface* would have an enduring influence on future American crime films.

Second *Scarface*

The 1983 version of the film followed a similar plot, but it took its predecessor's exploitation of pleasure and violence much further. When released, critics were struck by the movie's extreme violence, particularly its elaborate and graphic gunplay. The film was unique in that its props were drawn from the War on Drugs, prominently featuring assault weapons like those used by both U.S. drug-enforcement agents and narcotics dealers. Thus, the film established a pattern and an aesthetic that would be emulated by a host of future drug-war and action films.

The second *Scarface* has also had a tremendous impact on U.S. hip-hop music and culture. Examples of this association include the video for the 1999 Mariah Carey song "Heartbreakers," in which Carey and rapper Jay-Z reproduce the scene where Tony Montana (played by Al Pacino) is in the tub, and his wife Elvira (played by Michelle Pfeiffer) is in the background snorting cocaine. *Scarface* was also a key influence on gangsta rap music; its idealization of selling drugs and making easy money is seen as an emulation of Montana's lifestyle.

In addition to being criticized for its glorification of violence and drugs, the 1983 *Scarface* has been the subject of much derision among the Latino community for what it regards as harmful representations. The film depicts Cuban immigrant as ruthless, criminal, and chauvinistic, in stereotypical brotherhood with other Latinos who behave in similar ways. In that regard, the film continued a long Hollywood tradition of portraying Latinos as bandits, their cruelty matched only by the ridiculousness of their exaggerated accents—with Tony Montana playing the role of the urban bandit, whose flashy clothes have substituted the hats and boots of old Westerns. Scholars have also pointed out the connection between sex and racial relations established in the film, as Tony and other Latino characters seem to be obsessed with accessing white women as much as they are with obtaining the money they feel that they need to achieve respect and prestige in the United States.

For the Cuban American community, *Scarface* was a particularly difficult film to digest. Tony Montana came to represent, in the American imagination the 125,000 people who left Cuba for the United States in 1980 as part of the Mariel Boatlift. Although a majority of these immigrants were law-abiding citizens, approximately 3,000 were serious criminals, surreptitiously placed in the boats by the Fidel Castro regime. Since Montana was shown in the film as being a Mariel immigrant, *Scarface* only added to negative mainstream perceptions about these newcomers. As part of resistance to *Scarface* in south Florida, Cuban American Miami commissioner Demetrio Perez lobbied against the movie being filmed in the city, stating in a resolution that Pacino's character promoted "the propagation of pernicious racism."

Despite these criticisms, another line of thinking claims that—particularly for inner-city youth of color and impoverished immigrants—Montana has come to depict the lurid underside of the American dream, the frustration and the obstacles they face when trying to attain material wealth and a place of respect in society. As tragic as it is, Montana's story is a rags-to-riches tale and may embody an alternative version of the American dream: one forged at all costs, by any means necessary.

As scholars such as Steven Bender have posited, even fictional narratives such as those presented in the *Scarface* films can have real consequences for groups of people because of the representational power yielded by mass media and popular culture. The overwhelmingly negative image of Italian Americans and Latinos in U.S. media during the time periods represented by these films (and beyond) point to the difficult task of counteracting this troublesome legacy.

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See Also: Cuban Americans; Hispanic Americans; *I Love Lucy*; Italian Americans; Latinos; Machismo; Mariel Boatlift; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Motion Pictures.

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School Desegregation

Though segregation existed in practice prior to the Civil War, state governments during Reconstruction passed a series of black codes, commonly referred to as Jim Crow laws, to enforce segregation and disenfranchise people of color throughout the United States. The Supreme Court affirmed the legality of these laws and provided an overarching justification of segregation based on race in the United States in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which stated that segregation by race was constitutional as long as the separate facilities were equal. The state and federal courts used the *Plessy* decision to justify segregation based on race as constitutional. The history and process of desegregation hinged upon the effort to overturn the decision in its theoretical manifestations, and more important, to enforce the order to desegregate institutions throughout the country.

A series of court cases in the early half of the 20th century provided the precedent for overturning *Plessy*. Charles Hamilton Houston and a notable team of lawyers, primarily educated at Howard University, eventually established the legal strategy for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). This strategy relied on a series of court cases that posed a legal challenge to the “equal” portion of the “separate but equal” edict that had emerged from *Plessy*. In *Missouri v. Gaines* (1938), the Supreme Court ruled that the state of Missouri must provide African American law students with educational facilities equal to those offered to white students. Some states used the *Gaines* decision as legal justification for equalization plans across the country in which white legislators attempted to equalize the facilities and resources of segregated black schools and salaries of segregated black teachers. Often, states used this as justification

to equalize segregated systems rather than desegregate. In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the Supreme Court ruled that the state of Texas failed to provide equal law facilities and therefore ordered the white law school to admit students of color. In an important precedent, the Ninth Federal District Court of Appeals ruled in *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947) that the segregation of Mexican and Mexican American children in California’s system of education was unconstitutional. Then California Governor Earl Warren, who later served as the chief justice in the monumental *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, repealed all laws requiring segregation within the state of California. These court cases, among many other similar cases, composed the legal background, history, and precedent for the decision that ultimately ruled that segregation was unconstitutional.

School desegregation popularly began with the passage of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The *Brown* case extended and built upon the precedent established in previous cases that attacked the “equal” portion of “separate but equal.” Using evidence from five cases and the first use of social scientific evidence based on Kenneth Clark’s “doll test,” which illustrated feelings of inferiority among African American children, Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP Legal Defense team argued that separate education was inherently unequal. On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled that segregation based on race was unconstitutional. The decision argued that segregation violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision effectively overturned the *Plessy* decision. Thus, the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling overturned the “separate but equal” doctrine that undergirded the Jim Crow legal and social codes that had dictated strict segregation in the southern states since Reconstruction and the latter part of the 19th century. At the time of the *Brown* decision, 17 states required segregation and another four states permitted varying degrees of segregation.

The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision struck down segregation by race, but the Supreme Court did not specifically address how to reconstruct educational policy throughout the country. One year later, the Supreme Court issued *Brown II*, which stated that schools must submit plans for desegregation “with all deliberate speed.” The

ruling did not specify a timetable, strategy, or other course of action for states to follow. Southern states largely interpreted this to mean an incremental process toward desegregation, and none of the southern states desegregated schools in the immediate aftermath of the *Brown* decision.

Implementing and Resisting School Desegregation Policies

Political, legal, and social resistance also demarcated the school desegregation era. “Massive resistance” was the most visible and virulent reaction to the desegregation order. Southern states reacted to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in ways that outright resisted the court order to desegregate. The case of the Little Rock Nine illustrated the blatant resistance of southern legislators to integrate public schools and the attendant constitutional issue of states versus federal rights. Governor Orval Faubus denied entry to nine African American students who were accepted into the previously all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. After President Dwight Eisenhower dispatched the United States National Guard to secure students’ entry into the school, students attended and desegregated the school.

The nine students who attended Little Rock High School and the young African American students who desegregated white schools throughout the country in the wake of the *Brown* decision experienced extreme physical, mental, and emotional harassment and abuse. Another extreme example of massive resistance occurred in Prince Edward County, Virginia. When the county faced desegregation orders, the Board of Supervisors in Prince Edward County shut down the public schools in 1959. Public school closings forced African American students to attend schools outside the district or state, if they attended schools at all. White students attended one of the growing number of private schools constructed in response to desegregation. The public schools in Prince Edward County remained closed until 1964.

Subtle forms of resistance to desegregation, as opposed to visible forms of massive resistance, were more common throughout the country. African American families in local school districts, often under the leadership of the NAACP or other civil rights organizations, filed petitions to desegregate schools or to fill out applications to enroll

children in the white schools in their district. This prompted local school boards and state governments to react to desegregation in various ways. Some districts denied applications for enrollment on technical grounds; others ignored the requests, and some delayed applications until future years. Through a series of legal strategies that stalled the process of desegregation, southern states evaded the desegregation edict until the 1960s. Mississippi was the last state to experience any form of token desegregation; its public schools across the state remained segregated until the fall of 1964. States such as Mississippi also appropriated public funds for the construction of a private school system that, since it was private and outside the jurisdiction of federal oversight, barred students of color from entering the private schools. State monies were also used to cover the cost of tuition for attending state-supported private schools.

When local school boards and governments adopted desegregation plans, school districts first initiated “freedom of choice” plans to implement desegregation policies by the middle of the 1960s. In this first phase of statewide desegregation, white school boards and local governments placed the onus of desegregation on African American families. Under freedom of choice plans, individual African American families chose from a number of schools approved for desegregation and then applied to the school board for admission. The local press and media sometimes published the names and addresses of the applicants who sought to enroll in white schools. Local and state governments also began to redraw district lines through racial gerrymandering to create separate white school districts. As a result, few schools desegregated under freedom of choice plans. Though a form of token desegregation existed in all states 10 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the ideals of integration were not achieved.

Second Phase of Desegregation

The second phase of desegregation is marked by *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* (1969), in which the Supreme Court provided stronger desegregation standards that effectively terminated the freedom of choice plans throughout the south. The decision stated that “all deliberate speed” for desegregation noted in *Brown II* was no longer permissible. This called for the immediate

desegregation of all dual systems of education into one unitary system. This caused sudden and district-wide desegregation policies that had a strong impact on black and white communities. The plans also exacerbated previous patterns of political resistance and social tension across the country.

The most controversial policy connected to school desegregation was busing. After *Brown*, some school districts across the country bused students to different schools in order to achieve desegregation. Busing remained an option after courts demanded full desegregation. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of busing plans to achieve higher levels of desegregation in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971). Under school busing plans, local school boards and governments bused African American students to white schools, and some white students were bused to black schools, to achieve more proportional levels of desegregation, which required transporting students outside neighborhood and district lines. In Boston, Massachusetts, concerned parents and community members stirred tension, public unrest, and rioting connected to local busing policies. The Supreme Court still supported but greatly curtailed *Swann*'s purview in *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), ruling against busing across district lines unless de jure segregation policies could be proven. Under the guise of busing and the aftermath of the civil rights movement, desegregation figured prominently in national politics in the mid-1970s under the election of Richard Nixon, the silent majority, and the rise of the New Right.

White flight played a significant factor in the restructuring of education during the school desegregation era. After World War II, postwar economic growth facilitated the suburbanization of the United States, providing incentives with affordable cars and a strong infrastructure to move outside the city. Policies such as busing and the desegregation of white schools contributed to white flight, and many white families continued to move to suburban areas outside urban centers across the country. This movement caused de facto or social segregation, which defined the national landscape. Redlining and other real estate and commercial discriminatory policies denied entry to African Americans and other families of color into American suburbs. Moving well outside the urban school districts, busing policies after *Milliken v.*

Bradley generally did not reach suburban districts. Therefore, a system of public and private schools developed in the suburbs that were effectively segregated from urban and rural counterparts. Additionally, building upon the groundwork established in state-supported private schools, a network of private schools, or "segregation academies," proliferated across the country, in particular the southern United States, as white families withdrew their children from public schools facing desegregation. Though educational reformers regularly challenged the constitutionality of state-supported private schools, the system of private schools that developed during the desegregation era continued to serve many students across the country during the following era of resegregation.

Within the African American community, desegregation plans caused great harm to community schools organized and controlled by African American teachers and administrators. The pattern of desegregation generally followed one in which African American students attended all-white schools, while white school boards and government officials closed African American schools, demoted the schools to a lower level of education, and fired or professionally demoted African American teachers, administrators, and staff. Desegregation patterns often dismantled long-standing traditions of high-quality and culturally relevant schools in African American communities.

Resegregation

The era of desegregation generally ended with the era of busing in the middle of the 1970s. This period also demarcated a changing social, political, and economic context in the United States. By the 1970s, a decade generally or popularly understood to mark the end of the civil rights movement, the legal push for desegregation ended with the fall of busing from public favor. Particularly after the busing riots in the middle of the 1970s, the majority of the American public and the "silent majority" of this decade did not support the active desegregation of American public schools, in particular federal intervention of desegregation plans, such as the busing plans defended in the *Swann* decision. Civil rights activists and many public school advocates argued that desegregation policies had not produced the originally intended results of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

White flight, the suburbanization of public education, and the rise of private schools, which developed over a generation after the *Brown* decision, created an unequal system of education for students of color. The achievement gap, measured by standardized test scores in math, reading, and science, illustrated the unequal nature of schools, reflected in a wide disparity in standardized scores between white students and students of color. Additionally, funding discrepancies within the public school system reflected a disparity in the distribution of resources between urban/rural and suburban schools.

Property taxes on which public school funding formulas rested generally followed patterns of racial residential segregation, which favored white and middle/upper-class school districts. For these and other reasons, educational scholars, historians, and practitioners questioned the implementation of the historic decision in providing an equal and quality education to all students on the 50th anniversary of the *Brown* decision.

In 2007, the Supreme Court issued a controversial ruling in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* and *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education* that rejected the constitutionality of school redistricting plans that used race as a factor in student placement policies designed to achieve a proportional level of integration. In a 5–4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that using race to determine pupil placement policies violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The plans were voluntary and assumed that diversity through desegregation was a compelling interest for school districts, an assumption established in previous affirmative action rulings. This decision illustrates the continued implications of school desegregation in the United States.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*; Desegregation/Integration; Little Rock School Desegregation; School Segregation.

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School Segregation

The history of school segregation in America has paralleled the history of exclusion and discrimination in American society. Unequal and separate schooling for African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Jewish Americans, Irish Americans, Italian Americans, Polish Americans, Hispanics, and other immigrants and the poor has been an ongoing struggle in American society. The dissension over segregated schooling has often been as much as or more about the role of education in a democratic society than it has been about separate and unequal facilities and resources.

Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* described the stark inequalities of Native Americans and enslaved African Americans in education, rights, and citizenship that persisted even in the face of a newly established democratic republic. The Frenchman who visited America in 1831 to examine the roots of democracy described how prejudice and segregation in American life was present not only in the schoolhouse but in all aspects of American life. Even with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 that greatly expanded citizenship and equal protection under the law, school segregation managed to stay intact.

School segregation in the United States was fueled by a larger system of segregation by de jure (law) and by de facto (custom). Until *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954, “separate but equal” was the law of the land in schooling as it was in access to all public facilities and transportation.

Therefore the history of school segregation mirrors the history of race, ethnicity, and democratic citizenship in the larger American society. Challenges to school segregation continue today as certain social, economic, and political forces exert powerful forces on education and equality.

School Segregation as Exclusion

The history of school segregation in the United States is a history of inclusion and exclusion in American society. Some children were excluded from education and interaction with their peers and cohorts through not having access to any form of schooling at all, which was the case with African Americans. Enslaved peoples were barred by law from reading and writing well into the 19th century. Once allowed to attend schools, the freed men, women, and children were trapped in poorly resourced and segregated schools due to prejudice and discrimination.

Other groups of people were excluded in segregated schools for the purposes of assimilation and Americanization. Prejudice and discrimination also played a role. Native Americans and immigrant groups from Europe, Asia, and Latin America were subjected to this type of schooling. Segregated schools serve multiple functions, including preventing children and youth from access to their peers of other races and ethnicities. Segregation also serves as a proxy for the power and privilege of the majority group.

Contradictory Visions of Segregated Schooling

Nowhere is this system of power, privilege, and exclusion more evident than in colonial America. Visions of schooling were often egalitarian and yet were designed to reinforce the status quo. Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, advocated what was considered at the time a very egalitarian form of schooling. Jefferson's vision of education was formulated around the need for an educated citizenry to maintain a vibrant democracy. The system that the former slave owner and president articulated for the Commonwealth of Virginia allowed three years of public schooling to white males. Those who excelled could receive additional schooling. The system he proposed did allow poor boys who were bright to rise, increasing the fluidity

and permeability among the different classes in colonial America. He believed that an ignorant society could not remain a free society.

However, some historians have criticized Jefferson's vision of schooling as elitist, even though it allowed some class permeability. Yet Jefferson's vision of schooling for freedom and democracy was inherently segregated and unequal. Girls of any race or ethnicity were not included in Jefferson's vision. Native Americans and the enslaved were also not included. Immigrants groups and other ethnicities were also left out. They would follow a similar pattern of exclusion with each successive wave of immigration in the 19th and 20th centuries. While Jefferson's vision of education is viewed as contrary to the democratic spirit today, during his era it was believed to be a first step toward establishing the relationship between education and democracy—albeit a contradictory one.

School Segregation and Immigrants

It was the relationship between education and democracy that fueled the fires of the common school movement. The common school concept of the early to mid-1800s was mostly associated with Horace Mann, a politician and editor of the *Common School Journal*. Henry Barnard, the editor of the *American Journal of Education*, was an important collaborator. Both held that school was a place where all children might come together to receive a common moral and political education. These education reformers envisioned that an education of this kind would reduce crime and delinquency while reducing class conflict. They envisioned using common schools as a way to socialize the young into becoming good, moral citizens.

The belief that education could restore social order came at a time when massive immigration from Europe to America was beginning. In 1840, some 84,000 Irish immigrated to the United States, along with immigrants from eastern Europe and Asia. Tensions rose over the type of education that best suited each new arrival to America. The largely Irish Catholic population had concerns with the non-parochial schools they encountered. Because of their status, the Irish and other immigrants became increasingly isolated in ethnic enclaves and segregated schools. Many Irish children were educated in Catholic schools because of the hostility they encountered in schools dominated by

Protestants. Many Jews also came to the United States in the 1840s, escaping persecution in their home countries. Because of high levels of anti-Semitism in America during this time, Jewish youth attended segregated schools mostly in the northeast. The belief in the power of education to assimilate immigrants into the American fabric was a powerful force but not so powerful as to instill a system of full-fledged integration.

Native Americans and Segregated Schools

After the Civil War until the mid-to-late 19th century, the purpose of educating Native American children was for assimilation. Education for Americanization was the driving force. The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs published in 1886 outlined a system of segregated federal boarding schools to be implemented by the secretary of the Interior. These schools, often referred to as manual-labor schools, were not only segregated to Native American children but implemented a curriculum that bore the stamp of that segregation and exclusion. Native American children and adults were presumed to need the civilizing force of the American government. Indian children were often plucked from their homes and schooled in harsh conditions with other Native children.

For example, the Hopi Indians tried to prevent their children from being forcibly removed to the Intermountain School in Utah operated by Mormon missionaries. The Hopi's resistance was blunted by the use of federal troops by the U.S. government. The troops were dispatched to forcibly relocate Indian children to the boarding school in Utah. It became increasingly preferable to remove Native American children from the reservation and presumably from the destructive forces of their own parents and culture. Subjection unwillingly to segregated and oppressive schooling is indicative of the power arrangements in the larger society. This was the case for Native Americans as far back as the 17th century.

In 1611, Jesuit missionaries from France had developed a system of schools for Native Americans along the St. Lawrence River. Sometimes referred to as the "big waterway" by explorers, the St. Lawrence River begins in Kingston, Ontario, and crosses the interior region of North America. These schools developed for Indian children by the

Jesuits were based on the French model, designed to instill religion and civilization while suppressing the Native instinct. A similar system of Jesuit mission schools was developed in California. Native American children were taught in Spanish, suppressing their native tongues and customs. For Native Americans, like other many other oppressed groups in Americans society, school segregation was a consequence of the oppression and powerlessness imposed by the majority group.

The boarding school model for Native Americans became coupled with the mission school model. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was a famous example of the missionary zeal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs toward the assimilation of Native American children. It was one of the first boarding schools located off the reservation. The facility was nestled among the barracks of the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and operated from 1879 until 1918.

School Segregation and Gender

Women and girls also faced exclusionary policies and practices at almost every level of education. For women and girls, education was at times separate, but more often designed to replicate the social roles that boys and girls would play in society. Wealthy white families in colonial America utilized private tutors to educate their sons for professions and their daughters for domesticity, if they received education at all. Private tutors grew into an elaborate system of dame schools and town schools in New England that often educated boys and girls separately and unequally. Much was the same throughout the south and other areas of the country, where schooling for girls was separate, unequal, and often engineered for their roles as mothers and inferiors to men.

However, there were notable exceptions to this rule. The Boston Latin School, which operated well into the 1940s, denied entrance to girls but welcomed boys from all races and ethnicities. The student population included male students from the following groups: Irish Americans, Italian Americans, Jewish Americans, and African Americans. The excluded group was girls. Joseph Marr Cronin, former education secretary of Massachusetts, details the history of the Boston Latin School in his *Reforming Boston Schools, 1930–2006: Overcoming Corruption and Racial Segregation*.

School Segregation and Race

The Massachusetts Act of 1789 was one of the first laws in the nation to break this tradition of educating boys and girls separately and in different curriculums. The act required municipalities with over 200 families to provide elementary and grammar schooling to both sexes and to provide the same curriculum. While this act did not specifically exclude African Americans and others from attending, education historians such as Joel Spring indicate that very few nonwhite children actually attended, due to hostility and prejudice. As a result, in 1789 African American parents requested a school of their own. This school would be publicly supported by taxes and private donors. The request was honored by the Boston School Committee. Despite efforts to provide an equal education, the segregated school for African Americans was deemed inferior to the school for whites by an 1833 report issued by a subcommittee of the Boston School Committee. Although well intentioned, the system of segregated schooling in Boston was viewed to have failed.

This was one case in the long history of racial discrimination and segregated schooling of African Americans in America. Segregated schools existed in the context of a segregated society held in place by a rigid racial caste system called Jim Crow. After slavery, the Freedmen's Bureau pieced together a system of education for the former slaves. Due to the waxing and waning of the Freedmen's Bureau support, a system of private, but segregated schooling sprang up in its wake.

According to James D. Anderson's comprehensive overview of the education of African Americans in the south, the Georgia Educational Association, comprised of African American leaders, in 1866 had 123 schools in operation and 96 were being supported by the organization. African Americans also attended Sabbath or church-sponsored schools taught by all-black staff and supported by black communities and northern white philanthropy. Gradually, a growing acceptance of universal education—that is, public school for all—began to emerge in the south. Despite a growing acceptance of universal education, that education would remain steadfastly segregated until *Brown v. Board* and beyond the landmark legislation that ended the fallacy of separate but equal schools.

Asian American School Segregation

The United States passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. The intent of the act was to halt any further Chinese immigration to America and to prevent the Chinese from becoming naturalized American citizens. The Chinese Exclusion Act stayed in force for 60 long years, and the prejudice and discrimination that supported it was gradually spread toward all Asian immigrants groups. The Chinese had been heavily recruited by the U.S. government to work as day laborers in a variety of industries. The Chinese were blamed for a downturn in wages and a depressed economy, serving as scapegoats for hard times. The anti-Chinese sentiment triggered waves of prejudice and discrimination that resulted in school boards and communities barring Chinese children's entrance to schools in California.

The exclusion of the Chinese in greater society manifested itself in exclusion in the institutions in society. From 1859 to 1871, Chinese children were barred from attending public schools in San Francisco, California. Much like African American parents had done in Boston in the late 18th century, Chinese parents resisted by making alternative education arrangements for their children, often in private segregated settings. After a successful court challenge, Joseph and Mary Tape won the right for their daughter Mamie and all Chinese children born of Chinese parents in the state of California to attend schools with non-Chinese children in integrated public school settings. The California Supreme Court struck down the exclusionary school policies in 1884. In retaliation, the San Francisco school district struck back by organizing a separate but supposedly equal Chinese Primary School the following year. Increased anti-Asian sentiment resulted in the Chinese Primary School becoming the Oriental Public School with a mandate that all Japanese and Chinese children attend the school together.

The school's name went through several more iterations that mirrored the evolving nature of school desegregation for Asian Americans in Californian. The Oriental Public School became the Commodore Stockton School, then the Gordon J. Lau Elementary School for the successful court decision in *Lau vs. Nichols*. The Chinese community had advocated and won the development of a bilingual education program in the schools. By

1971 California had mandated the desegregation of all its public schools.

Legal and De Facto Segregation

Gary Orfield is a researcher and codirector of the Civil Rights Project at the University of California, Berkeley. Orfield and his collaborators argue that segregated schools not only exist in a post-*Brown* society but are proliferating. His research suggests that institutionalized forces of discrimination and socioeconomic status are to blame.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); English-Only Movement; Immigration, Illegal; School Desegregation.

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Science and Technology

One of the hard-to-understand aspects of the founding of the United States is that a country that declared “all men are created equal” meant men in exclusion of women and only meant men of a certain race. The history of the United States is such that it runs contemporaneously with a movement to define cultural differences as the result of biological ones, the subsequent effort to detach the notion of race from biology at the start of the 20th century, and a resurgence of the racial concept in the wake of the Human Genome Project. Unlike what one would expect, however, the history of the science of difference is not that of a slow progression toward a modern, egalitarian present. In each age, retrogressive efforts seek to

use science and technology to reinscribe essentialized notions of difference.

The attitude that women and individuals of African descent had distinct biologies was in the mainstream of 18th-century science. Londa Schiebinger has, perhaps, drawn the clearest portrait of this science in her study *Nature's Body*. Coincident with the French and American revolutions, Schiebinger describes how scientific definitions of what it meant to be human thrust both people of color and women into a category that made them closer to nature than they were to civilization. As a result, only white men had the biological fitness to participate in the civic sphere. Siep Stuurman takes this one step further, linking the Enlightenment science of race articulated by François Bernier to a desire to prove that certain humans were fitted by their biology to nature. Although all humans, it was believed, drew a portion of their soul from the divine creator, a portion of their soul was influenced by history and climate. With this theory, it could be said that white people helped Africans by enslaving them; by suppressing the animal portion of their soul, the slaveholder would help the enslaved exercise that portion of the soul that brought them closer to God.

Thomas Jefferson's Thoughts

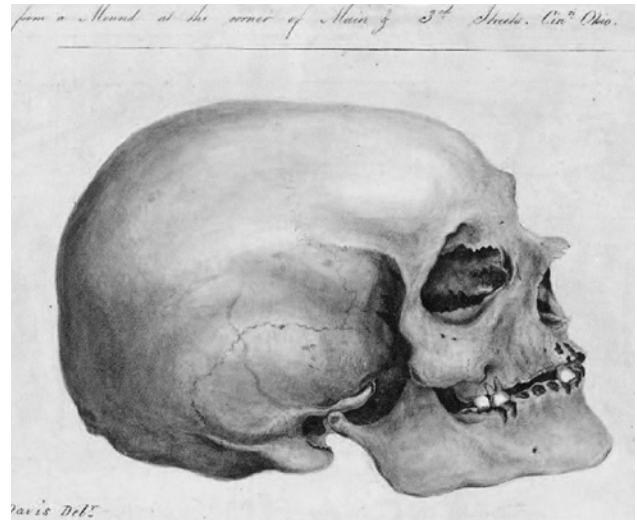
Thomas Jefferson, who wrote *Notes on the State of Virginia* in response to a questionnaire from the French government, reflects this sentiment. He states that repatriation of freed Africans is the most appropriate solution to the question of race in the New World. For one, he finds it unlikely that enslaved people will forgive the mistreatment of their masters and equally unlikely that whites will be able to overcome their deep-seated prejudices. In addition to these problems, however, he explains that there are physical differences between the races that cannot be ameliorated. Suggesting that mixing white and black always results in a black progeny, Jefferson states that Africans are a distinct race. He enumerates several common stereotypes of people of African descent in this section, concluding that the mental and emotional development of the African population is markedly inferior to the race of Native Americans.

To his credit, in the true skepticism of the Enlightenment, Jefferson holds no truth to be fixed. In the discussion of Virginia limestone

in Query VI, he is compelled to add that he has found petrified shells unlike those found on the coast high above sea level. He tries three explanations of why he would find shells there: the biblical explanation of rising seas, a rise in the bed of the ocean, and the geological formation of shell-like shapes. Jefferson reasons that proof of any of these three hypotheses is unsatisfactory and suggests that the height of wisdom would be to admit that the question was unsolved, saying that the person who does not come to a conclusion is closer to the truth than someone who holds to a mistaken belief. With a similarly open mind, when he responds to a letter from Benjamin Banneker, Jefferson remains open to the idea that he was wrong. After reviewing Banneker's almanac, he forwarded it to a correspondent in France. Such was the conduct of science in this era: a network of correspondents working as disinterested amateurs sometimes referred to as the "republic of letters."

Samuel George Morton

Jefferson held open the question of whether the races were separate species due to their separate origin or their separate circumstances, and Stuurman and others have noted that Carolus Linnaeus, Bernier, and other figures of the Enlightenment generally held the position that the human race was one species in spite of the variations between races. The situation would get worse, however, before it got better. This chapter of the science of difference is amply covered by Stephen Jay Gould in *The Mismeasure of Man*. This frequently cited study details the rise of the so-called American school of polygeny—the notion that human races were biologically distinct species. One of the most prominent American polygenists was Samuel George Morton. He used his tremendous collection of human skulls to support the notion that different human races had distinct differences. By measuring the cranial capacity of the different races, he asserted, he had found evidence that there were five distinct species of humanity: Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, American, and Negro. Morton published his results in the 1839 text *Crania Americana*, giving the physical measurements of each skull, summaries of the skulls of each race, and an interpretation of the moral characteristics of each group. In 1844, Morton published *Crania Aegyptiaca*, based on skulls collected for him by



Samuel George Morton claimed he could define the intellectual ability of a race by the skull capacity. His book, *Crania Americana*, contained many engravings like this detailing his beliefs about skull shapes and characteristics.

the American vice-counsel in Cairo, George Robins Gliddon, stating that the different races were ancient in origin and that different human species had been created in separate geographic locations.

Although today it is easier to discount a direct tie between biology and personality, Gould uncovered an interesting insight into these measurements when he tried to replicate Morton's results. In recalculating the results, Gould found out that the differences in cranial capacities were found not in the samples but in Morton's calculations. When he came up with results that favored the white skulls, he did not correct them, but when a skull from a person of color was calculated to have a high capacity, he would retest and revise the entry. From these and other inconsistencies, Gould has shown that the differences in cranial capacity were much lower than recorded.

The notion that human races were separate species led to widespread support of legislation prohibiting mixed-raced marriages, known as anti-miscegenation laws. The southern physician Josiah Clark Nott, in an 1843 essay titled "The Mulatto a Hybrid—Probable Extermination of the Two Races If the Whites and Blacks Are Allowed to Intermarry," starts out with the admission that the reader might think it a little late to state that a person of mixed races is a hybrid. The alternative

would be for an offspring of a white and a black person to be simply a variety, especially if the white and black were not thought to be pure in the first place. Nott, however, seeks to place this mixing on the level of breeding a horse and a donkey to obtain a mule. Mulattoes, he states, have intermediate intelligence between whites and blacks, and yet they are both shorter lived and have less endurance than either. Furthermore, he states that mulatto women are more susceptible to diseases and find it difficult to conceive. His language in describing the difference between supposed Caucasian beauty and the animal features of the African more than betrays his sentiment about the status of two races, and he cites as “settled” the discussion of physiologists that the size and shape of the white skull is an indication of the superiority of the white. With this sentiment at large, it is not surprising that in 1850 the United States proposed to count mixed-race individuals in the U.S. census in an effort to support the hypothesis that they were a weakened offspring.

A Science of Racial Types

Nott and Gliddon in 1854 published their major text, *Types of Mankind*, to promote a science of distinct racial types. This polygenist notion was based on a deductive logic that acquired evidence from historical and literary texts to “prove” that human races were distinct and inviolable. In this work, Nott and Gliddon assert that the ancient Egyptians were white, and they also state that the historical evidence has shown human races to be consistent for the past 5,000 years. They assert that the difference between human races was as distinct as that between the different genera and species of animals; chimpanzees and gorillas, they say, are as different as blacks and whites. Furthermore, they state, the creator has endowed some of them with certain aptitudes, such as the tendency to form civilization, that have resulted in the spread of the white race to all corners of the globe.

The American school of polygeny was bolstered by the science of evolution. There is little in Charles Darwin’s work that could support the notion that certain groups of humans had, through the force of will, gotten farther along on an evolutionary scale than others, simply because Darwin was opposed to the teleological notion of evolution and did not assert that evolution took place

in a definite sort of progress. In his 1871 *Descent of Man*, Darwin goes so far as to argue that the different races of humans are simply varieties and that there is only one species of humanity.

Nevertheless, theories of a progressive evolution were adopted by the polygenists to support the notions that each race derived from a distinct branch of evolution and that crossing the branches would be a disaster for the offspring. In the 1899 essay “Trend of Human Progress,” based on his address to the Anthropological Society of Washington, William John McGee suggests that human culture comes in four grades: savagery, barbarism, civilization, and enlightenment. McGee states that his desire in the essay is to inspire others to determine the law of progress for a species, something like the law of conservation of matter or of conservation of energy, and reducing it to quantitative terms is a goal of the profession. He says that the position of polygeny is supported by physical evidence—like Nott, he asserts that the genus *Homo* came independently from a variety of protohuman species in at least as many centers as there are races of varieties—and some of these started on the path to enlightenment first (that is, white Europeans) and thus reached a civilization point, while red and black races came later to reach the divide between bestiality to humanity.

Using evidence of skull shapes and hand movements as well as social structures, McGee asserts that the white portion of the species has reached the level of enlightenment through the cultivation of habits of civilization and passing these down through the generations. For him, this means that they have cast off matriarchal forms of organization and embraced priestly or patriarchal leaders, have accepted the need for collective knowledge about technology, and have used intelligence to organize their affairs. The yellow and brown races, McGee writes, may be capable of further development, but at present they are still at a lower stage, where they are using mothers or fathers for leaders, can only imitate others when it comes to developing techniques of life, and express only those ideas that are relevant to the self.

Superficially, McGee sounds egalitarian; because the path from savagery to barbarism is a steady series of stages, it is not impossible for a race to start its way on the path toward a higher

existence. However, even at the late date of 1899, he was promoting the definite role of race in determining the type of culture and society an individual was suited for. He suggested that the goal-directed transformation was slow and steady and identifiable as a law of physics, which left room for philanthropic efforts at the same time as it suggested that any efforts to improve a race would be incremental and take a long time to realize. In casting human development as a teleological process with its ultimate goal as the development of a race, McGee also suggested that all humans were subject to the decisions and efforts of their race; the goals and abilities of an individual were subordinate to the history of his or her race.

Scientific Racism

As detailed by Elazar Barkan, the early 20th century had a difficult task in unraveling this scientific racism. Part of the solution was a growing understanding of the science of evolution; the so-called neo-Darwinian synthesis that brought together Darwin's theory of evolution, Mendelian notions of independently inherited characteristics, and better knowledge of human biochemistry made it clear that the idea of racially tied characteristics was untenable. Another part of the solution was found in understanding human difference from a cultural perspective.

Franz Boas, a professor of anthropology at Columbia University, was a champion of this approach. Starting first from a series of negative reviews of craniometric texts and then moving to a study of mixed-raced individuals, Boas initiated a campaign to show that the supposedly separate strains of human races were not so distinct as one would imagine. He and his students then sought to demonstrate that history, environment, and society had much more to say about a person's identity and abilities than did his or her biology. The work of the scientists, on one hand, and the anthropologists, on the other hand, culminated in the 1950 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) statement on race, which announced that there was no reliable way to define race as a matter of biology. Even so, it was not until 1967 that the Supreme Court would decide *Loving v. Virginia*, declaring laws against mixed-race marriages unconstitutional.

Statistically Unsound

The science behind the UNESCO statement is an observation that dividing individuals into races is a statistically unsound process. The aggregate differences between two racial groups were found to be less than the probable difference between two individuals in the same racial group. In other words, there are many characteristics that one uses to separate individuals into races, but no individual has all of them. Comparing two individuals who are categorized as the same race, then, shows that they share many of the stereotypical characteristics and yet differ in a few others. Overall, those differences are greater than what one sees when comparing the races as wholes. This finding was originally demonstrated in blood factors; while some scientists in the early 20th century had hoped to find a difference in blood chemistry that would help draw biological distinctions among races, it turned out that the independence of inherited characteristics caused different combinations of the various blood factors in each individual. Although this finding was based only on blood factors at mid-century, it has been upheld in later years, most especially by the Human Genome Project.

Even after the UNESCO statement, however, there have been attempts to reassert a biological basis for the differences between groups of humans. One widespread effort was a scare related to sickle-cell anemia. Based on a sense of a definite tie between African ancestry and sickle-cell disease in the 1970s, the federal government advised that African American pilots be grounded. Several false assumptions lay behind this policy. For one, there is a higher frequency of the sickle-cell trait in people of African descent, but not every person of African descent has the sickle-cell trait, and not all people who have the sickle-cell trait are of African descent. What is more, not everyone with the trait has the disease, and reports of the numbers of people who had the disease at the time were greatly inflated, creating something of a scare.

In the wake of the Human Genome Project, there have been attempts to return to an essentialized notion of biological race. As pointed out by Troy Duster, among others, the idea that the sequencing of an individual's genome can reveal the percentages of that person's racial background is mistaken. The test for genetic markers can reveal the percentage of individuals in a company's

database who have identified as a certain race, but this is a problem of a priori definition, because the individuals in the database have identified their own racial makeup before contributing their DNA. Furthermore, although the genetic diversity of Africa is well known, Duster points out that only a small fraction of that population has been tested and would appear in the database. Although genetic testing can, of course, help identify relatedness between individuals, ascribing that affinity to larger biological groups would be as vexed as the proponents of the UNESCO statement on race would have predicted.

In each successive age, it would seem that a challenge is posed between those who wish to find strict biological differences between races and those who assert that race is a cultural and social phenomenon. As a whole, the science of difference demonstrates how science and technology can be used for social purposes. In addition, the lack of progress toward an egalitarian notion of human difference helps defeat the linear notion of scientific advance.

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See Also: Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Constructivism, Intercultural; *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); Miscegenation.

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The Scots-Irish were originally immigrants who migrated to the south during the 17th and 18th centuries. The Scots-Irish were formerly lowland Scots from the borderlands between Scotland and England.

History

In 1610, King James began sending shiploads of Scots to Northern Ireland in an effort to subdue Ireland through social colonization rather than military conquest. This practice was later used to help rid England of its political prisoners and those captured in war. However, King James did not count on the Scots remaining connected to their clans and banding together to oppose the Irish at the Ulster Plantation in Northern Ireland. After many years of toil, the Scots-Irish were no better off in Ireland than they had been in Scotland. This prompted many of the Scots-Irish to immigrate to America.

The Scots-Irish came to the colonies in several migration streams between 1717 and 1775. The migration streams in 1754 and 1755 helped to settle the Carolinas and served as a buffer between the developing coastal cities and Native Americans living along the frontier. The Scots-Irish had a profound influence on these areas in the American south. One vignette that illustrates this influence is the story of an Englishman who observed a local stage driver singing the well-known Scotch song "Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot," a Celtic tune often attributed to the poet Robert Burns. The English assumed the stage driver was an immigrant from Scotland. "But to my surprise," wrote the Englishman, "I found he had not been out of North Carolina, though his feelings appeared nearly as true to the land of his forefathers, as if they had never left it." This Englishman's observations and comments help illustrate the profound influence that the Scots-Irish migrations of the 17th and 18th centuries had in terms of creating the American south.

In both historical and contemporary American culture, the Scots-Irish are an important piece of the social fabric. Their experiences in their native lands had primed them to survive in the American south. These "borderers" were accustomed to insecure land tenure, limited state capacity, conflict, and poverty, and gravitated toward the backcountry and frontier areas. Eventually, they

Scots-Irish Americans

The Scots-Irish are an important American cultural group that had a profound influence in creating the contemporary American south.

dominated much of the rural south and southwest, where their cultures had lasting and powerful effects on the social, cultural, and political landscape.

Part of the White Underclass

However, these effects have not always been characterized in positive terms. There has been retaliation against these “backcountry” individuals, who have been seen as unduly proud, distrustful of legal institutions, resentful of land-use controls, disdainful of social hierarchies, and prone to using violence to solve conflicts directly. David Hackett Fischer writes, “They were a degraded rural proletariat who had no hope of rising to the top of their society.”

The Scots-Irish were historically a part of the white underclass in America. Throughout much of America’s history, poor whites from the rural south have been little more than sharecroppers. In addition, throughout American history, those from Appalachia have also been among the poorest of the poor in America. Although the Scots-Irish have made some gains both socially and economically, many of them (who likely no longer think of themselves as Scots-Irish), still have a long way to go in terms of achieving any measurable degree of equality. Despite these negative impressions of southerners who were culturally influenced by the Scots-Irish, the Scots-Irish are an important piece of the social fabric in both historical and contemporary American culture.

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See Also: Appalachians; European Americans; Irish Americans; Scottish Americans.

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Scottish Americans

Immigrants from Scotland have been present in North America since before Scotland was annexed into the United Kingdom (1707). Scotland is home to distinctive ethnic groups, with their own patterns of migration and separate cultural and linguistic identities. While further and more refined subdivisions could be drawn, the major distinction that appeared by the 14th century was between the Anglophones of the Lowlands and the Gaelic speakers of the Highlands. Scots could be found in a wide variety of locations and capacities in early America—over a quarter of a million lived here in 1776—and many exercised considerable influence. Despite this, they did not create mechanisms to preserve and develop their own languages and cultures, so little remains in modern American community life beyond symbol and sentiment.

Lowland Scots

There were close ties between England and the Scottish Lowlands from the high middle ages onward, as evident in the Scots language, derived largely from Middle English. The adoption of Protestantism (1560), the Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England (1603), and the Act of Union (1707) reinforced such connections. Scottish national institutions were based in the Lowlands and technically remained independent even after the Act of Union, but increasingly accommodated English norms. By the late 17th century, most Lowland parishes were equipped with public schools that provided universal access to education. A broad segment of Lowland society achieved high levels of literacy and education, training that qualified them well for prominent positions in the United Kingdom and lucrative opportunities in its expanding overseas empire.

Lowlanders established many early American institutions, from religion to education: a Scottish bishop conferred the apostolic succession on the Protestant Episcopal Church in America; many

churches, especially Presbyterian, were founded and served by Scottish ministers; many colleges, such as Princeton and the College of William and Mary, were founded or initially presided over by Lowland intellectuals; and so on. Despite being capable of establishing institutions, they generally did not secure cultural content within them but deferred to Anglocentric standards.

Highland Scots

Lowlanders typically perceived Highlanders as primitive and inferior to themselves. The government dismantled or provoked the decline of formal Gaelic institutions during the 17th century, and much of the rest were swept away after the defeat of the 1745 Jacobite Rising. The Gaelic world was now fully circumscribed by Anglocentric institutions that monopolized all means of social and economic advancement. Kinship networks and informal social practices remained, but they lacked elite leadership and were not sufficiently developed to withstand assimilationist policies.

Highland communities began to migrate in the 1730s, peaking at the onset of the American Revolution. After chieftains were replaced with, or simply turned into, landlords and military recruiters, estranged from and exploiting their erstwhile kinsmen, emigration was one of the only forms of protest available to Highland communities. Sporadic bursts of communal migration from Scotland continued into the 1840s, but after 1776, most migration was redirected to Canada and Australia. By the 1860s, immigrants from Gaelic-speaking communities in Canada began flowing into the booming cities of the north and west. The majority of Highland immigrants were monolingual Gaelic speakers into the 1880s; even into the mid-20th century, some immigrants spoke Gaelic far better than English.

The racial classification of Gaels was ambiguous sometimes even into the early 20th century: white when they assimilated to Anglophone society, but sometimes nonwhite when tenacious of their language and cultural traditions. Their integration into the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority in exchange for the privileges it provided, and the weakness of social mechanisms to maintain their distinctive traditions, effected their gradual disappearance as a distinct people.

Scottish Organizations in America

The Scots' Charitable Society of Boston was established in 1657 to aid prisoners of war deported by Oliver Cromwell; it is considered the oldest charitable society in the United States. Further charities created on behalf of immigrant Scots were known as St. Andrew's Societies: in Charleston, South Carolina (1729); Hanover County, Virginia (1738); Philadelphia (1749); and so on. These organizations were meant to alleviate poverty and had no cultural agenda.

The first American organization in honor of Lowland poet Robert Burns (1759–96) was founded in New York in 1847; many other Burns Societies were created in the 19th century, erecting statues of the poet in public spaces. The celebration of Burns's birthday (January 25) is one of the two main dates in the calendars of Scottish heritage organizations, alongside the feast day of the national saint, Saint Andrew (November 30).

Scottish heritage organizations with specific cultural focuses or geographical affiliations existed in 19th-century America, but most became defunct in the first half of the 20th century. The revival of interest that happened toward the end of the century, not least due to Hollywood, has tended to benefit clan societies, Highland games, bagpipe bands, and Scottish country dancing groups.

Culture

The Highland Society of New York held its first Sportive Meeting in 1836, but Caledonian Clubs did not begin importing modern Highland games until the 1860s. The games are not "ancient Celtic survivals" but were first invented by the Highland elite in the early 19th century to project a romantic image of themselves and their estates, and to underscore their commitment to the British Empire by promoting Highlanders as loyal soldiers. Highland games became popular social gatherings in North America and were not as governed by the imperial agenda, even if they didn't (and still don't) reflect Gaelic tradition. Highland games, along with such icons as the tartan and kilt, are classic exemplars of symbolic ethnicity, salves and sublimations for Scots abandoning their languages and cultures to the Anglocentric status quo. Many Scots also played along with stereotypes because imaginative literature has made them popular.

The modern game of golf originated in Lowland Scotland. By 1875, it was being played on designated golf courses in the United States, and in 1895 three events—the U.S. Amateur, the U.S. Open, and the U.S. Women’s Amateur—inaugurated organized competitions.

Forms of music and dance associated with Scotland enjoy periodic popularity, but as in the case of Highland games, separating the elements of genuine folk tradition known to the original immigrants from later reinvention is a complex task that deserves further academic attention. Most of what is generally claimed to be Scottish or Highland comes from 19th-century (or later) Lowland Scotland and was imported to America well after major migrations.

The fiddle, for example, was introduced to Scotland in the later 17th century and came with social dance music played elsewhere in western Europe. The style and repertoire of fiddle music eventually adapted to the musical aesthetics of various Scottish communities; the most distinctive Scottish innovations were the “Scotch snap,” probably an imitation of Gaelic speech patterns, and the strathspey. Scottish fiddle music remained similar enough to its European roots to merge with other fiddle traditions in America, but these distinctively Scottish aspects were soon lost.

Later styles of Scottish fiddling—especially that promoted by Lowland dancing master James Scott Skinner (1843–1927)—were introduced to North America via phonograph recordings, Highland games, and concert tours (by Skinner himself in 1893 and 1926). Although the music of the bagpipes and fiddle attracts many students and devotees, the style invariably changed when it met American audiences and participants (especially in the case of Highland musical tradition).

Scottish country dancing is a 1920s reformulation of social dance as practiced in the Lowlands (unknown in most of the Highlands). French-trained dancing masters created “Highland dancing,” and urban choreographers and the demands of athletic competition at Highland games effected further evolution; it owes very little to Gaelic culture.

James Macpherson’s poetry (1760–65) sparked the Romantic Movement and had many American admirers, including Thomas Jefferson.

Macpherson’s depiction of the blind Gaelic poet Ossian as “the last of his race” provided a precedent for the depiction of Native Americans. Several of the works of Walter Scott, the Scottish father of historical fiction, deal with the subordination of the “primitive” Highlanders to the demands of modernity and empire, themes that were directly applicable to narratives about the conquest of Native America. Scott’s influence is clear on James Fenimore Cooper, among others.

Contemporary Scene

The success of Mel Gibson’s film *Braveheart* and the Celtic Revival of the late 20th century provided a boost for societies and events celebrating Scottish heritage and identity, as well as the Highland games industry. These activities, however, remain peripheral and ritualized, rather than being the cultural core of any community.

Tartan Day was first proposed as a day to commemorate Scottish heritage in 1986, and in 1987 Nova Scotia became the first Canadian province to recognize it officially on April 6, the day on which the medieval Declaration of Arbroath was signed. Senator Trent Lott led the efforts that endorsed Senate Resolution 155 on March 20, 1998, establishing Tartan Day “to recognize the outstanding achievements and contributions made by Scottish Americans to the United States.” Despite alluring claims, there is no direct connection between the Scottish Declaration of Arbroath and the American Declaration of Independence.

Gaelic became defunct as the language of American immigrant communities in the early 20th century, but organizations teaching and promoting the language have enjoyed surprising popularity in recent decades, even if their impact has been limited. These often are closely linked to Gaelic-speaking communities in Scotland and/or Canada, whence many teachers come.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Scots-Irish Americans; Whiteness Studies.

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Scottsboro Boys Trials

In Alabama in 1931, a group of nine African American young men were accused of raping two white women and were all subsequently convicted in a series of trials marked by corruption and anti-African American sentiments. The Scottsboro Boys, as they came to be known, were between 12 and 19 years old. The incident became emblematic of the inherent racism in the American justice system.

The Incident and First Trial

On the evening of March 25, 1931, a fight broke out between two groups of young men, one black and one white, that had been traveling on the Southern Railway between Chattanooga and Memphis in Tennessee. Afterwards, a posse of white men searched the train and discovered Victoria Price and Ruby Bates, two white women who claimed to have been raped by the African American boys. Subsequently, the posse arrested Olen Montgomery, Clarence Norris, Haywood Patterson, Ozie Powell, Willie Roberson, Charlie Weems, Eugene Williams, Andrew Wright, and Roy Wright near Paint Rock, Alabama. The boys were held at a jail in nearby Scottsboro.

Retired defense attorney Milo Moody and Chattanooga real estate attorney Stephen Roddy defended the Scottsboro Boys in trials conducted at breakneck speed by Judge A. E. Hawkins. The evidence against the Scottsboro Boys ranged from circumstantial to misrepresentations of the truth. Moody and Roddy lacked the time to mount a proper defense; they found themselves unable to locate witnesses other than the defendants. Between April 6 and 9, 1931, eight of the nine defendants were convicted by all-white juries. Montgomery, Norris, Patterson, Powell, Roberson, Weems, Williams, and Andrew Wright all

had been sentenced to death by electrocution. One trial would begin as soon as the previous trial went into deliberations. Only Roy Wright, who was 12 years old at the time of the alleged incident, was spared by a mistrial; the jury was hung 11–1 in favor of the death sentence.

Reversed Convictions and Subsequent Trials

The plight of the Scottsboro Boys came to the attention of the legal arm of the American Communist Party, the International Labor Defense, which took over the case and immediately moved for new trials for all nine young men. The Alabama Supreme Court found that there were no procedural errors and upheld the death sentences of seven of the Scottsboro Boys; 13-year-old Williams was granted a new trial because of his age. This decision was appealed to the U.S. Supreme



Word quickly spread about the Scottsboro Boys and the rape story, and a lynch mob gathered at the jail, demanding the youths be surrendered. Sheriff Matt Wann ultimately called in the National Guard to protect the jail.

Court, which heard arguments in the case on October 10, 1932. Lawyers for the Scottsboro Boys argued that their clients had not received due process or a sufficient defense by their unprepared original attorneys and that African Americans had been excluded without exception from the juries. In its ruling in *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), the U.S. Supreme Court concurred, reversed the convictions, and ordered that the cases be retried.

During Patterson's second trial, Bates admitted on the stand that she and Price had fabricated their rape claims; the medical examiner confirmed her story. Defense attorney Samuel Leibowitz was also successful at getting the posse witnesses to admit that they never saw the Scottsboro Boys with Bates and Price. The jury, however, found Patterson guilty and sentenced him to death again, but Judge James E. Horton set aside that verdict and ordered a third trial for Patterson.

Judge William Callahan oversaw a new round of trials for Patterson and six other defendants; the cases of Roy Wright and Williams were remanded to juvenile court. Judge Callahan's instruction to the jury that no white woman would voluntarily have sex with a black man was an indication of lack of impartiality during the trial. All seven were convicted and condemned to death once again.

Leibowitz appealed the convictions to the Alabama Supreme Court, arguing that the defendants deserved a new trial because qualified black jurors were excluded from the juries. After the Alabama Supreme Court upheld the convictions, Leibowitz appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. That court issued two 1935 rulings—*Norris v. State of Alabama* and *Patterson v. State of Alabama*—in which the convictions of Norris and Patterson were overturned because African Americans were excluded from serving on the trial juries. The convictions were set aside, and new trials were granted.

This final round of trials began on January 20, 1936, and none of the Scottsboro Boys was acquitted. Patterson was convicted and sentenced to 75 years in prison—the first time in Alabama history that a black man had not been sentenced to death for raping a white woman. He escaped from prison in 1948, but after an unrelated manslaughter conviction in 1951, he was returned to prison, where he died the following year. Norris's death sentence was commuted to life by Governor

Bibb Graves in 1938; he was paroled in 1946. Andrew Wright was paroled in 1950 after being sentenced to 99 years. Weems was sentenced to 105 years, but he was paroled in 1943. Powell was shot in the face during a brawl with police officers during his commute to prison in 1936. He was sentenced to an additional 20 years for the fight but was paroled in 1946. All charges against Montgomery, Roberson, Williams, and Roy Wright were dropped in 1937.

A Broadway musical based on the trials of the Scottsboro Boys opened in 2010. In addition, the Scottsboro Boys trials served as a source of inspiration for Harper Lee's 1960 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

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See Also: Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity; Lynchings; *Patterson v. Alabama* (1935).

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Searchers, The

Starring John Wayne and directed by John Ford, *The Searchers* is one of the most haunting and influential representations of Native Americans in Hollywood cinema. Although the film received mixed reviews when first released in May 1956, its reputation began rising among critics, filmmakers, and scholars in the 1970s. Today, it is ranked by the American Film Institute as the greatest Western film of all time. Many Native Americans applaud the film's nuanced portrayal of race relations but also wish *The Searchers* had been bolder in portraying the consequences of white racism on the American frontier.

The Searchers begins in 1868, with the arrival of Ethan Edwards at the Texas ranch of his

brother Aaron; sister-in-law Martha; nephew Ben; and nieces] Debbie and Lucy. The next morning, Ethan joins a posse to pursue alleged cattle rustlers, only to discover that Comanche warriors have lured away the men in order to attack the Edwards home. By the time Ethan returns, the Comanche have killed Aaron, Martha, and Ben, and have kidnapped Lucy and Debbie. Ethan and others—including Martin Pauley, his adopted nephew who is one-eighth Cherokee and whose parents were killed in an earlier Comanche raid—begin their quest for vengeance and their search for 9-year-old Debbie and 16-year-old Lucy.

They discover Lucy's body but later lose track of the Comanche, causing everyone but Ethan and Martin to give up the search. Much later—five or seven years, depending on varying interpretations—Ethan and Martin finally find Debbie in the tepee of Scar, the Comanche leader who had captured her. With the help of the U.S. Cavalry, Ethan and Martin attack the Comanche camp. Martin kills Scar, and Ethan retrieves Debbie, bringing her to a white homestead not far from where the story began.

The film's primary source was Alan Le May's novel *The Searchers* (1954), which had been inspired by the real-life case of Cynthia Ann Parker, a 9-year-old white girl captured by Comanche in 1836; she lived willingly among the Comanche for 24 years before being recaptured by Texas Rangers. However, Ford—along with screenwriter Frank Nugent—made several significant changes to the novel, particularly to make Ethan more sinister and to make Martin part Native American. The film version also benefited from Max Steiner's musical score, which incorporated Native American and American folk leitmotifs, and from Winton Hoch's color cinematography, which took full advantage of location shooting among the magnificent rock formations of Monument Valley on the Navajo Reservation. As was his custom, Ford cast Navajos to play the Native Americans (Comanche, in this case), but, he used a white German actor (Henry Brandon) to portray Scar.

In most Western films before *The Searchers*, the lines are clearly drawn between civilization (represented by white settlers and communities) and savagery (represented by Native Americans,

or in some cases by white outlaws). In Ethan's case, those lines are blurred. He fully understands Comanche ways and even speaks their language, as well as some Spanish when he encounters Mexican Americans in New Mexico Territory. Conversely, the film humanizes Scar by explaining that whites had previously killed his two sons. In one of the film's most memorable scenes, Ethan and Scar defiantly stand face to face, mirror images of each other.

What distinguishes *The Searchers* even more is the virulent racism of Ethan Edwards, the film's protagonist, played by no less a cinematic icon than John Wayne. Ethan mercilessly mocks Martin (played by Jeffrey Hunter) as a "half-breed" and "blanket-head"; wantonly slaughters buffalo only to deprive Native Americans of their winter food source; cruelly shoots Comanche trying to recover their dead and wounded; is intent on murdering Debbie (played by Natalie Wood) rather than rescuing her, because he believes she has cohabited with Scar; and, perhaps most shockingly, desecrates Scar's corpse by taking his scalp. In the film's final scene—after Ethan has relented and saved Debbie—he deliberately turns away from the home that represents domestic civilization and slowly walks alone into the wilderness, the door firmly shutting on him.

Seen today, the film's ending may indicate disapproval of Ethan's unapologetic racism, but there is no evidence that most audiences in the 1950s reached that same conclusion. Similarly, Ethan's obsession with miscegenation—directed at Debbie's life among the Comanche—is analogous to some of the irrational fears and civil rights struggles of the time but may have been too subtle for contemporary audiences to grasp.

Unfortunately, there are no records to indicate the reception of *The Searchers* among Native Americans in 1956. However, more recent scholarship suggests a mixed reaction among Native Americans today: approval that Ethan Edwards is ostracized for his actions and beliefs, but also frustration that the film stops short of sympathizing more fully with the Comanche and their mistreatment by white settlers. Nevertheless, the complexity of *The Searchers* clearly set the stage for subsequent films that took a more progressive, multicultural position, such as John Ford's

Cheyenne Autumn (1964), Arthur Penn's *Little Big Man* (1970), and Kevin Costner's *Dances With Wolves* (1990).

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See Also: *Cheyenne Autumn*; Comanche; *Dances With Wolves*; *Little Big Man*; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race.

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Segregation

Although the term may refer to any enforced separation (e.g., by sex, ethnicity, or language), in the United States, it is most often applied to the racial segregation of African Americans during and immediately following slavery. Both laws (*de jure*) and customs (*de facto*) enforced the division of whites from nonwhites from before the Civil War through the 1960s. Laws have changed, but housing patterns remain segregated in many areas, and many schools are once again predominantly single race. The reasons for the persistence of residential segregation are complex and are increasingly influenced by the transition from black–white divisions to multiracial and ethnic populations.

Blacks were brought to the American colonies from Africa and enslaved (10 enslaved people were listed in the first census of Jamestown in 1625). An exception was the Creoles of color and Haitian immigrants following a revolt of enslaved people (1791–1804), but their numbers were comparatively small, and they lived mostly in New Orleans. There, and in other areas of

French colonization before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, enslaved people were subject to the 1685 Code Noir edict of Louis XIV. This black code detailed the conditions of slavery, including: the faith in which they were to be instructed (Roman Catholicism), when and whether they could marry and carry weapons (sent by their master to hunt), and to which master their children belonged. It forbade people enslaved by different masters from gathering (even under the “pretext” of a wedding), especially near major roadways; from selling anything (food, animals, or houses) without a letter from their master; and from going to court as a litigant or as a defendant. Enslaved people who attempted to escape were to have their ears cut off and be branded with a fleur-de-lis on one shoulder for a first attempt. A second warranted branding on the other shoulder and having the hamstring cut; punishment for a third escape attempt was death.

American colonies with enslaved people (including the District of Columbia) passed slave codes with similar provisions. They considered enslaved people the property of their masters, and therefore incapable of having individual rights or liberties. Anglo-British colonies looked to the Roman civil code to justify slavery, which it did—considering enslaved people as movable property. English common law court decisions also supported considering enslaved people as property in some cases and were ambiguous about the legal status of enslaved people in others, but at least they did not find the institution and condition of slavery legally unjustifiable in the colonies. The colonies retained these slave codes as they joined the United States. The federal government gave wide latitude to the laws of individual states, intervening only when it seemed that the Union was at risk.

Black Codes and Jim Crow Laws

Slavery was ended in the United States by the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (1865). However, declaring that blacks were no longer slaves did not guarantee that they would be treated like whites, especially in the former Confederate states of the south. Immediately, individual states began passing black codes with provisions similar to the older slave codes. These

codes continued to regulate how black freedmen could live, marry, work, and travel. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments ended the black codes, forbidding laws that officially made black Americans unequal to white Americans.

Jim Crow laws were designed to continue to keep blacks and whites separate but avoid unconstitutionality by pretending that their conditions were equal. These state and local laws were enabled by two Supreme Court cases in the late 1800s. First, the court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional, making it possible to again segregate public spaces. In 1896, it upheld a law that required separate white and colored rail cars in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Although it was not used in either court case, the separate but equal doctrine was used to justify Jim Crow laws in the south and in northern states struggling with an influx of freed blacks.

For nearly a century and a half following the Emancipation Proclamation, Jim Crow laws segregated white and black citizens in every area of life: restaurants, drinking fountains, soda machines, phone booths, movie theaters, hotels, buses, trains, hospitals, libraries, and schools were separated into white and black sections. Segregation of residential housing was not quite so straightforward. The Supreme Court found a Kentucky law that prohibited the sale of property to African Americans unconstitutional. Whites then turned to deed restrictions and neighborhood covenants to attempt to restrict sales to nonwhites. A more powerful weapon, however, was extralegal.

The Ku Klux Klan enforced segregation through murder, violence, mob riots, and lynching. It relied not only upon the legal separate but equal doctrine but also upon the system of social customs and etiquette that prohibited any suggestion that a black person was equal to whites. These social norms included prohibitions of a black person introducing himself first, offering a handshake to a white man, or commenting in any manner upon a white woman, using a courtesy title (such as “Mr.”), laughing at a white person, hinting that a white person was lying, or in any way demonstrating superior knowledge or intelligence. Such customs were beyond the reach of law but contributed to a society that was segregated “in fact.”

De Facto Segregation

The interplay between de jure and de facto segregation was at the heart of efforts to desegregate schools in the United States. In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that separate state schools for black and white students were unconstitutional. Kansas allowed segregated elementary schools but did not require them. Oliver Brown’s third-grade daughter, Linda, walked six blocks to her school bus stop for transport to a black school over a mile from her house, while a white school was just seven blocks from her home. The Kansas case was combined with four others, all test cases assembled by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The court said that the policy of separating races denoted the inferiority of “the negro group” and that the impact was more severe when it had the sanction of law, holding that “Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”

The Supreme Court verdict did not automatically change white attitudes. Some white families moved to suburbs in “white flight.” Others sought out private or religious schools. Governments also resisted. Prince Edward County, Virginia, closed its public schools for five years (1959–64). White students were given stipends to attend private schools staffed by former public school teachers, but black students had no access to education. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to block black students from entering Little Rock Central High School, and Alabama Governor George Wallace blocked the door to the University of Alabama to prevent the enrollment of black students, declaring “segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.”

Faced with such resistance, courts became directly involved in drawing and overseeing school desegregation plans to achieve racial balance. Many of these plans involved busing white students to formerly black schools, and vice versa. In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), the Supreme Court took note of “de facto segregation” as a condition in which racial segregation continued, despite language in the plan that appeared on its face to be neutral. Two years later, it considered the issue directly in *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*, the first high court desegregation case not from a

southern school system with a history of explicit legal segregation. It was also the first desegregation case that involved a large, non-black minority enrollment.

Parents of Latino and black students in the Park Hill neighborhood of Denver sued, saying that the school district had intentionally created segregated schools. The Denver Public Schools claimed that the racial and ethnic composition of the schools reflected neighborhood population patterns. The Supreme Court first rejected the idea that having blacks and Latinos in the same school qualified as integration, saying that both groups were disadvantaged when compared to whites. It then found that the school district had manipulated school buildings and attendance lines to keep nonwhite students out of schools with predominantly white student populations. In finding deliberate intent on the part of the school district, the Supreme Court let stand the principle that plaintiffs must prove *de jure* segregation in the form of some explicit policy to prevail—mere *de facto* segregation alone is not unconstitutional. Mandatory busing began in Denver in 1969, and enrollment in public schools dropped by a third, from 90,000 to 57,000 students. The percentage of white students dropped from 64 to 20 percent. By 2003, enrollment was up to 72,000, but the increase came from Latino students.

Studies released by the Civil Rights Project at UCLA in 2012 conclude that 15 percent of black students and 14 percent of Latino students attend “apartheid schools,” in which whites make up 0 to 1 percent of the enrollment. Approximately 43 percent of Latinos and 39 percent of blacks attend “intensely segregated” schools (0–10 percent white), and 80 percent of Latinos and 74 percent of blacks attend majority nonwhite schools (50–100 percent nonwhite). Beyond white flight from minority and/or public schools, these changes reflect a change in demographics. In 1970, nearly four out of every five students in the United States were white, but just over half were white in 2009. Over the same time period, Latino school enrollment increased from one-twentieth to nearly one-fourth of U.S. students.

In the south and west, students of color are now a majority of public school enrollments, and segregation is increasing. Most white students attend schools where three-quarters of their peers

are white. The typical Latino student in the west attends a school where two-thirds are Latino. In the Los Angeles metro area, 30 percent attend an apartheid school. School segregation for blacks is increasing most dramatically in the south (now that most school districts are no longer under court supervision), although large metro areas like Chicago and New York also report that one-half to one-third of their black students attend apartheid schools.

Multi-Ethnicity and Housing Segregation

Residential segregation has declined in the decades since the Fair Housing Act (1968), but the reasons and result are far from linear. Two significant shifts have impacted racial segregation patterns in residential housing. The first was the movement of freed blacks from the rural south to the urban north for economic opportunity, and its subsequent reversal. The second is the growth in non-black minority populations in the United States.

In the Great Migration, blacks looked to northern factories for employment and social opportunity. Many found jobs, but they were often paid lower wages than whites and were barred from all but low-level occupations. Blacks frequently lived in large, dense ghettos in northern cities such as New York, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Chicago. This migration slowed by the late 1960s, and in another 10 years, it began to reverse. During this time, manufacturing employment slowed (especially in the steel and auto industries), and the industrialized north lost ground to the Sunbelt among populations of all racial and ethnic groups. About one-half of all metropolitan blacks lived in the northeast and midwest in 1970, but fewer than 40 percent did by 2009. During the same time, the percentage of blacks living in the south increased from 41 to 52 percent.

Racial residential segregation in 1970 was as high as 79 percent. Over the next 30 years, black-white segregation declined to 65 percent, but not uniformly—there were regional differences. Larger metropolitan areas and areas with larger populations of blacks have greater segregation, as do cities devoted to retirement and manufacturing. Metro areas with more recent housing construction have lower segregation. These characteristics resulted in higher segregation in the north and lower segregation in the south and west. The

combination of regional segregation characteristics and black movement resulted in large relative declines in black populations in the northeast and midwest but small decreases in desegregation in those areas. Southern metropolitan areas saw population increases and substantial declines in segregation, as did the west.

Growing Latino and Asian populations have made segregation calculations more complex. In 1900, whites were more than 88 percent of the total U.S. population, and blacks were most of the remaining 12 percent. (Other racial and ethnic groups were less than 1 percent.) By 2000, the white population was 75 percent, blacks remained constant at 12 percent, but other racial and ethnic groups rose to 13 percent. Comparing any two groups to the exclusion of others produces results that are incomplete and even inaccurate. Researchers agree upon some preliminary indicators: fewer all-white areas exist, but that is because of the entry of Latinos and Asians; black and nonwhite segregation is lower than black–white segregation; Latino subgroups experience residential segregation based on color, with black Latinos highly segregated from non-Latino whites, and moderately segregated from non-Latino blacks; Asian ethnic groups (Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Korean and Vietnamese) have about the same levels of segregation among one another, and similar differences in segregation with whites; levels of segregation between blacks and Asians are higher than between blacks and Latinos; and most blacks no longer live in majority-black neighborhoods.

No Longer Black and White

Future segregation analysis will be further complicated by the increasing number of multiple-race citizens in the United States. The 2000 census was the first one in which an option was given to designate more than one race. Although still few in absolute terms, the people who reported multiple races in the 2010 census grew by 32 percent from 2000, while those who reported a single race grew by only 9.2 percent. Over the same decade, the total U.S. population grew 9.7 percent, but multi-race groups increased by 50 percent or more. The number of people identifying as black and white increased by 134 percent (more than one million); the next largest

multiple-race category was white and Asian, with an increase of 87 percent (75,000). The number of people reporting black in combination with one or more additional races grew faster than the rate of blacks alone.

A total of 16 states had more than 200,000 people who reported multiple races. The top three each had half a million or more: California, Texas, and New York. A total of nine states reported a change of 70 percent or greater in the number of residents identifying as multiple-race: South Carolina, North Carolina, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Mississippi, and South Dakota. This combination of desegregation characteristics in the south and west, increased black movement to the south, higher populations of Latinos in the west, growing numbers of Asians and other nonwhite citizens, lower white populations, and increased multiple-race residents will create a future perspective of segregation as a mosaic rather than a black–white divide.

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See Also: Black Codes; Civil Rights Acts; Jim Crow Laws; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; School Segregation; Slavery.

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Seinfeld

Seinfeld is an American television comedy series created by Larry David and Jerry Seinfeld and produced by Castle Rock Entertainment. It first aired in July 1989 and ran for nine series. The last episode, "The Finale," was shown on May 14, 1998.

Synopsis

Seinfeld is a fictional series that follows the lives of a group of friends living in New York. At its center is the character Jerry Seinfeld, who is a stand-up comedian, played by stand-up comedian Jerry Seinfeld. He lives in an apartment opposite eccentric neighbor Cosmo Kramer (Michael Richards) and has frequent visits from his friends George Costanza (Jason Alexander) and Elaine Benes (Julia Louis-Dreyfus), who is also his ex-girlfriend. The series follows their daily activities but has been referred to as, and once claimed to be, a "show about nothing."

Audience, Acclaim, and Cultural Commentary

The series was acclaimed from the outset, nominated for multiple Emmy Awards every year of its production and nominated for Golden Globes each year from 1993 to 1998. The global audience for *Seinfeld* is very hard to ascertain, as its continued airings as a syndicated show on several networks ensure that it is rarely off the screen in many countries. DVD sales have been similarly successful worldwide.

Seinfeld draws on an archetype of the liberal New York Jewish lifestyle established by Woody Allen, among others. The character of George Costanza, a neurotic man unable to form and maintain a relationship, is reportedly based on Woody Allen.

Much of the commentary about *Seinfeld* focuses on the self-referential qualities of the text; that is, the way the text draws attention to its own artifice and construction as a media text. For example, in the season 4, episode 3, "The Pitch," Jerry is asked by NBC executives to develop an idea for a TV series. Together, he and George develop an idea for a show based on "nothing," in which a group of four friends like themselves do very little. Their idea, and their interaction with NBC, returns in season 4, episode 6, "The Watch," and

season 4, episode 10. "The Virgin." In the final show, "The Finale" (season 9, episode 22), NBC eventually greenlights the idea, but an incident that occurs while Jerry and his friends are traveling to a meeting with the executive team means that the show is never given the go-ahead. These self-referential qualities would later become a characteristic trait of Larry David's work, such as *Curb Your Enthusiasm* (2000–), in which Larry David stars as Larry David, the writer who created *Seinfeld*.

Criticism

Like other "quality TV" programs of the late millennium, notably HBO productions *Sex and the City* (1998–2004) and *The Sopranos* (1999–2007), *Seinfeld* has been the subject of considerable academic study. Criticism of *Seinfeld* notes that although the series is set in New York at the end of the 20th century, it represents an almost wholly white, middle-class, educated version of city life and as such has little to offer as a commentary on multicultural America. Very few intercultural references are made beyond the everyday experiences of the main characters, and where these do exist, they predominantly serve to differentiate Jerry and George as Jewish characters living in a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant world.

They particularly highlight the characters' neuroses, portray their customs as idiosyncratic, and exaggerate the gregarious nature of their two sets of parents. For example, in season 5, episode 11, "The Conversion," George decides to convert to Latvian Orthodox to impress a girl and angers his parents in the process. *Seinfeld* responds to the charges that it portrays a very limited view of New York in a typically self-reflexive manner by incorporating the criticism within the text. For example, in "The Cigar Store Indian" (season 5, episode 10), Jerry is deemed a racist when he purchases a Native American statue for Elaine. Similarly, *Seinfeld* claims to be "a show about nothing"; its seeming lack of content is parodied in several episodes; and its DVD series features a "notes about nothing" commentary track.

After Seinfeld

By finishing at the peak of its popularity, *Seinfeld* ensured that there would be a good deal of speculation about what would happen to its stars



Seinfeld was a commercial blockbuster and cultural phenomenon named the greatest television program of all time by TV Guide. It aired from July 1989 through May 1999 for nine seasons and drew on an archetype of the liberal New York Jewish lifestyle.

after the series concluded. The phrase *the Seinfeld curse* was coined to refer to the comparatively small amount of success that the four main actors have achieved since the series ended, but this relative lack of success can be seen only in comparison with the massive global popularity of the *Seinfeld* franchise.

Most of the stars have in fact achieved notable successes since the series' completion. Jerry Seinfeld has worked as a voiceover actor and returned to stand-up comedy in 2010 with a very successful world tour. Julia Louis-Dreyfus won an Emmy Award for her role in *The New Adventures of Old Christine* (2006–10) and received great critical acclaim for her role as the vice president in HBO's *Veep* (2012–). Jason Alexander has starred in numerous films and TV series. Michael Richards has achieved more qualified success, including a TV show, *The Michael Richards Show* (2000–01). Larry David continues to write, produce, and star in *Curb Your Enthusiasm*, HBO's longest-running series to date. All of the key actors from *Seinfeld* have appeared in *Curb Your Enthusiasm*.

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See Also: *Annie Hall*; Jewish Americans; Television.

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Seminole

The Seminole are Native Americans descended from the Creek and originally of Florida. They now reside primarily in Florida and in Oklahoma, to which the majority of them were forcibly removed in the early 19th century. The Seminole Nation of Oklahoma and the Seminole Tribe of Florida (a federally recognized Indian tribe) are fully independent nations. Because they never surrendered to the U.S. government and are the only tribe in America that never signed a peace treaty with federal authorities, the Florida Seminole refer to themselves as the Unconquered People. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 14,080 people reported themselves as "Seminole American Indian."

History

The large territory of what is now called Florida once held perhaps 200,000 Seminole ancestors in hundreds of tribes, all members of the Maskókî linguistic family, the Muscogean language of the Creek Indians. In the 1700s, as a result of growing European settlement, they had migrated to Florida from Georgia and Alabama. Originally, the Seminole occupied the wooded areas of northern Florida, but they eventually spread as far south as the Everglades. The Seminole were not a homogeneous tribe at that time, but rather disparate groups. Groups of Lower Creeks moved to Florida to get away from the domination of Upper Creeks, while others were seeking new, more fertile land for crops. In addition to the Creeks, Seminoles included Hitchiti, Apalachee, Mikisúkî, Yamasee, Yuchi, Tequesta, Apalachicola, Choctaw, and Oconee, as well as runaway black enslaved people. The Spaniards (who held

control of Florida until 1821, when they ceded the land to the United States) called these indigenous Florida people Seminoles, which, according to Richard Sattler in *The Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, is a corruption of the Spanish word *cimarrón*, meaning “wild” or “runaway.”

By the turn of the 19th century, conflicts with white settlers who wanted Indian land were becoming more commonplace. In 1817, these conflicts escalated into the first of three wars. Future U.S. president Andrew Jackson invaded Florida, attacked several key locations, and pushed the Seminole farther south. By 1823, most of Seminole tribal land had been ceded to the U.S. government, leaving about 5 million acres. After Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828, there was a growing movement to transfer all Indians living in the United States to west of the Mississippi River, which eventually led to the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, authorizing Jackson to negotiate with Indians in the south for their removal to federal territory in exchange for their homelands. Two years later, the Treaty of Paynes Landing was negotiated with Seminole representatives and called for their removal to Indian territory in Oklahoma within three years. In 1835, with removal imminent, Osceola, a Seminole leader, instigated a rebellion resulting in the Second Seminole War. Seminole medicine man Abiaka also played an important role in the Seminole wars. Although not as well-known as Osceola, he was a powerful spiritual leader who used his “medicine” to inspire Seminole warriors to battle, and he directed a number of successful battles, including the battle of Okeechobee in 1837.

The Seminole ultimately lost their armed struggle, and most of the tribe (an estimated 4,420 Seminoles and associated blacks) was moved to present-day Oklahoma. But 500 to 600 warriors under Osceola remained in Florida, hiding in the Everglades and using guerrilla tactics against 5,000 U.S. soldiers. Osceola was eventually captured in 1837 under a controversial flag of truce, and died while imprisoned in Fort Moultrie, South Carolina. Abiaka, meanwhile, was the only major Seminole leader to resist removal and remain in Florida.

Culture

The few hundred Seminole who remained in Florida after the wars hid in small, scattered hamlets

in the swamplands and developed a distinctive culture, including their unique dwelling places, called Chickees (stilt houses with open sides, a raised floor, and a thatch roof made of palmetto leaves). In the 19th century, the Florida Seminoles also began using sewing machines and would become famous for their colorful patchwork skirts and shirts, a traditional craft that several generations of mothers have now passed down to their daughters. Women were also famous for the multiple layers of elaborate beaded necklaces they wore on their necks, wrists, and ankles. One of the most important of the Seminole customs was the *apuskita*, or Green Corn Ceremony, held to celebrate the harvest of the corn. It is still observed today.

Each Seminole Indian born of a Seminole mother becomes a member of her “clan.” Husbands traditionally went to live in the wife’s clan camp. Each clan is an extended family unit and is characterized by a nonhuman entity with which it shares traits, such as courage or endurance. There are eight Seminole clans—Panther, Bear, Deer, Wind, Bigtown, Bird, Snake, and Otter.

The Seminole Indians have two languages still in use today, neither of which is traditionally written or mutually intelligible: Muscogee (Creek) and Miccosukee. Many Seminoles are fluent in both languages; some speak only one or the other. Muscogee, the more common language, is being revived and is used on the six Florida reservations. Among the Seminole of Oklahoma, it is used widely. (English is more prevalent today, especially with those under the age of 50.) Many Florida place names are derived from Seminole words, such as Ocala, Miami, and Homosassa.

Most Seminole are Christians. (Baptist missionaries came to the Oklahoma Creek and Oklahoma Seminole tribes as early as 1846), and there are several churches located on reservation land. However, Seminole continue to partake in the Green Corn Dance ritual and to engage in some aspects of traditional medicine and herbal healing practices. Medicine men and women still play active roles in the lives of Seminoles. Often, they are elders who use roots, herbs, animal parts, and other items from nature to treat a variety of physical and mental ailments.

The Florida Seminole kept largely to themselves for nearly a century. It was not until trading posts opened in the late 19th century at Fort

Lauderdale, Chokoloskee, and other places that they began to enter the world of commerce, trading in plant foods and more exotic items such as alligator hides and egret feathers. In the early 20th century, Florida Seminole began selling traditional crafts such as baskets, beadwork, patchwork clothes, and palmetto dolls.

In the 1930s, they also began to engage in cattle ranching. Along with tobacco and tourism, these were the principal industries. However, the most lucrative source of income in the last 50 years has been gambling. In 1979, the Seminole opened Hollywood Seminole Bingo, the first casino on Indian land. The gaming industry has had a significant economic impact on the Seminole; in 2001, the tribe's budget exceeded \$200 million, with 95 percent of revenues coming from the casino industry. Seminole casinos have funded other industries, such as sugarcane fields, citrus groves, cattle, ecotourism, and commercial agriculture.

Three of the more famous contemporary Seminoles are Noah Billie, an artist; Betty Mae Jumper, an author and legendary storyteller and the first female chair, or chief, of the Seminole Tribe; and James Edward Billie, who was elected chairman/president of the Independent Seminole Tribe of Florida from 1979 to 2001 and was instrumental in bringing the gaming industry to the tribe. He also won the "Living Legend" Native American Music Award in 1999.

Contemporary Scene

In the late 1950s, there was a movement among Indian tribes to organize themselves and draft their own charters. On July 21, 1957, tribal members voted in favor of a Seminole Constitution, which established the federally recognized Seminole Tribe of Florida. As established in their new constitution, the Tribal Council is the chief governing body, composed of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and council representatives from each reservation. Today, the council administers the Seminole Police Department, the human resources programs, the tribal gaming enterprises, citrus groves, the Billie Swamp Safari, the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum, and the majority of the tribe's cigarette-related enterprises.

Not all Florida Seminoles were a part of the reservation system, however. In the 1920s and 1930s, many Seminole established communities

along the Tamiami Trail, a then recently constructed roadway that ran through the Everglades. Called the Trail Indians, these Seminole were more traditional and less interested in establishing formal relations with the federal government. When reservation Seminole organized their tribal government in the late 1950s, the Trail Indians felt disenfranchised. They went on to establish their own independent tribal government, the Miccosukee Tribe of Florida, which received state recognition in 1957 and federal recognition in 1962.

Today, the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma is headquartered in Wewoka, Oklahoma, and is the largest of the three federally recognized Seminole organizations, which include the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida. The Seminole Tribe of Florida has six reservations in Tampa, Brighton, Fort Pierce, Big Cypress, Immokalee, and Hollywood.

In 1970, the Indian Claims Commission awarded the Seminole (of both Oklahoma and Florida, collectively) \$12,347,500 for the land taken from them by the U.S. military.

Florida Seminoles have played an active role in protecting the land and water systems in the Florida Everglades. Designed to mitigate the impacts of development on the environment, the Seminole Everglades Restoration Initiative is a multiyear project that should have a significant impact on the quality and quantity of water flowing off of the Big Cypress Reservation and into the Florida Everglades.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Indian Claims Commission; Indian Removal Act (1830); Native Americans; Seminole Wars.

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Seminole Wars

The Florida Seminole Wars of the mid-19th century were the result of growing conflict between U.S. settlers and the Seminoles. The Seminole Wars consisted of three separate conflicts: the First Seminole War (1818), Second Seminole War (1835–42), and Third Seminole War (1855–58). The wars reduced the Florida Seminole population from approximately 5,000 to less than 200. At their conclusion, the few hundred Seminole remaining in Florida never signed a peace treaty with the U.S. government, and their descendants within the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Miccosukee Tribe still refer to themselves as “the unconquered.”

The First Seminole War was an integral part of the unsettled, violent nature of the Second Spanish Period of occupation in Florida, from 1789 to 1821. Seminole, in part consisting of former members of the Muscogee Creek Tribe, began migrating into Florida from Georgia and Alabama. The Spanish welcomed the new arrivals, who bolstered the territory’s sparse population, by offering land grants. The new and expanding United States was interested in the acquisition of east and west Florida, while the declining Spanish empire largely neglected its isolated colonial holding.

The Seminole who had settled in Florida were leading raids against U.S. citizens across the Florida–Georgia border. Other contentious issues were competition for farmland, cattle raids, and the harboring of escaped slaves within the Seminole camps. Many of these “Black Seminole” intermarried into the tribe.

The federal government sent a detachment under Major General Andrew Jackson into Spain’s Florida territory in 1818 in response. Jackson’s military success in the First Seminole War helped convince the Spanish government to cede the territory of Florida to the United States under the

1819 Adams-Onís Treaty. Florida reached statehood in 1845.

Inadequate Reserved Lands

The U.S. government initially sought to recognize the Spanish land grants to the Seminole through the 1823 Treaty of Moultrie Creek. The treaty, however, soon proved unpopular to both sides, as Florida’s U.S. population grew and the Seminole found their reserved land inadequate. By this time, the Indian Removal Act of 1830, stipulating removal of all eastern Native American tribes to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River, had become national policy. Osceola assumed a leadership role among those Seminole opposed to emigration from Florida.

Osceola organized two separate incidents on December 28, 1835: the killing of federal Indian agent Wiley Thompson and the ambush of a contingent of U.S. troops under the command of Major Francis Dade, only three of whom survived the attack.

Osceola’s actions were the first organized resistance to U.S. encroachment on Seminole territory and the federal policy of forced removal of the Seminole. The U.S. Army countered with military action against the Seminole, beginning the Second Seminole War (1835–42). U.S. forces comprised a mixture of regular U.S. Army troops, Florida militia, and Native Americans allied against the Seminole. Seven U.S. officers held command during the course of the war.

The war was known for its guerrilla-style fighting in the harsh, swampy terrain. As a result, the Second Seminole War was the longest and most expensive of the Indian Wars fought between U.S. forces and Native Americans. Engagements ranged throughout Florida, from the northern Panhandle into the Florida Keys. Important battles included the Battle of Okeechobee (December 25, 1837) and the Battle of Loahatchee (January 24, 1838). General Thomas Jesup controversially captured Osceola under a flag of truce in 1837. Osceola died at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, the following year.

At the conclusion of the Second Seminole War, approximately 300 Seminole remained in Florida, while 3,824 had been relocated to Indian Territory (modern-day Oklahoma). The federal government sought to convince the remaining Seminole



A re-enactment of a battle during the Seminole Wars at Hillsborough River State Park, Florida. The Seminole Wars were also known as the Florida Wars and consisted of three conflicts between the Seminole and the U.S. Army. Seminole is a collective name given to the amalgamation of various groups of Native Americans and African Americans who settled in Florida in the early 18th century. The first war began in 1814, with the last of the three wars ending in 1858.

to voluntarily relocate west through the use of Seminole émigrés, monetary compensation, and the establishment of a separate section of Indian Territory reserved for Seminole use. Later tactics became harsher as Seminole opposition persisted, including the sale of Seminole lands in Florida. White encroachment on Seminole territory also continued.

Chief Billy Bowlegs and Arpeika (Sam Jones) were among the Seminole who refused to leave their isolated camps within the swamps of central and south Florida. Chief Billy Bowlegs led a group of the approximately 100 remaining Seminole warriors in a last uprising, the Third Seminole War (1855–58). A combined U.S. force of approximately 1,500 men included both regular soldiers and Florida militia. Colonel John Monroe and, later, General William Harney were the commanding officers.

There were no major battles during the Third Seminole War, with most action consisting of Seminole raids on isolated settlements and military posts, and U.S. counterattacks on Seminole

encampments. A group of Florida militia attacked and destroyed Billy Bowlegs's camp in 1857. He agreed to a compensated emigration from Florida shortly thereafter. No peace treaty formally ended the Seminole Wars, as the U.S. Army simply abandoned their pursuit of the few hundred Seminole remained isolated within the Everglades for decades. Descendants of those who remained formed the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Miccosukee Tribe, whereas descendants of the émigrés became the Seminole Tribe of Oklahoma.

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See Also: Adams-Onís Treaty (1819); Five Civilized Tribes; Indian Removal Act (1830); Trail of Tears.

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Senate, U.S.

The U.S. Senate has been called the world's most exclusive club. This club has been composed mostly of white males throughout history and has yet to witness the level of ethnic and racial diversity of other political institutions in the United States. As an exclusive club, the Senate has been slower to develop with a multicultural America. The qualifications for the U.S. Senate are being 30 years of age, a U.S. citizen for nine years, and a resident of the state represented. Dozens of naturalized citizens have served in the upper chamber of Congress. There have been seven African Americans, five Asian Americans, eight Hispanic Americans, and three Native American Indians to serve in Senate history. Those 18 "minority" candidates compose 0.01 percent of the 1,943 members to serve in the Senate. In the 112th Congress of 2011 to 2013, there were two Hispanics and two Asian Americans, at four percent, the most diverse in history. The 113th Congress of 2013-15 had three Hispanics and one African American, remaining at 4 percent.

Regarding gender, 44 women have served in the Senate (29 Democrats and 15 Republicans). In 2013, 20 women (16 Democrats and four Republicans) mark the most females in history. Rebecca Felton (D-Georgia) was the first woman appointed and served only for one day. Hattie Caraway (D-Arkansas) in 1932 was the first female elected, and served for 14 years. Carol Moseley Braun, an African American from Illinois, has been the only woman of color. Tammy Baldwin (D-Wisconsin), elected in 2012, is the first openly gay member of the chamber.

The majority of senators have been Christians. Protestants collectively are the majority, whereas Catholic is currently the single largest denomination. There have been 34 Jewish senators,

including 12 who served in 2012. No Muslims, Hindus, or Buddhists have served in the Senate. There are seven Mormons in the 113th Congress. The Senate investigated the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints from 1904 to 1907 after Reed Smoot, a prominent Mormon, was elected. After a thorough probe of the church, senators voted against expelling Smoot. A Senate chaplain has been appointed since 1789. The official chaplains have all been of a Christian denomination. Guest chaplains from all the major faiths have also presided. Several members voluntarily participate in a weekly Senators' Prayer Breakfast.

Waves of German, Irish, and Italian immigrants transformed American cities and local politics in the late 19th century. Carl Schurz, born in Germany, became the first German American senator, representing Missouri. Although most immigrants joined the Democratic Party, Schurz joined the Whig and then the Republican parties because of their anti-slavery positions. He was an ardent supporter of President Abraham Lincoln. Schurz, who had a love of Germany and loyalty toward America, in a speech on the Senate floor, adapted the phrase "My country, right or wrong" to "My Country, right or wrong; if right, to be kept right; and if wrong, to be set right." Many of Schurz's speeches and writings focus on patriotism and on combining the best of German character with American culture.

At least 15 senators were born in Ireland, and many others were of Irish descent. The Kennedy family represents the most famous Irish Americans to sit in the Senate. John F. (D-Massachusetts), Robert (D-New York), and Edward (D-Massachusetts) each served. Most notable for his Senate achievements was Edward "Ted" Kennedy, who championed health care and immigration reforms, including the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. An infamous Irish American senator was Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisconsin), whose witch-hunt to root out suspected communists from the U.S. government and society became known as McCarthyism. John Orlando Pastore (D-Rhode Island), in 1950, was the first Italian American elected to the Senate. Pastore chaired the Senate Commerce Committee during discussions over the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although senators of these ethnic backgrounds have been involved in symbolic gestures toward their mother countries,

they tend to not push policies that protect or punish particular countries.

African Americans

Seven African Americans have served in the Senate: four Republicans and three Democrats. They represent 0.003 percent of the senators in history. Hiram Rhodes Revels (R-Mississippi, 1870–71) and Blanche Kelso Bruce (R-Mississippi, 1875–81) served during the period of Reconstruction. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, granted African Americans the right to vote and, in effect, to run for office. Revels and Bruce were Republicans, the post-Civil War moderate party on racial representation. Southern white Republicans built coalitions with black freedmen and newly arriving northerners to gain control of many state governments in the south.

Revels, appointed in 1870, was born a free man in Fayetteville, North Carolina, in 1827. With a Baptist preacher father and a mother of Scottish descent, Revels was of mixed African and Croatan Indian heritage. The state senate selected U.S. senators to replace the two who vacated their seats when Mississippi seceded from the Union. A deal was struck by which a black man would be appointed to serve the term expiring in 1871 and a white candidate for the term running through 1875. Southern Democrats sought to block Revels from being seated by arguing that he was not eligible because blacks were not citizens until the Fourteenth Amendment. Bruce was a former slave who became a plantation owner. He was the first African American elected to a full term in the U.S. Senate. Bruce's mother was a slave, and his father was his mother's owner and the son-in-law of her former owner. Even though a slave in youth, Bruce had educational opportunities afforded to him through his father's family.

Though initially influenced to enter politics by Mississippi politician James Alcorn, Bruce later supported Alcorn's political nemesis. While it was tradition for the senior senator from a state to escort a new senator to the Senate podium, Alcorn snubbed Bruce. Powerful New York Senator Roscoe Conkling mentored Bruce and assisted him in gaining influential committee assignments. Bruce advocated for the rights of black war veterans and promoted fair treatment in the armed forces, without success. On February 14, 1879, during a

debate on the Chinese Exclusion Act, which suspended Chinese immigration to the United States, Bruce became the first black to preside over a Senate session. He also demanded better treatment for Native Americans and criticized Indian policy.

After the election of 1876, Reconstruction ended, and blacks were kept from voting or holding public office throughout much of the United States. A variety of methods, such as gerrymandering, grandfather clauses, literacy tests, poll taxes, and intimidation and violence, were used to suppress votes. The Twenty-Fourth Amendment eliminated the poll tax, and gerrymandering was eased by Supreme Court decisions in the 1960s. The other mechanisms were curtailed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Edward W. Brooke (R-Massachusetts, 1967–79) became the first African American popularly elected to the U.S. Senate. Brooke, in 1966, was the first black elected to Congress from his state. Brooke served on the Kerner Commission that was charged with finding solutions to racial unrest, fought against racial discrimination in housing, and advocated for the renewal of the Voting Rights Act in 1975. He was reelected in 1972 and lost reelection in 1978.

The first African American woman elected to the Senate was Carol Moseley Braun (D-Illinois, 1993–99). Moseley Braun was elected in 1992 but lost her reelection bid in 1998 under a cloud of corruption allegations. Barack Obama (D-Illinois, 2005–08) was elected to the Senate, spurred in part by a well-received keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention when he was an Illinois state senator. His speech became the basis of his second book, *The Audacity of Hope*, which pushed his career when promoted on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. Obama attained celebrity status upon his election, and as the only African American in the Senate, he gained instant notoriety. A skilled orator, Obama launched a run for president. In 2008, he sought and won the Democratic Party nomination over Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York and other challengers and was ultimately elected president of the United States. Obama had an unremarkable legislative record.

When Obama was sworn in as president on January 20, 2009, his Senate seat became vacant. Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich was authorized to pick the replacement. Roland Burris

(D-Illinois, 2009–10), a former state comptroller and attorney general, was selected. Burriss ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination for Senate in 1984, and then for governor in 1994, 1998, and 2002. Burriss promised not to run for a full term when the seat expired in 2010. Burriss claimed that his vote was crucial to the passage of the Affordable Care Act of 2010, also known as Obamacare, after President Obama assured Burriss, who supported a public option that was not included in the final legislation, that the bill would have cost accountability and promote competition.

After Burriss left the Senate, there was no African American senator in the 112th Congress. When Jim DeMint abruptly resigned his Senate seat from South Carolina at the end of 2012, Representative Tim Scott was appointed to replace him. Scott became the first southern black Republican senator since Reconstruction. John Kerry's resignation to become U.S. secretary of state in January 2013 led to the appointment of Democrat William "Mo" Cowan from Massachusetts. Cohen, an attorney, served the office of Governor Duval Patrick, who made the appointment. Scott and Cohen were the first two African American senators to serve simultaneously. Cohen joined the Congressional Black Caucus but Scott did not.

Asian Americans

There have been five U.S. senators of Asian heritage. Hiram L. Fong (R-Hawai'i) served from 1959 to 1977. Fong was Chinese American. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawai'i), first elected in 1962, won a ninth term in 2010. Inouye was the first Japanese American to serve in Congress and did continually after Hawai'i achieved statehood in 1959. When Robert Byrd died in 2010, Inouye became the President Pro Tempore of the Senate. When he died in December 2012, he was the second-longest-serving senator in history, behind Byrd. Samuel I. Hayakawa (R-California) served one term, from 1977 to 1983. Hayakawa, an educator and writer of Japanese heritage, was born in Canada. He did not seek a second term.

Spark M. Matsunaga (D-Hawai'i, 1977–90), a Japanese American, was detained at a Wisconsin internment camp after the Pearl Harbor attack, although he was a second lieutenant in the U.S.

Army. Matsunaga and other internees convinced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to let them form the 100th Infantry Battalion. Matsunaga was injured twice in Italy during World War II. His legislation led to the creation of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. In 1988, Matsunaga was instrumental in gaining passage of a \$1.25 billion bill providing \$20,000 and an apology to each Japanese American who was sent to an internment camp. Matsunaga died on April 15, 1990, and was succeeded by Daniel K. Akaka (D-Hawai'i). Akaka is a native Hawai'ian of Chinese ancestry. He served in a number of state positions before his appointment and subsequent reelection to the Senate in 1994, 2000, and 2006.

Hispanic Americans/Latinos

Eight Hispanic Americans have served in the Senate. Three represented New Mexico: Octoviano Larraxolo (R, 1928–29), Dennis Chavez (D, 1935–62), and Joseph M. Montoya (D, 1964–77). Larraxolo served in the Senate from 1928 to 1929. Larraxolo, born in Mexico, became active in the Democratic Party in Texas and New Mexico. A dispute over representation of Hispanics in New Mexico led him to switch parties. He was elected governor, and later won a special election for senator but served six months before falling ill. Chavez, the first Hispanic elected to a full term, was the longest-serving Latino. He was succeeded by Montoya. Ken L. Salazar (D-Colorado, 2005–09), a Mexican American, was elected to the Senate in 2004. He resigned to accept an appointment as secretary of the interior by President Obama. Robert Menendez (D-New Jersey, 2006–), was appointed by Jon Corzine when Corzine was elected as governor.

Melquiades "Mel" R. Martinez (R-Florida, 2005–09) was the first Cuban American elected to the Senate. Martinez was born in Cuba in 1946 and immigrated to the United States in the 1962 Operation Pedro Pan program. He served until he resigned 16 months before the end of the term, citing family reasons. Florida governor Charlie Crist rejected calls to appoint another Cuban American or other minority candidate, and instead picked an advisor to hold the seat. Crist ran in 2010 but was forced out of the Republican primary when a former state house speaker from Miami, Marco

Rubio, rode a wave of anti-incumbent sentiment and pro-Tea Party support. Rubio beat Crist, who ran as an independent, and Democratic Congressman Kendrick Meek, an African American.

Rubio, who was a celebrity politician and was embraced by conservative talk radio and pundits, kept a low profile initially as a senator before emerging on the national stage in 2012. He appealed to American exceptionalism in his campaign rhetoric and described his American dream-style story. He was mentioned as a vice presidential candidate for Republican nominee Mitt Romney and was given the honor of introducing Romney at the 2012 Republican National Convention in Tampa. Rubio effortlessly grants interviews in English and Spanish, and he speaks about generational issues such as entitlement reform. Texas voters elected Rafael Edward "Ted" Cruz, a Republican, in 2012. Cruz was born in Alberta, Canada. His father is from Cuba. Cruz and Rubio have important voices in immigration reform legislation and Republican Party attempts to appeal to Hispanic voters.

Native Americans

There have been three Native Americans in the Senate. Two of them served simultaneously in the early 20th century. Charles Curtis (R-Kansas), a Kaw Indian, served from 1907 to 1913 and 1915 to 1929. Robert Owen (D-Oklahoma), a Cherokee, served from 1907 to 1925. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (Colorado) served from 1993 to 2005. Campbell's father was a northern Cheyenne Indian. Campbell was first elected as a Democrat and switched to Republican in 1995 because of disputes with the Colorado Democratic Party. He overwhelmingly won reelection in 1998 and did not run again in 2004.

Racial Controversy

The actions of southern Democrats blocked civil rights legislation from passing into law in the 1950s. The longest filibuster in Senate history was undertaken by J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, stalling a vote on the Civil Rights Act of 1957 for 24 hours and 18 minutes by reciting various historical documents. Several senators filibustered the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for 57 working days before it passed. Senator Everett Dirksen (R-Illinois) worked to gain bipartisan

support for the bill, along with President Lyndon B. Johnson, a former Senate president, holding personal clout with senators.

In 1991, Clarence Thomas was nominated to the U.S. Supreme Court by President George H. W. Bush. If confirmed, Thomas would be the second African American justice. During Thomas's Senate confirmation hearings, allegations of workplace sexual harassment were brought forward by Anita Hill. Three days of hearings with testimony by Hill and Thomas garnered high television ratings. During questioning by the all-white Senate panel, Hill's supporters felt that, as a black woman, she was unfairly treated. Thomas lashed out at the members of the Judiciary Committee, saying, "And from my standpoint, as a black American, it is a high-tech lynching for uppity blacks who in any way deign to think for themselves, to do for themselves, to have different ideas, and it is a message that unless you kowtow to an old order, this is what will happen to you. You will be lynched, destroyed, caricatured by a committee of the U.S. Senate rather than hung from a tree." Ultimately, Thomas was confirmed by a 52-48 vote.

Future Trajectories of American Multiculturalism

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York) predicted in the 1990s that the Senate would need to address apportionment between large and small states. The larger states are more ethnically and racially diverse than some of the less populous ones, boosting the voting power of the white residents of smaller states over that of racial and ethnic groups in more heavily populated states. Ethnic and racial minority candidates face challenges to winning statewide election. Black candidates do well in winning seats in the House of Representatives, particularly if they are majority-minority districts. No black candidates were nominated by Democrats or Republicans for their party's Senate nomination in 2012. Asian Pacific candidates fare well in Alaska and Hawai'i, and can be competitive in western states. Hispanic/Latino candidates appear to have a better chance of increasing the minority representation in the Senate as their percentage of the population grows nationally and increases, particularly in many southern and western states. As both main

parties court Latino voters, more Hispanic candidates will rise to prominent political positions.

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See Also: *Audacity of Hope, The*; Civil Rights Acts; Constitutional Amendments; Japanese American Internment; Kerner Commission Report; Poll Taxes; Voting Rights Acts.

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Seneca

When the Iroquois Confederacy was created, the Seneca, or Onondowahgah, were the largest of the original five nations (Iroquois, Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Oneida). Known as the Keepers of the Western Door, which relates to their geographic location at the western end of the territory occupied by members of the confederacy, the Seneca called themselves People of the Great Hill, a name that recalls their creation from beneath a mountain.

Historically, the Seneca occupied territory extending from the Finger Lakes of present-day central New York to the Genesee Valley in western New York, and possibly farther into northwestern Pennsylvania. They lived in villages comprising

longhouses surrounded by wooden palisades for protection. They relied on agriculture (growing corn, beans, and squash), hunting, and fishing for subsistence. Skilled at warfare and diplomacy, the Seneca conquered (later adopting or assimilating) groups of neighboring Indian nations, and as a result, their population grew throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

Today, the Seneca comprise the Seneca Nation of Indians, which has five reservations in New York (Cattaraugus, Allegany, Oil Spring, Niagara, and Buffalo), the Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians in western New York, and the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma. The U.S. government federally recognizes all three tribes. In addition, there is a large population of Seneca living on the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve in Canada.

Culture and Political Organization

Traditionally, the Seneca were a matrilineal society divided into eight bird-animal clans or social units descending from female ancestry (Deer, Hawk, Heron, Snipe, Turtle, Beaver, Wolf, and Bear). The oldest woman of a clan, the Clan Mother, nominated, installed, and removed chiefs. In the 19th century, many of the Seneca tribes abandoned the traditional chieftainship system of government for an elected form of government established under new tribal constitutions. The Seneca Nation of New York, for example, has executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government comprising elected representatives from the Allegany and Cattaraugus Reservations, whereas the Seneca from Tonawanda Reservation have maintained their traditional practices, including hereditary chiefs.

Longhouse Religions and Handsome Lake

Handsome Lake was a Seneca religious leader responsible for reviving traditional Haudenosaunee religious beliefs and moral codes of conduct in what has come to be known as the Code of Handsome Lake. Born in 1734, Handsome Lake, named Hadawa'ko, was Giaant'waka's brother (Chief Cornplanter) and the uncle of Sagoyewatha (Red Jacket), two well-known Seneca leaders. Although he grew up in more prosperous times, he lived to see the deterioration of Seneca culture in the post-American Revolutionary era, when the Haudenosaunee were forced

onto reservations. As a young man, he was highly regarded among the Seneca, earning him the title of the legendary sachem, Sganyadaí:yoh. In 1799, after experiencing a series of visions, he began preaching four messages, sometimes referred to as the Gaiwiio (the Good Word). His four messages outlined a moral code that included prohibitions against alcohol usage, the use of negative spirit powers (often identified as witchcraft), birth control (including abortion), and the use of love potions or medicine. His message also incorporated Christian teachings, including public confession, ideas about sinfulness, and the submission of wives to their husbands.

His teachings were not always well received, particularly by Haudenosaunee women. However, as the U.S. government and Christian missionaries undermined traditional religious practices, Handsome Lake's message offered the possibility for its survival. Although his detractors forced his move to the Cold Springs, and later Tonawanda reservations, the Code of Handsome Lake was published in 1850.

Land Claims and Legal Disputes

The Seneca Nation has been embroiled in numerous legal disputes with the United States regarding land claims (such as leased land disputes, Grand Island claims, and thruway claims), the most notorious being the Kinzua Dam project. The Kinzua Dam, located in the Allegheny National Forest in Pennsylvania, is one of the largest dams in the United States east of the Mississippi River. Authorized by the Flood Control Acts of 1936, 1938, and 1941, the dam was constructed between 1960 and 1965 by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The construction of the dam also required the flooding of the Allegheny Reservoir, resulting in the artificial Lake Kinzua. The dam's main purpose was flood control on the Allegheny River, while its secondary purpose was the production of hydroelectric power. The Seneca Nation fought construction of the dam for two decades; the dam condemned and flooded over 9,000 acres of their land on the Allegany Reservation (land guaranteed under the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua) and forced the relocation of 600 Seneca families.

For the Seneca people, the inundation of the reservoir negatively impacted their culture, economy, and way of life. In addition, many sacred

sites were lost, like the grave of well-known Seneca leader Cornplanter. Despite the Seneca Nations' legal attempts to halt construction and propose alternative solutions, like the Conewango-Cattaraugus Alternatives, which would not require the flooding of Seneca lands, President John F. Kennedy denied their requests. They also lost their 1964 case against the construction of a four-lane highway, which had to be rerouted through remaining reservation land as a result of the flooding required for the dam.

In 1970 the Seneca Pumped Storage Generating Station began operations as a hydroelectric power plant. For the past 40 years, the First Energy



A Seneca woman in 1908. The Seneca traditionally lived in what is now New York State. They were the most populous of the Haudenosaunee Nations, numbering approximately 4,000 by the 17th century.

Generation Corporation of Ohio has commercially run the station (tax-free until a 1999 ruling removed the tax-exempt status).

However, in a bid to win back control over the Kinzua Dam, the Allegany watershed, and their flooded ancestral land, the Seneca Nation was awarded a preliminary permit for the license and operation of the Seneca Hydroelectric Project by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission in 2010.

Cultural and Economic Initiatives

The Seneca have engaged in numerous activities geared toward economic advancement (construction, recreation and tourism, retail sales, and gaming) and cultural survival. Well-known Iroquois scholar and activist John Mohawk initiated the White Corn Project, which produces and markets traditional Seneca white corn. His initiative is continued under the auspices of the Ganondagan State Historic Site, which in and of itself supports and promotes Seneca art, history, and culture. The Seneca Nation has also established the Seneca Broadcasting Company, which operates radio station WGWE.

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See Also: Indian Casinos; Iroquois Confederacy; Mohawk; Oneida.

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Starting in the 1940s, many Serbs left communist Yugoslavia. During the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, Serbian migration to the United States rose once again. In the wake of these wars, many developed a dim view of all Serbs that was severely clouded by misunderstandings and some misrepresentations. Like most immigrants and refugees in the United States, Serbians and Serbian Americans reflect all aspects of the larger diaspora regarding their political views and worldviews, socioeconomic status, culture, and language.

Early Serbian Migrations

Until the 1940s, most Serbian immigrants did not come from Serbia, but from other Balkan regions. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Serbs settled throughout the United States in places like Bisbee, Arizona; Chicago; Cleveland; Gary, Indiana; Milwaukee; Pittsburgh; St. Paul, Minnesota; and Steelton, Pennsylvania. These Serbs looked for unskilled work in heavy industries. Men made up a vast majority of this migration. Serbian professional men, including priests, doctors, lawyers, and business owners, also constituted a small portion of this immigration. The Serbian women who did come typically worked as unskilled laborers in people's homes, sweatshops, and meatpacking plants.

Early Serbian settlers in the United States created local communities by establishing churches, businesses, and cultural associations. Cleveland exemplified the route through which local Serbian community-building took place. The first Serbs settled there in 1893, and many more came after 1900. While finding jobs in local steel mills, they established themselves in Cleveland's urban neighborhoods. In the early 1900s, about 1,000 Serbs lived there. St. Sava Lodge, created in 1904 by Cleveland Serbs, supported its members by providing various benefits.

Cold War Migrations

During the Great Depression and World War II, Serbian American communities stayed relatively stable in size. After the war, Serbia and other regions that sent Serbs to the United States became part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a communist dictatorship. With the growth, maturation, and death of the Cold War, displaced Serbs and political and war refugees left their native country. Most of the Serbs who

Serbian Americans

Serbian immigrants first came to the United States in the late 1800s and in larger numbers by the early 1900s. World War I and restrictive immigration laws in the 1920s limited Serbs' immigration.

arrived in the United States in this migration were educated and middle or upper class. They were also older and included many more women than earlier contingents.

Many Serbian displaced persons and political and war refugees maintained strong ties to their homeland, hoping to shape its future. These relatively new arrivals published magazines that spoke out staunchly against communism. This anti-communism created a schism among Serbian Orthodox followers in the United States. Serbs in Washington, D.C., for example, split into two separate churches. The native-born faction did not concern itself with Balkan politics or anti-communism, whereas the recent immigrants and refugees hoped to effect change in their homeland. This split replicated itself in many Serbian Orthodox parishes throughout the United States.

Post-Communist Migration

After communist Yugoslavia devolved into bloody chaos in the 1990s, many Serbs escaped with their lives. These wars resulted in mass killings and genocide in Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo, among other regions. With its established Serbian institutions, Chicago became a major recipient of Serbs. These wars also were the cause of hate crimes and firebombings in places like Chicago, where Balkan enemies, such as Serbs and Bosniaks (formerly known as Bosnian Muslims), lived.

In the early 2000s, federal courts prosecuted some Bosnian Serbs living in Arizona, Florida, and North Carolina for war crimes, seeking to convict them and/or have them deported for prosecution in Europe. Controversy over these wars persisted in Serbian communities into the 2010s. For example, one Serbian American intellectual, Srdja Trifkovic, denied the genocide in Bosnia, which left thousands of Bosniaks dead.

Culture

Serbian immigrants and refugees are South Slavs who are primarily Serbian Orthodox. Serbian Orthodoxy is an ethnic church with its historic seat in Pec, Kosovo, and now in Belgrade, Serbia, the capital. These immigrants and refugees have spoken Serbian, a South Slavic language using both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets.

Some Serbian Americans have made an impact on the national cultural and political scene.

They include politicians Melissa Bean, Dennis Kucinich, and George Voinovich; professional athletes Vlade Divac, "Pistol" Pete Maravich, Ed O'Bradovich, and Jeff Samardzija; and actor Karl Malden.

The Contemporary Scene

Ultimately, it is difficult to count the number of Serbs in the United States. Some experts estimated between 200,000 and 300,000 based on the 1970 census and a roughly similar number in 2000. Later estimates ranged from several hundred thousand to 1 million. The Serbian Unity Congress of Cleveland, which supported the latter figure, claimed most recent Serbian immigrants and refugees did not cooperate with the 2010 census. After living under totalitarian regimes, they feared any contact with the federal government.

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See Also: Croatian Americans; Displaced Persons Act (1948); Refugees.

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Servicemen's Readjustment Act (1944)

On June 22, 1944, President Franklin Roosevelt signed into law the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. Informally known as the G.I. Bill, the law proved to be one of the most significant

pieces of legislation in American history. The provisions not only changed the lives of millions of veterans who directly benefited from them but it also reshaped the nation socially and economically. Although race- and gender-neutral in intent, in reality, the law supported sexism and racism. Institutions involved in implementing services, particularly at the state and local levels, privileged white males.

The American Legion, the most powerful veterans' organization at the time, strongly advocated a benefits package for veterans, and the president, well aware that his victory in 1932 owed a considerable debt to Herbert Hoover's disastrous management of the Bonus Army of World War I veterans who marched on Washington, D.C. was equally adamant that benefits would be provided. With congressional estimates at \$3 billion or more, some were concerned about the cost of such a program. Others feared that opening colleges and universities to the masses would destroy the quality of higher education. The Veterans of Foreign Wars and several other veterans' organizations argued that benefits should be extended only to those wounded in battle.

Even after the bill was introduced in Congress, it took six months for it to reach the president for his signature. Representative Harry W. Colmery of Kansas, a veteran of World War I and a former national commander of the American Legion, wrote the first draft of the bill. It was introduced in the House on January 10, 1944, and into the Senate a day later. Both houses passed a version of the bill, but it deadlocked in conference committee over unemployment benefits of \$20 a week for 52 weeks. Representative John Rankin, a white supremacist from Mississippi, refused to cast the proxy vote of Representative John Gibson of Georgia and break the deadlock. A herculean effort by the bill's supporters got Gibson back to Washington in time to cast his vote. On June 12, 1944, the Senate approved the bill by unanimous vote; the House followed on June 13. Nine days later, the president signed it into law.

Provisions

The new law included the hotly debated unemployment compensation along with a large increase in medical benefits, but the provisions that gave new meaning to the American dream were those that

underwrote the costs of education, housing, and business loans for returning veterans who had served 90 days or more. Title II provided up to \$500 a year for tuition, more than the cost of even elite institutions at that time, and a monthly subsistence allowance of \$50. Title III guaranteed a low-interest loan for a home, business, or farm. By 1956, 7.8 million of the 16 million World War II veterans had benefited from the educational program, about 15 times the predicted number. Millions more received other postsecondary training. Before World War II, home ownership was beyond the reach of most Americans. Almost 2.4 million veterans bought homes with loans secured under the act. Ironically, less than 20 percent of the unemployment funds were used.

Altruistic supporters praised the G.I. Bill for its color blindness, but the legislation in effect saw race clearly. Implementation was decentralized and vulnerable to entrenched racism. More than 1 million African American men served in the military during World War II, but many returned to the south and segregated systems of higher education. Among African American veterans who wanted to take advantage of the G.I. Bill's educational opportunities, 55 percent who applied to black colleges were turned away because the institutions lacked space for them. Only 11 percent of the 28,000 veterans who received on-the-farm training in the south under the G.I. Bill were African Americans, representing only 1 percent of the black veterans who were drafted from farms to go to war. African Americans were the largest but not the only group of veterans to experience discriminatory implementation. In 1948, Dr. Hector Garcia, an army major and medical doctor, in 1948 founded the American G.I. Forum to help Latino veterans who were having problems receiving their benefits.

Women Veterans

Of the women veterans, 332,178 were eligible for benefits. Almost 20 percent of them, compared with 15 percent of 15 million eligible men, attended college. Most of these women entered nursing or teaching, traditional professions for women, but some became lawyers, architects, and college professors, positions generally closed to them, economically and socially, before the war. The Veterans Administration made no effort

to inform women of their benefits, even though men were briefed about eligible benefits upon discharge. Educational and vocational counseling services also provided routinely to men were offered to women only sporadically. Moreover, the nine-year limitation on benefits disproportionately affected women, who often delayed their education until after childrearing years or after a husband had completed his education.

The Servicemen's Adjustment Act of 1944 ended in 1956, but its changes led to better lives for millions of veterans and the generations that followed them. College education was no longer reserved for an elite group, and a nation of renters had become a nation of homeowners. Imperfect in its implementation, the bill and later legislation modeled on it gave the United States a new middle class and 14 Nobel Prize winners, three Supreme Court justices, three presidents, and many thousands of teachers, scientists, doctors, engineers, and other professionals who productively contributed to the nation.

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See Also: African Americans; Armed Forces, U.S.; World War II.

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Sesame Street

The Emmy Award-winning *Sesame Street* first aired on public television on November 10, 1969. Today, no fewer than 8 million viewers in the United States watch the show weekly, while

millions more view it in one of 120 other countries around the world. Just as much a product of the civil rights movement as it is the brainchild of Joan Ganz Cooney and the progressive thinkers from the Children's Television Workshop (now Sesame Workshop), *Sesame Street* started as an educational experiment for television. The social climate was ripe for the Children's Television Workshop and *Sesame Street*. There was a growing awareness of the role education could play in decreasing social inequalities, and the Head Start program was beginning to be conceptualized. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting was newly created, and funding was available from government grants and foundations such as Carnegie and Ford for innovative educational projects.

Immersed in research on early childhood education and multicultural issues, the mission of *Sesame Street* was to create a new kind of television program aimed at improving children's preparedness for school. Although the program has long been enjoyed by children of all backgrounds, the creators consciously designed the show to address the needs of preschool children from low-income, inner-city, and racial and ethnic minority backgrounds.

Character Diversity

Modeled after a street in East Harlem, New York, this fictional neighborhood always showcased multiculturalism. The original cast included Gordon and Susan, an African American couple; Bob, a white male; and shop owner Mr. Hooper, who, as was shown in the 1978 special "Christmas Eve on Sesame Street" celebrates Hanukkah. Early in the show's tenure, Latino and Latina characters Luis and Maria moved in. In time Miles, son of Gordon and Susan, and Gabi, daughter of Luis and Maria, played together on *Sesame Street*. Gina, a white female, became a resident in 1987 and in 2006 adopted son Marco from Guatemala. Following Mr. Hooper's death in 1982, David, then Mr. Handford, both played by African American actors, ran the store. Alan, the current proprietor is, Asian American, and Leela, the newest neighbor on *Sesame Street*, is Indian American. *Sesame Street* also has a tradition of introducing characters, including celebrity visitors, who speak Spanish, use sign language, or otherwise embody multiculturalism.

Undoubtedly, the most recognized inhabitants of *Sesame Street* are not humans but Muppets. Jim Henson's colorful creations present diversity in human, animal, and monster form: Bert, Ernie, Big Bird, Cookie Monster, Grover, and Oscar the Grouch, for example. Race and ethnicity are not directly indicated, as Bert and Ernie are yellow and orange, but their whiteness may be assumed. In the same way, it is implied that Hoots the Owl, a jazz musician, is African American. Roosevelt Franklin and Kingston Livingston resided on *Sesame Street* for only a short time. Ironically, Roosevelt was criticized for being too stereotypical African American and Kingston for being too counter-stereotype. On the other hand, Rosita, a bilingual Muppet who introduces the Spanish word of the day, appears to have found a permanent home on *Sesame Street*. Elmo, the most popular Muppet, is red and has no apparent race, but his puppeteer, Kevin Clash, is African American, and many attribute Clash's race to Elmo.

Curriculum

Sesame Street cleverly intertwines academic instructions with lessons on kindness and cooperation while also stressing socially relevant themes. In response to growing racial and ethnic tensions in the late 1980s and early 1990s, *Sesame Street* designed a special four-year curriculum focusing on mutual understanding between racial and ethnic groups. As a result, season 22 features a vignette in which Elmo and Whoopi Goldberg compare each other's skin, fur, and hair. Elmo tells Whoopi that her brown skin is pretty, and she reciprocates by complimenting his red fur. When Elmo wants to trade, Whoopi tells him it is impossible and then asserts that she likes her physical attributes and would not want to trade.

Global Reach

From the beginning, the world embraced *Sesame Street*. Germany's *Sesamstrasse* was one of the first international coproductions of *Sesame Street*. In 1972, *Plaza Sésamo*, where Big Bird's cousin Abelard lives, was introduced to Mexico and now airs throughout Latin America. Coproductions exist in more than 18 other countries, including *Jalan Sesama* (Indonesia), *Sesamstraat* (Netherlands), *Galli Galli Sim Sim* (India),

Ulitsa Sezam (Russia), *Rue Sésame* (France), and *Sesame Street* (Japan). Each program is culturally specific and addresses issues relevant to the coproducing countries. Khokha, from *Alam Simsim*, challenges traditional gender roles in Egypt; Ollie, from *Open Sesame*, counteracts stereotypes about Australians; and Kami, from South Africa's *Takalani Sesame*, is HIV positive. Although mutual respect and understanding are central themes in Northern Ireland's *Sesame Tree*, the Israeli and Palestinian coproduction of *Rechov Sumsu/Shara'a Simsim* was not successful and resulted in separately produced programs.

The Future

Sesame Street is solidly situated in the past, present, and future of American multiculturalism. As the first show of its kind, it laid the groundwork for programs such as *Dora the Explorer* and *Ni Hao Kai-Lan*. Yet unlike these shows, *Sesame Street* has remained true to its mission and continues to air on public television to ensure it reaches children of all economic backgrounds.

Sesame Workshop will no doubt continue to bring the world to *Sesame Street* and *Sesame Street* to the world through traditional and new multimedia outlets. The latest coproduction debuted in Afghanistan in 2011, and each month more than 2 million people visit Sesamestreet.org, while another 35 million watch licensed *Sesame Street* videos on YouTube. Countless others download *Sesame Street* apps on their mobile devices every day.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; *Dora the Explorer*; Head Start; Television.

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Sexual Orientation and Ethnic Diversity

Sexual orientation refers to the component of a person's sexual identity that reflects one's physical and emotional attraction to the opposite or same sex. Some individuals are attracted to both males and females. Everyone has a sexual orientation. Sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and others have all tried to understand sexual orientation. Historically, different nontraditional sexual orientations have been both taboo and honored by different cultures. Homosexuality has been considered a mental illness or a sin, and yet in ancient Greece, armies of homosexual lovers helped Alexander to conquer the known world. In 1973, the Board of Directors of the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality as a mental illness from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)*, yet many individuals still consider it an illness.

As with other historically oppressed groups, homosexual individuals have used other terms to self-identify, including gay, lesbian, queer, and fag. Today, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered (LGBT) is often used to identify individuals who are not heterosexual. This acronym is often expanded to LGBTQ to include those who are transsexual or questioning their sexual orientation. Non-heterosexual individuals often have more than one level of norms and expectations to address; ethnic traditions and expectations present numerous opportunities for conflict, resulting in familial and community dissonance. Many attempt to "pass," marrying and having children to present a "normal" sexual orientation to the outside world. The majority of individuals in the United States are heterosexual. It is estimated that approximately 1 in 10 Americans are LGBT. It has also been suggested that the size of the LGBT population in the United States may be underestimated because of fear of discrimination and stigma. LGBT individuals attempt to pass

until they "come out of the closet" and publicly acknowledge their sexual orientation to their family, friends, colleagues, and community. Some in traditional marriages may fear divorce and loss of child custody.

The United States is composed of ethnic groups representing virtually every global population, each with traditions and value expectations, often resulting in internal and external conflict. Different cultural groups are more or less accepting of non-heterosexual behavior, and in some cultures, unique roles have been established. Throughout Native American cultures, two-spirited individuals, who might have sexual relations with both sexes, have been healers, spiritual leaders, guardians of oral traditions and songs, foretellers of the future, and diviners of lucky names.

Family Culture

The United States is composed of individuals who are representative of all the world's races, ethnicities, and cultural groups. As a result, the family's traditional and predominant influence of values and morality provides ethnic community members with challenges to meet traditional expectations while embodying and advancing within the values legalized norms of the majority (e.g., child rearing, sexual orientation laws, and ethnic and racial coupling). Homosexuality presents challenges within cultures regarding the importance of carrying on the family name, expectations of traditional marriage and having children, and perpetuating the lineage. The variety of communities and opportunities within a nation of more than 300 million presents an expanded media and social diversity beyond that of countries/cultures of origin. Sexual orientation is a key area of difficulty for many religious groups and ethnic populations. Challenges arise of aspirations for kin, and non-heterosexual orientations bring a sense of shame, rejection, or conflict within the immediate and extended family. Research has shown that the majority of non-heterosexual individuals have heterosexual parents, and that children raised by same-sex parents are no more likely to be LGBT than their peers.

Stigma

Stigma is the rejection of members of disenfranchised social groups resulting in exclusion, shame, bias, hate crimes, self-loathing, and/or violence.



Some research has shown that gay and lesbian parents are as capable of raising children as heterosexual parents and that the children are as psychologically healthy as those reared by heterosexual parents.

Stigma is precisely what most individuals wish to avoid for themselves, those they care about, and their associates. Nontraditional lifestyles, those not held by the majority population, are often perceived as less normal or natural. The history of human immunodeficiency virus and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) and its association with gay males has enhanced the stigma of homosexuality. Although lesbians are unlikely to contract HIV from female-to-female contact, the label “homosexual” as translated into a native language adds HIV infection stigma. Despite the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention’s ongoing research and documentation of infection trends, such information and HIV/AIDS education is less available to minority populations, resulting in stigmatized homosexuals.

Ethnic Diversity and Sexual Orientation

Individuals who are different from most others, including their ethnicity, traditions, or sexual orientation, typically hold less social power and are less accepted. Different cultures are more or less accepting of homosexuality or nontraditional sexual orientations. In some circumstances, female homosexuality may be more readily accepted than male, whereas in others the opposite is true. Bisexuality may bring hope of a traditional self-identity

eventuality. LGBT African American individuals may experience discrimination based on both their race and sexual orientation. This occurs within and outside the African American community. Black religious groups appear to be divided; many oppose gay marriage, still viewing homosexuality as a sin. Homophobic views may be a factor in the high rates of HIV among black gay men, who may feel alienated from family and church, important social supports within the African American communities. Living traditional lifestyles, some men participate in secret same-sex activity, referred to as “being on the down low.”

The largest ethnic group in the United States is the Hispanic or Latino population, which can include any racial group and numerous cultural groups. Hispanics are 16 percent of the U.S. population, and the majority of them are Latino. The gender roles identified as *machismo* for men and *marianismo* for women often create conflicts for LGBT individuals. Among Latino men and women, the importance of marriage and family may cause many to marry and have children while maintaining secret sexual lives on the side.

This has been identified as an important factor in the transmission of HIV within this community because married men may have multiple sexual partners and fail to disclose their sexual orientation, HIV status, or use condoms, while women fail to ask because of their subservient roles. A woman’s request that her husband use a condom may be seen either as an accusation that he is unfaithful or an admission that she is unfaithful. Such situations may lead to expulsion from the family or domestic violence.

According to the U.S. census, between 2000 and 2010, the fastest-growing major race/multi-cultural group in terms of proportion of population, was Asian, which grew from 4 percent in 2000 to 5 percent in 2010. Chinese are the largest Asian group, followed by Filipinos and Asian Indians. Each group brings a unique perspective to its treatment of LGBT community members. Asian Americans upholding traditional cultures are more likely to hold stereotypical views about LGBT individuals. Chinese American LGBT youth hide their non-heterosexual behaviors to avoid alienating family and parents’ communities. Often, when they reach a certain age, their family traditions lead to an expectation of heterosexual

marriage. When confronted, some concur; others feel forced to come out. Long-term partners may be identified as “friends” and included in family events but are not given family status. It has been suggested that the Filipino culture may have a more flexible concept of gender, resulting in more tolerance. *Kasarian*, the Tagalog word for gender, reflects a more complex conceptualization of gender, rather than a dichotomy of male/female. Yet, many LGBT American Filipinos face the same issues of family and community acceptance as other LGBT individuals. The diverse combinations of individual ethnic, cultural, and social influences from groups, and from the white majority, further complicate acceptance of individuals of non-majority heterosexual orientation.

Demographics of Sexual Orientation

The U.S. Census of 2010 is a limited resource for identifying sexual orientation. It did not ask relevant and specific questions. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender partners/couples could respond to questions about marital status as “husband or wife” or “unmarried partner.” There is no option for same-sex unions, legally recognized or not. The U.S. census identifies couples of all sexual orientations by sex and marital status, leaving out much specific data regarding trends and an evolution in coupling commitments. Individuals who are transgender select the category “male” or “female” based on how they self-identify. As a result of data collection limitations, information regarding exact numbers inclusive of uncoupled non-heterosexual individuals is unavailable. Estimates suggest that approximately 10 percent of Americans are LGBT, and this rate might be higher in communities that are more tolerant, such as New York City and San Francisco.

Data analysis of census data can result in statistical errors based on how the data were collected. For example, early comparisons between results of the 2010 census and the 2010 American Community Survey (ACS) found the census data regarding same-sex households to be 52 percent higher. In addition, there are many different ways that individuals identify their sexual orientations, which may or may not match the criteria used by the census. In the United States, the range of sexual orientation identities includes, among others, gay and lesbian (homosexual), bisexual (multi-sexual,

pansexual, and omnisexual), heterosexual, and ally (LGBT). Gender identity can range from identifying with the biological/birth sex to transgender, or beyond. Individuals who do not identify with assigned birth gender, or the binary (male/female) system, include transsexuals, cross-dressers, genderqueers, drag kings, drag queens, and two-spirit or gender-bending people. Some transgender individuals do not feel that they are either male or female, but instead exist somewhere in between.

Race/Ethnicity and Same-Sex Couples

According to 2000 census data, same-sex couples were white (78 percent), Latino (9 percent), African American (8 percent), multiracial (2 percent), Asian/Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islanders (2 percent), or American Indian/Alaska Native (less than 1 percent). Similarly, the 2010 census data identified the race of same-sex couples (including those who self-identified as Hispanic) as white (81 percent), African American (9 percent), other race (4 percent), multiracial (3 percent), Asian (3 percent), Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islanders (0.2 percent), or American Indian/Alaska Native (1 percent); Hispanics included any race and comprised 12 percent.

Gary Gates, the Williams Distinguished Scholar at UCLA School of Law’s Williams Institute, focused on unique aspects related to ethnic and racial diversity within same-sex couples in the first analyses of the 2010 census data upon their release. He compared the 2000 data about same-sex and different-sex couples in relation to race and ethnicity with 2010 census data. The number of same-sex households increased more rapidly than different-sex households. Same-sex households increased by 80 percent from 2000 to 2010. Race was also influential, resulting in a slightly higher proportion of African American and slightly lower representation of Asian same-sex couples. Both same-sex and different-sex households included approximately equal numbers of Latinos in 2000 and 2010. Same-sex couples were more likely to be interracial or interethnic (20.6 percent) than different-sex unmarried couples (18.3 percent) or different-sex married couples (9.5 percent).

In 2011, the U.S. census released new statistics regarding same-sex couples. Revised estimates of 2010 census data of same-sex couples reflect that

131,729 were married households while 514,735 were unmarried partners. The 2010 U.S. census data were recalculated based on two questions: relationship to householder and the sex of each person. This recalculation identified more than 2.5 times the number of married same-sex couples and only a slight increase in same-sex unmarried households. A total of 11 countries recognize same-sex marriage, and individuals in such relationships who emigrate to the United States may find their families challenged. Although the federal government does not recognize gay marriage, since 2004, six states have legalized same-sex marriage, as well as the District of Columbia and two tribal jurisdictions.

Race/Ethnicity, Same-Sex Couples, and Children

LGBT individuals have always been parents. It is only within the last 20 years or so that they have used the courts to retain custody of their children after a divorce. Historically, simply being an LGBT person was grounds for declaring someone an unfit parent. Many biological/adopted children are raised in nonwhite households with same-sex parents (28 percent), versus 24 percent in different-sex married households; 36 percent of different-sex unmarried couples raising children are nonwhite. Overall, across all racial and ethnic groups, different-sex couples are more likely to have children than same-sex couples. Among same-sex couples, Latinos (33 percent) and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders (33 percent) are more likely to be raising children than African American (25 percent), Asian (25 percent), and Native American (29 percent) same-sex couple households. Only 17 percent of same-sex, white, non-Hispanic households are raising children.

Intersecting Cultural Identities

A majority of social groups anticipate traditional rites of passage and unions of children comprising (heterosexual) marriage and having children. For many, the evolution of each child presents an opportunity for pride and social success for the parents, as well as a broader ethnic community, representing assurance that a new generation will follow. When such expectations are denied because of a child's sexual orientation, a choice to be single or move away, or a host of

other factors, shame may be experienced by the immediate family, resulting in isolation from the broader cultural community. Regardless of other measurable successes like professional, academic, or social triumphs and satisfaction, the standards of appropriate membership override anything else; mixed-race relationships and, in particular, same-sex relationships and resulting children can challenge the immediate and broader extended families' willingness to accept kin.

Such ethnic and sexual orientation rejection results, potentially, in isolation from history, family, community, and even a geographically identified home. Choices result, ranging from Erving Goffman's interpretation of internalized stigma and isolation, to finding another source of social support and family by integrating with welcoming, non-heterosexual communities. Such assimilation can and will likely result in a new sense of family, despite geographic distance, that relates as well to where one may choose to pursue higher education, find employment, or establish a home, reinforcing a new, separate, and different world.

Trends

U.S. census statistics document an increase in same-sex households, challenging the social norms, ranging from acceptance to complete community and familial rejection. Polling finds trends of acceptance of non-heterosexual individuals increasing annually, in particular by younger individuals who, as they age, will potentially model, as elders, acceptance of this diversity for others. A recent Pew study found rapidly growing support for same-sex marriage among Latinos, reflecting growing support among the general public. Approximately 53 percent of Latinos now favor allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally, while only one-third are opposed. Additional findings indicate that 59 percent of Hispanics believe that homosexuality should be accepted by society, while only 30 percent believe that it should be discouraged.

Individuals comprise a range of identities, some more accepted by the broader majority of individuals in the United States, and this is influenced by race, ethnicity, and traditional values. Sexual orientation, as well as ethnic and racial diversity, can result in family and community rejection, depending on the degree of U.S. assimilation, regional majority values, religious doctrine, and

a host of other factors. As a result, the minority non-heterosexual U.S. population is at increased risk of challenges from earliest sexual orientation self-identity throughout the stages of life, including marriage, having children, and maintaining accepting and equal relationships within families.

Trends in the United States find gay marriage, legal in some states, in court, where it has been approved by state legislatures or voters' support, increasingly supported by younger members of society who are exponentially less concerned about sexual orientation and are more accepting of contemporaries and family members than previous generations. This trend suggests that over time, the issue of sexual orientation will become legally protected regarding marriage rights, ultimately at the federal level, as interracial marriage was not so long ago.

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See Also: Family and Ethnic Diversity; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; National Rainbow Coalition/PUSH.

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Shaft

Released in 1971, *Shaft* is a movie directed by Gordon Parks and produced by Joel Freeman, based on the book of the same name by Ernest Tidyman. *Shaft* is generally credited with popularizing the genre of "Blaxploitation" films, a group of films released between 1970 and 1975 featuring African Americans as the main characters. *Shaft* stars Richard Roundtree as John Shaft, a black private detective hired by a Harlem mob boss to find his recently kidnapped daughter.

In the opening scenes, Shaft encounters the police lieutenant Vic Androzzi, who plays an important role as a middleman between the police force and Shaft. Throughout the movie, Androzzi provides Shaft with insider information while he tries to coerce information about the criminal underground from Shaft. Androzzi tells Shaft that Bumpy, the leader of a notorious gang, is looking for Shaft. Shaft soon sees one of Bumpy's men in the lobby of the building where Shaft works, and he subdues the man during a violent altercation. Both men go to Shaft's office, where a second gangster is waiting. A fight erupts, and Shaft kills one of the men by throwing him out of the window and onto the street several stories below. Shaft lets the other gangster leave, but only after Shaft confirms what the lieutenant previously told him.

Shaft then arranges a meeting with Bumpy, who hires Shaft to find his kidnapped daughter, Marcy. Unbeknownst to Shaft, the Italian Mafia kidnapped Marcy as part of a larger turf war between Bumpy's gang and the Mafia. Shaft enlists the help of Ben Buford, Shaft's old colleague from "the movement" (one assumes this is a reference to the Black Power movement), who still leads an informal army of black men that can assist in the rescue efforts.

Shaft learns that Marcy is being held in an apartment and attempts a reconnaissance mission to make sure she's still alive. A gunfight erupts, and Shaft is shot in the shoulder, after which Marcy is relocated to a motel. After learning the location of the new hiding spot, Shaft calls Bumpy and arranges for getaway cars should he successfully rescue Marcy. The movie ends after Shaft stages an elaborate, commando-style mission and successfully frees Marcy, who flees the scene safely in one of the getaway cars.

Throughout the movie, Shaft appears as a charismatic and independent black man whose connections in both the criminal underworld and the police force allow him to break boundaries and move freely through both white and black cultures. Shaft is also known for his sexual prowess, and he has multiple sexual encounters in the movie, including one with his black girlfriend and another with a white consort.

Franchise and Soundtrack Popularity

Shaft became the basis of a short-lived franchise based on the character John Shaft, which included two subsequent films and a television series from 1973 to 1974. In 2000, John Singleton resurrected the franchise by directing a new film, also titled *Shaft*, starring Samuel L. Jackson as John Shaft's nephew. *Shaft* (2000) received mostly positive reviews and was a commercial success, grossing over \$100 million.

The soundtrack to the original *Shaft* was also remarkably successful and helped solidify Isaac Hayes's career in the music industry. Hayes, known in the 1960s as an African American singer and songwriter, wrote the soundtrack to *Shaft*, which included the acclaimed "Theme from Shaft," for which he received several awards, including the Academy Award for Best Original Song in 1972 and multiple awards at the 14th Grammy Awards in 1972. "Theme from Shaft" also appears in several "top 100 songs" lists, including *Billboard's* Hot 100 number-one singles and the American Film Institute's "100 Years . . . 100 Songs" list.

As part of the larger Blaxploitation genre, *Shaft* represents several important trends in both American and cinematic history. *Shaft* appeared after the civil rights era and the 1960s Black Power movement, when black American activists worked for desegregation and equal standing before the law. *Shaft* and other Blaxploitation films represent one attempt for black Americans to embrace their new social standing within a still-racist America by highlighting black men and women as independent and free. *Shaft* also signals the emergence of black-themed movies as commercially viable. Movie companies produced several black-themed movies in the 1960s, but none of them received *Shaft's* level of commercial success. After *Shaft*, Hollywood invested more

money and devoted more resources to the production of black-themed movies.

Scholars have both criticized and praised *Shaft* for its portrayal of black masculinity. Some scholars embrace Shaft as a strong and uncompromising black man who defies previous cinematic stereotypes portraying black men as weak and subservient to whites. Other scholars have argued that *Shaft* embodies a stereotype of black masculinity as hypersexualized and prone to violence, and that it depicts the culture of black men displaying their historically new (at least in the American context) freedoms while oppressing black women. Scholars have also criticized the portrayal of black femininity in *Shaft*, which depicts women as passive, victims, and sex objects.

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See Also: African Americans; Black Power Movement; Blaxploitation Films; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Motion Pictures.

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Shaman

Shamans have been found in many cultures and places, including Siberia, southeast Asia, the Arctic, South America, Australia, and throughout Native America. Shamans can play a number of roles. They are healers, diviners (predictors or shapers of the future), spiritual guides who escort the souls of the dead to their afterlife destinations, bringers of fortune, and officiates at ritual sacrifices. In the past, shamans were often stigmatized and suppressed, labeled as "primitive,"

“superstitious,” “backward,” or simply foolish. Westerners saw them as obstacles to progress in their communities, as well as threats to Christian beliefs. Shamans were subsequently often characterized as imposters, hucksters, and possessed by demons. Although no longer derided in this way today, shamans (and their work) are still frequently marginalized or discredited, as with more recent assertions that they are mentally ill.

In his book *An Introduction to Shamanism*, Thomas A. Dubois views shamanism as “a set of practices and understandings concerning the cosmos, spirits and human needs.” Shamans are usually animists, meaning that they believe that non-human entities are endowed with spirits or souls, and they also believe in multiple worlds inhabited by various (often invisible) spirits that have a palpable impact on living beings. Shamans have the ability to enter altered states of consciousness and are experts in spirit travel and negotiation.

Native Americans and Shamanism

Westerners often wrongly use the word *shaman* interchangeably with “medicine man,” whose roles within a tribe were different. Many Native Americans take exception to the word *shaman*, as it is a Western term not used by the tribes, who instead use words from their native language to describe their spiritual leaders. Although shamanism is a set of spiritual practices common to many Native American tribes, it should not be considered solely a Native American religion.

Many Native Americans believe that to use these practices—which are thousands of years old—one must be born and raised in the tradition; it is not something that can be appropriated or learned from a book. These spiritual teachings are tied to the long history of a tribe and passed down by their ancestors. As such, they should be considered sacred—both a privilege and a responsibility.

Predisposed Calling

Shamans are thought to possess certain psychic, emotional, or physical characteristics that predispose them to their vocation or that demonstrate that they have the potential for such work. Like many spiritual leaders in other traditions, shamans typically receive a “calling,” which often comes to them by means of a dream, sign, or

crisis. For the shaman, it is a summons that is difficult to resist and is fraught with challenge.

Shamans are thought to be selected against their will by otherworld spirits who take them unawares. After they are called, many shamans go through periods of initiation or transformation, which are often physically and psychologically arduous and involve entering into trances. During these initiations, neophyte shamans may be required to fast, endure hardship, or curse or combat an enemy in order to make contact with the spiritual world. In some cases, initiation is marked by the onset of an illness or a near-death experience. To survive and return from such an ecstatic journey or trance experience was to be remade as a shaman, perhaps accompanied by a new talent for foresight and healing.

Activities

Shamans engage in a variety of activities, but not all of them do the same things: some practice healing, some alter consciousness or use trance; some shape-shift and journey to other worlds; some serve as mediators between their community and the spiritual world; some become possessed by the spirits of the dead; some are priests and ritualists; and some are animists, engaging with non-human entities. One common role of the shaman is to treat and cure illnesses, both physical and psychological, caused by malevolent spirits. Shamans often possess an extensive literacy in medicinal plants, especially those native to their area, and often prescribe herbal treatments.

Public performance is often an aspect of shamanic rituals, and a variety of paraphernalia can be employed to enhance the experience, including costumes; musical instruments such as drums, gongs, and rattles; mirrors; and pipes. Many shamans also incorporate chanting in their rituals, which may involve repetitive sounds, unintelligible phrases, or recitation of epic poems. Sometimes, these chants are accompanied by drumming, rattling, or other rhythmic sounds. Many shamanic rituals also include the ingestion of plants (purgatives) that result in vomiting, which is considered an act of purification.

Qualities of “Otherness”

Shamans are typically figures of veneration and prestige in their communities, and although they

usually live out their careers within their villages, clans, and tribes, they are often outsiders, living (at least psychologically) on the periphery of the community, which helps reinforce their unique supernatural abilities, as well as their qualities of “otherness.” In some cultures, only men can serve as shamans; in others, the role is almost entirely the purview of women.

Also called “white shamanism” or “Western shamanism,” neoshamanism is the appropriation of indigenous or prehistoric shamanism by Westerners. Neoshamans, unlike the shamans of old, do not typically come to their practice out of a compulsion or calling, but rather as a conscious choice. Their view of cosmology and other spiritual beliefs is frequently a hodgepodge of philosophies lacking cohesiveness. They also do not depend upon a master or teacher for validation or instruction, relying instead upon self-scrutiny and personal revelation. Many neoshamans romanticize indigenous shamans, ignoring the fact that traditional shamans have access to malevolent, as well as benevolent, spirits. They tend to emphasize their subjective experience and growth, versus service to the greater community. Perhaps most prevalent in the United States, neoshamanism has come under harsh censure from Native American activists who regard appropriations of Native American traditions as a commoditization of their spiritual practices. Ward Churchill, a Native American activist, has referred to neoshamans as “plastic medicine men.”

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See Also: Curandero; Health Beliefs and Practices; Herbalism; Native Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Sharecropping

Sharecropping became the dominant method of organizing labor in the southern United States after the Civil War, during the Reconstruction era. Sharecropping replaced the plantation system employing gang labor, which had replaced slavery.

History

Immediately after the Civil War, slavery ended in the former Confederate states in the south. However, as plantations continued to be the main agricultural unit in the south, landowners persisted in treating freed formerly enslaved people in much the same manner as they had treated these people during slavery. Gang labor and harsh working and living conditions were maintained. The key differences were that white overseers of freed formerly enslaved people were prohibited from using corporal punishment on the workers, workers and planters negotiated labor contracts, and the workers were paid, albeit poorly.

By 1868, sharecropping emerged as a rival of the plantation system throughout the south, and within two years, sharecropping had become the norm. Typically, sharecropping is thought to be unique for the payment arrangements involved, in which sharecroppers work on a farm and are paid with a share of the crops at harvest time. However, this payment method predated sharecropping and was used by plantation owners with poor white laborers hired seasonally to supplement the labor of enslaved people in the antebellum era and also with black gang labor in the immediate post-Civil War years; some historians refer to this form of payment as the share-wage system. (Plantation owners used this payment arrangement to compensate for the lack of capital, credit, and currency available in the aftermath of the war.) Sharecroppers typically were paid one-third of the year’s crop if the landowner had provided the essentials (seed, animals, tools) and one-half if the sharecropper had used his own.

Rather than unique payment arrangements, then, the significance of sharecropping was the consequent demise of the plantation system. Sharecropping entailed breaking a large plantation up into small farms, to be worked by individual families rather than gang labor. The rise of

sharecropping resulted in the decentralization of agricultural production in the south.

Labor Shortages and the Need for Technological Innovations

Historians disagree on why sharecropping replaced the plantation system. One explanation rests on the idea that certain conditions existed in the south that predisposed the south to turn to sharecropping; according to this theory, a labor shortage, an elite that owned large parcels of land, and a lack of technological innovation rendered the south ripe for sharecropping to take hold, with its concomitant repression of workers so as to ensure an adequate workforce. A similar explanation incorporates the lack of demand for black labor in the north as an essential precondition to the rise of sharecropping, leaving the south's elite free to devise whatever system of labor they wished with minimal protest from outside the region. Still another theory

emphasizes the necessity of the state's support of the elite landowning class, leading to tacit acceptance of repressive measures to keep workers on the land, to limit workers' access to owning land, and to hamper workers' mobility to seek opportunities elsewhere.

A fourth explanation for the rise of sharecropping focuses on the agency of the newly freed people and their class conflict with plantation owners. Freed formerly enslaved people deliberately resisted the maintenance of the plantation system and gang labor, effectively preventing this remnant of the days of slavery from continuing. At the same time, plantation owners and other whites opposed black workers' efforts to rent or own their own farms, as in the case of the unsuccessful Southern Homestead Act (passed in 1866 and repealed in 1877). At one point, plantation owners who were determined to continue the plantation system attempted to recruit Chinese and European immigrants as a new workforce for plantation agriculture, in the



A sharecropping family clearing weeds from a cotton field in White Plains, Georgia, in 1941. Although the sharecropping system was primarily a post-Civil War development, it had previously existed in Mississippi and Tennessee. Sharecroppers working on portioned-out farms became the norm in the south from the 1870s to the 1950s.

hope of increasing the labor supply and causing competition with local black workers. Black men were particularly intent on shielding their wives and children from working in the fields under white supervision, a patriarchal prerogative that had been denied to black men during slavery and assumed new importance with the creation of schools for black children to attend.

Different Visions

The root of the conflict was in the diverging visions blacks and whites had for a reconstructed south. Blacks sought autonomy, land ownership, and control over their own labor. Whites wanted a return to a forced-labor system and control over blacks. In the end, neither the landowning elite nor the formerly enslaved people preferred sharecropping; instead, sharecropping developed as a de facto compromise. For blacks, sharecropping's potential to provide a measure of autonomy quickly deteriorated with the development of the credit system used by local merchants to sustain sharecroppers until harvest time; merchants charged interest at exorbitant rates on purchases made on credit, ensnaring sharecroppers in a never-ending cycle of debt and poverty. After Reconstruction ended, the plight of sharecroppers worsened, as white elites gained new leverage in laws decreeing that landowners had the first right to the crop, with sharecroppers receiving their shares only after rent and other debts had been paid. In effect, this transferred all the risk of agriculture onto the sharecroppers, who could end up with nothing in a year with a poor yield.

From the 1870s to the 1910s, blacks were joined in sharecropping by poor whites and, in some locations, Mexican immigrants; many landowners played the different groups against each other, searching for the most tractable workforce over which to assert the greatest control. In the 1930s, tens of thousands of sharecroppers were forced off the land altogether by mechanization and the federal government's encouragement of landowners to reduce crop sizes by reducing the acreage under cultivation.

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See Also: Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; Freedmen's Bureau; Irish Potato Famine; Reconstruction; Slavery.

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Sharia

Sharia is the Islamic religious code that governs law and personal behavior. The word is of Arabic origin and denotes a "path to the water hole," implying a way of life to be followed. Sharia law is considered by Muslims to be infallible, divine law revealed through the Qur'an and the life of Muhammad as recorded by the Sunnah (contained in the hadith). Sharia is interpreted and implemented via Islamic jurisprudence, or *fiqh*, which relies upon scholarly consensus (*ijma*, or "collective reasoning") and deductive analogy (*qiyas* and *ijtihad*, or "individual reasoning"). Islamic jurisprudence contemplates most areas of substantive and procedural law, as well as personal, sexual, and religious matters. Although *fiqh* is a distinct concept from sharia, the latter term is often employed to encompass both concepts and as a shorthand to signify all Islamic law.

History

From the 9th century until the colonization of Islamic lands by European countries in the 18th and 19th centuries, Islamic nations had instituted a separation of powers that entrusted the interpretation of sharia law to Islamic scholars. As Muslim nations gained independence in the mid-20th century, the authority to interpret sharia law was less clearly delineated between scholars and political rulers. Competing sharia models were adopted in various countries, such that Muslim governments may now be classified as secular with private

sharia observances, classically sharia, or blended, with both secular and sharia legal elements.

Just as the role of sharia in Islamic countries has been a matter of great debate and conflict, the immigration of Muslims into Western nations has raised questions as to the compatibility of sharia and liberal democracy. Rejecting the United Nations' 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights as incompatible with sharia law, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference adopted in 1990 the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, which stated that "all the rights and freedoms stipulated in this Declaration are subject to the Islamic Sharia." In 2003, the European Court of Human Rights upheld the Turkish Constitutional Court's dissolution of a political party that sought to introduce sharia law by holding that "sharia was incompatible with fundamental principles of democracy."

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and growing awareness of the civil strife accompanying massive influxes of Muslim immigrants into European nations such as France and England, Americans became increasingly concerned with the spread of sharia law in the United States. Sharia punishments are largely considered to be draconian—blasphemy, apostasy, and homosexuality are punishable by death, whereas other crimes warrant amputations or flogging. Americans also strongly objected to sharia's subordinated treatment of women and minority religions. Reactionary and, in some cases, extremist interpretations of sharia, including Islamist and fundamentalist movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Taliban, garnered widespread media attention through violence and a stated desire to impose sharia law throughout the world.

Last Resort Jurisdiction

U.S. courts have long been cognizant of sharia law, just as they have historically been aware of Jewish law and Catholic canon law. These religious laws are often at issue in civil cases involving commercial litigation, divorce, and custody proceedings. The U.S. legal system often serves as a jurisdiction of last resort in the event that religious tribunals or mediation fail to resolve an issue with both civil and secular consequences. Nevertheless, U.S. courts have generally refused to admit religious

law as supplanting the civil laws of the United States. Critics of sharia law responded angrily to a 2010 New Jersey case in which a Moroccan woman's request for a restraining order against her ex-husband, after he had repeatedly assaulted and raped her, was denied following the judge's determination that the ex-husband lacked criminal intent because of his belief that under sharia law, his wife was obliged to submit to his demands. Though the decision was reversed on appeal, the threat of judges accommodating Islam by enforcing sharia law galvanized a national movement.

Republican presidential candidates Newt Gingrich and Michele Bachmann signed a pledge during the 2012 campaign, promising to reject Islamic law in American courts. Vice-presidential nominee Sarah Palin also declared in 2008 that sharia law, if adopted and implemented as governing law, would bring about "the downfall of America." In November 2010, the Oklahoma Constitution was amended in order to specifically ban the use of sharia law in state courts. Although federal appeals courts later struck down the amendment as religiously discriminatory in a lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Council on American-Islamic Relations, over two dozen state legislatures have since considered bills to forbid judges from consulting religious or foreign law in their decisions.

Proponents of anti-sharia legislation often contend that such laws are a means by which to raise public awareness regarding the threat of sharia law in America. Yet, as Muslim minorities expand throughout the country and bans on Islamic law multiply in state legislatures, sharia promises to remain a prominent and controversial issue.

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See Also: Muslim Americans; Nation of Islam; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Shawnee

The Shawnee are an Algonquian-speaking Native American tribe. The word *Shawnee* means “southerner,” identifying them as the southernmost tribe of Algonquian speakers. Shawnee have resided in an extensive region east of the Mississippi River that includes present-day Alabama, the Carolinas, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and the Virginias. Although the Shawnee are frequently described as a mobile, nomadic people, this stereotype emerges from a long history of contact with settler colonialism, which displaced and dispossessed them repeatedly for more than three centuries. In spite of this history, the Shawnee survived and maintain a strong sense of distinct tribal identity. Today, three federally recognized Shawnee tribes live in Oklahoma.

Pre-Contact and Culture

Many scholars argue that the Shawnee are one of the descendants of the Fort Ancient mound-building cultures, which abruptly disappeared around 1650, a period associated with the Beaver Wars. During this time, the Iroquois drove Shawnee and others living in present-day Ohio, West Virginia, and western Pennsylvania out of the area. For 70 years following the conquest, the Ohio Valley remained virtually uninhabited. Forced to abandon their homelands, Shawnee scattered in various directions but never surrendered their identification with and claim to the area.

The Shawnee were a loose confederacy of five divisions sharing a common language and culture. Each division had a primary village and performed a specific function on behalf of the entire tribe. Shawnee maintained a patrilineal descent kinship structure and complementary gender roles. Men were hunters and warriors, and women were planters (growing in particular the “three sisters”: maize, beans, and squash). During the summer, the Shawnee gathered in large villages; in the fall,

they separated into small hunting camps. Important ceremonies were tied to the agricultural cycle, two of which are still conducted: the bread dance and the green corn dance.

Colonial Contact

The early colonial period found the Shawnee in continual movement as various colonial powers fought for hegemony in the New World. The earliest historical records of the Shawnee occur in the 1670s in two widely distant locations: the Cumberland River and the Savannah River regions. By the early 1700s, the Shawnee began returning to their homelands in the Ohio Valley, but the transition was not a smooth one. The westward expansion of settler-colonists began to drive other Native peoples from the east into the area. Throughout the 18th century, refugee Native peoples in Ohio settled into pan-ethnic communities and grew into a large, powerful force central to trade in this area, claimed simultaneously by the Iroquois, French, and British. Numerous struggles for hegemony followed, and each military confrontation resulted in further land cessions for the Native peoples. During the French and Indian War (1754–63), encroachment upon Iroquois territory in the Hudson valley area set the stage for the treaty at Fort Stanwix (1768), which saved portions of Iroquois homeland but ceded areas in West Virginia and Kentucky to the British, lands Iroquois claimed by right of conquest. The occupants of the land, which included the Shawnee, were not signatory to the treaty, and they resisted the flood of Anglo settlers that began pouring into the Ohio River valley.

The American Revolution brought to the fore a newly formed colonial power, the Americans. The Shawnee were divided—some advocated neutrality, while others fought as British allies. Most felt the Americans were the bigger threat to their homelands. In 1791, a confederacy of Native warriors led by Little Turtle (Miami) and Blue Jacket (Shawnee) stunned and overwhelmed an American army at the Battle of the Wabash, a major victory for the Natives. In 1794, the largest assembly of Native warriors attacked Fort Recovery, but they were driven away in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The resultant Treaty of Greenville (1795) ceded two-thirds of Shawnee lands to the United States. Large numbers of Shawnee

migrated to Missouri, still under control of Spain, and by the early 1800s, more Shawnee resided in Missouri than Ohio.

Nineteenth-Century Migrations

Settlement in the Missouri area offered only a brief respite. As a result of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), Shawnee again faced white encroachment. In 1825, they were forced to exchange the Missouri lands for lands in Kansas territory. The group scattered, as some migrated to the reserved Kansas lands and others left for Indian Territory and Texas.

The Shawnee remaining in Ohio offered a final resistance to retain their homelands under the leadership of the famous warrior Tecumseh. Although he fought at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Tecumseh refused to sign the Greenville treaty. The cession of lands at the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809 became a flashpoint. Tecumseh was outraged, and during the next four years, he sought to mobilize a pan-Indian confederacy that would not only stop further land cessions but also reclaim lost lands. Allying with the British during the War of 1812, Native forces struck numerous offensives along with British forces to recover lands in the Ohio area, but their defeat at the siege of Fort Meigs marked the end of the Ohio Campaign. Tecumseh died shortly thereafter at the Battle of the Thames, effectively ending Native–British alliances. In 1817, the remaining Ohio Shawnee signed the Treaty of Fort Meigs, ceding the remainder of their lands in Ohio for three small reservations in northeastern Ohio: Lewistown, Hogcreek, and Wapakoneta.

Removal and Present Day

Reserve life in Ohio did not last long for the Shawnee, as the 1830 Indian Removal Act forced the remaining Shawnee from Ohio. From 1831 to 1832, the Lewistown, Wapakoneta, and Hog Creek bands each exchanged their Ohio lands for various lands in Kansas and Oklahoma. The Civil War further negatively impacted and scattered the Shawnee, and the Kansas Shawnee were removed yet again to Oklahoma.

Today, there are three federally recognized Shawnee tribes. The largest group, the Absentee Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, is located in central Oklahoma. The Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma is located in Eastern Ottawa County, near

the Oklahoma–Missouri border. The Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, formally known as the Loyal or Cherokee Shawnee, resides in Miami, Oklahoma. A number of groups remaining in the eastern United States claim status as Shawnee tribes; however, these groups are recognized neither by the U.S. government nor by the federally recognized Shawnee tribes.

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See Also: Algonquian Languages; Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Native Americans; Tecumseh's War.

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Shelley v. Kraemer (1948)

Shelley v. Kraemer is a U.S. Supreme Court decision rendered on May 3, 1948. The case declared residential racial covenants in housing invalid because further enforcement of racial covenants in housing deeds constituted state action. For a state to enforce the covenants on the basis of race was a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Shelley v. Kraemer began when J. D. Shelley, an African American, contracted to purchase a home with white sellers for a property that contained a racially restrictive covenant in the deed to the property. The property was located in St. Louis, Missouri, at 4600 Labadie Avenue. Shelley was married with six children. He purchased the property on September 11, 1945. As a result of the purchase in violation of a racially restrictive covenant, Louis Kraemer, who was white and who

owned a house on Labadie Avenue near the Shelley home, sued Shelley. Kraemer had been an original member of the group of homeowners, known as the Marcus Avenue Improvement Association, who signed onto the racially restrictive covenants and agreed to abide by these agreements contained in their properties. The covenant forbade African Americans from purchasing any of the properties and occupying the properties in that area.

Racially Segregated Cities

This practice, designed specifically to prevent African Americans from buying or leasing housing in segregated white areas, was a widespread practice in the United States at the time the *Shelley* case was filed. Cities across the nation remained racially segregated at least partly because of the existence and enforcement of the racial covenants. As far back as 1892, courts in the United States had been ruling on the issue of racially restrictive covenants in housing.

In 1926, in *Corrigan v. Buckley*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared racially restrictive covenants in property deeds to be legal and enforceable. *Corrigan*, like the situation in *Shelley*, involved homeowners entering into racially restrictive covenant agreements contained in the deeds to their properties that excluded African Americans from purchasing and/or occupying their homes. Irene Corrigan sold his home to an African American named Dr. Arthur Curtis. John J. Buckley filed an injunction against Corrigan asking the court to invalidate the sale in violation of the agreement. The injunction was granted by the court and ultimately upheld on appeal. This established racially restrictive covenants as legal in the United States in 1926. This remained the law, even with multiple challenges by civil rights lawyers, until 1948 and the *Shelley* case.

Racially Restrictive Covenants

In the *Shelley* lawsuit, brought by Fern and Louis Kraemer, the St. Louis State Circuit Court ruled in favor of J. D. Shelley and his family. The Marcus Avenue Improvement Association brought the suit in the name of the Kraemers and sought to enjoin the sale of the property. The Kraemers alleged that if the Shelley family were allowed to occupy the property, it would result in irreparable injury to the Kraemers' property. Although the St.

Louis State Circuit Court ruled in favor of J. D. Shelley and his family, the court did not rule that the racially restrictive covenant was a violation of the U.S. Constitution or any other federal law. The court decided the case on other grounds in upholding the sale of property to Shelley.

The Kraemers appealed the case to the Missouri Supreme Court. The Missouri Supreme Court reversed the decision of the St. Louis State Circuit Court. The Missouri Supreme Court held that the homeowners of the Marcus Avenue Improvement Association could enter into an agreement to abide by the racially restrictive covenants contained in the deeds to their homes. The court rejected all arguments of the Shelley family, including any public policy arguments. The Missouri Supreme Court followed the existing legal precedents that had been in place since the *Corrigan* case of 1926. Racially restrictive covenants in housing were constitutional according to the Missouri Supreme Court, and there was no violation of the rights of the Shelley family.

Eventually, the *Shelley* decision was appealed from the Missouri Supreme Court. It was appealed along with several racially restrictive covenant cases that had also been adjudicated in state courts around the country. The court agreed to decide racially restrictive covenant cases from Detroit, Michigan, and Washington, D.C., along with the *Shelley* case. The court heard the three cases on January 15 and 16, 1948. The court set aside seven hours for oral argument. Three of the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, Justice Stanley Reed, Justice Robert H. Jackson, and Justice Wiley B. Rutledge, declined to participate in the racial covenant decisions. It is generally believed that the three justices declined to participate in the cases because they all owned property with racially restrictive covenants.

Final Rulings

The court issued its decisions in the three cases on May 1, 1948. The *Shelley* decision is the best known and most important of the three decisions. The court held that enforcement of the racially restrictive covenants was unconstitutional. Enforcement of the covenants constituted state action, and to allow different treatment of individuals because of these covenants constituted unequal treatment and was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause.

In ruling that racially restrictive covenants were no longer legal, the court, with Justice Fred M. Vinson writing the unanimous opinion, stated the following:

We hold that, in granting judicial enforcement of the restrictive agreements in these cases, the States have denied petitioners the equal protection of the laws, and that, therefore, the action of the state courts cannot stand. We have noted that freedom from discrimination by the States in the enjoyment of property rights was among the basic objectives sought to be effectuated by the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Although the Shelley case did not completely resolve the issue of racial segregation in the housing market, it did address one aspect of the issue and afforded African Americans an opportunity to gain entry into some areas of certain cities, even as residential racial segregation continued throughout much of the country.

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See Also: Constitutional Amendments; Restrictive Covenant; Segregation.

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tribe members, also referred to by early white settlers and traders as the Snake Indians, were divided into three sizable divisions: the Eastern, the Northern, and the Western. These three subtribes were very different in many ways.

The Eastern Shoshone were originally located in northern Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. Starting around 1750, warfare and other forms of pressure from a number of tribes, including the Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Crow, and Lakota, forced the Eastern Shoshone southward and westward. Eventually, some Eastern Shoshone moved southward enough to merge with the Comanche in Texas.

The Northern Shoshone were originally located in eastern Idaho, northeastern Utah, and western Wyoming. Unlike the Eastern and Western Shoshone, the Northern Shoshone were largely nomadic and lived in tepees that were easily moved. They were horsemen and used the horse to hunt buffalo, which were a staple of their lifestyle.

After years of infectious diseases and some warfare, the approximate population of the Northern and Western Shoshone taken together in 1845 was 4,500. Led by Chief Pocatello, the Northern Shoshone fought their way through a turbulent 1860s, battling settlers in Idaho—hence the town of Pocatello, Idaho. As more settlers moved west, they inevitably invaded Shoshone territory. The first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, and this enabled unprecedented numbers of Euro-American settlers to arrive in Shoshone territory.

As a result, the Shoshone raided settlements for food and occasionally even attacked settlers. This ongoing violence finally culminated in the Bear River Massacre of 1863. The massacre saw the murder of 350 to 500 Northern Shoshone, including women and children, at the hands of U.S. forces. The Shoshone families were at their winter encampment and this massacre was the most grievous violence suffered by the Shoshone at the hands of U.S. forces.

In the coming years the Northern Shoshone allied with the Bannock, a related tribe, for battle against the U.S. military. From 1864 to 1868, the tribal alliance fought the United States in the Snake War. The Northern Shoshone and Bannock again fought U.S. forces in the 1878 Bannock War. However, the Northern Shoshone were

Shoshone

The Shoshone are a Native American tribe in the United States. Historically, the Shoshone spoke their own language, also called Shoshone, a Numic, Uto-Aztecan language. The Shoshone



A Shoshone encampment in the Wind River Mountains in Wyoming, 1870. As more settlers migrated west, tensions arose with indigenous people, and many battles were fought throughout the second half of the 19th century.

not always allied against U.S. forces. In 1876, the Shoshone fought their long-standing rivals, the Cheyenne and the Lakota, alongside the U.S. Army in the Battle of the Rosebud.

In 1879, a group of around 300 Western Sheep-eater Shoshones fought in the Sheep-eater Indian War. This conflict has the distinction of being the last Indian war fought in the Pacific Northwest.

In 1911, a Bannock leader, Mike Daggett, or “Shoshone Mike,” led a small group of Bannock in the murder of four Nevada ranchers. The rest of the area’s settlers formed a posse and, hoping for revenge, went after the Bannock group led by Shoshone Mike. The posse found their quarry on February 26, 1911, and eight Bannock were slaughtered. Ed Hogle was the sole member of the posse to die. In its more grisly acts, the posse captured three children and a woman. At a later date, a rancher donated partial remains of bodies of various ages and sexes to the Smithsonian Institution for study; this was believed to be all that remained of Shoshone Mike’s family. In 1937, there were approximately 3,650 Northern Shoshone and 1,201 Western Shoshone, according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 2000, there were approximately 12,000 Shoshone counted by the census.

The Western Shoshone survive as of 2013 and are probably the best-known Shoshone. Originally, they were focused in Oregon and western

Idaho, although they ranged as far as California, central Idaho, central Nevada, and northwestern Utah. All Western Shoshone lived in grass huts without roofs and hunted for small game and birds, as well as fished. Most likely, because they survive today, we know more about this subtribe of the Shoshone. It is known that Western Shoshone centered in Idaho were known as Tukuaduka, or sheep eaters, based on their farming of sheep. Similarly, the bands of Western Shoshone located in Nevada and Utah were known as Gosiute, or Toi Ticutta, roughly translated as “eaters of cattails.”

The California Western Shoshone were and still are known as Timbisha Shoshone, Death Valley Shoshone, Panamint Shoshone, and Paiute Shoshone. Their names obviously signal where they live, and they have a federal reservation and tribal government as of this writing at Furnace Creek, California.

In 2008, the Bear River Massacre site and some land in its vicinity went to the Northwestern Shoshone. The tribe’s plan was to pay homage to the massacre and those killed there and to protect the memory of the murder of the largest number of members of the nation in history. The Northwestern Shoshone tribe worked in partnership with state leaders in Idaho and Utah as well as the American West Heritage Center to preserve the land, seen as holy ground. Since the project’s inception, the partnership has not only protected the site but also made major advances in sustainable energy.

Although the Western Shoshone may be the best-known tribal segment, the most famous Shoshone tribe member is undoubtedly Sacagawea. A Northern Shoshone of the Lemhi Band, she accompanied Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their historic exploration of the American West from 1804 to 1806.

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See Also: American Indian Categorization (Essay); Comanche; Native Americans.

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Show Boat

Show Boat is a 1926 best-selling novel by Edna Ferber as well as a 1927 musical play adapted by composer Jerome Kern and librettist Oscar Hammerstein II. The work marked a radical departure from the day's standard fare of musical comedies in that its songs were integrated fully into the plot. The original production's multiracial cast was one of the first ever on Broadway. Additionally, *Show Boat* was one of the first musicals to make an earnest attempt at depicting the plight of African Americans sympathetically. Between 1927 and 1997, *Show Boat* was produced on Broadway five times. In addition, there have been three screen versions of *Show Boat*: a silent one, in 1929, focusing on Ferber's novel; and two others, in 1936 and 1951, adapting the musical.

The Origins of *Show Boat*

Ferber, a former reporter, was inspired to write the novel after first hearing about show boats in 1924. While conducting research for the novel, Ferber spent weeks with the cast and crew of the James Adams Floating Theatre, which put on shows throughout the southeastern region of the United States. After two years of research and writing, *Show Boat* was published in 1926. A nostalgic, if melodramatic, examination of America's cultural, social, and racial legacies, the novel spent a number of months atop the best-seller list, and the critical response was somewhat guarded. Even still, its considerable popularity made it a perfect candidate for adaptation.

The novel, musical, and film adaptations all follow the same basic plot. *Show Boat* explores the affairs of the performers, workers, and passengers of the *Cotton Blossom* as it traverses the Mississippi River between Reconstruction and the Jazz Age. Captain Andy Hawks; his wife, Parthy; and their daughter, Magnolia, own the floating theater, which employs a number of

individuals who represent the range of people who live along the Mississippi: leading actors Julie and her husband, Steve; comedic duo Ellie and Frank, whose sobriquet is Schmaltzy; the ship's pilot, Windy; and Joe, a black stevedore, and his wife, Queenie, a cook. When Julie, who has been passing for white, is exposed as biracial, she and Steve are forced to resign. Captain Andy eventually casts Magnolia and an itinerant gambler, Gaylord Ravenal, in their places. Magnolia and Gaylord fall in love and move to Chicago, where he supports them with his betting spoils. After she becomes pregnant with their daughter, Kim, the stresses of being a father lead Gaylord to abandon his family. As Kim matures, she becomes a successful stage actress; Magnolia assumes control of the *Cotton Blossom*, continuing the work began by her parents.

Impressed by Ferber's novel, Kern wanted to adapt it into a serious musical play. He chose Hammerstein as his writing partner because of his interest in depicting social issues onstage; indeed, subsequent Hammerstein shows, notably *South Pacific*, *Flower Drum Song*, *Carmen Jones*, and *No Strings*, would address intercultural conflict. With the talents of Paul Robeson in mind, Kern and Hammerstein wrote the role of Joe, who provides the African American counterpoint to Southern life in the song "Ol' Man River." Broadway impresario Florenz Ziegfeld was so impressed with *Show Boat* that he decided to build the Ziegfeld Theatre to accommodate the grand scale of the spectacle.

Production History

The first production opened on December 27, 1927, after a monthlong tour through Washington, D.C.; Ohio; and Pennsylvania, and it played 572 performances. The critical reception to this new style of fully integrated musical was extremely positive. The score, which featured "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," "Make Believe," "Life Upon the Wicked Stage," "Bill," and "Hey, Feller," received universal praise.

However, many in the black community decried what were perceived as stereotypical representations of African Americans. Deemed especially offensive were the use of ethnic slurs and the dialect ascribed to African American characters. Further, Tess Gardella, a white actress in blackface,

played Queenie in the original Broadway production. Wariness around audience reactions to presenting intermarriage on stage led to the casting of Julie with white actresses, a practice that did not end until the 1971 West End revival, when jazz singer Cleo Laine assumed the role. Even prominent performer Lena Horne, who had played Julie in the Jerome Kern biopic *As the Clouds Roll By* in 1946, was passed over for Ava Gardner for the 1951 movie.

The reputation of *Show Boat* has been rehabilitated over the last several decades, during which time the libretto has undergone several successive rewrites to eliminate offensive content, including a blackface number for Magnolia called “Gallivantin’ Around.” Especially noteworthy was the five-time Tony Award–winning 1994 Broadway revival, which had the longest run of any of the New York productions at 947 performances. Harold Prince, who directed and/or produced the groundbreaking Broadway productions of *West Side Story*, *Cabaret*, *Company*, and *Evita*, helmed the production, which highlighted the manner in which interracial relations changed over time.

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See Also: Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; “Ol’ Man River”; Opera and Ethnic Diversity.

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the Italian kingdom in 1861, Sicily had been ruled by foreign powers and did not share a history with the mainland. The traditionally strong *campanilismo* (attachment to one’s own city or region), a quasi-colonial politics of economic exploitation by the powerful elites of the north, and a diffidence toward southerners that often developed into open discrimination are the main factors that account for Sicilians’ reluctance to identify with Italy, a feeling surviving to this day.

Alongside a more general identification as Italian Americans, therefore, descendants of Sicilian immigrants nurture a distinct Sicilian American identity. Patterns of settlement in the New World replicated town or regional divisions, with Little Italies located in streets or blocks where one particular regional group was prevalent, thus reinforcing subnational loyalties.

History

Although Sicilians had been present on American soil since the 17th century, the first significant wave of immigration began in the late 1880s. It is estimated that of the 4.5 million Italians who crossed the Atlantic between 1880 and 1930, one out of four was from Sicily. However, it was only after the revolt known as Fasci Siciliani, in 1892 and 1893, that regional emigration swelled. The movement, which had the support of poor peasants and exploited miners, aimed at improving working conditions but soon grew into outright revolt toward the ruling class when its demands were ignored. The Italian government restored order using force in 1894. Peasants, even those marginally involved in the riots, saw in emigration the only hope for a better future. Many were “birds of passage,” males who planned to work temporarily and save enough money to make a decent living back home.

Sicilian immigrants scattered throughout the United States. One of the earliest destinations was New Orleans, where seasonal work in the cane fields of Louisiana was available. A sizable Sicilian community took root in Tampa, Florida, where immigrants found employment in the cigar factories. Most settled in urban centers, like San Francisco, Chicago, and New York, that offered plenty of unskilled jobs, such as bricklayers, street sweepers, bootblacks, pieceworkers, and longshoremen.

Sicilian Americans

Sicilian Americans are descendants of immigrants from Sicily, the island just off the southernmost tip of the Italian peninsula. Before annexation by

Sicilians mostly clustered together, sometimes with other Italians and in some cases on their own, creating Little Sicilies, such as the Near North Side neighborhood in Chicago where, around 1910, most of the 8,000 residents were Sicilians.

In these enclaves, the native dialects and traditions were maintained, as well as forms of entertainment (traditional songs and dances). As communities grew, Sicilians were able to stage their own religious festivities (*feste*). These occasions were the focal point of communal life, combining a religious program—a holy mass and a procession in which the statues of patron saints or the Virgin Mary were carried along the streets—with more mundane activities like games, dances, lotteries, and the puppet theater, where marionettes performed stories adapted from the popular tradition or representing the medieval epic struggles between Christian knights and Saracens. The *feste* were organized by mutual aid societies (such as the Trinacria Fratellanza Siciliana in Chicago), which also helped newcomers to find jobs and housing, and provided medical insurance.

Dark-complexioned, reserved, and reluctant to Americanize, Sicilians stood out among other Italians immigrants. The habit of emphasizing dissimilarities grew as some elements of Sicilian culture associated with crime, the Black Hand and the Mafia, leading to stereotypes of Sicilians as mafiosi and gangsters, and to their targeting as culprits of crimes involving shooting and blackmailing. In 1891, 11 Sicilians were lynched by an angry mob in New Orleans after a jury acquitted them for the murder of Police Chief David Hennessey. Another shameful episode was Chicago's 1926 anti-Sicilian hysteria that led to deportations and acts of open discrimination. Some Italian-language newspapers, as well as Italian authorities, openly supported the anti-Sicilian campaign, reinforcing divisions between regional communities.

Political activism was also characteristic of the Sicilian American experience. The legacy of the Fasci, as well as a militancy grown out of the necessity to challenge miserable working conditions, put Sicilians at the forefront of labor struggles. Activist Augusto Bellanca was one of the founders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Victor Anfuso would become the

first Italian to enter the House of Representatives in 1950.

Literature, Film, and Popular Culture

Sicilians encouraged their offspring to obtain early employment rather than pursue education, leading to a relatively late blooming of an immigrant literature. *Mountallegro*, a 1943 memoir by Jerre Mangione, portrays the Sicilian community of Rochester, New York, where the author grew up. However, it was a non-Sicilian, Mario Puzo, who popularized Sicilian American culture in his best-selling novel *The Godfather* (1969). Toni Ardizzone paid tribute to his Sicilian heritage in the short story "Nonna" (1987), and more recent contributions include a memoir by actor Vincent Schiavelli, *Bruculinu, America* (1998).

In the popular arts, serious efforts to deal with Sicilian ancestry have been thwarted by a persistently bad ethnic reputation. Prominent Sicilian Americans such as director Frank Capra and crooner Frank Sinatra (1915–98) avoided any engagement with their heritage in order to appeal to a mainstream audience. Other performers, however, like Louis Prima and Nicola Paone, stuck to their ethnic roots and sang in Italian and Sicilian. A later generation confronted the stereotypical images of Sicilians straightforwardly in acclaimed gangster movies: Director Francis Ford Coppola weaved aspects of Sicilian folk culture into the *Godfather* trilogy (1972, 1974, 1990), and director Martin Scorsese shed light on the cultural conflicts that shaped Sicilian American experience in *Mean Streets* (1973) and *Goodfellas* (1990). Director Nancy Savoca investigated female identities in *True Love* (1989). Notable Sicilian Americans in show business include actors Al Pacino, Ben Gazzara, Joe Mantegna, and Steve Buscemi; musicians Nick LaRocca, Frank Zappa, and Jon Bon Jovi; and cartoonist Joseph Barbera.

Sicilian Americans Today

Toward the end of the 20th century, the organization Arba Sicula, Web-based Club Siciliano, and the National Sicilian American Foundation helped renew interest in Sicilian customs and fueled a celebration of a distinctive Sicilian American heritage. In addition, two recent literary collections, *Sweet Lemons* (2004, 2010), testify to an ongoing interest in exploring the literary and cultural

continuities between the Sicilian diaspora and the ancestral homeland.

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See Also: *Godfather, The*; Italian Americans; Mafia.

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Siege, The

The Siege (1998) is a 20th Century Fox controversial thriller that investigates a growing sense of terror in New York City invoked by a multilayered terrorist cell comprising a number of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab/Muslim Americans. The film carries relevance to today's America through its engagement with issues like homegrown terrorism, U.S. government antiterror measures, U.S. foreign policy, and American multiculturalism, issues that have increasingly dominated the American sociopolitical spectrum ever since the tragic attacks of September 11, 2001.

The film is directed by Edward Zwick and written by Lawrence Wright. The screenplay is cowritten by Lawrence Wright, Menno Meyjes, and Edward Zwick. The plot presents a passionate and dedicated Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent, Anthony Hubbard (Denzel Washington), wrestling with a maneuvering Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agent, Sharon Bridger (Annette Bening), and a conceited military officer, Major General William Devereaux (Bruce Willis). Regardless of their different approaches in how to fight homegrown terrorism, the three figures—representing three various aspects of the U.S. government—are engaged in finding ways to eradicate such terror and restore peace and security to the United States.

The film calls into question whether associating homegrown terror with Arabs, Muslims, and Arab/Muslim Americans is a post-9/11 Hollywood practice. Since the 1970s, films like *Black Sunday* (1977), *Wrong Is Right* (1982), *Invasion U.S.A.* (1985), *Wanted: Dead or Alive* (1987), *True Lies* (1994), and *Executive Decision* (1996) have proposed a certain set of stereotypes that *The Siege* seems to replicate. Homegrown terrorism, the film suggests, is a phenomenon exclusively advanced through Arabs and Muslims living in the United States, who seek to secure their demands through targeting crowds of civilian Americans in public buses, movie theaters, elementary schools, and multicultural gatherings. The Arabic and Islamic identities are conflated to reinforce each other. Islamic signs and practices such as ablution, praying, wearing traditional clothing, and growing a beard are packaged as signs of extremism. The terrorists' cultural and religious affiliations are projected as significant marks of identity inherently opposed to America's cultural norms.

American Patriotism and Arabic Pride

Meanwhile, the film critically presents an Arab/Muslim American model that celebrates both a sense of American patriotism and pride in Arabic/Islamic cultural heritage. FBI agent Frank Haddad (Tony Shalhoub) does not hesitate in embracing an inclusive multicultural notion of America and in delivering a strong commitment to its security, while preserving a particular Arabic/Islamic character in his family and himself. References to positive engagement with the Arab/Muslim American community are made throughout the film, in an attempt to further dislocate it from the previously mentioned films.

The film is prophetic in its dramatization of the U.S. government response in the aftermath of a violent wave of homegrown terror, refreshingly foreshadowing the George W. Bush administration's response in the aftermath of 9/11, although the scale of the response may be different in both cases. In the film, the U.S. Army is called upon to restore order through subjecting New York City to martial law. The army, henceforth, initiates rounding-up measures that selectively target Arab/Muslim Americans, transport them in school buses, and place them in barbed-wire cells temporarily installed

in a stadium. New York City is pictorially changing as images of tanks and soldiers become prevalent while aspects of civil life are immediately withering away. The post-9/11 response included a preventive detention strategy, providing law enforcement agencies with the right to detain suspects, mostly of Arabic and Islamic backgrounds.

However, the responses in the two cases still bear striking similarities: Executive oversight increases, trumping Americans' civil liberties. Various torture techniques are considered effective and necessary to extract vital information about the terrorists. Surveillance mechanisms are introduced, and individuals' privacy is suspended. Racial profiling becomes an enforced standard in fighting terrorism.

U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives

Another message presented in the film raises concerns about the use of CIA covert operations in advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives. The technology and resources awarded to the terrorists, the audience learns, have been provided by the CIA through its agent Bridger, who works undercover with the name Elise Kraft, as part of a project aimed to empower Iraqis. This is an indirect criticism of the role that U.S. foreign policy played in promoting the Afghani anti-Soviet resistance during the 1980s, which eventually popularized Islamic jihad as a bloody alternative to securing one's demands.

A final important issue addressed in this film is the triumph of multiculturalism as America's celebrated promise to its citizens. Americans of various creeds and ethnic backgrounds rush out into the streets to reject the military control, demand an immediate restoration of law enforcement agencies' role, and decry the sense of humiliation directed against Arab/Muslim Americans, which is reminiscent of the rounding up of Japanese Americans during World War II. The stereotypical images of Arab/Muslim Americans' difference, developed throughout the film to indicate their alienation from and enmity against the United States, are now suspended. Alternatively, they are now being publicly viewed as victims by the state apparatus of the country to which they pledge allegiance.

The film concludes with a tone of rescue and relief. The American ideals of democracy, liberty, and freedom are restored. Extremists are killed, and violence comes to an end. Army control is

dismantled, while officers involved in torture and abuse of prisoners are subjected to due process of the law.

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See Also: Arab Americans; Muslim Americans; Palestinian Americans; Pluralism.

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Sikhs

Estimates of the number of Sikhs in the United States range between 200,000 and 500,000. Sikhs are mainly concentrated on the east and west coasts, largely in and around New York and California, with a small presence in a number of other states, including Illinois and Texas. The Sikhs are one of the more mobile communities of India. They are scattered across a number of countries around the world. Sikhs in the United States are generally well-to-do, and they maintain a close relationship with their homeland.

Immigration to North America

Sikhs migrated to North America primarily to escape British colonial practices in India. After a mutiny against the British in 1857, the British started recruiting soldiers in large numbers from Punjab, a province in northwest India in which Sikhs are the majority community. Sikh soldiers from Punjab were sent abroad on a number of missions. In the late 19th century, a contingent of Sikh soldiers went to Canada en route to England after celebrating Queen Victoria's anniversary.

Back home, they spread the news about the huge swaths of land in Canada, which appealed to the agrarian-minded peasants in Punjab. Soon, some of the Punjabis moved to Canada. However, the xenophobic atmosphere and the anti-immigrant stance of the Canadian government led many Punjabis to settle in the United States, mainly on the west coast.

In the United States, however, Sikh immigrants were also subject to prejudice, facing an often hostile and racist atmosphere. This led them to realize that much of this prejudice resulted from the lack of support from their home government. A group of Indians in San Francisco formed the Ghadar Party; the word *ghadar* literally translates as “uprising.” The Ghadar Party aimed to overthrow the British government in India and attain independence through revolutionary means. The party was inspired by the values of the American Revolution. A number of activists from the party went back to Punjab to fight British rule.

Meanwhile, U.S. authorities implemented stringent rules regarding citizenship and the right to own land. Since most of the Sikhs were engaged in the agricultural sector, these regulations created the new phenomenon of Sikhs marrying Mexican American women so they would be able to own land. Sikh immigration to the United States tapered off gradually in the years before India became independent in 1947. Sikhs had settled in the United States primarily for economic reasons, and they enjoyed a harmonious relationship between their homeland and their host land.

Crisis in India

However, the Sikhs’ situation in their Punjab homeland started to unravel after India became independent. That year, the Punjab province was partitioned between India and the newly created Pakistan. Based on linguistic criteria, the Indian government did not recognize the state of Punjab, as it did 14 other states, which were formed in 1956. This led to tensions between the government and Punjab. Finally, in 1966, Punjab was recognized as a state.

However, there were a number of unresolved issues, and relations between the federal government and the state continued to deteriorate in the wake of the internal emergency imposed in 1975 by Indira Gandhi, then prime minister of India.

On June 3, 1984, Gandhi ordered a military attack, Operation Bluestar, to remove Sikh separatists from the Harimandir Sahib (Golden Temple) in Amritsar, the Sikhs’ holiest shrine. The separatists were accused of amassing weapons in the temple and starting a major armed uprising. The operation outraged not only the Sikh community in India but also Sikhs abroad. A number of diasporic organizations arose in North America and parts of Europe, advocating secession from India and creation of Khalistan, a separate state for the Sikhs. These organizations lobbied Congress, protesting alleged Indian violations of human rights and discrimination against the Sikhs. Gradually, peace returned to Punjab.

Sikhs in the United States

Sikhs also had to face their own identity battles in the United States, particularly after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, when some people questioned the Sikhs’ patriotism because of their appearance. Sikhs had to fight for their right to wear turbans at many of their workplaces, and they were victims of hate crimes. On August 5, 2012, a gunman attacked a *gurdwara* (Sikh temple) in Oak



The Five Ks are items of faith that all baptized Sikhs must wear at all times: kesh (uncut hair usually tied in the Sikh turban), kanga (a wooden comb usually worn under the dastar), katchera (a pair of shorts used for increased mobility), kara (a heavy iron bracelet used as a weapon), and kirpan (a curved sword or dagger that comes in many sizes).

Creek, Wisconsin, killing six people and wounding four others. This incident underlines the identity issues and prejudice with which the Sikh community in the United States is grappling.

The Sikhs have been active in the political, social, economic, and cultural spheres in the United States. The major challenges that the Sikhs in the United States now face are related to identity issues, and a number of organizations have arisen to educate the American public and safeguard Sikh interests in the face of hate crimes and discrimination. In addition, maintaining the tender balance between the sociocultural traditions of their homeland and the values of a Western liberal country is another issue with which many Sikh families grapple.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Indian (Asian) Americans; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Sioux

The word *Sioux* refers to a large group of people residing in the United States and Canada and also the Siouan language, one of the largest language groups in North America. The Sioux comprise three groups: The Lakota are western or Teton Sioux, which can be broken down into the Oglala, Sicangu or Brûle, Hunkpapa, Minneconjou, Itazipco or Sans Arc, Sicasapa or Blackfeet, and O’ohenonpa or Two Kettles. Dakota refers to the eastern Sioux or Santee Sioux that include Sisseton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and Mdewakanton. The final group is the Yankton and Yanktonai, or the middle Sioux. The name Sioux comes from the French adaptation of the Odawa word *Natowessiwak*.

At the time of European contact, the Sioux lived in a region that included Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa. By the late 19th century, many Sioux had been pushed west onto the northern Plains. They were primarily hunters and gatherers, whose lives centered on the buffalo as a source of food, shelter, and material items. Each tribe was organized into bands composed of families related by blood, marriage, and adoption. Warfare was a matter of political and social importance, not about acquiring land or controlling other people. Warfare focused on gaining individual honors connected with activities like capturing other tribes’ horses, outsmarting the enemy, or counting coup—striking or touching an enemy without killing him.

Cultural Conflict: Land, Treaties, and War

Although first contact with Europeans began with the Spanish and the introduction of the horse, followed by positive encounters with French trappers and fur traders, the most significant and negative impact of contact occurred with westward expansion as European Americans sought control

over the vast territory occupied by the Sioux, particularly the Black Hills.

Historically, the Sioux or Great Sioux Nation called itself Oceti Sakowin or Seven Council Fires, which referred to its seven political divisions. According to tribal tradition, the Sioux originated within the Black Hills, emerging from underground through Wind Cave. The Black Hills (called *Paha Sapa*) hold strong religious significance for the Sioux, particularly the Lakota (designated as the caretakers of the Black Hills), who have a long, protracted history of fighting to retain and reclaim the Black Hills. The entire region is known as the sacred center or heart of everything, and numerous places within the hills are of religious significance (Harney Peak, Devil's Tower, and Bear Butte); the creation of each is recounted in stories, and each is the site of religious practices. Although the Sioux did not reside in the Black Hills, they conducted religious ceremonies at these sites and others, returning throughout the year for worship.

Throughout the mid-1900s, the United States secured Sioux land through a series of treaties. Although the Mendota and Traverse des Sioux treaties of 1851 were not the first signed with the Dakotas, they may well have precipitated the Great Sioux Uprising (U.S.-Dakota War) of 1862. The Lakota and Yankton signed the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, which ended intertribal warfare on the plains by establishing territorial boundaries and protected the overland routes to the Pacific coast. This was followed by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, which ended Red Cloud's War, guaranteed the Lakota ownership of the Black Hills, and established the Great Sioux Reservation. It also closed off the Powder River Country from military posts and white settlement.

After gold was discovered in the Black Hills, the United States unsuccessfully attempted to purchase them from the Lakota. Unable to legally acquire the hills, the United States engaged in military campaigns that resulted in the Great Sioux War of 1876 (in which one of the battles was the Battle of Little Bighorn) and the forced confinement of many Sioux onto reservations. In 1877, the terms of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty were altered, which allowed the United States to seize the Black Hills, and a final treaty, the Sioux Bill of 1889, dramatically reduced the size of the Great Sioux Reservation, dividing it into small units.

Throughout much of the 20th century, the Sioux Nation has tried to reclaim the Black Hills under the provisions of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. In 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled (in the case *United States v. Sioux Nation*) that the United States had illegally seized the land and was ordered to pay the Sioux monetary restitution with interest. The Sioux refused payment (over \$100 million) and have continued to argue for the return of the sacred Black Hills.

Contemporary Sioux

Today, the federally recognized Sioux occupy numerous reservations and communities in the Dakotas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Montana in the United States (and reserves in Manitoba and southern Saskatchewan in Canada), where they maintain separate tribal governments and adhere to modern tribal constitutions. Many practice traditional ceremonies like the Sun Dance and the Sweat Lodge and maintain their cultural identity and historical records through oral tradition, as well as art forms such as architecture, beadwork, and drawing and painting, the latter of which originates in the pictographic arts of hide painting, ledger art, and winter counts.

Historically, winter counts were made of animal hide, and later cotton muslin, and painted with symbols chosen to represent the most significant event of the year for that particular group. Created by tribal historians in consultation with elder men, winter counts served as records of the tribe's history. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 170,100 individuals identified themselves as Sioux. These figures do not include Sioux residing in Canada or those not enrolled with one of the federally recognized tribes.

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See Also: *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*; Great Plains Tribes; Great Sioux War; Little Bighorn, Battle of; Reservations, Native American; Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident.

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65th Infantry Regiment

Since the final days of the Spanish-American War, when Puerto Rico became an American colony, Puerto Rico has played a significant role in the American military. The 65th Infantry Regiment began as an all-Puerto Rican regiment of the U.S. Army. Throughout its history, the regiment supported the United States in all of its conflicts, playing a particularly significant role in the Korean War.

The Spanish-American War put America on the global radar as a country with reach beyond its borders. Puerto Rico and Guam were annexed by the United States as part of the peace treaty with Spain. The outcome of the Spanish-American War helped form the modern Puerto Rican mind-set, replacing 400 years of allegiance to Spain with a new allegiance to the United States.

Puerto Rican scouts aided the Americans during the Spanish-American War by sharing valuable strategic information with U.S. Army generals occupying their islands. A military government ruled Puerto Rico from August 1898 to May 1899. During this time, Puerto Rican civilians were first considered as possible additions to the American military.

Establishment of the Regiment

On May 20, 1899, the 65th Infantry Regiment was officially established. It consisted of four companies with no more than 100 men in each company, for a total of 400 men. Recruitment was by order of Major General Guy V. Henry. He sent out a request to each American military outpost in Puerto Rico to recruit 25 men for the new regiment. To qualify for the regiment, prospective soldiers were required to have basic military skills, a reasonable command of the English language, and the ability to pass the U.S. Army's

health requirements. Each soldier would enlist for two years and receive the same salary as a comparable soldier in the mainland U.S. forces.

In the beginning, the regiment's officers were Americans. However, on August 30, 1899, a command was issued to the military outposts to recruit Puerto Rican officers. The first Puerto Rican officer was Major Lorenzo P. Davison. That same year, the 65th Infantry Regiment became a unit of the U.S. Army. The appointment of officers was made by Congress instead of by the president, as in previous years. This was in accordance with the appointment procedures for American officers on the mainland. The first officer appointed in this manner was Jaime Nadal, who was the only person to pass the first round of examinations. The second round of testing provided seven more Puerto Rican officers.

A mounted Puerto Rican battalion was organized on February 12, 1900. The battalion was not a part of the 65th Infantry Regiment but would work closely with it in the future.

In 1904, the regiment became officially known as the Puerto Rico Provisional Regiment of Infantry. There were two battalions, one of which was mounted. On May 27, 1908, the regiment became an official part of the U.S. Army and was called the Puerto Rico Regiment of Infantry USA.

World War I

With the onset of World War I, the 65th Infantry Regiment had its first call to service as a branch of the U.S. Army, and 18,000 Puerto Rican men were recruited through selective service. On May 3, 1917, the 65th Infantry Regiment, with 4,000 men, was sent to defend the Panama Canal. The regiment stayed in Panama until March 1919. It never had a chance to see action in Europe, as the war ended on November 11, 1918. On June 4, 1920, the regiment officially became the 65th Regiment of the U.S. Army.

World War II

After the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the regiment was assigned to protect the island from invasion. On January 7, 1942, it returned to the Panama Canal to protect American shipping interests. During this period, the troops received combat training for jungle environments. On December 30, 1943,

the regiment was sent to the U.S. mainland to prepare for action in Europe. The Puerto Rican troops began their World War II action in North Africa in March 1944. After a brief stint in Italy, they headed to Marseille, France, in September of that year. On December 13, 1944, the Third Battalion of the 65th Regiment was sent to the Maritime Alps and suffered 47 casualties, its first official losses as a regiment of the U.S. Army. The regiment ended up in Germany, where it stayed until its troops were sent home. Over 65,000 Puerto Ricans served in the military during World War II.

The Korean War

In 1950, the 65th Regiment was one of the first American regiments to be deployed to Korea. The regiment's first mission was to aid the United Nations' forces already stationed there. Colonel W. W. Harris commanded the force in Korea. This was the first time the regiment made a name for itself because of its excellent soldiers and its battle integrity.

The regiment arrived in Pusan, Korea, on September 23, 1950. By September 28, after aiding the Ninth Infantry, the regiment had six casualties. While in Korea, the regiment spent most of its time on patrol, frequently encountering Korean guerrilla forces.

On October 17, 1950, the E Company of the 65th Regiment saw conflict in Kunpchon, where 11 soldiers were killed and 13 others wounded. On the North Korean side, 79 soldiers were killed, and the regiment acquired 85 prisoners of war (POWs). On November 6, 1950, the second battalion of the regiment engaged with North Koreans near Yonghung. It was another victory for the Americans, in which the North Koreans were forced to retreat and the 65th suffered only light casualties. On February 14, 1951, the 65th Regiment was attacked by a North Korean regiment. In this battle, 537 North Korean soldiers were killed, and another 268 became POWs. On the American side, the 65th Regiment lost only one soldier.

During its time in Korea, the regiment was assigned to rescue a division of U.S. Marines near Chosin. Its crowning achievement during the conflict was the establishment of a defense line along the beach at Hungnam. This defensive line served

as the evacuation route for all United Nations forces in Korea.

Segregation and Integration During Korea

By April 1951, the 65th Infantry Regiment had a surplus of 1,400 personnel. The army began to experiment with desegregation by integrating the surplus troops into other units. This meant that Puerto Rican natives were interspersed among Anglo units in the hope that the skill set of the 65th Regiment would be integrated into the larger American fighting force. Because of the placement of the Puerto Rican bilingual soldiers in other units, the 65th Regiment had fewer interpreters and a lack of leadership. The lack of bilingual noncommissioned officers (NCOs) to relay orders between American officers and Spanish-speaking troops became particularly serious by the middle of 1952, just before the disastrous battle at Outpost Kelly, in which the regiment on two occasions was overwhelmed by Chinese artillery.

In 1952, 1,500 bilingual NCOs were rotated throughout the army, but the 65th received only 435 sergeants in return. Commanders were forced to place inexperienced men in NCO positions, men who were often incapable of speaking Spanish and relaying orders accurately. Over the course of the entire war, approximately 2,000 Puerto Rican NCOs and sergeants were serving in units other than the 65th Regiment.

The hope was that the regiment's near-legendary troop morale would carry it through the worst of the conflict, but this was not the case. Soldiers were unclear as to their orders, and battle units could not sustain attack momentum. According to military historians, the difficulties the regiment encountered were not because of integration but because of the timing of this integration in the middle of the war. They argue that integration of the U.S. military should have occurred before or after the Korean War to ensure the soldiers' safety.

The 65th was the first American regiment to cross the Han River deep into North Korean territory. During the Korean War, 61,000 Puerto Rican soldiers served in the conflict; 756 died, and another 2,300 were wounded. Puerto Rico lost more people during the war per capita than any of the American states. All members of the regiment received high praise, including recognition by General Douglas MacArthur, for their accomplishments during the

war. On November 19, 1954, the regiment left Korea and returned home.

Post-Korea

On April 10, 1956, the 65th Infantry Regiment was disbanded. In 1958, it became a permanent part of the Puerto Rican National Guard Unit. Although no longer officially the 65th Infantry Regiment, 48,000 soldiers from Puerto Rico fought in the Vietnam War, and 332 were killed. Since that time, Puerto Rican soldiers, affectionately nicknamed Borinqueneers, have seen combat during the Gulf War, the war in Afghanistan, and the Iraq War.

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See Also: Armed Forces, U.S.; Bilingualism; Ethnic Studies; Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund; Puerto Ricans; Translators/Interpreters; Vietnam War; World War I; World War II.

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Slave Narratives

It was against the unfathomable enslavement experience that blacks began to raise their voices in protest. African Americans can trace their literary tradition from Olaudah Equiano and Phyllis Wheatley to the countless narratives of formerly enslaved African Americans who, during the late 18th and 19th centuries, wrote of their experiences.

Most critics agree that the African American literary tradition found its original expression in the narratives authored by formerly enslaved blacks who helped bring an end to the peculiar institution of slavery. The narratives bring to the fore the authorial voice of the black literary tradition, which, according to Henry Louis Gates, was used to "indict both those who enslaved them and the metaphysical system drawn upon to justify their enslavement."

In expressing the brutality of the enslavement experience, the slave narratives give voice to those who had, for the most part, been the silenced other, while simultaneously advocating for the humanity of the enslaved. Likewise, the slave narratives serve as the platform that launches the voice of protest that infuses the literary tradition of African Americans and people of color in the United States.

Early Slave Narratives

Prior to emancipation, teaching enslaved blacks to read or write was strictly prohibited. Although the experience of people of African descent in the land that would become the United States began in indentured servitude, by the late 17th century, perpetual enslavement became the fate of enslaved Africans and their posterity in the New World. In the years following the Stono Rebellion (1739), South Carolina would be the first of the colonies to outlaw teaching a slave to write or read. Others followed suit, making it illegal to teach an enslaved black to read or write. Harsh penalties were imposed on whites as well, but if an enslaved black was caught learning to read and write without the expressed permission of her or his master, by law the punishment was death. It is well documented in *The Narrative of the Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* how learning to read or write "spoiled" a slave.

First Slave's Autobiography

In 1750, the first account of a former slave's autobiographical story was released in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*. Ten years later, in 1760, Briton Hammon's *A Narrative of Uncommon Sufferings and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man—Servant to General Winslow, of Marshfield, in New England; Who Returned to Boston after Having been Absent*

Almost Thirteen Years, while not commercially profitable, appealed to a Christian readership and opened the door for future narratives of formerly enslaved blacks.

In 1789, Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano; or Gustavus Vassa, the African; Written by Himself* would be the first profitable and renowned autobiographical account of an enslaved African's journey through slavery into freedom. Since its publication, Equiano's account of his exploits of capture, exchange, slavery, and eventual freedom has been a hotly contested firsthand account of slavery. Venture Smith's *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa: But Resident Above Sixty Years in the United States of America, as Related by Himself* (1798) tells of Smith's capture, and enslavement, the purchase of his freedom (also his family's), and his ascendance as a propertied citizen of Rhode Island. These narratives by Equiano, Smith, and Hammon are as different as night and day in terms of tone, use of language, and other literary elements, but they lay the groundwork for the formulaic nature and appeal of the slave narratives.

Impact of Abolitionist Movement on Slave Narratives

Through indentured servitude and the eventual establishment of slavery, black resistance was constant. As slavery lurched toward becoming a fixture in the United States, the conflict over its usefulness began in earnest as early as discussions of a new nation emerged. Even though the abolitionist movement began in England, formal challenges to the practice, ideology, and system of slavery found its most vocal opponents in the accounts and life histories of formerly enslaved Africans who had managed to escape slavery's clutches.

Running away, absenteeism, breaking tools, work slowdowns, and other forms of individual resistance against slavery were used to diminish its immediate impact. These individualized efforts brought some relief and may have resulted in a lessening of slavery's harshness in the short term for some, but they did little to upset the institution of slavery. It was one thing for individual efforts to result in gaining a tenuous hold on freedom (however brief), but it was another thing to launch

(and coordinate) a multilayered assault on the infrastructure of the "peculiar institution." Blacks (enslaved and free) and whites found fault with slavery's hold on the economic, political, and spiritual essence of the country, but black resistance to and white displeasure with slavery did little to dissuade the countless Americans who accumulated large profits off the backs of unpaid slave labor.

Antislavery Discourse and Hope for Freedom

Antislavery sentiments reached a crescendo as the colonies agitated for freedom from the tyranny of British rule. As the rhetoric of freedom from the slavish rule of England fueled the patriotic spirit of the Revolutionary War, it also fueled enslaved Africans' hopes for freedom in the land that would become the United States of America.

As early as the 1750s, John Woolman and Anthony Benezet began the antislavery discourse among the Society of Friends, or Quakers. As a result of their efforts, by 1784 Quakers, as a whole, were philosophically entrenched against slavery. Did the abolitionists' purpose affect the stories that appeared in print? In many instances, the authenticity of the narratives was questioned, in terms of both the story and authorship. Because of the restrictions on teaching blacks to read and write, many of the narratives were ghostwritten or dictated by blacks and then written by whites. Also, the abolitionists' strict adherence to form, which included repetitive types, plots, stories, and schemes, created a vein of American thought that saw the narratives as imitative. The politics of the abolitionist movement dictated that the narratives accentuate the negative, subjugate content and form to the necessities of propaganda, and embellish events in order to display slavery in a particularly negative light.

Antebellum Period and the Slave Narrative

Despite the persuasive and powerful writings of David Walker in *David Walker's Appeal in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular and Very Expressly to Those of the United States of America* (1829); Robert A. Young in *Ethiopian Manifesto Issued in Defence of the Black Man's Rights, in the Scale of Universal Freedom* (1829); Martin Delany in *The Condition, Elevation,*

Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States (1852); and Henry Highland Garnet in *An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America* (1843), the narratives were a potent weapon in the arsenal against slavery's nefarious hold on the nation's political, social, and economic conscience.

Taking advantage of the burgeoning news press and the development of antislavery societies in the United States, the die was cast for the story of African Americans' struggle from slavery to freedom. In 1793, Congress passed the first Fugitive Slave Law, and by 1807, the United States began honoring the ban on the International Maritime Slave Trade. Over the next two decades, wars, slave unrest, revolts, and the passage of the Missouri Compromise led to mixed feelings among the American public about the peculiar institution. By the 1830s, the growing number of whites who opposed slavery took the battle to the American people. Petitioning congressmen, writing pamphlets and treatises, and attending conventions for antislavery societies were the order of the day. Also, the various societies began to invite formerly enslaved Africans to their meetings and conventions for firsthand accounts of slavery's brutality.

Antislavery Publications

In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison would launch the *Liberator*, which would become one of several viable publishing outlets for antislavery tracts and eventually serialized versions of the slave narratives. Antislavery publications like the *Philanthropist*, *Manumission Intelligencer*, *Emancipator*, *Patriot*, *The Anti-Slavery Bugle*, *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, *Freedom's Journal*, Garrison's *Liberator*, and eventually Douglass's *North Star* served as a constant source of agitation against slavery and the seedbed for increased dissemination of the stories of formerly enslaved Africans. Likewise, former slaves went on the lecture circuit, telling their stories to mixed crowds of freed blacks and sympathetic and skeptical whites.

In the wake of a more radical approach to ending slavery, numerous revolts (and plots to revolt) were organized. Black and white abolitionists risked life and limb assisting enslaved blacks to travel north along the circuits that would be

dubbed the Underground Railroad. After escaping slavery, Harriet Tubman would be the most prolific conductor of enslaved blacks to freedom along the Underground Railroad. The successful buying of freedom or escaping north led to the proliferation of slave narratives by Frederick Douglass, Henry "Box" Brown, Josiah Henson, Henry Bibb, James Williams, William Wells Brown, Solomon Northrup, Harriet Jacobs, and Elizabeth Keckley. All would be published during the antebellum period.

Prior to the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845) was published with the able assistance of William Lloyd Garrison. Douglass's narrative would launch him into international celebrity in abolitionist circles. In his narrative, Douglass details his rise to consciousness as he learns to read with the unknowing assistance of his master's wife, Mrs. Auld, and his rise to manhood in his legendary battle against Mr. Covey. Because of the sensitive nature of the times, his freedom, and the need to guard the secrecy of his escape, Douglass did not tell much about his fortuitous escape from slavery. William Wells Brown's *Narrative of William Wells Brown, a Fugitive Slave Written by Himself* (1847), while not as widely known as Douglass's narrative, served as a springboard for an otherwise prolific career as an orator, activist, and writer.

Because of their contribution to the abolition movement and the development of African American letters, the writings of Josiah Henson, Henry "Box" Brown, Harriet Jacobs, and Elizabeth Keckley deserve mention. Brown's *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown, Written by Himself* (1852) is noted for the creative means by which Brown escaped. In essence, Brown "mailed" himself from Richmond, Virginia, to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, thus earning him the nickname Box. Henson's *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself* (1849) chronicles how he fled slavery with his wife and four children. His story served as the model for Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Harriet Jacobs, writing under the pseudonym Linda Brent, would go on to pen the first slave narrative by a woman of African descent. Jacob's

Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl (1861) is a testament to the hardships, strength, and tenacity of black women during the enslavement experience. Despite the incredulity of her sacrifice to remain near her family, Jacobs's story renders the untold dilemma many enslaved women encountered as they were exploited for their productive and reproductive labor. Her decision to lay claim to her reproductive rights are by far one of the strongest cases for agency among the slave narratives. Although released after the Civil War, Elizabeth Keckley's *Behind the Scenes or Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* (1868) offers readers a different story. Like Jacobs, she notes her exploitation as an enslaved woman. Instead of focusing on her exploitation, Keckley uses her narrative to detail her success as a businesswoman and seamstress for the wealthy in Washington, D.C., including a stint as the seamstress of Mary Todd Lincoln.

Neoslave Narratives

During and after the Civil War, several writers continued to write about slavery's atrocities. William Wells Brown, Martin Delany, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Charles W. Chesnutt, and Booker T. Washington provided the first wave in the development of the genre of neoslave narratives in African American letters. Delany's *Blake; or The Huts of America* (1859-62), Harper's *Iola Leroy; or Shadows Uplifted* (1892), and Chesnutt's collection of stories in *Conjure Women* (1899), are fictional (mainly because these authors were born free), but unlike the second and third waves of the neoslave narratives (those produced by 20th-century writers), William Wells Brown's 1866 publication of *Clotel; or The President's Daughter* and Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery* (1901) address the authors' recollections of the enslavement experience.

In the 20th century, the slave narratives took two separate but very important literary turns. The second wave consisted of the Federal Writers' Project (funded by the Works Progress Administration during the Great Depression), which collected, collated, and compiled the narratives of the increasing elderly (and dying) population of formerly enslaved African Americans, whose recollections were a treasure trove of cultural and historical memories of those precious moments

once freedom was realized and the sense of betrayal that followed the failure of Reconstruction. As a result of these works, a number of publishers have collected and reprinted the state slave narratives of various southern and northern states.

The third wave consists of the growing corpus of contemporary fictional texts that borrow from the slave narratives' authorial I. James Weldon Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912), Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), Malcolm X's (and Alex Haley's) *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), Ishmael Reed's *Flight to Canada* (1976), Sherley Anne Williams's *Dessa Rose* (1986), Margaret Walker's *Jubilee* (1966), Ernest Gaines's *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1971), Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* (1982), Charles Johnson's *Oxherding Tale* (1982) and *Middle Passage* (1990), J. California Cooper's *In Search of Satisfaction* (1994) and *The Wake of the Wind* (1998), Toni Morrison's *A Mercy* (2008), and Nancy Rawles's *My Jim* (2005) are a few of the neoslave narratives that include memories, passed-on stories, or fictional reminiscences of slavery's past, present, and future marking of the collective I of African Americans.

Conclusion

Although exploitation and oppression first brought blacks and whites together on the shores and in the fields of the New World (via the system of indentured servitude), greed would pit white against black in the struggle between slavery and freedom. Nevertheless, sympathetic whites helped runaways escape slavery. It was one thing for whites to rage against the evils of slavery, but it was quite another thing to see the concerted effort of whites (particularly in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts) to take advantage of the firsthand accounts of formerly enslaved Africans to tell the horrifying story of degradation and dehumanization for both master and slave.

What do the slave narratives reveal about contemporary and future trajectories of American multiculturalism? The connection between the slave narratives and the autobiographical I of people of color is paramount to understanding the struggle for black, red, yellow, and brown claims to personhood and citizenship in the United

States. The autobiographical narratives of Asian and Hispanic Americans may not have their origins in slavery, but they are based in a shared history of exploitation, oppression, and struggle for inclusion. Autobiographical narratives of Native Americans share a history of oppression, exploitation, and even slavery with African Americans. Their first-American status adds another layer of complexity to the autobiographical I for Americans and marginalized people of color that bears further investigation.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; American Anti-Slavery Society; *Color Purple, The*; Fugitive Slave Acts (1793 and 1850); *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*; Slave Revolts; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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Slave Revolts

Many societies have embraced some form of slavery or unfree labor, and in each, enslaved people have engaged in various forms of resistance. In British North America, the first enslaved people were taken from Africa and arrived in Virginia in 1619. The expansion of slavery ebbed and flowed during the colonial era, but it eventually had a profound impact upon the culture, politics, and economy of the United States. Slavery in the Caribbean and in Central and South America has had an even longer history, extending back to the 15th century and forward to the end of the 19th. Brazil, in 1888, became the last nation in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery.

Although historians debate the precise numbers, most believe that at least 10 million Africans survived the trip across the Atlantic and were then sold into slavery, and perhaps as many died in transit. Historians also agree that rebellion was ubiquitous in the Americas. Revolts by enslaved people took several forms, each demonstrating the particular context from which they emerged. Some revolts occurred at sea, on the slave ships, while other uprisings originated on plantations.

Another type of revolt by enslaved people was the day-to-day resistance that many enslaved people engaged in throughout their lives. These acts seldom captured the headlines, but daily resistance displayed the creative ways in which enslaved people consistently undermined the institution and built a culture of liberation in opposition to oppression. Finally, revolts by enslaved people sometimes took the form of open warfare and resulted in an entirely new social order. This was particularly true in the examples of the Haitian Rebellion and the U.S. Civil War.

Commodities for People

After slave ships docked at the holding stations (also known as factories) of the west African coast, European slavers traded weapons, spices, and other commodities for people and then disembarked for the Americas. Aboard the slave ships, captured Africans first came under direct and permanent European control. With vessels tasked with transporting human cargo between 1,500 and 3,000 miles across the Atlantic Ocean, rebellions occurred with enough regularity that crews took extreme caution. In fact, hundreds of documented rebellions occurred at sea, almost always within sight of the African coast. Some west Africans, notably the Coromantee and other Akan people from the Gold Coast region (modern day Senegal, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, and Sierra Leone), had a long history of rebellion and were generally feared by white plantation owners and slavers alike. Slavers limited their purchase from the Gold Coast and traveled farther north or south for additional people to fill the ships. This ensured that the enslaved cargo did not share a common language or culture, thus minimizing the chances of a mutiny or rebellion. Slavers also engaged in terroristic violence so as to make examples of anyone who did rebel. Tools of torture included toe- and thumbscrews and the cat-o'-nine-tails.

The *Meermin*

Despite the attempts of slavers to suppress rebellion, they were not always successful. One famous instance of a revolt aboard a ship of enslaved people involved a Dutch ship named the *Meermin* and occurred off the coast of southern Africa in 1766. To avoid the spread of disease in the lower deck, Dutch India Company slavers took the unusual

step of unshackling their human cargo, allowing them some freedom of movement on the above decks. Eventually, the enslaved people seized the crew's weapons and took over the ship, demanding safe return to their native home of Madagascar. However, after the enslaved people mutinied, the slavers deceptively led them back to southern Africa. There, the white crew secured reinforcement from Dutch militias who had colonized the region. Upon reasserting control over the ship, Dutch authorities killed the participants in the rebellion while others were re-enslaved.

The Most Famous Slave Ship Revolt

Although the enslaved people who led the mutiny aboard the *Meermin* failed to return to Madagascar, those who rebelled on *La Amistad* did gain their freedom. As a result, theirs remains among the most famous and celebrated of all slave ship revolts. In 1839, Spanish colonists in Cuba were transporting several dozen enslaved people from one end of the island to the other when enslaved people seized the ship and demanded safe return to Africa. As on the *Meermin*, the crew misled the enslaved people, deliberately sending them in an unfamiliar direction in an effort to suppress the rebellion and commandeer the ship back to Cuba. Instead, *La Amistad* eventually made landfall on Long Island, New York, more than 1,000 miles north. A controversy with serious constitutional implications ensued over whether or not the enslaved people were free or should be returned to Cuba as property. The enslaved people appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court for their freedom in the famous case *The United States v. the Amistad* (1841). The court's majority opinion, delivered by Justice Joseph Story and joined by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, declared that since the transatlantic slave trade had been abolished in 1808, the Spanish settlers had transported the enslaved people illegally and those people were thus within their rights to seek freedom. In 1842, the surviving 36 rebels returned to Africa. As the sectional conflict intensified in the United States, the case became a rallying point for abolitionists, who argued that people of African descent were more than property.

These two rebellions received extensive coverage, but the willingness of slavers to engage in brutal repression had an impact, and slave

ship mutinies were relatively rare. More typically, enslaved people revolted in other ways that threatened the profits of European traders. Some jumped from the deck into the ocean, committing suicide rather than submitting to a life of permanent enslavement. There are no reliable data on how many enslaved people jumped overboard, but it was enough of a problem that many slave ships equipped their ships with netting to prevent the enslaved people from jumping to escape the auction block. Others refused to eat, perhaps knowing that their malnourishment brought a lower price and lower profits for their captors. To address this form of revolt, many slave ships contained a separate room where enslaved people who refused to eat could be held and tortured until they accepted food.

Still, most enslaved Africans arrived in the Americas alive, and depending upon where they were sold, their life expectancy ranged from as little as a few years to several decades. Slavery was exceptionally brutal in the tropical Caribbean, where many of the largest plantations grew sugar and coffee. Here, as well as in parts of Central and South America, enslaved people greatly outnumbered whites. The demographic imbalance and miserable conditions led to widespread violence and rebellion. Not surprisingly, the Caribbean was the site of some of the most successful and turbulent slave revolts. In 1760, enslaved people in Jamaica, led by a man known as Tacky, from the Coromantin region of west Africa, rose up against British planters. The revolutionaries successfully killed many of the plantation owners, but they failed to seize the island before heavily armed British militiamen put down the rebellion. At the time, it was the largest rebellion of enslaved people to have occurred in the Atlantic.

Growth of Revolutions

During the last quarter of the 18th century, shortly after Tacky's War, revolutions spread throughout North America, Europe, and the Caribbean. In the French colony of Saint-Domingue, an even larger rebellion than Tacky's broke out. Led by Toussaint L'Ouverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, 150,000 enslaved black people targeted French settlers and army forces numbering roughly 50,000. L'Ouverture and other insurrectionists demanded freedom and equal representation. The

rebellion began in earnest in 1791, within years of the ratification of the U.S. Constitution and amid the French Revolution. The upheaval caused by the latter partly explained the inability of French settlers to successfully quash the rebellion, and by 1804, France relinquished control of the colony, renamed Haiti. This was the only slave revolt from which there emerged an independent nation governed by men of African descent.

Haitian Revolution

The Haitian Revolution was exceptional in its success, but many other enslaved people in North America also attempted overthrow the institution. In fact, several hundred rebellions occurred in the British colonies and, after independence, the United States. The largest population of enslaved people in any North American city during the early years of the 18th century was in New York City, and not surprisingly, enslaved people conspired to seize the city on two separate occasions, in 1712 and 1741. But the largest rebellion of enslaved people in the North American colonies occurred in South Carolina in 1739. Led by a Catholic man named Jemmy, 60 enslaved people from several plantations along the Stono, Ashley, and Edisto Rivers seized weapons and ammunition and marched with a banner that read "liberty." Their goal was to liberate the enslaved people of South Carolina and resettle on the Florida peninsula, a region known for its many maroon communities and as a safe haven for runaway enslaved people. Within hours, however, word reached white authorities. The ensuing battle left about 20 whites and over 40 blacks dead.

Following the suppression of the rebellion, colonial lawmakers passed a series of measures that more tightly restricted the autonomy of enslaved people. The legislature made it more difficult for slaveholders to manumit their enslaved people, it became illegal in most instances for enslaved people to learn how to read and write, and a 10-year moratorium was placed on the importation of enslaved African people. The latter provision reflected the belief among many white South Carolinians that enslaved people from the Kingdom of Kongo, such as Jemmy, were especially predisposed to rebellion. South Carolinians adopted these measures as part of the so-called Negro Act of 1740.

After the American Revolution, and despite the hopes of many of the nation's founders, slavery, rather than petering out, rapidly spread across the southern half of the continent. Cotton joined tobacco, rice, indigo, and hemp as the south's staple commodities. By committing to an agricultural economy, slaveholders also committed to unfree labor. But as slavery spread, so too did dissent. One famous figure, a man named Gabriel, enslaved on the Prosser Plantation in Henrico County, Virginia, orchestrated a rebellion of enslaved people with profound consequences. In 1800, just as the balance of power shifted to the enslaved people in Saint-Domingue, white authorities in Virginia received information that Gabriel was conspiring to seize the plantations and liberate the enslaved people in a manner similar to the Haitian rebels. Virginia Governor James Monroe called out the militia and ordered them to capture over two dozen would-be participants. After he refused to divulge details of the plot, Gabriel, along with several other suspects, was hanged by white authorities. In the aftermath of the conspiracy, slaveholders in Virginia, like those in South Carolina, tightened restrictions on both enslaved people and free blacks. Although the uprising never reached fruition, its timing, coming on the heels of the Haitian Revolution, the French Revolution, and the American Revolution, suggests the way in which revolutionary ideologies circulated not only among Europeans and white settlers but also among enslaved African people throughout the Atlantic world.

Threat of Rebellion

Over the next 30 years, as slavery gained traction in the south, the threat of violent rebellion increasingly occupied the minds of many slaveholders. After all, every few years a high-profile conspiracy came to light. In 1822, in Charleston, South Carolina, an African American named Denmark Vesey purchased his freedom and shortly thereafter sought to initiate another revolution. Significantly, Vesey studied the French and Haitian revolutions and even planned his rebellion in the middle of July to commemorate the storming of the Bastille during the French Revolution. Unfortunately for Vesey, however, South Carolina authorities caught wind of the plot, quickly took Vesey and 45 others into custody, and executed all of them. After the conspiracy, South

Carolina cracked down on the limited autonomy that enslaved people previously enjoyed. Additionally, the legislature funded a barracks and an arms depot to more efficiently centralize the deployment of militiamen in the event of a rebellion. Over the next 20 years, the post grew, and in 1842 it was renamed the Citadel. Today, it is a senior military college affiliated with the nation's armed forces.

The Most Violent Revolt in U.S. History

Notably, Gabriel and Vesey, both thwarted by informants, failed to move their rebellions beyond the planning stages. In contrast, Nat Turner's 1831 revolt proved to be the most violent in U.S. history. By all accounts, Turner was a gifted orator; he allegedly knew the Bible well and emphasized its most liberatory passages. He also relayed horrific stories of the slave trade and had reportedly tried to escape on at least two occasions. During the summer, Turner enlisted between 50 and 100 enslaved people and free blacks from Southampton, Virginia, and on August 21, they set out to liberate the nation's enslaved people. He believed that slavery was an inherently violent institution that required the use of violence to end it. Just as men, women, and children of African descent were enslaved, the men, women, and children of European descent who reaped the benefits of the unjust system, Turner claimed, needed to be killed. Thus, Turner and his forces targeted several slaveholding families, ultimately killing 60 whites. Turner's men struck with brutal force, but within hours, the Virginia militia and other whites from the area, heavily armed and willing to use deadly force, outnumbered the insurgents and quashed the rebellion. Turner escaped into the woods and was not found until October. When he was finally captured, Turner, after a perfunctory trial, was found guilty and executed; his skin was flayed and burned as a warning to other would-be insurgents.

Turner remains a controversial figure, especially noteworthy for his bold attempt to gain freedom, his willingness to deploy violence, and perhaps most of all, for the panic that occurred across the south after the rebellion. Dozens and perhaps hundreds of innocent black men and women were killed in dozens of white reprisals throughout the south. White slaveholders acted with impunity, murdering at



Sengbe Pieh was the leader of the La Amistad uprising. The schooner was taken over by a group of captives who had been kidnapped in Africa and illegally sold into slavery. The ensuing court case helped the abolitionist movement.

will if they even suspected an enslaved person was conspiring to rebel. Turner, a charismatic preacher, used the church as a space for himself and others to think about liberation. As a result, many white slaveholders in Virginia and elsewhere insisted that at least one trusted white person (usually an overseer) examine the each week's sermon and monitor all church services attended and led by enslaved blacks. In sum, Vesey, Gabriel, and Turner were determined to gain their freedom and end slavery in North America. However, whites used tremendous levels of physical violence to stop these rebellions and to punish all alleged conspirators. The result was a hardening of the racial order in the decades before the Civil War.

Although revolts such as Turner's, Vesey's, and Gabriel's dominated the attention of slaveholders

and cast an unyielding suspicion upon blacks, enslaved and free, widespread rebellions never occurred with high frequency, and successful ones were rarer still. After all, slavery in the Americas was a system held together by violence. As long as slaveholders used extreme force, open rebellion was not commonplace. Indeed, the punishments for rebellion included death, whippings, maiming, or being permanently separated from one's family. Instead of open and violent revolt, most enslaved people rebelled through collective slowdowns, feigning illness, and sabotage. These small acts of rebellion took place daily and represented a constant drag on the efficiency and dynamism of the southern economy. Enslaved people who engaged in these acts may not have gained freedom in their own lifetimes, but through a sustained and collective culture of rebellion, they slowly eroded the foundation of the nation's racial caste system, and over time, they exposed the volatility and the unsustainable nature of chattel slavery.

These acts of rebellion—violent and non-violent, collective and individual—culminated in what many historians have interpreted as the largest and most comprehensive revolt by enslaved people in U.S. history: the Civil War. Between the years of 1861 and 1865, nearly four million enslaved people across the U.S. south emancipated themselves amid the massive dislocation caused by the conflict.

Historian W. E. B. Du Bois long ago argued that the Civil War was, at its most dramatic, a general strike whereby millions of enslaved people withheld their labor and effectively abolished the plantation system. Some refused to work, others fled from their masters, and many thousands more volunteered with the Union Army, taking up arms against the new southern government. Although the United States did not initiate the conflict with the Confederacy to purposefully foment a revolt by enslaved people, halfway through the war, this was precisely the outcome. Within a mere four-year period, southern enslaved people, free blacks, and their white allies abolished an institution that had predominated for nearly 250 years.

Conclusion

Overall, revolts by enslaved people have occurred in each society that has embraced slavery. In 1619, the first known enslaved African people arrived in

the British colonies of North America, bringing with them the hopes and dreams of freedom and the spirit of rebellion. Beyond North America, slavery was integral to the Atlantic world as well as to the development of modern, global capitalism. But in every setting, rebellions, small and large, threatened the institution, and slaveholders resorted to a variety of totalitarian methods to ensure control. These revolts reveal the specific contexts and day-to-day negotiations that enslaved people faced. Some succeeded, and many others failed. The tactics varied widely; some enslaved people preferred violence, whereas others preferred subtle acts of subversion. Regardless of the context, however, the repression deployed by slaveholders was met with an equal or greater persistence among enslaved people to secure their freedom and revolt against a system rooted in racism and inequality.

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See Also: Civil War, U.S.; Emancipation; Juneteenth; Middle Passage; *Roots*; Slave Trade; Slavery.

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marched to the coast of Africa and forced to board slave ships that would take them across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and North and South America. This forced migration is also commonly referred to as the triangular trade, in which African captives were among the “goods” being traded among European, American, and African traders. A great number of the captives never arrived in America, and almost 15 percent died during the horrific Middle Passage. The percentage of enslaved people transported to North America was relatively small. Between 1501 and 1870, fewer than a million Africans arrived in the United States.

However, the specter of the slave trade has had a profound impact on life in America. For example, the trade and its attendant realities contributed to the social construction of race and racism. Despite the fact that the strength, ingenuity, and perseverance of the captives and their descendants built America as we know it, they were designated as subhuman and therefore unfit for freedom. The dispersal of Africans throughout America completely changed the Atlantic world and contributed to the development of a distinct and lasting African presence in America.

The International Roots of the Trade

The slave trade began as a complex relationship between international powers, hungry for political domination and eager for economic gain. During the early 16th century, Portuguese traders operated the Atlantic trade on a relatively small scale specifically designed to supply domestic servants to Portugal and Spain. In contrast, other European nations had large workforces and therefore had little need for foreign labor. However, the Age of Exploration dramatically changed the intentions and the scope of Atlantic trade. The Spanish and the Portuguese—along with the Dutch, English, and French—developed colonies in the Caribbean, Mexico, and North and South America. American Indians were the primary source of labor in these newly formed colonies, and as their numbers began to decline, traders turned to the Atlantic slave trade to satisfy the growing need for free labor.

A crucial turning point in the institutionalization of slavery in the New World began in the 1600s, when the cultivation of rice, tobacco, and indigo in British North America added to the increasing

Slave Trade

The transatlantic slave trade was the largest forced migration in world history. Over three centuries, between 9 million and 11 million African men women and children were forcibly

trade for slave labor. European nations continued to jockey for dominance in the trade, and England and France competed with the Dutch to control the trade. England eventually gained control of the Atlantic trade and succeeded in driving the Dutch out of the trade by 1674. By 1713, England had gained the exclusive right to provide enslaved people to all of Spain's American colonies. English ships continued to dominate the trade and transported about 20,000 enslaved people per year from Africa to the Americas. During the peak of the slave trade in the 1790s, English ships transported up to 50,000 enslaved people per year.

The trade relationship was a three-part system or circuit of exchange between Europe, Africa, and the Americas that involved African traders willing to sell captives in exchange for English goods. The first leg of the triangular route was from a European port to the west African coast. The ships on this route carried goods for trade, such as cloth, guns, and ammunition. The cargo would then be sold or bartered for African captives. The second leg of the trip, known as the Middle Passage, ended in the New World, where the enslaved people were sold to Caribbean or North American owners. The ships returned to England on the final leg of the trip.

The European traders did not capture people themselves; instead, they purchased enslaved people from African traders. Beginning in the 16th century and over the course of the trade, many of the captives were taken as prisoners of war acquired during battles between warring African countries. Europeans relied on trade relationships with African leaders that were regulated by African governments. For many, the fact that Africans sold other Africans into slavery is akin to racial treachery. However, it is important to understand that the notion of racial solidarity, or a loyalty to people of similar racial backgrounds, was not a widely held belief before the 19th century. In other words, African traders did not believe they were selling their own kinsmen. Further, because various forms of slavery existed in Africa prior to the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade, the selling of enslaved people was not a completely foreign idea. African leaders sold enslaved people for a variety of reasons, including the economic and political strength brought about by trade with foreign nations.

Ship inventories and other trade documentation indicate that African captives came from eight regions along the western coast of the continent. Captives came from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward Coast, which is modern-day Liberia and the Ivory Coast. Other sites include the Gold Coast (now Ghana), the Bight of Benin (coastal Togo, Republic of Benin, and southwest Nigeria), the Bight of Biafra (southeast Nigeria and Cameroon), west central Africa (Angola), and southeast Africa. Records show that the majority of captives destined for American shores came from the nation of Angola, which is believed to have been the home of 1.3 million captives transported via the transatlantic slave trade.

Perhaps what was most damaging about this desire for free labor was the way in which it formalized the definition of a slave. A different and more dangerous form of slavery emerged once the trade began to grow in size and scope. Unlike slavery in other parts of the world—namely Africa, Asia, and Europe—slavery in America was solely based on race. Moreover, enslaved people became known as chattel, or the personal property of their owners, thereby losing their rights as human beings. For example, Virginia began to legislate the status of enslaved people during the 1660s. A 1662 decree stated that a child's condition followed that of the mother, thereby ensuring that any child born to a female enslaved person would also be enslaved. Other bills declared servitude to be the natural condition of Africans. This final point is central to any discussion of race in America, and resistance to the ensuing dehumanization of Africans and African Americans eventually led to the abolition of both the slave trade and the peculiar institution of slavery.

The Middle Passage

The initial capture by African armies was just the first step of the hellish journey referred to as the Middle Passage. African armies would capture the inhabitants of conquered villages. Raiding groups would also capture isolated families or kidnap individuals. As the interethnic fighting spread deeper into the interior, captives were forced to march for hundreds of miles to the coast to meet European traders. The captives were made to march single-file and were tied together with rope or with wooden yokes around their necks.

The march to the coast was dangerous, and many of the captives died from hunger and exhaustion. Some killed themselves, while others were killed if they tried to resist.

Although the captives were not yet officially classified as enslaved people, every aspect of the ordeal was designed to strip them of their humanity. Once they reached the coast, they were housed in fortified structures called factories or slave castles. The first and perhaps best-known slave castle was Elmina, on the Guinea Coast. The Elmina slave castle was constructed by the Portuguese in 1481. The Dutch captured the site in 1637. These factories served as the traders' headquarters and warehouses for their goods and supplies. These trade depots also included dungeons, or outdoor holding pens, for the captives. The traders used the dungeons to prepare the captives for travel aboard slave ships. These preparations usually included the separation of families and ethnic groups in an effort to prevent rebellion. The enslaved people were also stripped naked and inspected for disease or other physical defects. Once captives were deemed fit for purchase, they were branded with a hot iron that bore the symbol of a trading company.

Captives were held in slave factories for periods of time ranging from a few weeks to a few months. During this period, the captives were forced to realize that they would soon be leaving their homeland. The captives were transported on large canoes to slave ships off shore. Once aboard, the enslaved people began their hellish journey to the New World.

The Middle Passage is the second and best-known leg of the triangular trade. Captives were transported across the Atlantic in deplorable conditions on ships that were often filled to capacity. The plans for travel across the Atlantic were carefully calculated so that captains and their crews could maximize profit and minimize loss. Slave ships generally weighed 100 to 300 tons and were capable of holding 100 to 500 or more enslaved people. While the trading was done at African ports, carpenters were busy preparing the ships for travel. The cargo space in slave ships was usually only five feet high. Carpenters cut this space in half by building shelves, so that captives could be packed above and below on planks that were only five and a half feet long and 16 inches wide. The captives were left with about 20 to 25 inches

of headroom. Men were chained together and held away from women and children in an effort to prevent shipboard rebellions. The separation also made women easy targets for sexual abuse. African men, women, and children were forced to endure these conditions for the duration of the crossing, a period that usually lasted between two and three months.

Mistreatment Aboard Slave Ships

The ship captain's desire to protect his cargo did not mean that the captives were treated well. Captives received the bare minimum of necessities to stay alive. Crews prepared porridge and stews that would be distributed in buckets when enslaved people assembled on deck during good weather. During bad weather, the captives were fed below deck or sometimes not at all. At the beginning of the voyage, each captive received a wooden spoon to be used for dipping into a food bucket to be shared among 10 individuals. However, the spoons were often lost, thereby forcing the enslaved people to eat from the buckets with their unwashed hands, a practice that contributed to the spread of disease. The poor quality of food often led to malnutrition and weakened immune systems.

The food was only one of the many scourges aboard slave ships. A range of diseases was also a constant threat for both captives and crew. The unsanitary and overcrowded conditions provided ample opportunity for the spread of diseases such as malaria, yellow fever, measles, smallpox, dysentery, and scurvy. Prior to 1750, mortality rates were very high. During the early years of the 17th century, as many as 20 percent of the captives died during the crossing. Traders realized that slave deaths decreased their overall profit, so they began to make adjustments in order to improve the material conditions of the captives. For example, captains provided improved food and water. The ships were also cleaner and better ventilated than before. Ship sizes were standardized, allowing slightly more room for the captives. The ships were also faster and reduced the time at sea from three months in the early 16th century to about one month by the 19th century. By the 19th century, the mortality rate dropped to 5 percent.

Shipping ledgers and commercial records document the material improvements on slave ships;

however, these texts do not reveal the extent of the fear and suffering that the captives experienced. Not surprisingly, the captives longed for the past and feared the future. This mixture of sadness and fear often served as motivation for resistance. Although many captives died as a result of the conditions, others died by jumping overboard. The suicides were indicative of the captives' refusal to accept the inhumanity and cruelty of the slave trade. Likewise, shipboard revolts also revealed the captives' refusal to accept their fate, and crews were forced to remain vigilant. Uprisings usually occurred before the ship sailed too far from the African coast and at a point where enslaved people could hope to return to their homeland. A few revolts occurred on the open sea. The most famous maritime resistance efforts include the 1839 revolt aboard the Spanish ship *Amistad*, in which the captives were successful in their efforts, thanks in large part to their leader, Joseph Cinque. An 1841 revolt led by Madison Washington aboard the *Creole* was yet another example of the refusal to accept a future of servitude.

Sale and Seasoning

For the 10.5 million Africans who survived the Middle Passage, arrival in the West Indies most likely brought a confusing mix of relief and fear. Once the crossing was complete, captives had the opportunity to move around, bathe with fresh water, and consume fresher food. However, the arrival also marked a new phase along the inhumane continuum of New World slavery. Ships were carefully inspected once they arrived in the West Indies. Because inspectors could quarantine ships and delay disembarkation, crews worked hard to erase the physical ravages of the crossing. Baths and exercise were just the beginning of the process enslaved people had to endure in order to disembark and prepare for the slave auction. Slaves were required to oil their bodies to cover rashes and bruises. Ship surgeons also employed questionable practices to hide evidence of disease. After these initial preparations, the enslaved people were sent to market, where they endured yet another round of invasive and humiliating inspections. The auctions would take place on the deck of the ship or in a sale yard offshore.

After the sale, enslaved people entered the "seasoning" process, or a period of acculturation

that prepared them for plantation life in the New World. The duration of the seasoning process varied but could sometimes last up to three years. During this period, enslaved people had to adjust to Euro Americans of the ruling class and to members of the ethnically diverse slave population. Slave owners used this period to discipline and alter the behavior of the enslaved people so that they would become productive laborers. During this process, enslaved people were given new, Christian names. Slaves also learned European languages. Although they had to learn these new languages under duress, it did allow them the opportunity to learn to communicate with one another. Though they may have spoken different languages when they crossed the Atlantic, after a short period in the New World, they spoke a common language and developed bonds with one another. As a result of this cultural and linguistic blending, the enslaved people and their descendants became New World Creoles. In other words, their experience reflected the cultural mixing that often took place during the seasoning process.

Seasoning also prepared the enslaved people for the intense labor that awaited them on New World plantations. Owners separated enslaved people into work gangs. Men were usually assigned to a group responsible for heavy field work. Women and older men were in groups assigned to do lighter field work. The third group was usually composed of children who worked shorter hours and did tasks such as taking food and water to the other groups.

Africans in America

The seasoning process could also be thought of as a test that judged not only enslaved people's physical endurance but also their cultural adaptability. At the end of the seasoning period, owners based the success of the process on several key factors. The first factor was survival. Many of the enslaved people were still suffering from the trauma of the Middle Passage and did not survive the seasoning period. The second factor was the extent to which enslaved people adapted to the material life of the New World. For example, owners wanted to ensure that enslaved people could adjust to new foods and a new climate. Owners also needed to know whether or not they

could effectively communicate with their enslaved people, so language acquisition was also a key determining factor.

Perhaps the most tragic factor involved the enslaved person's psyche. Owners had to believe that enslaved people had accepted their condition as enslaved people. However, owners' satisfaction with the process did not always mean that enslaved people were successfully seasoned. Indeed, such success would mean that enslaved people had lost all connection to one another and their respective pasts. The historic reality is that the captives retained many of their customs and much of their culture. African elements in American dance, food, and folklore speak to the captives' ability to retain and pass on important facets of their past.

The unspeakable cruelty of the slave trade led to its eventual demise. The emergent abolitionist

movement, coupled with England's decreasing need for foreign labor, contributed to the end of the slave trade in 1807. The following year, the U.S. Congress outlawed the trade. American, Spanish, and Brazilian traders defied the ruling for many years; however, the forced migration from Africa to America dropped to a small percentage of what it was at its peak. The captives who survived the Middle Passage and the seasoning process were indeed resilient. In the face of extreme adversity, their labor built a nation, and their relationships built a community. This collective past now lives on in regions all across America and in the lives of the 38.9 million people of African descent who now call America home.

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See Also: Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; American Anti-Slavery Society; Slave Revolts; Slavery.

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Cowrie shells were used as money in the slave trade. Shells of certain species have historically been used as currency in several parts of the world. Huge amounts were introduced into Africa by Western nations during the slave trade.

Slavery

Slavery was at its core a system of coerced labor. Those who were captured, sold, or even born into this system mainly provided the necessary labor to enable agricultural production. The enslaved also performed a host of other tasks needed to

stimulate various local and regional economies—from work in private homes, mines, and factories to providing essential manpower on public works projects in cities and towns.

In the United States, especially, slavery emerged to ensure the production of several valuable staple crops. Depending on the region, enslaved laborers grew tobacco, indigo, rice, sugar, and perhaps most famously, cotton as major staple crops. Specifically, tobacco and indigo transformed the Chesapeake region throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, while rice aided the development of the Low Country (South Carolina and Georgia). Ultimately, sugar, long the crop that firmly entrenched slavery in the Americas, made its way to southern Louisiana in the 1790s and on to parts of east Texas in the early 1800s, while cotton dominated much of the Deep South, eventually earning the name “King Cotton.”

Though primarily a labor system, slavery also proved instrumental in establishing and undergirding a series of rather complex and fluid racial and gender ideologies in America. This key and distinguishing component of American slavery continues to define, if not overshadow, the institution’s imprint on the nation’s economic development. Though abolished in 1865, the legacy of American slavery lives on, and the nation continues to uncover new and exciting findings about the institution and those who lived through it.

Arrival of Slavery and Enslaved Africans

Within the scope of U.S. history, and especially in terms of American slavery, 1619 marks the introduction of the first African laborers in the nascent British colonies. Shortly after Dutch traders unloaded a man-of-war vessel containing 20 Africans at Jamestown, Virginia, the number of Africans in the mainland British colonies grew at a rather slow rate, but it was later bolstered by a robust transatlantic trade in enslaved people that lasted until its abolition in 1808.

Those early African laborers, like many of their European counterparts, worked primarily as indentured servants on the first Virginia tobacco plantations. It took some time, though, before racial distinctions marked these early Africans as the ideal group suited for a lifetime of bondage. Experiments with Native American enslavement proved less promising over time.

Moreover, as indentured servants, these African laborers toiled side-by-side with European indentured workers and largely enjoyed the same privileges. Together, African and European bound workers performed many of the same tasks and even faced similar punishments when doled out by their masters.

Thus, skin color did not necessarily provide European indentured servants with a set of enviable circumstances. Oppression touched all early indentured servants similarly. Over time, perceived gender and racial differences erased that sense of rough equality among the indentured class. Darker skin and African lineage became wrong in the eyes of early American colonists and their European counterparts.

By the mid-17th century, Europeans believed that they had a Christian right to enslave non-Christians. Although Africans could easily convert to Christianity as a means of declaring immunity from slavery, these strategic conversions would only work for a limited time in the colonies. Soon, physical difference, rather than religious persuasion, would serve as the ultimate marker of enslaved and freed persons. For example, Maryland, in 1639, decided that Christian baptism did not make a slave free or prevent an African or Native American from being enslaved. Instead, European “blood” made all the difference. Whiteness had its privileges.

Colonial Slavery

In 1641, Massachusetts became the first British colony to recognize slavery as a legal institution. Connecticut, Virginia, and other colonies soon followed. By the eve of the American Revolution, slavery had existed in all 13 colonies. In the 1660s, Virginia and other Chesapeake colonies began laying the foundation for a legalized and racially organized system of slavery. Maintaining a stable workforce was a high priority for tobacco and indigo planters reaping great profits from these burgeoning industries.

In 1662, the Virginia colony rejected a long-standing English common law tradition. Rather than allow a child’s status to follow that of the father, Virginians declared that any child born to an enslaved mother would also be enslaved. Eventually, this practice became commonplace throughout the colonies, and once more, Virginia

led the way in ensuring bondage as a lifelong condition imposed on Africans.

Now, under Virginia law, Englishmen could easily replenish their supply of bound workers, and could more systematically maintain a racial caste system in the colony. Consequently, race provided the distinction between the enslaved and the free. By the end of the 17th century, Virginia further highlighted perceived racial difference by banning interracial relationships. Soon, a host of similar prohibitive laws appeared in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and other colonies. South Carolina, home of a black majority during most of colonial times and thereafter, provided British North America with its first comprehensive slave code in 1691. Borrowing heavily from British slave laws in Barbados, South Carolinians were among the first to establish slaves as a form of chattel. Like cows, houses, or farm equipment, enslaved people were considered as forms of property that could be bought and sold at one's discretion.

As the British colonies matured and grew in size and number, so did the transatlantic slave trade. Throughout the 18th century, the triangular trade between Europe, Africa, and the New World led to the importation of hundreds of thousands of Africans into the colonies and other parts of the Americas. Millions of enslaved Africans traveled across the Atlantic on a perilous journey known as the Middle Passage. For weeks, shackled African captives sojourned in the most abject conditions aboard crowded, unsanitary slave vessels before reaching their new homes in the Americas. For decades, the British dominated this transatlantic trade in enslaved people, but only after the Dutch and Portuguese began to dedicate their attention to slavery in the West Indies and Latin America. By 1680, through both natural increase and extensive importation, enslaved people constituted 17 percent of the colonial population; by 1720, that number jumped to about 70 percent. Slavery was now a part of the American experience.

Still, in some places, mainly the middle colonies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and in some parts of New England, slavery proved controversial from the very beginning. Quaker Pennsylvanians had religious misgivings about the seemingly violent practice, while many New Englanders preferred to keep the number of blacks in their midst

relatively low. Vermont, for example, banned slavery well before the end of the Revolution. Some northern colonies and later states turned to manumission, or the practice of emancipating the enslaved, either gradually or immediately. Moreover, poor farming conditions and the lack of a plantation complex continued to keep the size of the enslaved population in the northern colonies well below that found in many southern colonies. On the eve of the American Revolution, in 1770, there were as many as 460,000 slaves living in the American colonies, more than 410,000 living in the southern colonies.

The American Revolution and its lofty rhetoric of equality and liberty provided a final blow to slavery in the north. Blacks and whites began to see some of the contradictions in the colonists' declaration of independence from Britain. Fully advocating freedom and liberty and the protection of one's "inalienable rights" seemed rife with hypocrisy, especially since a sizable number of persons inhabiting British North America were held in bondage. Blacks and some whites took every available opportunity to expose the great American paradox: the coexistence of slavery and freedom. In fact, a free black man, Crispus Attucks, became the first colonist to die at the outset of violence between the British and the Americans in the years leading up to the Revolution.

Blacks—enslaved and free—participated and marched in protests against British taxation and imperial policies, and black enslaved women proved crucial to the homespun campaign in the midst of colonial boycotts of British goods. Even before Thomas Jefferson penned those famous words in the Declaration of Independence, enslaved blacks in Massachusetts and other colonies busied themselves drafting petitions to colonial governments seeking their freedom. In many ways, the early antislavery and abolitionist campaigns emerged out of the revolutionary fervor that swept through colonial America before, during, and after the War for Independence.

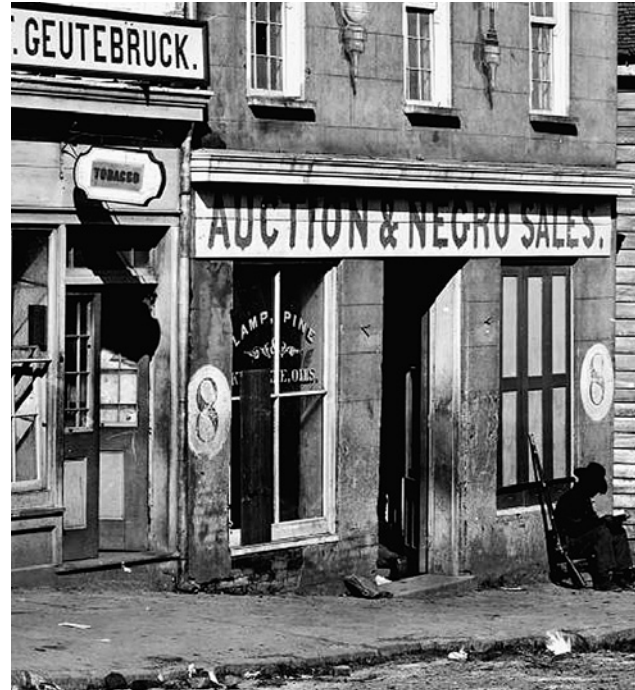
Freedom, therefore, was not the exclusive domain of white American colonists; blacks also took every open opportunity to experience liberty. During the Revolution, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, lured hundreds, if not thousands, of enslaved blacks and indentured

servants to the Loyalist side. Hoping to capitalize on the slaves' yearning for freedom, Dunmore offered freedom to those who picked up arms to fight against their white masters. Though raising an armed black regiment was neither acceptable nor popular in America or Britain, Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment quickly filled its ranks with about 800 black soldiers, and Dunmore earned the reputation as "the most dangerous man in America," according to George Washington.

Americans recognized the benefit and expediency of Dunmore's Proclamation, so by early 1778, several northern colonies began to enlist black soldiers in the Revolutionary Army. Those black soldiers joined the fight with the promise of compensation for their masters and freedom for themselves. While the northern colonies grappled with the procedural and political fallout from this bold act of military courage and strategy, southern colonies proved resistant to arming enslaved people. Even after the British hammered the southern port cities of Savannah and Charleston, there was little movement in the direction of enlisting blacks in the fight for independence. Maryland was the only southern colony to eventually incorporate blacks into its militia, and Virginia offered freedom to any slave who would serve in his master's stead in a law passed toward the end of the war.

Once both sides concluded the long, drawn out fighting and signed the Treaty of Paris in 1783, thousands of newly freed blacks left America with the British soldiers. Some estimates put the number of blacks—both enslaved and free—who retreated with British troops at around 14,000, and the number of blacks who simply sought refuge with the British but did not serve in the army ultimately found themselves re-enslaved on some Caribbean island or in Latin America.

Nonetheless, the strong antislavery sentiment that permeated many of the American colonies during the Revolution did not die after the war. In fact, many colonies expressly banned the importation of enslaved Africans, but many did not until the federal government ban in 1808. Virginia once more led the way in this matter, and in 1778, it closed its borders to the transatlantic slave trade. South and North Carolina quickly followed. Years later, Congress also prohibited the westward expansion of slavery by passing the



The internal slave trade in the United States had become a major economic activity by 1815 and lasted until the 1860s. Slave traders established markets like this one as the slave trade became the largest enterprise in the south.

Northwest Ordinance in 1787, and shortly thereafter, a national debate over slavery swept through the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia as the new nation attempted to establish a federal constitution. Southerners, particularly Georgia and South Carolina, threatened to bypass joining the nation if slavery were abolished.

Ultimately, the delegates agreed not to meddle with the system and even voted to uphold the Three-Fifths Compromise as a means of counting the enslaved population for the purpose of congressional representation and taxation. Meanwhile, as those constitutional disagreements over slavery settled, the enslaved population continued to increase. Eli Whitney's 1793 invention of the cotton gin only led to the further growth of slavery and proved instrumental in expanding slavery to the southwest. Thomas Jefferson's 1803 Louisiana Purchase also paved the way for slavery's entrance into lands west of the Mississippi. Furthermore, by the dawning of the 19th century, slavery was becoming an unshakeable, mostly southern institution.

Antebellum Slavery

In 1804, New Jersey became the last northern state to abolish slavery. By 1810, more than one million enslaved blacks called America home, and the vast majority of them lived in the south. Even after easing some of the previous restrictions on slave importation, many southern states benefited from a robust domestic slave trade, whereas bondsmen, primarily from the upper south, were sold south for a handsome price. Some slaveholders in the Chesapeake region especially resorted to hiring out their bound laborers as a means of generating income from a slowly dying institution in that region. But throughout the Deep South, not only did slave numbers increase, but slave prices also increased.

By some accounts, in the early years of the 19th century, slave prices more than doubled as the demand for enslaved labor continued to increase, and one's personal wealth was also tied to the value of his or her human property. Still, the large, bustling cotton and sugar plantations in the Deep South always needed a replenished labor supply, especially as the global demands for the two commodities soared. Slave auctions, estate sales, and the mere facts of life, namely marriages and deaths, led to a complex and cruel web of buying and selling of human property. New Orleans and other major southern cities and port towns became lively slave trading centers. In the eyes of many bondsmen, the threat and attendant agony of being "sold south" or further south loomed large. The profits earned by slaveholders only gave way to the disruptions and dislocations of enslaved families.

While plantation owners pursued their business interests and continued to hold a race of people in bondage, enslaved people attempted to carve out spaces for autonomy and sought to resist subjugation whenever possible. Although slavery varied by region and from plantation to plantation, it still retained some common threads. Many enslaved Africans held on to certain Africanisms—from agricultural practices to naming and religious customs—and many new cultural practices were created especially for conditions in America. Living in the slave quarters away from white surveillance also gave bondsmen a degree of freedom to develop kin networks, mating rituals, moral codes, and coping mechanisms for the brutality that often accompanied enslavement. More

than anything, the black church was perhaps the strongest cultural form to develop during slavery, and it remains a foundational institution within black communities today.

As the national conversation about slavery intensified by the 1830s, the slave population climbed to nearly 2 million. Despite its steady growth, northern politicians and an energetic abolitionist movement sought to contain slavery, if not end it altogether. Led by some of the nation's most prominent speakers, like Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, the abolitionists made numerous arguments about the immorality and corrosive effects of slavery.

This multiracial coalition of reformers pushed the debate over slavery to the forefront of the nation's conscience. Congressional compromises and a series of state and federal court decisions did little to settle the slavery issue up to 1860. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency proved decisive in slavery's ultimate demise. Southern planters viewed Lincoln's victory as the final assault on their way of life and the southern states' rights. After seceding from the Union, beginning in the winter of 1861, the 11 southern states that would compose the Confederate States of America saw war as a necessary means to preserve slavery in the south. So, for four long years, the nation endured a bloody civil war, and the fate of nearly 4 million enslaved blacks hung in the balance.

During the Civil War, black slaves used the widespread chaos to once more press for freedom. While thousands flocked to the Union lines throughout the war, hundreds more joined Union soldiers to fight for their freedom. Those who could not enlist or join the military ranks found other ways to serve. At the start of 1863, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing those slaves in the rebellious territories throughout the south. Two years later, Congress ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, officially ending slavery. Though free, the long road to liberty stood littered with obstacles. Freedmen would have to call for greater equality before the law and in society well into the 20th century. Thus, the transition from slavery to freedom remains the defining experience of black life in America.

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See Also: American Revolution; Civil War, U.S.; Slave Narratives; Slave Revolts; Slave Trade.

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Sleepy Lagoon Case

On the Williams ranch outside Los Angeles, one of the irrigation reservoirs was known as the Sleepy Lagoon. Named for a popular song of the time, the lagoon served as a swimming hole by day and a lover's lane by night. On August 1, 1942, the Sleepy Lagoon became notorious after the murder of a young man on the property generated a violent police clampdown against Mexican American youngsters known as *pachucos*.

Most of those who went to the Sleepy Lagoon were the city's young Mexican Americans, who were denied access to the city's public recreational facilities. The Mexican American community used the reservoir in a gravel pit on the ranch as a substitute for the city's off-limits swimming pools. Among the users were members of the 38th Street

Boys, a South Los Angeles street gang whose turf was about five miles from the Williams ranch in East Los Angeles.

The Murder

On the night of August 1, 1942, several people associated with the 38th Street Boys, including Hank Levayas and Dora Barrios, came to the lagoon for a bit of romance. Levayas was one of the oldest of the gang's members, and many of the others both feared and respected him. Barrios was his girlfriend.

As Levayas and Barrios sat in a car, a gang from a rival neighborhood in Downey attacked and beat them. Levayas was popular, and the rival gang had violated the unwritten rule against beating a girl. Levayas went to 38th Street and collected a gang of nearly 30 boys and girls. By the time they returned, the Downey gang was gone.

Sounds of a party given by Amelio and Angela Delgadillo drew the group's attention. Levayas was convinced that party attendees included the rival gang members who attacked him and Barrios. After converging on the Delgadillos' house, the 38th Street gang members beat some of the partygoers for 10 minutes. When the fight was over, Jose Diaz lay on the ground, beaten and stabbed. He died later that night.

Diaz, Mexican-born but American reared, went to the party held that night by his friends the Delgadillos, immigrant workers on the ranch where he also lived. Although Diaz was a Mexican citizen and exempt from the draft, he had volunteered for the U.S. Army. Diaz was to join the army in a few days, so a party was in order. He felt drunk at about 1 A.M., left the party, and was attacked by parties unknown, stabbed in the stomach with an ice pick, and his pockets turned out. He was found shortly after by Betty Zeiss and Barrios and taken to the hospital, where he died 90 minutes later.

Cuthbert L. Olson, the Democratic governor of California, believed juvenile delinquency was out of control, and he used Diaz's death as justification for aggressive action. The governor's call for action led to a city crackdown with massive police-encouraged publicity and a sustained dragnet. After authorities tied Levayas and the 38th Street gang to the crime scene, indictments and a trial followed.

The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) rounded up more than 600 “zoot suiters,” mostly Mexican Americans, and the district attorney indicted Leyvas and 21 other members of the 38th Street Boys. The LAPD also jailed female members of the gang on suspicion of wrongdoing. With the exception of one person, all of the accused were Mexican American.

The Trial and Aftermath

The trial in the case of *People v. Zamora* began on October 13, 1942, the largest mass trial in California history. The press encouraged an atmosphere of prejudice, as did the prosecutor, who frequently pointed to the pachuco hairstyles and clothing of the defendants as evidence of guilt. For months, the Sleepy Lagoon murder trial made headlines, the tabloids proclaimed the 38th Street Boys guilty, and a jury eventually agreed. On January 12, 1943, five of the 17 defendants were found guilty of assault and sentenced to six to 12 months in jail. Nine received sentences of five years to life for second-degree murder. Leyvas, Jose Ruiz, and Robert Telles were convicted of first-degree murder and received life sentences. The 12 convicted of murder went to San Quentin State Prison.

The women defendants refused to testify against gang members, and for this refusal were sent to the Ventura School for Girls, the women’s reformatory, without trial or jury. Among the five sent to the reformatory was Barrios.

The Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee (SLDC), formerly the Citizen’s Committee for the Defense of Mexican American Youth, was organized by the community and headed by Carey McWilliams, author and attorney. The SLDC attracted citizens from the community, film industry, labor, politics, and education. The committee spearheaded the effort to appeal the case and educate the public. Alice McGrath became executive secretary, and she visited the inmates every six weeks, tracked SLDC progress, and issued news releases. By 1944, the SLDC had enough money to appeal the convictions. On October 4, 1944, Judge Clement Nye of the Second District Court of Appeals overturned the verdicts because of insufficient evidence, denial of counsel, and obvious bias by the trial judge.

There was no retrial, and the murder remains unsolved. One of the 38th Streeters did beat Diaz

about the chest and legs, but his blows were not the cause of Diaz’s death. It is more likely that one of the Downey gang members tossed out of the party before the arrival of the 38th Streeters was the murderer,

The fad of wearing zoot suits faded not long after the trial and subsequent Zoot Suit Riots, which took place in Los Angeles a few months after the trial concluded. Sleepy Lagoon was eventually filled in to accommodate urban sprawl. Author Eduardo Obregón Pagan argues that neither the convictions nor the riots were the result of simple anti-Mexican sentiment. Rather, they were the result of a mix of demographic pressure, worry about the new youth culture, and the stress of the war effort. In combination, these generated social tension that provoked violence.

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See Also: Mexican Americans; *Zoot Suit*; Zoot Suit Riots.

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Slovak Americans

The first Slovak immigrants arrived in the United States in the 18th century, before the Revolutionary War. Slovak Americans are now the second-largest Slavic ethnic group in the United States, numbering 762,030 in the 2010 Census, although other sources claim the actual figure is 50 percent greater. The numbers of Slovak Americans may have declined because of low birth rates and repatriation, as many Slovak émigrés returned to Slovakia after it regained sovereignty. The larger figure may include a number of Americans whose ancestors immigrated from Czechoslovakia and were not identified as, or do not consider themselves, Slovak. In either case, the United States has the largest Slovak population outside Slovakia, by a significant margin.

The Slovak Republic is bordered by the Czech Republic, Austria, Poland, Ukraine, and Hungary, and at various points in history was part of Moravia, Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Czechoslovakia. After the fall of European communism, Czechoslovakia peacefully separated into two geographically and ethnically distinct states, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Along with Estonia and Slovenia, Slovakia is one of the few formerly communist states to join the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The population of Slovakia is predominantly composed of Slovaks, who are a Slavic people.

Waves of Immigration

There were only a handful of Slovak immigrants before the 19th century, and some of them were itinerants who moved on to other countries or returned to their homeland. Others were soldiers, including Major Jan Polerecky, who fought for the Americans in the Revolutionary War and then settled down to public life in Maine. Slovaks were also included in the Lincoln Riflemen of Slavonic Origin, a volunteer unit from Chicago that fought for the Union in the Civil War as part of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of the Illinois infantry.

Sustained immigration from Slovakia began in the 1870s, as a result of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's policies, which attempted to impose Magyar culture on the non-Magyar population.

At the time, neither the U.S. Census Bureau nor immigration policies differentiated among the constituent peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A popular estimate of the number of Slovak immigrants in the 19th and early 20th centuries, before immigration was restricted in 1924, is 500,000. Most settled in Pennsylvania, others in the mid-Atlantic states. Not all Slovaks identified themselves as Slovaks; the empire's policies had taken hold, and many Slovaks had begun to think of themselves as Hungarian.

About a third of the Slovak immigrants in this period were "birds of passage" who came to America to work long enough to make the money they needed to purchase land or other property back home. About 20 percent made repeat trips—working in the United States for several years, returning to their homeland for a period of time, returning to the United States to earn more money, and eventually returning home for good. Because of this, men outnumbered women significantly in the immigrant population. Those who remained sometimes married American women.

The reasons to stay in the United States varied. Some Slovak immigrants enjoyed their new country more than they expected. Others found opportunities too good to pass up. Others formed attachments or started families that they did not want to displace, especially children who thought of themselves as Americans. Still others were simply unable to follow through with their original plan—there were so many Slovaks working in the United States, earning money to buy land back home, that prices rose and the supply of land diminished.

Slovak immigrants stayed in the United States despite the reception they received. Slovaks began immigrating to the United States at a time when anti-immigration and "antiforeigner" sentiment was high, and some political parties made their prejudices the centerpiece of their political platforms. Labor unions and workingman's parties regularly opposed immigration on the grounds that importing workers hurt the prospects of American workers, particularly before the institution of the minimum wage. Many Americans openly decried the way in which the ethnic makeup of the United States had changed in a few decades. When immigration reforms were enacted in the 1920s, eastern

European immigration was severely restricted, and less than 3,000 Czechoslovakians—perhaps half of whom were Slovaks—immigrated to the United States annually until immigration policy was liberalized in 1964.

Slovak American Life and Culture

In part because so many Slovaks did not come to the United States to farm or to homestead, they settled in places where there was industry, especially where there was a demand for labor. For at least half of the immigrants, this meant western Pennsylvania, where they worked in the coal mining industry. After the first two decades of settlement, nearly all Slovaks migrated to communities where they had relatives or acquaintances—communities with existing Slovak populations. In addition to Pennsylvania, they settled in New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and Ohio.

These Slovak Americans assimilated without abandoning their culture. Many continued to observe feast days important to the Slovak Christian community, such as the April 25th feast of Saint Mark. Christmas has always been an important celebration in Slovakia, a tradition that certainly posed no difficulties in assimilating in the United States. Though most religious ceremonies among Slovak Americans are broadly similar to those of the American mainstream, Slovaks often “bonnet the bride”—a special occasion held three days after the wedding.

Prominent Slovak Americans include musician Jon Bon Jovi, actors Jim Caviezel and Paul Newman, artist Andy Warhol, Department of Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge, former governor of Minnesota Jesse Ventura, and Marvel Comics artist Steve Ditko, co-creator of Doctor Strange and Spider-Man.

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See Also: Czech Americans; Hungarian Americans; Slovene Americans.

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Slovene Americans

There are 171,923 Slovene Americans as of the 2010 Census. Slovenes are a south Slavic people, primarily residing in the central European country of Slovenia, with Slovene minorities in the neighboring countries of Austria, Hungary, and Croatia. Slovenia was part of both the Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, and it was later a constituent state of Yugoslavia, which split apart after the fall of European communism in the 1990s. Slovenia has been an independent democracy since 1991.

Slovenes began settling in the state of Georgia in the 1730s, two generations before the Revolutionary War, and bilingual Slovene Germans were among the first settlers of communities in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Sustained Slovene immigration began in 1880 and continued until 1924 legislation imposed nationality-based quotas on immigration. Because of the vagueness of the language used by both immigration officials and the Census Bureau at the time, it is difficult to pinpoint exact numbers; Slavonic, Slavic, Austrian, Croat, and simply European were all labels that could be and were attached to the incoming Slovenes. By and large, Slovenes settled in industrial counties and the mining communities of western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio. Another wave of immigration came after World War II, in part due to the devastation of that war in Europe and in part as Slovenes fled the newly communist Yugoslavia.

Slovene Americans are the most concentrated in Ohio (by far, with over 60,000 Slovenes), Pennsylvania (a third as many), and Illinois (about 16,000). The Chicago Slovene community established the first Slovene American newspaper,

Amerikanski Slovenec, and numerous other communities established fraternal organizations and social clubs, providing social networking, insurance, and other services. Cleveland has become the largest Slovene American community and the cultural capital of Slovene America; Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Milwaukee are all large as well.

Slovenian Identity

Popular symbols of Slovenian identity, which have experienced a revival in the Slovenian diaspora since Slovenian independence, include not only the white, blue, and red flag of Slovenia and the coat of arms that adorns it, but also the red carnation; the Lipizzaner horse, which is endemic to Slovenia; the legend of the Zlatorog, a magical chamois (related to the antelope); cartographer Peter Kozler's 19th-century map of Slovenia, which symbolically represents Slovene culture today; and the Carinthian heraldic black panther, which is especially used by Slovene nationalists, which include some repatriated Slovene Americans.

The Slovene community in Cleveland developed Cleveland-style polka, or Slovenian-style polka. A traditional Central European dance-music style, polka originated in the 19th century and was one of the more popular folk music genres at the time many Slovene immigrants came to the United States (and remains popular today, of course). Cleveland-style is one of several distinct American styles of polka and features a fast tempo and the use of the piano accordion, diatonic button box accordion, or chromatic accordion. It was originally played in Slovene American clubs and union halls, often accompanied by a saxophone and rhythm section, with English lyrics that are generally translations of Slovene folk songs. Elements of early jazz and contemporary classical music were incorporated, a distinct American influence, and the style became popularized by Slovene American Frankie Yankovic (no relation, contrary to urban legend, to contemporary recording artist "Weird Al" Yankovic).

At the height of its popularity, the Cleveland-style polka was well known to American audiences from Yankovic's appearances on *The Tonight Show With Johnny Carson*, among other venues. In the mid- to late 20th century, when radio stations were more diversified, many midwestern cities had at least one

radio station broadcasting a significant amount of polka music, and in some communities it remained more popular than rock music for much of the century, just as country music has done in parts of the south. Cleveland-style polka continues today with artists such as Joey Tomsick, Don Wojtla, Eddie Rodick, Bob Kravos, and Eric Noltkamper, and Cleveland has added the Cleveland Style Polka Hall of Fame, though the city remains better known for its Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

Other American styles of polka include the Chicago Honky, using trumpet and clarinet, and the Chicago Push, using an accordion, upright bass, two trumpets, drums, and concertinas. Both, of course, originated in the Chicago community. The Dutchmen-style polka comes from the midwest and uses a tuba and banjo. Since the 1980s, a number of punk polka bands have formed in the Slavic American community, some of them featuring Slovene Americans; punk polka combines elements of early 1980s punk influences and rock tropes with polka and instruments traditionally associated with polka.

Prominent Slovene Americans include Micky Dolenz, of the Monkees; actor Frank Gorshin, best known as the Riddler in the *Batman* TV series; football player and sports radio personality Mike Golic; journalist Charles Kuralt; astronauts Sunita Williams and Ronald Sega; Senator Tom Harkin; and Donald Trump's third wife, Melania, born Melanija Knavs.

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See Also: Austrian Americans; Croatian Americans; Czech Americans; Russian Americans; Slovak Americans.

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Smith v. Allwright (1944)

In 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court decided *Smith v. Allwright*, a landmark civil rights case that held that the Texas Democratic Party's white primaries violated the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This important decision was a watershed moment in the battle against the disenfranchisement of African Americans and a key precursive case for the civil rights movement. Consequently, *Smith v. Allwright* is an essential example of a Supreme Court case that has had widespread implications on multiculturalism in America.

History

In this case, Lonnie E. Smith, an African American citizen of Harris County, Texas, brought suit against the election judges of the 1940 Democratic primary for his precinct after they refused his right to participate in the election solely because of his race. Specifically, Smith alleged that this action violated his constitutional rights, as guaranteed by Article I and the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Seventeenth Amendments to the Constitution. The district court and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals denied the relief sought by Smith by relying on *Grovey v. Townsend*, a 1935 Supreme Court case that found that a Texas county clerk's refusal to furnish an absentee ballot in a primary election to an African American was not a violation of the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendment, as a primary was not state action. Subsequently, the Supreme Court of the United States granted certiorari in *Smith v. Allwright*, and future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, as an attorney for the National Organization for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Educational Fund, argued on behalf of Smith for the case.

At the outset of its decision, the Supreme Court provided the background of the Democratic Party of Texas, which had resolved in 1932 that only white Texans who were qualified to vote were eligible for membership in the party and, therefore, entitled to vote in its primaries. Furthermore, the Supreme Court explained that the Texas Supreme Court had deemed the Democratic Party of Texas to be a voluntary association. The Harris County precinct judges based their arguments on these facts, claiming that the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and

Seventeenth Amendments did not apply to primaries, because primaries were "political party affairs" and not state affairs. In doing so, the judges heavily relied upon the Supreme Court's earlier decision in *Grovey v. Townsend*.

Although the Supreme Court recognized that "Texas [was] free to conduct her elections and limit her electorate as she may deem wise," it also found that the state could not do so if it violated the U.S. Constitution. The court proceeded to find that the right to vote in a primary, "like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the Constitution." In expanding upon this statement, the court stressed that the Fourteenth Amendment provides equal protection under the law for all people and that the Fifteenth Amendment provides constitutional protection for the right to vote, regardless of race or color.



Thurgood Marshall, representing the NAACP, argued this case in favor of Lonnie E. Smith in 1944. Marshall was an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1967 until 1991. He was the first African American justice.

First Steps to the Civil Rights Movement

With this foundation in place, the Supreme Court proceeded to examine whether the acts of the Democratic Party of Texas in denying the right to vote in its primary to an African American was state action (and thus regulated by the U.S. Constitution) or private action. The court found that these actions were state action, given that state statute authorized primary elections, the primary elections were the mechanisms for the selection of candidates for the general election, and state courts had jurisdiction over contested primary elections. As a result, the court found that the discriminatory practice of the Texas Democratic party in the white primaries was violative of the Fifteenth Amendment. The opinion, authored by Justice Stanley F. Reed, eloquently pronounced the following:

The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant to the people of the opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election. Constitutional rights would be of little value if they could be thus indirectly denied.

Thus, this case overruled *Grovey v. Townsend* and reversed the lower Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals decision.

Smith v. Allwright had a substantial effect on elections throughout the south by eliminating white primaries and by serving as the genesis for a significant increase of voter registration by African Americans. The case is considered to be a first step in the origins of the civil rights movement as well as an early example of a Supreme Court decision that ultimately led to the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Consequently, this case is an incredibly important one in American jurisprudence. It stands as a core example of a victory against racism in American governance and as a decision that supports the flourishing of multiculturalism in this country.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Constitutional Amendments; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

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Soccer and Ethnic Diversity

Soccer, called football or association football outside the United States, is a sport that grew out of numerous ball-and-foot games, which have been played throughout the world for thousands of years. The modern form of the game originated at Cambridge University in the United Kingdom in 1848, at a time when a large number of sports, all called football, were being played in Britain's public schools, each with mild variations in the rules. Of those sports, soccer and rugby proved the most enduring, whereas American football developed independently in the United States, resulting in the American use of the term *soccer* for the British game. American soccer history seems to begin with Boston's Oneida Football Club, founded in 1862 and consisting of boys from the city's most elite schools, including the Boston Latin School. Despite its very WASPish origins, soccer has become at least as diverse as the major American sports of baseball, basketball, and football.

Growth of Soccer in the United States

The United States Soccer Federation, founded in 1913, organized American soccer on the

national level for the first time, superceding earlier regional organizations. Soccer at the time remained popular primarily in the northeast, but professional soccer soon expanded to the midwest. Still primarily white, the game attracted players and fans from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, including German, Finnish, and Swedish Americans in the midwest. The growth of early professional soccer was stifled by the Great Depression, but even as the sport declined at the national level, it became increasingly popular in New York City, midwestern cities such as St. Louis, and ethnic enclaves in New England, such as among the Portuguese and Brazilians of the coast and the Quebecois of the mill towns. The perception of soccer as an ethnic sport, especially (in most parts of the country) for central Europeans and Italians, persisted until the 1970s.

In 1923, the German American Soccer League was formed by five semiprofessional soccer teams in the New York/New Jersey area: S.C. New York, Wiener Sports Club, D.S.C. Brooklyn, Hoboken FC 1912, and Newark SC. The teams were primarily made up of German Americans and other European immigrants, and the league soon expanded to include other teams, a junior division, and several lower divisions. In 1927, it was renamed the German American Football Association (GAFA). During and after World War II, GAFA prospered as an influx of central and eastern Europeans fleeing first the war and later the eastern European communist regimes filled both the stadiums and the player rosters.

GAFA team names continued to reflect the ethnic origins of their players, including the German-Hungarian SC, New York Hungaria, the Brooklyn Italians, and Greek American AA, in addition to the founding teams. When the North American Soccer League (NASL) formed in 1968, GAFA was invited to let one of its teams join. The eventual decision was for the GAFA All Star team to join as the New York Cosmopolitans (or Cosmos for short), a name meant to imply something grander than the New York Metropolitan baseball franchise. The Cosmos became a NASL team in 1971.

In the 1960s and 1970s, one of the most prominent sports figures in the world was Pelé, the Brazilian soccer star whose dominance of the game raised interest in the sport and helped inspire renewed

efforts at popularizing it nationally in the United States. When Pelé's career in Brazil declined, he was acquired by the New York Cosmos in 1975. The team already consisted of a large number of foreigners and was coached by Englishman Gordon Bradley. Pelé's presence, though he was no longer at the peak of his skills and 20 years into his professional career, propelled the Cosmos and the NASL into true commercial success, despite the fact that the Cosmos didn't even make it to the playoffs.

Other soccer stars such as Italian forward Giorgio Chinaglia, West German defender Franz Beckenbauer, and Dutch midfielder Johan Cruyff also contributed to the rise of soccer in the United States. At the height of the league in 1978, the New York Cosmos played to a sold-out crowd at Giants Stadium (over 73,000 people). This was in large part because of Pelé and Beckenbauer—both past their prime, but still significant figures in the game. However, the league did not last long due to low attendance rates and the loss of its television deal. Even though the league survived for only 16 years, it provided an avenue for individuals from every ethnic group to be a part of professional soccer in the United States, if they were talented enough to do so. The decline began only two years later, when Pelé retired. NASL folded in 1984, succeeded by Major League Soccer (MLS), which was founded in 1993.

GAFA changed its name to the Cosmopolitan Soccer League in reference to its famous offshoot. Teams were given one year to change their names to ethnically neutral ones. Not all complied. The Brooklyn Italians, who briefly called themselves the Dodgers after this rule, reverted to their original name in 1991. The name changes were part of an attempt to "Americanize" the sport, as the NASL was doing. The Cosmopolitan Soccer League was the de facto first division soccer league in the United States in the interim between the folding of the NASL and the founding of MLS, but operates today as an amateur league.

Immigration has played a large role in the popularity of soccer in the United States and in the demographics of its fans. In the 2010 World Cup, for instance, a dozen players who were children of immigrants played on the U.S. national team. According to Major League Soccer, the professional soccer league in the United States,

about a quarter of the fans who describe themselves as “loyal Major League Soccer fans” are Hispanic. The sport is more popular among first- and second-generation Americans—many of whom come from countries where soccer is the leading sport—than among the general population. Soccer is also more popular among African Americans than whites. Major League Soccer has described its fan base as significantly more African American than the general population, and the U.S. team in the 2010 World Cup was 30 percent black.

There are several reasons for the increasing popularity of soccer. Major League Soccer has made a major marketing push since the 1990s to draw attention to the sport. The significantly vaster cable television landscape has made it easier for American fans to not only watch the World Cup but also watch foreign soccer games such as those of the Premier League and the MLS. The advent of digital video recorders has allowed them to do so even if there is a scheduling conflict. Furthermore, the population groups among which soccer is most popular are steadily growing. Specifically, the Hispanic population in the United States grew from 35.3 million in 2000 to 50.5 million people in 2010, which constitutes a 43 percent growth rate. About three-quarters of all Hispanics reported they were of Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban backgrounds. Other ethnic group populations, such as people of Salvadoran origin, grew by 152 percent (accounting for 3 percent of the total Hispanic population), and those of Guatemalan descent grew by 180 percent (representing 2 percent of the Hispanic population) from 2000 to 2010.

With the influx of immigrants to the United States, the game of soccer is gaining popularity on American fields and in stadiums. The importance of having opportunities to play soccer without regard to the race, religion, class, or ethnic background of the players is a major priority for many people around the world, including those living in the United States. Soccer has undergone many changes and will continue to do so as the number of immigrants and first-generation Americans continues to increase. The game of soccer can absorb these changes and embrace people from different groups who come together to play the game they love.

Immigration and Soccer

The increase in the total number of immigrants and the identification of ethnic groups is important to the game of soccer because each ethnic group brings with it a certain style of playing the game and its application to their way of life. For example, individuals from Hispanic ethnic backgrounds seek out opportunities to continue playing the game once in the United States and pass the game on to their children (particularly boys, but this is slowly changing to also include girls). It is not uncommon to see pickup games on fields or in parking lots in which people from Mexican and Puerto Rican backgrounds are playing against each other with the vigor of representing their national team. These games serve as an avenue to showcase talent and style, which is something to take pride in and pass along to younger generations.

As soccer serves as a means to engage with individuals of the same ethnic identity, it can be a source of support, especially for new immigrants. In large metropolitan cities, one can routinely find soccer teams that define an ethnicity. For example, on the fields in Philadelphia, it is easy to find players of Ukrainian descent playing against people of German descent. Each team will come from a larger community that endorses the culture and style of play passed down from earlier generations. This socialization process carries on the importance of soccer in the lives of immigrants.

Individuals who are new to the United States face the difficulty of having to blend in with their new communities and surroundings while also trying to maintain their customs and traditions. Local soccer clubs centered on specific ethnic groups are designed to help individuals stay connected to their roots while also gaining an understanding of the many other ethnic groups that are also assimilating into American society (ethnic diversity). Soccer serves as a way to fit in and stick out at the same time. The players try to fit in by playing the game on organized teams, but many times immigrants have learned a higher level of soccer than their American counterparts, so they stick out in their superior ability to play the game.

Refugees in particular can rely on soccer to help create a sense of community. For example,

individuals fleeing from war-torn areas of the world come to the United States seeking a better life and use soccer as a means to meet new people, interact with others that are like them, and find a way to be a part of a new world. Although players may come from different ethnic groups, soccer is a common and inclusive language. Often, specific ethnic groups will host soccer tournaments for teams of the same ethnic group around the region or nation. These tournaments provide the means to pass on the style of play specific to an ethnic group. The influx of immigrants and refugees impacts multicultural America by increasing the ethnic diversity of the player pool.

U.S. National Teams

The ethnic makeup of full national soccer teams and youth teams has changed in recent years. The full men's national team has seen names such as Edu, Bornstein, and Gomez listed on its roster. Carlos Bocanegra, an American of Mexican descent, rose to become team captain. The men's national soccer team has embraced multicultural America, and the roster reflects this commitment of giving an opportunity to the best players in the country, regardless of their heritage. Even the head coach is not a native-born American. Jurgen Klinsmann, who was born in Germany, was appointed head coach in 2011 and brings with him tactics, skills, and an understanding of the game that stem from this ethnic background. The impact of players' ethnic histories on the game of soccer cannot be overlooked when examining the evolution of the game in the United States. Multicultural America is resulting in a multicultural game of soccer being played in the United States.

Similarly, national youth teams are increasingly more diverse as children of immigrants are rising to elite levels of ability. However, the national youth teams and women's full teams are not as far along in terms of diversity as the men's program. Many individuals of ethnic descent often play for other national teams (such as Mexico) but rarely appear on the roster of the U.S. team. The women's national team is not reflective of the ethnic diversity of the country and thus does not provide many role models for the millions of girls of different ethnic backgrounds who want to play professional soccer. The feeder system to the full national team needs to be more cognizant of the diversity of players who

are available in the United States. This may require scouts to go to large-scale tournaments in which elite teams play, but also to fields in large and small cities to find those athletes who cannot afford to play on expensive teams but have the skills to be a part of a national team.

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See Also: Ethnic Studies; Race; Sports and Ethnic Diversity.

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Social Media

Since its first iterations, social media have been used by a diverse array of people to express themselves, articulate community, and create alternative pathways to public visibility and fame. With an emphasis on audience participation and user-generated content, social media have the potential to allow a multitude of voices to enter public discourse. However, despite this democratizing potential, social media can also reflect and reinforce hegemonic power structures, often resulting in unequal usage of different sites by different groups, as well as the circulation of stereotypical racial discourses.

Broad Definitions and Usage

Social media is an umbrella term that refers to a broad array of Internet-based computer programs and applications that invite user-generated content and audience participation, enable direct peer connection and networking, and offer a highly customizable information stream. The term *social media* comprises other, more specific concepts, such as Web 2.0 and social network sites (SNSs).

“Web 2.0” refers to the development of Internet-based applications that run in a Web browser, use of programming language that allows for dynamic in-browser interaction without hitting “reload,” and user-generated content. SNSs are Web sites on which users create profiles and articulate connections with other users. Notable social media include Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Yelp, and Wikipedia.

The mid-2000s saw an explosion in the usage and influence of social media. The 2005 sale of MySpace for \$580 million to News Corp., a large transnational media conglomerate, was an early sign that the commercial mass media landscape would change as a result of the influence of social media. Facebook, which opened to the public in 2006, claimed more than 900 million users per month worldwide as of April 2012. Other important historical events that highlight the growing influence of social media in the late 2000s and early 2010s include the 2008 presidential campaigns, during which Barack Obama announced his running mate over text message directly to Obama Web site subscribers before contacting members of the press, as well as the 2010 to 2011 Arab-world revolutions collectively known as the “Arab Spring,” which relied heavily on information dispersal over social media in the face of state-controlled traditional media.

Some of the earliest forms of social media were devoted to people of color. BlackPlanet, Asian Avenue, and MiGente in the early 2000s served as networking, dating, and community issues sites for minority populations. Since then, people of color have actively cultivated a presence on social media that takes advantage of their participatory qualities and democratizing potential. In contrast to traditional media, which require huge resources to produce and distribute to a wide audience, social media have a very low barrier to entry coupled with the potential for massive visibility. This has enabled a wider diversity of people to gain large followings over social media than via traditional media such as television or film, where people of color are often relegated to bit parts and stereotypical portrayals. Asian Americans, for example, claimed four of the top 20 YouTube channels in 2012, with comedian Ryan Higa alternating between the number one and number two most-subscribed

channels on YouTube that year, with over 4 million subscribers. Michelle Phan, whose YouTube channel is devoted to beauty and makeup tips, was the most-subscribed-to woman on YouTube in 2012, with 1.5 million followers.

Use and Ethnic Diversity

Not all groups use social media equally. In 2007, researchers found that Hispanic college students preferred MySpace over Facebook as their SNS of choice, and that white and Asian American college students overwhelmingly preferred Facebook. Internationally, different social networking sites are popular in different countries and cultural contexts. Orkut, a social networking site that was developed by Google in 2004, was highly popular in Brazil throughout the late 2000s, though rarely used in the United States; Cyworld was launched in 1999 in South Korea and claimed that 90 percent of all South Koreans in their late teens and early 20s were members by 2006.

Twitter, the short-format microblog service, has a high popularity among African American and Hispanic Internet users. In 2011, one-quarter of all African Americans who used the Internet also used Twitter, as well as 19 percent of Hispanic Internet users, compared to 9 percent of white Internet users. African Americans are far more active than whites on Twitter, with 11 percent visiting the service every day in 2011 compared with 3 percent for whites. Whites made up 79 percent of users of Pinterest, an image-and-link-sharing social network site, in 2012, with its users also being overwhelmingly female.

At the same time that social media afford a wide array of people the ability to express themselves and connect with others, real-world racial divisions and prejudices are often ported online via social media, making it a complex space that mirrors society as a whole.

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See Also: African Americans; Asian Americans; Hispanic Americans; National Hispanic Media Coalition; Race Mixture in the United States; Research, Cultural Variables in; Speech Codes; Telemundo; Television.

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Souls of Black Folk, The

The Souls of Black Folk is a collection of 14 interdisciplinary essays penned by W. E. B. Du Bois—one of the major intellectuals in the 20th century—with an emphasis on the black condition and experience in the post-Reconstruction era. Nine of these essays had previously appeared in the pages of prestigious magazines or journals of the day, including *Atlantic Monthly*, *Dial*, *World's Work*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and *New World*. In the new text, Du Bois strengthens his arguments by restructuring and polishing these "fugitive pieces" and blends the old pieces with the five new or unpublished essays in order for *Souls* to become an integrated and unified narrative. Each chapter in *Souls* is prefaced by two quotations. The first is a citation from a famous writer, usually a Western poet; the second is a bar of music from a black spiritual, what Du Bois calls "the sorrow songs"—the title of the last chapter of the book—which valorizes African cultural heritage as a gift to America. With brilliance and creativity, *Souls* underscores the longings of African Americans for political freedom and rights, economic equality, social justice, and educational opportunity, as well as their yearnings for self-expression in a nation that had been hostile to them.

Since its publication in 1903, *Souls* has quickly become a founding text of black studies and one of the most important books in American intellectual history. In underlying the significance of *Souls* in black life, poet and activist-intellectual James Weldon Johnson states that "this remarkable

book . . . had a greater effect upon and within the Negro race in America than any other single book published in this country since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." African American poet and novelist Langston Hughes singled out this seminal text in reminiscing that "my earliest memories of written words are of those of Du Bois and the Bible."

Souls paints with clarity and grace the culture, the history, the sociology, and the spirituality of the African American people. In seeking to explain to "the white world" the strivings of black Americans, Du Bois develops the major intellectual motifs and theoretical concepts throughout the book, such as "double-consciousness," the "two-worlds," "the veil," and "the Talented Tenth," which he associates with American identity and mentality, American democracy and freedom, black leadership and self-determination, and America's racial dilemma. Whether the white world would listen to Du Bois as he plays the role of intellectual-activist and the champion of American democratic ideals, he nevertheless wants white America to ponder the arresting question, "How does it feel to be a problem?" underlying the psychological experience and "the souls" of black America and the complex relationships between black and white Americans.

Purpose of the Essays

In the prefatory "forethought" of *Souls*, Du Bois describes his purpose as "to sketch, in vague, uncertain outline, the spiritual world in which ten thousand Americans live and strive." He is also interested in fleshing out the manifold contributions and prodigious cultural gifts of Africans to the American civilization, as well as challenging the prevailing ideological myth that "Africans were on the bottom rung of the great chain of being and that blackness was a badge of shame." He articulates with rhetorical force,

We the darker ones come even now not altogether empty-handed: there are to-day no truer exponents of the pure human spirit of the Declaration of Independence than the American Negroes. . . . Here we have brought our three gifts and mingled them with yours: a gift of story and song—soft, stirring melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of sweat and brawn to beat back the wilderness,



W. E. B. Du Bois and Mary White Ovington, a suffragette and journalist, were honored with a commemorative medallion in The Extra Mile. The Extra Mile is a national monument set in the sidewalks of Washington, D.C., with the markers forming a one-mile walking path. The monument honors individuals who helped others through their personal sacrifices .

conquer the soil, and lay the foundations of this vast economic empire two hundred years earlier than your weak hands could have done it; the third, a gift of the Spirit. Around us the history of the land has centred for thrice a hundred years. . . . Would America have been without her Negro people?

The first essay, "Of Our Spiritual Strivings," outlines the "strange experience" of isolation and alienation of African Americans in the American nation that Du Bois summarizes with this provocative question: "Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?" Du Bois argues that the goal of black life is to attain self-consciousness and to be true to itself. The next chapter, "Of the Dawn of Freedom," describes

the history of blacks after slavery and highlights the significance of emancipation for the formerly enslaved people. "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," the most controversial part of the book, rebukes the leadership style of the most powerful black man at that time, associating with his vision for the destiny of the black population.

"Of the Faith of the Fathers" is the first systematic and historical survey of the significant role of religion in black life and the shaping black cultural identity. It is through black religion distinctively that Du Bois is able to draw links between American Africans and their ancestral land, Africa, as well as to show continuities between them and African lingering "survivals" in the New World. "Of the Passing of the First-Born" is one of the most moving chapters in the book, recounting in

poetic style the passing of Du Bois's young son, who died of nasopharyngeal diphtheria in 1899. "Of Alexander Crummell" is written in elegiac prose, affirming the sacrificial life of this extraordinary figure whose multifaceted contributions to the black community in North America and Africa toward their freedom and autonomy is remarkable.

Souls is also memorable for Du Bois's prophetic declaration, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line." The book still reminds us today about the strivings of thousands of Americans to experience in their everyday life the fundamental American democratic ideals of justice, liberty, and equality for all.

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See Also: African Americans; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Pan-Africanism.

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Sounder

Sounder is a 1969 young adult novel, written by William H. Armstrong, about a young African American boy, his family, and their hunting dog named Sounder. Written in a simple, direct narrative style that is reflected in James Barkley's illustrations, Armstrong's novel won the Newberry Award in 1970 and was adapted into a film in 1972. *Sounder* is a valuable part of the children's literature canon, not only because of its representation of sharecropping in the American south but also because it raises provocative questions about multicultural literature and authorship.

Armstrong's novel tells the story of an African American boy whose parents work as sharecroppers and whose father is arrested for stealing a

ham and some pork sausages. At the same time, the novel also tells the story of Sounder, the family's coon dog, who got shot by one of the deputies arresting the father. After his father's arrest, the boy spends much of his time trying to find the injured Sounder, but to no avail. Sounder finally returns home, horribly disfigured, several months after the father's arrest, on the morning after the boy visits his father in jail. Although Sounder has returned, the boy still feels restless and spends much time each year after the harvest trying to find his father on one of the chain gangs around the state. During his travels, the boy meets a teacher who offers him a job and a place to live during the winter, a position that enables him to learn how to read.

After several years, the father returns home, having been severely injured in a mining accident. He and Sounder go out on one last hunting trip, during which the father dies peacefully in his sleep. Sounder dies shortly thereafter, also peacefully, and the boy is able to make sense of both Sounder and his father's deaths because of what he has read with his teacher.

Throughout the novel, there is a strong connection made between Sounder and the boy's father. Although the whole family loves Sounder, the dog belongs to the father; their close connection is made clear from the beginning of the novel. In the first pages of the story, the boy asks his father where he got Sounder, and the father replies, "I never got him. He came to me along the road when he wasn't more'n a pup." The boy frequently tries to connect with his father by talking about Sounder, and his desperate search for Sounder after his father's arrest can be read as a way of trying to help his father in the only way he can.

Sounder is written in a very straightforward style, with an emphasis on vivid sensory details, such as the crisp feel of the boy's pillowcase, the sound of the mother singing in the cabin, and the smell of ham cooking. The most notable element of Armstrong's narrative, however, is the overall lack of names, dates, and places. The only character throughout the entire novel to have a name is Sounder, and although the boy lists several county names as he searches for his father, the reader never learns for certain where the family's farm is located. Although the appearance of sharecropping and chain gangs places the story in the first

half of the 20th century, the lack of names, dates, and places gives the story a timeless, mythical feeling as well.

William H. Armstrong

Sounder's author, William H. Armstrong, worked for much of his life as a history teacher at Kent School in Connecticut. Much of his early education, including his love for stories, came from an African American teacher whom his father, a farmer, employed after school and during the summer. Armstrong credits this man with the story of *Sounder*, writing in the introduction to the novel, "It is the black man's story, not mine. It was not from Aesop, the Old Testament, or Homer. It was history—*his* history." Armstrong followed *Sounder* with several more works for young adults, including the sequel to *Sounder*, *Sour Land* (1971). Despite the popularity of *Sounder*, the fact that it is a story about an African American family as told by a white man has received some criticism and raises questions about which works of literature can or should be considered multicultural.

Illustrations

The original illustrations for *Sounder* were done by James Barkley, an artist from New York. There are eight full-page illustrations scattered throughout the text, and in each one, Barkley uses a combination of pencil and watercolor to create an image with blurred edges and indistinct faces, all in a completely black-and-white color palette. The abstract nature of these illustrations captures the mythical quality of Armstrong's narrative, particularly in the final illustration, which shows a man, a boy, and a dog far off together in a field.

Film Adaptation

Sounder was made into a movie in 1972, directed by Martin Ritt and starring Kevin Hooks as the boy, Paul Winfield as his father, and Cicely Tyson as his mother. The movie was very well received, earning Academy Award nominations for Best Picture, Best Actor, Best Actress, and Best Adapted Screenplay.

This film, however, is milder than Armstrong's original novel; the most obvious change is that both the father and Sounder are still alive at the end of the movie. There are a number of

subtler differences as well, including the addition of names for the human characters in the film. Another notable change is that the young boy (named David Lee in the film) receives help from a white woman named Mrs. Boatwright during his search for his father, whereas in the novel, this search was primarily undertaken on his own initiative. Furthermore, although the novel is clearly written from the perspective of the young boy, the film has a broader focus on the family as a whole. Although such changes make the movie appealing as a family film, they also temper the original story's portrayal of the young boy's agency, as well as its provocative indictment of racism.

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See Also: African Americans; Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Sharecropping.

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Southern Christian Leadership Conference

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is an African American civil rights organization founded in 1957 in the wake of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The SCLC began in the U.S. south, connecting local chapters and affiliates and drawing on the strength of black churches. The group was created to spread the use of direct action to end segregation beyond Montgomery and beyond buses. Until his death in 1968,

Martin Luther King, Jr., led the organization as its president, most important voice, and primary fund-raiser. The efforts of the SCLC were important to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Principles and Strategy

The SCLC was based on the principle of nonviolence. King espoused nonviolence as a means of persuading or coercing businesses and local governments to desegregate. Beyond its use as an effective tactic, he practiced nonviolence as a total way of life. The group also believed in black leadership in the struggle for civil rights. By design, the organization was to be composed of and led by southern blacks. The experience of the Montgomery Bus Boycott showed those who would form the SCLC that protest for black civil rights was most effective when it was organized and carried out by African Americans. The group was also an explicitly Christian organization. Most of the men serving on the SCLC's board came from the Baptist ministry. Religious belief guided the leaders of the SCLC, and the organization was primarily based in Christian churches. Moreover, concerns about communism at the time led the group to include "Christian" in its name to make it clear that it was free of "subversives."

In its early years, the group stressed nonpartisanship. It hoped to influence both parties to support civil rights. However, by the time Lyndon Johnson took office, the SCLC had become more partisan, as it had a supportive Democratic president.

The SCLC used a "hit and run" strategy in its civil rights protest. The organization was one of the foremost practitioners of nonviolent direct action. The members looked for local situations to which to lend their support and shine a national spotlight. At its best, the group chose places with strong local leadership, a unified black community that favored direct action, and repressive white authorities. It would gradually build up protest efforts, dramatizing injustice through nonviolence and generating positive attention from the media. It hoped this would convince local businesses and city governments to negotiate an end to segregation or persuade federal authorities to intervene to remedy the situation. The group would then move on to its next campaign.

The SCLC also focused on voter registration, often as election years neared or in cases where nonviolent direct action appeared to be ineffective. It also served as an important bridge between local, grassroots activists and national political leadership. The SCLC was often criticized for activating local bases for political ends and then leaving them vulnerable to white racist reaction when they left. However, the organization's goal of spreading the movement required it to ignite local campaigns and then move on. The SCLC was also criticized for provoking violence while claiming to be nonviolent. King responded that his group gave witness to evil; it did not cause that evil.

Structure and Leadership

The charismatic leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., was central to the SCLC. King's views largely guided the SCLC's actions. He helped raise the SCLC's status to that of other major civil rights organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). King's public appearances were also a major source of funds for the SCLC.

The group was governed by a board composed of 33 African Americans, most of whom were preachers and all but one of whom were male. The board members all came from the urban south, were members of the upper middle class, and possessed a strong interest in citizenship.

The SCLC was a collection of local chapters and affiliates rather than individual members. Its affiliates were primarily black churches but also included various civic organizations and voter registration groups. The SCLC would often choose the locations for its campaigns based on the strength of its affiliates in the area. However, the SCLC was often criticized for having weak connections with its local groups and leaving them behind after a brief period of protest.

Although King was central, there were a number of other individuals who were also essential to building the organization and influencing the direction of its campaigns. For the first few years, Ella Baker was the sole staff member. The all-male governing board did not want to appoint a woman as executive director. They searched for a black minister to accept the position, but many were reluctant to leave their pulpits. John Tilley was appointed executive director but failed

to build the organization and was relieved of his duties in 1958. Baker then ran the organization for most of that year and the next.

Eventually, the group was able to secure Wyatt Tee Walker as executive director in May 1960. Walker was able to start the Citizenship Education Program, the SCLC's voter registration project. Walker also harnessed King's fund-raising potential by increasing his speaking engagements. He left the group at the end of 1963 primarily because of the lack of organizational discipline.

Andrew Young, King's second-closest advisor after Ralph Abernathy, then took over as executive director until 1968. Young was able to better work with other civil rights groups like the NAACP and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He was also effective in negotiating with white leaders.

Although the SCLC was primarily southern, northerners were also important to the organization. Bayard Rustin organized the conference at which the the SCLC was created. Stanley Levison initiated the SCLC's direct mail fund-raising campaign, which was essential to keeping the group afloat. Both acted as key advisors to King and later became part of his informal research committee. Along with Ella Baker, these three northerners were indispensable to the SCLC in its early years.

Fund-raising was important to the survival of the organization. Since the group did not collect individual membership dues, it relied on fund-raising from King's speeches and outside donations. In its early years, the SCLC struggled to build its budget. Although it was well-funded in the early to mid-1960s, it struggled to maintain revenue when many white benefactors stopped donating in the wake of numerous urban riots.

The SCLC was criticized for its lack of structure and internal discipline. Although it often lacked an effective bureaucracy, the group was able to be fast and flexible and adapt to the times.

Major Campaigns

Following the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the SCLC was unable to spread the bus boycott movement to other cities. Many of the boycotts lasted little more than a day. Given the lack of enthusiasm for direct action before 1960, the SCLC turned to a voter registration campaign in February 1958, called the Crusade for Citizenship. However, the

group lacked the local organizational base and budget necessary to make the campaign a success.

Even when the sit-ins of 1960 and the Freedom Rides of 1961 boosted enthusiasm for direct action, the SCLC was not at the forefront of these campaigns. This was partially because the organization did not yet have a steady source of funds, full-time field organizers, or the necessary administrative capabilities. Even so, local the SCLC affiliates were important in assisting students with sit-ins, and the SCLC did help finance Freedom Rides.

The SCLC continued to expand its voter registration efforts until 1963. Through its Dorchester Center and the work of Septima Clark, the SCLC gave many African Americans an education in the political system and the basics of voter registration. Those individuals would then return to their communities and teach classes of their own.

The campaign in Albany, Georgia, in late 1961 and 1962 marked the SCLC's first participation in mass nonviolent protest. However, the effort fell short of many of its goals because the city repealed segregation laws and closed public places, the police did not use violence, local leadership remained weak and divided, and federal authorities did not intervene.

At the same time, the experience in Albany was essential to paving the way for the success of Birmingham. The SCLC realized it would need to carefully plan to move to a place with a strong local base, start with small-scale protest and build up to mass demonstrations, elicit a hostile response from white authorities, and use media attention to its advantage. During the Birmingham campaign, the SCLC gradually escalated protests and the police made mass arrests, employing dogs and fire hoses. The jailing of King, numerous bombings, and the expulsion of more than a thousand students who participated in the Children's Crusade elicited a response from federal authorities. The Birmingham campaign was successful in speeding up the desegregation of the city, pushed President John F. Kennedy to introduce civil rights legislation, and became a model for other groups.

The SCLC joined in the March on Washington in 1963, which aimed to get Congress to pass civil rights legislation. Although it may not have had much effect on legislators, the march was important to making churches a larger part of

the movement and relaxing fears that black protest might lead to violence.

The group then moved into St. Augustine, Florida, in anticipation of the city's 400th anniversary. It felt the ultrasegregationist city government, Klan presence, and strong black opposition made conditions ideal for protest. Although the SCLC was able to bring the Klan out in the open, it underestimated the hostile response, and federal intervention never came. Moreover, the SCLC overestimated enthusiasm for direct action among local African Americans and the benefits that desegregation would bring.

The SCLC's biggest success came with the Selma campaign in 1965, which led directly to the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Selma presented an excellent opportunity to dramatize voting rights, as white people were 99 percent of voters but less than half the population. Moreover, the sheriff used harsh methods, and the White Citizens' Council in Selma was the first in Alabama. At the same time, it was the site of an organized black community.

In response to violence and repression, the SCLC proceeded with a march from Selma to

Montgomery. State troopers responded by attacking marchers at Edmund Pettus Bridge on "Bloody Sunday," which produced a national response to the call for another march. King led a second group to the bridge, held a prayer, and turned around so as to not violate an injunction against the march. This was enough to prompt President Johnson to present the details of his voting rights proposal and promise to submit it to Congress within days. Shortly thereafter, the injunction was lifted and the third march traveled all the way from Selma to Montgomery, with 30,000 participants on the final day.

Activities in Chicago

The SCLC then decided to move into the north, away from its southern base. Its major initiative focused on open housing and school integration in Chicago. The SCLC was thwarted in many of its proposals. Its plans to improve tenements, increase voter registration, and get fair housing legislation passed all met with great difficulty. Its marches through white communities resulted in open hostility. The Chicago Real Estate Board



The wreckage of the 1963 bombing of the Gaston Motel in Birmingham, Alabama. Leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, including Martin Luther King, Jr., stayed at this motel during the Birmingham campaign of the civil rights movement. King was the president and guiding force behind the SCLC until his death in 1968.

remained intransigent, and after Mayor Richard Daley's reelection, he ignored the movement. Also, many of the SCLC's erstwhile allies were more concerned about the war in Vietnam, and the Chicago campaign resulted largely in defeat.

One bright spot in Chicago was the SCLC's Operation Breadbasket, led by Jesse Jackson. The campaign picketed stores that received black business but failed to hire a proportionate number of black workers. The SCLC worked to open up many jobs and monitored compliance.

In 1966, while the SCLC was working in Chicago, it also embarked on the Meredith March. James Meredith vowed to march from Memphis to Jackson and was soon shot and hospitalized. The SCLC, the SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) joined together to complete his march. Though they experienced violence and disagreement along the way, the march took the movement to many new towns in Mississippi and gave the SCLC a foothold in the state. During this time, the civil rights coalition was fracturing over the issue of black power. Moreover, the SCLC faced major debt and had to cut much of its staff.

In the face of a foreign war that King believed was hurting domestic progress, he tried to push the SCLC to oppose the conflict in Vietnam. However, many in the organization opposed that path and believed it would lose black support and turn Johnson against the movement, so King acted largely on his own. However, he found the anti-war movement divided and questioned the ability of nonviolent direct action to halt the conflict.

The Poor People's Campaign would be King's last. The SCLC decided to bring thousands of poor people to Washington, D.C., to live in a shantytown called Resurrection City, lobby legislators, and protest federal agencies. This campaign emphasized King's emerging belief in the importance of addressing the economic roots of inequality. It was also unique for the SCLC, as it had to build a movement from scratch and focus more on developing interracial alliances. Though it faced internal opposition and was slow to start, the campaign did find the necessary volunteers. At the same time, King supported a sanitation workers' strike in Memphis. While there, he was assassinated.

Following King's death, Ralph Abernathy took over as president. The movement made gains with

the recognition of the sanitation workers' right to unionize in Memphis and the inclusion of fair housing in the Civil Rights Act of 1968. At the same time, many riots broke out, and the cause of nonviolence was weakened. Abernathy continued the Poor People's Campaign, which ended in failure. A revolving door of leadership in Resurrection City and problems with crime drew much negative attention. Lobbying efforts were largely ineffective as Congress cut social spending for the third consecutive year.

Thereafter, much of the SCLC's leadership left the organization. Although the organization occasionally had some successes after 1968, it was clear that the group had been largely dependent on King's leadership. The SCLC continues to exist as a national organization of chapters and affiliates, though its stature has declined considerably.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Desegregation/Integration; Freedom Riders; "I Have a Dream" Speech; Jim Crow Laws; March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; Montgomery Bus Boycott; National Civil Rights Museum; School Desegregation; Vietnam War; Voting Rights Acts.

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Southern Poverty Law Center

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is a non-profit organization that uses educational and legal strategies to reduce discrimination and prejudice in the United States. It is best known for its efforts to combat hate crimes. The SPLC also promotes awareness of civil rights activism and history, especially through classroom and extracurricular activities intended to reduce prejudice in young people.

Headquartered in Montgomery, Alabama, the SPLC emerged from pro bono legal work done in the late 1960s by lawyers Morris Dees and Joe Levin. Both assisted in cases involving racial segregation or other forms of racial discrimination, especially in the south. When that volunteer work revealed to them the wide-ranging nature of prejudice in the United States, Dees and Levin expanded from this volunteer work to incorporate officially as the SPLC in 1971.

The SPLC initially focused on providing legal assistance to wrongly convicted criminals and to prisoners experiencing inhumane treatment within the criminal justice system. Early victories included a successful lawsuit against the Alabama prison system (*Pugh v. Locke*, 1976) and numerous successful appeals of convictions in cases involving racial prejudice or tactics that manipulated juries into wrongful verdicts. The SPLC continues in the 21st century to provide legal support to selected prisoners and to use lawsuits and lobbying to push for reforms in prison and detention programs, especially in the states of Alabama and Mississippi.

Other Victories

The SPLC also developed a legal strategy to hold hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan financially accountable for the violent actions of their members and leaders. This resulted in a series of highly publicized victories that began in the 1970s and continued into the 1990s. SPLC lawyers, usually with Morris Dees personally leading the way, fought to obtain financial compensation for people harassed or attacked by members of such hate groups. Decisions in cases like *Donald v. United Klans of America* (1987), *McKinney v. Southern White Knights* (1988), *Mansfield v. Church of the Creator* (1994), *Berhanu v. Metzger* (1990), and

Keenan v. Aryan Nations (2000) resulted in millions of dollars in court-ordered payments to victims and often led to the financial dissolution of the hate groups themselves.

Another SPLC strategy for disarming white supremacist organizations involved actively collecting and disseminating data about their membership, beliefs, and harms to society. In 1981, the SPLC launched Klanwatch, which helped draw media attention to offshoots of the Ku Klux Klan. This project expanded to monitor all organized hate groups, and in 1998 it was renamed the Intelligence Project.

By the end of the 1980s, the SPLC had complemented its legal focus on hate with educational programs and activities that emphasized the importance of civic activism as a tool to reduce prejudice. SPLC headquarters in Montgomery grew in 1989 to include a civil rights memorial designed by noted architect Maya Lin, and in 2005 the SPLC opened a Civil Rights Memorial Center in Montgomery to expand visitors' understanding of antiracist activism in the past. Reaching out to schoolteachers, in 1991 the SPLC created Teaching Tolerance, which develops free curricular materials that stimulate greater awareness and appreciation of multiculturalism and diversity in young people. Teaching Tolerance also produces documentary films on selected themes related to civil rights and fairness, including *A Time for Justice: America's Civil Rights Movement* (1995), *Mighty Times: The Children's March* (2005), and *Bullied: A Student, a School, and a Case That Made History* (2010).

The success and high media profile of the SPLC also drew some skeptical attention to its operations. Beginning in the 1990s and continuing into the 2000s, critics argued that the organization had significant faults. Some suggested that it was hypocritical, noting that it decried racism but had mostly white staff members and administrators in its ranks. Others disliked the personal style of Morris Dees, claiming that he inflated his accomplishments by exaggerating the actual danger to society posed by hate groups. Some of these critiques came from publications or writers associated with the political right wing, but a few came from more liberal journalists who faulted the SPLC for targeting small hate groups and doing too little to combat widespread, systemic problems like poverty. Few of the

criticisms did much damage. Charity Navigator, a prominent evaluator of nonprofit organizations, consistently gave good to exceptional ratings to the SPLC for its financial practices, accountability, and transparency. By 2012, the SPLC had assets worth well over \$200 million.

Current Status

In the 21st century, the SPLC has increasingly diversified its focus on prejudice in the United States and devoted energy to securing fair treatment for undocumented laborers, immigrants, sexual minorities, and low-income voters. One of its cofounders, Joe Levin, became an emeritus member of the board of directors in 2009. As of 2012, cofounder Morris Dees remains an active leader in his role as chief trial attorney.

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See Also: Criminal Justice and Ethnic Diversity; Ku Klux Klan; Law and Ethnic Diversity; White Supremacy.

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Southwest Voter Registration Education Project

The Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization founded in 1974 by William C. Velasquez and other Mexican American activists to empower Latinos by educating them in the democratic process and stressing the importance of voter registration. The SVREP combined door-to-door registration drives

with research on the Mexican American electorate to achieve its goals. By 1991, it was chartered in 13 southwestern states. With the motto *Su Voto Es Su Voz* (Your Vote Is Your Voice), the organization has focused on voter education at every level from the local to the international. The roots of the SVREP go back to the Citizens' Voter Research and Education Project, which Velasquez organized when he was serving as an assistant field director and fund-raiser with the National Council of La Raza, the largest Hispanic civil rights and advocacy organization in the United States, from 1971 to 1972. Velasquez worked full time on the project for two years before he made it independent and christened it the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project. In July 1974, Velasquez opened the doors of the SVREP. He was the organization's first executive director.

A year earlier, there were only 565 elected Hispanic officials in Texas. Fewer than 500,000 Hispanics were registered to vote in Texas, a state with a substantial Hispanic population. Underrepresentation was not unique to Texas. In California, Arizona, New York, Florida, and Texas combined, all states with significant Hispanic populations, there were only 1,280 Hispanic elected officials. From the beginning, Velasquez had the SVREP focus on building power at the local level. The SVREP's own research had shown that Mexican Americans were most dissatisfied with the poor quality of municipal services and education.

Hispanic Voters

The SVREP played a major part in increasing Hispanic voters and officeholders in the 1970s and 1980s. Within the first decade of the SVREP's operation, the organization was averaging more than 100 voter-registration campaigns a year. By the late 1980s, the SVREP had completed 1,000 such drives. By Velasquez's death in 1988, the number of Mexican Americans registered to vote in Texas had reached 1.2 million, more than double the number in 1980. The number of Hispanic elected officials in the United States had increased 82 percent. The SVREP had grown as well. In addition to half a dozen directives engaged in voter registration and education, the organization had a research arm and a litigation arm.

Research had been an important part of the SVREP from the beginning. The first person

Velasquez hired Andrew Hernandez as the young organization's research director. In 1984, the SVREP formed a polling and research unit, the Southwestern Research Institute. Within two years, the institute was reporting the results of studies on redistricting and election exit polls. In 1988, it organized a fact-finding tour to Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The group's findings were reported to the Hispanic Congressional Caucus. The institute became the most highly respected source of information on Hispanic voters and voting patterns. In 1997, the institute was renamed the William C. Velasquez Institute to honor Velasquez.

Hispanic Officials

Andrew Hernandez led the organization from 1988 to 1994. He continued to focus SVREP activities on voter registration drives and voter education and on monitoring possible voting rights violations. By 1993, the number of Hispanics in elected offices had increased 259 percent since the SVREP's founding. In California, Arizona, New York, Florida, and Texas combined, the number of Hispanics in public office was 3,999, an increase of 312 percent. Although most of these officials served at the county or municipal level, the increase in voter registration among Hispanics, from 2.4 million in 1974 to 7 million in 1998, reflected a stronger Hispanic influence on state and national elections. Hernandez's tenure also saw the SVREP develop a greater international presence. The organization monitored elections in Nicaragua, conducted a voter registration and education drive in El Salvador, and directed training sessions for election workers in South Africa.

Activity in the SVREP's litigation arm increased after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was extended to the southwest in 1975. The SVREP worked with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the League of United Latin American Citizens, and both the Hispanic and black caucuses of the state legislature to defend citizens from voting law violations. By 1991, the SVREP had won 85 lawsuits against local jurisdictions, victories that persuaded other offenders to negotiate and avoid court action.

Antonio Gonzalez, a veteran SVREP worker, became president of the organization in 1994.

During his tenure, the SVREP has seen the number of registered Hispanic voters reach 10 million (2006). The number of Hispanics in elected office has risen to more than 6,000 across the nation. The 2005 election of Antonio Villaraigosa as mayor of Los Angeles, the second-largest city in the United States, in a contest that inspired a record turnout of Hispanic voters, was particularly meaningful. Villaraigosa was elected to a second term in 2009.

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See Also: Hispanic Americans; Latinos; Mexican Americans; Voting Rights Acts.

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Spanglish

A portmanteau of "Spanish" and "English," Spanglish refers to the hybridized linguistic practice of code switching between these two languages while communicating. Spanglish also entails the blending and interchanging of phonological and grammatical elements of Spanish and English in the formation of words, phrases, and questions. Linguists consider Spanglish to be neither a creolized language nor a pidgin, as Spanglish operates simply as an informal linguistic practice that relies on transitioning between English and Spanish during the course of communication. Spanglish lacks set or standardized rules that govern the syntax of formal languages. As such, Spanglish represents a style of communication rather than a formal, specific language in and of itself.

Although language purists sometimes attempt to dismiss Spanglish as a “broken language” unworthy of scholarly analysis, such a description is inaccurate and reflects the prescriptive bias that dominated language study throughout much of the 20th century. Anthropologists and sociolinguists use a descriptive approach to the study of language, noting that language is a malleable and fluid creation of human ingenuity and that social and linguistic contact between cultural groups has taken place since the dawn of humanity, resulting in the development of new linguistic practices. Spanglish has begun to generate considerable academic study in recent years, although it has been spoken in the United States for many decades. Today, Spanglish can be seen and heard in many cities throughout the nation with large Latino populations, such as New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, San Antonio, Houston, and Phoenix.

A singular uniform or standardized form of Spanglish does not exist, in large part because many different ethno-national dialects of Spanish are spoken throughout the United States. These various dialects of Spanish are largely geographically concentrated, with Puerto Rican and Dominican dialects spoken predominantly in the urban northeast, Cuban-style Spanish concentrated largely in southern Florida, and Mexican dialects of Spanish heavily concentrated in the southwestern border states.

These contrasting dialects of Spanish are marked by their own idiosyncrasies, such as distinct vocabulary, phonology, and differing cadences and rhythms that mark the speech process, all of which, in turn, shape the style of Spanglish spoken by persons of a particular Latino ethnic background or in a particular region of the United States. In the southwest, for example, many urbanized Mexican Americans speak a highly stylized Spanish-English hybrid known as *caló*, a linguistic form that has gained notoriety through Chicano films such as *Stand and Deliver* (1988) and *My Family/Mi Familia* (1995) and the comedy routines of George Lopez. In Florida, where Cuban Americans constitute the largest Spanish-speaking community, the predominant local style of Spanglish is sometimes referred to as *Cubonics* (a portmanteau of “Cuban” and “Ebonics”).

Communication in Spanglish merely requires one to code switch (alternate) between Spanish and English when producing speech or writing; however, there are no standardized rules that dictate this process of code switching. For example, one could potentially construct the phrase “Juanita is my younger brother’s girlfriend” in Spanglish several different ways, including “Juanita *es mi* younger brother’s *novia*,” “Juanita *es mi hermanito*’s girlfriend,” or Juanita *es la novia de mi* younger brother.” As a result, Spanglish is a highly creative linguistic style whose originality lies with the discretion of its speakers.

Spanglish also features hybridized words that have been formed by blending its two parent languages. Such words, sometimes described as Hispanicized English or Anglicized Spanish, include *chequear* (to check), *clikear* (to click), *lonche* (lunch), *parkear* (to park), *troca* (truck), and *yarda* (yard). The merging of Spanish and English to create new words has taken place in the United States for many years, since the annexation of the southwest at the conclusion of the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and the acquisition of Puerto Rico and Cuba following the Spanish-American War (1898). Both of these key historical events led to a significant increase of cultural and linguistic contact and crossover between English and Spanish speakers, a phenomenon that has only accelerated in the years since, with the advent of modern technologies such as radio, television, and the Internet.

Present and Future Status

As of 2010, 37 million Spanish speakers resided in the United States. Of this total, 20.5 million (55 percent) also spoke English “very well,” indicating a bilingual identity that suggests Spanglish will continue to be spoken for some time to come. During the early 21st century, Spanglish entered American pop culture and emerged as a marketable consumer product. In Los Angeles, for example, street vendors sell T-shirts emblazoned with the logos “Los Doyers” (“The Dodgers”) and “Los Leikers” (“The Lakers”) to express Latino pride in the city’s professional sports teams. Another popular comical T-shirt features the Kellogg’s logo aside the label “Corn Fleis” (“Corn Flakes”). Latino hip-hop artists, such as Big Pun, Fat Joe, Daddy Yankee, and N.O.R.E., utilize Spanglish lyrics, while Taco Bell’s slogan “Yo

Quiero Taco Bell” and the U.S. Army’s tagline “Yo Soy El Army” reflect the significance of Spanglish in the recruitment of Latinos as the nation’s consumers and protectors. Spanglish seems to be particularly common among younger Latinos who are either completely bilingual or who are English dominant and have at least a rudimentary knowledge of Spanish.

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See Also: Caló; Hispanic Americans; Language Usage in the United States.

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Spanish Americans

The story of immigration from Spain to the United States is a very long one. Immigration from Spain predates that of other European countries. Spanish Americans have had a continuous presence in what is now the United States since 1565. Spain established permanent settlements more than 40 years before the British arrived at Jamestown in 1607. Today, Spanish Americans or Spaniard Americans are one of America’s smallest ethnic groups, with almost 636,000 Americans identifying as being of Spanish decent.

Long before the United States gained independence, the Spaniards reached the Appalachians, the Mississippi, the Grand Canyon, and the Great Plains. They sailed along the east coast as far as Maine, and up the Pacific coast to California and as far as Oregon. During the colonial period, there were a number of Spanish populations. As late as 1783, at the end of the American Revolutionary War, Spain held about half of today’s continental United States.

St. Augustine, Florida, which was founded in 1565, is the oldest European permanent settlement in the United States. Martin de Arguelles, born in 1565, was the first child of European ancestry born in what became the continental United States. Santa Fe, New Mexico, founded in 1598, also predates the initial permanent English settlement of Jamestown. Santa Fe is the oldest capital city in North America and also the oldest European community west of the Mississippi River. Between 1607 and 1692, Spanish soldiers and officials attempted to conquer and convert the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. The Pueblo Indians revolted against colonial rule and its many abuses in 1680.

In New Mexico, the number of Spanish settlers during the 17th century probably never surpassed 4,000. Between 1692 and 1821 Santa Fe grew and prospered, although the city and surrounding countryside was threatened on several occasions by wars with Comanche, Apache, and Navajo Indian tribes. Between 1821 and 1846, Mexico gained its independence from Spain and Santa Fe became the capital of the province of New Mexico. In addition to St. Augustine and Santa Fe, early settlements also included Albuquerque, New Mexico; San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, San Jose, Monterey, and Los Angeles, California; El Paso, Texas; and settlements in Arizona and Louisiana.

Although approximately 200,000 Spaniards immigrated to the New World (including Mexico and South America) and founded 200 settlements by 1650, few were drawn to the isolated and backwater provinces of Florida and New Mexico. The earliest settlers also included Sephardic Jews and Iberian Moors who fled conditions in Spain during the Inquisition. Major sources of immigration came from the southern provinces of Spain, which include Almeria, Malaga, Granada, and the Canary Islands. Others came from Galicia and the Basque provinces and from the Balearic Islands. These were among the poorest provinces of Spain.

Loss of Spanish Colonies and Immigration

The Spanish population reached about 10,000 in the 1840s. Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, which brought to a close three centuries of Spanish rule in North America. During these years of Spanish immigration, there were important contributions in language (especially in



Famous Spanish Americans: David Farragut, Manuel Dominguez, Vicente Martinez Ybor, Rita Lydig, Leo Carrillo, Adele Mara, Rita Hayword, Bob Martinez, Hector Elizondo, Martin Sheen, Raquel Welch, Frank Lorenzo, Kenny Ortega, Daisy Fuentes, Mary Joe Fernandez, Lilian Garcia, Julian Casablancas, and Jerry Garcia.

New Mexico), religion, political administration, and laws. Several enduring legacies of the Spanish colonial experience still exist in the United States. These include the places founded by the Spanish, cities such as San Antonio, San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. A great part of the west from Texas to California has missions, villages, and ranches that owe their existence to the Spaniards. Ranching, often thought of as a peculiarly American way of life, was invented by the Spaniards. The words bronco, rodeo, lariat, cinch, mustang, and chaps are all based on Spanish words.

There remained a constant trickle of migrants from Spain to the United States between 1860 and 1899. The emigration of Spaniards from Spain in the last decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century was significant enough to place Spain among the highest immigrant streams of Europe, behind the United Kingdom and Italy, ranking closely with Germany and Austria-Hungary. At least 150,000 legal immigrants left Spain for the United States between 1900 and 1929. Some scholars estimate that as much as 40 to 50 percent of Spanish emigration was clandestine, so these numbers may vastly underestimate the number of immigrants who settled in the United States. The reasons for Spanish emigration appear to center on economic pressures and an inheritance system that favored the first-born male.

In the third decade of the 20th century and onward, Spanish immigration accounted for a negligible amount of immigrants, less than 1 percent. Official American figures estimate that approximately 72,000 Spaniards returned to Spain from the beginning of the 20th century to 1940. Many reverse immigrants left after the initial impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s. In 1936, dictator Francisco Franco took over Spain, and a small group of liberals immigrated to the United States. Under the National Origins provisions in 1929, the Spanish quota was set at 252 per year. Consequently, the number admitted dropped to fewer than 4,000 for the decades between 1930 and 1950. Legal Spanish admissions remained relatively low, reaching a peak of 42,000 in the decade from 1970 to 1979.

Social Mobility and Diversity

The majority of Spaniards in the early 20th century were young and single. In comparison to the average eastern and southern immigrants of this period, they were highly literate (85 percent of those 14 and over), fairly affluent, and a skilled immigrant cohort (36 percent were either skilled craftsmen or professionals).

Most Spaniards lived in the vicinity of New York City. This was the major port of entry after the colonial period. There was a heavy concentration in Brooklyn and in communities in New Jersey and Connecticut. There were mutual benefit societies organized to help the new immigrants. Most of the first generation were laborers, restaurant workers, cigar salesmen, seamen, and small shopkeepers. There was a large representation of immigrants from Galicia. By the 1930s, these neighborhoods had largely dispersed, with the second generation moving to suburbs and assimilating into the mainstream of American life. At the height of Spanish immigration, there were over 20 Spanish organizations in New York City.

At the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Florida attracted the second-largest group of Spaniards in the United States. This was largely related to the Cuban cigar industry. Most of the factory workers were originally from Asturias. In 1901, there was a short-lived Spanish immigration to Hawai'i to work in the sugar plants. This was a clandestine emigration from Spain composed primarily of workers from Andalusia. By 1920, most

of the Andalusians had moved on to California. Many settled in San Francisco and the Bay Area. Basque shepherders and to some extent Spaniards from other shepherding provinces started coming to the northern Rocky Mountains, centering on Idaho and Nevada around 1910. Spain has engaged in sheep-raising for hundreds of years. Boise, Idaho, is the Basque capital of this region. There are still Basque restaurants and Basque ranchers in this area. The steel and metalworking centers of the midwest also attracted northern Spaniards to the United States.

Integration and Assimilation

Spanish colonial history was characterized by small colonies and extensive exploration of what is now the United States. During the Spanish colonial period, the Spanish Empire was huge, encompassing much of North and South America, with the exclusion of Canada and Brazil and the American north and midwest. However, Spaniards had a strong preference for predominantly Latin colonies in Mexico, Argentina, Cuba, and Uruguay, among others. Probably no more than 10 percent of Spanish émigrés went to the borders of the current United States.

During the mid-16th to mid-17th century, the civilian population of Spain's major colonies in Florida and New Mexico faced external enemies. The chief challenges were from Native American tribes and European powers vying for land and wealth in what is now the continental United States. Spanish emigration was predominantly male throughout the 19th century. This means there was significant racial and ethnic mixing.

In the postcolonial period of Spaniard immigration from 1821 to 2010, the newcomers were relatively invisible. About half the Spaniards who came to the United States since 1820 arrived between 1900 and 1929. The Spanish who immigrated to the United States in the early 20th century had a relatively smooth assimilation to American life, in contrast to other Spanish-speaking populations, particularly Mexicans and Mexican Americans. The 20th-century Spaniard immigrants were viewed as white southern Europeans, which made it easier for Spanish Americans than for more recent Hispanics to assimilate to American culture. Spaniards typically identified more with the region they came from than with their home country.

The Spanish communities developed regional centers for different ethnic groups, so they posed less of a risk to the white American citizens. This is a consequence of strong regional diversity in Spain; immigrants were less likely to regard themselves as Spaniards than as Galicians, Basques, Asturians, or Catalonians. There is little evidence that the Spaniards in the United States have ever worked to maintain a separate identity or community.

Other reasons for the relatively rapid assimilation of the Spaniard immigrants are related to their social class status, migration history, and settlement pattern. The Spaniards who immigrated to the United States were on the whole literate and skilled workers. Most of the settlement pattern was urban, with few compact Spanish communities.

The Contemporary Scene

As of 2010, one-third of Spanish immigrants held at least a bachelor's degree, and about 80 percent had finished high school, as compared with 85 percent of the total American population. Spaniard Americans are slightly wealthier than the average American, with a median income of \$54,275 as compared with a national average of \$52,029.

Among Spanish Americans in the labor force, 39 percent work in management and professional field, 28 percent in sales and office work, 17 percent in service occupations, 8 percent in production and transportation, and 9 percent in construction and similar work. More than 60 percent of Spanish own their own homes. Spanish Americans are an unrecognized model Hispanic minority.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Hispanic Americans; Spanish-American War.

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Spanish Land Grants

Spanish land grants were issued first under the Spanish government and then continued under Mexican rule in New Mexico, Texas, and Alta California (which included Arizona) to ensure economic stability and foster continuous wealth for the nation granting titles. The geography of New Mexico, Texas, and California required slightly different approaches to address ethnic diversity.

In New Mexico, the earliest grants were recorded in 1680 (and dated back perhaps to 1598) through 1821, and continued under the Mexican government from 1821 to 1846. Land grants went to individuals (heads of families) who were deemed able to establish sustainable communities, and communal grants were allotted to pueblos for tribal lands. Ironically, the Pueblo of Acoma (the oldest extant pueblo west of Albuquerque, New Mexico) was not granted title to its tribal lands (95,791.66 acres) until 1877.

In Texas, land grants from the Spanish Crown for the purpose of establishing missions and military presidios dates back to 1716. Parcels closest to waterways with easy access to agricultural irrigation were the most prized. Provincial governors later issued grants for a small fee, and during the late 1760s, the Spanish government started surveying and recording grant title transaction. In 1821, officials tested policies aimed at enticing foreigners, including Americans. Later, the Republic of Texas under the 1836 Texas Constitution issued provisional headright grants (to heads of households) for 4,605.5 acres, excluding individuals of African and Native American ancestry.

Land Grants in California

In California, the Spanish government between 1769 and 1821 and the Mexican government between 1833 and 1846 reflected cultural diversity in granting land, livestock, and farming equipment for rancheros, thus supporting their presidios and maintaining stability and growth in local economies. Lands were granted contingent upon the grantee's ability to develop the land within one year, serving Spain's interests by securing and cultivating vibrant economic networks. Later, single, immigrant men with no dependents who choose to remain in California under the Mexican Naturalization Law of 1828 were required to live in

Mexican territory for two years to establish residency. They could apply in writing for residency, present written proof of being a Roman Catholic, and evidence that they practiced a useful trade, along with verification of good moral standing. Plentiful and cheap land drew early settlers willing to adhere to the Spanish-Mexican practice of converting to the Roman Catholic faith and marrying Californians.

California was characterized by the most ethnic diversity because it was adjacent to Pacific Rim maritime populations. The first Spanish penetration into Alta California occurred in July 1595, and the Spanish governed with a missionary/military system. California is unique because it is home to more tribes with diverse cultural characteristics than any other state. Russians arrived in 1803 to enter the fur trade. The Russians did nothing to coercively alter indigenous culture and were perceived as a more benevolent alternative to Spanish domination. Camilo Ynitia was the first indigenous Californian to sign a peace treaty with the Mexican government and was one of a few Native Californians to receive homelands as a Mexican land grant.

Californios/Californianas, the people born in California from the time of the first Spanish colonization, were people of mixed racial heritage, including Europeans, indigenous Mexicans, Africans, indigenous Californians, Anglo-Canadians, Russians, Creoles, Aleuts, and Kanakas (indigenous Hawai'ians). Juana Briones, a divorced Californiana, was granted land to establish a rancho. By obtaining a grant for land and cattle, Briones, a single mother, had no further need of assistance or relief from the government. Briones developed her land promptly, building San Francisco's earliest tavern for sailors and Latin American travelers. Danish Creole businessman William A. Leidesdorff juggled allegiance to the Mexican, British, Russian, and American governments and received a large land grant near gold country.

An influx of Americans with Jonathan D. Stevenson's New York Regiment of Volunteers, including Henry Wager Halleck, arrived in California in early 1847, introducing aggressive land speculation to San Francisco. Halleck studied the Mexican archives composed mainly of *expedients* and title documents for land grants. California governor Bennett Riley sent his "Report on Laws

and Regulations Relative to Grants and the Sale of Public Lands” to Washington, D.C., and it became the most widely read chronicle of California landholdings for the U.S. Land Commission. When California was admitted into the Union in 1850, Halleck purchased an estate in Nicasio, California. Subsequently, the county persuaded remaining tribes to leave their small reservations when they were denied funds for leaving their poor farm.

The California law firm of Halleck, Peachy & Billings initiated over one-half of the cases decided by the U.S. Land Commission, which adjudicated more than 800 cases regarding contested land titles during the mid-1850s. The average case lasted 17 years, favoring Americans, and plunged many families into bankruptcy. Forty percent of the land held by Californios prior to 1846 was transferred into American hands through legal wrangling. Halleck, Peachy & Billings became one of the largest antebellum law firms in America.

During the Civil War, the U.S. Congress passed legislation terminating titles to most Indian land in California, thereby stripping most California tribes of lands. In 1920, the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs established a 15.45-acre tract of land in Graton, California, to become the “village home” for the traditionally interacting Coast Miwok and southern Pomo tribes. The U.S. Congress in 1958 terminated the California rancherias that were held in trust and returned the land to private ownership with passage of the California Rancheria Act.

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See Also: Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848); Mexican-American War; Spanish-American War.

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Spanish Missions

Spanish missions were settlements established in the New World and run by priests and other religious authorities with the dual goal of prospering from the local natural resources and “civilizing” the Indian populations. Missions, many of which were fortified by battalions of troops and operated ranches, mines, and other commercial concerns, were established throughout much of what is now the United States, including California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Founded by Franciscan, Jesuit, and Dominican missionaries, they were instrumental in the history of America’s Hispanic population, relationships with the Indian population, and introducing European livestock and plants to the continent.

Start of the Mission Era

Where the Spanish landed, missionaries followed, though in regions such as Georgia and the Carolinas, the missions they founded were abandoned when the lands were ceded to British control. In the 16th century, Franciscans founded missions along the Atlantic coast in those regions and along the Gulf Coast in Florida. The first missions in what is now New Mexico followed, beginning in 1598.

The presence of the French inspired the building of missions on the Texas coast, with many established by 1716. The establishment of missions in California beginning in 1769 was similarly established by territorial concerns, as Spain wanted to strengthen its claims on the Pacific coast, which it felt were threatened by the presence of Russian and British settlers in the northwest.

Indian encampments were kept close to the missions so that missionaries could both oversee

their labor and instruct them in the Catholic faith. The proximity exposed Native Americans to European diseases for which they had no immunity, which in some cases had disastrous results. A 1640 epidemic, for instance, wiped out 3,000 Indians living near missions in New Mexico.

End of the Mission Era

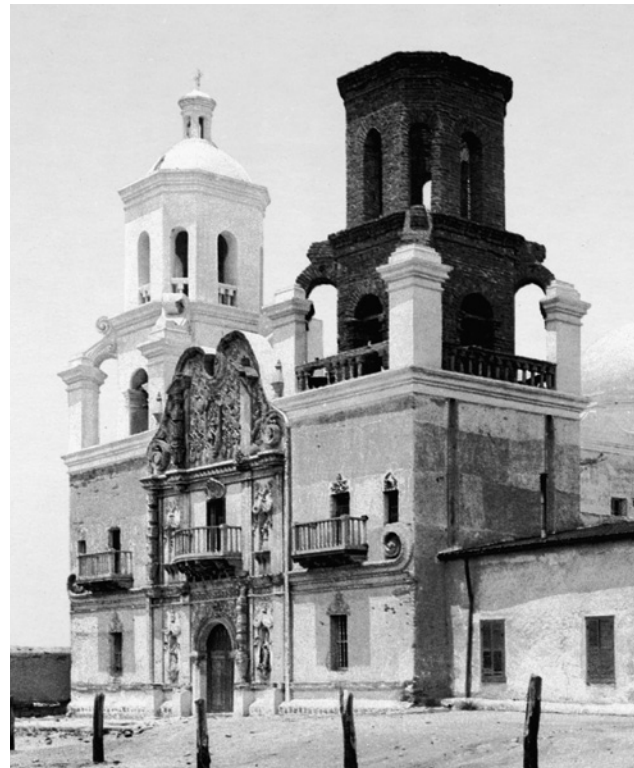
Missions were intended as temporary endeavors: Institutions would convert and educate an Indian population, which could then join Spanish colonial society. Having served their purpose, the missions were intended to become secularized and turned into regular Spanish communities without priestly rule. During secularization, the common lands of the mission would be redistributed to the local Indians, now Spanish citizens, in the form of land grants. In the 1830s, Mexican governor Jose Maria de Echeandia began the process of secularizing the missions in the California districts of Santa Barbara, San Diego, and Monterrey. The local missionaries protested that the native populace was not equipped for self-sufficiency in Spanish communities yet, and indeed some mission communities were heavily dependent on resources imported by the mission government, despite the goal of self-sufficiency. This was the norm in Baja California, for instance.

Further, the secularization process had been formulated based on experiences with tribes that were already sedentary, while nomadic tribes like the Apaches and Comanches had proven less amenable to conversion. Secularization continued regardless, and in California many former mission lands were converted to *ranchos*, with land grants issued to their inhabitants. By the middle of the 19th century, the mission period had come to a close. In the 1840s, just before the region entered into American control, many California mission lands that had been transferred to Indian control were sold from beneath them by Governor Pio Pico, the last Mexican governor of California. Pico himself purchased the Mission San Fernando Rey de España in what is now the Mission Hills district of Los Angeles.

Even after the mission period, the paternalistic approach to relations with the Native American population continued and was adopted by the Americans as Spanish and Mexican lands were ceded to them. Nineteenth-century reformers and

social activists spoke of civilizing and assimilating Native Americans, usually with little concern for preserving Native American culture, language, religion, or traditions. Colleges for Indians to learn European culture and Western academics had been established since the 17th century but became more common in this period, and in the west they took the form of missionary-run schools located near Indian settlements. Boarding facilities were provided with increasing frequency as more and more Indian communities were forced onto reservations. Just as the mission communities had the end goal of turning Native Americans into Spanish citizens, so too did these schools have the goal of turning Native Americans into assimilated Americans.

Mission life has been romanticized and sentimentalized in popular entertainment since the 19th century. The 1884 novel *Ramona*, by social activist Helen Hunt Jackson, was intended to shed



Mission San Xavier del Bac is located just outside Tucson, Arizona. It was founded in 1692 and still serves the Native community by which it was built. The architecture of San Xavier is considered by many to be the finest example of Spanish mission architecture in the United States.

light on the mistreatment of Native Americans, but what readers primarily took away from it was its romantic view of the Spanish aristocracy that ruled California. It was instrumental less in raising awareness of the plight of Native Americans and more in drawing tourists to southern California, as numerous locations named themselves in honor of the bestseller or claimed some connection to it. Today, charges are often levied that textbooks and history classes downplay the role of the Spanish missions in the treatment of Native Americans. In California especially, the native population was significantly impacted by epidemics caused by European diseases, but the clash of cultures had other negative effects as well.

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See Also: Mexican Americans; Native Americans; Spanish Americans; Spanish Land Grants.

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Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War was a conflict fought in 1898 between the United States and Spain primarily over the autonomy of the then-disputed territory of Cuba, but also of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The war would lead to the eventual independence of each of these nation-states. For decades, the United States had been cautiously observing the resistance movement for Cuban independence, but following the sinking of the battleship USS *Maine* in Havana under mysterious circumstances, many in both Congress and the popular press pushed for intervention. The

war would last only four months, settled by the Treaty of Paris, a document that would be widely considered to symbolize the end of the century-long decline of the Spanish Empire.

However, the effects of the war would be substantial to the next century of global geopolitics, eventually leading to a fundamental reframing of the culture and identities of each of the involved nations' cultural identities. Most notably, the Spanish-American War served as a political referendum on the Spanish monarchy, as it would symbolize the entry of American political, military, and cultural expansionism into 20th-century world affairs. It is also notable for the role that the American popular press played in the lead-up to war.

The Path to War

After more than four centuries of global expansionism, the Spanish Empire at the end of the 19th century had been reduced to three distinct regions: Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Spanish East Indies (consisting of the Philippine Islands, Guam, and several other smaller Pacific regions). Spain's sense of national identity had been entrenched in its preservation of empire. Cubans, though, were reluctant to accept such political or cultural designations and fought several struggles for independence throughout the latter half of the 19th century, most notably the Cuba Libre movement.

From 1897 to 1898, the Cuban revolt occurred alongside the destabilizing assassination of the Spanish prime minister, Canovas del Castillo, in Basque country, along with growing American military and cultural expansionism and American industrial firms' economic interest in Cuba's natural resources. War was not desired by any of the involved nations, and a degree of Cuban autonomy was declared in 1898 by the new Spanish prime minister, Praxades Sagasta, in negotiations with the William McKinley administration in the United States, which favored political and economic stability in the region.

The Sinking of the *Maine*

The fragile coalition would be undermined by a series of events just 11 days following Cuban autonomy. A series of violent revolts had broken out on the island, and President McKinley agreed to send the USS *Maine* to Havana harbor to attempt to ensure stability. On February 15,

1898, there was an explosion in the ship's powder magazines. The ship would sink in Havana harbor, killing 266 of its U.S. military personnel. The cause of the explosion was in dispute at the time and remains so today, either an onboard accident or the ship hitting a mine in the harbor that ignited the magazines. Although the sinking of the *Maine* would provide hawks in Congress with cause for war, the public was generally ambivalent in the immediate aftermath of the sinking.

However, New York City-based newspaper publishers William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer were in the midst of a long-running circulation battle in the city that had led to the rise of yellow journalism, a form of tabloid journalism characterized by sensationalistic and exaggerated stories, large incendiary headlines, and often-fabricated stories. Each realized that the *Maine* story would sell and decided independently that the Spanish were at fault. The papers began to publish remarkable accounts of Spanish atrocities, from strip-searching female Americans on passenger ships to the torture of American prisoners of war. Headlines would scream, "Remember the *Maine*, to Hell with Spain!" A likely apocryphal but nonetheless representative story states that a Hearst illustrator was sent to Havana to cover the story and reported that there was no war. Hearst, in reply, stated "You furnish the pictures; I'll furnish the war."

Political and Cultural Outcomes of War Declaration

The press would fan the populist and political flames of war, leading to a formal declaration by the U.S. Congress in April 1898. The war would be fought primarily in Cuba but also in the Philippines and Puerto Rico through sea and land campaigns. Fighting would cease on August 12, 1898, and the Treaty of Paris would be signed two months later. Over 5,000 Americans and Cubans were dead, and over 50,000 Spanish. Approximately 90 percent of the dead on each side were the victims of disease, including yellow fever, typhoid, malaria, and dysentery.

After the war, Puerto Rico and Guam would become American territories, along with the Philippines, which would fight two wars for independence before achieving autonomy in 1946. Cuba

would become a sovereign nation in May 1902, albeit with diplomatic restrictions and a perpetual American lease on Guantanamo Bay for military purposes. Perhaps most important, for the first time, the American military's actions would foreshadow its future capability of expanding its political, economic, and technological power as a key player in global politics, leading to the rise of American empire in the 20th century.

Cultural Significance

The Spanish-American War would result in a number of lasting cultural shifts, particularly in terms of the cultural identities of the involved nations. In the United States, the war notably served to mend North-South relations in the post-Reconstruction era following the end of the Civil War in 1865. There had been no major international conflict in which the United States was involved in the years since, and the Spanish-American War served as a uniting bond between the North and South as the nation attacked a common enemy, with northerners fighting alongside southerners in the same units.

Furthermore, the war was among the first to allow African American units to fight in battle. The Ninth Cavalry Regiment was created with the political support of Booker T. Washington and would play a critical role in a number of battles in Cuba. The African American units' success in this war would lead to slow, but continued, racial integration into the U.S. armed forces.

Culturally, the war was viewed in the United States as both a success and a call for increased American expansionism, politically, economically, and culturally. The rising popularity of the motion picture camera, a relatively recent invention, brought home newsreels to American audiences across the nation, allowing for a mass audience to experience film in both urban and rural parts of the country. Cultural narratives would emerge as well. The Rough Riders, then-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's First Cavalry Brigade, would emerge as a heroic myth from the war, relating tales of victory from the conflict that would be told through wild west shows, minstrel shows, and eventually film and television throughout the 20th century.

Finally, the war would lead to differing degrees of Cuban, Philippine, and Puerto Rican autonomy, certainly in a political sense, but also in a



The wreckage of the USS Maine in 1898. The catastrophic loss in Havana harbor killed nearly three-quarters of her crew when the ship suddenly exploded and sank. Popular U.S. opinion blamed Spain for the incident. The sinking of the Maine served as a catalyst, accelerating the diplomatic impasse between the United States and Spain.

melding of a number of disparate cultures through hybridization. Cuban and Puerto Rican cultures, for example, are still today strongly influenced by their roots as Spanish colonies, but also by their physical proximity to North America and its cultural products and ideas.

Puerto Rican culture, in particular, had been a hybrid of several others from its long history of colonialization and immigration, from native Taino culture to other European, African, or Caribbean cultures, but it was the legacy of Spanish colonialization that was among the most profound influences. Following the Spanish-American War, however, the territorial status of Puerto Rico as an American colony would begin a century of further hybridization in the nation through the introduction of a different set of political and economic influences, as well as new cultural forms and ideas. American culture would also see the effect of Puerto Rican migration following the war and throughout the century as emigrants would migrate to Florida and several

northeastern states, establishing hybridized cultural practices.

The question of identity for these cultures is one of disparate cultures (particularly in Cuba's Communist government). However, as the rise of multicultural national identities becomes increasingly rooted in the globalization of space and place, the lasting effects of the Spanish-American War are still seen in geopolitical and cultural identities in each of the involved nation-states.

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See Also: Cuban Americans; Media Treatment of Ethnicity and Race; Philippine-American War; Spanish Americans.

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Special Education

Special education is a set of free instructional and related services offered in U.S. schools to qualified individual students with identified disabilities. Originally enacted by Congress in 1975 under the title Education for All Handicapped Children Act (EAHC), or Public Law (P.L.) 94-142, the legislation established the foundation of special education services to meet the needs of students with disabilities who had traditionally been disenfranchised from the public school system. Seen as a significant win for the civil rights of individuals with disabilities, the legislation initiated the structure, funding, and delivery of instructional and related services in neighborhood schools across the country. The legislation has been reauthorized several times since 1975 and in its current state is known as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (2004).

Federal Legislation to Serve Students With Disabilities

Prior to EAHC, children and adolescents with disabilities often received a low-quality formal education or were excluded entirely from the public school system. However, passage of the legislation aimed to address the more systemic concerns of individuals with disabilities, such as access, formal identification of disabilities, and locating of resources for families of children with disabilities. One of the most significant provisions of EAHC was the principle of a free and appropriate public education for students with disabilities. This principle has been foundational in terms of providing funding to public schools for the acquisition and

establishment of administration, specially trained personnel, curricula/materials, and related services (e.g., physical therapy, speech-language therapy, at-home autism services). EAHC also provided specific administrative and legal protocols to settle disputes with schools over the delivery of services.

Since the passage of EAHC in 1975, the legislation has evolved to meet the growing needs and awareness of children and adolescents with disabilities, and this evolution was demonstrated in the name change to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in 1990. In each of its four reauthorizations, the legislation has expanded to include early childhood initiatives, postsecondary school planning for individuals with severe disabilities, extended coverage of student rights, and creation of new disability categories, bringing the total number of recognized categories to 13. In addition, IDEA was crafted in three specific parts to address different services and age groups. Part A established the foundation and structure of special education services, Part B addressed services offered to individuals with disabilities between the ages of 3 and 21 years, and Part C provided services to children younger than 3 years of age.

Six Principles of Special Education

Throughout the development of federal special education legislation, school professionals, families, and advocates for students with disabilities have continuously reshaped IDEA to reflect the growing diversity of students with disabilities and critical topics in education. An examination of the history of IDEA demonstrates that six specific principles have held constant in the development of the legislation and of special education services in public schools. These principles include zero reject, nondiscriminatory evaluation, appropriate education, least restrictive environment, due process, and parent participation.

The principle of zero reject ensures that all students, regardless of the type and severity of their disability(ies), have the right of access to a free and appropriate public education. Prior to 1975, children with severe or multiple disabilities were often turned away from public schools because of the perceived expense and difficulties of their integration into the general curriculum. Nondiscriminatory evaluation establishes specific, unbiased

protocols in the academic and behavioral assessment of students referred to special education evaluation, including the informed consent of parents and the opportunity to seek third-party evaluations in cases of disagreement between parents and schools. The principle of appropriate education establishes specific practices that direct the creation of an individualized education plan (IEP) for the student with disabilities by a committee composed of the parents, school professionals, and other necessary members (including the child himself or herself when deemed age- and development-appropriate).

The principle of least restrictive environment (LRE) ensures that the student is placed in an academic and behavioral classroom setting that is not excessively restrictive and the student is not unnecessarily separated from same-age peers and the general curriculum, unless it is deemed appropriate for the student based on the severity of his or her disability and needs. Due process establishes formal protocols and opportunities for parents to challenge school decisions regarding the development and implementation of the IEP, including evaluation results, placements, and related services. Finally, parent participation, addresses the parents' rights to access school records and ensures the safekeeping of confidential information. This principle also strongly encourages home-school collaboration in the planning and delivery of special education services by reversing historical practices of school-centered decisions and emphasizing a student-centered or family-centered process. Unfortunately, the inclusion and quality collaboration of parents and families from ethnically diverse backgrounds remains a critical issue in special education and the field of education.

Special Education Practices and Implications for Diverse Populations

Over the past several decades, U.S. schools have seen a significant increase in the number of students from ethnically diverse backgrounds. However, traditional educational practices have failed to address the academic and behavioral needs of students from multicultural backgrounds as evidenced by the disproportionate number of students from ethnically diverse backgrounds who are identified with disabilities and receive

special education services when compared to their white peers. The phenomenon of disproportionality occurs when one specific ethnic/racial group is either over- or underrepresented in a disability category based on population, disability prevalence, and occurrence. Disproportionality remains one of the most critical issues in special education regarding students from ethnically diverse backgrounds.

Several investigations have indicated trends of overrepresentation based on the overreliance of referrals to special education and disability (mis) identification. Over the past four decades, several ethnically diverse populations have become significantly overrepresented in disability categories. African American students are overrepresented in the categories of intellectual disability and emotional disturbance. Latino and Native American students are overrepresented in the categories of specific learning disabilities and speech-language disorders, with trends indicating a growing Latino overrepresentation in emotional disturbance. Conversely, Asian/Pacific Islander students are underrepresented across all disability categories. Underrepresentation carries a similar concern as overrepresentation, as students experiencing academic and behavioral difficulties are not being identified and may be denied access to necessary services and support.

Misidentification of students with disabilities and inappropriate placement into special education settings have documented detrimental effects. Misidentified students will have limited (if any) access to the general curriculum and challenging instruction, which will inhibit their development of academic skills. They also may lack quality planning for college and other postsecondary education and career planning (e.g., vocational training). Additionally, misidentified students with limited interaction with their same-age peers in the general curriculum will often have limited development of appropriate social and interpersonal communication skills.

Past educational practices and the lack of educator experience in working with students from ethnically diverse backgrounds have directly contributed to disproportionality, particularly in the category of specific learning disabilities. As a means to assist struggling students from ethnically diverse backgrounds, educators often exercised

one of the few options available to them, the referral to special education evaluation. Referred students from diverse backgrounds experiencing academic difficulties were evaluated with psychometric instruments that were typically designed for students who were both white and native English speakers. The few psychometric instruments designed for diverse populations and non-native English speakers were often developed with limited student sampling and/or lacked statistical validity and reliability. The use of biased and/or limited instruments yielded a significant number of false positives among students from ethnically diverse backgrounds.

To address the growing concern of disproportionality in the category of specific learning disabilities, the reauthorization of IDEA in 2004 provided schools the opportunity to adopt alternate methods of identification, as well as a systematic method to deliver and document scientifically based academic interventions prior to special education referral. Many schools implemented the process of Response to Intervention (RTI) as a means to deliver academic interventions across multiple settings for struggling students. The RTI process provides educators the opportunity to incorporate three tiers of academic interventions based on the number of struggling students with different levels of intensity. Although investigations on the effectiveness of RTI with diverse student populations are relatively new (and in current development), initial results have been promising.

Educator Preparation in Working With Students From Diverse Backgrounds

In addition to addressing the method of identifying disabilities, researchers and children's advocates have called for educators to become more experienced and knowledgeable in working with students from ethnically diverse populations. As classrooms in schools have become more diverse and reflective of the general U.S. population, the teaching force has remained mostly static, with over 86 percent of current faculty white and female. This juxtaposition indicates a diversity rift between teachers and students that can greatly influence the quality of academic and/or behavioral interventions struggling students from ethnically diverse backgrounds may receive.

Unfortunately, many university and college teacher preparation programs continue to offer one (if any) course in working with diverse populations as part of required coursework. Often, such courses are based on superficial understandings of diverse populations with little in-depth analysis on how to teach to different learning styles based on culture and experiences, incorporate cultural relevance into academic curricula, and meet the needs of students learning English as a second language.

This lack of foundation in working with students from ethnically diverse backgrounds significantly increases the likelihood that such struggling students will be referred to special education evaluation, thus continuing the trend of disproportionality despite intervention measures such as RTI. In addition, educators lacking experience and knowledge in working with diverse populations will continue to have a detrimental impact on the overall quality of education for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds.

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See Also: Compensatory Education; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Teaching; Disability and Ethnic Diversity; Educational Achievement; English-Language Learners; Multicultural Education.

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Speech Codes

First emerging in the United States in the late 1980s, speech codes restricted or banned certain kinds of speech on college and university campuses. Legal definitions and criminal procedures for cases of harassment, libel, slander, and fighting words already existed. However, universities sought to further restrict undesirable speech in classrooms and shared campus spaces, including racist, sexist, and homophobic speech. The resulting school codes placed sanctions on students and faculty for offensive speech that might not be considered legally actionable. Private schools with speech codes do not have to allow their students First Amendment rights and protections, but public universities must allow their students due process of law. As a result, speech codes proved controversial from their earliest days, as the American ideals of equality and freedom came into conflict.

Several reasons are commonly given for the creation of speech codes. First, they aim to combat discrimination by protecting vulnerable minority students from hateful speech and harassing actions. Second, they are designed to encourage campus climate change and promote social justice through support for racial and gender diversity on college campuses. Third, the "hate speech" sanctioned by such codes is generally aimed to incite violence and to cause emotional harm, rather than to provoke debate. Finally, such "hate speech" is usually used by people of an ethnic or sexual majority group with the goal of discouraging minority voices and preventing them from using their own First Amendment rights.

Speech code opponents also put forth several arguments. First, speech codes illegally prioritize civil liberties over the First Amendment right to the freedom of speech. Second, they create an artificial environment on campuses where campus administrators, rather than encouraging frank and critical dialogue on civil liberties issues, may silence unpopular opinions. Third, code enforcement may lead campus officials to reframe political or moral disagreements as personal attacks. Finally, they are often vaguely worded and impossible to enforce in practice. U.S. courts to date have generally overturned speech codes in multiple rulings, stating that speech containing offensive ideas remains protected by the First Amendment.

First Amendment Rights

In 1988, the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor implemented its "Policy on Discrimination and Discriminatory Harassment." In 1989, the University of Michigan was taken to court for that policy. In *Doe v. University of Michigan*, Judge Avern Cohn found that the school's code was unconstitutional because it had the potential to violate faculty and students' First Amendment rights. The plaintiff in the case, referred to as John Doe, was a university graduate student in biopsychology who wanted the code overturned on the basis that it was vague and overbroad.

Doe's legal counsel successfully demonstrated that the code's sanctions on sexist and racist speech had the potential to keep Doe from freely discussing theories about biologically based differences between sexes and races in the classroom where he served as a teaching assistant. The *Doe* decision indicated that a university could not maintain antidiscrimination policies that prohibited certain speech because it disagreed with the ideas conveyed, or because it found the ideas in such speech offensive, even to large numbers of people.

A speech code violation at the University of Pennsylvania in 1993 again focused national media attention on these codes. The incident involved a Jewish student, Eden Jacobowitz, who was sanctioned for yelling "Shut up, you water buffalo!" at a group of African American sorority sisters making noise outside his dormitory room window. Penn charged the student with

racial harassment and violation of university policies, asking him to write a letter of apology and admit wrongdoing, among other sanctions. (Part of Jacobowitz's defense was that he was studying Hebrew, a language in which "water buffalo" is an epithet for a rude or annoying person.) The charges were later dropped but led to heated discussions about the university's limits on free speech and whether the freshman's speech was meant to be a general insult or a racist epithet.

In spite of past legal rulings, 65 percent of American college campuses surveyed by the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education in 2012 have some sort of speech code policies that surpass the restrictions on freedom of speech outlined in existing U.S. law. Many of these speech policies are part of larger anti-harassment policies or codes of conduct on college campuses.

In recent years, religious believers have invoked such policies to protect their own freedom to speak on public university campuses about religious views unpopular in the secular sphere of the academy, creating a new round of litigation in the courts. The lines between offensive and illegal speech will remain a source of controversy in decades to come, as will university efforts to create diverse multicultural communities through policy-making and enforcement.

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See Also: Critical Race Theory; Epithets, Ethnic and Racial; Hate Speech.

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Spokane

The Spokane Tribe of Indians is a sovereign nation with its own tribal government located in eastern Washington State. Spokane is a name that was given to the tribe in the 1800s and translated as Children of the Sun, although the tribe refers to themselves as "sqeliz," meaning "the People." The Spokane Tribe previously inhabited over 3 million acres of land in what is today eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and western Montana, where they seasonally fished, hunted, and gathered. This slowly changed with the presence of the early-19th-century fur traders, who then gave way to an increasing missionary presence. By the late 19th century, a flood of European and U.S. settlers into tribal lands further hindered the Spokane Tribe's ability to successfully inhabit their world as they increasingly suffered through disease, war, and cultural destruction.

Struggling to Remain Autonomous

The Spokane Tribe is in recovery after two centuries of struggle to remain autonomous. This is evidenced by successes in the courts, economic development projects, and cultural preservation initiatives. Today, the Spokane Tribe has a membership of just over 2,700 members, a third of the precontact population. The Spokane Indian Reservation is approximately 159,000 acres surrounding the town of Wellpinit, Washington, where the Spokane tribal headquarters are located.

For millennia, the areas around the Spokane River and the upper reaches of the Columbia River were especially important to tribal members, who used the salmon, roots (especially camas), berries, and other plants for food, as well as the deer, elk, and moose for meat, clothing, and shelter. With the introduction of the horse in the 18th century, the Spokane went on buffalo hunting and trading expeditions across the Rocky Mountains to the Great Plains Tribes. The relationship the Spokane had with these resources changed once European fur traders arrived and the Spokane began participating in the commercial beaver and gun trades by 1810. Soon after, in the 1830s and 1840s, the arrival of both Protestant and Catholic (especially Jesuit) missionaries further altered the tribe's relationship with their natural and spiritual world. The final major change to the Spokane Tribe in

the 19th century came as the Spokane lost a key encounter with American troops in 1858, which resulted in an increasing number of European American settlers, who, with the support of U.S. government policy (especially the 1862 Homestead Act), dispossessed the Spokane Tribe of their traditional homelands.

In 1881, an executive order by President Rutherford B. Hayes established the Spokane Reservation, onto which many Spokane were directed to move, although other Spokane moved onto the reservations set up for the Coeur d'Alene, Colville, and Flathead Tribes. Beginning in 1906, Spokane tribal members were assigned allotments by the U.S. government, who then opened up even more Spokane land for white settlement. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, tribal members were supposed to remain on the reservation unless they had special permission to leave. Also during this time, off-reservation boarding schools were set up for Spokane children, who were forcibly removed from their homes to be taught all aspects of European American culture and separate themselves from traditional Spokane culture. Although attempts had been made by a variety of European Americans to assimilate the Spokane to

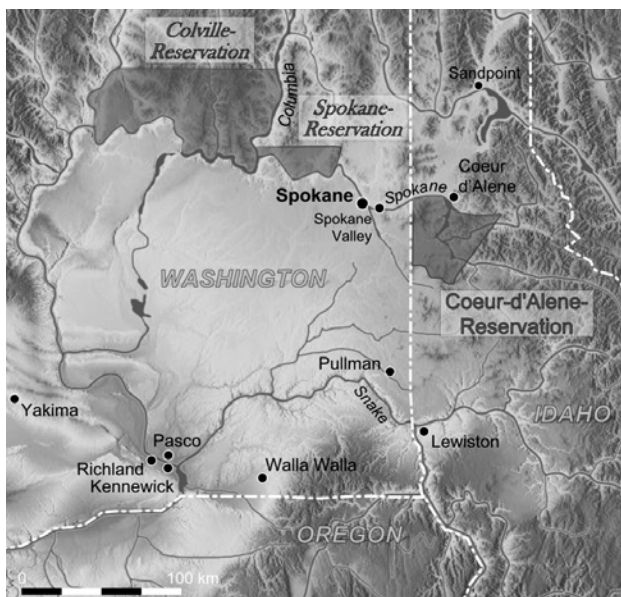
white American ways, the Spokane have instead adapted, with varying degrees of success, to living in two worlds.

Current Success

Recently, the Spokane Tribe has achieved several successes from the U.S. government, including compensation for some of the environmental, cultural, and geographic destruction of the prior century. In 1967, the Spokane Tribe settled with the Indian Claims Commission for \$6.7 million for the mismanagement of tribal funds, as well as to reimburse the tribe for the original cessation of their lands to the United States. Since 2000, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Spokane Tribe have begun work to clean up the mining pollutants on the Spokane Reservation. From 1955 until 1981, the Dawn Mining Company operated an open-pit uranium mine on the Spokane Reservation. A second mine, the Sherwood open-pit uranium mine, operated on tribal lands from 1976 through 1984. The pollutants left by these mines have seeped into the groundwater and contaminated it with heavy metal, threatening the health of creeks, marshes, fisheries, wildlife, and the tribe members themselves. In 1994, an agreement between the Spokane Tribe of Indians and Washington Power recognized the sovereign status of the tribe and the company's responsibility toward their wishes regarding the river on their reservation. The Spokane Tribe is still working toward compensation for the destruction caused to their lands and culture by the creation of the Grand Coulee Dam in the 1930s.

Today, the Spokane Tribe is experiencing a significant recovery of their economic and cultural autonomy. The first reservation casino in Washington State, Two-Rivers Casino, opened on the Spokane Reservation at the confluence of the Spokane and Columbia Rivers in 1994. The tribe opened a second casino, the Chewelah Casino, in 2000, and the Spokane Tribe Economic Project (STEP) is currently working to build a third. In 1991, the tribe opened a fish hatchery to renew the fish population struggling since the construction of the Grand Coulee Dam.

A cultural preservation program began on the reservation in 1995 to preserve cultural sites and history and includes an archive and library. The Spokane Tribal College (a branch of Salish



The Spokane Indian Reservation includes two small parcels of land and part of the Spokane River. Spokane territory once sprawled out over 3 million acres and now consists of 154,000 acres, of which they own only 10 percent.

Kootenai College) opened in 1995 with the goal of supporting the social, economic, and political status of the tribe. The curriculum reflects and relates to the Spokane Tribe's traditions, culture, history, and language. The Spokane have worked for many years to revitalize their native language and will open a language/culture immersion school in the near future. Salish is the language shared by all Spokane area tribes, including the Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, and Colville, who all speak similar dialects. Today, Salish is a highly endangered language, with only a few elder speakers remaining.

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See Also: Dual (Two-Way) Immersion Education; Environmental Protection Agency, U.S.; Indian Boarding Schools; Indian Casinos; Indian Claims Commission.

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Sports and Ethnic Diversity

Given that sports are an important component of American ethnic and national identity, it is essential to identify their achievements in terms of diversity, as well as to note areas in need of improvement. Although great strides have been made in the last 50 years, American sports must continue to become more inclusive in regard to opportunities for players, leadership positions, and marketing and branding.

Until the 20th century, nonwhite people were generally excluded from organized sport leagues. Racism, segregation, social class, and other factors

prohibited many ethnic groups from participating in or even attending major events. Many ethnic groups were involved in sports, but generally within their own communities.

For example, ball games have always been popular with Native Americans, who originated the sport of lacrosse. Irish and German immigrants dominated baseball in the 1880s. Jewish, German, Irish, and Italian immigrants, especially in large cities such as New York, participated in many sports as a way to assimilate and to show they would not be bullied by whites or by other immigrant groups. Unlike other racial and ethnic groups, Jewish European immigrants were able to dominate basketball leagues in the early 20th century.

Teams often grew out of these different ethnic communities. For example, the Golden State Warriors basketball team was formerly the Philadelphia Warriors, and before that, the South Hebrew All Stars, a Jewish team. Other groups established their own leagues, like baseball's Negro Leagues.

High-profile athletes, such as Jackie Robinson and Roberto Clemente in Major League Baseball, Sammie Lee in swimming and diving, Arthur Ashe in tennis, and Jim Thorpe in track and field, as well as legislation enacted in the 1960s and 1970s, helped break down the barriers to participation. For example, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 helped usher in new opportunities for various groups.

Participation Today

Today, nonwhite athletes are still breaking barriers and shattering records in other sports. Gabby Douglas was one of only a few black gymnasts to ever compete on a U.S. Olympic team when she won the all-around gold medal in the 2012 Games, while Lia Neal became the second black woman to win an Olympic swimming medal. Latina Dara Torres earned 12 Olympic swimming medals and made the U.S. team for the 2012 games at age 45. Throughout the late 1990s and early to mid-2000s, Tiger Woods, who identifies with multiple ethnic groups, dominated men's professional golf.

Baseball is still one of the more ethnically diverse sports, with players from Latin America and the Caribbean dominating the league.

According to the Associated Press, 243 of the 856 players on Major League Baseball (MLB) rosters are immigrants. The percentages are higher in the minor leagues, with players from the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Canada, and Japan making up a substantial portion of rosters.

Women's professional golf has become Asian-dominated in recent years. Between January 2001 and November 2009, players of Asian descent won almost 30 percent of events sanctioned by the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA). South Korea is second to the United States in terms of LPGA Tour winners.

Racial Report Card

In other sports, however, diversity remains a challenge. Automobile racing, for instance, has struggled to become more diverse. The National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) developed in the south and has historically been popular among white men. However, NASCAR created a diversity committee to address the issue in 2000. Similarly, sports such as ice hockey and sailing remain largely white, with few racial or ethnic minorities participating.

Sport scholars have noted that although some sports in America are now ethnically diverse in terms of participation, members of ethnic groups remain underrepresented in coaching, managing, and ownership positions. Scholars argue that there remains a fairly pronounced color line, or a structural and cultural barrier, that limits or blocks opportunities for nonwhites and ethnic minorities within coaching and administrative ranks. One argument for the continued need to diversify sport leadership is that teams that are dominated by members of particular ethnic groups might perform better if they were coached and led by someone from the same demographic group.

The National Basketball Association (NBA) has been a leader in breaking down ethnic and racial barriers in coaching and management, and the National Football League (NFL) has enlisted an affirmative-action approach, requiring teams to interview at least one minority candidate for head coaching opportunities.

In 1992, Richard Lapchick founded The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (TIDES), which produces an annual Racial and Gender Report Card. This card provides an important

look at the ownership, hiring, coaching, and participation of minorities in various sport organizations. The 2012 report card showed that people of color held more administrative positions at colleges than in previous eras, although only about 15 percent of collegiate athletic administrators are nonwhite.

College football has more minority head coaches than ever before. This increase is the result of the focused efforts of the late Myles Brand, president of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), and his successor, Mark Emmert. Eighteen of the 30 new hires graduated from NCAA coaching academies that focus specifically on providing assistance to enable coaches of color to become head coaches. Divisions II and III of NCAA are less diverse in their hiring, and only nine schools had coaches of color during the 2012 season.

In 2012, the NFL received an A grade for its racial-hiring practices. In terms of ownership, 2012 saw Pakistani American Shahid Khan become the first majority owner of color when he bought the Jacksonville Jaguars. Half of the teams that made the 2011–12 playoffs had a minority coach or general manager. The NBA also received an A grade for racial hiring practices, including a record-high 53 percent of coaches of color in 2012. The report called 2012 a remarkable year in that Eric Spoelstra became the first coach of Asian descent to lead a team to the NBA championship, and Richard Cho became the first Asian general manager in a professional sports league. In regard to players of various ethnicities, Jeremy Lin (of Asian descent) of the New York Knicks sparked a short-lived but frenetic “Lin-sanity” before he was injured.

The Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) earned an A+ for race on the 2012 report card. Lapchick calls the WNBA the standard for racial and gender diversity in professional sports. College basketball also saw an increase in the number of head coaches of color, both for males and for females.

Major League Soccer received a B+/A– for its minority hiring practices and an A+ for the diversity of its players and administration. MLB, which received an A for racial hiring practices, became the only major professional sports league to have two teams owned by a person of color when Magic

Johnson acquired part ownership of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Cultural Controversies

One continued controversy involves the naming and mascots selected for college and professional sports teams. The issue gained mainstream attention in the 1990s. Teams often select names related to ethnicity. The Cleveland Indians and the Atlanta Braves (whose fans regularly did the tomahawk chop) baseball teams, the Washington Redskins and the Kansas City Chiefs of the NFL, the Chicago Blackhawks of the National Hockey League (NHL), and the NBA's Golden State Warriors maintain that their mascots are protected as free speech and they intend to honor Native Americans. Some teams with Native American names have consulted extensively with tribal members to ensure their support. This is the case with the Florida State Seminoles and the Central Michigan Chippewas. Others, however, continue to use names and mascots that tribes find offensive.

The American Psychological Association (APA) has issued a statement denouncing American Indian mascots in places of learning, and in 2005 it called for all Indian mascots to be retired. According to the APA, these mascots are insulting and reinforce stereotypes. Critics contend that mascots such as Notre Dame's fighting Irish remain generally free from controversy because they reflect the ethnic heritage of university founders.

Racial profiling or stacking involves identifying players as more or less capable based on proposed genetic ability. The turn of the 20th century eugenics movement reinforced the notion that nonwhites were intellectually inferior yet more muscular and aggressive, which made them better suited for sports. So, for example, black males have been stereotyped as best suited to boxing, making this a sport in which white athletes are in the minority. Studies have documented that in football, baseball, volleyball, and soccer, black athletes and other ethnic minorities are overrepresented in peripheral, nonleadership positions. Similarly, some have assumed particular ethnic groups as only being able to excel at particular sports. For instance, Asian Americans are often assumed to be martial arts experts, while Hispanics are presumed to excel at boxing. These

stereotypes can become harmful, self-fulfilling prophecies, making it difficult for these athletes to envision themselves in other sports.

The dominance of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) by Asian women has not always been well received. For instance, Hall of Fame LPGA professional Jan Stephenson asserted that the Asians' lack of emotion and limited English was hurting the tour. Stephenson was criticized by LPGA Commissioner Ty Votaw and ostracized by many. Yet, in the fall of 2008, the LPGA instituted an English-only policy, which mandated that foreign players learn functional English within two years or face suspension of their tour cards. The LPGA claimed sponsors were unhappy that some foreign players were not engaging in much dialogue during events. Although short-lived, the policy ignited controversy. Critics note that the policy fails to consider cultural traditions and norms.

Sports have also been leveraged in controversial assimilation policies and programs. For example, sports were viewed as a way to assimilate Native American youth at boarding schools in the early to mid-20th century. Running, boxing, football, and wrestling were the primary activities.

Ethnic athletes have occasionally used the platform of sport to speak out about social injustices. When ethnic athletes challenge the status quo, many times they suffer significant repercussions. Boxer Muhammad Ali, formerly Cassius Clay, was known for speaking out about race, politics, and other issues. He even went to prison rather than fight in the Vietnam War. When, during the 1968 Olympics, U.S. track and field competitors Tommie Smith and John Carlos, who identified as black and Hispanic, raised their gloved fists on the podium for the 200-meter dash, a Black Power gesture, they were vilified by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and many American athletes and fans. More recently, when black Olympic gymnastics champion Gabby Douglas spoke out about racist remarks she endured while training, she was criticized by other gymnasts and commentators for painting herself as a victim.

The NBA has struggled with how to handle athletes who were deeply immersed in the hip-hop culture, like Dennis Rodman, Alan Iverson, and Latrell Sprewell. These players were often fined for their behavior, and in 2005, after a riot broke

out between Detroit Pistons and Indiana Pacers players and fans, NBA Commissioner David Stern responded to what he saw as a “gangster” image rampant in the league by instituting a dress code for players. Players were required to dress in business or conservative attire while playing, while on the bench, and during NBA-related events. Critics complained that the policy targeted black and urban athletes.

Cultural Competence and Sports Commentators

Sports commentators have demonstrated their lack of cultural competence by saying degrading things about ethnic athletes. Jimmy “The Greek” Snyder, a CBS football announcer, proclaimed that blacks were bred to be superior athletes, attributing black athletic success to slavery and arguing that black athletes were pushing whites out of sports. Snyder was fired immediately.

Tiger Woods was a breakthrough athlete in men’s golf. He proclaimed himself “Cablinasian” (for Caucasian, black, American Indian, and Asian), and his multiple ethnicities prompted discussion in the Professional Golfers’ Association (PGA), not all of it positive. As Woods was wrapping up his victory in the 1997 Masters Tournament, fellow professional Fuzzy Zoeller suggested that Woods would be celebrating by eating fried chicken and collard greens, stereotypically “black” foods. Zoeller apologized publicly and attempted to personally contact Woods, but he ended up losing his corporate endorsements from Kmart and Dunlop Tires.

On September 8, 2003, talk radio host Rush Limbaugh had just been hired by ESPN’s *Sunday NFL Countdown* when he asserted that black quarterback Donovan McNabb was overrated. McNabb said little in response but went on to lead the Philadelphia Eagles to 12 wins out of the remaining 14 in the season and a playoff win against the Green Bay Packers.

One day after the Rutgers University women’s basketball team played for the NCAA title in 2007, radio commentator Don Imus referred to team members as “nappy-headed hos” and giggled while executive producer Bernard McGuirk called the title game against Tennessee “the jiga-boos versus the wannabees.” Imus apologized two days later and was suspended for two weeks. After



Korean American golfer Angela Park during the Pro-Am before the June 2009 LPGA Championship in Havre de Grace, Maryland. The success of Asian golfers has resulted in ostracization and discriminatory statements from other golf professionals.

outraged calls from high-profile activists like Jesse Jackson, Jr., and Al Sharpton, and withdrawal of corporate support from General Motors, Procter & Gamble, and American Express, CBS fired Imus. He later settled with CBS on a wrongful termination suit.

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See Also: Baseball and Ethnic Diversity; Basketball and Ethnic Diversity; Boxing and Ethnic Diversity; Cultural Competence; Football and Ethnic Diversity; Negro Baseball Leagues; Soccer and Ethnic Diversity.

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Sri Lankan Americans

Sri Lankan Americans are a small group, 25,263 in the most recent census figures. The number is probably slightly larger than that if one accounts for the Sri Lankan-born or -descended Americans who do not self-identify as “Sri Lankan American” but instead identify either more broadly as South Asian Americans or especially more specifically as Tamils, Moors, Burghers, Malays, or Sinhalese. Before 1975, Sri Lankans were simply classified as “other Asian.”

Sri Lanka is a multiethnic country in south Asia, of which the Sinhalese are the largest portion of the population. The Tamils, the largest minority, have frequently opposed the Sinhalese government, and a recurring insurgency has been fought since 1983 between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. This instability has been a major factor in immigration out of Sri Lanka. In older history books, Sri Lanka is referred to as Ceylon, and the first immigrants therefrom were called Ceylonese. Sri Lanka is also the geographic and cultural center of the Buddhist faith.

Sri Lankans have been coming to the United States in small numbers since shortly after World War II. Large-scale immigration did not begin

until the late 1980s and 1990s; it resulted from the conflict with the Tamils and the general instability of the region. Many of the Sri Lankan immigrants to the United States are admitted as refugees; a significant number, relative to the small size of the population, are winners of the immigration diversity lottery offered to countries with low rates of immigration.

Sri Lankans primarily settle in large cities, and the largest communities are in New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Miami, where there are existing Indian communities; Hindu Sri Lankans generally prefer to move to areas with a Hindu community, since their numbers are too small to support one themselves. For the same reason, some Buddhist Sri Lankans have settled in the Tampa Bay area, where there is a Buddhist community of about 30,000.

First-generation immigrants often have difficulty adjusting to life in America, though they are usually at least somewhat fluent in English, the biggest obstacle to navigating the hurdles of American life. Assimilation and acculturation sometimes depend on whether the Sri Lankan considers himself or herself an immigrant or an exile; exiles intend to return home once the chaos ends and may be reluctant to take steps to put down roots in America, or lack the motivation to assimilate. Sri Lankan American parents are also likely to put a priority on maintaining a connection with Sri Lankan culture; they express concerns about their American-born or American-raised children growing up lacking the cultural touchstones and ideas that they themselves grew up with. Often, they encourage their children to take religion courses in order to better understand Hinduism or Buddhism.

Cultural Connections

The United Indian Student Alliance, based in Atlanta, Georgia, is an organization connecting students in America from Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, and India. It holds yearly conferences in addition to other events and online networking.

Astrology is important in Sri Lankan culture, and an astrologer is intended to determine the correct details for the ceremony called the Akuru Kiyaweema, which celebrates a child’s mastery of his or her first letter. The astrologer is consulted to determine not only the proper time of

day to conduct the ceremony but also the direction the child should face and what colors he or she should wear. During the ceremony, the child is taught the letter—usually the first letter of the alphabet—after which a snack is consumed.

Sri Lankan food is broadly similar to Indian food, and cooking and eating follow the south Asian custom of not touching food with the left hand. Typical meals include curries, soup, fish, and vegetables, served with rice and condiments like chutneys and sambals (hot relishes). *Pol sambol*, one of the cuisine's most characteristic dishes, is a relish made from onion cooked with coconut milk and red chili. There are pronounced Portuguese, Dutch, and Malay influences on Sri Lankan cuisine, from contact with those cultures, and the food is heavily seasoned and often very spicy to the American palate.

Notable Sri Lankan Americans include Ras Ceylon, a rapper from Oakland, California; DeLon, the first Sri Lankan American with a *Billboard*-charting hit; actress Thushari Jayasekera, of the NBC sitcom *Outsourced*; actor Bernard White; Harvard anthropologist Stanley Tambiah; Columbia University professor Pathmajeewa Ganepola; diplomat Patrick Mendis; college basketball player Eric Obeysekere; and Mary Anne Mohanraj, author of *Bodies in Motion* and founder of Strange Horizons and the Speculative Literature Foundation.

Mohanraj was born in Sri Lanka but moved with her family to Connecticut at the age of 2. Her parents intended for her to have an arranged marriage to a Sri Lankan boy they had chosen; she refused. The generational conflict was not uncommon among Sri Lankan immigrant families. Mohanraj, who is an academic like her parents and younger sisters, has written extensively on the complexities of cultural identity, the meaning of Sri Lankan identity, and the meaning of a Catholic upbringing to an agnostic.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Food; Indian Americans.

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St. Augustine

St. Augustine, Florida, is the oldest continuously occupied European-settled city in the continental United States. According to the U.S. census, in 2010, the population was 12,975. The population is about 84.2 percent white, 11.6 percent black, 1.2 percent Asian, and 0.4 percent American Indian, with 1.6 percent reporting two or more races. Approximately 5.1 percent of the population is Hispanic. The city is somewhat whiter and much less Hispanic than Florida as a whole.

St. Augustine is on the First Coast, a name derived by marketers for the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce in the 1980s and useful for referring to the first area of Florida colonized by Europeans. Juan Ponce de Leon's expeditions brought him to the First Coast in 1513, and a French colony was established on the site of present-day Jacksonville in 1563. In 1565, 40 miles away from Jacksonville, St. Augustine was established by Spanish explorer Admiral Pedro Menendez de Aviles and named for the feast day of Augustine of Hippo, which was the day that Aviles sighted land. A year after the city's founding, the first European child was born in the New World, Martin de Arguelles.

It is likely that the first enslaved people were brought to the lands of the United States during these early years. Many today remember the story of Roanoke, the first English settlement in the United States, in the colony of Virginia; not everyone remembers that when its disappearance was discovered, the English blamed St. Augustine, about 600 miles away, which was attacked in retribution by privateer Francis Drake. St. Augustine was established as a base from which to launch expeditions throughout Florida and the Gulf Coast, but the hostility of Native Americans made this difficult, and the French colonizers were

also near enough to pose problems, launching an attack on Spanish colonies in 1568.

Freed Slaves in St. Augustine

Slavery was not very important to the Spanish colonies in Florida, and the Spanish permitted enslaved people who escaped from British colonies to take sanctuary in Florida. If they swore allegiance to the Spanish Crown and converted to Catholicism, they would be given supplies and even arms. When British settlements encroached ever further south, the Spanish in 1738 established a legally recognized community of free blacks, the first in North America, in northern St. Augustine, known as Fort Mose. St. Augustine also successfully repelled a British attack in 1740. However, after the end of the French and Indian War, Florida was ceded to British control in return for the British removing their occupying forces from Havana, Cuba. Most of St. Augustine's Spanish population, about 3,100 at the time, left.

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 ceded Florida back to Spain, before it was ceded to the United States in 1821. Florida later became a state in 1845. After the Civil War, freed slaves of St. Augustine established Lincolntonville, a 1,400-acre district of St. Augustine in an area then surrounded by orange plantations. The district was originally called Little Africa, then renamed Lincolntonville in 1878. St. Augustine was a focal point for the civil rights movement. A sit-in protest held at a St. Augustine Woolworth's lunch counter over civil rights violations, including the violence of local segregationists, led to the arrest of 23 black protesters: 16 adults and seven juveniles. Four of the juveniles were sentenced to reform school for their political activism and became known as the St. Augustine Four: Joe Ann Anderson, Audrey Nell Edwards, Willie Carl Singleton, and Samuel White. They were kept in reform school for six months, during which time their case commanded national attention, until a special meeting of the governor's office resulted in pardons for all of them.

In September 1963, a Ku Klux Klan rally was held in St. Augustine, resulting in the beating of several National Association for the Advancement of Colored People activists. Although Klansmen and their victims both were arrested, the charges against the Klansmen were dropped, whereas one of the activists, dentist Robert Hayling, was

convicted of criminal assault. The following spring, Hayling made a public announcement, inviting northern college students to spend their spring break in St. Augustine as part of the civil rights movement. The St. Augustine movement was given international publicity, with Hayling leading a nonviolent, direct action campaign. Visiting activists included Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Ralph Abernathy. Protesters were regularly beaten and assaulted, and national sentiment in their favor grew as they endured the abuse without striking back. The St. Augustine movement is often credited with helping the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Today, St. Augustine is a popular tourist destination, particularly for its architecture, which includes Victorian-era buildings (especially in Lincolntonville) and Spanish colonial-era architecture, both original and reconstructed. The Old Spanish Trail, a tourist attraction developed in the 1920s, consists of about 3,000 miles (4,800 kilometers) of roadways linking St. Augustine to San Diego, California.

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See Also: Civil Rights Movement; Freedmen's Bureau; Ku Klux Klan.

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St. Patrick's Day

St. Patrick's Day is one of the most widely celebrated holidays in the United States, despite lacking legal recognition in nearly every jurisdiction except Suffolk County, Massachusetts (the seat

of which is Boston). Marked with parades, foods like the distinctively Irish American corned beef and cabbage, and drinking, St. Patrick's Day has become a celebration of Irish American culture that is even held by Americans with no Irish ancestry. St. Patrick's Day is perhaps the most popular celebration of ethnic identity in the United States.

Celebrated on March 17, St. Patrick's Day is the Catholic feast day of Patrick (387–461 C.E.), the patron saint of Ireland (born Maewyn Succat, in Scotland). It is officially observed by the Catholic and Anglican churches, the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the Lutheran Church, though as a secular celebration it is widely recognized in the United States. For Catholics, the Lenten fast is lifted for St. Patrick's Day, though technically, this is supposed to apply only to the Irish or those who attend a church consecrated to Saint Patrick. Patrick is credited with introducing Christianity to Ireland and is best known for the apocryphal tale of his using the shamrock to explain the concept of the Trinity to the pagan Irish. The shamrock tale may have led to the association of green with Patrick. He was originally associated with the color blue, but from the 18th century on, the day has been celebrated with "the wearing of the green."

St. Patrick's Day and Irish Americans

The importance of St. Patrick's Day in the United States has shifted over time in response to the character of the Irish American and the status of Ireland. The first Irish immigrants to the United States were Ulster Scots, who arrived in the colonial era fleeing the persecution of their Presbyterian faith in Northern Ireland; Patrick for them had far less resonance than he did for the Irish Catholics from southern Ireland, who followed in the 19th century. The first St. Patrick's Day celebrations in the United States were Protestant, organized by the Charitable Irish Society of Boston in the colonial era. Their 1737 parade was the first St. Patrick's Day parade in the world. Further, as the cause of Irish nationalism was taken up and garnered the support of many Irish Americans, the idea of celebrating Irish heritage and culture took on a greater fervor. Similarly, celebrating Irish heritage in the 19th century amid "Irish Need Not Apply" signs and the activities of groups like the Know-Nothing Party that sought to expel Irish immigrants from the United

States were very different acts from celebrating Irish heritage a century later.

Despite this ill treatment of Irish immigrants in the 19th century and the lingering anti-Catholic sentiment that persisted at least until John F. Kennedy's presidency, Irishness was incorporated into the American identity. This is most true in parts of the country where the Irish have had a major role in the formation of settlements and institutions, such as the northeast and New Orleans. Both Boston and New York have celebrated St. Patrick's Day since the colonial era, and both cities boast large Irish populations and parades of significant size. In Boston, schools close on March 17 for a double celebration: it is not only St. Patrick's Day but also Evacuation Day.

New Orleans has a sizable Irish population. As a predominantly Catholic city in the 19th century, it was a popular destination for Irish immigrants. The St. Patrick's Day celebration in New Orleans is the largest outside the northeast and is ranked second after New York City by Fodor's. Though the holiday usually falls in Lent, which begins the day after Mardi Gras and thus falls outside the Carnival season, it is celebrated much like Mardi Gras, with an elaborate parade of floats. In New Orleans, parades are interactive, with paraders on floats shouting and yelling to the spectators, others singing, and many of them throwing beads and other "throws" (generally small gifts and treats, typically green or otherwise associated with Irishness). There is not just one but several St. Patrick's Day parades in New Orleans, including several in the French Quarter, a downtown parade, a parade in the Irish Channel neighborhood, and a combined parade with Italian Americans celebrating St. Joseph's Day.

St. Patrick's Day Foods

The most distinctly American element of St. Patrick's Day, other than the participation of non-Irish, is the serving of corned beef at dinner. Corned beef is not a traditional food in Ireland. Throughout the United Kingdom, corned beef is difficult to find, except in canned form mixed with gelatin. In northeastern cities and Chicago, Irish and Jewish families often lived close together. Corned beef brisket is popular among Jewish Americans as an acceptable alternative to ham, or to the Irish-style bacon that Irish immigrants would have eaten. It

may have been easier to find or more affordable. Today, even though ham is widely available and often cheaper than corned beef, most Americans would look askance at the idea of serving it on St. Patrick's Day, with or without cabbage.

Other foods associated with the day include cabbage and root vegetables, especially if simmered in the same pot as the corned beef; colcannon, mashed potatoes cooked with greens; white pudding, an Irish sausage using oats as filler; champ, mashed potatoes cooked with green onions; and stew or steak and kidney pie made with Guinness stout. Chicago dyes its river green, and Savannah and Columbia dye the waters of their city fountains green; many cities temporarily repaint the street lines of their parade routes green.

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See Also: Irish Americans; Irish Potato Famine; Northern Irish Americans.

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Stand and Deliver

Stand and Deliver is a 1988 American drama film based on the true life story of math teacher Jaime Escalante, who inspired students to succeed, and the controversy surrounding their Advance Placement (AP) Calculus test results in 1982. Directed by Ramón Menéndez, *Stand and Deliver* was produced by Tom Musca, written by Menéndez and Musca, and distributed by Warner Bros.

Stand and Deliver takes place in 1982 at James A. Garfield High School in East Los Angeles, a primarily Mexican neighborhood. Jaime Escalante

was assigned to teach mathematics to low-income, low-achieving students. Escalante sets standards high and challenges their *gananas*, or desire, to succeed, while also teaching them discipline. He develops a rapport with students with jokes and teaches basic math and algebra with practical applications to real-life scenarios. Soon after, Escalante announces he will teach Advanced Placement Calculus. The mathematics chair, who represents the voice of doubt and dissent throughout the film, states that if Escalante's AP Calculus students try and do not succeed, not only will they be shattered, but their fragile self-esteem will not bounce back. This comment hints at the undercurrent of discrimination and racism Escalante's students will face in life, as he reminds them, because of their last names and complexion, and resurfaces again later with the Educational Testing Service (ETS).

The students featured in the film are composites, including Angel, a smart student with a tough gangster facade, and Lupe, a student who runs the household in the absence of working-class parents. In preparation for the AP exam, "Kimo," as Escalante is affectionately referred to by his students, makes students and parents sign a contract committing to classes during summer school, before and after school during the year, and on Saturdays. After all 18 students celebrated passing the AP exam, the ETS put Garfield on notice, suspecting all students of cheating because similar mistakes were found on the exams.

The earlier issues of discrimination and racism come to the foreground when Escalante confronts ETS officials, stating that his students' scores and achievement are in question because of their Spanish surnames and the barrio school they are from. After much conflict with ETS officials, Escalante's students decide to retake the exam and prove the ETS accusations false. As a result, all 18 students pass the AP Calculus exams with scores of 3s, 4s, and 5s (the highest ranges), reinforcing the assertion that despite the dark realities of discrimination and racism, Escalante's students have achieved success yet again, and will carry their success with them in their bright futures.

High Acclaim

Stand and Deliver opened on March 11, 1988, starring Edward James Olmos as Escalante and featuring Lou Diamond Phillips as Angel and

Andy Garcia as Dr. Ramirez, the ETS official. Olmos was nominated for Best Actor during the 1989 Academy Awards. Both Olmos and Phillips were nominated respectively for Best Actor and Best Supporting Actor in a Motion Picture Drama during the 1989 Golden Globe Awards. The film had a diverse cast and production crew that included Menéndez, who is Cuban born; actor Olmos, who is Mexican American and plays Bolivian-born Escalante; actor Garcia, who is Cuban American and plays a Hispanic ETS official; and actor Phillips, who is Filipino American and plays a young Chicano, Angel.

After reading a front-page article in the *Los Angeles Times* about Jaime Escalante in 1983, Ramón Menéndez, a new graduate from the University of California Los Angeles film school and American Film Institute, was inspired to develop a film on Escalante. Menéndez immediately recruited his friend and fellow UCLA film school alumnus, writer, and producer, Tom Musca, to collaborate on the project. Menéndez and Musca courted Escalante for half a year until Escalante allowed the director to buy an option on his story for \$1 in 1984. Later that October, Lindsay Law, producer of American Playhouse on PBS, gave Musca and Menéndez \$12,000 to develop a script. In November and December, they observed Escalante's classes, and over the winter break, they interviewed 12 students involved in the 1982 controversy. A year later, in 1985, American Playhouse funded an additional \$500,000, coupled with ARCO Foundation's \$300,000 and \$3.5 million from Warner Bros. for the rights. In preparation for the role, Olmos shadowed the real Escalante daily, recorded conversations, and gained 41 pounds.

The real Jaime Escalante joined Garfield in 1974 when it was in danger of losing its accreditation. In 1979, he taught his first AP Calculus class of five students, with two passing the exam with a score of 3 or better; in 1980, nine students with seven passing; and in 1981, 15 students with 14 passing. *Stand and Deliver* depicts the 1982 ETS controversy at Garfield. In a 2002 interview, Escalante describes the film as "90 percent truth and 10 percent drama." In reality, it took Escalante 10 years to build Garfield's math program, and its success resulting in part from the full support of principal Henry Gradillas, and Escalante's handpicked math

colleagues, Ben Jimenez and Angelo Villavicencio, who taught feeder math classes necessary for calculus preparation. Escalante also convinced Garfield's feeder junior high schools to teach algebra to eighth and ninth graders. After the film, instant celebrity, professional jealousies, and threats plagued Escalante, who left Garfield in 1991. He continued to teach at Hiram Johnson High School in Sacramento and later at Universidad del Valle in Bolivia. Escalante passed away in 2010 from cancer; he was 79.

Today, *Stand and Deliver* is part of the Hollywood canon of biographical teacher-inspired films, alongside *Lean on Me* and *Dangerous Minds*. The film is also included in educator training programs, inspiring teachers as agents of change and for Escalante's lessons, program model, and vision. In 2001, *Stand and Deliver* was added to the National Film Registry for the Library of Congress.

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See Also: Educational Achievement; Mexican Americans; Racism.

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Statue of Liberty

No other landmark serves as a more prominent symbol of the United States' proud tradition as a nation of immigrants than the Statue of Liberty. Officially presented to the nation as a gift from France on October 28, 1886, the statue stands atop a 155-foot stone pedestal on Liberty Island in the Upper Bay of New York Harbor. The statue

itself is 111 feet tall and weighs more than 22 tons. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, millions of immigrants from societies on the opposite side of the Atlantic Ocean gazed upon the Statue of Liberty en route to their official registration at Ellis Island. Despite popular misconception, however, the Statue of Liberty is not located on Ellis Island, but rather on Liberty Island. Ellis Island is a separate island located just northeast of Liberty Island. The United Nations declared the Statue of Liberty a World Heritage Site in 1984. Approximately 4 million people from around the world



The Statue of Liberty was dedicated on October 28, 1886. A gift to the United States from the people of France, the robed figure represents Libertas, the Roman goddess of freedom.

visit the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island annually, making these historic landmarks two of the most popular tourist destinations in the United States.

French Influences, Design, and Dedication

Edouard de Laboulaye, an influential French political philosopher and France's leading expert on the U.S. Constitution, suggested the idea of presenting the United States with a monument symbolizing the special French–American friendship in 1865. France had been one of the United States' staunchest allies during the American Revolution, and the democratic ideals and personal freedoms enshrined in the nation's founding documents inspired Laboulaye, who desired such liberal reforms in French society. A committed abolitionist, Laboulaye served as president of the French Anti-Slavery Society and an honorary member of the Philadelphia chapter of the Union League Club, an abolitionist group that supported President Abraham Lincoln and the Union cause during the Civil War (1861–65). Laboulaye regarded the Union's victory over the Confederacy and the subsequent ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, which abolished slavery, as fulfillment of American democratic ideals espoused in the U.S. Constitution. He also firmly believed that the construction of a French monument that valorized American democracy would muster public support for democratic reforms within France.

In 1870, Laboulaye commissioned the French sculptor Frederic Auguste Bartholdi to design his monument to the United States. Bartholdi proposed a statue titled "Liberty Enlightening the World," which featured a robed woman raising a torch overhead. During a trip to the United States in 1871, Bartholdi decided that the ideal location for his statue would be Bedloe Island in New York Harbor, because of the small island's location at the major U.S. point of entry. Bartholdi, Laboulaye, and American supporters founded the Franco American Union in 1872 to raise funds for the construction of the statue. The French agreed to build the statue, while Americans would bear the responsibility for constructing its base pedestal. Bartholdi hired Alexandre Gustave Eiffel, architect of the Eiffel Tower, to construct the statue's massive frame.

Upon its completion in 1884, the Franco American Union presented the statue to the U.S.

ambassador to France, Levi P. Morton, during a Paris ceremony on July 4 of that year. The statue was then disassembled and shipped to New York City via the French navy ship *Isere* in the spring of 1885. To transport the monument, French shippers separated the statue into 350 pieces that were packaged into 214 crates. At the time of its arrival on American shores in June 1885, the pedestal had not yet been completed, as lack of funding had stalled construction efforts, prompting noted newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer to print calls for financial donations in the editorial pages of *New York World*. Pulitzer's efforts generated more than \$100,000 in contributions, leading to the successful completion of the project. Reassembly of the statue atop its pedestal occurred from July to October 1886.

Official dedication of the Statue of Liberty took place on a rainy, foggy day on October 28, 1886, amid a festive atmosphere. An estimated 1 million spectators attended the ceremony, as parades on land and in New York Harbor provided music and a sea of American flags. Bartholdi culminated the dedication ceremony by ascending to the statue's crown and removing the French flag that covered its face, unveiling Lady Liberty to the American public.

The National Parks Service obtained control over the Statue of Liberty and Bedloe's Island in 1937, prompting the transition of the site into a tourist attraction. President Dwight D. Eisenhower renamed Bedloe's Island "Liberty Island" in 1956, and in May 1965 nearby Ellis Island became part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument.

Emma Lazarus and Immigration Symbolism

The United States is often referred to as a nation of immigrants, and the largest waves of immigration to American shores occurred during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Between 1880 and 1924, more than 13 million immigrants entered the United States through New York Harbor. Hailing from Ireland, Italy, Poland, Armenia, Greece, Russia, Great Britain, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and other Eurasian societies, Lady Liberty served as the impressive first glimpse of a new life awaiting these newcomers in the United States. As the steamships carrying immigrants passed the

Statue of Liberty, they docked at nearby Ellis Island for the inspection and processing of their passengers.

One of the Statue of Liberty's best-known features is the inspirational poem, written by Emma Lazarus, inscribed on its pedestal. Lazarus, a poet of Portuguese-Sephardic Jewish heritage, was active in charitable causes assisting Jewish immigrants who had been detained by New York immigration inspectors. Her experiences working with Jewish migrants profoundly impacted her social conscience, which is reflected in her writings. In 1883, the American Committee for the Statue of Liberty asked Lazarus to craft a poem for a public creative arts auction designed as a fund-raiser for the construction of the statue's pedestal.

Reflecting on her own ethnoreligious ancestry and her experiences assisting immigrants, Lazarus penned "The New Colossus" on November 2, 1883. The poem describes the Statue of Liberty as a beacon of freedom and a safe haven for downtrodden and dispossessed peoples the world over. Her poem proved popular at the auction, and Pulitzer published it in the *New York World* shortly afterward. The *New York Times* also published "The New Colossus," generating mass exposure.

Lazarus died at the age of 38 in November 1887. In 1903, authorities inscribed a stanza from "The New Colossus" onto a plaque and placed it on an interior wall within the statue's pedestal. The famous segment of the poem inscribed on the pedestal reads,

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

Both the Statue of Liberty and "The New Colossus" remain iconic symbols of America's immigration past and present. Interestingly, both pro-immigration advocates and anti-immigration restrictionists invoke these symbols to advance their respective positions regarding U.S. immigration policy. Pro-immigration advocates use the symbolism of the statue and Lazarus's poem to contend that the United States should not

forget its legacy as a nation of immigrants and to counter nativist rhetoric by pointing out that contemporary immigrants and refugees, like their 19th- and 20th-century counterparts, settle in the United States out of hope for a better life.

Immigration-control advocates, on the other hand, invoke the symbolism of the Statue of Liberty and “The New Colossus” in an effort to contrast present-day immigrants with those from earlier periods in the nation’s history. Such exclusionary use of these symbols have been invoked during protests by members of grassroots immigration-control organizations such as the Long Island-based Sachem Quality of Life and the southern California-based American Patrol, among others, to visually depict present-day immigrants, particularly those from Mexico and Latin America, as an alleged “threat” to the United States and its way of life and as allegedly differing sharply from earlier waves of European immigrants. In short, pro-immigration advocates see these symbols as reflecting the humanity of contemporary immigration, whereas proponents of immigration restriction view these very same symbols as glorious emblems of the nation’s immigrant past that, allegedly, is threatened today by newer waves of immigrants.

Throughout American history, various presidents have invoked the Statue of Liberty’s immigration symbolism for political purposes. President Franklin D. Roosevelt commemorated the statue’s 50th anniversary in October 1936 with a speech that praised immigration as a fundamental component of national identity. Roosevelt also lauded immigrants for enriching American society. With the Statue of Liberty as his backdrop, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (also known as the Hart-Celler Act) into law on October 3 of that year. This act ended discriminatory national-origins quotas enacted in the 1920s that drastically reduced immigration from southern and eastern Europe and virtually eliminated immigration from Asia. Signed into law one year after passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ended racial discrimination in public accommodations, the Hart-Celler Act led to a dramatic increase in immigration from Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and the Middle East over the next four decades. The 1965 act is thus a major catalyst of America’s pluralistic demographics in the early 21st century.

Restoration and Hurricane Sandy Impact

In May 1982, President Ronald Reagan appointed Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca as head of the Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Foundation, a privately run venture to raise funds for the preservation and renovation of the Statue of Liberty in preparation for its 100th anniversary. An \$87 million renovation effort over the next four years resulted in the replacement of the statue’s iron bars with stainless steel bars, the complete replacement of the torch, and repairs of holes that punctured the statue. The renovated statue reopened to the public on July 5, 1986.

The Statue of Liberty closed from October 2011 to October 2012 for another restoration project. The \$30 million upgrade included the addition of 39 steps inside the statue, new granite staircases near the pedestal, wheelchair access to the statue’s observation deck, and improvements to the internal elevators. On November 1, 2012, the National Parks Service announced that the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island had been closed indefinitely as a result of the destruction wrought by Hurricane Sandy. Although initial investigations revealed no hurricane damage either to the statue itself or to the Ellis Island immigration museum, federal authorities initiated thorough examinations of each site to uncover any possible damage to the infrastructure.

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See Also: Civil War, U.S.; Ellis Island; European Americans; Immigration History Research Center; Nativism.

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Stereotype Threat

The term *stereotype threat* was coined in 1995 by Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson and refers to being at risk of confirming a negative stereotype about one's group. When people are placed in a situation in which a bad stereotype about one of their social identities could be applied to them, they know that anything they do that fits the stereotype could be taken as confirming that particular negative stereotype. People know they will be judged based on their behavior, physical characteristics, dress, social mannerisms, and speech and treated according to a particular stereotype.

Stereotype threat has been found to affect an individual's psychological, physiological, intellectual, and emotional state of being when he or she is placed in a situation that leads to stereotype threat. Most people do not experience stereotype threat until they reach the age of 11 or 12, when they typically first experience evaluations of ability levels and when they first start to experience high levels of stress as a result of fear of underperformance. As a society, everyone can identify with a group or groups that have been labeled with negative perceptions. As a result, everyone runs the risk of being judged by these negative stereotypes and perceptions. Therefore, no one is immune from stereotype threat.

Impact on Ethnic Groups

Stereotype threat appears to negatively impact members of ethnic minority groups when they encounter tests or tasks that focus on cognitive abilities. Research has found this is most likely to occur with members of groups identified as poor, Latino, and African American. Performance tends to shift in the direction of the stereotype, particularly for members of socially stigmatized ethnic groups, when situational cues implicate group identity. For example, when taking a standardized test, students often need to share their identities. For students who are members of socially stigmatized ethnic groups, providing this information impacts their performance on the exam because they believe they are being evaluated based on a stereotype tied to their identities. Researchers have speculated that students from ethnic groups who experience stereotype threat during tests of a diagnostic nature may question their abilities and

withdraw from these kinds of situations based on low expectations for success. Additionally, as a result of experiencing stereotype threat, students from ethnic diverse backgrounds are more likely to withdraw from school.

Stereotype threat may have a profound impact on the achievement gap that exists between certain groups of students in various contexts. Stereotypes based on ethnic characteristics can impact students' grades, test scores, and academic identities. This identity threat can affect a student's sense of academic competence and sense of belonging in the classroom and in higher education.

Reducing Stereotype Threat

Recognizing that stereotype threat does exist and making an effort to reduce it can bring about changes or some improvement to social problems, such as intergroup tensions that impact the relationships among individuals and groups of people. Education about various cultures helps promote cultural knowledge, creativity, and intercultural understanding.

Additionally, educating others and informing them that intelligence and critical abilities are learned and expandable—and are not fixed as once believed and touted—is critical to help reduce stereotype threat and to increase the number of positive experiences members from groups identified as poor, Latino, and African American have when it comes to tasks or exams that focus on cognitive abilities. When members of these groups have positive experiences in any activity, especially testing, the likelihood for them to be concerned that they will be evaluated based on a negative stereotype will decrease.

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See Also: Antiracist Education; Bilingual Education; Intelligence Testing; Intercultural Education; Multicultural Education; Stereotypes/Generalizations.

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Stereotypes/ Generalizations

A cultural generalization is a statement about a group of people. For instance, saying that Americans (used in this entry to refer to U.S. citizens) tend to be more individualistic compared to many other cultural groups is an accurate generalization about that group. A cultural generalization may become a stereotype if it is definitively applied to individual members of the group. For instance, it would be stereotyping a particular person to assume that he or she must be individualistic by virtue of being an American.

The term *stereotype* refers to a metallic template used in printing repetitive copies of a document. As it is used in the context of intercultural communication, a cultural stereotype is a rigid description of a group (all people of Group X are like this) or, alternatively stated, it is the rigid application of a generalization to every person in the group (you are a member of Group X; therefore, you must fit the general qualities of Group X). Stereotypes can be avoided to some extent by using cultural generalizations as only tentative hypotheses about how an individual member of a group might behave.

We cannot and should not avoid making cultural generalizations. Generalizations are an inherent part of human perception. Every describable object of perception has been assigned to a category that associates it with other assumedly similar objects and contrasts it with other assumedly different objects. For instance, horses may be assigned to the category of domesticated work animals, similar to oxen and camels, but different from pets such as cats and parrots. Horses may also (or alternatively) belong to the category of food animals (along with cows and goats) in contrast to the category of competitive animals such as roosters and dogs. But there cannot be a horse or any other object of perception without some set of associations.

The idea of "culture" is itself a categorization of people. In fact, it is impossible to refer to a group at all without making a generalization about what qualities are shared by members of the group. But like horses, people could be assigned to different cultural categories depending on which criteria are used to compare them to other groups. Also, individual members vary in the degree to which they share the group's common characteristics. To deny that variation—to assume that every individual is a static representative of a single group—is the essence of stereotyping.

It is possible to make accurate generalizations about prevalent qualities of a group without stereotyping individuals in the group. Accurate generalizations are based on the measurement of a chosen set of cultural criteria (for instance, styles or values) in a large number or a random sample of individuals. This process either generates groups based on similar patterns of criteria or it describes the patterns that exist within a group based on other criteria, such as national boundaries.

If the generalization rests on too small a sample, it may describe some unusual quality that is not represented widely in the group as a whole. This is why it is not a good idea to generalize from having met a few members of an existing group; they probably are not representative of the group. Basing a generalization purely on personal experience is likely to be inaccurate, but inaccuracy is not the basis of stereotyping. It is when generalizations—accurate or inaccurate—are rigidly applied to individuals that they become stereotypes.

Level of Analysis for Generalizations

For the purpose of making cultural generalizations that are useful for analyzing interaction, it is important to define what level of analysis we are using in observing human behavior. Culture, in the sense that it is used in intercultural work, refers to a group level of analysis, in which the concern is with the prevalence of defined qualities, such as values or styles within defined groups, such as a national societies, ethnic groups, or geopolitical regions. By contrast, an individual level of analysis refers to individual characteristics and personality. It is generally assumed that genetically driven personality traits and personal characteristics such as intelligence are more or less equivalently distributed in different cultural contexts. Following this assumption, we cannot say that one culture has more of a personality trait like extroversion than another, and similarly, we certainly cannot say that one cultural group is less intelligent than another. In other words, we cannot make cultural generalizations about individual characteristics; to do so constitutes a “confusion of level of analysis.”

It is important for intercultural work to not confuse these two levels of analysis. If, for instance, we are trying to analyze a conflict between two people, the individual level of analysis would lead us to consider differences in personality (e.g., extroversion/introversion), intelligence, learning style, leadership style, and other characteristics that are treated as personal variations. However, we could also analyze the conflict at a group level of analysis, looking for differences in cultural worldview such as communication style, nonverbal expression, or cultural values (e.g., individualism/collectivism). It may well be that the conflict can be explained adequately with reference to only personal differences—a “personality clash.” In many situations, however—particularly cross-cultural ones—clashes in worldview may be as important, or more, in explaining the conflict. Since much of popular and even academic lore regarding communication is posed in psychological terms (at the individual level of analysis), it takes a conscious effort to maintain focus on worldview issues at the group level of analysis.

At an institutional level of analysis, focus is on human behavior in terms of institutions such as political, economic, or religious systems. Events can be analyzed at this level by understanding how

institutions channel human behavior into certain patterns of interaction. For instance, the conflict mentioned earlier might be approached usefully by analyzing the status and power relationships of the participants, or by understanding their possibly different allegiances to competing organizations. Some forms of cultural studies combine the institutional and individual levels of analysis, seeking to position individuals in social organizations in terms of power, privilege, and oppression. A wide range of behavior (e.g., dominant/nondominant group relations) is then explained in terms of the roles (and thus the relative power) people have in society.

Without denying the importance of power relationships, the institutional level of analysis may nevertheless be conceptually dangerous ground for cultural generalizations. Institutions such as political and economic structures, architecture, and literature are artifacts of culture; that is, they are the products of groups of people who are coordinating meaning and action among themselves. Once created, institutions become “objective” in the sense that they exist as relatively stable “objects” in our environment. When we define behavior in terms of objective institutions, the behavior itself becomes objectified, and role relations among people in institutional terms become static. In explaining human interaction exclusively in institutional terms, we are in danger of saying that whoever we are personally, and whoever we are culturally, our behavior is essentially determined by our position in society. This is the ultimate stereotype, using social role as an essentialized label.

The key to using cultural generalizations without stereotyping is to use them at a group level of analysis, seeking to understand individual behavior as, to some extent, a manifestation of cultural worldview, and to understand interaction among individuals as, to some extent, a clash and coordination of those worldviews. We can also analyze personality and power dimensions of interaction, but to confuse those levels of analysis with the cultural level is to risk overwhelming cultural generalizations with individual or social stereotypes.

Scope Conditions for Generalizing Culture

The level of specificity of a cultural generalization depends on the scope of the group being generalized. Using the definition of culture as “the

coordination of meaning and action among people interacting within a boundary," the scope of a culture group is defined by its boundary. A typical boundary follows the national border, so we can speak of "Italian" culture or "American" culture. However, the scope of most national groups is already quite broad, and the accurate generalizations that can be made are therefore relatively broad (abstract) as well. For instance, one might accurately generalize that Italians are more relationally focused than Americans, who are more task-focused, even though that true statement includes a huge variation in both groups. If we wanted to make a more specific generalization such as "people of culture X tend to be more hospitable than people of culture Y," then we need to refer to a more specific group. For instance, southern Italians tend to be more hospitable than northern Italians, and African Americans are more hospitable than European Americans.

At the extremes, generalizations become very vague or very sharp. At an extremely wide scope, we might compare "the West" to "the East," but we can make only rather vague generalizations about this contrast. For instance, one might generalize that Asians tend to be more sensitive to context than are Europeans or Americans. But the variation is so great in these groups that such a statement is not very useful for specific cases of communication. At an extreme, narrow scope, we might compare the culture of one department in a company to that of another; for instance, the departments may differ in their preference for e-mail or telephone communication. Beyond understanding interaction between those specific groups, such a narrow-scope generalization is not very useful. The most useful generalizations are those that are positioned at a middle level of abstraction, neither so broad as to be only vaguely true nor so narrow as to be only trivially true. Good midlevel cultural generalizations generate cultural contrasts that are relevant to intercultural communication and transferable to various other cultural contrasts.

For instance, we can accurately generalize that North Americans use a more linear (low-context) communication style than do South Americans, who use a more circular (high-context) style. This contrast is immediately relevant to intercultural communication, in that it can predict a likely mutual negative evaluation: A North American

may find the South American unfocused and time-wasting, whereas a South American may find the North American simplistic and arrogant. The simple act of bringing this difference in communication style into perception may be enough to ameliorate the negative evaluation and possibly provide some ground for mutual adaptation. This mid-level generalization is about two rather broad regional cultures, but it is reasonably applicable to national and ethnic variations within the regions. Most important, the generalization is transferable to other cultural contrasts, such as more linear Dutch versus more circular Italians, or more linear European Americans versus more circular African Americans.

Culture-General Frames

Culture-general frames are constructed for the purpose of creating useful cultural generalizations. Unlike culture-specific information, culture-general frames do not claim to describe cultures exhaustively, as an anthropological ethnography might. Instead, the frame is constructed to guide perception toward distinctions and contrasts that are useful to interaction, and that are general enough to be applied to a wide range of cultural contexts. A frame defines a domain and a continuum: The domain defines a focus such as non-verbal behavior, and the continuum is a variation in some specific behavior in the domain, such as eye contact. Generalizations are then made about how the behavior is distributed among the population of different cultural groups. Following are some examples of how culture-general frames can be used to generate useful generalizations about cultural differences without creating stereotypes.

Language Use

The domain here is not language systems, but instead the way language is used in ritualized ways to coordinate social relations. Continuums typically include greeting, leave-taking, and other rituals, such as arguing, negotiating, complimenting, or criticizing. For example, verbal greeting rituals might be contrasted in terms of length (short to long), general content (impersonal to personal), and style (joking to serious). To contrast European American men's culture with European American women's culture, for example, European American men tend to verbalize short greetings in passing,

emphasizing impersonal common experience such as sports-viewing, and sometimes using a teasing style. European American women are more likely to engage in longer greetings, emphasizing personal relational experience, and perhaps including a compliment on each other's appearance.

A potential misunderstanding arising from the above contrast in greeting ritual might go like this: The woman may perceive the man as brusque and unfriendly, and maybe even hostile in his use of "baiting." The man, on the other hand, may perceive the reception of unexpected personal revelations and compliments from the woman as unusually intimate and even flirtatious. These perceptions are likely to be inaccurate because they flow from the wrong level of analysis. Because the greeting rituals were not identified as cultural patterns, they were mistakenly taken as indications of personal traits. Actions taken on the basis of these misperceptions will probably exacerbate the situation. For instance, the man might feel justified in "flirting back" to the woman. In the context of her perception of the man, the woman might find his sexual attention particularly distasteful or even frightening.

Nonverbal Behavior

Even more than ritual use of language, nonverbal behavior eludes cultural explanation. This can be illustrated with the eye contact frame, which includes continuums for eye-contact length (short to long) and for use of eyes in conversational turn-taking (strong to weak). In a cultural contrast between Americans and people of some northern European countries such as Holland or Germany, Americans tend to make medium-length eye contact before looking away, and they use a longer, direct gaze as a cue for changing speakers. Germans and Dutch people tend to make longer and more direct eye contact, and turn-taking is more likely to be cued by looking away.

There are several potential misunderstandings arising from this difference in nonverbal behavior. Many Americans interpret strong eye contact as indicating either sexual or physical aggressiveness, depending on the situation. Germans, on the other hand, tend to interpret weaker eye contact as indicating lack of interest or attention. These misinterpretations are likely to be exacerbated by Germans intensifying eye contact in an attempt to engender

attention, whereas Americans may weaken eye contact to reduce the perceived threat. Things may get even worse, since the shifting American eyes send unconscious cues to Germans that it is always their turn to talk, whereas the steady gaze of Germans sends the same message to Americans. Consequently, both participants in an intercultural interaction may go away convinced that the other was trying to dominate the conversation.

Communication Style

There are several forms of this frame, many of them based on Edward T. Hall's distinction between high-context and low-context styles. The high-context side of the continuum is where a lot of meaning is derived from the surrounding situation rather than from what is said explicitly. Populations that are mainly distributed on the high-context side may have various language use patterns (e.g., they may be very talkative or mostly silent), but they share a reliance on "reading between the lines" to communicate the real meaning. In contrast, people on the low-context side rely more on explicit statements to convey meaning. Such people may also be either talkative or relatively silent, but they will usually look to whatever is actually said for the real meaning. On this continuum, people with European roots tend to be low-context, as compared with the high-context style used by many people of African, Latin American, and Asian roots.

Misunderstandings along the high/low context continuum are quite common. European Americans may wait for Asians to request something explicitly before they offer it, leaving the Asians to wonder (silently) at American insensitivity and obtuseness. Some Asians, on the other hand, may create relational confusion by reading unintended meaning into European American behavior. In the face of confusion, European Americans are likely to become more direct and explicit, which may lead people who use a higher-context style to become more indirect and circumspect, thus creating a spiral of increasingly incompetent exchanges.

Cognitive Style

The domain of this frame is patterns of thinking, or how people process perceptions. The basic continuum runs from concrete, in which people use more

description and physical metaphor to capture their perceptions, to abstract, in which people are more likely to use theory and explanation to organize perception. On this continuum, people in many Asian cultures tend to be concrete, stressing accurate description and direct experience of events. In contrast, many northern European cultures tend to be abstract, stressing coherent explanation and the historical context of events. Americans tend to be mid-range on this continuum, stressing action-oriented procedures that are neither particularly accurate nor particularly coherent.

Given their position along the continuum, Americans tend to be impatient with both theory and relationships, preferring to focus on tasks. Within the United States, Americans of European heritage are more tolerant of abstraction compared with Americans of African or Asian heritage, who are more likely to attend to the relational aspects of task-completion.

Cultural Values

This is one of the best-known intercultural frames. Its domain is how people assign goodness to ways of being in the world. For instance, many Westerners think it is good for people to act as individuals, with stress on self-reliance, independent decision making, and individual achievement. Many Asians place more value on the family or other group, stressing responsibility to others, contextual decision making, and collective achievement. In addition to this continuum of individualism/collectivism, other typical value continuums include time orientation (learning from the past to planning for the future), activity (letting things happen to making things happen), social roles (stressing status difference to stressing role equality), and tolerance of ambiguity (low avoidance of uncertainty to high avoidance of uncertainty).

A common clash of values between Americans and people of many other cultures occurs on the value continuum of social roles. Americans tend to be uncomfortable with the overt recognition of role and status differences, even though such differences obviously exist. Many Asians, Africans, South Americans, and Europeans (that is, everyone outside North America, including those of non-European heritage within the United States) are more comfortable with the acknowledgment

of status differences, as indicated by their more frequent use of titles.

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See Also: Antiracist Education; Class and Ethnic Diversity; Colorism; Constructivism, Intercultural; Intercultural Communication; Racism; Stereotype Threat.

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Stormy Weather

Stormy Weather is a lavish 1943 Hollywood musical, produced by 20th Century Fox. A biopic of song-and-dance man Bill “Bojangles” Robinson, it also starred Lena Horne and an assortment of the nation’s most popular African American performers. The film is named for the 1933 Harold Arlem–Ted Koehler torch song, which is performed by Horne in an elaborate set piece late in the movie. Although set in a period of de jure segregation, *Stormy Weather* depicts African Americans realizing fame, success, and other elements of the American dream via hard work, determination, and talent. In 2001, it was selected by the Library of Congress for preservation in the United States National Film Registry for its cultural, historical, and aesthetic significance.

Bill Robinson’s Biopic

Producer William LeBaron contracted Andrew L. Stone to direct a biographical musical about

Robinson, who had risen to fame as a hooper on the vaudeville circuit and in a number of 1930s films from 20th Century Fox, Paramount, and RKO. Although Stone had helmed a few musical comedies, including 1937's *The Girl Said No* and *The Great Victor Herbert* in 1939, he was mostly known for his work on gritty dramas; he was not an obvious choice for *Stormy Weather*.

The plot of the film, developed by songwriter Koehler, Frederick J. Jackson, H. S. Kraft, Jerry Horwin, and Seymour B. Robinson, is simple: Bill Williamson, recently returned from World War I, is pursuing a career as a dancer. He meets a beautiful aspiring lounge singer, Selina Rogers, and the two immediately fall in love. Bill's desire to settle down with Selina is compromised by the ups and downs of their careers. They separate for a number of years, and each finds success before they agree to reunite.

Though marketed as biographical film about Robinson, its primary function was to showcase the virtuosity of a number of African American performers. For example, neither Robinson's upbringing in Richmond, Virginia, details about his military service, nor his career struggles is depicted. Furthermore, Robinson never actually had any romantic relationship that resembled the two-decade-long affair of Williamson and Rogers.

The studio hired an unprecedented assemblage of African American stars for the film: Dooley Wilson, Harold and Fayard Nicholas, Vivian Dandridge, Florence O'Brien, Ada Brown, Emmett "Babe" Wallace, and vaudevillian comedic duo F. E. Miller and Johnny Lee. Thomas "Fats" Waller and Cab Calloway, alongside his Cotton Club Orchestra, performed a few songs as themselves. In addition, Katherine Dunham and her dance troupe executed a dream ballet to the title song.

A number of popular songwriters contributed to the film's score, including Nat "King" Cole, Dorothy Fields, Harold Arlen, Jimmy McHugh, Johnny Lange, Benny Carter, Irving Mills, Andy Razaf, Leon René, and stars Robinson, Waller, and Calloway. Indeed, in less than 80 minutes, there are more than 20 songs, including "That Ain't Right," "I Can't Give You Anything but Love," "Camptown Races," "Over There," "The Jumpin' Jive," "Rang Tang Tang," "I Lost My Sugar in Salt Lake City," "There's No Two Ways

About Love," "Geechy Joe," "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," and "Ain't Misbehavin'."

Premiere and Reception

Recognizing the film's appeal to African American audiences, 20th Century Fox dually premiered it at the Roxy Theatre in midtown Manhattan and at the RKO Alhambra Theatre in Harlem on November 17, 1943. Most of those who bought tickets for the film's theatrical release were African American. The film received positive notices, even though many reviewers noted the banality of the plot. In general, the performers all were lauded; the Nicholas Brothers' acrobatic dancing in "Jumpin' Jive" and Horne's sophisticated delivery of the title number were extolled especially.

Stormy Weather was not the only all-black movie musical to be released that year. Several months prior, the film adaptation of Broadway's *Cabin in the Sky*, which also starred Lena Horne and featured songs by Harold Arlen, premiered on April 9, 1943. Unlike *Cabin in the Sky*, which depicts elements of everyday life for black Americans, *Stormy Weather* presents an idealistic, if not entirely implausible, image of African American success in Hollywood.

Behind the scenes, the film's stars still struggled with the entertainment industry's glass ceiling: The Nicholas Brothers reported being relegated to segregated accommodations at the studio's commissary; in the cakewalk number, chorines wore costumes adorned with Sambo heads; more than half of Fox's theaters refused to show the film; and in spite of having two hit films that year, Horne would not be offered another leading role until the 1969 western *Death of a Gunfighter*.

Although *Stormy Weather* won no major awards, its cultural significance has been recognized many times. The movie has been featured in a number of documentaries that salute Hollywood's Golden Age, including *That's Entertainment! III*, *It's Black Entertainment*, *Hollywood Rocks the Movies: The Early Years*, and *AFI's 100 Years . . . 100 Songs: America's Greatest Music in the Movies*.

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See Also: Cotton Club; Dance and Ethnic Diversity; Hollywood Film Music and Ethnic Diversity; Jazz

and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Streetcar Named Desire, A

A Streetcar Named Desire, Tennessee Williams's 1947 play, is considered to be the quintessential Southern gothic opus and has won numerous awards, been produced on Broadway six times, and been adapted into a motion picture, two telefilms, a ballet, and an opera. *A Streetcar Named Desire* depicts the tensions that exist in American culture: the decline of the aristocracy versus the rising proletariat; decorum as opposed to carnality; melodrama compared with naturalism; urban against rural; and delusion contrasted with reality. Although many in the audience found the grittiness of the play shocking, *A Streetcar Named Desire* received universal adulation when it opened.

The Development

Set in the French Quarter of New Orleans in 1952, *A Streetcar Named Desire* chronicles the life of Blanche Du Bois, a fading Southern belle from Mississippi who affects a chaste façade to mask her disillusionment and alcoholism. Blanche's open-ended visit disrupts the home of her pregnant sister, Stella, and her brutish husband, Stanley, a working-class man of Polish descent. Blanche and Stanley engage in a power struggle that results in a fistfight, a rape, accusations of homosexuality, and a mental breakdown. At the end of the play, Blanche is institutionalized, and uncertainty exists in the relationship between Stanley and Stella.

While he was writing the play, Williams had actress Tallulah Bankhead in mind for the role of Blanche. (Bankhead eventually played the role in a production at New York City Center in 1956.) Some literary scholars have theorized that Blanche was inspired by Williams's older sister, Rose, whose issues with schizophrenia led to her being lobotomized. His dysfunctional childhood in Mississippi and Missouri, as well as his alcoholic, emotionally abusive father, the ill-fated same-sex relationships of his youth, and coworkers from his time employed in a factory in the 1930s all animated his construction of the world of *A Streetcar Named Desire*.

Blanche and Stanley: A Changing America

Socioeconomic and ethnic stratification, and the clashes between characters that they created, were woven into the very fabric of the play. Stanley's working-class roots and ethnic dissimilarity to other characters had its basis in reality, as the character was inspired by Pancho Rodríguez Gonzalez, a Mexican laborer-cum-boxer with whom Williams had been involved romantically. Many theorists have postulated that Blanche was a stand-in for Williams; the interracial tensions between him and Rodríguez Gonzalez paralleled those in the relationship between Blanche and Stanley.

Polish American Stanley represents America's shift toward the heterogeneous; he seeks to obliterate the exclusive, traditional society that Blanche represents. He is pragmatic and earthbound, while Blanche is self-deluding and fragile. Further, Stanley is given few redeeming qualities, as he grows increasingly resentful, lacking in contrition after he assaults Blanche. Class conflict is realized fully onstage in the climax, when Stanley brutally rapes Blanche, signaling the dramatic social shift occurring in postwar America. In referring to Stanley as an ape and a Polack, Blanche means to dismiss and dehumanize everyone in his social class and ethnic group. Harold "Mitch" Mitchell, Stanley's best friend, shares his working-class background but not his ethnicity; accordingly, he is depicted as less boorish, belligerent, and brutish. And with its mélange of ethnic groups, New Orleans was the perfect setting for this battle of old versus new America.

The Original Production

The original production of *A Streetcar Named Desire* opened on Broadway on December 3, 1947, at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre, where it played 855 performances over the course of two years. Jessica Tandy, Marlon Brando, Kim Hunter, and Karl Malden were cast in the leading roles, and Elia Kazan directed the production. The play's success led to a film version in 1951. Williams cowrote the screenplay with Oscar Saul; in order to appease the National Legion of Decency, some of the more controversial themes, especially related to homosexuality and rape, were softened for the motion picture. An instant classic, the film went on to win four Academy Awards.

Perhaps reflecting mainstream society's thinking about ethnic minorities at the time, critics reviewing both the original Broadway production and the 1951 film found Stanley to be a wholly unsympathetic, yet profoundly accurate, rendering of a working-class minority. Many reviewers were resolute in associating Stanley's personal viciousness with his ethnic background; he was compared consistently to wild animals and was labeled with primitive descriptors.

Subsequent Incarnations

The play was revived on Broadway in 1973, 1988, 1992, 2005, and 2012. The 2012 Broadway revival featured actors of color in the leading roles, including Blair Underwood, Nicole Ari Parker, Daphne Rubin-Vega, and Carmen De Lavallade. *A Streetcar Named Desire* has been filmed for television twice, in 1984 and 1995. An operatic adaptation, with a score composed by Andre Previn and a libretto by Philip Littrell, was completed in 1995. It received its premiere production at the San Francisco Opera in 1998, with Renee Fleming and Rod Gilfry in the leading roles. The opera received strong reviews, was filmed for DVD release, and later spawned productions in New Orleans, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., San Diego, London, Dublin, Turin, and Tokyo. John Neumeier's balletic adaptation of the play was first produced in 1995; American ballerina Bridget Breiner won raves dancing the role of Blanche Du Bois.

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See Also: Opera and Ethnic Diversity; Polish Americans; Stereotypes/Generalizations; Theatre and Ethnic Diversity; White Ethnics.

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Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

The founding seeds for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) were planted during the 1950s following a groundswell of black political activism. Led by the efforts of Ella Baker, SNCC formally emerged in 1960 to fight for black civil rights and primarily employed nonviolent methods. As the organization matured and changes within the national landscape seemed slow in eradicating racism, non-violent tactics became less attractive and a growing militant rhetoric developed. SNCC reached its height during the 1960s, and the organization ended in the 1970s because of divisiveness and government infiltration.

Establishing SNCC

The impetus for the organizational development of SNCC grew after Izell Blair, Franklin McCain, Joseph McNeil, and David Richmond, all North Carolina A&T College students, challenged Jim Crow laws in a local F. W. Woolworth store in February 1960. The four young men sat down at the lunch counter reserved for whites and waited for service. After being refused, the students remained seated until the store closed. They repeated their demonstration in the following days, which attracted local reporters. As news spread about their defiance, students on campuses

throughout North Carolina organized similar sit-ins, with some demonstrations leading to student arrests. Protests soon developed in Virginia and quickly spread to other southern states such as Alabama, Kentucky, Maryland, and Tennessee.

Noting the efforts of these young activists, Ella Baker gained approval from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to sponsor a meeting of the protest leaders. This meeting was convened in April 1960 at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. More than 200 students attended and expressed their impatience with the leading civil rights groups for an overreliance on challenging legal statutes to effect change. The students desired to use civil disobedience, and they refused to accept token gains. The meeting resulted in a Temporary Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee with a separate structure from the SCLC.

In October 1960, the students declared SNCC a permanent organization and voiced nonviolent methods as their primary tactic. With its formation, SNCC brought a new dynamic to the civil rights movement that established a new phase of activism. Instead of relying on the traditional modes espoused by the major civil rights organizations at the time, SNCC employed a distributive leadership model that helped galvanize southern blacks in their own efforts at political activism.

Development of SNCC

SNCC's development has been traced traditionally within three phases. During the first phase, the goals of SNCC were identified in a string of activities that sought to disassemble the legalized racism that thwarted the advancement of blacks. SNCC adopted and operated under Gandhian and American Christian Ideals, and its initial direct action campaigns targeted disenfranchisement and desegregation. In attempting to dismantle discrimination and segregation in the Deep South, SNCC embarked on Freedom Rides and voter registration. Both of these attempts resulted in violent white backlash. At the March on Washington, John Lewis, the SNCC chairman at the time, delivered a collective SNCC statement—which he was forced to edit in order to partake in the program—about the lack of progress in race relations. In 1964, SNCC began larger and notable black voter registration campaigns in

Mississippi. Many whites aided in these efforts, but their involvement was continually questioned and eventually led to internal struggles about the role of whites within the organization.

During the second phase, a sense of urgency and crisis swept through SNCC. This was initiated by growing frustrations with the federal government's lack of protection of civil rights activists and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's defeat at the 1964 Democratic National Convention. Also crucial were the assassination of Malcolm X and the Watts Rebellion in 1965. Responding to these developments, SNCC staff reassessed their strategies and potential effectiveness at creating the desired social changes. Members also reflected on the utility of a multiracial coalition, nonviolent direct action, and reliance on white liberal support and federal interventions. In addition, SNCC condemned the Vietnam War and pledged support to colonial struggles throughout the world in fighting against racism and economic exploitation.

In the third phase, with Stokely Carmichael as chairman, SNCC promoted black power as its new ideological focus. The organization concerned itself with empowering blacks, sought to raise black consciousness, and separated itself from whites. SNCC's internal strife divided the group, and it was unable to sustain earlier progress. Additionally, the organization lost support from mainstream civil rights organizations and white financial backers who rebuked its adoption of black power. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, SNCC was infiltrated and harassed by the U.S. government and, with the continued divisions and extreme measures being levied, the organization collapsed.

Legacy

SNCC emerged during a period of extensive student protest activity and initially attracted southern black college students. Later, SNCC became a community of diverse activists that crossed racial, regional, and educational lines seeking to improve the plight of blacks, especially those who lived in the Jim Crow South. In addition to those mentioned, other prominent members included Marion Barry, Julian Bond, Charlie Cobb, James Foreman, Fannie Lou Hamer, James Lawson, Charles McLaurin, Bob Moses, and Diane Nash. These individuals, along with a host of others, led

a direct attack on racism in the United States in which they mobilized black communities, revived racial consciousness, and helped spawn radical ideas of equality and leadership that ultimately transformed American society.

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See Also: African Americans; Desegregation/Integration; Equity and Equality; Freedom Riders; Freedom Schools; Jim Crow Laws; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Segregation.

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Supreme Court, U.S.

The United States' highest judicial body, the U.S. Supreme Court was established by the U.S. Constitution and came into being pursuant to the Judiciary Act of 1789. Comprising a chief justice and eight associate justices, the Supreme Court is the final arbiter of federal court cases and state court cases that involve federal law. Pursuant to Article III of the U.S. Constitution, justices of the Supreme Court are nominated by the president and confirmed by the U.S. Senate for life terms, serving until they choose to resign or retire or until they are impeached. As a result of their life tenure, Supreme Court justices have historically been viewed as willing and able to take up difficult issues, including many of those that address multicultural citizens and issues, which the executive and legislative branches of government are hesitant to address. During the civil rights movement,

the push for gender equity, debates involving the rights of ethnic minorities, and many other times, the Supreme Court became involved in decisions that greatly affected policies and procedures affecting multicultural America. Although the court receives about 10,000 writs of certiorari each year, it generally grants only 75 to 80 of these, requiring the submission of appellate briefs and oral arguments regarding the merits of the case.

Background

Established by the Judiciary Act of 1789, the Supreme Court first heard cases in the Merchants Exchange Building in New York City, where the federal government was situated at the time. When the U.S. Capitol was moved to Philadelphia in 1790, the Supreme Court moved there as well. Until the establishment of Washington, D.C., as the nation's capital in 1800, the Supreme Court heard cases in Independence Hall and other Philadelphia locations. After 1800, the Supreme Court relocated with the rest of the federal government to the new capital city, taking up its home in a variety of spaces located within the Capitol Building, where it remained for over a century. Initially situated in what is now known as the Old Supreme Court Chamber, after 1860 the court moved to what is now known as the Old Senate Chamber, which was larger and more conveniently located.

Through the work of Chief Justice William Howard Taft, sentiment began to build for the Supreme Court to have its own building, one that was separate from the Capitol. This desire for a new building was in part caused by a need to recognize the court's independence as well as a desire for more space. Taft was successful in persuading Congress to approve a new building for the court in 1929.

The Supreme Court's Influence

Although John Marshall was also considered a founding father, his background in the Virginia House of Delegates provided him with a uniquely different perspective from his predecessors as the Supreme Court's chief justice. Appointed to the Supreme Court in the waning days of John Adams's presidency, Marshall was confirmed by the Senate on January 27, 1801, and received his commission one week later.

Marshall greatly expanded the power of the judiciary with a handful of influential cases, such as *Marbury v. Madison*, 5 U.S. 137 (1803). *Marbury v. Madison* established the principle of judicial review in the United States, namely holding that the Supreme Court could overturn a law passed by the Congress as unconstitutional. In *Marbury* and other related decisions, Marshall and his colleagues established the Supreme Court as the ultimate arbiter of whether a governmental act or a law was constitutional or not. Marshall also changed the method in which the Supreme Court delivers opinions, establishing the practice of delivering a single opinion, thus enabling the court to present unambiguous rulings that could be used as precedent by lower courts. The Marshall court's decisions concerning the constitutionality of both federal and state laws and actions were important to all who formulated laws, devised policy, or tried cases. The single opinions of the majority of the justices provided direction to those working on such matters, and the market for published opinions grew rapidly. At the time of his death in 1835, Marshall had served as chief justice for 34 years and had irreversibly changed the Supreme Court.

The U.S. Supreme Court frequently plays a significant role in making decisions that affect multicultural groups. Many Supreme Court decisions have had an immense impact upon pressing matters of the day, as evidenced by such cases as *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (the 1857 decision that held that people of African descent were not protected by the U.S. Constitution and could never be citizens), *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (the 1954 decision that held that segregated schools violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment), and *Miranda v. Arizona* (the 1966 decision that held that a defendant's statements made in response to police interrogation were admissible at trial only if the defendant was informed of the right to counsel prior to questioning and then waived that right). Supreme Court justices were aided in writing their increasingly important opinions through the assistance of law clerks who served at their pleasure.

Shaping Multicultural America

Throughout American history, the U.S. Supreme Court has helped shape and guide how those from

multicultural backgrounds are treated. There have been times when the rights of multicultural groups have been constrained as a result of the Supreme Court's rulings. Because of the lifetime tenure enjoyed by Supreme Court justices, however, the rulings in cases involving civil rights have often taken the lead in an expansion of those rights for African Americans, Asians, Latinos, and other non-Caucasians. During the era when treatment of multicultural groups varied greatly based upon the specific region of the nation in which one was located, the national nature of the Supreme Court permitted decisions that would have proven impossible to obtain in certain areas.

For over 150 years, the Supreme Court was comprised exclusively of Caucasian males. Although some consideration was paid to diversity among the justices, this was solely focused upon geographic diversity. In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson nominated Louis Brandeis to serve as an associate justice on the court. Brandeis, who was Jewish, was the first Supreme Court justice who was not a Christian. Partly because of this, and partly because he was an ardent advocate for social justice, Brandeis's nomination was hotly contested. The U.S. Senate ultimately confirmed Brandeis by a vote of 47 to 22, but throughout his tenure on the Supreme Court, he was criticized by some for his "radicalism." Brandeis was joined on the court by a second Jewish justice, Benjamin Cardozo, in 1932. Because Cardozo was succeeded by fellow Jews Felix Frankfurter (1939), Arthur Goldberg (1962), and Abe Fortas (1965), this seat was sometimes referred to as the "Jewish seat" on the court. Other Jewish justices have included Ruth Bader Ginsburg (1993), Stephen Breyer (1994), and Elena Kagan (2010).

The first non-Caucasian justice was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1967, when President Lyndon B. Johnson nominated prominent civil rights attorney, U.S. Court of Appeals judge, and U.S. solicitor general Thurgood Marshall to serve as an associate justice. Serving through 1991, Marshall was known for his support of the civil rights of multicultural individuals and groups. In 1991, Marshall was succeeded on the court by fellow African American Clarence Thomas, whose conservative voting record has proven to be the opposite of Marshall's. President Ronald Reagan appointed Sandra Day O'Connor as the first

woman to serve on the court in 1981. O'Connor was an associate justice until 2006, often serving as a swing vote in closely contested cases involving the rights of multicultural groups and criminal defendants. Ginsburg, Kagan, and Sonia Sotomayor were other female justices later appointed to the court. Sotomayor, who was named to the court in 2009 by President Barack Obama, is the first Latina to have served as an associate justice. The varied perspectives these individuals have brought to the bench have not been consistent, but as the members of the court more accurately represent the American population, perceptions of equity have improved.

Decisions Affecting Multicultural Interests

A number of Supreme Court cases address a variety of issues facing those living in communities containing multiple cultures, including issues related to gender, ethnicity, race, language, and other matters. Over the past half century, the U.S. population has become increasingly diverse. This diversity, combined with a growing awareness of their rights by members of traditionally underrepresented and oppressed groups, as well as a willingness to pursue those rights in a judicial setting, has caused the number of Supreme Court cases addressing multicultural issues to have grown considerably. Indeed, because of the lifetime tenure of the justices, during the civil rights movement, the Supreme Court often was able to take a lead role in effecting change that the legislative or executive branches of the federal government were unable or unwilling to undertake. The Supreme Court has also had to address a series of its own decisions that limited the rights of many Americans because of their race, ethnicity, or gender.

Many of the protections granted Americans of multicultural backgrounds stem from a series of constitutional amendments passed to remedy past decisions of the Supreme Court. In *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1857), the Supreme Court examined the status of individuals of African descent who had been brought to the United States as slaves. In its holding in this case, the Supreme Court determined that those brought to the United States as slaves, and their descendants, were not citizens, and thus were not protected by the U.S. Constitution. After the conclusion of the American Civil War, the U.S. Congress proposed,

and the states ratified, a series of constitutional amendments to address the problems presented by the *Dred Scott* decision.

The Thirteenth Amendment, which was proposed and ratified in 1865, abolished slavery and involuntary servitude. The Fourteenth Amendment, proposed in 1866 and ratified in 1868, contained a citizenship clause that overturned the *Dred Scott* decision, extending citizenship to all born in the United States, and also included equal protection and due process clauses that required all states to provide equal protection under law to all citizens and defined safeguards necessary to protect these rights. The Fifteenth Amendment, proposed in 1869 and ratified in 1870, prohibited any governmental entity from denying citizens the right to vote based upon their race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Although these constitutional amendments in theory extended equal rights to all citizens, including African Americans, in practice this was not the case, with the situation being especially difficult in the former slave states. In time, however, these three constitutional amendments served as the foundation for many of the proactive steps the Supreme Court took to protect the rights of multicultural Americans.

During the course of World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an executive order that resulted in the internment of over 110,000 Japanese Americans. Roosevelt's executive order permitted local military commanders to exclude any or all persons from certain military areas, known as "exclusion zones," on the grounds that this was necessary for national security. Although facially neutral with regard to race, in practice the executive order was used almost exclusively against those Americans of Japanese heritage. The Supreme Court heard a challenge to the constitutionality of this program in *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944). *Korematsu* examined discrimination against Japanese Americans as a result of actions taken pursuant to Roosevelt's executive order.

Views of Discriminatory Practices

Fred Korematsu was born in the United States and was raised near San Francisco. He was of Japanese heritage but was also an American citizen. When the Japanese internment began in May 1942, Korematsu was employed and was involved in a

relationship with a girl of non-Japanese descent. As a result, Korematsu decided against turning himself in to the detention camps and instead opted to hide his Japanese ancestry. He relocated to a town close by, where he changed his name to conceal his heritage. Korematsu claimed he was of Mexican American descent and had facial surgery to change his appearance. Despite these actions, Korematsu eventually was apprehended and received a sentence of five years, immediately beginning his internment in Utah. In deciding his case, the Supreme Court did not consider the constitutionality of internment camps but ruled on whether or not Korematsu complied with the law. A majority of six justices opted to support the government's ability to protect national security during a time of a war. The three justices in dissent, however, asserted that internment camps were unconstitutional and that, as a result, the steps taken to enforce policies regarding these camps were ineffective and cumbersome.

Views regarding discriminatory practices changed rapidly after the conclusion of World War II. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court decided the case of *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948), which is regarded as one of the restrictive covenant cases, a group of four that were heard simultaneously. *Shelley v. Kraemer* was a landmark decision insofar that it was the first indication that the Supreme Court would not countenance the racial segregation that existed in many towns across the United States. The discrimination examined in *Shelley v. Kraemer* was not the result of statutes but rather private covenants entered into between the buyers and sellers of real property. Landowners in *Shelley* had been requiring potential homeowners to enter into agreements that required them not to sell their property to those of certain racial or religious groups in an attempt to sidestep municipal zoning laws that banned racial segregation.

In a unanimous 6 to 0 opinion, the Supreme Court stated that although purchase agreements between the seller and buyer are a private matter, and therefore could not be regulated by the Constitution, enforcement of the covenants by the judicial system was a different matter. If the courts were to enforce racially restrictive covenants, this would violate the civil rights of those citizens who were members of racial and religious

minority groups. Specifically, enforcing racially restrictive covenants would deny minority groups their equal protection rights, since enforcing such agreements would serve to exclude such individuals from living in certain communities. As a result, the Supreme Court held that courts may not enforce restrictive covenants if doing so would violate the civil rights of one of the parties.

Whereas the *Shelley* case addressed discrimination that occurred as the result of private action, the Supreme Court next examined the types of segregation that were the result of government action. By the 1950s, it was long established that transportation, schools, hospitals, and other public accommodations could be segregated. Indeed, such segregation had been authorized by prior Supreme Court decisions. In *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), the court held that state laws requiring separate accommodations for African Americans and Caucasians on trains, which resulted in blacks and whites sitting in different railroad cars, were constitutional. Specifically, the court ruled that so long as a law demanded separate but equal accommodations, the law was not treating African Americans as inferior. This reasoning was supported by a demonstration by the railroad that the cars required for each group were identical. More than a decade later, in *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U.S. 45 (1908), the Supreme Court upheld a statute that barred a private institution from teaching black and white students in an integrated setting.

However, in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), the Supreme Court decided that separate facilities for members of a certain racial group were inherently unequal and overruled its prior decisions in *Plessy* and *Berea College*. Although some disputes regarding implementation of the *Brown* decision would continue to exist, from this point forward the court supported integration and desegregation.

Defining Civil Liberties

The Supreme Court's role in expanding definitions of civil liberties that benefited minorities, women, and others continued in other cases. In *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965), the Supreme Court examined a Connecticut statute dating from 1879 that made it a criminal act to use any means of contraception. Although the statute had been

challenged twice before, it had never been overruled. By a 7 to 2 majority, the court overturned the statute as infringing upon fundamental personal freedoms, in this case the right of privacy. The court also explored the right to marital privacy in *Loving v. Virginia*, 388 U.S. 1 (1967), which examined a situation in which Loving, a white man, married a black woman in Virginia, in violation of that state's antimiscegenation law, which made interracial marriage illegal. In a unanimous decision, the court held that the freedom to marry was held by the individual and could not be infringed upon by the state. These cases furthered a string of decisions that supported the rights of individuals over those of the majority to impose moral or behavioral standards on others.

Not all cases decided by the Supreme Court buttressed the civil rights of children of all ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds to receive an equal education in the public schools. In *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, 411 U.S. 1 (1974), for example, the Supreme Court examined a challenge to the way in which Texas state law appropriated tax funds to school districts. Texas law mandated that property taxes generated within a certain independent school district were to be used to fund the independent public schools within that district. As there existed a wide range of wealth among the hundreds of independent school districts, the Texas law left some schools with a high level of funding per pupil, while others received a much lower level. The Texas Supreme Court had examined the issue and found that this financing system violated the U.S. Constitution insofar as it did not provide poorer students equal protection under law.

When the U.S. Supreme Court heard an appeal of this decision, however, it reversed the Texas Supreme Court's ruling. In a majority opinion agreed to by five justices, the court ruled that education was not a fundamental right, nor one guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. As a result, the quality of a child's education cannot be constitutionally guaranteed. So long as Texas provided a free education meeting minimum standards to the children of the state, which it did, the court would not second-guess the decisions of the Texas legislature.

Other decisions by the Supreme Court supported the rights of multicultural students. In

Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), the court examined Texas's right to deny state funding for the children of undocumented immigrants and a policy that planned to charge these children's parents \$1,000 for each child enrolled in the public schools. In overturning the state statute, the Supreme Court cited the grave harm that could occur should immigrant children become part of a "subclass of illiterates" who are denied the education that is provided to all other students. Dismissing the state's assertion that excluding immigrant children from schools would reduce taxes, the court stated that any such savings would likely be consumed in additional expenditures in the future for unemployment, welfare, and crime.

Other Issues

Other issues, such as affirmative action, have continued to bedevil the court. In *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978), the Supreme Court held that although affirmative action programs are a constitutional means by which an organization may pursue diversity, a strict quota system violates the concept of equal protection and cannot be allowed. Two 2003 cases, *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 244, and *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306, affirmed the *Bakke* decision.

Specifically, the *Gratz* and *Grutter* decisions held that although a ranking system that gives automatic points to minority candidates is unconstitutional, admissions policies that give members of certain ethnic groups special consideration in order to ensure a diverse student body are acceptable. Affirmative action policies continue to arouse great passions and engender debate regarding their merits.

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See Also: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity; Bill of Rights; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Civil Rights Movement; Constitution, U.S.

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Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971)

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971) is considered a landmark school desegregation case in which the Supreme Court ruled constitutional the use of busing to dismantle vestiges of segregation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, a southern urban school district. The district formed in 1960 when the Charlotte City Public Schools and the Mecklenburg County Public Schools were consolidated, forming one of the largest school districts in the United States. *Swann's* development and its ultimate implementation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg were informed by the continued legal battles following *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the governing politics of the city of Charlotte, and the reactions of black and white citizens to school desegregation.

Swann was part of a series of court cases that called for full implementation of school desegregation. In 1954, the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* overturned the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) precedent of “separate but equal” and declared unconstitutional segregated schooling. Yet in *Brown v. Board of Education II* (1955), the Supreme Court declared that southern school districts could move “with all deliberate speed” in determining how and when schools were to desegregate. As southern school districts in large part evaded school desegregation and protesters engaged in massive resistance, the legal team of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) continued to challenge school segregation in the courts. Aiding the

NAACP efforts was increased federal pressure with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. School districts’ failure to comply with Title VI would result in loss of federal funding. In 1968, in *Green v. County School Board*, the Supreme Court ruled that school boards had to desegregate schools above and beyond such plans as freedom of choice, which put the onus of school desegregation on African Americans and did not result in significant dismantling of separate schools. Ultimately, federal district court judge James McMillan’s interpretation of *Green* was central to his decision in *Swann* and that of the Supreme Court in upholding it.

City Control Over Economics

Following *Brown*, Charlotte city leaders sought to maintain the city’s economic viability and to limit the ways in which the federal government interfered with the local desegregation policies. Yet the NAACP in 1955 and 1956 called for immediate desegregation of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County schools, although some African Americans questioned desegregation out of fear of the harmful effects on their children. In 1957, with consideration of city politics and economic viability as well as the threat of litigation from the NAACP, school board leaders in Charlotte, North Carolina, decided to accept the transfer requests of four black students. In comparison with other locales, the entrance of black students to white schools in Charlotte went smoothly. However, Dorothy Counts, the daughter of Herman Counts, a professor at Charlotte’s Johnson C. Smith University, was taunted, spat upon, and harassed at Harding High School. Within two weeks, she left for an integrated school in Philadelphia. The other three students who desegregated Charlotte public schools faced less harassment because their principals intervened.

Challenging School Desegregation

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, African Americans continued to challenge the implementation of school desegregation. For example, in 1959, African American parents filed a case about the denial by the Mecklenburg County School Board of eight African American students’ transfer requests to a white elementary school. The parents lost the case because it was ruled that proximity to a particular school was not reason enough to

have a child attend the school. Therefore, token school desegregation continued, and the number of black students attending formerly all-white schools in Charlotte remained low, even with the formation of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school district. Additionally, black schools were overcrowded and under-resourced. Because of these low numbers, residential segregation, and the use of school assignment based on race, 10 African American parents, including Darius and Vera Swann, who were organized by African American attorney Julius Chambers filed suit in January 1965. Interestingly, the Swanns, who were missionaries and civil rights activists, left Charlotte in 1967 and never returned, but their last name remained as the lead plaintiff on the case.

Initially, federal district judge Braxton Craven ruled against the plaintiffs, who called for a more widespread school assignment plan based on geography, and the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school board proceeded to implement its desegregation plan, based on limited geographical assignment that had been approved by the Office of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Over the few next years, Charlotte moved to eliminate school assignments based on race. Black schools were closed, and the city spent \$10 million on new schools. In 1968, the percentage of black students attending majority-white schools had increased from 3 percent in 1964 to 28 percent. Yet with HEW calling for actual measurements of desegregation and the ruling in *Green*, Chambers and the *Swann* plaintiffs pursued further litigation.

In 1969, Judge McMillan, relying on his interpretation of *Green* and achievement test data of white and black students, ruled that the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school board needed to adopt a complete desegregation plan to account for residential desegregation, to which it had contributed with segregated schooling and the continued identification of schools by race following *Brown*. The school board, believing that it had sufficiently desegregated schools, being aware of Charlotte's reputation for positively handling racial issues, and knowing that white parents—while comfortable with limited desegregation—would not be so with widespread desegregation, appealed McMillan's decision. In 1971, the Supreme Court upheld McMillan's verdict and the plan to use busing as a means to desegregate an urban school district.

Although other southern locales would immediately adopt new desegregation plans, it would be four years before McMillan's plan took effect in Charlotte and control of the schools was returned to the school board.

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See Also: African Americans; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); School Desegregation; School Segregation.

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Sweat Lodge

A sweat lodge is a structure and the ceremonies associated with that structure, in which steam is produced for the purpose of creating a hot, moist environment in which participants congregate to sweat. Structures such as this include the sauna of Scandinavian and eastern European cultures, but the term is more familiarly used to refer to the structures of Native Americans and Canadian First Nations. The *temazcal* is a similar structure used in Mexico and Central America. Sweat lodges, saunas, and similar structures, when used for ceremonial purposes, are examples of ritual purification, a practice found in many cultures and religions that predates the modern germ theory of disease. Ritual purification practices include the baptism ceremonies of Christianity and the use of holy water for purification; *misogi*, the ritual bathing of Shinto; the many ritual washing practices of Judaism; the washing before prayer mandated by Islam; and the

bathing in the Ganges River in Hinduism. Although not all forms of ritual purification involve a source of water, it is notable that many do.

Across cultures, the specific form of the sweat lodge varies from a permanent standing structure to a temporary or mobile structure to a hole dug in the ground and covered in planks. Steam is usually produced much as in a sauna: by heating stones and pouring water over them to create steam. The use of the sauna by Finnish immigrants in the American colonies has been credited as the catalyst for the friendship between Finns and the local Native Americans. Although not all Native American cultures use sweat lodges, they are found throughout the United States and are not limited to one region, religious group, or language group.

Among Native Americans, the sweat lodge may be a ceremony unto itself or it may be conducted as part of a larger ceremony. It may be reserved for special purposes or it may be used as a healing remedy; early European reports commented on the frequency with which some tribes used the sweat lodge for most physical ailments. The sweat lodge is usually attended in simple clothing, and offerings of special or sacred plants are typically made. Because of the danger of participants passing out from the heat and from dehydration, a helper usually remains outside the lodge, monitoring the proceedings. In some cases, the helper is also the fire keeper, though this is usually an inside participant. Risks of the sweat lodge include not only heat exhaustion and dehydration but also smoke inhalation or suffocation in cases where the fire is kept inside or upwind from the lodge. Using the wrong kind of rocks can result in explosions, caused by expanding air pockets or moisture.

The hot-rock method described above is the most common sort of Native American sweat lodge and was the method used by central Plains tribes, as well as by tribes throughout the Southwest, the Great Basin, and the woodlands of the east. Structures could be either temporary or permanent; usually they were permanent, unless the culture was a nomadic tribe, in which case they were usually made from pliant tree branches driven into the ground and bent into a dome shape before being covered with skins. Rocks were heated in a fire outside the structure, carried into the structure on sticks or with other tools, and placed in a

depression dug in the ground. Within this broad description, specifics were usually of significant symbolic importance. For example, among the Lakota, the entrance to the sweat lodge faces east, the direction of the dawn, associated with wisdom and the source of life. The Kiowa build their sweat lodges with a specific number of reeds, 12, because of the ritual significance of the number in their belief system. Farther west, in California, the creation story of the Wintu tribe includes a sweat lodge built by the creator deity. Among the Ute, sweat lodges were used to prepare for the peyote ceremony.

In the cold regions of Alaska and the Pacific northwest, and also among the Pueblo Indians of the southwest, a direct-fire lodge is built instead of a hot-rock lodge. These lodges are larger than most hot-rock sweat lodges and may be used for purposes other than the sweat lodge, at which times the fire is kept lit but small, as a pilot light. When it is time for the sweat lodge ceremony, the fire is built up until the heat becomes almost unbearable. The dangers of the direct-fire lodge are considerably greater because of smoke inhalation—chimneys are rare in this sort of lodge, so a large percentage of the smoke remains in the lodge. It is common for participants to lie on the floor when smoke becomes unbearable, as the smoke rises and air at ground level is fresher. Among many tribes that use direct-fire sweat lodges, the sweat lodge is for men only (though this is true in some hot-rock tribes as well).

The Pueblos used their kivas for the sweat lodge ceremony. The Pueblo Indians lived in adobe cities in which many dwellings had been constructed, and the kivas were square-walled underground rooms used for a variety of ceremonies. The direct-fire method may have been easier to adapt to the kiva than the hot-rock method. Farther north, many of the Alaska Natives who used sweat lodges, including the Aleuts, were actually introduced to the practice by Russian traders. Some Eskimo tribes observed a sweat lodge ceremony during an autumn festival during which, for a month, the men lived apart from the women, in preparation for the winter hunts.

The men built a fire in the evening, sweating and washing themselves with their own urine, which was saved during the week for this purpose (the urine, mixed with oils on the skin, formed



This framework of a sweat lodge is located at the Daybreak Star Cultural Center in Seattle, Washington. Sweat lodges consist of a ceremonial or ritual event, particularly among Native American cultures. Stones are typically heated and then water poured over them to create steam, accompanied by ritual actions such as traditional prayers and songs.

a natural soap). When the heat became unbearable, they went outside naked and rolled in the snow. Many of these Eskimos wore respirator masks to protect them from the smoke, fashioned from spruce shavings compressed into a pad that covered the mouth and filtered out some of the smoke. The *temezcal* in Mexico and Central America is also a direct-fire sweat lodge and is used by some California tribes.

In many areas, the sweat lodge was abandoned as Native American culture was disrupted by incursions by white settlers and the resettlements that followed. In many cases, if a tribe was seen as a threat, sweat lodge ceremonies were outlawed or banned under some pretense of trying to civilize the tribe. It is in no small part for this reason that sweat lodge ceremonies have experienced a revival among some Native American communities, in which they are emblematic of Indian identity. The National Indian Unity organization, a pan-Indian group, uses sweat lodges at its annual conference.

James Arthur Ray

New Age author James Arthur Ray was convicted of three counts of negligent homicide after three people died and 21 were injured following his leading them in a sweat lodge ceremony on October 8, 2009, in Sedona, Arizona. Attendees fasted for 36 hours in preparation for the sweat lodge, for which they paid \$10,000 each plus travel expenses, and \$250 for those who wanted a Peruvian poncho. The sweat lodge had been constructed without a permit. Ray did serious damage to his reputation when, in the aftermath of the incident, he held a conference call with some of the survivors in which a spiritual channeler claimed to be in contact with the deceased who, the survivors were assured, were enjoying their afterlife.

In addition to Ray's arrest and a lawsuit against him by the victims, he faced a lawsuit by the Lakota Nation, which also named the United States and the state of Arizona as defendants,

demanding Ray's punishment under the terms of the Sioux Treaty of 1868. The point made by the lawsuit was that the sweat lodge is a part of Native American culture, not an element to be adopted by others as they wished.

To charge money for a sweat lodge ceremony is extremely inappropriate in Lakota culture. Serving as a sweat lodge leader requires eight years of apprenticeship. The lawsuit did not seek monetary damages but rather an acknowledgment of the nature and extent of Ray's wrongdoing. In 2011, Ray was sentenced to two years in prison for three counts of negligent homicide and settled his civil suits for a total of \$3 million.

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See Also: Hopi; Native American Church; Native Americans; Pueblo.

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Sweatt v. Painter (1950)

In 1950, the U.S. Supreme Court heard two desegregation cases that challenged the long-held principle of "separate but equal" established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Thurgood Marshall and W. J. Durham, lawyers for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) Legal Defense and Educational Fund, used the Texas case *Sweatt v. Painter*, and its partner, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950), to establish a foundation that would help them, four

years later, to overturn *Plessy* through *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954).

Marshall and Durham developed a strategy that fell into line with Charles Hamilton Houston and the NAACP's larger plan of dismantling "separate but equal" and eventually building precedent to challenge and overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In the interwar years, Houston, the NAACP's litigation director, had turned Howard University's law school into a training center for African American lawyers to be the front line in the fight for civil rights. Marshall and Durham's argument in *Sweatt*, therefore, focused on the inherent inability of communities and states to provide equal accommodations for African Americans at professional and graduate schools at state universities.

Background of the Case

No law school in the state of Texas admitted African American students, and in 1946, Herman Sweatt applied to the School of Law at the University of Texas. A letter carrier in Texas, Sweatt was frustrated because his employer continued to pass over him for promotion to a clerical position, a job that was more lucrative and less physically taxing. Sweatt believed he would be better able to help himself and others like him with a law degree. He sought help from the NAACP in the hope that the association would select and help fund his case.

Though Sweatt had graduated from an unaccredited college, Marshall felt that the University of Texas had denied Sweatt admission not because of the quality of his education and preparedness for law school but instead solely on the basis of race. The School of Law refused Sweatt admission, stating in its rejection letter that the Texas Constitution prohibited integrated education. Marshall and Durham filed suit in Texas on behalf of Sweatt, arguing that since the state had no law school for African Americans and made no financial arrangements for African Americans to attend a black law school out of state, the state had violated Sweatt's right to separate but equal accommodations.

Instead of issuing a writ of mandamus, commanding the university to admit Sweatt, the district court in Travis County continued the case for six months, allowing the state time to establish the Thurgood Marshall School of Law, a separate law school at the historically black Texas Southern University in Houston, Texas. After six months

the district court ruled against Sweatt, arguing that the new law school provided in-state legal education for African American students, as per the spirit of the separate but equal doctrine. Sweatt took his case to the Court of Civil Appeals and the Texas State Supreme Court, but both courts refused to overturn the lower court's decision.

Supreme Court Decision

Sweatt's lawyers then filed the case in federal court, and the case eventually was heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in April 1950 and argued within days of a similar segregation case out of Oklahoma. Marshall and Durham argued that the University of Texas violated both Sweatt's Fourteenth Amendment rights and the spirit of separate but equal. Marshall and Durham focused on two inequities, the physical and the psychological. They argued that by quickly constructing a law school 165 miles away from the School of Law at the University of Texas, the state had failed to provide what Marshall and Durham considered "substantive equality," the part of graduate and professional-level education that took place outside the classroom. Creation of this new law school, they argued, did not take into consideration the importance of intangibles, such as distinguished faculty, long-standing reputation, alumni support, and connections, when considering graduate education. In addition, the lawyers pointed out that the new law school lacked adequate facilities, such as a library with up-to-date books, a moot court, a law journal, and small class size, and therefore could not be considered equal to the law school on the Austin campus.

On June 5, 1950, the Supreme Court reversed the Texas court's decision, maintaining that the Houston school failed to provide quantitative and intangible equality to African American students seeking a law degree. Furthermore, the court established that the physical and intellectual isolation from their future peers permanently damaged African American students' chances obtain career opportunities similar to those of their white counterparts. Finally, the court held the intangible elements of graduate and professional school education to be essential and unable to be replicated in the newly built Houston school. Thus, separate but equal was impossible to achieve in graduate and professional schools.

The NAACP viewed its twin victories in *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* as foundational precedent to overturning *Plessy*, setting the stage for the broader desegregation of public kindergarten-through-twelfth-grade schools throughout the United States in 1954's *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950); National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

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Swedish Americans

Immigration from Sweden dates back to the early phases of European settlement in North America. A great power in the 1600s, Sweden also participated in the transatlantic expansion of the era. The colony of New Sweden at the mouth of the Delaware River survived only from 1638 to 1655, however, when it was taken over by the Dutch and subsequently the English. Although its small population of approximately 500 Swedes and Finns was soon assimilated and left only a few architectural and toponymical traces in the region, it

established a distinct American mythology in the public imagery of Sweden.

History

Mass migration from Sweden to North America did not start until the middle of the 19th century. The country's climatic conditions made it difficult to expand agricultural areas in accordance with the growing population, which rose from under 2.5 million in 1815 to over 4 million in 1865; in spite of massive emigration, another million people had been added by the end of the century. After modest beginnings in the preceding decades, the number of Swedish arrivals in the United States skyrocketed to over 20,000 in 1868 and even more the year thereafter. These figures were not reached again until the 1880s, when as many as 330,000 Swedes landed on American shores, peaking at 46,000 in 1887.

Since another approximately 200,000 each arrived during the final decade of the 19th century and the first of the 20th, the census of 1910 reported more Swedish-born Americans than any other ethnicity. The changes in American immigration policy in the 1920s, which ultimately limited the regular admission of Swedes to 3,314 per year, and the social and economic transformation of their home society marked the end of Swedish mass emigration.

Altogether, more than 1.2 million immigrants from Sweden were registered in the United States between 1820 and 1950. This put the sparsely populated nation on Europe's northern periphery eighth among all countries of origin during that period. The relatively low rate of return migration among Swedes as well as other Scandinavians further increased their impact on American society. Especially important for this impact was the regional concentration of the immigrants in select states. Even though Swedes were not as fully clustered as their Norwegian neighbors, they, too, settled predominantly in the upper midwest. In 1910, the number of foreign-born Swedish Americans amounted to 665,000, with another 699,000 belonging to the second generation. A majority of them had their residence in a belt stretching from western Illinois to the northern plains. In absolute numbers, Minnesota's 268,000 Swedes constituted the biggest contingent in 1910, followed by 230,000 in more populous Illinois; in relative

terms, Minnesota's almost 13 percent far outdistanced the 4.9 percent in Nebraska and Washington State. A substantial minority of Swedes had also been drawn to the industrializing cities of the eastern seaboard, with close to 90,000 of them having settled in New York State in 1910 and almost 70,000 in Massachusetts.

As the largest group of immigrants from Scandinavia, Swedes displayed considerable diversity in regional, social, and professional background. Since religious practice remained highly regulated in Sweden until the middle of the 19th century, early emigration contained a visible religious component. The utopian settlement of Bishop Hill in Illinois, founded by the spiritual rebel and prophet Erik Jansson in 1846, constituted its most sensational example. Designed as a new Jerusalem based on Christian communitarianism, the settlement attracted over 1,000 settlers, but it was marred by the assassination of its leader and economic setbacks and dissolved in 1861.

In the following decades, many arrivals belonged to marginal agricultural families in search of land. As late as 1870, over 70 percent of Sweden's labor force was employed in the primary sector, which was also reflected in the social composition of the emigrants. Vilhelm Moberg's novel *The Emigrants* (subsequently made into a film) has acquainted a wider audience with this phase of Swedish migration to the rural midwest. By the end of the 19th century, in turn, momentum had shifted toward younger individual migrants in search of work in a more urban and industrial America.

Networking Organizations

Wherever they lived in denser concentrations, Swedish Americans established a broad network of ecclesiastical and secular institutions, including an ethnic press. In the religious sphere, Lutherans predominated, but Baptists, Methodists, and other Protestant denominations founded Swedish congregations as well. The Lutheran Augustana Synod, closest in tradition to the Swedish state church, formed the single largest ecclesiastical body among Swedish Americans. With a membership of approximately a quarter million, it had organized a substantial segment of the population by the 1920s. It also founded significant educational institutions, among them Gustavus

Adolphus College, in southern Minnesota, and Augustana College, in western Illinois. In addition, the revivalist tradition, as represented by the Covenant Church and other free churches, attracted many followers. At the same time, a wide range of secular associations grew to over 100,000 members.

The increasing communicative and institutional integration of American society, the lack of new immigrants, and the successful adaptation of American-born generations to mainstream society contributed to the gradual assimilation of Swedish Americans in the 20th century. This development was especially pronounced in the linguistic sphere. Even distinctly Swedish American institutions increasingly switched to English, as the number of native speakers continued to decline. At the beginning of the 21st century, only slightly more than 50,000 Americans listed Swedish as the language of their home, which largely corresponded to the number of people born in Sweden.

Americans of Swedish descent have been well represented in the public sphere, especially in the midwest. In the field of politics, they repeatedly held the Minnesota governorship. A number of Swedish Americans, among them Congressman Charles Lindbergh and his celebrated aviator son and namesake, became nationally known for their opposition to American intervention in the world wars, whereas labor organizer Joe Hill entered American lore as a romantic rebel. As chief justices of the Supreme Court, Earl Warren and William Rehnquist demonstrated the wide range of political opinion among later generations of Swedish Americans. In addition, cultural figures such as writer Carl Sandburg and singer Kris Kristofferson, as well as business leaders such as Charles Rudolph Walgreen, trace their roots to Sweden.

Notwithstanding their successful social and cultural integration, which also expresses itself in an above-average level of educational and economic attainment, Swedish immigrants and their descendants have left a distinct mark on American life. In the census of 2010, over 4 million Americans list full or partial Swedish ancestry. Even though more recent arrivals and internal migration patterns have increased the share of Swedish Americans in other regions, especially the Pacific west, they are still overrepresented in their traditional midwestern heartland, where the memories

of Swedish immigration continue to influence regional identity to this day.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Scandinavian Americans.

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Swiss Americans

The Swiss were among the earliest European immigrants to arrive in the United States. Today, the Swiss are one of the smallest ethnic groups, with about 570,000 Americans identifying themselves as being of Swiss descent in 2010. They have played a role in the founding and development of the United States disproportionate to the size of their immigration.

Swiss immigrants come from a small country in the middle of western Europe and belong to four different ethnic groups. They speak either German dialects, French, Italian, or Romansch. They have remained nearly invisible, since they are taken for immigrants from their larger neighbors. Before the United States gained independence, about 25,000 Swiss immigrants entered British North America, mostly settling in Pennsylvania (which included 4,000 Swiss Mennonites) and the Carolinas. Economic pressure was the main reason Swiss wanted to immigrate to the United States. A few, such as Albert Gallatin, came from noble French Swiss families; Gallatin became the secretary of the Treasury in Thomas Jefferson's administration and undertook a diplomatic mission that ended the War of 1812.

In general, the British were eager to promote immigration to their American colonies. Many booklets vaunted the advantages of the New World. One of the early Swiss settlements was led by Swiss Christoph De Graffenried, who is credited with settling New Bern, North Carolina, in 1710. His fellow settlers were primarily German Palatines and Swiss refugees.

Swiss Immigration: 1820 to 1930

Between 1820 and 1930, about 270,000 Swiss immigrated to the United States, with over 81,000 in the decade between 1880 and 1889. During the next four decades, almost 170,000 immigrants arrived from Switzerland. Swiss left for rural villages and towns in the midwest or large industrial cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and San Francisco. Switzerland is a small country, and one-fifth of its territory is covered with high mountains and is uninhabitable. Some immigrants were adventurers or wanted to start a new life. Good land and working conditions were no doubt important factors as well. Swiss immigrants also saw the United States as a kindred nation with democratic ideals.

In the early 19th century, some predominantly Swiss settlements appeared, such as Highland, Illinois; New Glarus, Wisconsin; Gruetli, Tennessee; Bernstadt, Kentucky; and Geneva, Alabama; as well as in Idaho, New York, and Ohio. The Italian Swiss immigrated to California and engaged in viticulture. Johann August Sutter (1803–80) was a Swiss pioneer of who settled close to what is now Sacramento, California. Sutter called his colony and fort New Helvetia—the female personification of Switzerland. He became famous when gold was discovered near his sawmill in 1848. Other individuals with Swiss roots became fabulously rich. Meyer Guggenheim, a Jewish Swiss, immigrated from Canton Aargau to Philadelphia in 1847. The family was known for its global successes in mining and smelting. During the 19th century, the Guggenheim family possessed one of the largest fortunes in the world. It later became known for its philanthropy.

Agricultural crisis and industrialization influenced the immigration of Swiss, particularly from German-speaking cantons. Swiss in 1900 tended to be overrepresented in just a few occupations.

Only 0.25 percent of male breadwinners in the United States were Swiss; however, they represented 9.6 percent of all dairymen, 5.9 percent of butter and cheese makers, 3.25 of the silk industry, and 2.5 percent of the watchmakers.

There is little indication that the Swiss experienced prejudice and discrimination from the Anglo American population. The Swiss immigrants undoubtedly experienced homesickness. Although there are no reliable figures for return migration, it was probably substantial. Nearly 7,000 of the more than 8,200 Swiss of military age who came to the United States between 1926 and 1930 returned to Switzerland.

Swiss were dispersed both geographically and economically. The socioeconomic status of newcomers ranged from poor to wealthy. In 1915, an analysis of 5,000 Swiss men in the United States found a third in the lower income groups, approximately 44 percent in middle income groups, and about 22 percent in higher income groups. Louis Chevrolet, a French Swiss from the Canton of Neuchatel, immigrated to the United States from Montreal in 1900. He was a race-car driver and founder of the Chevrolet Motor Company in 1911. Another notable individual of Swiss descent on his father's side of the family was Herbert Hoover, the 31st president of the United States, between 1929 and 1933.

Swiss benevolent societies and clubs helped in the adaptation to the new country. The Swiss Benevolent Society of New York, the oldest Swiss benevolent organization in the United States, was founded in 1932 with the purpose of caring for the poor and organizing social events for the Swiss population of New York. The society played an active part in helping new immigrants establish themselves. For many years, the benevolent society also housed an employment agency.

The Immigration Act of 1924 reduced the number of Swiss immigrants—from 3,752 in 1921 to 1,707 in 1929. Other factors also influenced the flow of Swiss to the United States in the decades after the 1920s.

Later Immigration, Assimilation, and Diversity

The Great Depression and World War II decreased legal immigration considerably. Between 1930 and 1960, almost 35,000 Swiss immigrants arrived in

the United States; for the decades between 1960 and 2010, the number increased to about 48,000. The later immigrants were primarily professional and business individuals, often employed in branches of Swiss firms. Many did not stay permanently in the United States.

The descendants of the first 18th- and early-19th-century immigrants are fully assimilated in American society. The Swiss Mennonites and Amish show various degrees of assimilation depending on orthodoxy and isolation from the American mainstream. Some Amish still speak an old form of German. Dwight D. Eisenhower was of German and Swiss Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry and was reared in a large family in Kansas. The Eisenhower family migrated from Karlsbrunn, Germany, to Switzerland in the 17th century because of religious persecution, and a century later came to the United States. The word *Dutch* is related to the German word *deutsch* (which means German). Many Pennsylvania Dutch are descendants of refugees from the Palatinate of the German Rhine. Some Amish and Mennonites came to the Palatinate and surrounding areas from the German-speaking part of Switzerland, where, as Anabaptists, they were persecuted. Many Americans were not aware of Eisenhower's German and Swiss ancestry. Primarily, it is the most recent arrivals and their children who have joined Swiss clubs and maintained their Swiss and American identity.

Culture

Swiss Americans have successfully integrated into the American mainstream. Widespread intermarriage among Swiss has aided assimilation. Since Swiss immigrants came from Europe's oldest democracy, they also found commonalities in the new immigrant country. At least some Swiss identified with an idealized rural tradition. New Glarus, Wisconsin, has become an important tourist attraction, with chalets and a William Tell and Heidi festival each year. The majority of individuals identifying themselves as Swiss were born in the United States; of the foreign born, 54 percent are naturalized citizens, and over 90 percent of Swiss Americans speak only English.

Although Swiss cuisine varies with language group and region, it has entered the American mainstream. Fondue is now served in restaurants

and homes. Swiss cheeses are sold in American supermarkets. Many children read about Heidi and William Tell. The Swiss American family today is not distinguishable from other American families. It has changed from a patriarchal family to a more egalitarian and child-centered family. Coming from a small country with a diversity of languages, Swiss are aware and comfortable with American diversity. In their homeland, they were confronted with a variety of languages and were familiar with having to acquire at least a rudimentary knowledge of languages other than their own.

The Contemporary Scene

As of 2010, 40 percent of adult Swiss immigrants held at least a bachelor's degree, and about 94 percent had finished high school, as compared with 85 percent of the total American population. Swiss Americans earn considerably more than the average American, with a median income of \$63,682, as compared with a national median of \$52,029. Among Swiss Americans in the labor force, 49 percent work in management and professional fields, 23 percent in sales and office work, 12 percent in service occupations, 9 percent in production and transportation, and 8 percent in construction and similar work. Almost 80 percent of Swiss own their own homes. Swiss Americans have certainly arrived in America, despite their small number.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Amish; Pennsylvania Dutch.

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Syrian Americans

Syrian immigrants are the oldest of the Arab American groups that migrated to the United States seeking economic opportunities and political freedom. The earliest wave of Syrian immigrants arrived in the United States in 1880.

As Albert Hourani explains, Syria was a name commonly used in the Western world to denote the area that is now included in the states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel, and it is not always easy to discover from the records of the emigration whether those who referred to as “Syrian” were, to use modern terms, Syrians, Lebanese, or Palestinians. Elizabeth Boosahda and Jennifer Leila Holsinger state that before World War I, Arab Americans who emigrated from Syria were identified as Turkish, Syro-Arab, Arab, or Syrian.

History

Most early Syrian immigrants were Orthodox or Catholic Christians. However, there was also a smaller number of Muslim Syrian immigrants, predominantly Sunnis, in addition to Alawite and Druze minorities. Today, the distribution of Syrian Americans in the United States, according to the Census Bureau’s 2009 American Community Survey, is as follows: northeast, 38 percent; midwest, 19 percent; south, 25 percent; and west, 18 percent. Syrian Americans reside mainly in New York, New Jersey, Louisiana, Massachusetts, California, and Michigan.

Between 1899 and 1907, some 41,404 Syrians were admitted to the United States. According to Alexa Naf, by 1910, the number reached 65,909. Syrian immigration to the United States was restricted by the U.S. Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924. However, the migration to the United States increased in the 1960s, after the Immigration Act of 1965, as well as after Syrian–Israeli

conflicts that ended with Israel’s occupation of the Golan Heights in 1967.

In the 2000 Census, the population of Syrian Americans was 76,000, constituting 8.9 percent of Arab Americans and ranking third in the Arab population, after Lebanese and Egyptian Americans. In 2009, the number of Syrians reached 159,000, maintaining its third rank with the overall Arab population. Syrian Americans, like the Lebanese, are characterized by low percentages of foreign-born immigrants, at 22 percent, whereas the percentage of Syrian Americans born in America is 60 percent.

The early Syrian immigrants worked as peddlers and were quick to interact with Americans. Syrian Americans were good in trading and business but showed less interest in the domains of construction, farming, and transportation. In 1999, the income of Syrian Americans was among the highest, with the median family income being \$58,204, ranking second overall among Arab Americans. Educated Syrian Americans work in management, such as in the auto industry, as well as in related professional domains including computer science, medicine, banking, and teaching. Such occupations constituted 42 percent of the Syrian occupation distribution in 2000.

Political Activities

Early Syrian immigrants were not politically active. However, Elizabeth Boosahda states that they showed their patriotism by serving their new home in 1917, when the United States joined the Allies in World War I. The second generation of Syrian Americans, however, succeeded to be the first among the Arab Americans to be elected for political positions. Politically, Syrian American traders and businessmen support the Republican Party, but most of those who serve in public sectors support the Democratic Party.

Syrian Americans have also been active in establishing social and cultural organizations. For example, Alexa Naf explains that they founded the first Arabic newspaper in the United States, *Kawkab Amireca*, in 1892. They also established the Syrian American Club in 1908, as well as the *Syrian Daily Eagle* in 1914 and *Al-Bayan*, a Muslim newspaper published in America. Mary Ann Haick DiNapoli states that additional institutions

include the Syrian Education Society, established in 1916 and the *Syrian Review*, a New York-based English-language magazine founded in 1917. Elizabeth Boosahda also mentions the United Syrian Christian Association of North America, founded in 1920. Among more recent organizations are the National Association of Arab Americans, the Syrian Arab American Association, the Syrian American Women Association, and the Arab American Institute.

Within the American multicultural context, some Syrian Americans show a sense of hybrid identity, as represented in phrases such as half Syrian and half American, signifying their cultural diversity. Syrian Americans have shown adequate assimilation over several generations and are successfully mainstreamed within the U.S. society. Many Syrian Americans have lost their tradition of speaking Arabic. According to the 2000 Census, 46 percent spoke only English at home, and only 20 percent of Syrian Americans did not speak English fluently.

Western clothing is generally adopted by Syrian Americans. Women, however, tend to wear Islamic clothing, along with a head scarf covering their hair and ears. Like other Arab Americans, Syrian Americans highly value family and kin relationships. Like most Arab Americans, Syrians consider sharing food a significant means of socializing and demonstrating hospitality. Syrians share famous Levant dishes such as *kibbeh* (a shell made of ground meat mixed with bulgur and spices), pita bread, shawarma, *fattoush* or tabbouleh salad, hummus (made with chickpeas), and stuffed eggplant or zucchini.

Christian Syrian Americans celebrate Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving Day. Muslim Syrian Americans celebrate many religious occasions, mainly *Eid ul-Fitr* (the feast following the fast of

Ramadan) and *Eid ul-Adha* (the feast of sacrifice). However, both Christian and Muslim Syrian Americans enjoy good relationships, exchanging social visits and participating together during celebratory occasions such as Thanksgiving Day and Ramadan, among other religious festivals.

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See Also: Arab Americans; Egyptian Americans; Muslim Americans.

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Taiwanese Americans

Comprising mainly post-1965 immigrants and their descendants, Taiwanese Americans share Confucian traditions similar to those of other Chinese and east Asian groups. Taiwan is an island, roughly the size of Maryland, located 96 miles east of the southern China coast. It has a population of 23 million. In 2010, there were 358,460 Taiwanese immigrants living in the United States, which is comparable to the number of Italian and Brazilian immigrants.

Taiwanese Americans are the most educated ethnic group in the United States. Both men and women typically achieve high education, high socioeconomic class, and high professional status. A significant number of Taiwanese Americans work in technology, management, and finance. Examples of high-profile Taiwanese Americans include Elaine Chao, secretary of labor in the George W. Bush administration, cellist Yo-Yo Ma, film director Ang Lee, and NBA player Jeremy Lin.

Population and History

The 2010 Census reported 196,691 Taiwanese Americans and 358,460 Taiwan-born residents living in the United States. These numbers, however, are underestimates: some immigrants from Taiwan identify themselves as ethnically Chinese; because many were born in China and moved

to Taiwan before migrating to the United States, they are often included in the category of Chinese Americans or Chinese immigrants.

From 1980 to 2000, the Taiwan-born population in the United States quadrupled (changing from 81,300 to 326,215). However, the growth of this population over the past decade has drastically dropped; it increased by only 10 percent from 2000 to 2010. Possible explanations for this decline include Taiwan's better economic opportunities and its growing number of higher educational institutes in recent years. The majority of Taiwanese Americans were naturalized through employment-based routes.

Two ethnic groups compose the Taiwanese immigrant community: *waishengren*, post-1949 immigrants who were born in China and migrated to Taiwan before relocating to the United States, and *benshengren*, pre-1949 Chinese immigrants and their offspring who lived on the island for generations. The two ethnic groups differ in terms of spoken language, ethnic identity, and gender relations. In general, *waishengren* speak Mandarin Chinese, identify with China, and are more egalitarian. In comparison, *benshengren* speak Taiwanese or Hakka, identify with Taiwan, and are more patriarchal.

Most Taiwanese immigrants live in suburbs that are typically white areas and fairly spread out in various regions. No particular landscapes

or ethnic enclaves mark this community. Approximately half of this population lives in California. The San Jose–Sunnyvale–Santa Clara area had the highest share of this population in 2010. A great number of Taiwanese Americans reside in metropolitan areas such as Monterey Park, California; Flushing, New York; Houston, Texas; Seattle, Washington; and Chicago, Illinois.

Migration through education signifies the major pattern of Taiwanese immigration. Most Taiwanese immigrants pursue advanced education in the United States and then find employment opportunities outside the United States. This trend is evident from the 1960s to the 1980s, when more than 80 percent of Taiwanese students who completed their graduate study did not return. Since the late 1980s, the number of businesspeople and working-class families has increased, adding diversity to this population. In recent decades, there has been a considerable proportion of Taiwanese transnational families, in which the mother and children migrate to the United States while the father remains in Taiwan to work. The purpose of such an arrangement is to pursue better education for the children.

Education and Socioeconomic Outlook

Taiwanese Americans are the most educated ethnic group in the United States. In 2010, 73.7 percent held a bachelor's degree or higher, considerably exceeding all Americans on average (17.6 percent.) Their high education level is reflected in their high socioeconomic status. Almost two-thirds of adult Taiwanese immigrants are employed as professionals and managers; more than half of men and almost one-quarter of women work in business-related fields. Taiwanese immigrant men and women both earn significantly more than their foreign-born counterparts. They also have a higher rate of homeownership and a lower rate of poverty than both U.S. natives and immigrants overall.

Culture

Taiwanese American culture is largely influenced by Confucian philosophy. The family is the foundation of ethnic Chinese societies, including Taiwanese Americans. Close family ties are typical, and three-generation cohabitation is common among first-generation families. Confucian morality ascribes to gender relations a patriarchal

nature in which men's social status is considered higher than women's. This gender ideology is more evident among the first generations. Education is highly valued for both boys and girls.

Folk beliefs that blend Buddhism and Daoism remain the mainstream religion in modern Taiwan, but a noteworthy number of Taiwanese convert to Christianity after emigration. Approximately 20 to 25 percent of Taiwanese immigrants in the United States are Christian, largely exceeding the percentage of Christians in Taiwan (3.9 percent). Attending church helps Taiwanese immigrants find a sense of belonging, security, and self-worth, and many second-generation youth are associated with Taiwanese churches. Buddhist organizations can be found in metropolitan areas where a large number of Taiwanese immigrants reside. Buddhism provides Taiwanese immigrants with an emotional connection with their home country. Moreover, a variety of social organizations are formed in the Taiwanese American community to facilitate ethnic networks and celebrate their cultural heritage.

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See Also: Chinese Americans; Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Tanamoshi

Tanamoshi is the traditional Japanese practice of mutual financial assistance. In Japanese, *tanamoshi* means “dependable.” Tanamoshi members loan money to each other when a tanamoshi meeting is held. This mutual financial assistance

tradition was brought to the United States by the Japanese immigrant generation, called Issei. Issei used the practice to buy farmland or to start a business. They needed the practice because loans from American banks and governmental assistance were not available for Issei because of discrimination against them. Since the practice required a sense of trust among its members, tanamoshi tightened ties among Issei. Thanks to tanamoshi, Issei, most of whom had few financial means, could settle down in the new land and develop a Japanese American community.

Issei

Some Issei came to the United States as students with the hope of studying English or pursuing higher education at American schools. Others came as farmers or laborers with the hope of finding better working conditions, since the Japanese economic situation was terrible at the time they came to the United States. Many women came as family dependents. Since many lacked English ability, they had to engage in low-paying jobs, yet they worked very hard. Their hard work threatened white Americans' sense of economic security and dominance, and Issei were harassed and discriminated against. In this hostile environment, tanamoshi gave Issei a way to survive in the United States.

A System of Tanamoshi

In general, to start a tanamoshi, members pool a certain amount of money at designated intervals. For example, if 10 tanamoshi members pay \$5 a month, the total amount will be \$50. If they save their money for a year, they can accumulate \$600. In a year, each member can get \$60. Before reaching a year's savings, if a member needs money, the person in charge of a tanamoshi holds a *ko* (meeting), and a member who bids the highest interest rate can get the principal, but the member must return the interest to other members. Once a member bids and gets money, that member cannot bid again but has to continue to pay for the tanamoshi. If a member can delay taking his or her share, that member can get more and more interest from the other bidders' payments. Some members therefore use the system to augment their investment.

Tanamoshi was used for various purposes. It is reported that some women started a tanamoshi to

buy a wristwatch with a small investment. Others used a large sum of money to purchase real estate for farming or business purposes.

Tanamoshi members were bound by mutual trust, since money was involved, yet some did not fulfill their commitment, and after getting some money, they left their community. They then became a disgrace of the community. Shares they did not pay were taken care of by the person in charge of a tanamoshi. To secure the trust among members of a tanamoshi, *kenjinkai* played an important role in operating tanamoshi.

Kenjinkai

Tanamoshi members were usually composed of friends, especially friends from the same *ken* (prefecture). Issei from the same *ken*, such as Hiroshima-ken, Kumamoto-ken, or Fukuoka-ken, shared the same dialect and cultural habits. It was easier for them to get along with people from the same *ken* than with people from other *kens*. Since a tanamoshi dealt with large sums of money, its members needed to be trustworthy, and Issei felt that members from the same *ken* were more trustworthy. Issei created *kenjinkai*, associations of Japanese immigrants from the same *ken*. When they first came to the United States, many Issei were not familiar with the English language and American customs, and they became the target of racial prejudice and discrimination in the United States. They needed a community to survive together in the white-centered American society. *Kenjinkai* functioned as a buffer to protect Issei from difficulties they faced in the United States.

Kenjinkai provided many services to Issei. When new Japanese immigrants first came to the United States, they needed a place to live, so Japanese immigrants ran boardinghouses that had a Japanese atmosphere. *Kenjinkai* introduced jobs to newcomer immigrants. When a family member died, *Kenjinkai* made funeral arrangements. *Kenjinkai* occasionally hosted get-together occasions such as picnics and festivals. Through these occasions, Issei could meet people from the same *ken*, speak in their own dialect, and assuage their homesickness.

When an Issei started a business enabled by tanamoshi, *kenjinkai* members supported the business. Since many Issei lived in ethnic enclaves separated from American mainstream society because

of residential segregation, their businesses were limited within the enclave. However, a mutual support of businesses in the enclave developed into the creation of Japantowns in some locales. Japantowns helped preserve Japanese culture and develop a Japanese American economy.

Tanamoshi gave Issei financial support so they could start new lives in the United States. Kenjinkai gave Issei human interactions with other members from the same ken. Kenjinkai's mutual support helped lessen the difficulty of Issei's lives in the United States. Tanamoshi and kenjinkai together functioned to strengthen Japanese American solidarity and community in the United States.

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See Also: Issei; Japanese Americans; Segregation.

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Taos Revolt

The Taos Revolt was an 1847 battle in the Mexican-American War, in which Mexicans and Pueblo Indians unsuccessfully fought the American forces that occupied the territory that is now New Mexico. The Mexican-American War was one of numerous Mexican–American conflicts from roughly the 1820s to the 1920s, but the war generally is dated from 1846 to 1848. Anglo American immigrants had been settling in Texas while it was in Mexican control, originally at the invitation of the newly independent Mexican

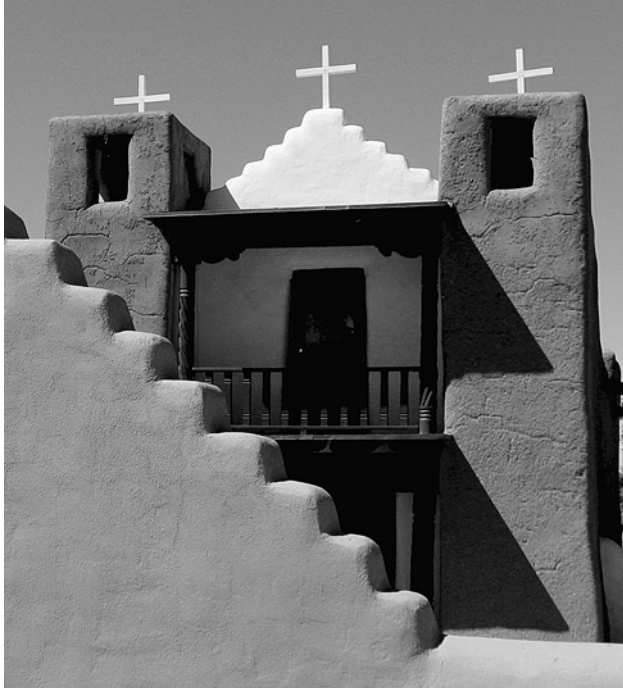
government, which needed a denser population in the area and suffered from problems with the local Native Americans. As the Anglos quickly became the majority, they often disagreed with conditions of Mexican rule, including a plan to end slavery. Texas declared its independence, and though it successfully won the resulting war, Mexico did not give up the fight, nor did it stop disputing border issues. When the United States annexed Texas in 1845, it inherited this conflict, in part because the treaty annexing Texas deliberately did not specify its southern border, in an attempt to avoid the controversy over the dispute.

History

Troops were dispatched to Texas to ward off a Mexican invasion. Meanwhile, a federally commissioned explorer, John Frémont, took a group of armed men to California, where he assisted with a revolt in Sonoma by American immigrants seeking to declare California's independence from Mexico. This, combined with the wars that Mexico was simultaneously fighting with Native Americans, did not put Mexico in a diplomatic mood. Mexican forces killed an American patrol in the contested Texas-Mexican border region, and Congress approved a declaration of war.

Over the course of the war, in April 1846, the territory of New Mexico fell to American forces after the governor surrendered at the Battle of Santa Fe. New Mexicans worried that their land titles would not be honored by the American government, and resented their governor's capitulation. Insurrectionists and their local Pueblo Indian allies broke into the home of the occupying governor, scalped him, and killed and scalped several other officials. An army of about 500 made further attacks. The American military was quick to respond, dispatching 300 troops, who, with less than 100 volunteers, were able to subdue a force of about 1,500 Mexicans and Pueblos.

A total of 19 Americans and at least 100 Mexicans and Pueblos were killed. The insurrectionists were tried, and 28 of them were hanged for treason. This was perceived as an incredible presumption on the part of the American government—to conquer a territory and consider resistance to its occupation as treason. A subsequent federal investigation found that one of the 28 had been wrongfully convicted, but the Supreme Court upheld the



The San Geronimo Church at Taos Pueblo. It was built in 1850 after the original church was destroyed in 1847 by the U.S. Army during the Taos revolt, during which the Pueblo Indians fought America forces during the Mexican-American War.

remaining 27 verdicts. Resistance to the American occupation continued through several more battles in New Mexico, including the Battle of Red River Canyon, Battle of Las Vegas, and Battle of Cienega Creek, each of which resulted in an American victory.

The Mexican-American War was widely opposed throughout the United States. Southern Democrats were the most ardent supporters of manifest destiny, but northerners were not enthusiastic about the annexation of Texas, the rise in power of slave states, nor the idea of warring against a neighboring state newly independent from European powers. Northern Democrats who wanted to expand as much as southern Democrats favored doing so in the northwest. Abraham Lincoln, a Whig, was one of the vocal dissenters of the war, as was former president John Quincy Adams. Perhaps the most famous dissenter who was not a statesman was Henry David Thoreau, who refused to pay taxes because of his objection to the war. He was jailed accordingly, and wrote *Civil Disobedience*, an essay that remains famous today.

Conclusion

The Taos Revolt was the last incident of major resistance to American control of New Mexico, and the area changed rapidly thereafter. In northern New Mexico, many of the shared pasturelands used by local communities were lost, either through claims by unscrupulous business owners when prior claim could not be proven, seizures by the new government, or by new arrivals to the community who insisted on private ownership rather than communal lands. As in other territories acquired by the United States after European settlement, the local demographics and culture changed quickly as Americans established settlements. Citizenship was granted to any non-Indian local inhabitants who remained for the first year. Statehood was delayed because of disputes outside the territory over whether New Mexico would be admitted as a free or slave state.

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See Also: Mexican Americans; Mexican Revolution; New Mexico.

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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is a global education association for instructors who teach the English language to speakers of other languages. Founded in 1966, the association has individual and institutional

members and extensive affiliations worldwide. TESOL's corporate headquarters are in Alexandria, Virginia, and the staff there deal with the logistical aspects of the organization.

TESOL Goals

TESOL was established for several reasons, including the need for a professional organization devoted to the problems of teaching English to speakers of other languages; the need for a pedagogical journal to serve the TESOL profession; and the need for a register of specialists who would help foundations, government agencies, and universities find qualified TESOL personnel. As a nonprofit organization, TESOL aims to advance professional expertise in English language teaching and learning for speakers of other languages worldwide. It is also committed to research and improvement of education and training, promoting professional standards in language education, networking and cooperation internationally, and advocacy of language rights and access to quality language education.

Nonprofit Structure

As of 2012, TESOL had over 13,000 members in more than 120 countries. It was also affiliated with 98 independent organizations worldwide (41 in the United States and 57 throughout Asia, the Pacific, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa).

In an attempt to improve public policy and understanding, TESOL takes official positions on a broad range of issues related to the field of English-language teaching. These positions are published as statements and papers and become official when they are approved by the TESOL board of directors. Areas of concern include English as a global language, learning diversity, education advocacy, immigration policy, discrimination against non-native English speakers, assessment and accountability, English-only legislation, teacher qualifications, U.S. citizenship exams, teachers' work and employment conditions and status, professional development, language varieties, and multilingualism.

Continuing Education

In particular, TESOL pays attention to issues relating to linguistic and cultural diversity and

is concerned with promoting the importance of multilingualism and multiculturalism in the profession. For example, the association values individual language rights and encourages multilingualism in all learners at every age and level. TESOL supports and encourages programs that foster skills in both first and additional languages. Additionally, in view of the rise of English as a global language, TESOL encourages the recognition and appreciation of all varieties of English, including dialects, Creoles and world Englishes. In terms of language teaching, the association does not advocate one standard or variety of English over another.

Furthermore, TESOL is committed to promoting equal opportunities in the profession. For example, it opposes any forms of discrimination against nonnative English speakers in the field and acknowledges the problematic distinction between native and non-native speakers of English, either/or classification system that fails to capture the range of possibilities in a world where English now serves a global language. It stresses that although all English language teachers should be proficient in English regardless of their first language backgrounds, proficiency in English should only be seen as only one of the criteria in evaluating a teacher's professionalism. Teaching skills, teaching experience, and professional preparation should be given as much weight as language proficiency when hiring decisions are made.

In addition to publishing over 90 books for educators teaching English as a second or foreign language, TESOL also publishes two refereed publications devoted to improving English language teaching and learning, *TESOL Journal* and *TESOL Quarterly*. Both journals aim to provide a forum for TESOL professionals to share their research findings and explore the practical applications of current theory and research in the field. In addition, TESOL has a number of interest sections, special interest groups that seek to promote research and continuing education in areas of key concern to TESOL members.

At present, interest sections include Adult Education; Applied Linguistics; Bilingual Education; Computer-Assisted Language Learning; Elementary Education; English as a Foreign Language; English for Specific Purposes; Higher Education; Intercultural Communication; Intensive English

Programs; International Teaching Assistants; Materials Writers; Nonnative English-Speaking Teachers; Program Administration; Refugee Concerns; Second Language Writing; Secondary Schools; Social Responsibility; Speech, Pronunciation, and Listening; Teacher Education; and Video and Digital Media.

TESOL Annual Conference

In addition to its publications and interest sections, TESOL convenes an annual conference featuring papers, keynote speakers, workshops, and annual meetings for the interest sections. The first TESOL conference was held in 1966, and the event is now attended by about 10,000 people annually.

As what may be the world's largest gathering of TESOL professionals, the annual conference offers professional development opportunities to English language teachers at all levels through the exchange of ideas and practices in interactive sessions featuring TESOL's global perspective. Presenters speak on a variety of topics ranging from practical advice for classroom teaching to theories in language acquisition, and conference participants acquire knowledge of current trends in the field and develop a professional network. In addition, the event features a large book fair, with exhibits from most of the major book publishers.

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See Also: English as a Second Language Education; English-Language Learners; Official English Movement.

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Teatro Campesino, El

El Teatro Campesino, or the Farm Workers' Theater, was founded in 1965 as the cultural, educational, and theatrical arm of the incipient farm workers' union being organized by the late César Chávez and Dolores Huerta in Delano, California. Best-known for its participation in the early unionizing efforts of the 1960s, the Teatro has continued to produce important theatrical works that illuminate the sociopolitical condition of Mexicans, Chicanos, and other marginalized peoples living in the United States. Furthermore, El Teatro Campesino inspired a national network of Chicano theater groups, encouraging actors, playwrights, directors, and other theater and media artists to find their artistic and socially relevant voices.

It is impossible to discuss El Teatro Campesino without also discussing the founding director, playwright, and producer of the troupe, Luis Miguel Valdez (1940–). Although the majority of Chicanos of his generation did not complete high school, this son of migrant farm workers graduated from San Jose State College in 1964 with a degree in English. After a year of working with the San Francisco Mime Troupe, Valdez returned to his birthplace and, with the blessings of Chávez and Huerta, met with a group of striking farm workers. Together, they formed El Teatro Campesino. Having learned the benefits of political street theater that employs broad, often exaggerated comic techniques with the mime troupe, Valdez guided the farm workers in improvising short, comic sketches he termed *actos*. The *actos* demonstrated the importance of joining and supporting the farm workers' union. They became the staple of the Teatro as the troupe performed at the edges of fields, attracting workers with popular Mexican *corridos* (ballads) as well as original songs supporting the union cause, punctuated with their *actos*.

Most important, the *actos* were created collectively, through improvisations that dramatized and demonstrated the struggles of the humble *campesino* against the powerful growers and their henchmen. These *actos* were modern "morality plays," with roots in the Spanish religious folk theater that has been performed in the Spanish-language communities of the United States for generations.

Commitment to the Cause

Within a matter of months, El Teatro Campesino was performing away from the fields, at universities and community centers, educating the general public about the farm workers' struggle and earning money for the union. In those formative years, Valdez described his theater as "somewhere between [Bertolt] Brecht and Cantinflas," alluding to the Marxist politics of the 20th-century German director and playwright and to the physical humor of the little tramp-like character called Cantinflas, created by Mario Moreno, Mexico's Charlie Chaplin. By 1967, Valdez and a core of Teatro members had left the union in order to focus on their theater rather than on the demands of a struggling labor organization. The members of the evolving company needed to distance themselves in order to evolve both artistically and politically. However, the Teatro has never swayed in its commitment to the farm workers' union, performing whenever called upon.

In 1971, the troupe moved to its permanent home in the agricultural town of San Juan Bautista, California's first capital. In a shrewd strategic move that aided the Teatro in establishing a place in this politically conservative town, the Teatro produced an adaptation of a centuries-old Mexican play about the appearances of the Virgin of Guadalupe to the humble Indian, Juan Diego, in 1531. Actors from the Teatro performed alongside the locals in this pageant honoring the patron saint of Mexico, performed in the 18th-century Spanish mission. The play, titled *La Virgen del Tepeyac*, continues to be produced in the mission every other year, alternating with a Spanish religious folk play, *La pastorela* ("The Shepherd's Play"), which has also been performed at Christmas in many Spanish-speaking parishes for generations.

Corridos on the Stage

Also during this period, Valdez and his troupe began adapting traditional Mexican *corridos* to the stage. A singer would sing the lyrics, and the actors would act them out, adding dialogue from the *corridos'* texts. The *corrido* style was to appear again, altered to suit the needs of a full-length collectively created piece, *La gran carpa de los Rasquachis* ("The Great Tent of the Underdogs"), first produced in 1973. This is an epic piece that follows a Cantinflas-like Mexican

character from his crossing the border into the United States and the subsequent indignities to which he is exposed until his death. The production toured nationally and internationally to great acclaim in the late 1970s.

It is important to note that El Teatro Campesino has coproduced many plays with major professional theater companies, continuing to make important contributions to the evolution of a professional Chicana/o and Latina/o theater. The landmark play *Zoot Suit*, written and directed by Luis Valdez and coproduced by El Teatro Campesino in Los Angeles and Broadway from 1978 to 1979, helped open the doors of professional theaters to Chicana/o and Latina/o theater artists from all backgrounds, adding to the multicultural outreach of El Teatro Campesino.

National Recognition

Most important, Teatro Campesino inspired a national network of Chicano theater groups from San Diego to Chicago, Seattle to San Antonio. Initially, these groups were mostly untrained in theater, and the *acto* served them well as basic training for future aesthetic and sociopolitical growth and development. By the beginning of the 21st century, there were professional and community-based *teatros* in every major center of Chicana/o and Latina/o population, and many of the individuals involved in these companies were inspired by the groundbreaking work of El Teatro Campesino.

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See Also: César Chávez; United Farm Workers; *Zoot Suit*.

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Tecumseh's War

Tecumseh was a Shawnee leader who inspired and led one of the most ambitious pan-Indian resistance movements against the United States, often referred to as Tecumseh's War. Although the so-called war was neither the first nor the last Native American attempt to unite a pan-Indian confederacy against the encroachment of colonial powers, it was unique in its scale and message. Tecumseh's influence at its pinnacle spread into Canada and New York, to the Gulf of Mexico and as far west as Nebraska. The message was one that linked pan-Indian politics and policy with religious fervor. Ultimately, the efforts failed, but the movement had a significant impact in revitalizing Indian pride and identity.

Childhood and Young Manhood

Tecumseh was born around 1768, and his life bore witness to suffering caused by various colonial powers' continual displacement of and war against his people. His parents met in the Alabama/Georgia area and migrated to the Ohio area around 1759 as part of a Shawnee movement to reunite in their homelands. Tecumseh was born on the Scioto River in or near Chillicothe, Ohio. He was the fourth of eight children, and his name identified him as a member of the panther clan. The shortened translation of his name is "shooting star," but more accurately it refers to the tribal myth of his clan's spiritual patron, the celestial panther that jumps across the sky.

There was no time that Tecumseh's life was not profoundly impacted by the horrors of war. During his youth, he experienced forced displacement on many occasions as his people were driven from their land by armies destroying everything in their path. His early life experiences were shaped by loss, grief, hunger, insecurity, and constant movement. His father was killed during a battle at Point Pleasant when he was young. The oldest son, Cheesekau, was charged with training the younger boys and providing for the household, and he was an important role model and mentor, teaching Tecumseh not only the skills of the hunter and warrior, but also the values and principles of leadership. Tecumseh began exhibiting his strength in these areas first as a raider attacking boats traveling the Ohio River and later with

his brother along the Cumberland River during a two-year stay with the Chickamauga Cherokee. Tecumseh not only excelled as a strategist but also demonstrated compassion, particularly in his aversion to torture, one of his hallmark traits.

Confederacies and War

When Tecumseh returned to the Ohio area, there was a strong sense of hope because of the recent defeat of General Arthur St. Clair's army. The Indians wanted to annul the 1789 treaty at Fort Harmar, which ceded two-thirds of the Ohio territory, to the United States and to reestablish the 1768 border along the Ohio River. Throughout 1792 and 1793 a confederacy began to solidify, drawing a wide array of Native stakeholders to a group of Native American towns in northwestern Ohio known as Glaize. Although the numbers were large, intertribal conflict occurred and the much-needed alliance with the British was unreliable.

Confrontation between the confederacy and the American army, under the leadership of Major General Anthony Wayne, occurred at Fallen Timbers outside Greenville, Ohio, in 1795. Outnumbered nearly three to one, the Natives fought valiantly but eventually lost the battle. The most difficult incident for Tecumseh occurred as his group of warriors reached the gates of Fort Miami, a British fort, on their retreat and were denied entrance. As a result, the Treaty of Greenville was signed in 1795 and the Natives lost even more land. Although some were permitted to hunt on ceded lands, others were treated harshly and were forced to cede village sites. Major chiefs, such as Blue Jacket, signed the treaty, but Tecumseh refused. An uneasy peace settled in, and Tecumseh searched for a site for a permanent summer village for his band. Moving to four different locations in four years, he finally settled on a fork of the White River close to bands of Munsee and Delaware, where his band remained for eight years.

Epidemics and Visions

By 1804, the population in Indiana Territory made it eligible for statehood. Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison established new approaches to force Indian land cessions, including bribery, withholding treaty annuities, liquor, and exploitation of Native poverty. The years of 1804 and

1805 were particularly difficult, as one crisis after another struck the people—extreme cold, dwindling game, floods, and a smallpox epidemic.

Lalawéthika, Tecumseh's younger brother, functioned as a healer but was not respected in the community, which described him as lazy, deceitful, egotistical, frequently drunk, and abusive. In November 1805, however, this changed when he received a vision. Some stories tell that he fell into a coma, and many thought him dead. When he awoke, he shared the dream, in which he was shown that Indian people could choose one of two paths. The first was filled with suffering and agony; the second, peace and joy.

Testimony describes Lalawéthika as completely transformed, which he acknowledged by taking a new name, Tenskwatawa, "the open door." He began preaching a message of personal reform, rejection of Western goods and ideals, and a return to Native traditional practices. Indian people flocked to hear the words of the man they came to call the Prophet.

There was nothing new or unusual about the Prophet's message, but the timing and the combination of his message and the strength of Tecumseh's charisma, diplomacy, and astute strategists in political and military arenas set the stage for a powerful intervention to the republic's settler-colonial project.

The Turning Tide

In the early years after the Prophet's first vision, the band under Tecumseh sought peace. In 1806 they established a village, Greenville, along the treaty line between U.S. territory and unceded Indian land. Many Natives traveled to the town to hear the messages of the Prophet. In 1809, Harrison, in his continued efforts to obtain the remaining lands for Indiana, invited Native peoples to a meeting in Fort Wayne to negotiate the cession of more lands, resulting in the loss of approximately 3 million acres along the Wabash River. Outraged, Tecumseh revived an idea previously advocated by previous Native leaders, claiming that all Native lands were owned in common by all tribes and no land could be sold without the agreement of all. Although he was not ready to confront the Americans directly, he identified his principal adversaries as the Native leaders who signed the treaty. Tecumseh

expanded his brother's teachings to return to ancestral ways and connected this to the idea of pan-tribal alliances. He urged others to abandon those chiefs who had relinquished land and join the resistance movement now established at Prophetstown (1808).

Harrison thought Tecumseh a genius who could potentially inspire a large tribal federation and British alliance. The two met at Vincennes on several occasions. The talks ended in stalemates, with neither side conceding on any point, but both sought to maintain communication. Tecumseh had begun his quest to inspire and build a pan-Indian confederacy as early as 1809, with a focus on tribal alliances to the west, north, and east. Only the south remained. By 1811, he was ready to head south, the longest leg of his journey. He cautioned Tenskwatawa to avoid any conflict during his absence. His first stop was Vincennes, where he informed Harrison of his plans in a surprisingly candid move.

Tecumseh's southern trip lasted six months, during which time he traveled 3,000 miles, beginning his mission with the Five Civilized Tribes. The Creek were initially receptive because of kinship ties, but Tecumseh also promised a sign that would demonstrate that the confederacy



Tecumseh's actions in the War of 1812 cost him his life but showed his continued efforts to secure Native American independence from outside dominance. He is commemorated here on a Shawnee Nation dollar.

was divinely sanctioned. It came in the form of a comet that was visible during September and October, while he stayed with the Creek, and vanished when he left the area in November.

Meanwhile, as pilgrims arrived in Prophetstown to hear from the Prophet, hostile warriors from nearby areas increased their raids on white settlers. Harrison sent word for the pilgrims to withdraw or they would be considered hostiles. He also demanded return of the stolen goods, a demand that the council at Prophetstown could not meet. In November, Harrison amassed a large army and marched upon Prophetstown, making camp one mile north of the village. Assured by the Prophet that their cause was blessed, warriors crept out of the village to circle behind the American troops for a surprise attack on an army that had twice as many men. Although the Americans suffered greater casualties, the Natives lacked the ammunition to sustain the fight and withdrew, leaving Prophetstown open to plunder and destruction.

As Tecumseh left the Creek, he promised yet another sign, which appeared in December 1811 in the form of a tremendous earthquake. The strength of the quake was such that it caused the Mississippi River to briefly flow backward. The epicenter was in Missouri, where Tecumseh had recently arrived on the next leg of his journey. The shocks were felt far and wide, and subsequent aftershocks continued until February 1812. The phenomenon was interpreted in many ways, but the majority of Natives opined that the Great Spirit was displeased. Natives in Ohio saw it as a sign of condemnation of the tragedy at Tippecanoe. The combination of comet and earthquake took on legendary proportions and contributed to Tecumseh's rise to iconicity.

It was during this time that word reached Tecumseh of the destruction of Prophetstown. He arrived home in January 1812 to a very different landscape. Angry with the Americans and his brother, Tecumseh faced a starving people and destroyed confederacy. He sought to reinvigorate the momentum of the confederacy movement and renew confidence in the message of the Prophet while offering conciliation toward the Americans, but he faced difficulties on other fronts, as violence erupted when warriors from other tribes intensified their raids.

War of 1812

Although Tecumseh certainly had cause for misgivings about the British, the U.S. declaration of war against Great Britain in June of 1812 opened a window of opportunity to expel the Americans and secure Shawnee homelands, so he allied with Britain. In the early months of the war, the British, with the aid of Tecumseh, enjoyed considerable success in the Lake Erie region. The largest American defeat took place on the River Raisin in January 1813, when a detachment of Harrison's army was routed by the alliance. The British left the prisoners with inadequate guards, and Natives killed 60 before the slaughter was stopped by Tecumseh. This became a rallying cry for Americans.

The alliance began a campaign against American forts in northern Ohio. In May 1813, the Natives set siege to Fort Meigs, in northern Ohio. American reinforcements arrived and were defeated by the Natives, but the fort held. A second offensive in July failed as well. Lastly, Tecumseh's forces were repelled at Fort Stephenson on the Sandusky River, marking the end of the Ohio campaign.

Lake Erie was decisively won by Americans in September 1813, after which time the British fell back from Detroit. Harrison launched a campaign into Upper Canada that ended with a U.S. victory at the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813, where Tecumseh was killed, effectively ending the Indian–British alliance.

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See Also: Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Native Americans; Pan-Indianism; Shawnee.

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Tejanos

Texas is home to the nation's second-largest Mexican American population, after California. The 2010 Census counted just under 8 million persons of Mexican ancestry within the Lone Star State, representing approximately one-quarter of the nation's total Mexican American population. The term *Tejano* (female variant *Tejana*) is often used, particularly by members of this community themselves, to refer to a Texan of Mexican descent. The label conveys a sense of regional pride in being a Texan while also acknowledging one's ethnic Mexican/Hispanic heritage. Additionally, *tejano* (loosely translated into English as "Tex-Mex") refers to a specific genre of Spanish-language music deriving from the Texas borderlands region that blends *norteño* musical styles from Mexico with country/western and rock 'n' roll influences from the United States, with lyrics often sung in Spanish. *Tejano* music plays regularly on Spanish-language radio stations throughout the United States, particularly in the southwest.

Like other segments of the Mexican American community, Tejanos vary tremendously in their acculturation, linguistic capabilities, and degree of ethnic consciousness. Acculturation varies according to the length of time one (or one's ancestors) has lived in Texas, with more recent migrants often retaining a relatively strong degree of cultural influences from Mexico and their home communities and those whose families have lived north of the Rio Grande for generations often retaining a strong cultural orientation toward Texas and the larger U.S. society. Similarly, some Tejanos are fluent in both Spanish and English, whereas others are English dominant, with little to no knowledge of Spanish. Although many Texans of Mexican ancestry choose to self-identify as Tejanos or Tejanas, others may prefer to identify as Mexican, Mexican American, Hispanic, Latino/a, American, or any combination of these ethnic and national labels.

History

The roots of Tejano heritage derive from the indigenous cultures of Texas and the Spanish settlers who colonized Texas during the 16th and 17th centuries. Tejano identity was further

reshaped by Mexico's independence from Spain (1821), the Texas Revolution (1835–36), and the Mexican-American War (1846–48). Texas existed as an independent republic for nine years prior to its admission to the Union as the 28th state in December 1845. A substantial portion of the Anglos (non-Hispanic whites) who settled in Texas during its time under Mexican rule through its early years after gaining statehood were current or former slaveholders who held views of racial inferiority toward their Mexican neighbors. After Texas gained statehood, Mexicans in Texas experienced an increase in social, economic, and educational discrimination at the hands of Anglos. During the early 20th century, the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) brought thousands of additional immigrants from Mexico into Texas, and the Lone Star State remained the home of the largest Mexican American population until it was surpassed by California prior to World War II.

Tejanos differed in their approaches toward combating the prejudice and discrimination they faced. Some, particularly those who were lighter complexioned and middle-class, advocated assimilation as a means of countering racism. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), established in Corpus Christi in 1929, strongly promoted an assimilation-based ideology prior to the 1950s and even accepted proposals to restrict immigration from Mexico. Other Tejanos took a more aggressive approach against anti-Mexican discrimination. Hector García, a World War II army veteran and LULAC president, founded the G.I. Forum in 1948 to challenge the Veterans Administration's neglect of Mexican American servicemen. The landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case *Hernández v. Texas*, in which prosecutors contended that Mexicans Americans in Texas experienced widespread and systematic inequalities, ruled that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment also applied to Mexican Americans.

Famous Tejanos

At the time of her murder in March 1995, *tejana* music star Selena Quintanilla Pérez had just recorded her first English-language hit single, "I Could Fall in Love" and was poised to become a major Latin crossover sensation, drawing comparisons to Gloria Estefan from cultural critics.

Texas Governor George W. Bush declared April 16, 1995, to be Selena Day in Texas to commemorate the slain singer. Another Tejana recording artist, Vikki Carr, has produced songs for more than 40 years and is well known for her involvement with charities. Other notable *tejano* musicians include Latin legend A. B. Quintanilla (Selena's father), country singer/guitarist Freddy Fender, folk singer Trini Lopez, and Christian recording artist Jaci Velasquez.

Tejanos have also influenced the U.S. television and film media industries. John Quiñones, a native of San Antonio, has had a stellar career as a news anchor, journalist, and correspondent, earning seven Emmy Awards and a Peabody Award throughout his career. Quiñones appears on the ABC network's *Primetime*, *20/20*, and *Good Morning America* programs. Corpus Christi native Eva Longoria is a 14th-generation Texan who has achieved fame as an actress, best known for her role on the television series *Desperate Housewives*. Longoria is also a committed social activist who has extended her support to causes such as children's rights, women's rights, and fighting hunger, and who has produced a documentary, *The Harvest*, that illustrates the lives of minors laboring as migrant workers in the United States. San Antonio-born film director and screenwriter Robert Rodriguez has entertained moviegoers for two decades with films such as *El Mariachi*, *Desperado*, *From Dusk Til Dawn*, and *Machete*. Many of Rodriguez's films are set in the Texas-Mexico borderlands region and incorporate Mexican or Mexican American characters and themes into their narratives.

Tejanos have also served in key positions within the federal government in the administrations of presidents of both major political parties. Former San Antonio mayor Henry Cisneros was appointed secretary of housing and urban development by President Bill Clinton in 1993 and held the position until 1997. President George W. Bush appointed Alberto Gonzales as U.S. attorney general in 2005, the first Latino to hold this position. Tejano professional athletes include golfer Lee Trevino, wrestler Eddie Guerrero, and boxing champions Orlando Canizales, Jesse James Leija, and Juan Diaz.

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See Also: *Hernández v. Texas*; Hispanic Americans; Mexican Americans.

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Telemundo

Telemundo, owned by NBCUniversal, is the second-largest Spanish-language television network in the United States, reaching 58 percent of Hispanic households. Unlike other Spanish-language television networks in the United States, like rival Univision, Telemundo produces most of its own telenovelas and is the second-largest Spanish-language content producer in the world. The English subtitles provided for many Telemundo programs have contributed to the popularity of the network's telenovelas. It is headquartered in the Miami suburb of Hialeah, Florida, with affiliates in 27 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia, and studios in Miami.

History

Telemundo was founded by Angel Ramos in 1954. Ramos owned Puerto Rico's major newspaper, *El Mundo*; owned its first radio station, Radio El Mundo, WKAQ; and founded WKAQ-TV, branded as Telemundo. In its early years, WKAQ-TV was best known for its variety shows, like *La Taberna India* and *La Farandula Corona*. Soap operas eventually overtook variety shows as the channel's staple.

In the early 1980s, NetSpan was the second-largest Spanish-language television network in the United States. A part owner of one of the network's affiliates (Los Angeles's KVEA), Reliance Group Holdings, purchased NetSpan and a number of Spanish-language channels, including Blair

Broadcasting, which by then was the holding company that owned WKAQ-TV/Telemundo. These channels were reorganized into the Telemundo Group in 1987, replacing NetSpan and quickly expanding. Coverage included the New York metropolitan area, Puerto Rico, Miami, Los Angeles, San Jose (California), Texas, New Mexico, Washington, D.C., Arizona, and San Francisco.

For a time, Telemundo outsourced its news to CNN, which produced *Noticiero Telemundo CNN* in Atlanta beginning in 1988. This changed as 24-hour news networks became more popular, prevalent, and profitable following the attention CNN drew during the Gulf War; and Telemundo launched Telenoticias, its Spanish-language 24-hour cable news network. A joint venture with Reuters, Spain's Antena 3, and Argentina's Arter, it was not successful and was sold to CBS, then was sold back to Telemundo and rebranded as Telemundo Internacional.

NBC Purchase

In 2002, after attracting attention with its increasingly successful telenovelas, Telemundo was purchased by NBC for \$2.7 billion. Additional news programs were created, and local affiliates began to offer local news programs in the early morning. It was under NBC that Telemundo began subtitled many of its telenovelas in English and also began the practice of product placement. Fewer telenovelas were imported from Latin America as the network began producing a greater percentage of its own content, as it does today, though famous actors from Latin America, familiar to audiences through Latin American telenovelas, were hired. The network also now casts Spanish-speaking American-born actors. In 2009, Telemundo introduced high-definition programming in prime time, the first Spanish-language network to do so, as well as a Mexican cable network jointly owned with Televisa.

Telemundo's prime-time schedule uses the Turner Time strategy, named for the Turner Broadcasting System's 1980s and 1990s strategy whereby programs begin and end several minutes after the hour in order to encourage viewers to remain on Telemundo by forcing them to miss the first few minutes of competitors' programming. Weekday prime-time programs are subtitled in

English, which not only encourages viewership among curious non-Hispanics but also encourages viewing by households in which some members are fluent in Spanish and some are not. English-subtitled shows are also available during the day in some cases, particularly when the programming includes reruns of shows that originally ran in prime time.

Popular Fiction

Although English-language, American-scripted television is geared toward the goal of reaching a 100-episode run, the threshold beyond which a series can command a greater payout in syndication, and so favors sitcoms and procedural dramas (in which a protagonist faces a similar challenge every week, such as a court case or a murder mystery), Spanish-language programming is structurally more similar to popular fiction. The Telemundo schedule is a mix of Spanish-dubbed or -subtitled foreign fare, anthology shows featuring short stories, and telenovelas. Often compared to soap operas, telenovelas are significantly different from American soap operas in that they have a distinct beginning, middle, and end. They are an adaptation of the earlier radionovela (just as English-language procedurals are an adaptation of a similar format used in radio dramas).

Recent telenovelas produced by Telemundo include *Pasión Prohibida*, which adapts a 19th-century Turkish novel about forbidden love, *Ask-i Memnu*, to 21st-century Miami; *El Rostro de la Venganza*, about a man who has assumed a new identity 20 years after committing a school shooting as a young boy; *Pablo Escobar: El Patrón del Mal*, about the life of the Colombian drug lord; and *Marido en Alquiler*, a remake of the Brazilian telenovela *Fina Estampa*, about a woman who becomes a "handyman" after her husband is lost at sea.

Betty, the Ugly One

One of Telemundo's most famous imported telenovelas aired for only two years. *Betty La Fea* ("Betty, the Ugly One") was produced in Colombia and aired on Telemundo beginning in 2000. Its wild popularity on Telemundo and in other countries where it aired led to spin-offs (aired on competing networks) and an American adaptation,

Ugly Betty, that aired on ABC from 2006 to 2010 and won a Golden Globe Award.

One of the most popular anthology shows aired by Telemundo was *Decisiones*, filmed in its Miami studios. The series told a complete one-hour story every episode, claiming to be based on true stories, each of which was a melodrama with a strong focus on sex and passionate relationships. After the original two-year run from 2005 to 2007 (consisting of 323 episodes), a second run filmed in Puerto Rico began in late 2007, concurrent with a daytime spin-off called *Decisiones de Mujeres*.

The first late-night Spanish-language variety show in the United States, *A Oscuras Pero Encendidos* (“In the Dark but Turned On”), began broadcasting in 1995 on WJAN-CA, an independent Spanish-language station in Miami. Telemundo outbid Univision for the national broadcast rights and began broadcasting it in 2000.

The late-night time slot and format, which has been the subject of intense attention on English-language networks, with programs like *The Tonight Show* becoming important parts of networks’ brand identity, was previously unexplored by Spanish-language channels and inspired a number of other shows, including Telemundo’s own *Mas Vale Tarde* (“It’s Better Late”), which aired from 2007 to 2008. Whereas *Mas Vale Tarde* hewed closely to the format of English-language late-night shows—focused on a monologue by the host followed by a mix of skit material and a small number of short interviews with celebrity guests, followed by a musical guest—*A Oscuras Pero Encendidos* more obviously shows its Hispanic variety show influences. Segments include interactive phone games and vaudeville acts; celebrity guests are as likely to participate in games as to be interviewed, and there is a decided focus on the sex appeal of host Paul Bouche’s female cohostesses. The original *A Oscuras* ceased producing new episodes in 2001 but continued to air reruns, and in 2007 it was succeeded by *La Boca Loca de Paul*, with the same host and essentially the same format.

A Oscuras, like *Betty La Fea*, represented a shift in programming focus that Telemundo was leading and that rippled across Spanish-language programming in the United States. Until the mid-1990s, Spanish-language programming was aimed almost exclusively at Mexican Americans and Mexican resident aliens.

Children and Young Hispanic Americans

Sunday nights, Telemundo airs *El Maravilloso Mundo de Disney*, an anthology program based on *The Wonderful World of Disney*. The show presents Disney content, including movies and TV shows, dubbed in Spanish. The theme music for the opening credits is the Louis Armstrong song “What a Wonderful World,” which was used occasionally for the 1997 to 2002 version of the English-language program. Saturday and Sunday mornings, Telemundo used to air *Qubo*, a block of semi-educational children’s programming, to fulfill the Federal Communications Commission’s (FCC) educational programming content requirements. Produced as a joint venture by NBCUniversal, Nelvana, the Scholastic Corporation, DreamWorks, and Ion Media, *Qubo* had been replaced with *NBC Kids* as of July 2012. Produced by PBS Kids Sprout, the Telemundo version of *NBC Kids* includes *Barney and Friends*, *Super Why!*, *Play With Me Sesame*, *LazyTown*, *Noodle and Doodle*, and *Fireman Sam*.

Under NBCUniversal’s ownership, Telemundo has added a cable complement to its channels: mun2, pronounced “Mun Dos.” Operating out of Telemundo’s west coast studios in Universal City, California, it is aimed at young Hispanic Americans, primarily offering music videos, sports programming, and shows from other NBC networks, usually with Spanish subtitles.

Unlike Telemundo, a large portion of mun2’s programming airs in English, reflecting the common bilingualism of its audience. The channel originated as GEMS Television, a Columbia Pictures venture aimed at Hispanic women, but it was purchased by Telemundo in 2001 and rebranded. One of mun2’s popular recent series is *I Love Jenni*, a reality show about the life of Mexican American entertainer Jenni Rivera.

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See Also: Ethnicity; Media, Ethnic; Media, Ethnic Participationin; Television; Univision.

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Television

Television is a centrally important factor and an inescapable part of modern American culture; it is arguably the most important of all the mass media. Network television of the early 1990s tended, as it had done for the previous 40 years, to present race and ethnicity as a spectacle that bore particular social content as understood to be proper to African American, Latino/a, and Asian communities. These representations conflated “race” with black or brown persons either mired in or courageously transcending scenarios such as poverty, drug addiction, criminality, or racial oppression.

Race has also been used as a backdrop in which to feature and highlight whiteness as seen in, for example, the hit 1970s show *Kung Fu*, which centered on a white actor who performed Chinese martial arts. By the end of the 1990s, this logic of race had been increasingly displaced by a competing understanding in American television: Racialized bodies—black, brown, and yellow—had now become decoupled from undesirable social contexts and instead became both themselves commodified and linked to other commodities.

Racial and ethnic humor of the 1950s through the 1970s was made at the expense of racial and ethnic groups. Until the late 1980s, a popular form of social whiteness was consistently naturalized in U.S. television as a means for all Americans to understand national identity. The television landscape from *The Amos 'n' Andy Show* (1951–53) to *The Cosby Show* (1984–92) is littered with ethnic shows and characters who have entertained audiences and troubled antidefamation groups. A long line of Italian mafiosi, black servants, and Hispanic banditos, to name a few stereotypes, have attracted condemnation from community organizations.

Images of African Americans

Some of television’s earliest nonfictional representations of African Americans arose in relation to the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. News coverage of the movement tended both to generate and to record spectacular violence against black people engaged in nonviolent protest. Such coverage brought the problem of southern racism into stark relief, thus collating the black body in pain with that of a suffering national body still wounded by sectionalism and southern intransigence. During the same period, network documentaries such as CBS’s *The Harlem Temper* (1963), NBC’s *Sit-In* (1960), and ABC’s *Cast the First Stone* (1960) explored the effects of racism in an extended exercise of national soul-searching. In general, then, informational programming during the early 1960s tended persistently to link depictions of racial identity to broad social ills.

Shows that were much more optimistic about race relations tended to link individual black characters to the fortunes of their race, as exemplified by *The Bill Cosby Show* (1969–71). This program, Cosby’s follow-up to *I Spy* (1965–68), told the story of Chet Kincaid, an athletic coach in an integrated urban high school. In the 1970s, the various sitcoms produced by Norman Lear’s Tandem Productions, including *All in the Family* (CBS, 1971–79), *Sanford and Son* (NBC, 1972–77), *Good Times* (CBS, 1974–79), and *The Jeffersons* (CBS, 1975–85), definitively established the link between racial representation and social problems. This link developed because of these series’ “liberal” intentions, as the project of representing racism (*All in the Family*); racial striving, deracination, and assimilation (*The Jeffersons*); or raced poverty (*Sanford and Son*, *Good Times*) effectively combined racial subjects and race-as-problem.

This tendency was reinforced by a series of made-for-TV movies and miniseries on racial topics that punctuated the 1970s. These included *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pitman* (1974), *Roots* (1977), *A Woman Called Moses* (1978), *King* (1978), and *Roots: The Next Generations* (1979). In each of these, blackness was equated with its capacity to suffer or transcend the trials imposed by racism. With considerable success, conservatives sought to undo many of the gains made by

racial minorities during the previous two decades by broadly undermining the legal bases on which programs like affirmative action had been based.

Latinos, Hispanics, and Television

The *I Love Lucy* show was groundbreaking not only for featuring a woman in its lead role but also for casting Cuban Desi Arnaz as her husband, Ricky Ricardo. Born in Santiago, Cuba, as Desiderio Alberto Arnaz y de Acha III, Arnaz played Ricky Ricardo in *I Love Lucy* from 1951 to 1957 on CBS. Arnaz was both the real-life and stage husband of Lucy (Lucille Ball). On the popular quiz show *You Bet Your Life*, host Groucho Marx grilled actor Pedro Gonzalez in 1953. *¿Que Pasa, USA?* (1977–80) was the first bilingual sitcom on television, with an almost equal mix of English and Spanish in each episode. The show centered on a multigenerational Cuban American family in Miami struggling to hold on to its heritage and also learning to adapt in America. The show was produced thanks to a federal grant and a local public television station and aired throughout the United States.

Condo, a 1983 television series, lasted only about a dozen episodes and was canceled after TV ratings dropped. It was the first show in which a Hispanic cast played an upwardly mobile middle-class Hispanic family alongside a white middle-class family, interacting with one another as equals. The children of the families fell in love and eloped, drawing the two families closer together. ABC tried to replace *Condo* the next year with *a.k.a. Pablo*, a show about a stand-up comic named Paul Rivera and his struggling Mexican American family. Many Hispanics took offense and protested the show's jokes and promotion of stereotypes, leading to its early demise after only about a month on the air.

Based on the Colombian soap opera *Yo Soy Betty, La Fea*, the U.S. version of the show, *Ugly Betty*, with executive producer Salma Hayek, became a hit upon its release in 2006. After only its first season, the show won two Golden Globes, one for Best Comedy and another for Best Comic Actress on TV for the show's star, America Ferrera. In 2007, Representative Hilda Solis, a Democrat from California, congratulated Ferrera on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives for "breaking down barriers for



Archie Bunker, played by Carroll O'Connor in the long-running sitcom *All in the Family*, was an outspoken bigot, prejudiced against everyone, including his African American neighbor, Lionel Jefferson, played by Mike Evans.

Latinos in prime-time television.” The daughter of Honduran immigrants, Ferrera played a Mexican American assistant with horrible fashion sense who was determined to make it in the publishing business. The show, which ran for four seasons, was groundbreaking in that it was produced by Latinos, had a Latino cast with a Latino story line, and was adapted from a script that originated in Latin America.

Representations of Race

Much of television's news, documentary, and “reality” coverage has aligned minorities with welfare fraud, drug abuse, bad parenting, and a “culture of poverty,” as well as with fictional representations of middle-class or affluent blacks like *The Cosby Show*, which suggested that the fight for racial equality had been won. These two very different types of programming, which conveyed dramatically different pictures of race in America, relied on each other as opposites that somehow produced the same social meaning: that, whether because blacks have “made it” or because they are hopelessly corrupt, culturally or morally, aggressive civil rights measures were no longer

necessary or appropriate. Thus, while the terrain of the nation's racial imagery shifted considerably during the Ronald Reagan–George H. W. Bush period, television's racial representation was still very much bound to race-as-problem.

In the 21st century, contemporary scholars and viewers of the television medium find themselves in a changing televisual landscape with respect to race and ethnicity. Though televisual racism is certainly still part of the terrain, it is less likely than ever before to take the familiar stereotyped forms. Instead, the dominant mode of television's racism now lies in the ways its representations tend to wrench persons of color out of the still pervasive political context of white dominance and out of the still relevant social context of communities of color. In the process, real political, social, and economic inequalities disappear. In their place, television offers up racialized figures as consumers first and last, producing a powerful if misleading alibi for existing racial formations.

Televisual Advertising

Media images provide a diffuse confirmation of one's worldview, promote acceptance of current social arrangements, and reassure people that things are the way they ought to be. Television commercials, in particular, make race and gender stereotypes readily available. The Frito Bandito was the cartoon mascot for Fritos corn chips (manufactured by Frito-Lay) from 1967 to 1971. The character was voiced by Mel Blanc, who used an exaggerated Mexican accent not unlike another cartoon character of his, Speedy Gonzales. The Frito Bandito spoke broken English and robbed people of their Frito corn chips, a reference to the "Mexican bandit" stereotype in western movies. He also complained that he was being pursued by the "Frito Bureau of Investigation." Pressure from the National Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee and others prompted an update to the character; his gold tooth and stubble were eliminated and his hair combed. The character was completely retired in 1971. The history of blacks in advertising is quite troubled to this day. For example, the caricatures of Aunt Jemima's syrup and Uncle Ben's rice are still used to promote their related household brands in the 21st century.

Sesame Street and Multiculturalism

Sesame Street is a long-running children's television series created by Joan Ganz Cooney and Lloyd Morrisett that has been on the air via public television since 1969. The program is known for its educational content and its creativity, communicated through the use of Jim Henson's Muppets, animation, short films, humor, and cultural references. The show may not have intended to be revolutionary, but in 1969, with its use of diverse Muppets, cast members, and hosts, it was. The show depicted a multicultural universe.

Having a black actor as part of the cast—a cast that has also featured, throughout the years, Native American, Asian, and Latino/a cast members—helped create its culturally embracing tone. All of *Sesame Street*, from the skits teaching the number five through doo-wop songs and encouraging friendship through break-dancing, to guests like Patti LaBelle singing the ABCs in a gospel style, Tito Puente playing timbales, Ziggy Marley encouraging viewers to set their piggies free by going barefoot, Michelle Obama urging viewers to eat healthy foods during the show's 40th anniversary and, most recently, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor discussing career goals to little girls, projects a diversity that is rarely represented in most other television programs.

Contemporary Scene

Various ethnicities of all backgrounds have a rich history in the development of television to this day, along with mixed-race individuals in recent lead roles such as Steve Byrne (of Irish and Korean descent) on the TBS sitcom *Sullivan & Son*. Although there have always been mixed-race individuals in lead television roles, it was not until the late 20th and 21st centuries that these identities were openly acknowledged within the programs and viewing public. In the last decade, the growth in cable television (particularly reality television) has allowed for a higher growth in television shows depicting white Americans of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, such as Persians in Bravo's *The Shahs of Sunset*, Mormons in TLC's *Sister Wives*, Amish Country in *Breaking Amish*, Romanichals in *My Big Fat American Gypsy Wedding*, Greek Americans in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, Italian Americans in

MTV's *Jersey Shore* and its spin-offs (*Snooki and JWow* and *The Pauly D Project*).

HBO's *The Sopranos* is as famous for its writing as it is for its controversial depiction of an Italian American mob boss and his family living in New Jersey. Although the show garnered groundbreaking praise for its writing, acting, and production, the National Italian-American Foundation, The National Ethnic Coalition of Organizations, and the antidefamation arm of the Order Sons of Italy in America all protested its portrayal of Italian Americans as mobsters. Indeed, some were so disturbed that U.S. Representative Marge Roukema of New Jersey proposed a resolution calling upon the entertainment industry to refrain from this kind of stereotyping, likening the show's portrayals to a kind of "ethnic profiling."

Though these organizations give the impression that they stand as the voice of their representative communities, it was evident that this is not always the case, given the show's wide reception; if anything, the polarizing effect demonstrated that there is no ethnic group with one mind.

Today, there are people of color both in front of and behind the scenes of television programs. In 2012, Indian American comedienne Mindy Kaling moved from a top writing position and a featured role on the hit show *The Office* to produce, write, and star in her own show, *The Mindy Project*. Asian American Ken Jeong successfully manages life on television as well as the big screen with his recurring roles in *The Hangover* series as well as NBC's critically acclaimed *Community*.

The popular Mexican American comedian George Lopez produced and starred in his own show, *George Lopez*, from 2002 to 2007. This situation comedy was the first show with a Mexican American actor as the star and the first successful Latino comedy since *Chico and the Man* (1974–78). In the show, Lopez played an assembly line worker who was promoted to manage a Los Angeles airplane parts factory. Lopez also became the first Hispanic to host a late-night talk show, *Lopez Tonight*, on an English-language network in the United States.

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See Also: African Americans; *Amos 'n' Andy Show, The*; *Cosby Show, The*; Ethnicity; *I Love Lucy*; *I Spy*; Latinos; *Sanford and Son*; *Ugly Betty*.

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Textbook Treatment of Ethnic Groups

Historically, textbooks have been written by members of powerful mainstream groups. In the United States they have been written primarily by white, Protestant, middle- or upper-class men. The authors' major goals included helping students understand and appreciate U.S. history, embrace an American identity, and develop a sense of unity and patriotism. The textbooks they constructed presented an idealized image of the United States and its people, reflected mainstream values and beliefs, and presented democracy as the world's best form of government. Mainstream Americans were portrayed as a fiercely independent and patriotic people who championed freedom and justice. These images and perspectives supported the role textbooks were expected to play in schools. The idea that textbooks should encourage students to reflect on and critically examine the nation's history and the role ethnic groups have played in building the United States was largely unspoken by mainstream educators and historians until the 1960s.

During the 1960s, the intended audience for textbooks expanded to include racial and ethnic groups, who challenged mainstream interpretations of U.S. history and demanded that their perspectives on American history, and their stories and images, be included in textbooks. Over

time, as questions were raised and debated about whose history should be included in textbooks and how ethnic groups should be portrayed, the textbook treatment of African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, and white ethnic groups such as Jewish and Italian Americans became more positive and comprehensive.

History of American Textbooks

In the 17th and early 18th centuries, the Bible served as a primary school text. Later, other school texts, such as the *New England Primer*, Noah Webster's *Blue Back Speller*, and the *McGuffey Reader*, were used in schools. These texts were written or heavily influenced by preachers and teachers. They presented an idealized image of the United States as a virtuous nation built on Protestant values of honesty, obedience, and hard work. Individuals who were not white were generally omitted from the textbooks or were portrayed in ways that reinforced beliefs about their inferior status and lack of success.

Throughout the 19th and much of the 20th century, certain European ethnic groups, such as the English, Scots, and Swiss, were described in textbooks as groups that exemplified positive American characteristics. Germans were also held in high regard, but their portrayal in textbooks had both positive and negative characteristics. Discussion about their military character, which was considered a negative characteristic, was balanced with their positive personal characteristics, such as honesty and diligence.

Not all European ethnic groups, however, were positively portrayed in textbooks. It was widely assumed that certain nationalities, ethnic groups, races, and civilizations were innately superior to others. Italians, Greeks, Russian Jews, and other immigrants from eastern, southern, and central Europe who came to the United States at the turn of the 20th century were considered inferior to northern Europeans. The children of immigrants were encouraged to repudiate their native cultures and adopt mainstream American values and culture. Textbook writers embraced those perspectives and drew clear distinctions between Americans who had immigrated to the United States from northern and western Europe and immigrants from eastern, southern, and central Europe.

Characteristics, values, and religions that favored northern Europeans were described positively in textbooks. Catholic nations, which were typically associated with southern and eastern Europeans, were described as inferior to Protestant nations, which were typically associated with northern Europeans. Catholicism, which was practiced by most southern Italians, was portrayed as mysterious and filled with superstition.

Images of African Americans and American Indians in textbooks varied depending on the years in which the textbooks were published. In the early and mid-1700s, terms like "princess" and "noble savage" were commonly used to describe American Indians.

However, as Europeans moved west and conflicts between European immigrants and American Indians occurred, American Indians were portrayed as an obstacle to America's manifest destiny and westward expansion. Within that context, terms like "warlike" and "enemy" were used to describe American Indians. European immigrants were described as pioneers and heroes who fought the Indians to win the west.

African Americans also had two different images in textbooks. Before the Civil War, African Americans were typically portrayed as childlike, happy slaves who were cared for by their kind masters. Although the image of the happy slave persisted in textbooks into the 1950s, it was juxtaposed against a very different image of the freed slave. During and after Reconstruction, African Americans were commonly portrayed as lazy, unsavory, and even dangerous individuals who had criminal tendencies. These images persisted until the civil rights movement, when more positive images of African Americans were included in textbooks.

Prior to the civil rights movement, ethnic minority groups such as Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans were rarely included in textbooks. When they were included, they typically were portrayed in limited ways that did not give students an opportunity to learn about the diversity within their groups or their contributions to American society. For example, it was not uncommon for Chinese immigrant communities to be described as places where illegal behavior took place, containing temples with idols that were worshiped. Immigrants from Mexico and South American nations were typically portrayed as

intellectually weak people who lacked ambition and spent their time loitering.

Textbook readers were presented with a hierarchy of ethnic groups that reinforced societal perspectives on the groups. That image was captured in David Saville Muzzey's best-selling textbook *American History*. Caucasians were at the top of the social, political, and economic hierarchy of American society, and all other groups were beneath them. *American History* was first published in 1911 and continued to set the standard for textbooks into the 1970s.

By pointing out the extent to which some people were a critical part of and were contributors to American society and others were not, textbooks like *American History* reinforced the belief that immigrants and ethnic minorities had not made major contributions to American life and were legitimately on the margins of American society. In 1949, the American Council on Education conducted a review of U.S. textbooks and found that the texts did not help students understand and appreciate intergroup relations.

Changing Images

By the 1950s, most of the children of immigrants who had come to the United States at the turn of the 20th century had assimilated into mainstream American society, and the textbook treatment of southern, eastern, and central European immigrants began to change to reflect their new status. Immigrants from those countries, such as Frank Capra, Albert Einstein, and Irving Berlin, were celebrated in textbooks as people who had enriched American society. This is also when the term *melting pot* began to be used more extensively to suggest that everyone could become a part of American mainstream society if they were willing to work hard, speak English, and embrace the dominant culture. Significant changes in the image of ethnic minorities in textbooks begin to occur in the 1960s, when civil rights activists argued that the negative image of ethnic minorities in textbooks prevented ethnic minority children from developing positive self-concepts, and limited all children from having access to complex and accurate descriptions of U.S. history and the American people. Several studies of textbooks that were conducted during the 1960s supported the idea that ethnic minorities were not accurately portrayed in American textbooks.

In the early 1960s, Lloyd Marcus examined 48 textbooks for their treatment of Jews, African Americans, and other minorities. He concluded that although the treatment of ethnic groups in textbooks had improved since 1949, the treatment was still uneven. In 1969, James A. Banks reviewed 36 elementary history textbooks for their treatment of African Americans. He also examined the books to find out how race relations were discussed. He found that the treatment of African Americans had marginally improved, although information on race relations was problematic. For example, many authors rarely depicted the violence inflicted on African Americans and in some instances failed to explain prejudice and deliberate acts of discrimination. These and other studies were used by civil rights activists to pressure educators and textbook publishers to implement curricular changes in schools and to make textbooks available that presented ethnic minorities more accurately and comprehensively.

Land of the Free, which was published in 1971, is an example of the first textbooks to include a more comprehensive treatment of African Americans. John Hope Franklin, a distinguished American historian who was also African American, was one of the three authors of the text. The trend to include more comprehensive coverage of ethnic minorities has continued to the present and has resulted in textbooks that typically include information on the histories and contributions of the major ethnic groups. However, it is important to note that content about groups is often presented from mainstream perspectives and points of view.

Textbooks and a Common Identity

As the coverage of ethnic groups in textbooks increased, old concerns were raised about the ability of the schools to help students develop an American identity and a deep understanding of U.S. history. While acknowledging that racism was a common characteristic in textbooks published in the 1920s and 1930s, scholars such as Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda argued that textbooks published after the 1960s had gone beyond providing a more positive image of ethnic minorities in textbooks and were elevating ethnic minorities above whites and portraying ethnic minorities as victims. They believed that this

was as bad as the negative portrayals of ethnic minorities in earlier textbooks.

Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger echoed a similar perspective in his best-selling book *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (1992). Schlesinger argued that the United States was losing its common identity and shared history, purpose, and values and becoming a fragmented nation of groups. These perspectives were supported by a 1987 study of textbooks conducted by Gilbert Sewall. In his study, Sewall concluded that although the histories and contributions of ethnic groups should be included in textbooks, the centerpieces of textbooks should be those stories that mark the nation's political and economic development.

Contemporary Textbooks

Textbooks today look very different from textbooks of the past. They are much more multi-ethnic and multicultural. They include information on ethnic minority groups and women, and in many ways they have woven their stories into mainstream American history. For example, Harriet Tubman and the role she played in freeing enslaved Africans and the story of Texas's fight for independence are presented as parts of the ongoing march of Americans toward an ever-expanding free society. It is important to note, however, that even though most modern textbooks include more information on ethnic groups, some ethnic groups are underrepresented. For example, American Indians are rarely presented as part of contemporary American society, and Hispanics, who are the largest minority group in the United States, were until the last few years rarely mentioned in history textbooks. In a 1986 study on textbooks, O. L. Davis noted that Hispanics were largely ignored in U.S. history textbooks.

Textbooks and Multiculturalism

Even when more content on ethnic groups is included in textbooks, multicultural scholars have raised concerns that the content in textbooks is not organized and is presented in ways that encourage students to draw insights from the past in order to understand contemporary issues such as immigration, social dislocation, and institutionalized racism. For example, with the significant changes that have been made in textbooks, students may

conclude that the United States, perhaps more than any other nation, has acknowledged negative elements of its past, such as enslaving Africans and supporting segregation, and made valiant strides toward its goal of freedom and justice for all. How those gains were made and the ongoing struggle for inclusion of people on the margins of U.S. society remains largely invisible.

The central story line in textbooks remains one in which the United States is a land of opportunity in which the only limits to success are an individual's lack of ambition and refusal to work hard. Racial conflict and controversy, when mentioned, are presented as minor episodes in the grand narrative of American exceptionalism. This perspective is reflected in the titles of the texts and the photographs that adorn their covers. The American eagle, the Statue of Liberty, and the Lincoln Memorial are common images on social studies and U.S. history textbooks. When these are paired with titles such as *The Great Republic*, *The American Way*, *Land of Promise*, and *Rise of the American Nation*, students are prepared for a triumphant and patriotic story about U.S. history.

Textbook authors and publishers confront a number of barriers that limit their ability to tell a more complex story about U.S. history. Those barriers include groups who advocate for textbook publishers to present U.S. history from their perspectives and highlight heroes they believe all students should know and admire. Although ethnic groups advocate for their groups to be included in textbooks, conservative groups have built effective organizations that advocate for textbooks to limit their coverage of ethnic minorities, include content on topics like Creationism, and eliminate what they believe are inaccurate depictions of historical events, such as segregation and lynching.

In an effort to make their products acceptable to as wide an audience as possible, textbook publishers have responded by increasing the number of topics covered in textbooks and in some cases by preparing editions of their textbooks that cater to the specific requirements of advocacy groups in states like Texas, which have huge textbook adoptions. The wider coverage often increases the length of textbooks but rarely increases the depth in which topics are covered. In addition, the special editions of textbooks call into question the validity of the information included in them. As

a result, textbooks have lost stature and credibility and are now viewed as providing inadequate information on important historical events and people by an increasing number of scholars and citizens.

The textbook treatment of ethnic groups reflects the images and perspectives on ethnic groups within the mainstream society. They are in some ways a mirror of U.S. society. They project the progress that has been made in broadening perspectives on U.S. history and including more comprehensive coverage of white ethnics and people of color. They also project the ongoing challenges that a diverse society, such as the United States, confronts as it works to build a common identity while acknowledging the role that diversity has played in its creation.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Curricular Integration; Ethnic Studies; Melting Pot.

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began during the Vietnam War and has been slow for Thai Americans. Today, Thai Americans remain a vibrant, if a relatively new and small, ethnic group, with nearly 238,000 Americans identifying themselves as being of Thai descent. Thais have influenced American culture by infusing Thai cuisine, religion, and holidays into American ways of life.

Following the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965, which eliminated the national origins quota system, the initial wave of Thais coming to the United States was part of a larger southeast Asian movement of immigrants in the late 1960s and early 1970s. About 27 percent of all Thai Americans came to the United States prior to 1975, and the majority of these Thais consisted of students and professionals.

Between 1970 and 1980, a second wave of Thais immigrated to the United States as a result of political dissatisfaction with the Thai government. In addition, when the last military base from the Vietnam War was closed in Thailand in 1976, an influx of Thai women married to American servicemen resulted. A shortage of nurses in the United States during this decade also attracted large numbers of nurses to emigrate from Thailand.

Since the 1980s, the third wave of Thai immigration has continued to see the number of professionals and students rise. Concurrently, an increase in undocumented Thai immigrants, particularly for sweatshops, has also occurred as economic opportunities in Thailand have decreased.

Thais faced linguistic isolation that was typical of most of the later groups of immigrants. As acculturation increased, fluency in Thai disappeared, with nearly a third of Thai Americans speaking only English in 2010. Thais also encountered racial discrimination based on their physical appearance whenever they were conflated with other Asian ethnic groups, even though Thais make up only the 10th largest ethnically Asian population in the United States.

Culture: Cuisine, Celebrities, Religion, and Holidays

Thai cuisine has become one of the most popular in the United States, influencing even non-Asian

Thai Americans

The Thai were among the later groups of Asian immigrants into the United States. Immigration

restaurants. Nowadays, Thai restaurants may be found in every urban city, with the acceptance of Thai food evident by the plethora of Thai restaurants nationally.

Chang and Eng Bunker, who were the original “Siamese twins,” became the first Thais known to come to the United States, in 1830. Johnny Damon, a well-known baseball player, is also of Thai descent. Nearly 3 percent of Thai Americans have served in the United States military, including national politician Tammy Duckworth. Arguably the most famous Thai American is Eldrick “Tiger” Woods, a golf professional whose mother is Thai.

Because the national religion of Thailand is Buddhism, Thais brought Theravada Buddhism with them to the United States. Thais established *wats*, or Thai Buddhist temples, in many cities, especially as their numbers grew. In North Hollywood, California, Wat Thai is the largest Thai Theravada Buddhist temple in the United States. Another prominent Thai Buddhist temple is in Silver Spring, Maryland. Thai temples are more than just religious centers; they also serve as educational and cultural centers for connecting Thai Americans with their Thai heritage. Well-known holidays are often celebrated at Thai Buddhist temples. For example, Songkran is the Thai new year, which is celebrated with much splashing of water to symbolize a fresh start and is based on the lunar calendar, whose new year generally occurs in April. The king of Thailand’s birthday is on December 5 and is a national holiday in Thailand on which all Thais honor their fathers. Similarly, the queen of Thailand’s birthday falls on August 12 and is a holiday for paying tribute to all Thai mothers.

The Contemporary Scene

According to the 2010 Census, the Asian population grew faster (in percentage terms) than any other race group in the United States between 2000 and 2010. In that decade, the Thai American population grew nearly 60 percent. Now, more than 40 percent of Thai Americans were born in the United States. In 2010, Thais made up only 1.4 percent of the Asian population in the United States, while the Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese populations all exceeded millions in number and ranked as the largest Asian ethnic populations.

Generally, Thais quickly clustered into urban neighborhoods in big cities, particularly in the west, where other Asian populations were already concentrated. In 2000, slightly over 150,000 Thais lived in the United States. Like other Asian immigrants, Thais tended to congregate in self-contained ethnic neighborhoods. Los Angeles, California, has the largest number of Thais living in one place outside Thailand and is the home of the first Thai Town in the United States. In 2011, an estimated 80,000 Thais and Thai Americans lived in Los Angeles and southern California. Other large Thai communities exist in Chicago, Las Vegas, and Washington, D.C.

As of 2010, nearly 42 percent of Thai Americans held at least a bachelor’s degree, while some 84 percent had finished high school, very close to the 85 percent of the total American population. As of 2000, Thai Americans earned as much as the average American, with a median family income of \$49,635, as compared with a national family average of \$50,046. On the other hand, the poverty rate for the Thai population, at 14 percent, was higher than the total population’s poverty rate of 12 percent. In 2000, about 70 percent of both Thai men and all men aged 16 and over, and about 61 percent of Thai women (compared with only 58 percent of all women of the same ages), were in the labor force. Among Thai Americans in the workforce in 2000, some 33 percent were in management and professional fields, some 26 percent in service occupations, 23 percent in sales and office work, 14 percent in production and transportation, and 4 percent in construction or similar work. In 2000, more than 48 percent of Thai Americans owned their own homes, a much smaller proportion than for the United States as a whole, at 66 percent.

Though Thai Americans are a newer Asian population to the United States, the Thai population has national influence through Thai cuisine, employment, religion, holidays, and culture.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Amerasian: Armed Forces, U.S.; Cuisine and Ethnic Diversity; Food; Immigration Acts; Religion and Ethnic Diversity; Vietnam War.

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Theater and Ethnic Diversity

The American theater has been contoured by the performance styles and traditions of a number of different ethnic groups. Innovations from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, eastern and southern Europe, the Middle East, and Asia have given rise to a distinctly American form of theater. Social matters related to race, gender, and sexual orientation have infused the works of playwrights of color since at least the dawn of the 20th century.

Early American Theater

There are records of Native American theatrical performances since European settlement in America in 1607. In 1640s Massachusetts, the Puritans wrote of similar indigenous ceremonial performances, which they moved to prohibit. Resident theater companies became commonplace by the end of the 18th century. They produced significant works of theater in cities such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. New York City's African Grove, founded by William Henry Brown and James Hewlett in 1821, was one of the first all-black theater companies in the United States.

After the Revolutionary War, the American theater first established its own unique aesthetic with blackface minstrelsy. From the 1830s to the 1910s, minstrelsy was the most popular and pervasive performance genre in the United States. The shows, which initially starred white performers in blackface, and then after the Civil War featured

African American performers in the same types of roles, were composed of songs, dances, and slapstick comedic skits that parodied black culture. Its stock characters, including the mammy, the clever slave, the dandy, the bumbling soldier, the savage native, the Sambo, and the jezebel, remain influential in American comedies and dramas. Many of America's most popular early plays concerned the experiences of people of color. Dion Boucicault's melodrama about an ill-fated biracial woman, *The Octoroon*, debuted at the Winter Garden Theater in New York City in 1859. Furthermore, María Ruiz de Burton, the first Mexican American woman author to write in English, adapted *Don Quixote* for the stage in 1876.

Twentieth-Century Innovations

Immigration, and the contact with disparate cultures that it brings about, contributed to the diversification of the American theater in the 20th century. The Yiddish theater, which has its origins in the celebrations of the Jewish holiday Purim, was imported to the United States—specifically, the Lower East Side of Manhattan—by Ashkenazi Jews from central Europe in the second half of the 19th century. It was the Yiddish theater that launched the careers of influential theater practitioners and theorists Lee Strasberg and Stella Adler, as well as animating the performance aesthetics of Fanny Brice, Mel Brooks, Molly Picon, and Barbra Streisand. Its conventions were instrumental in the development of vaudeville and musical theater. Folksbiene, the National Yiddish Theatre, was founded in New York City in 1915, and as of 2012 it was one of the oldest theater companies in continuous operation in the city.

The community theater movement of the 1910s accorded individual communities the opportunity to explore the peculiarities of their experiences through the theater. Two decades later, the Federal Theatre Project served a similar purpose. The first significant black theater performer in the United States was Charles Sidney Gilpin, an actor originally from Richmond, Virginia, who went on to play a number of leading roles on Broadway. Most notably, he originated the eponymous role in Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* in 1920. That same year, he became the first African American to be awarded the Drama League of New York's annual award for his contributions to theater in

the United States. Lynn Riggs's experiences as a Cherokee man were the subject of some of his plays in the 1920s; his 1931 play *Green Grow the Lilacs* served as the source material for the musical *Oklahoma!*, adapted by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II.

During the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, African American and Afro Caribbean playwrights, including Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Eulalie Spence, and Richard Bruce Nugent, worked to define the black experience on their own terms, after decades of dramas about black people being written by whites. During the 1930s, the Group Theatre created works of social protest that raised awareness of many societal ills.

Ethnic Theater and Mainstream Success

After World War II, people from a larger number of ethnic backgrounds were striving to achieve the American Dream. *A Raisin in the Sun*, the landmark play written by Lorraine Hansberry, opened on Broadway on March 11, 1959. It was Broadway's first play written by a black woman and the first directed by an African American, Lloyd Richards.



Act IV from *The Octoroon*, a play about residents of a plantation and a biracial woman. It played at the Winter Garden Theater in New York City continuously for years, sparking debate about the role of theater in politics.

The 1960s' social turmoil and progress were conducive to a period of avant-garde theater, in which playwrights of color experimented with form and content. María Irene Fornés, Miguel Piñero (cofounder of the Nuyorican Poets Café), Ntozake Shange, Ed Bullins, Adrienne Kennedy, and others addressed social and identity issues through fantasy, satire, allegory, and other new forms. Accordingly, much of the Latino/a theater of the 1970s grew out of civil rights activism. A significant figure in the Chicano movement of the 1960s, Luis Valdez, founded El Teatro Campesino in 1965 and wrote plays, including *Zoot Suit* and *Los Vendidos*, to combat negative images of Latinos in the American media.

Groups like the East West Players, formed in 1965 by a group of Asian American actors that included Academy Award nominee Mako Iwamatsu, and playwright Frank Chin's Asian American Theatre Workshop have worked to ameliorate the manner in which Asian Americans are represented onstage by augmenting the number of Asian American-penned plays. Frank Chin's *The Chickencoop Chinaman* (1971) was the first play by an Asian American to receive a mainstream production in New York City. Philip Kan Gotanda's numerous plays, including *Wash* and *Yankee Dawg You Die*, have explored the Asian American experience. Carl Hartmann, a playwright-poet of Japanese and German descent, was an early proponent of modernism, and his works influenced New York's bohemian movement in the early 20th century.

During the Black Arts movement, which was the artistic corollary of the Black Power movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, playwrights like Maya Angelou, James Baldwin, Charles Gordone, Amiri Baraka, Barbara Ann Teer, Ed Bullins, and Joseph A. Walker (whose *The River Niger* was lauded as the season's best play by the Tony, Drama Desk, and Obie Awards), produced unabashedly pro-black plays that challenged previous characterizations of African Americans in the theater. August Wilson, Dan Kwong, Sandra Maria Esteves, Charles Fuller, Milton Murayama, Anna Deavere Smith, Wakako Yamauchi, Samm-Art Williams, E. Donald Two-Rivers, George C. Wolfe, and Chay Lew continued addressing social issues that concerned people of color in plays and solo shows in the 1970s and 1980s. Henry

David Hwang was the first Asian American to win a Tony Award for Best Play for *M. Butterfly* in 1988; his work has confronted directly perceptions of Asian Americans in the theater, as well as in society in general.

Theater at the Turn of the Millennium

By the 2000s, plays that examined nuanced facets of gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and national identity had been composed by a number of award-winning playwrights, including Akbar S. Ahmed (*Noor*), Noel Alumit (*Mr. and Mrs. La Quest Go Dancing*), Tammy Haili'opua Baker (*Kupua*), Julia Cho (*Durango*), Nilo Cruz (*Anna in the Tropics*), Eisa Davis (*Bulrushes*), Kristoffer Diaz (*The Elaborate Entrance of Chad Deity*), Diane Glancy (*Man Red*), Katori Hall (*The Mountaintop*), Quiara Alegría Hudes (*Water by the Spoonful*), Rajiv Joseph (*Bengal Tiger at the Baghdad Zoo*), Carlos Lacámara (*Nowhere on the Border*), Rohina Malik (*Unveiled*), Ken Nara-saki (*No-No Boy*), Lynn Nottage (*Ruined*), Dael Orlandersmith (*Yellowman*), and Suzan-Lori Parks (*Topdog/Underdog*). Relatedly, many of Naomi Iizuka's and Velina Hasu Houston's plays concern multiracial identity in 20th-century America.

Color-blind casting is the process by which the most appropriate actor is cast in a role, irrespective of that performer's ethnicity and what the script might indicate. Nontraditional casting is a related practice by which actors are cast systematically in a manner atypical of expected conventions; this type of casting extends to ethnicity, gender expression, age, and body type. By the 2010s, the numbers of people of color attending Broadway shows were increasingly markedly. Nontraditional casting has increased opportunities for black actors with a much greater frequency than for Latino/a or Asian American performers. Between 2006 and 2012, the number of performers of color working on Broadway increased by 9 percent, with African Americans accounting for 12 percent, Latinos/as for 4 percent, Asian Americans for 3 percent, and Native Americans for less than one-tenth of a percent. As of 2012, African Americans were the most likely group of performers to be cast in roles that did not specify race.

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See Also: Blackface; Dance and Ethnic Diversity; Opera and Ethnic Diversity; Teatro Campesino, El.

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Thriller

Celebrated as the King of Pop, musical artist Michael Jackson arguably cemented his place at the forefront of the pop genre with his 1982 album *Thriller*. Prior to *Thriller*, Jackson had spent much of his childhood singing with his brothers in The Jackson 5, a Motown group that rose to popularity in the late 1960s to mid-1970s. In the late 1970s, the group signed a new contract with CBS Records, but their popularity was waning with the emergence of other genres. Jackson decided soon after to work on his own music, and he released several well-received individual albums, most notably the multiplatinum *Off the Wall* (1979). Jackson began to construct his image during the making of this album, but it was *Thriller*, his sixth studio album and the successor to *Off the Wall*, that accomplished many feats by revolutionizing pop and challenging racial barriers exhibited in the music industry.

Jackson began working on *Thriller* in 1982 after enlisting the help of Grammy Award-winning producer Quincy Jones, whom he had worked with on *Off the Wall*. In November of the same year, Jackson completed the album, and it was released that month. The final track listing of the original 1982 album is as follows: "Wanna Be Startin' Somethin,'" "Baby Be Mine," "The Girl Is Mine," "Thriller," "Beat It," "Billie Jean," "Human Nature," "P.Y.T. (Pretty Young Thing)," and "The Lady in My Life." Jackson was significantly involved in the songwriting of the album by

contributing four songs, and he also assisted Jones in the production of these songs. Other songwriters on the album included Rodney Lynn Temperon, Steve Porcaro, John Bettis, James Ingram, and Jones. The album spawned seven top 10 hits and won seven Grammy Awards. *Time* magazine estimated that the album has sold 104 million copies worldwide, placing it in the *Guinness Book of Records* as the best-selling album of all-time.

But *Thriller* was more than a critically acclaimed and commercially successful album; it was an album that chipped away at racial barriers in television. In the early 1980s, music videos were rising in popularity and being played on the newly created Music Television (MTV) channel. However, the majority of the videos were by white artists; black artists were not given recognition by the channel. It was not until *Thriller* was released that industry pressure was exerted on MTV, and its executives finally agreed to run Jackson's music video for "Billie Jean." The video was extremely popular and went into heavy rotation. This helped Jackson market his style and identity to mainstream audiences of all races. The album's crossover appeal, which refers to its ability to reach different audiences regardless of race and culture, is one of its defining characteristics. Throughout his career, Jackson made music that would be celebrated by artists from all genres and backgrounds.

Thriller was also well known for blending various genres, primarily rock and rhythm and blues (R&B). "Beat It" is an example of this fusion. Jackson wrote the track and worked with producer Quincy Jones to turn the song into a crossover single. Well-known musician Eddie Van Halen, the former guitarist of the rock band Van Halen, provided the guitar riffs that are heard throughout the song. This collaboration between Jackson and Van Halen helped make *Thriller* a landmark album that would promote genre crossing. At the time of its release, genres were largely racialized, with R&B being seen as a "black" genre and rock music being seen as a "white" genre. It was this distinction that made it hard for black artists to get airplay on MTV, which was marketed as a channel for rock music videos. Though Jackson could not remove these barriers, he continued to challenge them and create more opportunities for other black artists to follow suit.

The Album's Impact

The impact of *Thriller* cannot be understated. It was released when there was a noticeably racialized climate in the music industry. For years, race had been seen as a factor in marketing; black artists were judged as being less marketable to white audiences and as having less crossover appeal. But Jackson's success demonstrated the flawed nature of this assumption. Before *Thriller*, Jackson could not persuade *Rolling Stone* magazine to put him on the cover because the editors were afraid the issue would not sell. After *Thriller*, the marketability of black artists to multiracial audiences was apparent. To achieve this crossover, Michael Jackson did not have to put only whites in his music videos or shy away from stereotypically black music. It is apparent in his autobiography and other writings that he was conscious of racial barriers and identified himself as a black man, but he fervently promoted multiculturalism as well. It can be said that he pioneered a burgeoning post-racialism in music, and audiences were attracted to this message.

With the *Thriller* album, Jackson not only introduced trends with his iconic personal style and shaped performance aesthetics, but he also demonstrated that music had no race and paved the way for other black artists to become recognized as crossover stars.

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See Also: African Americans; Apollo Theater; Motown; Music and Ethnic Diversity; Popular Music and Ethnic Diversity.

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Time, Differing Cultural Conceptions of

A consequence of the increasingly diverse racial and ethnic makeup of the U.S. population is an inevitable diversity in the understanding of time and its value. The implications for a multicultural society with very different views of time are great.

The major conflicting conceptions of time are “monochronic” and “polychronic,” as characterized by Edward T. Hall in his 1959 work *The Silent Language*. Monochronic time, often known as M-time, perceives time as individual units on a linear continuum. There is a set beginning and a set ending to an event. Polychronic time—or P-time—conceptualizes time as a simultaneous concurrence of activities with relationships taking precedence over time on task.

Monochronic and Polychronic Perspectives of Time

The dominant Caucasian culture of the United States uses monochronic time; more collectivist cultures, such as Asian, Hispanic/Latino, Native American, and various refugee and immigrant groups from Africa, have a polychronic perspective of time. The effects of these conflicting views of time can be seen in mundane daily events such as being on time for school, appointments, or social events.

More significant conflicts can be seen in such arenas as business, education, media, health care, logistics, and special celebrations like weddings and funerals. Consequences can be severe for those failing to meet cultural expectations of time, whether deviating from schedules; being late for work, social engagements, or appointments; missing deadlines for completion of work; or exceeding time allotments.

Medical settings with diverse cultures lend themselves to serious misunderstandings. The dominant U.S. medical culture sees illness as having a trajectory in time and treatment, views patients as billable units of time, and follows a timetable in the administration of drugs. People from collectivist cultures, such as Latinos and Hispanics, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Hmong, may view the cause of illness from a more

spiritual perspective or attribute it to an imbalance of elements. Thus, medical treatment might require significantly more time and attention to the patient in order to restore the spirit or the balance of elements.

School systems serving a culturally diverse population have special challenges, as perceptions of time can affect work completion rates, time spent on or off task, the expectation of individual expenditure of time versus collective group expenditure of time on a project, and parents' involvement in and compliance with homework. A good example of this cultural diversity is the Los Angeles public school district, which serves 1 million students, with Asians and Hispanic/Latinos predominating.

Social and group gatherings provide additional examples of collisions in perceptions of time. The starting and ending times of the event; the length of time a guest is expected to stay; and the time allotted to eating, speeches, and other customary behavior can vary widely among cultures. For example, a white Protestant church service may last 60 minutes, whereas an African American Protestant service may last two hours. A Hindu wedding or Divali celebration may begin an hour or two after the published start time, whereas a municipal Fourth of July celebration can be expected to start on time. A civic Thanksgiving dinner may be scheduled for two hours in a hotel, whereas a community Eid celebration among Muslims might go on for four hours. If people are unaware of potential differences in the perception of time, they can feel frustrated, insulted, or confused.

Differing approaches to time in such life transitions as weddings and funerals can be especially difficult. The wedding industry in the United States is oriented to a special event at a special set time—a polite window of 10 minutes lateness might be understandable to guests, although not the wedding planner or bride. However, if the wedding party includes family from a polychronic culture (e.g., Ghana), sparks may fly when the family of the polychronic culture shows up two hours after the scheduled time for the wedding, a time acceptable in one culture but an unforgivable breach of etiquette in the other. Neither is right nor wrong, just different and something to negotiate.

Clashes in time orientation may be seen in the perception of death. For those from a monochronic time culture, birth is the beginning of a human life, death is the end. However, for those from a more polychronic culture, death may not be the end of life but the beginning of another life or a continuation of life. The time taken to mourn may be ritually prescribed—from the Jewish practice of sitting *shiva* for seven days, to the Buddhist practice of waiting three days for the soul to leave this existence and travel to a new one, to the Muslim dictum to bury the deceased within a day.

With the increasing ethnic diversity within the United States, there will be continual adjustments and negotiations about the meaning and use of time within the fabric of U.S. commerce, social institutions, and daily life.

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See Also: Ethnic/Racial Group Data (Essay); Intercultural Communication; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Tipping

The tipping point hypothesis is a theory that once an urban neighborhood achieves a certain percentage of African American residents—that percentage being the neighborhood's tipping point—white residents will quickly move out in a phenomenon known as "white flight," and the neighborhood will become entirely or primarily African American. The tipping point hypothesis was first articulated in 1958 by University of Chicago political scientist Morton Grodzins, who predicted that American cities would become increasingly poor and African American, while American suburbs would become increasingly affluent and white.

Although Grodzins did not specify a percentage that constituted the tipping point for a neighborhood, it has been commonly interpreted as 25 to 35 percent of the population. In a less restrictive statement of the hypothesis, no particular tipping point is specified, but a more general theory is posited that racially mixed neighborhoods are unstable and prone to becoming all or nearly all non-white. Although the tipping point hypothesis has been used to justify various urban planning decisions over the years, several surveys of the evidence supporting this theory have found limited to no support for it, while also identifying a number of other factors that better explain observed patterns of change in the demographic makeup of cities.

Modifications and Other Applications

Grodzins was concerned primarily with white and African American residents, the two major racial groups in Chicago when he was forming this theory. Leah Platt Boustan cites evidence that it is specifically the presence of African American neighbors, rather than minority neighbors in general, that influenced white Americans' evaluation of a home's desirability, because the presence of Asian or Hispanic neighbors had no influence on this judgment. However, there are a few examples of the application of the tipping point hypothesis beyond the African American/white dichotomy.

One is a 1974 decision in *Otero v. New York City Housing Authority*, in which a court of appeals ruled that the New York City Housing Authority could refuse to rent an apartment in a new housing project to a nonwhite person (not



Malcolm Gladwell, speaking at a 2008 conference, has been a staff writer for The New Yorker since 1996. He has written four books and expanded on the tipping point hypothesis.

just an African American) in order to preserve the racial balance of the neighborhood. In a different case, in 1976, Hasidic residents of the Williamsburg neighborhood of New York City argued that a new public housing project, expected to house about 75 percent Puerto Rican residents and 25 percent white residents, would destroy their neighborhood by causing white flight; they cited a tipping point of 30 percent minority residents as having been proven to cause departure of white residents.

The tipping point hypothesis was originally formulated to explain residential segregation, but it has also been applied to other fields, including education and business. For instance, Gregorio Caetano and Vikram Maheshri studied school segregation in Los Angeles from 2001 to 2006 and concluded that 54 percent of the schools had a tipping point that was between 25 and 75 percent minority. The hypothesis has also been

broadened, for example, by Malcolm Gladwell, to explain rapid change that may come about as the result of a relatively minor change in conditions if an organization, neighborhood, business, or other entity is at the tipping point.

Refutation of the Theory

A 1978 review of the evidence by John Goering and a 1995 review by John R. Ottensmann found little evidence in favor of the tipping point hypothesis in the narrow sense of a theory explaining the rapid increase of racial segregation once the percentage of minorities in a neighborhood reaches a certain level. At the time of its original statement, the hypothesis was based on limited and impressionistic evidence, and the study of demographic movements in the following decades also provided little support for it. Even in Chicago, where the hypothesis originated, the example of the Cabrini Houses could be countered by that of the Racine Courts project: Whereas the former began with a mix of 75 percent white and 25 percent African American residents, but rapidly became primarily African American, the latter maintained a stable balance of about 76 percent African American to 24 percent white residents.

Data collected in hundreds of metropolitan areas from 1970 to 1990 found some evidence of racial change, but not necessarily in terms of inevitably increasing percentages of nonwhite residents in mixed neighborhoods. In fact, many studies found overall decreases in racial segregation in U.S. cities in the 1970s and 1980s. As a whole, demographic studies in the years following 1958 also provided little support for a specific tipping point. Instead, the changing racial makeup of cities and neighborhoods was found to be a continuous phenomenon with a number of factors potentially contributing to it.

Goering identified three macrolevel inputs relating to demographic change in cities: population growth, employment, and housing stock. Most central cities in the United States lost population in the 1950s and 1960s, and whites left at a higher rate than nonwhites, often being replaced by immigrants. However, within individual neighborhoods, sometimes white residents displaced African Americans rather than the other way around, particularly in periods of heavy foreign immigration. Loss of population was found to be related to loss of

jobs and also to the cost and availability of housing elsewhere; when lower-cost housing and mortgage funding is available in suburban areas, it creates an incentive to move out of the city. The availability of mortgage insurance from the Federal Housing Administration has been shown to favor white residents moving to new housing in the suburbs, opportunities not available to African Americans, thus increasing the concentration of African American in central urban areas.

Goering found that factors at the neighborhood level could also affect the changing racial makeup of an area. One such factor is real estate activity, including blockbusting and housing speculation, both of which can facilitate white flight. The relative concentration of homes versus apartments in an area can also influence neighborhood stability: Renters move more frequently but have also been shown to be more tolerant of nonwhite residents. Proximity to another area undergoing racial change can influence racial change within a neighborhood, as can the quality of services available in a neighborhood.

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See Also: African Americans; Desegregation/Integration; Segregation.

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To Kill a Mockingbird

Winner of the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1961, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) has garnered both staggering critical acclaim and fiery controversy. An immediate international success, the best seller (over 30 million copies worldwide) has been translated into 40 languages and has never been out of print. It was made into an Academy Award-winning film in 1962. The literary classic continues to spark debate and reflections about race in the United States.

The only published novel by author Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird* incited a torrent of literary excitement. This eager public reception secured its place in the annals of classic American literature. Many Americans cited *To Kill a Mockingbird* as their most influential book, second only to the Bible. Written at the height of civil rights and integration struggles in the United States, the novel was instrumental in opening a public dialogue about race relations in the 1930s American south, even if it constructed the racial conversation as a primarily black and white dichotomy. In doing so, it forestalled a more multicultural conception of America.

The intensely private author was born as Nelle Harper Lee in Monroeville, Alabama, on April 28, 1926, a descendant of Civil War Confederate Army General Robert E. Lee. She studied law at the University of Alabama and as an exchange student at Oxford before she began her writing career in New York with aspirations to become "the Jane Austen of south Alabama." Although the plot of Lee's magnum opus resembles Lee's own childhood as a self-proclaimed tomboy who grew up as a close friend of writer Truman Capote, the author, in her three interviews since the novel's publication, has denied any direct autobiographical connection to her young protagonist, Jean Louise "Scout" Finch.

Themes and Issues in the Novel

The plot of *To Kill a Mockingbird* bears a striking resemblance to the Scottsboro Boys Trial of 1931, in which nine African American young men were accused of raping two white women on a freight train in Alabama. The novel blends in some southern gothic elements and humor to address the themes of injustice, prejudice, racism, lynching, and the impossibility of a fair trial for African Americans in the Jim Crow south, which forms the dramatic center of the book. Like Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940), the trial scene constitutes the majority of the second half of the novel. The Boo Radley story encompasses the first part.

Set in the fictional, small rural town of Maycomb, Alabama, from 1933 to 1935, the novel relates the story of prominent attorney and widowed father Atticus Finch and his two young children, Scout and Jem. Although the frame tale presents the reflective point of view of an adult Scout, the preadolescent Scout narrates the core of the novel, using the language, thoughts, and memories of her 6- to 8-year-old self.

The first part of the book begins as an often-humorous coming-of-age tale, in which enchantment, imaginative play, curiosity, and discovery prevail. Scout, Jem, and their inquisitive summertime childhood companion Dill experience many amusing adventures as they investigate the mysteries of their town. Of greatest mystique to the threesome is the dilapidated house at the end of one block, where the enigmatic neighbor, Arthur "Boo" Radley, resides. Their progression from innocence to knowledge centers on their investigation of people different from themselves.

The highest drama centers on African American Tom Robinson's alleged rape of a white woman, Mayella Violet Ewell. After Atticus takes on the controversial case, the racist members of the town ostracize and taunt Scout and Jem and call Atticus a "nigger lover." Calpurnia, their black cook, helps the children find refuge within the mostly accepting black residents of Maycomb; Scout and Jem even sit in the black-only section of the courtroom during the trial.

The racial landscape of Maycomb is primarily black and white (besides the "Indian heads" the children find in the knothole in the tree in Boo Radley's front yard and a few sympathetic references to Jews). The defendant's first name, Tom,

connects him to the eponymous martyred protagonist of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic 19th-century novel. The attempted and aborted lynching, the trial in the courthouse, the verdict, and its violent aftermath form a dramatic centerpiece. Atticus unsuccessfully defends Tom in a trial with an all-white jury, and the accused man is ultimately shot to death in prison. When Bob Ewell, Mayella's father, delivers his shockingly vulgar eyewitness testimony in court ("I seen that black nigger yonder ruttin' on my Mayella!"), he exemplifies the ways race, class, and gender are powerfully bound up in the narrative. On Halloween night, the aggrieved and publicly humiliated Bob Ewell attacks Scout and Jem; Boo emerges and defends the children, killing Bob.

In the midst of this racial drama, an implausible moment occurs in the gripping scene when Atticus rescues Tom from a seething lynch mob. Ironically, it is Atticus's benevolent action—and the portrayal of Maycomb's inactive black community in comparison—that often disturbs critics, as it seems to silence a history of black agency.

Atticus's advice to Scout encapsulates one of the major themes of the novel: "You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view . . . until you climb into his skin and walk around in it." This image of climbing into another person's "skin" is particularly apt given the urgent black-white racial divisions in the town.

The mockingbird emerges as a compelling symbol. Similar to the captive bird in African American literature, the vulnerable mockingbird stands in for both Boo Radley and Tom Robinson, and perhaps the other marginalized persons in the small rural town. This symbolism bears a resemblance to Paul Laurence Dunbar's poem "Sympathy" (1899), in which a bruised and battered bird, confined to a cage, sings a plea and prayer heavenward. Maya Angelou borrows from this evocative concept for the title of her autobiographical fiction, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969).

Miss Maudie Atkinson, the Finches' neighbor, explains to Scout "Mockingbirds don't do one thing but make music for us to enjoy. They don't eat up people's gardens, don't nest in corncribs, they don't do one thing but sing their heart out

for us. That's why it's a sin to kill a mockingbird." When Uncle Jack, Atticus's brother, teaches Scout and Jem to shoot their air rifles, he echoes this sentiment as he warns "Shoot all the bluejays you want, if you can hit 'em, but remember it's a sin to kill a mockingbird." The reader is left to ponder if the innocent Tom Robinson could have survived in the moral universe of this novel and, if he had, if it would have been so popular.

Challenges and Criticism

In nearly every decade since its publication, *To Kill a Mockingbird* has been challenged by numerous school boards throughout the United States and Canada amid allegations of racism against African Americans, the promotion of white supremacy, the use of the word *nigger* (which appears 48 times in the novel), and other language deemed offensive, profane, and immoral.

Many parents denounced the inclusion of adult themes such as rape, incest, and sexual intercourse, which they considered inappropriate, divisive, and damaging for young readers. African American students, these critics argue, may feel marginalized by the racial epithets. Critics also opposed what they viewed as racial paternalism in Atticus's relationship with Calpurnia, considering him a flawed hero at best.

Although ardent proponents of the novel contend that it represents the complexities of race, racism, social inequalities, and legal injustices in the south through the child-voiced narrator, others suggest that it perpetuates stereotypes around race, sex, and poverty even as it attempts to advance an overarching message of tolerance and empathy. That the novel continues to arouse debate about race, gender, regional stereotyping, a heroic character, censorship, and what constitutes antiracist literature attests to its enduring relevance.

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See Also: Desegregation/Integration; *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*; Ku Klux Klan; N_____ Word, The; Scottsboro Boys Trials; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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Tolerance

Tolerance has a rich presence in the history of the United States. Today, the word *tolerance* is commonly used to refer to a person's acceptance of other people with different religious beliefs, opinions, gender, race, and/or culture. The word is used in classrooms, workplaces, and communities across the United States to describe the ways in which people interact with one another. Tolerance connotes nonjudgmental actions and reactions to people and circumstances that arise within multicultural and diverse environments.

This definition of tolerance evolved from a drastically different conceptual base from when it was used in the British colonies and in the founding documents of the U.S. government. Whereas America's founders staunchly believed in religious freedom and separation of church and state, they also believed that the rights to equality and justice pertained only to male, white citizens of good moral character. The influx of immigrants from around the world and the establishment of multicultural communities and institutions stimulated the evolution of tolerance to include not only religious tolerance but also tolerance of race, ethnicity, culture, gender, and beliefs. The evolution of acceptance and appreciation, while still plagued with discrimination, began to take shape as part of the transformation of tolerance from a separatist acceptance of differences to a platform of understanding and empathy.

History of U.S. Religious Tolerance

The notion of tolerance dates back to the colonial era and the first British settlements in North America. In England, people disagreeing with the Church of England were unable to obtain careers in the government or other esteemed professions. John Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration* elucidated the plight of the people during the

Protestant Reformation in England, and the view of many regarding the unfair and inappropriate power the church had over the government and politics. Locke's view was that life, liberty, health, and prosperity as civil interests superseded the importance of religion.

Separation between church and state became the first instance of tolerance in the colonial framework. The Toleration Act of 1649 in Maryland was passed in an effort to reduce the religious conflicts between the Catholics who founded Maryland and the Protestants moving to the colony for new opportunities. In an effort to maintain civility and respect for all colonists, the government tried to protect the right to freedom for minority religious groups.

Religious tolerance in the United States was riddled with stipulations. Tolerance was applicable for citizens, which only included free white men. Groups like the American Protective Association, the Know-Nothing Party, and the Immigrant Restriction League took a nativist approach to the diversity of the nation and were highly influential in government policy. Newcomers and immigrants, especially Catholic immigrants, were seen as threats to the cultural norms and values established within the nation.

Historical Factors Contributing to Racial Tolerance

During the Industrial Revolution, the immigrant population rose from 2.2 million in 1850 to 14.2 million in 1930. The U.S. government had implemented additional rules and regulations, such as the Naturalization Act of 1790 and the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, to ensure that American citizens maintained their dominance in political and economic situations. As the influx of different racial groups increased, the separatist views of nativists served as a means to disseminate racial, religious, and cultural intolerance in the nation.

Tolerance toward the African American population played an integral role during the Civil War. While many northerners favored the abolishment of slavery, citizens were also fearful of an influx of former slaves to the north that would impinge on their rights and opportunities. Political parties often gained support on the platform that tolerance was noble, but granting citizenship to minorities would threaten the status quo.

Economic advantage often played a role in the levels of tolerance existing in the United States. President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830, which resulted in the Trail of Tears, was passed to force Native Americans to migrate out of the Union and also resolved land disputes between the Cherokee Nation and the state of Georgia. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 provided an absolute 10-year moratorium on Chinese labor immigration, based on the premise that Chinese immigrants would endanger the prosperity of currently established communities. Entire racial groups became targets for immigration reform and regulation, which further oppressed immigrant populations.

Increased intolerance of racial minorities in the United States reached its pinnacle during wartime. During World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in February 1942 interned over 127,000 Japanese Americans because of fear of Japanese attacks on the mainland. Once released from the internment camps, Japanese Americans were ostracized from their former communities and forced to relocate across the United States. During the Cold War that followed World War II, U.S. fears of a communist menace led to the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, along with Senator Joseph McCarthy's Red Scare tactics, leaving many fearful of retaliation if they expressed opposing views or beliefs. The U.S. government preemptively aborted possible communist threats and, as a result, created a climate of fear and a massive demonstration of intolerance.

The civil rights movement was a monumental turn of events in the way the U.S. government viewed multiculturalism and diversity in the political context. The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954 denounced racial segregation and demanded that all people be given the same opportunities. Although the government made strides to promote tolerance during the civil rights movement, the continued existence of the Ku Klux Klan and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination in 1968 indicated that some people denounced tolerance and equal rights. Although the Fair Housing Act of 1968 prohibited redlining—the practice of denying housing, jobs, and services to African Americans and other nonwhite people—it continued to be practiced in cities across the nation. The

backlash and fear that surfaced during the civil rights movement was a blatant reminder of intolerance in the United States. The lack of appreciation, understanding, and empathy toward racial minorities resulted in hate crimes and denouncement of government reforms.

Understanding and Empathy

Acculturation is the cultural modification of an individual, or group of people, by adapting to another culture, or the merging of cultures to create a seemingly uniform society. This idea of the “melting pot” of cultures was widely accepted during the immigration waves of the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. The belief was that America would become a nation blind to race, culture, and religion, in which everyone would be equal. However, the melting pot approach failed to acknowledge fundamental differences in populations and perpetuated the issues of intolerance already afflicting the United States.

The movement toward understanding and empathy became more prevalent as society began to transition from acculturation to appreciation after the civil rights movement. The definition of tolerance indicates that people should work and live in the same places without prejudice. These people may disagree with or dislike each other’s views, but they allow these differences to exist without animosity toward one another. Understanding, on the other hand, means that people comprehend each other’s experiences, opinions, and cultural, racial, and religious differences, and they work to create an environment conducive to cohabitating respectfully. Empathy requires an emotional investment by all parties to be aware of, to be sensitive to, and vicariously experience the feelings, thoughts, and experiences of others. The experience of living in a multicultural society then becomes an emotional investment for all people, with respect and sympathy for all people. The United States is often portrayed as a diverse nation in which differences are celebrated and widely accepted, yet the history of the nation is filled with proclamations and laws that are overtly intolerant.

After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, hate crimes against the Muslim population increased in the United States and abroad. Concurrently, however, public displays of empathy and understanding for the Muslim population

increased, and non-Muslim people mourned alongside Muslims for the loss of lives at the Pentagon, in Pennsylvania, and at the World Trade Center. These public displays of mourning were meant as a statement that all Americans empathized with the loss of life and that the Muslim community was not responsible for the heinous acts of rebellious terrorists.

While the movement toward empathy and understanding is taking shape in many ways, a dichotomy of beliefs and attitudes toward tolerance is emerging. Hate groups, motivated to promote animosity and malice toward people based on religious beliefs, opinions, gender, race, and/or culture, are proliferating across the United States. Between 2008 and 2009, the number of hate groups increased by 40 percent. Continuing on this trend, hate groups rose from 1,753 groups in 2009 to 2,145 in 2010, a 22 percent increase. As the polarity between members of hate groups and citizens embracing diversity increases, the United States will experience a continued struggle to transform hate to tolerance, understanding, and empathy.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Diversity and Inclusion; Hate Crimes; Hate Crimes Laws; Hate Speech; Intercultural Communication.

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Tomás Rivera Policy Institute

The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute is one of the more prominent research centers dealing with the areas of education, discrimination, housing, electoral politics, and other societal issues specifically as they pertain to Latinos.

Founded by prominent academic Arturo Madrid and long housed at Claremont Graduate University, the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute is now housed at the University of Southern California's Sol Price School of Public Policy, with a satellite office at Columbia University. The institute was relaunched in the fall of 2011, led by Professor Roberto Suro. Under Suro's direction, the institute is broadening its reach beyond the traditional focus on Latino issues. The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute was a pioneer in conducting research regarding Latinos and has sought to provide accurate information through public events and publications.

Creation of the Institute

The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute was founded in 1985 and housed at Claremont Graduate University. It was named for Tomás Rivera, who was born in Texas to migrant farm workers and rose to become a prominent author, academic, and administrator, serving as chancellor of the University of California, Riverside. Rivera was the first Mexican American to serve as chancellor in the University of California system. The institute was founded shortly after the death of Rivera, who died in 1984 at the age of 48.

First supported by a grant of \$1.3 million from the Carnegie Corporation and the Times Mirror Foundation, the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute initially focused on problems faced by Latinos in education, with additional attention to the social and economic problems of the community. The

institute was affiliated with Claremont Graduate University but received independent funding.

The academic studies produced by the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute have made a substantial contribution to the understanding of Latinos in the United States and to the awareness of various issues throughout the past several decades. The institute has produced many working papers authored by the institute and reports authored by prominent scholars affiliated with the institute.

Beginning in 1993, the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute was led for many years by Harry Pachon, a pioneer in conducting research regarding Latinos. His research in Orange County, California, revealed that archconservative Republican Congressman Robert Dornan's district contained a significant number of both Latino and female voters. Orange County had long been considered a sacrosanct stronghold of the Republican Party, but Pachon pointed out Dornan's vulnerabilities. Providing information that belies conventional wisdom regarding Latinos has always been a hallmark of the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute and those affiliated with it.

Prominent contributors have included political scientists such as Rodolfo O. De La Garza, Louis DiSipio, Gary Freeman, and Jorge Chapa. The institute conducts research in many areas in which Latinos are little understood or studied. Latinos operate in between the black-white binary, with differences on the basis of race, language, citizenship status, and culture that are difficult to clarify. In addition, societal conceptions of Latinos tend to focus on them as a disorganized group with little interest in the political process. Institute studies have helped to demonstrate that a lack of information is often the reason for a lack of Latino electoral participation and incorporation. From its beginnings with a primary focus on education, under Pachon's leadership, research at the institute was done in such areas as bilingual education, immigration, and social policy. The research has varied from broad national studies to particular explorations of specific communities. Studies of problems facing areas with large Latino populations such as San Antonio, Texas, and the Inland Empire region of Southern California have been conducted. Areas such as the study of the underclass that have tended to focus on African Americans have been reframed with Latino perspectives.

Like many policy institutes, the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute has influences beyond academia. Throughout the past several decades, studies have been read by academics, elected officials, and policy makers. Research centers and policy institutes have the ability to play a unique role in connecting the public, government officials, and academia in a way that changes attitudes and introduces new perspectives.

One example of the way the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute combines policy research and practical concerns is a study conducted at the impetus of the Sallie Mae Fund. Virtually all Latino parents interviewed were aware that financial aid was a major concern in regard to sending their children to college, but half of the interviewees were unaware that programs such as Pell Grants and Stafford Loans were available. Continuing the institute's focus on education and information, this research has widespread applications for policy makers and the public.

Roberto Suro, the current head of the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, founded the Pew Hispanic Center in 2001. Suro has described himself as being influenced by the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute in seeking to found a research center.

Current Focus

The current focuses of the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute include language access in education, language access in health care, naturalization, higher education, civic maps, and student research. Without abandoning previous commitments made to the study of Latinos, the institute is seeking to support research that focuses on these particular issues.

One recent example of the work of the institute is a map on its Web site that provides a spatial representation of the potential beneficiaries of the federal government's deferred action program for undocumented immigrants. The program, announced by President Barack Obama and the Department of Homeland Security in June 2012, allows young, undocumented immigrants who meet certain criteria to obtain work permits. This map is emblematic of the work of the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute and shows how research centers have the potential to use increased technological resources to expand their potential influence and impact.

The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute has worked over several decades to provide insight and devote attention to issues such as language, education, and incorporation, particularly as they pertain to Latinos. Although Latinos are the largest community of color in the United States and account for a large share of population growth in the nation, they remain a group that is understudied and often misunderstood. Providing information and education regarding little-known realities of this group remains a paramount goal of the institute.

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See Also: Chicanos; Hispanic-Serving Institutions; Hispanic Americans; Latinos.

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Tong

In North America, a tong is an organization found in the Chinatowns in American and Canadian cities. In the Chinese language, *tong* means "hall" or "meeting place." In the North American Chinese immigrant community, the term *tong* came to refer to the secret societies or fraternal organizations that would become a greatly influential part of the Chinese immigrant community during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The structure of a tong can be most closely compared to that of fraternal organizations of the Western world; in fact, members of some tongs are known as Chinese Freemasons. Tong halls were (and continue to be) marked clearly in Chinese in most American Chinatowns. Starting with the first major wave of Chinese immigration in the 1800s, tongs helped

establish and protect the interests of Chinese immigrants when others were overtly hostile to these individuals. Tongs claim simply to be benevolent community organizations, and indeed, some are, but many are also involved in organized crime. Contemporary tongs have street gangs associated with them instead of being blatantly attached.

Origins

After settling in west coast cities, Chinese workers faced hostility from non-Chinese Americans. Because of such hostile conditions, some Chinese immigrants moved east. This is why Chinatowns can be found in many east coast cities. No matter where they finally settled, Chinese soon organized voluntary associations for support and protection.

American tongs were modeled on Chinese secret societies that formed to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and restore the Ming Dynasty, although activities of American tongs were mostly apolitical. Tongs were organized based on home province, family name, native dialect, or preexisting sworn brotherhoods. These groups were structured similarly to southern Chinese secret societies and sworn brotherhoods, and they often included initiation ceremonies paying respect to various deities.

Originally, tongs provided critical community services such as representing individuals who lacked surnames and establishing Chinatowns in cities with sizable Chinese populations. Unfortunately, many tongs did not have resources to stage community events or outreach, so they turned inward for support. Although some tongs remained uncorrupted, many without hereditary finances turned to illegal activities. The illicit goods and services typically provided by criminal tongs included gambling, prostitution, opium, and “protection” services. Such black-market activity firmly transitioned certain tongs from community organizations to providers of illegal services.

Tong Wars

As tongs and their corresponding territories grew in size, they inevitably came into conflict with each other. The high point of these conflicts, known as the Tong Wars, ranged the 70-year period between the 1850s and the 1920s. Although conflicts

could include issues surrounding turf, business, and long-standing feuds that could be traced back to China, the primary cause of conflicts between tongs of this era centered on prostitution.

To understand the Tong Wars period, one must understand the male-to-female ratio of Chinese enclaves in America in the 1800s. Labor offered in the United States was male dominated; additionally, immigrant laborers could not typically afford to bring their families with them. These factors combined to result in very few Chinese women in the United States. As a result, the highly patriarchal tongs attempted to alleviate this situation by “importing” prostitutes from China, bringing them either willingly or unwillingly. Interviews with former gang members in the mid-20th century revealed that if an individual paid off the debt incurred by a woman’s indentured servitude to the individual she owed that debt, conflict between tongs would not result. Thus, these were not conflicts over romance; they were conflicts over property. The involvement of the tongs only aggravated these prostitution-centered property



Chinatown’s Friendship Archway is seen looking west on H Street in Washington, D.C. The area is known for its annual Chinese New Year festival and parade. Tongs provide essential services for communities such as these.

disputes, with an end result of violent street brawls with hatchets and knives, as opposed to fistfights behind bars.

Tongs in Contemporary Society

Although criminal tongs enjoyed a great deal of power between 1850 and 1930, they never regained that power. As the Chinese population became better integrated into American society, Chinese became less dependent on tongs for critical services. Through this process, criminal tongs began to disappear, but they did not simply fade away. During the Red Scare of the 1950s, tongs capitalized on American anticommunist policies, and a slight resurgence in immigration during the 1960s helped maintain the power of the tongs. The 1990s saw a resurgence of tong-related criminal activity. However, this criminal surge was not associated with the tongs themselves, but with criminal gangs affiliated with the tongs.

Most of the remaining, currently existing tongs are tied to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Associations. Through these associations, tongs continue to provide essential services for Chinatown communities. Services include immigrant counseling, Chinese schools, and English classes for adults.

In the modern era, most tongs have attempted to transition into fraternal or community organizations. However, street gangs are often tied to tongs; these gangs pick up the illegal activity that the tong itself once engaged in and share much of the culture and problems of gangs of other ethnicities. Although it would be easy to dismiss these gangs as simply delinquent youth organizations, they are just as dangerous as other criminal organizations. In fact, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other crime prevention organizations have devoted significant resources to stopping these gangs. Like other crime organizations, well-established tongs usually have chapters in multiple cities while having a headquarters in a specific city. Notable American tongs include Bing Kong Tong (based in San Francisco), Hip Sing Tong (based in New York City), On Leong Tong (based in New York City), and the Four Brothers Association (based in San Francisco).

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See Also: Chinatowns; Chinese Americans; Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association; Organization of Chinese Americans.

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Track and Field and Ethnic Diversity

Sports are a reflection of society, sharing its primary features while demonstrating the duality and paradox that categorizes its existence. Sports can serve as a bridge to cross barriers to obvious multicultural differences, and the sport of track and field in particular provides an enlightening look into issues of sports diversity and multiculturalism. Various noteworthy individuals and watershed moments have left an indelible mark on American society.

Great Track and Field Athletes

One renowned athlete who greatly exemplified facets of the sport's diversity was Jim Thorpe. Over the past century, the legacy of Thorpe's athletic accomplishments has received great recognition and served to install him as a Native American icon and role model. Thorpe has been widely recognized as one of the greatest all-around athletes of all time. In addition to his accolades in other sports, he won multiple gold medals in the 1912 Olympics.

Jesse Owens showed, perhaps like no other athlete, how the Olympic Games provide a highly visible platform to demonstrate ways that track and field is able to impact not just individual nations but the world as well. Owens, an African



Jesse Owens shown at the beginning of his record-breaking 200-meter race during the Olympic Games in 1936 in Berlin. Owens was the most successful athlete at the summer games that year and won four gold medals.

American, won four gold medals in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, making a monumental impact on the “Nazi Olympics,” as German führer Germany Adolf Hitler was hoping to use the games to further his Aryan supremacy ideals and further promote his country’s visibility and propagandized supremacy.

The Rafer Johnson–C. K. Yang rivalry also drew attention to the social significance of the story of multicultural America. This rivalry was composed of two UCLA teammates: Johnson, who was an African American who excelled on the track from a young age, and C. K. Yang, who was raised in Taiwan and represented that country in the games. The two individuals competed for national supremacy in the 1960 Olympic decathlon in Rome and, along with Vasili

Kuzbetsov of the Soviet Union, vied for dominance on a global scale.

Billy Mills, like Jim Thorpe before him, has served as a Native American role model and sports hero. Mills attained fame with his unlikely emergence as gold medal winner and world record holder for his performance in the 10,000-meter run at the Tokyo Games in 1960. He was further immortalized in the 1983 motion picture *Running Brave*.

One of the most visible events in track and field history occurred when elite athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos made their “Black Power” salute on the 200-meter race medal stand at the 1968 Mexico City Games. Although very controversial, the event sparked great discussion and reflection about human rights as associated with the sport, the Olympic Games, and beyond. Carlos and Smith were aware of the impact that the Olympics have on the entire world as well as the fact that millions of people would be watching as they took the stand representing the United States. The “Black Power” salute was to protest against racism in the United States and uphold the importance of human rights.

Olympic hero Florence Griffith-Joyner was an embodiment of the drive for athletes to promote themselves. This drive, coupled with contemporary celebrity culture, has allowed track and field athletes to regularly seek ways to “brand” themselves through their vividly displayed combinations of athleticism, individuality, and fashion. An African American noted for her innovative fashion sense, “Flo-Jo” was easily recognizable for her stunning looks, exceptionally long nails, and trademark track uniforms. Many aspiring track and field stars hope to obtain such a level of adulation.

Contemporary Diversity

The diversity in track and field sheds some light on the factors that impact this prominent sport. Track and field is a popular genre within the world of sports, and the diversity of participation makes the sport one of the most unique and time-tested athletic competitions.

Through a kaleidoscope of different races, ethnicities, abilities, cultures, and other defining attributes—establishing and celebrating the differences that bring competitors together—the

sport provides a gathering place for persons from various backgrounds to display superb skills and represent their cultures.

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See Also: Baseball and Ethnic Diversity; Basketball and Ethnic Diversity; Brooklyn Dodgers; Sports and Ethnic Diversity.

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Trail of Tears

Often associated with Cherokee removal, the term *Trail of Tears*, a rough translation of the Cherokee *nunna dual tsuny*, meaning "Trail Where We Cried," refers to the migration route and the removal experience that members of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Muscogee/Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole) endured between 1831 and 1859 as they were relocated from their ancient homelands in the southeastern

United States to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma. The U.S. government's removal policy, which culminated in the 1830 Indian Removal Act, sought to open up Native American land in the east for settlement by European Americans while also providing permanent settlements for Native Americans on land west of the Mississippi River. Relocation, often by force and sometimes in chains, was undertaken on foot, by wagon, on horseback, and sometimes via steamboat. Most groups who made the difficult journey suffered incredible loss of life, as thousands died from disease, exposure, exhaustion, and starvation.

Although the Indian Removal Act of 1830 was passed during Andrew Jackson's presidency, the federal government's policy of Indian removal began with President Thomas Jefferson some 30 years earlier. Both presidents favored the idea of removing all American Indian tribes in the east to unoccupied land west of the Mississippi River in order to make way for European American settlements. To accomplish this, Jefferson and Jackson had to extinguish Native American claims to lands in the southeast, the ownership of which was guaranteed by existing treaties between the various sovereign American Indian nations and the U.S. government. This was often done through fraudulent treaties.

Moreover, Jefferson (and George Washington before him) was also an early advocate of "civilizing" American Indians, which required them to give up their culture, religion, and lifestyle in favor of European customs, such as Western-style education and dress, Christianity, and a sedentary, agricultural lifestyle. One anticipated outcome of the civilization process was that Native American tribes would give up their collectively owned ancestral homelands in exchange for smaller tracts of land and other necessities. This did not happen, and in the southeast, where the American Indian tribes embraced the "civilizing" process (resulting in their being dubbed the Five Civilized Tribes), they did not willingly cede their land. Some fought removal through legal actions and even war. Ultimately, federal and state authorities forcibly removed all eastern tribes that did not comply voluntarily. By 1837, 46,000 Native Americans were removed from their homelands in the southeast, opening up 25 million acres of land for settlement.

Choctaw Removal

At the time of removal, the Choctaw lived in the present-day states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Between 1801 and 1830, numerous treaties reduced Choctaw land significantly, but the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek ceded their remaining land to the United States and also negotiated the relocation of the Choctaw Nation to Indian Territory. It also made exceptions for Choctaw who wished to remain in Mississippi, which included state citizenship and land ownership. According to the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, one-third of the Mississippi Choctaw would leave their homes (without personal possessions) and move west of the Mississippi River beginning in 1831. The remaining Choctaw would emigrate in two stages over the next two years.

The first group of approximately 4,000 Choctaw to relocate made the 555-mile journey in one of the harshest winters in the Arkansas–Mississippi area in November 1831 (with most reaching Indian Territory in March of 1832). Flash floods, freezing temperatures, and snow and sleet delayed their progress, with conditions exacerbated by dwindling food rations, illness, and some serious mishaps in government planning for the removal operation (such as steamboats not being ordered and the Choctaw being deposited at the wrong locale, where basic supplies such as shelter and food were inadequate for their numbers). Although agents recorded that most had survived (3,749), the journey cost the government two to three times more than originally estimated, a fact that would impact all subsequent removals.

The second mass removal of Choctaw, of more than 5,000 people, occurred in 1832. Plagued by the cholera epidemic that spread from the north as well as by torrential rains and flooding, many in this group died of exposure. The third and final removal of the Choctaw took place between October and December 1833. In addition, many Choctaw moved of their own accord, as the government encouraged, but many never received the benefits promised because the removal books or accounts had been closed. In total, approximately 12,500 Choctaw relocated, while 6,000 stayed in Mississippi, as permitted by the Treaty of Deer Rabbit Creek (which stipulated that they register with agent William Ward, who reportedly refused most of them). Most of those who remained in

Mississippi were eventually removed because they didn't have any legal rights to land, after agent Ward failed to fulfill the treaty obligations. Some of those who were allowed to register have descendants living there to this day.

Muscogee (Creek) Removal

The Muscogee (Creek) removal, which followed Choctaw relocation, was not peaceful. To prevent individual Muscogee leaders from ceding more land to Georgia, the Creek Confederacy enacted a law making further land cessions a capital crime. The 1825 Treaty of Indian Springs, signed by Muscogee leader William McIntosh and others, ceded all Creek land in Georgia and portions of Creek land in Alabama in exchange for money and land in Indian Territory. The Creek National Council protested that the treaty was fraudulent. It was later nullified and revised in the 1826 Treaty of Washington, but the Creek were unable to recoup their land in Georgia. In addition, Governor George M. Troup of Georgia ignored the new treaty and began forcibly removing the Creek under the terms of the previous one.

After the Creeks in Georgia were removed, Alabama began exerting the same pressure upon the Creeks living there. Followed the signing of the Muscogee removal treaty in 1832 (the Treaty of Cusseta), which divided Creek land into allotments, conservative factions refused to leave, resulting in the Creek War of 1836–37. Finally, Commander Winfield Scott and the U.S. Army captured 14,500 Creeks and forcibly marched them to Oklahoma (at least 2,500 made the trip in chains). Many perished along the way, and many more, approximately 3,200, died from exposure and disease after arriving in Oklahoma. In total, 23,000 Creeks were removed from Alabama and Georgia to Oklahoma between 1825 and 1838.

Chickasaw Removal

The Chickasaw underwent removal from their homelands in present-day Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi in 1837, under the Treaty of Doaksville. Unlike the other tribes, who received land in Indian Territory in exchange for their current land, the Chickasaw negotiated a monetary settlement. In 1837, the Chickasaw were resettled on land leased from the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory. The Chickasaw were one of the last of

the Five Civilized Tribes to undergo removal, and relatively few died during the process. The Chickasaw were not able to establish their own territory and form their own government until 1856.

Cherokee Removal

Numerous land cessions made between the Cherokee, the British, and the United States from 1721 and 1835 had greatly reduced their ancestral homelands. At the time of removal the Cherokee were part of the educated, agricultural, feudal society in the south. Many were land and homeowners, owned slaves that worked their plantations, and had participated in the civil war (the south had promised them the return of tribal land for their support). The Cherokee had no desire to give up their land or way of life. However, after the 1829 Georgia gold rush—and the discovery of gold on Cherokee land in Georgia—the state of Georgia endeavored to force Cherokee removal by imposing state law over their lands. The Cherokee fought removal in the courts. In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Georgia could not extend its laws in Cherokee territory. Despite the Cherokee's legal success, Georgia continued to force the Cherokee off their land through activities like the illegal land grab of 1832, while President Andrew Jackson pressured the Cherokee to sign a removal treaty.

The first group of Cherokee voluntarily emigrated in April 1832. The second group, approximately 2,000, relocated after the U.S. government enforced the controversial 1835 Treaty of New Echota, which was signed by a small group of Cherokee known as the Treaty Party. It provided for the cession of all Cherokee territory east of the Mississippi in exchange for financial compensation and land in present-day Oklahoma. The majority of Cherokee, represented by Chief John Ross, opposed the treaty. Nonetheless, the U.S. government gave them two years to voluntarily relocate, which some did. The majority did not, and between 1838 and 1839, 14,000 Cherokee were rounded up and placed in internment camps, while their homes and property were plundered and destroyed. Many died in the camps awaiting removal. Countless others perished along the 1,500-mile-long journey. It has been estimated that at least one-quarter of the Cherokee perished during removal, resulting in the phrase *Trail of Tears*.

Seminole Removal

Eleven years after the United States acquired Florida from Spain, the Seminole signed the Treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832, requiring them to move west and become part of the Creek Nation. Although the treaty was signed and suitable land was identified, once back in Florida, the Seminole refused to leave, arguing that the treaty had been signed by unrepresentative chiefs and was therefore fraudulent. Many also expressed reservations about merging with the Creek. By 1838, approximately 1,500 Seminole had been rounded up and forcibly moved to Indian Territory.

Two-thirds died along the way from disease, starvation, and attacks by whites. The Seminole refused to leave their homeland and continued to fight federal authorities over removal, sparking the Second Seminole War (1835–42). After the war, most of the Seminole, approximately 4,500, were relocated to Indian Territory. The Third Seminole War, which took place between 1855 and 1858, ended with another, much smaller group of Seminole forcibly removed in chains in February of 1859. Some Seminole remained in Florida, but by that point the United States chose not spend any more than it already had (\$30 million) fighting to relocate the Seminole.

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See Also: Cherokee; Chickasaw; Choctaw; Five Civilized Tribes; Indian Removal Act (1830); Indian Territory; Muscogee; Seminole.

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Translators/Interpreters

The 2012 statistical abstract compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau shows that there are at least 382 categories of language families spoken in households in the United States. These categories are the most frequently spoken languages other than English in the nation and can be further categorized into four major language groups: Spanish, other Indo-European languages, Asian and Pacific Island languages, and all other languages.

The number of people who speak a language other than English at home has grown by more than 50 percent over the last three decades, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. During this time, the percentage of speakers of non-English languages grew by 140 percent. The Spanish-speaking population accounted for the largest numeric increase, and Vietnamese speakers accounted for the largest percentage increase. The consistent increments in immigrant populations and native languages in the United States, as well as the Court Interpreters Act (1978)—which states that “the United States Courts shall establish a program to facilitate the use of certified and otherwise qualified interpreters in judicial proceedings instituted by the United States” for speakers of languages other than English—have fueled the need for professional interpreters and translators in all institutional fields.

Difference Between Translators and Interpreters

The use of formal and informal interpreters has existed since humans formed cultures and began to interact with different groups. In many societies, bilingual individuals interpret and translate for relatives or friends who do not speak the local language. Today, translators are identified as professional communicators who use the written language to convey messages from one language to another, and build bridges between people, organizations, and cultures.

Interpreters are specialists in spoken or verbal communication between people and/or organizations. The work of a professional interpreter is to convey, as accurately as possible, the content and essence of a spoken message from one language into another. Interpretation is used extensively in the United States in government, medical, and

court settings, as well as in business and international conferences, press conferences, educational settings, and other places. There are certified court interpreters and conference interpreters in the United States, but many work informally. Sign language is also considered a language and a category of interpretation.

According to the Association of Translators and Interpreters, there are three types of interpretation: (1) consecutive interpretation, in which the interpreter speaks after the speakers; (2) simultaneous interpretation, in which the interpreter speaks at the same time as the speaker; and (3) escort interpretation, in which the interpreter accompanies the client to events. Nowadays, simultaneous interpretation may be performed using advanced technological equipment, such as headsets and microphones. Sign language is usually performed simultaneously. Consecutive interpretation tends to be restricted to more intimate settings and smaller groups, simultaneous interpretation is the most widely used technique.

In order to provide accurate translation, interpreters and translators must possess a profound knowledge of language as well as ample intercultural experience. To be able to convey the essence of a message in another language, interpreters and translators must concentrate on precision, impact, and specialized terms, while taking into consideration textual and contextual nuances. Translators and interpreters may work independently or be employed in organizations in the public and private sectors.

Machine-Based Interpretation

Although there has been a great amount of research and development of machine-based interpretation and translation, the results continue to prove unsatisfactory at many levels. As Marc Seligman indicates, the difficulties involved with machine-based simultaneous speech interpretation relate to the necessity to effectively integrate different types of knowledge, such as cultural, semantic, phonological, lexical, and syntactic. Although there recently has been improvement in the quality of machine translation, as Gregor Thurmair explains, translation machines are still based on sets of linguistic rules and models, with limited scope of cultural knowledge. Therefore, they have not been able

to match the psychological and cultural differences and inflections of human speech, in both its verbal and written forms.

Translation Theory

As the concept of intercultural exchange and globalization has grown in academic circles, cultural studies and literature scholars have explored the uses of translation as a point of departure from which to analyze the changes and exchanges in cultures around the world. Translation theory has taken root and evolved as translation of postcolonial literature arose in academic circles, reflecting the need at large for deeper understanding of other cultures. From the point of view of Translation theory, many scholars find problems with the principle of translatability, or the extent to which concepts can be translated. Mikhail Bakhtin and his followers, for example, have argued that a text is never completely translatable.

Whereas some scholars emphasize language as a fluid system to express culture, other scholars find that language is a way to organize knowledge systematically. Nevertheless, there is no general consensus today as to the particulars of interaction in which language and culture take place. The practical consequences of these views for interpreters and translators are multiple. Professionals must possess in-depth knowledge not only of the target languages involved but also of at least two cultures in the areas of linguistic relevance. They must also be skilled in comprehending the limitations of word-by-word translation while adhering as much as possible to the essence of the concepts in the message.

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See Also: Bilingualism; Diversity and Inclusion; Language Brokers; Language Usage in the United States.

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Tree Grows in Brooklyn, A

Set in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, at the beginning of the 20th century, the 1945 film *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (based on Betty Smith’s 1943 novel of the same title and debuting as a stage musical in 1951) centers on the experiences of the Nolan family; their desperate struggles against poverty, made worse by the alcoholism of the charming and loving but feckless, or “pipe-dreaming” father, Johnny (James Dunn); and the eventual prospect of a better life as the widowed mother, Katie (Dorothy McGuire), is courted by a kindly and reliable neighborhood policeman, Officer McShane (Lloyd Nolan). Throughout, the family’s indomitable spirit is symbolized by a neighborhood tree. At the film’s outset, it has seemingly been cut down and killed, but at the close, as Katie has agreed to keep company with McShane, it has once more begun to grow; both sprouting from the cement, the family and the tree survive the travails of city life. The new growth of the tree also represents the blooming of daughter Francie (Peggy-Ann Garner), in many ways the central character, as she enters the cup of womanhood.

Ethnic Stereotypes

The tenements of *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*’s Williamsburg teem with “hyphenated” Americans from around the globe, epitomized by the Nolan family’s Austrian–Irish partnership. To some extent, ethnic stereotypes abound; the barber is Italian, garment workers are Jewish, and

the Irish are cops, bartenders, or alcoholics. But in contrast to the prejudices and confrontations explored by director Elia Kazan in *Gentlemen's Agreement* and *Pinky*, the bringing together of nationalities, which the Brooklyn melting pot facilitates, is seen as representing hope for the future. Katie's mother, Grandma Rommely (Ferila Beros), who still speaks with a heavy Austrian accent and is herself illiterate, has a strong reverence for books and insists that Francie and her brother Neeley (Ted Donaldson) read every evening, even if the meaning escapes them. She says to Katie in the presence of the children:

To this new land your father and I came long ago because we heard it is something good. In that old country a child can go no further than his father's state. But here in this place, each one is free to go as far as he is good to make up himself. This way the child can be better than the parent. And this has to do with the learning which here is free to all people.

This paean to America as a land of opportunity was later captured in Kazan's film *America, America* (1963), which tells the story of his own uncle's trials in emigrating from a Turkish village to America, and founding the family fortune; but in this instance it is Francie, an aspiring writer, who we feel represents the family's future.

A Tree Grows in Brooklyn is a richly layered film. It explores the poverty that beset the working classes of whatever ethnicity, and it was one of the first Hollywood films to sensitively address the issue of alcoholism. The children are trained to refer not to their father's drunkenness but to his "sickness," and Katie persuades the doctor (George M. Carleton) to omit chronic alcoholism from Johnny's death certificate. The film also explores feminist issues, even if the characters might have been unfamiliar with the term.

All the strong players are female: Grandma Rommely; Katie, who is determined that "my kids is gonna be somebody if I have to turn into granite rock to make 'em"; her unconventional thrice-married sister, Sissy (Joan Blondell), who has an earthy sexuality but also a sensitive understanding; the schoolteacher, Miss McDonough (Ruth Nelson), who inspires Francie's writing; and, of course, Francie herself. Francie is the microcosm

of hope, fusing the best elements of a multicultural family. She brings to life her grandmother's reverence for books; her determination to read through every book in the public library in alphabetical order because she wants "to know everything in the world" reflects her mother's "granite" aspiration, but also she has her father's loving sensitivity. It is Miss McDonough who makes Francie realize that the difference between "pipe dreaming" (her father's curse) and "imagination" is the addition of hard work.

Contemporary Metaphor

The females in *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* have to be strong because of the poverty of their day, but in fact their strength, unity, and struggles have a contemporary metaphor. In 1945, America remained at war, many husbands and fathers were away fighting or had been killed in action, and across the country women on the home front had to take jobs and support their children, just as widowed and pregnant Katie did. Again, the issue of multiculturalism is important.

Films made during World War II portrayed America as a universal nation, with representatives of every race, ethnicity, and locale pulling together for the greater good. So, too, the melting pot of Brooklyn not only set an example of bravery to endure hard times but also, through the model of Francie, pointed the way that the youth of America would rebuild a better nation in the peaceful time to come.

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See Also: Austrian Americans; *Gentlemen's Agreement*; Irish Americans; *Saturday Night Fever*.

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Tribal Enrollment

In contemporary discourse, there are a number of issues surrounding American Indian identity. Currently, there are many alternative criteria for identification and qualification for tribal enrollment, such as individual self-identification, genealogical gradients, and political affiliation. Accordingly, the issue of tribal enrollment is sometimes contentious. Enrolling in a particular tribe is often considered a cultural and political right to express a citizenship-based membership rather than a purely racial one. In the light of treaties and other historic agreements, the relationship between the U.S. government and tribal communities is almost entirely political and effectively international. To benefit from treaty agreements, an individual must be an enrolled member of a tribe, a citizen of

that nation. Qualifications for tribal membership vary, and regulations have changed significantly in the past 150 to 200 years. Although each tribal nation has a sovereign right to decide upon its membership regulations internally, U.S. government policies have influenced tribal decisions in the historical past as well as in the modern era.

Pre-Columbian Era to the Dawes Act

In pre-Columbian times, tribes did not conceive of themselves racially—this was a concept introduced through colonialism. Instead, tribes tended to view the world as consisting of “us” and “everyone else.” Intermarriage was a common means of forging political alliances between tribes, and ethnic boundaries tended to be fluid between different tribal groups. Membership in a tribe was based purely on social custom; it was



A young Native American boy in tribal gear dances during a powwow. Some tribes have begun to embrace lineal descent to ensure future existence of their culture, language, and ceremonial practices. This means that anyone directly descended from the original tribal enrollees could be eligible for tribal enrollment, regardless of how much Indian blood they have.

not until colonialism, particularly the expansion of the 1800s, that racial definitions of tribal membership began to take hold.

Beginning in the 1860s a number of census records were taken, distinguishing members of tribal communities via blood quantum measures. Blood quantum identifies racial membership as a product of ancestry. A person with two Indian parents, for example, is considered to be a “full-blood”; a person whose parents are Indian and white is considered a “half-blood”; and a person with a half-blood parent and a non-Indian parent would be considered a quadroon or “quarter-blood”; and so on. This means of judging a person’s identity is seen as quantitative ancestry, and such distinctions were initially used by the U.S. government as a means of excluding individuals from being considered indigenous, thereby severing the government’s obligations to them.

One particularly influential moment was the enactment of the Dawes Act in 1893, which marked the first instance when blood quantum was used as a means of assigning allotments of land. Documents, later called the Dawes Rolls, were created as a result of this process, and these rolls were the first instance when tribal enrollment began to officially exist as a legal form of tribal citizenship.

Although these methods of qualifying identity were first introduced by the U.S. government, many tribes began to use them willingly to determine their own membership during this period. The Choctaw government, for instance, began to use blood quantum in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This period, which saw the first indigenous adoption of colonial definitions of tribal citizenship, marked an important point in history; Choctaw definitions of membership within the tribe changed completely as a direct result of the enrollment process, with older, more amorphous notions of belonging being eradicated in favor of legal classification.

The Indian Reorganization Act Era

The allotment period was merely the first period of tribal enrollment regulation. Official enrollment for most tribes began between the 1930s and 1950s, after the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 was passed. This legislation reversed a number of Dawes Act regulations and

returned tribes to a status of self-government. The act encouraged (but did not require) tribes to adopt a constitution, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) played an important role in designing many of the tribal constitutions adopted during this period, with templates being provided by the administration and distributed among tribes. One infamous clause included in the standard document stipulated a one-quarter blood quantum requirement for enrollment.

In the wake of these ready-made constitutions, a large number of tribes began to adopt blood quantum regulations as a necessity for tribal enrollment. Aside from the BIA influence, the proliferation of blood quantum regulations during this period can also be attributed to the lack of federal census taking. After the 1930s, the federal government ceased taking records of tribal populations, meaning that many tribes did not have the appropriate records to institute base enrollment (descent enrollment), which would allow individuals to enroll in a tribe if they were related to an ancestor from a historic base roll. Parental enrollment, or lineal descent, rules were also instituted during this period; this type of regulation states that individuals are eligible for membership only if a parent had been an enrolled member. Some tribes even go so far as to stipulate which parent must be enrolled. For instance, the Santa Clara Pueblo enroll only members with paternal descent, whereas the Seneca Tribe requires maternal membership.

Self-Determination Era

The third major period of high tribal constitution and enrollment activity is marked by the self-determination era during the 1970s and 1980s. Between the IRA and the self-determination eras came a period commonly referred to as the termination policy era. During this period, over 100 tribes had their federal recognition revoked by the U.S. government; subsequently, over 12,000 American Indians were stripped of their tribal affiliations. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, a number of civil rights movements began to gain momentum, resulting in the U.S. government adopting a policy of tribal self-determination, beginning with the Indian Civil Rights Act in 1968 and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975.

Because of this direct shift toward self-determination, tribes were again encouraged to create and modify their constitutions and enrollment requirements. It was during this period that regulations were added to many tribal constitutions that prohibited members from enrolling in more than one tribe. Additionally, restrictions on lineal descent and blood quantum increased during this period. As a result, nearly 70 percent of all American Indian tribal constitutions now have blood quantum rules, a drastic increase from 44 percent in 1950.

Statistics

The 2010 Census reported official population numbers for the American Indian population as 5.2 million people; 2.3 million of these people identified as “American Indian in combination with another race” (AC), meaning that 2.9 million are “American Indian alone” (AO). The American Indian population seems to be continually increasing, with the AC group increasing by 39 percent and the AO population increasing by 18 percent according to census statistics. Despite this increase, however, tribal enrollment numbers are in decline.

Discrepancies between enrollment and census numbers result from several factors. First, enrollment in a tribe is based on individual tribal requirements, whereas census numbers are based on self-identification, meaning individuals may identify racially but not qualify politically (especially in the AC group). However, even if one examines solely the AO population, the numbers still differ significantly. As of 2005, 1.9 million people were enrolled in federally recognized tribes, a difference of at least 1 million people—even without including AC Natives.

Reasons for this decline in enrollment numbers vary. One is a high rate of endogenous marriage (even to a person from another tribe), which can result in children who are ineligible for enrollment; some tribes have begun to promote even stricter enrollment requirements in response to resource shortages and an inability to provide for their existing members. There is also a fear among some tribes that if requirements are loosened, “wannabe Indians” (people who are not related to the tribe but wish they were) and “per-cap Indians” (members who only want to enroll

only for monetary reasons) will be entitled to enroll. However, these worries can sometimes go too far in the opposite direction, and a number of tribes have begun to actively disenroll members as well. Tribes with high gaming interests have been known to disenroll individuals in order to enable higher payouts for existing members, despite the legitimacy of an individual’s right of enrollment; other tribes, such as the Cherokee Nation, have also intentionally altered membership requirements to produce mass disenrollment based on racial distinctions. In 2007, the Cherokee Nation adopted the lineal definition of the Dawes Rolls, in which Cherokee members were separated from “freedmen” by lineage and blood—a separation that reflected racist beliefs that one could not be both Cherokee and African.

Despite these complex problems of sovereignty and cultural versus political belonging, based on current requirements, most tribes will be unable to enroll new members in about 50 years. Accordingly, some tribes have begun to embrace lineal descent as one of the few ways to ensure their future existence. Some traditionalists, however, see this approach as leading to a loss of tribal identity. Others propose using cultural restrictions such as language, residence, or ceremonial participation, despite some claims that these regulations are overly subjective. Regardless of the approach, one thing remains true: current regulations must change if tribal nations are to continue to exist.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Dawes Act (1887); Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Quadroon; *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* (1978).

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Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, there are an estimated 188,852 Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans. There is a margin of error for this count of plus or minus 5,242; this is in part because Caribbean immigrants, including those from Trinidad and Tobago, accounted for more than 3 percent of illegal immigrants in the United States as of 2009. The Trinidadian and Tobagonian American community is the second-largest English-speaking Caribbean community in the United States, second to Jamaican Americans. Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans have had a substantial impact on American culture and continue to thrive as their own unique community, as part of the larger community of Caribbean Americans and as Americans.

First-Wave Immigration and Early History

Christopher Columbus landed on Trinidad in 1498 and met with indigenous peoples there: the Arawaks and Caribs. Not long thereafter, Trinidad and Tobago were colonized by the Spanish and used for their natural resources. A booming sugar industry as well as a cocoa industry grew up in Trinidad and Tobago, first under the Spanish.

Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigration to the United States has generally followed the trends of Caribbean immigration to the American colonies. The first known instance of Afro-Caribbean immigration to the American colonies was in 1619. That year, a Dutch ship docking in Virginia arrived with a small group of voluntary indentured workers from the Caribbean. These immigrants worked as free people until 1629,

when the slave ships of Portugal began to deliver slaves captured off of Africa's western coast.

Trinidad served as a clearinghouse for slaves en route to the United States, as did much of the British West Indies. This location was ground zero for "breaking" captured peoples and readying them both physically and psychologically for a life of brutal slavery. These West Indies training grounds were ridden with European diseases. Those captured people who survived went on to the American colonies with new immunity to deadly diseases.

By 1783, the king of Spain, recognizing the need for more labor in a controllable setting, passed the Cedula of Population law, which promised Europeans free land in Trinidad so long as they agreed to work it. This brought French settlers with Creole slaves to the area, primarily on the sugar plantations, and this accounts for the French and Creole aspects of today's Trinidadian and Tobagonian and Trinidadian and Tobagonian American cultures. The two nations came under British rule in the early 19th century. The sugar and cocoa industries were quite lucrative until damaged by the emancipation of slaves in 1834.

Soon after the abolishment of slavery in Trinidad and Tobago, contract laborers from India came to the islands to reenergize the flagging sugar and cocoa production. This period of Indian influx stretched from 1845 to 1917. Trinidad and Tobago were united as one country in 1888 while still under British rule. Oil was discovered on Trinidad in 1910, and this added a crucial export to the economy.

Second-Wave Immigration and Recent History

In 1962, Trinidad and Tobago gained independence from Great Britain. From 1966 to 1970, more than 23,000 Trinidadian and Tobagonian immigrants, from both the educated elite and rural poor classes, legally migrated to the United States. This immigration came as the black power movement gained momentum in the country. Undergraduate students at the St. Augustine campus of the University of the West Indies formed political organizations, including the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC). The NJAC engaged in political demonstrations advocating for black power and a return to, and understanding and appreciation of,

traditional African cultural mores. This movement was aided by the path of immigration, as close ties were maintained between Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans and their friends and relatives back home. This is one of the reasons the work of Americans like Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael was important to the local Trinidadian and Tobagonian political scene.

Trinidad and Tobago experienced political tumult in 1970. On April 6, Basil Davis, an activist, was killed by police. A. N. R. Robinson, a member of Parliament (and future president of the nation) resigned from Parliament to protest the killing and founded the Action Committee of Democratic Citizens (ACDC). On April 18, sugar workers went on strike, grinding much of the economy to a halt; other industries threatened to follow suit. A state of emergency was declared on April 21, and 15 black power leaders were arrested. This prompted a mutiny within the Trinidad Defense Force, which included the taking of hostages. After negotiations were held to resolve the situation, the crisis ended on April 25.

Perhaps in response to this internal turmoil, emigration increased, and from 1971 to 1975 approximately 33,278 Trinidadian and Tobagonians relocated to the United States. The rate of emigration dropped somewhat between 1976 and 1980, and again from 1981 to 1984, as U.S. immigration policy tightened. At this point, immigration numbers were fairly small but were definitely tied to the loss of power in traditional Trinidadian and Tobagonian circles and the rise of nationalism.

Petroleum and natural gas processing have been a major part of the Trinidadian and Tobagonian economy since the discovery of these resources, and when oil prices fell in the late 1980s the nation spiraled into a deep recession. This spurred a greater number of people to emigrate to the United States.

Modern Trinidadian and Tobagonian culture reflects influences from Africa, Spain, France, Portugal, India, and the United Kingdom, as does Trinidadian and Tobagonian American culture. The English language is the official tongue of Trinidad and Tobago, but Hindi, French, Spanish, and Chinese are also spoken both there and within Trinidadian and Tobagonian American communities. This interesting multicultural mix accounts for Trinidadian and Tobagonian

Americans having one of the most diverse cultural heritages in the world.

Notable Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans

Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans have become an integral part of the American music scene, most commonly as rap and hip-hop artists: Foxy Brown, Phife Dawg, The Mad Stuntman, MF Doom, and Nicki Minaj are all Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar is probably not only the most famous Trinidadian and Tobagonian American athlete but also one of the most famous basketball players in the world. Anantanand Rambachan is a noted Hindu scholar. Anya Ayoung-Chee, a former Miss Trinidad and Tobago Universe, went on to win Project Runway in 2009.

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See Also: Black Power Movement; Caribbean Americans; Jamaican Americans.

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Turkish Americans

Turkish Americans are one of the growing group of immigrants in the United States, with an estimated almost half a million Americans identifying

themselves as being of Turkish descent. Although the Turkish American population in the United States is relatively small, it is becoming significant part of the American tapestry, and its members take great pride in both their American identity and their Turkish heritage and traditions.

Despite the growing visibility of Turkish people in North America, in fields from arts to science, the population remains largely unknown and undocumented. The actual number of Turks in North America is estimated to be larger than the official statistics. There are 117,575 Americans who claimed Turkish ancestry according to the 2000 Census. In addition to Turkish people from Turkey, a number of ethnic Turks from the Balkans, Bulgaria, Cyprus, and the former Soviet Union have migrated to the United States. The largest populations of Turkish Americans are in New York City and Rochester, New York; Paterson, New Jersey; Washington, D.C.; and Detroit, Michigan.

Turkish migration to the United States took place in three phases: 1820 to 1921, 1950 to 1970, and post-1970s. The motives behind each phase are complex, and each reflects the history of the Ottoman Empire, the sociopolitical evolution of Turkey, and the search for a better life. As the Ottoman Empire started declining during the 18th and 19th centuries and lost Greece, North Africa, Romania, Bulgaria, and the Middle East, early Turkish immigrants began to emigrate from the Ottoman Empire to North America in significant numbers around 1900.

Turkish immigrants to the United States were predominantly from rural communities in Turkey. They settled in large, industrial cities and found employment as unskilled laborers. Approximately 20,000 immigrated during this period, more than 90 percent of these immigrants being men. Muslim Turks were about 5 percent of the total emigration in this phase. Many returned to Turkey to participate in the Turkish War of Independence in the 1920s, and others returned when the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923. It has been estimated that 80 percent of Turkish immigrants to the United States between 1899 and 1924 returned. In this phase, most immigrants were ethnic minorities from the Ottoman Empire: the majority of the first-phase migrants were of Greek and Armenian origin; migrants were also

Sephardic Jews, Serbs, Bosnians, Bulgarians, Romanians, Ukrainians, Azeri, Georgians, and Arab Christians. They settled the industrial cities of the northeastern and midwestern United States, such as Detroit, Michigan. Because of their common cultural practices, similar cuisine, and use of Turkish language, these immigrants stayed close, keeping strong connections among one another.

1940s Migration

Beginning in the late 1940s, a skilled and highly educated group immigrated to the United States, the majority being medical doctors, engineers, and scientists. Because they spoke fluent English and were highly educated, they were relatively affluent. They were few in numbers and were professionals with Western social values who adapted to American society. These newer immigrants have organized a new network of Turkish American associations and provide social support as well as a political lobbying network that has started to challenge the Greek and Armenian lobbies.

Until the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Turkish immigration was mostly confined to a few students who were sponsored by the Turkish government in order to gain greater technical skills. After the lifting of the quotas in 1965, a substantial number of Turkish people came for the better job opportunities and university system. This third group of Turkish immigrants started coming after the 1960s and 1970s. Most came for educational and economic opportunities, resulting in what has often been called "brain drain."

Some started to immigrate due to various political reasons and conflicts in Cyprus and eastern Turkey with the Kurdish. The majority were Muslims; over 200,000 migrants settled mostly in the mid-Atlantic states. After World War II, there was mass unemployment in Turkey and a higher demand for labor in western Europe. When the need for labor in Europe decreased around the 1960s, the Turkish again started to immigrate to North America. These migrants were literate, but with limited education and English language skills. At first, they worked in semiskilled jobs, such as at gas stations. Later, some started small businesses, hoping to move back to Turkey after retirement, but not all did so. Compared with the second-phase secular Turkish immigrants, this group considered themselves Turkish Muslims, established mosques, and

raised the next generation for Turkish Americans, who are well integrated into North America.

Current Status

Current immigration rates of Turkish Americans total several thousand a year. In addition to these immigrants, however, are nonimmigrants such as students, who come to study or find employment in the United States with a work visa; some later may receive permanent residency status, and some may eventually become U.S. citizens. Most Turks maintain dual citizenship. With the advent of new technologies, Turkish Americans can access news, movies, and TV shows from Turkey and keep in touch with friends and family in Turkey.

Today, Turkish Americans are visible in almost every community and walk of life, from education to politics, from medicine to literature. Numerous Turkish Americans have made a significant impact on American society, particularly in the fields of medicine, education, arts, and science. Major figures include playwright and dramatist Tunç Yalman; scientist and entrepreneur Kenan Sahin; news photographer Osmar Karakas; CEO of the Coca-Cola Company Muhtar Kent; Atlantic Records founder Ahmet Ertegun; contemporary classical and electronic music composer Bülent Arel; World Bank consultant Selcuk Ozgediz; cardiothoracic surgeon, author, and TV show host Mehmet Oz; one of the founders of social psychology, Muzafer Serif; and J. Willard Gibbs Professor Emeritus of Physics Feza Gursey.

The establishment of Turkish American associations and organizations has enabled Turks to organize Turkish cultural and social activities focusing on different aspects of Turkish American communities and involving Turkic peoples such as Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kazaks, Kirghiz, Karachays, and Tatars. The American Turkish Society promotes economic and commercial relations; the Assembly of Turkish American Associations creates cohesion and cooperation among Turkish American organizations; the Turkish American Scientists and Scholars Association encourages scientific collaboration between Turkey and the United States; the Turkish Cultural Foundation promotes and preserves Turkish culture and heritage; and some organizations are focused on the Islamic faith, such as the

Turkish-American Islamic Institute. There are a growing number of Turkish student associations, as American universities have more Turkish students; there is also a growing demand for Turkish cultural centers and heritage language schools for Turkish children born in the United States.

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See Also: Armenian Americans; Cypriot Americans; Greek Americans; Kurdish Americans; Muslim Americans.

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Tuskegee Airmen

During World War II, the men known as the Tuskegee Airmen were the first African American flying unit to serve in combat in the U.S. military. The Tuskegee Airmen envisioned a twofold mission that was frequently referred to as the Double V campaign, in which they sought victory over military enemies abroad and over racism and prejudice at home. The deployment of black pilots to aid in the war effort—and their many successes—helped create a groundswell of support to desegregate all branches of the U.S. military.

The Tuskegee Airmen inspired unprecedented reform in the armed forces as they paved the way for full racial integration in the post-World War II years. Although challenges did continue to exist, the Tuskegee Airmen broke down the racial color line in the armed forces and overcame challenges of prejudice and discrimination. They ultimately opened the door for black advancement at all levels of military service.

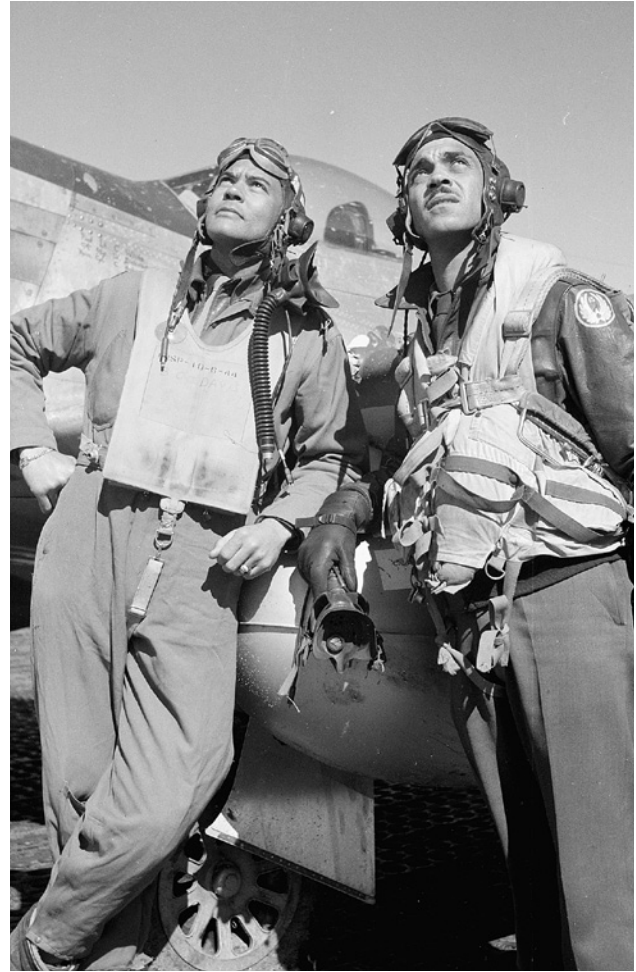
African Americans and the U.S. Military

Black participation in U.S. military excursions has a long and distinguished history, as blacks have provided military service in every U.S. war effort dating back to the American Revolution in the late 18th century. Issues of racial discrimination and denial had always existed prior to World War II, to the extent that black military service opportunities were severely limited. Within this racialized system, black military personnel received inferior pay, were recognized less often for military service, were blocked from advancing in military rank, and were assigned to duty with great reservation.

In October 1925, the War College of the U.S. Army issued a memorandum, "The Use of Negro Manpower in War." The memorandum noted that blacks were inferior to whites, unfit for leadership roles, and incapable of aviation. As a result, the memorandum encouraged continued segregation within the army. Many military leaders feared that integration would lead to inefficiency, reduce combat effectiveness, and ultimately increase racial tensions among military personnel. As a result of these beliefs, many have considered the training of the Tuskegee Airmen as an experiment established to prove black inferiority and blacks' lack of aviation skills.

Establishment

In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 to create an all-black flight training program with military purposes. In part, this action was initiated by a lawsuit filed in federal court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) on behalf of Howard University student Yancy Williams and others who sought to force the Department of War to accept black pilot trainees. Prior to this, blacks were denied many military opportunities because



Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. (left) and Edward C. Gleed wearing flight gear and standing with their airplane at an air base in Rametti, Italy, during World War II. Davis was made the first black U.S. Air Force flag officer.

of racism and conjectures of presumed black inferiority. President Roosevelt's initiative also was aimed at garnering much-needed support of black voters toward his goal of being elected to a third term in office. Some have argued that President Roosevelt had no intention of changing racial segregation in the military.

In 1941, the War Department and the Army Air Corps constituted the 99th Pursuit Squadron, which was the first all-black flying unit. Because of the rigid system of racial segregation that prevailed throughout the United States at the time, black military pilots were trained at a separate airfield facility. Initially, the new aviation training base was located in central Alabama; it was later

moved to Tuskegee, Alabama. African Americans began their pilot training for the U.S. Army in 1941 at the already established Tuskegee Institute Civilian Pilot Training School; thus, Tuskegee soon proved to be an ideal location. As a result, the Tuskegee Airmen were formally trained at Tuskegee Army Airfield and, thus, the Tuskegee Airmen were named after the airfield where they did their initial flight training.

The African American community did not fully embrace the segregated nature of the black pilots' flight training, as many desired to see even wider opportunities made available to blacks throughout U.S. society. Many civil rights and other civic organizations were similarly opposed. In addition, there was much resistance and hesitation directed at the choice of Tuskegee for flight training. Although many African Americans and civic organizations did not enthusiastically support the choice of a training location in the heart of the Jim Crow South, most African American pilots welcomed the opportunity. The first class of cadets in the pilot training program of the Tuskegee Army Airfield began in July 1941 with 13 airmen, all of whom had college degrees and all of whom had pilot's licenses.

In response to continued pressure from civil rights organizations, the Army Air Corps authorized the creation of three other black fighter squadrons, the 100th, 301st, and 302nd, in addition to the original 99th Pursuit Squadron. Together, the four squadrons composed the 332nd Fighter Group. Training for African American pilots at Tuskegee later expanded with the creation of the all-black 477th Bombardment Group. The 477th did not see military duty, as the war ended before these pilots began their service.

The Tuskegee Airmen, sometimes referred to as Red Tails, painted the tails of their aircraft red, as was common custom among the 15th Air Force; other escort groups had distinctly colored tails as well. The assigned colors for each group helped distinguish it from other groups in large formations flying to, from, and over enemy targets. Additionally, the variously colored tails helped bomber crews tell which groups were escorting them, and it helped them determine whether distant fighter groups were supporters or combatants.

Performance

Overall, nearly 1,000 black pilots graduated from the training program, with 450 serving in military combat. One of the graduates was Captain Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., a U.S. Military Academy graduate. Four aviation cadets were commissioned as second lieutenants, and five received Army Air Corps silver pilot wings. By all accounts, especially given the prevailing racial assumptions of black inferiority, the efforts of the Tuskegee Airmen were a resounding success. A total of 450 black fighter pilots fought in World War II, and they flew over 15,000 sorties and 1,500 missions. They were commanded by then-Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., who later became the first black flag officer of the U.S. Air Force. Davis retired as a three-star general and was honored with a fourth star in retirement by President Bill Clinton. Additionally, two other officers were commissioned to flag rank, including General Daniel "Chappie" James, who was the first black four-star general, and Major General Lucius Theus, both of the U.S. Air Force.

The 99th Fighter Squadron distinguished itself in combat, and in forming the 332nd Fighter Group, it was part of the largest fighter unit in the 15th Air Force. The major military accomplishment of the Tuskegee Airmen was providing close escort for bombing missions over strategic targets in Europe. Their efforts were crucial to destroying many enemy targets, including those on the ground, those at sea, and aircraft. The Tuskegee Airmen returned from duty with 150 Distinguished Flying Crosses, Bronze Stars, Silver Stars, and Legions of Merit; one Presidential Unit Citation; and the Red Star of Yugoslavia.

The Legacy

The distinguished performances and military records of the Tuskegee Airmen cannot be understated, especially given the prejudice, discrimination, and obstacles they faced simply by joining the military. After overcoming these challenges in the United States, the Tuskegee Airmen performed admirably throughout their war effort in helping defeat fascist dictators abroad. Upon return to the United States, they continued to push for racial equality. Their efforts eventually led to the end of racial segregation in the military. Fighting successfully for the right to fly combat missions in defense of the United States, they proved

unequivocally that black men could succeed in a field from which they had been excluded. Many Tuskegee Airmen lost their lives in combat duty, and their sacrifices resonate in the continued celebration of their efforts.

In 1972, Tuskegee Airmen, Inc., was founded in Detroit, Michigan. This entity exists primarily to motivate and inspire young people to become participants in American society and its democratic process, and to preserve the history of the airmen's legacy. The Tuskegee Airmen have been memorialized in significant ways, including the Tuskegee Airmen, Inc., National Scholarship Fund for high school seniors who excel in mathematics but need financial assistance to begin a college program; a museum in Fort Wayne, Detroit; a Memorial Park at the Air Force Museum at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio; a statue of a Tuskegee Airman in the Honor Park at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado; and a National Historic Site at Moton Field, where primary flight training was performed under contract with the Tuskegee Institute. In addition, an Oral History Project has been commissioned with the National Park Service to allow the Tuskegee Airmen to narrate—and preserve—their experiences.

Additionally, the Tuskegee Airmen have been the focus of two films. In 1995, Home Box Office produced *The Tuskegee Airmen* as a television movie based on the exploits of the 332nd Fighter Squadron. Lucasfilm produced the movie *Red Tails* in 2012 as a fictionalized portrayal of the airmen's World War II experiences.

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See Also: African Americans; Executive Order 8802 (1941); Jim Crow Laws; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute; World War II.

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Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was established in 1881 by Alabama lawmakers, who enacted a bill sponsored by a former slave owner, George Campbell, as part of a deal for his reelection campaign. Campbell negotiated with a skilled tradesman and community leader named Lewis Adams in order to secure the African American vote in Macon County during his campaign to retain a seat in the Alabama senate. Despite a lack of formal education, Adams longed to see the community of former slaves obtain access to education; therefore, Adams requested support for a school for Negroes in return for his involvement in the campaign. Campbell's victory was based in part on the support of black

voters in the county, and he fulfilled his promise to Adams.

Ultimately, Campbell and Adams worked together on the first board of commissioners to organize the school. The Alabama legislature appropriated an annual budget of \$2,000 for teachers' salaries. Campbell was also responsible for contacting Hampton Institute in Virginia about his desire to hire a white teacher for the newly appropriated school. Samuel C. Armstrong, the principal of Hampton at that time, wrote back that he did not have a white teacher, but he did have one who would do an excellent job. Armstrong went on to extol the accomplishments of one Booker Taliaferro Washington, who was teaching in a new program for Native American students. Consequently, Washington became the first principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1881

Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee

Booker T. Washington believed the aim of education was to determine the needs of the people and to design programs of instruction to meet those needs. In preparation for the design of the Tuskegee institute, Washington spent a month traveling through Macon County to learn about the people and their respective challenges. His guiding principle was that leadership consisted of finding people where they were and guiding them to where they ought to be. This educational philosophy was summed up as "lifting the whole life to a higher level." During this monthlong tour, Washington recruited Tuskegee's first class of 30 students, who were primarily teachers from the cotton belt area. His two primary criteria for this cohort were the students' ages and their ability to read. As the state senate appropriation did not include funding for land, buildings, or supplies for the institute, Washington was faced with a new challenge. Campbell and Adams helped identify a location for the school. Adams persuaded Butler Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Zion church to help, and the school was opened in a facility provided by the church that was basically a dilapidated shanty.

On the morning of July 4, 1881, Washington began the first day of classes with a roll call and a clothing inspection. He maintained high standards of cleanliness and respect for the dignity of labor from the first day to the last. The school

eventually relocated to an abandoned plantation owned by Cora Varner of Tuskegee. Varner agreed to allow the school to take possession of the remaining buildings for only half of the agreed upon \$500 purchase price. The remaining balance was to be paid within six months. These buildings included a cabin, a henhouse, a stable, and a wooden kitchen. Washington secured the deposit with a personal loan from the treasurer of Hampton Institute. By this time, the school had 50 students enrolled.

Another marker in the development of the institute was the acquisition of a female principal named Olivia Davidson. Davidson was trained in the theory of teaching, and she initiated many new projects and programs to raise funds for the institute within the local Tuskegee community. As a result of Davidson's creativity, the institute repaid the loan for the plantation and the final installment to Varner within three months.

At the end of its first year, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was invested in building its first schoolroom. Throughout this time, Washington used student labor to clear the land, to grow crops for food, and later to build the structures and furnishings the school needed. This use of student labor allowed Washington to practice a foundational principle of the "dignity of labor" while also transferring marketable skills to the student body. Although some initially resisted this, Washington was himself the most skilled and efficient worker in these endeavors.

Vocational Education

Another example of Washington's ingenuity at Tuskegee was the creation of a bricklaying program. At that time, the entire Tuskegee community needed a kiln in which to bake the bricks, and the school especially needed bricks to build classrooms, dormitories, and workshops. The institute not only supplied bricks for its own building needs but also sold millions of bricks to neighboring communities and business owners. More important, the Tuskegee students who worked in this endeavor were in demand across the southern states as a result of this specialized vocational training. Washington also used the bricklaying enterprise as an opportunity to build positive relationships, which ultimately earned widespread support among whites and blacks in

the area. Many skeptics were converted as a result of their impressions after a visit to the campus and a tour with Principal Washington.

In time, Tuskegee became famous for its vocational education, which combined literacy, mathematics, and agricultural or technical trades for men and home economics for women. Washington was also successful at securing financial support for the institute. Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, was one such supporter of Tuskegee's building program, and he served on its board of trustees. Washington's philosophy of self-help was compelling to philanthropists in the northern states who were concerned about education. Within the first decade of existence, the institute provided instruction not only in bricklaying but also in several other trades, including carpentry, printing, mattress making, wagon building, wheelwright work, tinsmithing, and harness- and shoemaking. In 1892, the school gained institutional independence from the state of Alabama. Under the leadership of Washington, the school gained national prominence and became a source of great pride and responsibility for all involved in its mission.

George Washington Carver and Tuskegee

The legacy of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute includes many notable educators and scientists. In 1896, Washington invited George Washington Carver to join the faculty. Washington and Carver shared a belief in practical education and the goal of creating self-sufficiency and independence for African Americans. Carver was known for commitment to the philosophy of "learning by doing." Carver's research interests involved experimenting with seeds, soil, feed grains, and clay. His focus on hybridizing and recycling was a generation ahead of its time. Carver developed over 500 different products from the peanut, the sweet potato, and other native plants in Alabama; his discoveries led to major economic redevelopment for farmers that were also good for the land.

At Washington's death in 1915, the institute had 100 buildings, 200 faculty members, 1,500 students, and more than 40 different trades or majors, as well as an endowment of more than \$2 million. The life and legacy of its founder, Booker T. Washington, is celebrated with a special monument called Lifting the Veil. This monument,

dedicated in 1922, sits at the center of the campus community, and its inscription reads, "He lifted the veil of ignorance from his people and pointed the way to progress through education and industry."

In 1930, Carver invented a "movable school" called the Jesup wagon, after the man who funded the project. This horse-drawn wagon eventually grew to become a mechanized truck whose passengers included a nurse, an agricultural specialist, and an architect; it provided home demonstrations in rural towns in order to teach skills that would improve the community. Carver gained international recognition in agricultural research and teaching while at Tuskegee. His understanding of the forces of nature and their role in agriculture led to great scientific innovation. In 1941, the George Washington Carver Museum was dedicated at Tuskegee Institute by Henry Ford, Sr., to honor Carver's lifetime of scientific contributions. Today, the Carver museum is run by the National Park Service, is available for tours, and is housed on the campus of what is now Tuskegee University.

The Twentieth and Twentieth-First Centuries

In the beginning of the 20th century, Tuskegee Institute played the vital role of breaking down racial barriers and providing hope for a new and better America by equipping the local community with critical skills necessary to become self-sufficient. For example, Tuskegee's airfield became the site where over 1,000 African Americans trained as pilots who fought in World War II. The pilots, known as the Tuskegee Airmen, were the first African American flying unit to serve in combat in the U.S. military. Today, the airfield is the site of a national historical museum that commemorates their service to their country at a time of desegregation and racial inequality. The first black four-star general was an alumnus of Tuskegee, and the General Daniel "Chappie" James Center for Aerospace Science and Health Education is currently housed at Tuskegee University in his honor. The center is also the largest athletic arena in the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (SIAC).

In the 21st century, Tuskegee continues to be on the leading edge of research and technology; for example, its program in nanotechnology has received national acclaim. The school has seven

colleges and offers two doctoral programs, one in integrative biosciences and the other in material science and engineering. The university offers 13 master of science degree programs in fields of study ranging from occupational therapy to veterinary medicine.

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See Also: Higher Education; Tuskegee Airmen; United Negro College Fund.

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Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment

The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment, or the Tuskegee Syphilis Study, was a clinical study conducted by the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS) between 1932 and 1972 in Tuskegee, Alabama. Because of its racism, dehumanization, and insensitivity, it is often referred to as America’s Nuremberg. The U.S. PHS worked with the Health Department of Macon County and the Rosenwald Foundation on this experiment, a nontherapeutic study that

examined the natural progression of untreated syphilis in African American men. Working with the Tuskegee Institute, the PHS enrolled a total of 600 poor, rural African American males. This ethically controversial study, which did not offer its subjects any treatment, led to the establishment of the Office for Human Research Protections and the Institutional Review Boards’ requirements that studies involving human subjects must abide by.

The Tuskegee Experiment stemmed from a report published in Norway in 1928. It examined the progress of untreated syphilis in white males. Although the study was valuable for its size, including several hundred subjects, it was inconclusive because the study did not observe how the disease manifested longitudinally. To advance this Norwegian case study, the U.S. PHS embarked on its own study. The study was designed to observe the development of the illness in patients for more than six months but less than nine months and treat them with what were at the time considered to be the most appropriate methods, such as Salvarsan and mercurial or bismuth ointments. Even though these treatments were minimally effective and carried high toxicity, they were the best treatments available at the time.

Premise of the Experiment

The experiment involved 600 black men between the ages of 25 and 60. Of these, 399 had syphilis and 201 participated as controls. Over the course of 40 years, they were observed to record how syphilis affected human pathology. Although the men were promised free medical care in addition to hot food on examination days and burial insurance, they were simply told that they had “bad blood”—a general term used at the time to refer to syphilis, anemia, and other illnesses—and never received treatment. No clear and conclusive diagnosis was given to patients. The premise of the experiment was to observe the subjects until their deaths, followed by autopsies to examine the effect of the disease on their bodies; the autopsy examination was part of the requirement for the participants to receive the promised funeral support, granted by the Milbank Memorial Fund starting in 1935.

The research team explained that once the project had identified patients with syphilis, it was no longer interested in them until they had died and

their bodies became available for autopsy. During the period of the experiment, a total of 13 reports involving the study were published. Despite the ethical implications of the study, none of these research findings, published in journals such as the *Journal of Venereal Disease Information* and the *Archives of Internal Medicine*, were kept secret, hinting at the racist social milieu at the time.

According to the first paper based on the experiment, published in 1936, 84 percent of patients showed signs of morbidity, as opposed to 49 percent of the controls. In 1938, researchers concluded that syphilis reduced life expectancy by 20 percent. The article published in 1955 stated that in addition to over 30 percent of the patients who died directly from syphilis, more deaths may have been accounted for by its complications.

Both African American and non-African American medical professionals played significant roles in the experiment. First and foremost, Dr. Taliaferro Clark is considered to be most responsible for outlining the premise of the project. He initially planned to examine African American syphilis patients for six to nine months and follow up with proper treatments. Because Clark retired approximately a year after the study began, Dr. Oliver Wenger, the director of the regional PHS, was responsible for continuing the experiment. He and his staff helped the project turn into a longer-term case study than initially planned. In 1933, the PHS officially approved the continuation of the experiment.

Robert Morton, then head of the Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Eugene Dibble, then head of the Tuskegee Medical Hospital, were two African American figures who supported the government project and offered resources. Wenger explained that granting Dibble the position as a government doctor encouraged African Americans to trust the project. Consequently, Wenger anticipated that the patients would remain with the experiment, eventually dying in their hospital and making their bodies available for examination. Similarly, Eunice Rivers was an African American nurse who had received medical training at the institute and had worked for the study since its inception, becoming the only person to work with the study for its entirety. Frequently, African American nurses such as Rivers were the only contact people for the study participants.

Dr. Raymond H. Vonderlehr, the onsite director of the project, strongly supported inviting Rivers to the project. He believed that she had a very close connection to the local community. Researchers, however, disagree as to how much Rivers was aware of the unethical nature of the project. It was possible that Rivers believed the study to have more benefits to poor African American men than risks. Just as other African American medical professionals who were involved in the study did, Rivers may have been convinced that the experiment was in the best interests of the study subjects. However, in her report titled "Twenty Years Follow-Up Experience in a Long-Range Medical Study," she states that the care given to the patients was not for syphilis. Her responsibility being the continuation of the project rather than treating patients, some historians argue that she may have been more loyal to her profession than to the patients, who were of her race.

Lack of Medical Ethics

Although the experiment from its beginning lacked consideration of medical ethics, ethics became a larger concern by the late 1940s and early 1950s, when penicillin had become part of the standard care to cure syphilis. Since many of the patients were poor, illiterate, and lacked access to media, they were unaware of the availability of the cure. The experiment did more than deny treatments. To ensure that the subjects would not receive treatment from other medical institutions, the PHS secured agreements from local physicians, the state health department, and the U.S. Army not to offer them treatment. When the army drafted some of the patients in 1941 and told the research team that it would start providing them with treatment, the team gave the army a list of 256 patients whom they wished to not have treated. The army agreed to cooperate.

Even when the U.S. government sponsored public health programs to eradicate syphilis in Tuskegee, researchers prevented study subjects from receiving the medicine. Despite the evident effectiveness of the treatment, study participants received only placebos. Although some patients sought out treatments themselves, being medically unaware, they were easily convinced by Tuskegee

Institute nurses that they were being treated for the disease.

Consequently, only 74 patients with syphilis were alive at the conclusion of the experiment. Twenty-eight had died from the disease, and 100 from related complications. Furthermore, dozens of their wives had contracted the disease, and 17 children and two grandchildren by then had syphilis.

Blatant Racism

Racism is considered to be at the epicenter of this project. The experiment started and continued when racism against African Americans was an explicit norm of American life. For example, Clark once argued that observation without treatment was justifiable because African American patients lacked the intelligence to seek treatment on their own. Other physicians agreed that even though African Americans might visit doctors during the disease's early phase, they would not receive treatment until it was too late. After the termination of the experiment, the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare found that some physicians incorrectly, but most likely knowingly so, argued that blacks had a different kind of syphilis that penicillin could not cure. Furthermore, syphilis at the time was considered not just a sexually transmitted illness but also a symbol of immorality. At the time, blacks were thought to have an uncontrollable sexual urge. The experiment blamed the victims of the disease for their sexual activities and for subjecting themselves to the disease.

The closing phase of the experiment began in 1966, when Peter Buxtun, an investigator for the PHS, questioned the morality of the study. His concern, however, was met with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's (CDC) belief in the need to continue the experiment until all subjects were dead and their bodies were available for autopsy. Not only did the American Medical Association, representing white physicians, agree with the CDC, but so did the National Medical Association, which represented African American medical professionals. An African American worker at the PHS, Williams Carter Jenkins, urged the experiment to be terminated in his newsletter, *The Drum*, in 1968. His effort, however, did not lead to any change in the experiment.

Legal Settlement

It was in 1972 that the experiment captured national attention. Buxtun shared the immorality of the experiment with the Associated Press, and its article came out on July 25, 1972. A day later, the *New York Times* featured the experiment on its front page. After congressional hearings, the CDC and the PHS established a panel on August 28, 1972, to examine the study, which concluded that it was medically unjustifiable. This nine-person panel included five African Americans.

The advisory panel primarily investigated two questions. The first was whether the patients had given the experiment team their informed consent, making the study justifiable. The second was whether the team should have given penicillin to its participants once it became widely available. It was only in March 1973 that the study was terminated and treatment started. Once the study was terminated, the CDC and the government covered the medical expenses of the subjects. Two years later, in 1975, the coverage was expanded to their wives and children. In July 1973, attorney Fred Gray filed a \$1.8 billion class-action lawsuit on behalf of the study subjects and their families. In December 1974, the legal action reached a settlement through which each subject received \$37,500, the descendants of deceased subjects with syphilis \$15,000, each living control \$16,000, and each deceased control \$5,000.

In 1994, a symposium to examine the Tuskegee Experiment and its legacy was held in Charlottesville, Virginia. To follow up the discussions from the symposium, the Tuskegee Syphilis Study Legacy Committee met two years later and decided to commit itself to procuring a formal apology from President Bill Clinton on behalf of the government. Urged by the committee's final report, President Clinton held a ceremony with the attendance of committee members in which he formally apologized to surviving victims and their families.

The experiment is said to have affected general African American sentiment toward public health. Because of medical experiments conducted on enslaved people, hysterectomies performed on African American females, the eugenics movement in the early 20th century, and numerous other examples, studies have shown that African American communities are less willing to participate in medical programs. Although there is no

consensus as to how much this unethical piece of American medical history has affected black distrust in public health, various rumors against public health continue to exist within black communities. One of the most revealing cases was the conspiracy theory about human immunodeficiency virus and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS). In 1999, 27 percent of African Americans in California believed that HIV/AIDS was a man-made disease created by the U.S. government to eradicate African Americans. The number fluctuated between 20 and 30 percent as recently as 2005.

If the Tuskegee Experiment had a positive outcome, it is the establishment of guidelines for studies involving human subjects. By the mid-1970s, Americans were aware of the experiment, in addition to the Nazi experiments during World War II and the Willowbrook Studies, in which mentally disabled children were infected with live hepatitis to develop a vaccine between 1956 and 1971. These examples led to the establishment of the National Commission for the

Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research and the National Research Act in 1974. The act requires that an institution that receives federal support must have institutional review boards for projects engaging human subjects.

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See Also: African Americans; Health Beliefs and Practices; Medicine and Ethnic Diversity; Public Health and Ethnic Diversity.

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Ugly Betty

An American prime-time comedy-drama series that ran on ABC from September 2006 to April 2010, *Ugly Betty* is the story of Betty Suarez, a plain, unsophisticated Latina young woman from a working-class background who works at *Mode*, a glamorous fashion magazine based in Manhattan. The series, the first to feature a Latina as lead in a network series, starred America Ferrera, best known to audiences for her role as Carmen in *The Sisterhood of the Traveling Pants* movies. *Ugly Betty* was based on a Colombian telenovela, *Yo Soy Betty la Fea* (I'm Betty the Ugly One). During its four seasons, the critically acclaimed series explored issues of race, class, gender, and sexuality in a manner that held broad appeal for a diverse, predominantly female audience.

The popularity of the telenovela generally and of *Yo Soy Betty la Fea* particularly would likely have attracted Latina viewers to the ABC show, but ABC emphasized the connection by using Salma Hayek, one of the show's executive producers and well known in her native Mexico as a former telenovela star, in the early publicity. Hayek praised the campiness of the telenovela genre and the universal appeal of the unlikely Betty's work on a fashion magazine. The show premiered on September 28, 2006, to critical acclaim. Hayek's

confidence in its appeal was justified as a loyal audience of women developed across a spectrum of ethnic backgrounds and ages.

A significant part of Betty's appeal to this diverse female audience is what ABC described in promotional materials as her "fish out of water" status. Betty, played by America Ferrera, a young actress of Honduran descent, is an outsider at *Mode* on several levels. Not only do her glasses, her braces, and her unflattering clothing mark her as unattractive in an office filled with beautiful, fashionable women, but also, on a more fundamental level, she is not tall enough, not thin enough, and not white enough to meet the prevailing standard of beauty. Even African American beauty Vanessa Williams, who played villainess Wilhelmina Slater, is light skinned, with the blue-green eyes of Welsh forebears. Betty's ethnicity intensifies her difference. Her difference is magnified for her coworkers and for the majority non-Latino audience when Betty is viewed within the context of her family.

Her father, Ignacio, is an undocumented Mexican immigrant who has worked as a janitor. Her sister, Hilda, is a sometimes jobless single mother of one son, Justin. Family is of great importance to them. Highly emotional, they like bright colors, loud music, and Mexican food, and their Queens home is filled with religious iconography. Although they are fluent in English, both Ignacio

and Hilda pepper their conversations with Spanish words, although the more assimilated Betty and Justin do not. None of the actors who played the members of the Suarez family are Mexican American. Tony Plano (Ignacio) is Cuban American, and Ana Ortiz (Hilda) and Mark Indelicato (Justin) claim some Puerto Rican ancestry.

Betty's family is warm and caring, supporting one another and willing to sacrifice for one another—the opposite of the cold, dysfunctional families to which most of the *Mode* staff belong. Wilhelmina Slater is emotionally distant from her father and sends her daughter to a boarding school in Europe, sometimes even refusing to take her calls. Betty's immediate boss, Daniel Meade (Eric Mabius), refuses to visit his mother during her rehabilitation, and Alexis Meade (Rebecca Romijn) wishes to kill her father and refuses to speak to her brother. If Betty's family is stereotypical, it's a stereotype both Latino and Anglo audiences found appealing.

Mocking Stereotypes

The show's writers also mock stereotypes with some sharp blows. When Daniel Meade first meets self-help author Sofia Reyes, a recurring character played by Salma Hayek, he mistakes her for a maid and asks her to bring him coffee. When Sofia questions him, he insists he's only asking her to do her job. Sofia responds, "Oh, and what gave it away? Was it my accent?" In another episode, Betty and Hilda express their disbelief in their father's deportation by enumerating his American characteristics: he pays taxes, he's a Mets fan, and he's a member of Oprah's book club.

The National Council of La Raza recognized the show's positive portrayal of Latinos in its first season by presenting it with four American Latino Media Arts Awards: *Ugly Betty*, Outstanding Television Series, Miniseries or TV Movie; America Ferrera, Outstanding Actress; Ana Ortiz, Outstanding Supporting Actress; and Silvio Horta, the show's Cuban American developer and co-executive producer, Outstanding Writing. The Imagen Foundation, which also annually recognizes positive portrayals of Latinos, named *Ugly Betty* Best TV Series in 2007, 2008, and 2009, with additional awards each year for Ferrera, Ortiz, Tony Plano, and Horta.

LGBT Issues

Gay characters have become more common in American television, but *Ugly Betty* pioneered a story line untouched in prime time. The flamboyantly gay Marc St. James (Michael Urie) was a regular from the beginning, and Alexis Meade, Daniel's transsexual sibling, appeared in 33 episodes in 2007 and 2008. But it was Justin Suarez's struggle with his sexuality and the friendship that develops between him and Marc that silenced the critics' mutterings about stereotypical treatment.

Ugly Betty won the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation Media Award in 2007 and 2008. In all, *Ugly Betty* won more than 60 awards, including Emmys, Golden Globes, and a Peabody. Perhaps Silvio Horta, a gay Latino, identified the secret of the show's success when he said the writers and actors were less concerned with pleasing a gay audience or a Latino audience than with having the characters they created communicate honestly with the audience.

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See Also: Gender/Sex and Ethnic Diversity; Latinos; Television.

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Ukrainian Americans

Ukraine is an Eastern European country often erroneously called "the Ukraine" in English. Formerly controlled by the Mongols, Lithuania, Poland, the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and the Soviet Union, it is today an independent democracy and the second largest country on the European continent after Russia. It was

one of the founding republics of the Soviet Union in 1922 and regained its independence in 1991 after the fall of European communism.

As of the 2010 Census, there are 939,746 Ukrainian Americans, making this one of the largest Ukrainian communities in the world. Ukrainians are well distributed through the United States and tend to concentrate mainly in northern cities—New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland, although Los Angeles also has a notable population of 34,000 Ukrainian Americans. Though a Ukrainian was among the settlers of the Jamestown colony in the early 17th century, sustained Ukrainian immigration did not begin until the 1880s. These early immigrants, arriving from the 1880s until the 1920s (when new immigration restrictions curtailed the number of immigrants arriving from eastern Europe), established

the country's oldest Ukrainian American enclaves, especially in New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia. More recent immigration has been in response to the fall of the Soviet Union and has included a substantially greater number of Jewish Ukrainians than did the earlier wave.

A number of George Washington's soldiers in the Revolutionary War were Ukrainian Americans, as were several Union soldiers in the Civil War. Thousands more served in World War II, after the community had become better established and larger. Ukrainian Americans have been politically active and have tended to be conservative, especially since the end of World War I; historically, Ukrainian Americans have supported the Republican Party despite usually being pro-labor. Throughout the years between World War I and World War II, Ukrainian Americans were



The Harry F. Sinclair House is a mansion in Manhattan in New York City and houses the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA). It is open to the public and promotes art and literature by hosting exhibitions and other shows. The UIA is a nonprofit organization founded in 1948 to promote Ukrainian culture, history, art, music, and literature.

involved in political demonstrations against the occupation of Ukraine by Poland and the treatment of Ukraine by the Soviet Union.

Ukrainian Religion

Ukrainian immigrants in the 19th and early 20th centuries came primarily from the Orthodox Christian faith and Greek Catholicism, though many Greek Catholic families eventually converted to Orthodoxy. An independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church for North America was first founded in 1915 with the union of several unaffiliated parishes that had formed to serve the religious needs of the Ukrainian American community. At the time, Ukrainian religious identity in the larger Orthodox community was under attack; a leader in the Russian Orthodox community, Archbishop Alexander, had dismissed the entire concept of a Ukrainian ethnic identity, describing them as “a Russian political party” who were not sufficiently distinguishable from Russians. It was certainly not comforting that many western European Americans held much the same belief, barely distinguishing between the various countries east of Germany. Despite Alexander’s remarks, upon Ukraine’s declaration of independence in 1918, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) formed, distinct from Russian Orthodoxy, and the American Ukrainian Orthodox parishes sought association with it. The UAOC appointed Metropolitan John to head a North American diocese in 1924, and he spent the next several years organizing the American parishes. The church became known as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC) of the USA.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America (UOCIA) was founded in 1928 by Ukrainian Americans. Its main church is the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Saint Vladimir, in Philadelphia. The UOCIA was founded by former Greek Catholic parishes leaving the Catholic Church over a disagreement with church leadership regarding celibacy and parish property ownership.

After World War II, as the makeup of Ukrainian immigration changed, it included a number of bishops from the UAOC, who gravitated toward the UOC of the USA rather than the UOCIA, increasing the size of the former—though at this point only the UOCIA was recognized by the global Orthodox community. An

attempt at union in 1950 failed to reach complete union when the UOCIA parishes under Bishop Bohdan refused to join, distrusting the UOC of the USA group. Further attempts to unify the different churches continued to fail until 1996, after Ukrainian independence and a subsequent reorganization of Orthodoxy in Ukraine. Today, the unified UOC-USA (taking the “in” of one group and “the USA” of the other) is organized into three eparchies: central (Florida, Georgia, Ohio, upstate New York, and western Pennsylvania), eastern (Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, eastern Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia), and western (Arizona, California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin). South Bound Brook, New Jersey, is home to the one UOC-USA seminary, the Saint Sophia Ukrainian Orthodox Theological Seminary, which opened in 1975.

Social and Cultural Organizations

The Ukrainian Institute of America in New York City was founded in 1948 and maintains an exhibition of Ukrainian folk art year-round, as well as a historical gallery and a seasonal program of concerts and lectures. New York is also home to the nonprofit Ukrainian Center for Social Research, which studies demographic, social, cultural, and economic issues related to Ukrainian Americans, and the Shevchenko Scientific Society (SSS), named for Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko. The SSS was founded to help Ukrainian scholars adjust to American life.

The Ukrainian National Museum was established in Chicago in 1958, when Chicago’s Ukrainian Archive-Museum absorbed the Ukrainian National Museum and Library of Ontario, Canada. In Cleveland, where many Ukrainians settled, the Ukrainian Museum-Archives, established in 1952, houses numerous materials about Ukrainian immigration.

Major Ukrainian social and cultural organizations include the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, which supports scholars of Ukrainian studies; the Ukrainian American Youth Association, which runs summer camps and offers recreational activities; and the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America. All are based in New York City.

Ukrainian American media include *America*, a Catholic paper founded in 1922 and published in both Ukrainian and English (in separate editions) for the Ukrainian community; *Narodnia Volya*, a weekly Ukrainian language paper with an English language section, published in Scranton since 1911; the *New Star Ukrainian Catholic Newspaper*, published by the Greek Catholic diocese of Chicago in both English and Ukrainian about 17 times a year; *Svoboda*, a daily Ukrainian language newspaper with a circulation of 14,000, with a sister publication, *Ukrainian Weekly*, published in English; *Ukrainian News*, published weekly in Detroit, with an international circulation serving the Ukrainian diaspora worldwide; the *Ukrainian Variety Hour* on Chicago's WCEV and WVVX; three hours of Ukrainian programming a week on Michigan's WNZK, including *Slovo*, a program for newly arrived immigrants; and WHLD in Buffalo's *Ukrainian Radio Program*, hosted for three hours every Saturday by Wasyl Sharvan since the 1970s.

Prominent Ukrainian Americans include actors Vera Farmiga (*Up in the Air*), Mila Kunis (*Black Swan*), Traci Lords (*Roseanne*), Larisa Oleynik (*Mad Men*), and Jack Palance (*City Slickers*); pop artist Andy Warhol; director Steven Spielberg; American foreign policy expert Paula Dobriansky; helicopter engineer Igor Sikorsky; singers Neko Case, Bob Dylan, and Eugene Hutz (lead singer of Gogol Bordello); White House aide Kathleen Willey; football coach Mike Ditka; Olympic figure skater Sasha Cohen; hockey great Wayne Gretzky, who has dual U.S.–Canadian citizenship; NBA coach Flip Saunders; economist Lev Dobriansky; journalist Mike Royko; blacklisted film director Edward Dmytryk, who was imprisoned for contempt of Congress during McCarthyism; *Fight Club* author Chuck Palahniuk; and comic book artist Steve Ditko, cocreator of Doctor Strange and Spider-Man. Ukrainian Americans have been active in the art world, and a community of Ukrainian American artists has persisted since the 1950s. In addition to Gretzky, a number of Ukrainian Americans have played in the National Hockey League; recent players include Mike Krushelski, Dale Hawerchuk, and Mike Bossy.

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See Also: Austrian Americans; Belarussian Americans; Hungarian Americans; Lithuanian Americans; Polish Americans; Russian Americans.

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Uncle Tom's Cabin

Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly (1851–52) is Harriet Beecher Stowe's internationally known abolitionist novel. The best-selling novel in the 19th century, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been translated into all major languages and sold millions of copies worldwide. Although focused on U.S. slavery, the novel has appealed to underclass populations in countries such as Brazil, Cuba, Poland, and Russia, among others.

The story begins in Kentucky. In debt to a slave trader, Shelby, an otherwise "good" master, sells his devoted and religious slave, Uncle Tom, and little Harry, the young son of Mrs. Shelby's personal servant, Eliza Harris. This sale establishes the novel's two primary plot lines, one moving further into the slavery of the Deep South and another following the characters northward toward freedom.

Warned of the sale, Tom refuses to escape, citing his Christian honor and his responsibility to Shelby. Tom is sold to Augustine St. Clare. For a few years, he lives tolerably well on St. Clare's New Orleans estate, serving primarily as

a companion to the young, saintly Eva until her death. Although devoted to Eva and her father, Tom misses his family and longs for freedom. St. Clare is killed just before freeing Tom, and Tom is sold by the morally bankrupt Marie St. Clare. Tom's final home is the rural Louisiana plantation of the villainous Simon Legree. After a brief crisis of faith, Tom reaffirms his Christian beliefs and resists Legree's corrupting influences. When he refuses to betray two female slaves, Tom is viciously beaten. He dies a martyr's death just as the younger George Shelby arrives to reclaim him. Returning without Tom, George frees his slaves, promising to pay them for their future labor and demonstrating an economic alternative to slavery.

Meanwhile, the light-skinned Eliza flees northward with her son. After a daring leap across the ice floes of the Ohio River, Eliza receives help from Senator Bird and his wife. Bird, an advocate of the Fugitive Slave Act, has a change of heart when faced with the fugitives, and he helps them reach a Quaker settlement on the Underground Railroad. There, Eliza is reunited with her fugitive husband, George. The Harrises finally reach Canada, where they are further reunited with George's sister, Emily, and Eliza's mother, Cassy (whom Uncle Tom died protecting). The newly reconstituted family first goes to France, where George gets an education, then, after briefly returning to Canada, leaves for Liberia to become missionaries.

History of Composition and Reception

The story was first serialized in the *National Era* from June 1851 to March 1852, then published as a two-volume book. The novel sold 300,000 copies in the United States (and over 1 million in England) in the first year. Part of its record sales resulted from the absence of international copyright laws; pirated editions were common. By 1857, the novel had been translated into 20 languages and sold over 2 million copies. In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln reputedly credited the novel as having started the Civil War. To date, over 150 editions have been published.

Stowe proclaimed that the novel was a response to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required all individuals (in the north and the south) to aid in the return of escaped slaves, thus effectually

nationalizing slavery. In shaping the novel's characters and events, Stowe drew heavily from the 1849 slave narrative *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself*, as well as interviews with escaped slaves, personal observations, and other published personal testimonies.

However, proslavery factions condemned the novel as an egregious abolitionist exaggeration. Stowe herself received death threats and, once, an enslaved person's severed ear. The novel also spurred a slew of "Anti-Tom" novels. In 1853, Stowe published *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a work meant to counter proslavery criticisms and to authenticate her depiction of slavery by identifying her sources.

Style and Themes

Uncle Tom's Cabin is both a protest novel and sentimental fiction. It elicits readers' sympathy through dramatic scenes of excessive emotion and culminates in a string of unlikely coincidences and family reunions, as well as Tom's melodramatic death. Stowe also frequently interrupts the narrative to address readers directly, often pleading in a sermonic voice for empathy for the enslaved, and arguing for the inherent goodness of humankind when individuals allow themselves to be guided by *feeling* rather than by greed or by logic divorced from sentiment.

The novel's message is framed specifically through a Christian lens. For Stowe, slavery was a sin, and the novel thus condemns secular laws that legitimated its morally corruptive influence. To offset such corruption, women, as the moral center of the family, had to guide men toward right action. The novel particularly highlights the harmful consequences of separating families, especially mother from child and wife from husband.

Despite its abolitionist intent, the novel's treatment of race is problematic. First, the Harrises' final relocation to Liberia advocates emigration rather than integration for freed slaves. Furthermore, although at points the novel reveals race as socially constructed, it generally reinscribes a hierarchy of racial categories generated from biological differences. In the novel, Africans are innately loyal, patient, gentle, and religious unless corrupted by their social environment.

Such romantic racialism slips easily into racial stereotyping. The novel thus helped cement in the American imagination the stereotypes of the loving “Mammy”; the mischievous “pickaninny” (Topsy); the tragic mulatta; the carefree “Sambo”; and the subservient “Uncle Tom.” Proliferating these stereotypes, an *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* commercial industry flourished through at least the mid-20th century, spawning a range of productions and merchandise, including “Tom Shows” (usually played in blackface), Topsy dolls, plays, songs, operas, cartoons, and numerous films. Consequently, a novel intended to condemn slavery and to advocate for the fundamental humanity of all people is perhaps most remembered in the United States for popularizing negative racial stereotypes of African Americans.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; Fugitive Slave Acts (1793 and 1850); Racism; Slavery; Underground Railroad.

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escape captivity via a series of secret routes and safe houses that stretched from the south to Canada. Between 1840 and 1860, between 20,000 and 30,000 slaves are estimated to have escaped by means of the Underground Railroad.

Assisted by free blacks, abolitionists, and allies sympathetic to the cause, Underground Railroad conductors helped move runaway slaves from station to station, ultimately finding someplace where their freedom was assured. The Underground Railroad has taken a central place in the folklore of America, during the years before the Civil War, and it provided a path to freedom for those motivated to pursue this goal and a focal point for those engaged in the abolitionist movement.

Background

At the time the 13 colonies declared their independence from Great Britain, slavery was a controversial and divisive issue. Although slavery had existed on the North American continent from the earliest colonial settlements, by the end of the Revolutionary War, the northern states had abolished it. The U.S. Congress passed legislation prohibiting slavery’s expansion into the Northwest Territory, the area now comprising Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, and the northeastern portion of Minnesota. For a while, it appeared that slavery would fade away quietly, as it was morally repugnant and of dubious financial benefit.

After 1800, however, slavery enjoyed resurgence in popularity as the invention of the cotton gin greatly increased the need for low-cost manual labor. Slavery expanded into the southwest, and a bitter rivalry developed between slave and nonslave states. Although the international import and export of slaves was banned in the United States after 1807, a lucrative trade in African Americans existed within the southern United States. Any slave who escaped from the tyranny of bondage caused a significant financial loss for his or her owners. Article IV of the U.S. Constitution provided for a slaveholder’s right to recover slaves who escaped. A variety of statutes enumerated how slaveholders could recover runaway slaves.

Pursuant to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, although runaways were subject to capture and return to their masters, the responsibility for catching escapees rested with officials from the slave’s home state. As part of the Compromise of 1850,

Underground Railroad

By the mid-19th century, the U.S. slave population totaled approximately 4 million. The Underground Railroad served as a way for slaves to

however, southern states were successful in getting a revised Fugitive Slave Act passed. Under the terms of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the rights of slaveholders were strengthened considerably. Across the nation, law enforcement officers now had a duty to capture and return escaped slaves to their southern masters. The statute angered many northerners, as it made them responsible for enforcing slavery.

This anger helped strengthen the Underground Railroad, which in reality was neither underground nor a railroad. Instead, the Underground Railroad was an escape network via which African Americans fleeing the south were assisted in their efforts to find new homes where they could live in freedom. A collaboration of escaping slaves, free African Americans, and abolitionists, the Underground Railroad represented a coming together of those interested in abolishing involuntary servitude.

Structure of Operations

For those born into slavery, freedom was available through two methods. The first was through manumission, in which a slave owner renounced ownership rights to his or her slaves and gave them their freedom. The second way a slave could obtain freedom was by running away, which was illegal. To assist runaway slaves, the Underground Railroad worked to allow as many African Americans as possible to relocate to areas where they could live in freedom and without threat of capture. Although initially this meant helping former slaves locate a place to live in a northern state, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, it often meant British North America, where slavery was illegal.

The Underground Railroad comprised meeting places, transportation, secret routes, and safe houses where escaped slaves could rest before departing for the next location. Escaped slaves would move north, with the assistance of a “conductor,” from one safe house to the next. Volunteers who assisted with the Underground Railroad usually knew the next “stations” that connected to their own, but little else. This way, if a conductor were apprehended helping runaway slaves, he or she knew few details of operations outside his or her immediate area. Many churches also played a part in the Underground Railroad, especially those affiliated with abolitionist preachers, including



Harriet Tubman was born into slavery, escaped, and subsequently made more than 13 missions to rescue more than 70 people using the network of safe houses and antislavery activists known as the Underground Railroad.

many Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), as well as some Baptists and Methodists. Many conductors for the Underground Railroad were freed slaves who returned to the south at risk of great personal danger to help free others. A conductor would sometimes pretend to be a slave in order to gain access to a plantation, but once there would organize a small group of slaves to make the trip north to freedom. To avoid detection, runaway slaves often traveled at night and usually would cover a distance of 10 to 20 miles in that time.

Once a group of fugitives reached a station, word was sent to the next station on the line to

prepare for an upcoming arrival. The individual “stations” or “depots” were often barns, sheds, churches, or other buildings controlled by a “station master” who would provide a place to sleep and food to eat. “Stockbrokers” were those individuals who provided the “passengers” cash on their way to the “promised land” (Canada).

Although mass escapes were not unknown, much more common were journeys that consisted of one to three runaway slaves. Fugitives would sometimes travel by train or boat, but it was much more common for journeys to take place on foot, in wagons, or on horseback. Although the journey on the Underground Railroad was arduous and risky, many women and children made the trip.

Indeed, one of the best-known conductors was Harriet Tubman, who was especially known for her courage and steady nerves. Tubman had been born into slavery in Maryland in 1822 and escaped to Philadelphia in 1849. Despite tremendous personal risk, Tubman immediately returned to Maryland to assist others in her family to escape slavery. After bringing her family members out of slavery by means of the Underground Railroad, Tubman began to help dozens of others. Once the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 made it easier for African Americans in northern states to be seized, Tubman, known as Black Moses, began transporting people to Canada. Renowned for never having lost a passenger, Tubman worked for the Grand Union Army during the Civil War, first serving as a cook and a nurse, and later utilizing her many skills as a scout and a spy.

Locations of stations and routes were closely guarded secrets, seldom reduced to writing and generally passed along solely by word of mouth. Many slaveholders who had slaves escape took vigorous steps to pursue them. Considerable rewards were offered for returned slaves, and slave owners advertised these bounties widely in newspapers and through the use of flyers. Professional bounty hunters and U.S. marshals were able to earn large amounts of money by apprehending escaped slaves, and as a result would pursue them all the way to the Canadian border.

The consequences for African Americans who were captured by the bounty hunters or marshals were severe. Fugitives could be seized without a warrant and brought before a commissioner, who would determine whether an African American

captive should be returned to the south. African Americans had no right to a jury trial to determine whether or not they should be transported south, and indeed were not even permitted to testify in their own behalf. As a result, many freedmen and even those who had never been slaves were seized and bound into slavery.

The total number of passengers served by the Underground Railroad is uncertain. Estimates of the number who went through the system vary greatly. U.S. census records account for only approximately 6,000 former slaves, but this lower number would not be surprising, as many Underground Railroad passengers left the country for Canada or other destinations. It appears there were at least 1,000 passengers per year who moved through the Underground Railroad, which would mean as few as 20,000 and perhaps as many as 40,000 passengers were freed by means of the Underground Railroad in the 20 years preceding the Civil War.

Influence

The Underground Railroad operated in large cities, such as Chicago and Philadelphia, as well as small towns, such as Milton, Wisconsin; Vandalia, Michigan; and New Albany, Indiana. Stations consisted of privately owned barns and homes as well as institutions such as Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, and Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio. Although the Underground Railroad served to provide tens of thousands of former slaves with freedom, it was perhaps more significant as a means of organizing opposition to slavery and support for abolitionists. The success of the Underground Railroad greatly aggravated southern slave owners, causing them to back the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The remedies that this afforded slaveholders so offended many residents of the north, however, that they became ardent in their opposition to slavery and fierce supporters of abolition.

The Underground Railroad also took a significant place in the popular culture of the mid-19th century. Harriet Beecher Stowe’s landmark novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was first published in 1852 and is credited with creating sympathy for fugitive slaves. Selling over 300,000 copies in the United States in the first year after its release, with an additional 200,000 sold in Great Britain, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was one of the more popular

novels of its day. The willingness of many Underground Railroad conductors and station masters to knowingly engage in illegal actions was influenced in part by Stowe's representations of slavery as an evil and wicked institution.

In addition to being published as a novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared in a series of stage adaptations that served to greatly increase the influence of the work, especially with those less likely to read the story on their own. Such sentiments served to embolden supporters of the Underground Railroad, as evidenced by situations such as the rescue of James Price, a fugitive slave captured in Oberlin, Ohio, and freed from control of the U.S. marshal by a crowd in nearby Wellington, Ohio. After he was briefly returned to Oberlin, the Underground Railroad escorted Price to freedom in Canada, an event that would have been unlikely but for the negative image of slavery portrayed by Stowe and others.

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See Also: Abolition; Abolitionist Movement; African Americans; American Anti-Slavery Society; Civil War, U.S.; Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Slavery.

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United Farm Workers of America

The United Farm Workers of America (UFW) is a seminal agricultural labor union founded in

1962 by César E. Chávez (president) and Dolores Huerta (chief contract negotiator) in Delano, California, as the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee was created in 1966 from the merger of the NFWA and the Filipino Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) in Delano, led by Larry Itliong, when the NFWA voted to join striking AWOC workers in 1965. The merger was born of a common interest in improving the conditions of grape workers. The UFW contract with Schenley Wine in 1966 marked the first time in U.S. history that farm workers successfully represented themselves against an agribusiness employer. Since 1962, the UFW has become one of the most powerful unions in the country, continually changing agricultural labor law and shaping the American consciousness about migrant farm workers and the broader Chicano civil rights movement.

Migrant Population

Getting an accurate picture of migrant farm work life remains a challenge for the U.S. Census every 10 years. The same challenges faced by the UFW in bargaining and lobbying for farm workers are faced by the government in trying to get an accurate count for allocation of funding and political representation: worker mobility; relationship with employer or contractor; unofficial, unregulated local housing and lack of mail access; limited literacy in English or Spanish; and undocumented status and distrust of U.S. Census anonymity. The result has been a persistent undercounting of one of the poorest segments of the U.S. population and resultant underfunding of programs like Migrant Health and Head Start.

Every two years, the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) is conducted to better document and serve migrant workers. More than 3 million migratory and seasonal workers are estimated to be in the state. The majority of them are foreign born, and the majority of the foreign born are from Mexico. The majority of workers in the United States are male, have been working here for over 20 years, and are married and are parents; a quarter of farmworker families are living in poverty. According to the NAWS, the majority cannot speak English at all and have less than a sixth-grade education. Of these 3 million, only about 20,000 to 30,000 are

UFW members and benefit from collective bargaining with their employer.

History of the Union

It was these demographic realities, which are markedly better now than in 1962, that caused many to tell César Chávez and Dolores Huerta that unionizing farm workers was impossible, a notion they rejected after having learned from Sal Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) about community-based organizing. Both had worked for the Community Service Organization (CSO) in California under Fred Ross and embodied the union's motto, "Si Se Puede—It can be done."

The first contract in 1966 resulted from a U.S. Senate Subcommittee Hearing held by Robert F. Kennedy in March of that year, the UFW's first 340-mile march from Delano to Sacramento, and a four-month boycott. The combination of tactics, both labor and social justice, moved the plight of farm workers beyond those immediately affected to church leaders, environmental activists, urban labor unions, students, and many others. In 1968, Chávez added the new tool of the fast to the UFW, refusing food for 25 days to dissuade more agitated members from violence. In 1972, the union became an independent affiliate of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), changing its name to the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

Throughout the 1970s, table grape, wine grape, and lettuce boycotts and strikes forced growers across the state of California to sign contracts. By the early 1980s, at the apex of the union, more than 40,000 workers were covered by UFW contracts. The election of a Republican president from California in 1980 and a Republican state governor in 1982 rolled back union gains through lack of enforcement of existing laws. Contracts were broken and workers blacklisted, and Chávez began a third fast in 1968 at age 66, his longest, 36 days. The fast took a serious toll on his health, and five years later, on April 23, 1993, Chávez died. He was succeeded by UFW first Vice President Arturo Rodriguez. Since Chávez's death union membership has risen and the union has moved into major campaigns in strawberries and mushrooms. It successfully created a state and national holiday in honor of the fallen leader. The UFW also strategically increased its lobbying efforts to alter industry

and statewide working standards, viewing these actions as more effectual than negotiating rights and conditions one grower at a time.

UFW Strategy and Symbols

The UFW standardized the use of traditional labor union tactics such as strikes, boycotts (primary and secondary), informational picketing, extensive public relations and educational campaigns (such as through its house organ, *El Malcriado*), and lobbying for legislative change. But the union has also become synonymous with tactics of non-violence, such as the fast and the march (*peregrinacion* or pilgrimage). Affiliated with the UFW is El Teatro Campesino (the Farmworkers' Theater). Luis Valdez created El Teatro Campesino in 1965 on the picket line in Delano. It performed *actos* (acts) in the fields and labor union halls, using workers to embody the issues and political players in these real-life dramas. It was awarded for its political theater prior to launching a more extensive solo avenue separate from the farmworker issues in the 1970s and 1980s.

The flag of the farm workers has become internationally recognized: a black eagle in a white circle on a red background. Many Chicana/o muralists and printmakers incorporate the UFW eagle into their works as a symbol of the Chicano movement. The theme song of the UFW has remained "De Colores," although "El Picket Sign" and the traditional "Solidarity Forever" are always incorporated at events. Musicians such as Los Lobos and Joan Baez performed some of their first concerts for UFW members on the backs of flatbed trucks, or out in the fields on the picket lines. Chávez also wrote the poem "La Oracion del Campesino en la Lucha" (Prayer of the Farm Worker's Struggle), which is often read at meetings and events.

Impact and Legacy of the UFW

The UFW changed agriculture throughout the country, but particularly in California, where it was founded. Unprecedented changes in farm work conditions because of the union include the elimination of the disabling short-handled hoe; contracts requiring rest periods, drinking water, toilets, and hand-washing facilities; and protections against pesticide exposure and poisoning by banning growers from spraying while workers

are in the fields, banning dangerous pesticides like DDT, lengthening the time before field entry after spraying, posting, and employer-provided protective gear, in addition to regular testing of workers for pesticide levels. In some contracts with employers, UFW members are eligible for profit sharing and parental leave, and the elimination of independent farm labor contractors, guaranteeing seniority rights and job security. The UFW also impacted workers' lives by banning employer discrimination and sexual harassment and, in housing, by setting minimum standards for safety and sanitation.

Members with UFW contracts are eligible for health benefits for themselves and their families through the Robert F. Kennedy Farm Workers Medical Plan and a modicum of retirement security through the first pension plan for retired farm workers: the Juan de la Cruz Farm Workers Pension Plan.



The United Farm Workers of America was created with the hope of improving conditions for farmworkers like this family, circa 1935. Many farm workers live below the poverty line, earning an average \$10,000 per year.

In addition to hard-fought contractual changes that must be continually renegotiated and defended, the union has changed laws regulating their work. The 1975 Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), signed by Governor Jerry Brown in California, rectified a gap in the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) of 1935 that did not allow agricultural workers to unionize. The ALRA was modified in 2002 by adding mandated binding mediation to force growers to bargain in good faith and uphold the intent of the 1975 law. Current legislation sought by the UFW includes union elections through card-check instead of onsite polling, minimum wage and overtime protections, and greater protections for those working in extreme heat.

Agricultural unions and migrant farm worker rights have expanded across the country even for those not immediately represented by the UFW. The Farm Labor Organizing Committee of Ohio has made substantial improvements for workers in the midwest, east, and new south. It remains arguably the most important and visible organization of the Chicano civil rights movement. The creation of the César Chávez holiday in California requires all primary and secondary school students to learn about the union annually as part of the education code standards, changing public consciousness.

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See Also: Agriculture and Ethnic Diversity; Chicano Movement; Immigrants, Undocumented; Migrant Workers; Teatro Campesino, El.

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United Negro College Fund

The United Negro College Fund (UNCF) is an international philanthropic organization that has raised more than \$3.3 billion since 1943 in support of black higher education domestically and abroad. Originally used specifically to fund historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), over the years its focus has shifted to supporting individual students in their pursuit of higher education through a variety of scholarship funds. Today, the UNCF provides funding for more than 60,000 students at over 900 institutions throughout the United States and abroad, while annually dispersing more than \$100 million in grants and scholarships.

Black Higher Education Pre-Founding

The UNCF was established in a precarious financial time in the nation's history. The effects of the Great Depression coupled with the immense strains of World War II left little money available to fund private black institutions of higher learning. The U.S. Office of Education published findings in 1943 stating that between 1930 and 1943, the overall income of black colleges and universities decreased by 15 percent and income from private gifts decreased by 50 percent. During this same period, two of the largest supporters of black colleges—the General Education Board and the Julius Rosenwald Fund—were turning their attention to other projects, leaving black colleges and universities facing significant financial strain.

This financial strain was exemplified in the experiences of the UNCF's leading founder and first president, Dr. Frederick Douglass Patterson. Patterson succeeded Robert Moton as the president of Tuskegee Institute, one of the crown jewels of black tertiary education in the United States. Patterson was the third individual to lead Tuskegee, as Moton was mentored by Tuskegee's founder and initial president, Booker T. Washington. As an adept fund-raiser with strong ties to the white elite in both the north and south, Washington guided Tuskegee for more than 30 years with the help of benefactors who included some of the wealthiest men of the day, including Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller Jr. Patterson

lacked the contacts of Washington or Moton and found Tuskegee running a deficit of \$50,000 a year when he became president in 1935.

Through correspondence with other leaders of other black colleges and universities, Patterson found that the financial issues faced by Tuskegee were not at all distinct to his institution. In January 1943, he published a piece in the *Pittsburgh Courier* urging private black colleges and universities to pool their resources in order to make a united fund-raising appeal and salvage their institutions' futures. In April 1943, the heads of black colleges and universities, such as Spelman in Georgia, Bethune-Cookman in Florida, Dillard in Louisiana, and several others gathered at Tuskegee at the behest of Patterson. Each of the colleges present had quality "A" ratings, representing only the most elite black private tertiary institutions.

The summit at Tuskegee in 1943 united black college and university presidents for their shared goals of fund-raising and laid the foundation for the establishment of the UNCF. An exploratory committee chaired by Patterson following the meeting studied the budgets of the institutions present and outlined the feasibility of a united campaign. A budget of \$100,000 was set to launch fund-raising efforts for what was originally termed the United College Drive, and in early 1944, the fund-raising work for what would become the UNCF formally began.

Establishment and Early Years

As is the case now, in its first years of existence, the UNCF was able to achieve success through a combination of wealthy, high-powered white advocates and the steady, smaller donations of regular blacks throughout the nation. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., son and namesake of the wealthiest man in world history, chaired the National Advisory Committee. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, who were both longtime close personal friends of UNCF cofounder Mary McLeod Bethune, were some of its earliest advocates. Winthrop W. Aldrich, the chairman of the board of Chase National Bank, served as the UNCF's first national treasurer.

These individuals helped build the UNCF in its earliest stages by establishing a robust group of funders to support it. In its first annual campaign

in 1944, the UNCF raised \$765,000, which was triple what the individual member colleges had been able to raise independently the previous year. Relatively low overhead through a large group of volunteer workers at their New York City headquarters allowed most of these funds to go toward supporting the member colleges. The support of volunteers was critical as Patterson became the first president of the UNCF while still serving as president of Tuskegee. William W. Trent, Jr., was brought in as the first executive director of the UNCF to oversee its operations year-round while the member schools' presidents contributed on a part-time basis.

In its second annual campaign, contributions increased by 25 percent to \$1,030,000, proving that the huge initial success of the organization was not short-lived. The late 1940s saw the establishment of area offices as well as the establishment of the National Alumni Council. The area offices served as regional bases from which the UNCF was able to solicit contributions through the work of paid staff. The National Alumni Council was made up of representatives from various private black colleges who worked to raise funds on behalf of the UNCF. These early financial successes and organizational precedents laid a foundation for the organization's future operations that allowed it to thrive in the years to come.

Centrality to Black Higher Education

The impact of the UNCF on the education of blacks in the United States was significant. In 1950, only 50,000 black students were enrolled in higher education. Ten years later, in 1960, that number had increased to over 200,000, with 90 percent of black college/graduate students attending HBCUs. Part of this dramatic increase came as a result of the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, which spurred many predominantly white colleges and universities to recruit black students, but much of this increase should also be attributed to the increased funds available to HBCUs that were part of the UNCF to support larger student bodies.

Twelve years after its establishment in 1944, the UNCF contributed to 31 private black colleges, accounting for approximately 10 percent of the budget at each. It is possible that without these critical funds, the schools may not have

been able to remain accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). This accreditation was one of the initial requirements of UNCF membership at the organization's founding. This centrality of import to the sustenance of HBCUs was underscored by Dr. Donald Agnew, the president of the SACS, in stating that no other money had been used more effectively for educational gains than the money provided through the UNCF to member colleges.

The importance of the UNCF was also demonstrated by the clamoring of nonmember HBCUs to gain entrance. This interest led the UNCF to set further formal criteria for admission in 1959. Some of the requirements involved accreditation mandates and degree program stipulations, while others dealt squarely with the member institutions' leadership agreeing to promote the fund's aim of educational opportunity for the greatest in need. Although the UNCF faced some financial issues in the late 1950s, membership was still highly regarded due to the longstanding connections the fund had with major philanthropic organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation. Ongoing relationships such as these made the organization a powerful force in black higher education.

Perhaps nothing reflects the importance of the UNCF's work more than the magnitude of alumni who went through member schools during the first 40 years of its existence. During this period, member institutions graduated the likes of Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, and Ralph Ellison in literature and Spike Lee, Samuel L. Jackson, and Tom Joyner in entertainment. Educators such as Evelyn Hammonds and Ruth J. Simmons and public leaders such as Douglas Wilder and Angie Brook also became alumni of UNCF member institutions over this time. Finally, civil rights icons Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ruby Robinson, Stokely Carmichael, and Marian Wright Edelman are among those who have been educated through UNCF member schools since 1944. These famous alumni represent a very small number of the estimated 400,000 college graduates throughout the world who have benefited from UNCF support.

Contemporary Fund-Raising and Developments

Over the course of time, the UNCF went through a number of major changes. Vernon Jordan's brief

but impactful tenure as UNCF president from 1970 to 1972 brought numerous new developments at the UNCF. One such change was the development of the slogan “A mind is a terrible thing to waste” by the advertising agency Young & Rubicam. It has since become one of the most iconic phrases in advertising. Jordan, whose background was in business and law, came after several years of national campaign chairmen who led major oil, banking, and pharmaceutical companies such as Standard Oil, the Summit Trust Company, and Bristol-Myers. The support of these individuals during this period spurred UNCF member schools to produce half of the black elected officials, 75 percent of the black Ph.D.s, and 85 percent of the black medical doctors in the nation.

Another new development occurred in 1980 with the establishment of an annual fund-raiser by famed musician and actor Lou Rawls. From 1980 to 2006, Rawls’s annual event has featured stories of students and graduates from UNCF member schools along with musical performances from many famous musicians. This fund-raising vehicle has brought in over \$200 million for the UNCF. During this period, after an initial request of \$20 million by then UNCF president Charles Edley, Walter Annenberg committed \$50 million to the UNCF in 1990. This marked one of the largest gifts in American history to higher education. Annenberg made his donation contingent on the UNCF raising \$200 million in matching funds, which was accomplished in 1997.

Perhaps the most significant shift that has occurred over the last 30 years is how funding from the UNCF is used. Whereas the UNCF was founded specifically to support HBCUs, the UNCF now also funds individual students regardless of what school they attend. This shift has coincided with the rise in black enrollment at predominantly white schools throughout the nation brought about through the elimination of de jure segregation in U.S. schools, affirmative action, and other developments. This shift has also come as many HBCUs struggle to maintain high levels of enrollment and funding, struggles that threaten their collective future.

Presently, the UNCF maintains its role as a critical funding source to schools and students throughout the nation. Over 10,000 scholarships, fellowships, and internships are awarded

annually, and strategic partnerships with the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Walton Family Foundation, and Merck have expanded the organization’s impact even further. Over \$1.5 billion has been raised in the past 10 years alone, reflecting an average annual intake of \$150 million—1,500 times more than the initial \$100,000 used to initiative fund-raising efforts nearly 70 years ago. These resources continue to help make the UNCF a critical player in higher education for black students and others throughout the nation.

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See Also: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954); Educational Achievement; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; School Segregation.

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United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind (1923)

Although many Americans assume that racial categories are natural, self-evident, biological divisions of humanity, race is actually a socially constructed and arbitrarily defined concept. Racial categories and their definitions have evolved from a series of laws, policies, and court decisions over the course of the nation’s history. During the early 20th century, for example, the U.S. government did not have an official definition of “whiteness” to clearly delineate who was included and excluded from this racial category. Although the policy of hypodescent (also called the “one-drop rule”) had been used since the slavery era

to exclude persons of known black ancestry from being classified as white, the social positioning of Asian immigrants within American constructs of race during the early 20th century resulted in a series of key court cases.

Takuji Yamashita: Asian American Civil Rights Pioneer

Largely overlooked in the annals of American civil rights history, Takuji Yamashita posed one of the first challenges to racially discriminatory policies that barred Asian immigrants from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens. The Naturalization Act of 1790 restricted the right of immigrants to apply for U.S. citizenship to “free white persons,” while the federal government extended citizenship to former slaves following the Civil War. A Japanese national, Yamashita migrated to the United States in the 1890s and graduated from the University of Washington’s law school in 1902.

Although he passed the state’s bar examination, the Washington Supreme Court blocked Yamashita’s bar application on the grounds that his ineligibility to become a naturalized U.S. citizen precluded him from practicing law in the United States. Yamashita responded by arguing that the denial of naturalization rights to Asian immigrants was incompatible with the basic values of “the most enlightened and liberty-loving nation of them all.” Yamashita argued his case before the Washington Supreme Court, but the court ruled against him. However, on March 1, 2001, the Washington Supreme Court reversed its decision rendered 99 years earlier and posthumously admitted Yamashita as an honorary member of the state bar. Washington governor Gary Locke, the first Chinese American governor in U.S. history, presided over the ceremony accompanied by 17 of Yamashita’s descendants.

Takao Ozawa v. United States (1922)

The U.S. Supreme Court considered the case of Takao Ozawa in November 1922. Ozawa, a Japanese national who immigrated to the United States in 1894, graduated from Berkeley High School in northern California, studied at the University of California at Berkeley, felt highly assimilated into American society, and applied to become a naturalized U.S. citizen in October 1914. Ozawa resided in Hawai‘i at the time he

filed for naturalization. The U.S. District Court of the Hawai‘ian Territory (Hawai‘i did not become a state until 1959) rejected Ozawa’s application for citizenship on racial grounds, noting that Ozawa was a member of the “Japanese race” and not “white.” Ozawa responded to the court’s ruling by suing the federal government for the right to naturalize. After both a U.S. District Court and the Ninth Circuit Court ruled against him, his case reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

Interestingly, Ozawa’s lawsuit did not challenge the legality of the racial restrictions contained in U.S. immigration policy. Instead, he sued on the grounds that, on the basis of his complexion, he should be considered “white” and therefore eligible for naturalization. In effect, Ozawa’s lawsuit contended that Japanese persons should be legally classified as “white” by the U.S. government. In addition to citing his light complexion, Ozawa asserted his high degree of acculturation to American society to support his claim for the right to naturalize. He pointed out that he felt no connection to Japanese society, that he belonged to an American church, that he had married an American woman, and that only the English language was spoken in his family’s home.

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court ruled against Ozawa and upheld the District Court’s initial rejection of his application for naturalization. The Supreme Court decision maintained that skin color could not be used as the benchmark of racial categories because various complexions and skin tones are found among members of any particular racial group. Invoking the common anthropological terminology of the day, the Supreme Court held that Japanese were not “Caucasian” but “Mongoloid” and, consequently, not “white,” despite the relatively light complexions of Ozawa and his coethnics.

United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind (1923)

Within months of its *Ozawa* ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court rendered another landmark decision regarding racial classification. Bhagat Singh Thind, a Punjabi Sikh immigrant from India who had graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, and served in the U.S. Army during World War I, took his case to the high court after being denied the right to naturalize. Like Ozawa’s, Thind’s case did not attempt to overturn the

racial restrictions that marked the naturalization process, but instead sought to have the plaintiff's "race" recognized as "white." Given the recent timing of the *Ozawa* ruling, which had essentially conflated whiteness with Caucasian ancestry, Thind and his attorneys remained optimistic that the Supreme Court would rule in their favor. Of particular significance to Thind's case was the fact that anthropologists during the early 20th century generally regarded the relatively lighter-complexioned inhabitants of northern India, from where Thind had migrated, as belonging to Aryan or Caucasian racial stock.

Once again, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously against an Asian immigrant seeking to naturalize. Justice George Sutherland, who authored the court's opinion for this case, recognized that Thind had "purity of Aryan blood" but nonetheless was not "white" or "Caucasian," according to popular American understandings of these terms. Sutherland invoked the presumed intent of the Naturalization Act of 1790 in the court's opinion:

. . . the original framers of the [naturalization] law, were intended to include only the type of man whom they knew as white. The immigration of that day was almost exclusively from the British Isles and Northwestern Europe, whence they and their forebears had come. When they extended the privilege of American citizenship to "any alien, being a free white person," it was these immigrants—bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh—and their kind whom they must have had affirmatively in mind.

In effect, the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Thind* case declared that all whites were Caucasian, but not all Caucasians were white. Whereas the court invoked contemporary scientific and anthropological discourses of race to exclude Japanese persons from the social boundaries of American whiteness in its *Ozawa* decision, it conveniently disregarded anthropological theories of race to exclude northern Indians from any claim to whiteness with its decision in the *Thind* case.

Following the *Thind* ruling, the U.S. government retroactively stripped several naturalized Asian Indian immigrants of their U.S. citizenship.

Not until 1946 did the United States reverse this policy and permit Indian immigrants to become American citizens, a move that some historians and legal scholars suggest was driven by the U.S. government's prescience that India would become an independent nation and a major world power within a few years.

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See Also: Caucasians; Race, Social Construction of; Whiteness Studies.

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Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League

The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, usually called the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), was the largest and most influential black nationalist organization of the 20th century. Founded by Marcus Mosiah Garvey in Jamaica in 1914, the UNIA emerged as a mass movement promoting racial pride, black self-sufficiency, and the establishment of an autonomous black nation-state. Although organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) generally attracted members from higher social and economic levels, the UNIA captured the imagination of the working class and drew an impressive following of African-descended people in the United States and abroad.

A charismatic personality, Marcus Garvey served as the UNIA's president general, actively promoting his nationalist ideas during the 1920s. Born on August 17, 1887, in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, Garvey became politically active during his late teens. While working as manager of a local printing establishment in 1905, he participated in a strike in the capital of Kingston.

In the years that followed, Garvey traveled extensively throughout Latin America, where he witnessed the common plight of African-descended people. These experiences greatly shaped his views and provided the impetus for his decision to establish an organization that sought to unite black people throughout the globe. With the assistance of Amy Ashwood, who would later become his first wife, Garvey oversaw UNIA affairs in Kingston, Jamaica, before relocating to Harlem, New York, where he incorporated the organization in June 1918.

At its peak, the UNIA attracted an estimated 2 million members and had approximately 1,000 chapters in more than 40 countries including South Africa, Cuba, and Canada. Women joined the organization in substantial numbers and generally participated in the two central female auxiliaries, the Black Cross Nurses and the Universal African Motor Corps. Amy Jacques Garvey, one of the leading female voices in the organization (and Garvey's second wife), became editor of the women's page of *Negro World*, the UNIA's official newspaper. Established in 1918, *Negro World* was the primary vehicle through which Garvey disseminated his nationalist ideas, often referred to as Garveyism. With an impressive readership in places as diverse as Dahomey and Australia, the *Negro World* became one of the most influential black newspapers of the 20th century.

Through the pages of *Negro World*, Garvey promoted a line of black-owned businesses including garment factories, grocery stores, and restaurants. Committed to improving the social and economic conditions of African-descended people, Garvey established the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation (BSL), the largest and most significant of these UNIA business ventures. Selling shares of stock for \$5 each, Garvey raised enough funds to launch the first ship, the *Yarmouth*, on September 19, 1919. In addition to transporting commercial products throughout



Marcus Mosiah Garvey was a staunch proponent of Pan-Africanism and black nationalism. A statue stands in Trinidad, Tobago, in his honor, dedicated by the African Advancement Association, touting him as a "Pan African Nationalist Hero."

the Caribbean and West Africa, the BSL provided a means through which black people could travel without discrimination. Garvey also envisioned using the BSL as the primary means to transport people of African descent to West Africa.

Although the BSL represented one of the UNIA's most significant ventures, it would also become the subject of much scrutiny. Long determined to deport Garvey, federal officials, under the instruction of J. Edgar Hoover, began to build a case against Garvey based on BSL stock sales. On July 12, 1922, Garvey was arrested for mail fraud, allegedly having used U.S. mail to promote and sell BSL stock for ships that had yet to be purchased. In 1923, he was found guilty of the

charge, and two years later, he began serving a five-year term at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. After numerous attempts to appeal his conviction, Garvey was ultimately pardoned by President Calvin Coolidge and ordered to leave the country. On December 2, 1927, in the presence of more than 500 supporters in New Orleans, Garvey was deported to his native Jamaica. He died in London 13 years later, on June 10, 1940.

Although the UNIA gradually declined during the early 1930s, Garvey's ideas left a lasting impact on the lives of millions throughout the African diaspora. In the decades following his death, a number of organizations (such as the Nation of Islam) and black leaders (including Malcolm X) drew widely on Garvey's ideas. Even today, Garvey's message of racial pride and black political and economic empowerment continue to inspire countless black men and women in the United States and across the globe.

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See Also: Back to Africa Movement; Nation of Islam; Pan-Africanism.

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Communications has expanded into a media empire and today owns two broadcast television networks, a cable television network, a radio network, a Latin music-based record company, and Internet communications outlets. The company's television networks comprise 26 owned and operated stations, 66 local affiliates, and more than 1,800 cable affiliates. Univision made history in September 2010 when it became the first non-English-language channel in American history to have the highest ratings among the highly coveted 18- to-49-year-old demographic. Univision is headquartered in Los Angeles, California.

The Early Years

Despite its contemporary status as an international media giant, Univision had humble origins. In 1961, Rene Anselmo, a Massachusetts native, purchased the San Antonio, Texas-based television station KWEX-TV. Anselmo transformed the station into the Spanish International Network (SIN), which was owned and operated by the Mexico-based broadcast corporation Telesistema Mexicano. Telesistema Mexicano provided SIN with the maximum amount of financing a foreign-based broadcaster was legally permitted to supply to a U.S.-based station (20 percent). The Mexican broadcast company also supplied SIN with all of its programming, although Anselmo did attempt to establish local news programming.

KWEX became the first exclusively Spanish-language channel in the United States, and the station provided programming to the local Spanish-speaking and Latino (primarily Mexican American) population of San Antonio. The success of KWEX led SIN to establish other Spanish-based television stations in other regions. By 1968, the network had established Spanish-language television stations in Los Angeles, Phoenix, and New York City.

The Spanish-speaking population of the United States increased dramatically during the 1970s and 1980s as a result of high rates of immigration from Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Central America. These trends served to expand SIN's broadcasting reach and raise its profits by providing the network with an ever-increasing source of potential viewers. SIN launched a premium subscription-based, Spanish-language cable network, Galavisión, on April 2, 1979. Based in Los Angeles, Galavisión broadcasts motion

Univision

Univision Communications, Inc., is the largest Spanish-language media corporation in the United States. The company is perhaps best known for its television network, Univision, which was the first Spanish-language television channel launched in the United States. Since the 1970s, Univision

pictures, sporting events, and *telenovelas* to paying customers in Florida, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico. By 1984, the cable network had gained 100,000 subscribers, although Galavisión dropped its premium status and became a basic cable channel three years later. By the end of the decade, more than 300 cable providers in a dozen states carried Galavisión.

Improvements in satellite technology, along with the growing Hispanic/Latino population in the United States, made SIN the dominant provider of Spanish-language television programming in the United States throughout the 1980s. By 1982, SIN controlled 33 of the 35 Spanish-language TV stations in the nation. The company's profits more than quadrupled in less than a decade, growing from \$10 million in 1978 to \$45 million in 1984. SIN was renamed Univision in 1987 after the network sold its TV stations to Hallmark.

Univision soared to new heights during the 1990s, when Nielsen Media Research, which calculates the advertisement-contingent Nielsen Ratings that measure a television program's level of viewership, launched its Nielsen Hispanic Television Index (NHTI) in 1992. Also in 1992, Hallmark sold the network to a partnership comprising A. Jerrold Perenchio (an Anglo television producer), Televisa (a Mexican broadcast company), and Venevisa (a Venezuelan broadcast company). The creation of a ratings system for Spanish-language television provided an objective measure by which Univision could court advertisers to purchase airtime on its stations. By the mid-1990s, Univision catapulted to the position of fifth-most-watched network in the United States, after the Big Three (NBC, ABC, and CBS) and Fox.

By 1992, Univision's revenue exceeded \$200 million, and American companies began to take note of the tremendous purchasing power of the Hispanic/Latino consumer market—at that time still a relatively untapped source of clientele. However, the rapidly growing Hispanic/Latino population of the United States had diversified considerably since Univision's origins in the early 1960s, with sizable communities of Caribbean Latinos settling in Florida and the northeast.

As Univision's scope reached more Latino viewers throughout more of the country, the network became a contested space over whose version of *latinidad* the network should promote. For

example, some Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Dominican viewers criticized Univision and Galavisión for the channels' excessive focus on programming clearly intended for Mexican and Central American viewers, while some Mexicans criticized Galavisión for relocating its headquarters to Miami in 1989. Miami has a large Cuban American population, which led some Mexican viewers to worry that the network would shift toward a more Cuban-oriented programming lineup.

As the 1990s came to a close, Univision controlled 83 percent of the total Spanish-language television programming in the United States. Popular programs on the network included *Despierta America* (a Latino counterpart to *Good Morning America*), *Cristina* (an Oprah Winfrey-esque talk show hosted by Cuban refugee Cristina Seralegui), *Noticiero Univision* and *Primer Impacto* (two evening news programs), *Sábado Gigante* (a Saturday evening variety show), and a variety of *telenovelas*. Anchored by Mexican newscaster and journalist Jorge Ramos, *Noticiero Univision* became the highest-rated Spanish-language news program in the United States. By 1997, Univision's revenues had increased to \$460 million.

Political Coverage

In the 21st century, Univision expanded its coverage of the American electoral process by hosting a series of political debates and interviews with presidential contenders from both the Republican and Democratic Parties. A Univision debate scheduled for September 16, 2007, to which all Republican candidates seeking their party's presidential nomination in the upcoming 2008 election were invited, drew attention for its lack of response. Only Arizona Senator John McCain, the eventual 2008 Republican presidential nominee, accepted Univision's invitation, leading Latino journalists and political scientists to question how long the Republicans could continue to overlook Latino voters and remain a viable national party. During the 2012 campaign, however, both Democratic incumbent President Barack Obama and Republican nominee Mitt Romney made appearances on Univision and fielded tough questions from hosts Jorge Ramos and Maria Elena Salinas.

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See Also: Hispanic Americans; Telemundo; Television.

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Uprooted, The

The Uprooted is likely the most influential book ever written on the history of European immigration to the United States. Written by historian Oscar Handlin and first published in 1951, *The Uprooted* chronicles the migration of the millions of Europeans who came to the United States in the second half of the 19th century and first few decades of the 20th century. It was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1952. The book's central premise—that alienation and a sense of being uprooted were the defining characteristics of the immigrant experience—led to an outpouring of new scholarship in immigration history, much of which challenged or offered an alternative to Handlin's interpretations. Ultimately, *The Uprooted* changed the way historians wrote about immigration and forced them to reassess its relationship to U.S. history. As Handlin noted in the book's now famous first lines, "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* American history."

A work of historical synthesis written in accessible prose and narrative style, *The Uprooted* was meant to appeal to a broad readership. Although based on archival research, newspaper articles, and the firsthand accounts of immigrants, the book contains no footnotes. Its chapters are organized thematically in the hope of capturing various aspects of the prototypical immigrant experience.

The Uprooted was one of the first books to focus on how immigration changed immigrants

rather than how immigrants changed their adopted country. As a result, the story starts in peasant villages and bustling European cities where demographic pressures and a lack of food led to large-scale migration to northeastern American cities over the course of the 19th century. Handlin then describes the arduous conditions migrants endured while crossing the Atlantic and the many challenges they faced upon arriving in the United States.

The majority of the book is dedicated to the new social, cultural, political, and economic realities and the many challenges immigrants faced in America. Handlin tells of the dangerous working conditions in urban factories where unskilled immigrant laborers toiled with few opportunities for upward mobility. Chapters on "The Ghettos" and "The Shock of Alienation" probe the physical and emotional hardships immigrants faced. A chapter on "Religion as a Way of Life" describes Christianity's increasing influence over immigrants, and a chapter on "Generations" explores shifting familial relations and the growing differences between the first-generation immigrants and their children.

Tying these chapters together is the pervasive sense of alienation, rather than belonging, that immigrants felt. Indeed, *The Uprooted* paints a bleak picture of immigrant life, one best characterized by loneliness and despair. According to Handlin, the experience of being uprooted was to blame.

In addition to being widely praised, *The Uprooted* generated serious debate among immigration historians. Many questioned Handlin's decision to write in generalities about "the immigrants," "the peasants," and "the newcomers." In the 1960s, scholars like Rudolph J. Vecoli challenged Handlin's simplistic depiction of a uniform, static, premodern European peasant culture and argued that the distinct experiences of Italian, Russian, and Irish immigrants could not be clumped together. According to Vecoli, a model immigrant type or single immigrant experience did not exist.

In the decades that followed, scholars such as John Bodnar advanced other paradigms, including the idea that immigrants were transplanted rather than uprooted. Contrary to Handlin, who depicted precapitalist peasant villages, Bodnar

identified European capitalism as the driving force behind migration. He also argued that Handlin overstated the supposed rupture between the old and new worlds. Recently, an increasing number of historians have sought to trace the transnational ties between Europe and European immigrants in the United States.

Although *The Uprooted* purports to tell “the epic story of the great migrations that made the American people,” the focus is limited to Europeans who immigrated during the 19th and early 20th centuries. By concentrating on European immigration to the northeast, *The Uprooted* fails to explain the important role played by Asian and Latin American immigrants in the development of the American west and southwest. Immigration from China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and Mexico is not addressed, even though large numbers of people arrived from these countries during the same period. The effect, even if unintended, is to reinforce the false notion that immigration to the United States has been exclusively European.

Moreover, by framing the history of European immigration to the United States as a process of being uprooted, Handlin lent support to the Chicago School’s problematic theory of one-way immigration, permanent settlement, and assimilation. Historians have since shown that 30 to 40 percent of European immigrants eventually returned to the countries they left.

Despite *The Uprooted*’s shortcomings, it remains one of the most important books on the history of immigration to the United States—not only because it was one of the first works to place the immigrant experience at the center of American history, but also because it galvanized the field of immigration history for decades to come.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Culture; Diaspora; Eurasian; European Americans; Immigration History Research Center; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Melting Pot.

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Uruguayan Americans

Uruguay is a small South American country on the Atlantic coast, bordered by Brazil and Argentina. Parts of the country were colonized by both the Portuguese and the Spanish, and both of their languages persist among the European population today. The country has been independent since 1828. Unlike most of Central and South America, the majority of the population—88 percent—is white (Spanish, Italian, French, and German), with a mestizo minority of 8 percent. A disproportionate number of mestizos and Afro-Uruguayans have been represented in Uruguayan immigration, though most immigrants are white and many identify strongly with their European heritage, identifying as German Americans as much as Uruguayan Americans.

According to the 2010 Census, there are 50,538 Uruguayan Americans, making them one of the smaller Hispanic groups in the United States. The number is relatively small primarily because most Uruguayan immigration has taken place during the last 60 years and because Uruguay is the second-smallest country in South America.

Emigration From Uruguay

For more than a century after independence, Uruguayans did not immigrate to other countries very often; usually, Uruguay was a destination for immigrants. This changed in the mid-20th century, when the economic depression that began after World War II continued for a lengthy period of time, even after an initial recovery. Job crises and currency problems plagued the country in the Cold War years, and a dictatorial military regime had risen to power. For the first time, large numbers of people left the country; those who could afford to do so, for the most part, were the well-educated middle and upper classes, and young

people who could pursue an education elsewhere and then look for work.

This initial immigration made things in Uruguay worse, as the combination of the country's economic troubles and the sudden reduction in the population of well-paid taxpayers led to a shortage of funds in the social security system. This, in turn, both motivated further immigration and worsened the economic problems. Over the course of 25 years, about one-tenth of the population left the country, and only one-tenth of that tenth returned later (after receiving an education or earning money for one's family back home). This vicious circle continued throughout the 20th century, despite brief recoveries and occasional reforms.

Most Uruguayan émigrés left for Argentina, with which the country has many cultural and linguistic ties. Those who came to the United States settled in New York City, New Jersey, and Long Island, where existing South American communities could be found, or Florida, where there was a large Spanish-speaking community. A number of Uruguayan Americans have also settled in the Washington, D.C., area.

The dialect of Spanish spoken in Uruguay is Rioplatense Spanish, named for the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, of which Uruguay was part during the colonial era. The language is heavily influenced by the number of European immigrants to Uruguay after its independence. Like North America, Uruguay has a history and demographics shaped by massive waves of immigration in the 19th century. In the same way that the United States is no longer predominantly Anglo-American but has instead become a melting pot of other heritages, Uruguay also differs greatly from other South American countries whose citizens are still descended mainly from Spanish colonists and the indigenous population. Rioplatense borrowed and adapted many indigenous words, as most of the Spanish spoken in the Americas has done. Because of these two sets of influences, as well as local language evolution, Rioplatense includes a vocabulary of about 9,000 words that are not used elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world, many of them terms that are part of the average speaker's basic vocabulary.

Uruguayans in the United States

Significant Uruguayan Americans include ballet instructor Miguel Terekhov; economist Carlos

Vegh; Ida Vitale, an important art critic; billiards player Pedro Piedrabuena; Minnesota Stars soccer player Martin Nunez; actress Elizabeth Melendez; and actress Natalia Cigliuti, best known as Sam Harper on *The Glades*.

Though their number is small, many of Uruguay's immigrants to the United States have been well educated and from middle-class or prosperous backgrounds, allowing them to find work without the difficulty faced by some immigrant groups. Further, a great many of them were fluent in English when arriving, making assimilation easier; even those who were not found that there were sufficient Spanish-speaking communities in the United States. Uruguay has a largely urban population, and its capital, Montevideo, is a modern, cosmopolitan, multiethnic city. Many Uruguayans have commented that the most difficult adjustment to the United States was simply the difference in climate.

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See Also: Argentine Americans; Brazilian Americans; Paraguayan Americans.

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Ute

The Ute are a southwestern Native American tribe within the Numic or Shoshonean language family. They call themselves the Nuutsui or Nuciu, which translates as "the people." Traditional Ute territory covered parts of Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah, where many Ute still reside. The Ute shared many characteristics of the traditional nomadic Plains Native American culture. Many modern Ute still reside on the Uintah and

Ouray Reservation located near Fort Duchesne, which is among the largest of the U.S. reservations, while others live off-reservation.

The seven original bands composing the Ute were the Capote, Mouache, Parianucs, Tabeguache, Unitah, Weeminuche, and Yampa. These bands often intermarried but were not governed by a central tribal organization. Male chiefs governed the different bands. The traditional Ute lifestyle was seasonally nomadic, subsistence-based, and largely reliant on hunting and gathering. The men were the traditional hunters and warriors, while the women were the traditional gatherers and were responsible for childcare and the household. Food sources included deer, antelope, elk, buffalo, rabbits and other small game, birds, fish, insects, roots, pine nuts, seeds and seed grasses, and fruits.

Many Western Ute lived in wickiups, a type of round or cone-shaped dwelling, whereas Eastern Ute generally lived in cone-shaped tepees. Their nomadic lifestyle and potential danger from raids encouraged mobile camps that were easily packed, moved, and reestablished. Clothing consisted of fringed deerskin dresses and shirts, breechcloths, leather leggings, buckskin shirts and moccasins, and yucca fiber sandals. Hair remained long unless cut for mourning, and facial tattoos and face painting was common. Tools and weapons included bows and arrows, spears, shields, and nets made of bone, stone, wood, and animal hides.

Ute social organization centered on extended family groupings, and the bands practiced polygamy. Their religious beliefs, like those of many Native Americans, were animistic and polytheistic and based on a strong respect for the natural environment, and animals such as the bear were worshipped. The Bear Dance and Sun Dance were key religious and social ceremonies. Artistically, the Ute were known for their baskets, pottery, and beadworking. Ute history was preserved orally.

Relations With Euro Americans

Early contact with Euro American settlers was sporadic, limited to encounters with explorers, trappers, and traders. Initial relations with Euro Americans were largely friendly. The Ute also maintained shifting alliances and hostilities with the neighboring Navajo, Comanche, and Pueblo tribes. Cultural adoptions from Euro Americans and other tribes included dress, agriculture, and

horses. Intercultural contact also brought the Ute into the trade in livestock, horses, and slaves. The adoption of more efficient horseback hunting as well as the wholesale slaughter of the buffalo by the United States all but eliminated the Great Plains buffalo herds that had formed the centerpiece of traditional western Native American culture.

Mormons were the first Euro Americans to arrive and settle in Ute territory in large numbers. A period of increasing competition for land and resources soon developed as the Euro American population expanded, resulting in outbreaks of hostility such as the Walker War of 1853-54. The Northern Ute were generally more resistant to cultural change than the Southern Ute. Some Northern Ute bands raided nearby Mormon settlements seen as threatening their traditional territory. Resistance to forced attempts at settled farming and removal to reservations resulted in the Black Hawk War of 1863 to 1868.

During the mid- to late 1800s, the Ute entered into treaty agreements with the federal government and relocated to reservations such as the Uintah and Ouray Reservation located near Fort Duchesne. The Ute chief Ouray and his wife, Chipeta, were among those Native Americans who traveled to Washington, D.C., in 1870 to meet with federal government representatives and achieve diplomatic peace. Many Ute, however, resisted assimilation into U.S. society. They sought to maintain a Ute and pan-Indian identity through such practices as the Sun Dance religion and use of peyote.

Current Statutes

The Native American population grew from the 2000 to the 2010 U.S. Census. The 2010 figures count 11,491 people who identified themselves as of full or partial Ute ancestry out of a total of over 5.2 million Native Americans. The total U.S. population in 2010 was 1.7 percent Native American, 22 percent of whom lived within American Indian areas such as reservations.

There are currently three separate Ute tribes, led by elected tribal councils. Elected representatives of the three bands incorporated as the Northern Ute Tribe in the early 20th century. The tribe is headquartered in Fort Duchesne. Most Ute reside on the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in northeastern Utah, which is one of the largest of the Native American reservations within the United

States. Tribal members receive per capita monies from the tribe. Lawsuits brought in the 20th century regained tribal control over portions of the reservation land that had been allotted to individuals and families or sold to non-Indian ownership under the Dawes Act of 1887. Modern economic activities include farming, cattle ranching, and the mining and production of oil and natural gas. The tribe has also been involved in western water resource issues and the related Central Utah Project. Ceremonial dances, powwows, traditional crafts, language, and storytelling have helped preserve its cultural heritage.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Dawes Act (1887); Mormons; Native Americans; Powwow; Reservations, Native American.

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V

Venezuelan Americans

As of the 2010 Census, there were 177,866 self-identified Venezuelan Americans in the United States. An exact figure is difficult to determine because Venezuelan immigration was not accurately tracked until the early 20th century, and such immigrants were usually reported as South Americans. Furthermore, Venezuela attracted its own considerable immigration, and when the 19th century turned chaotic for the country, many first- and second-generation European immigrants left Venezuela for the United States but may have been recorded in immigration and census records not as Venezuelans or even South Americans, but according to the European country of their ancestry.

Venezuela is on the northern coast of South America, bordered by Brazil, Colombia, and Guyana. Having been colonized by Spain in the early 16th century, it became independent in 1830 after a brief period as part of Colombia. The population is roughly half mestizo, with whites forming the largest minority at 42 percent, and significant minority populations of African Venezuelans and indigenous peoples. After a tumultuous 19th century, Venezuela discovered oil in the early 1900s and has since developed some of the world's largest oil reserves. In the 20th and 21st centuries, the rise and fall of oil prices has had a significant impact on the Venezuelan economy, which has

also been driven by political crises. The 1990s were an especially difficult period, foreshadowed by thousands of deaths by rioting in 1989, followed by two attempted coups, the impeachment of the president, poverty rates of 66 percent, 100 percent inflation, and finally a revolution and the drafting of a new constitution in 1999.

Most South Americans settling in the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries congregated in urban centers, especially in Los Angeles and San Francisco—where there was a vibrant existing Spanish-speaking community and ample land and job opportunities—as well as Chicago and the northeast urban hubs. Without accurate figures about Venezuelan immigration at the time, we can make only an educated guess that there were several thousand Venezuelan Americans by the first half of the 20th century. The number is unlikely to have been significantly greater than that, unless there is a significant population of Americans of Venezuelan ancestry who do not identify as such, and who therefore have not been revealed by census data once the census began tracking country-specific ancestry rather than simply Hispanic or South American.

Sustained Venezuelan immigration began in the 1980s, during modern Venezuela's turbulent period, and has continued since. A number of Venezuelans arrived earlier than that for educational purposes, remaining and finding work, and

later being joined by relatives, but the consistent immigration since the late 20th century has been driven by Venezuela's political turbulence and economic calamities.

Most Venezuelans today settle in Florida or New York City. The largest Venezuelan American community is in southern Florida, and the 20 communities with the largest Venezuelan population by percentage are all in Florida, with Doral (8.22 percent), Weston (4.1 percent), Fountainbleau (3.14 percent), the Hammocks (3.14 percent), Key Biscayne (2.36 percent), and North Bay Village (2.15 percent) leading the pack. Venezuelans tend to retain a strong connection to their home country and to visit it often, sharing news of their country with the rest of the community upon their return.

Despite Venezuela's economic troubles, the population is well educated and well skilled, and Venezuelans in the United States often work in white-collar fields like banking and telecommunications. Federal jobs are a growing sector for the Venezuelan American community. Many also come to the United States with petroleum industry experience, especially those who settle along the Gulf Coast or in Houston, Texas.

Venezuelan Americans are overwhelmingly Catholic but less active in church than most Hispanic American groups and less likely to observe religious holidays outside the major holidays celebrated by the greater American Christian community, such as Easter and Christmas. Women are active in the workforce, but there is in general a greater expectation of women in the family submitting to male authority than one finds in other communities. This is most true of Venezuelans who immigrated from rural Venezuela.

Joropo music, which accompanies Venezuela's national dance of the same name, is popular in the Venezuelan American community, especially among older members and first-generation immigrants. It is played with the harp, *bandola*, cuatro, and maracas, in polyrhythmic patterns; today, a guitar or piano often accompanies. The dance performed to *joropo* is a form of waltz, using waltz turns and hand turns, with the man stomping his feet to the rhythm of the music.

At Christmas, Venezuelans often serve *hallaca*, similar to tamales, with chopped meat, vegetables, and olives surrounded by a masa dough and

steamed in banana leaves. Often, this is a dish that relatives, especially women, can gather together to make while socializing. Popular year-round are arepas, tortilla-like corn cakes made with pre-cooked cornmeal and then split open and filled with various stuffings, like a taco. In the summer, *tizanas* may be made from various fruits, combining fruit juice and fresh chopped tropical fruit like melon, oranges, or pineapple.

Prominent Venezuelan Americans include director Arthur Albert; actress Maria Conchita Alonso, of *The Running Man*; *Saturday Night Live* and *Portlandia* cast member Fred Armisen; singer-songwriter Devendra Banhart; singer Mariah Carey; actress Mariah Delfino; chef George Duran; music director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Gustavo Dudamel; Miami Marlins manager Ozzie Guillen; figure skater Marcy Hinzmann; silent film actress Beatriz Michelena; CNN Español journalist Elizabeth Perez; and *That '70s Show* star Wilmer Valderrama.

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See Also: Brazilian Americans; Colombian Americans; Guyanese Americans; Spanish Americans.

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Vietnam War

The war between Vietnam and the United States took place in three phases over a 20-year span (1955–75). During this period, Vietnam was divided into two sovereign countries—North and South Vietnam—and became the focus of America's military and political opposition to communism. North Vietnam's government combined

communism with nationalism and had support in both halves of Vietnam. South Vietnam tried but failed to establish democracy with American backing. Although the United States committed vast resources to the Vietnam War, there was no official American war declaration.

In the war's first phase (1955–63), the United States tried to fortify the south's government and military without sending combat troops. The second phase (1964–69) was the peak of U.S. involvement. American forces led fighting against the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) and the National Liberation Front (NLF, better known as Viet Cong). The third phase (1970–75) saw reduction and withdrawal of U.S. forces, followed by a North Vietnamese victory and national reunification.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam was established in 1975, with Hanoi, the former North Vietnamese capital city, as the new nation's capital. Saigon, the country's largest city and onetime South Vietnamese capital, became Ho Chi Minh City to honor the late Vietnamese revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969). The war had enormous social and cultural impacts on the diverse peoples of Vietnam and America. The consequences of those traumatic events continue into the 21st century.

Historical Background

In the United States, the Vietnam War stands out for its duration, controversies, and outcome. Cultural values have shaped traditional American expectations about wars: they should be quick, have clear goals and few casualties, and bring decisive American victories. The Vietnam War met none of these expectations.

Early on, most Americans supported the Vietnam War and anticipated a swift victory. Instead, Vietnam became synonymous with frustration and futility. Only the current conflict in Afghanistan has lasted longer. Anticommunism did not compensate for the inconsistency of America's diplomatic, military, and political goals. There were also cultural problems. Few Americans knew about ancient Vietnamese traditions of fighting for independence, and many Americans underestimated Vietnamese intelligence and determination.

Although American intervention in Vietnam began in World War II (1939–45), the Cold War

(1948–89) generated a Vietnamese crisis in which U.S. leaders saw southeast Asia as vulnerable to communism. A “domino theory” shaped American policy: If South Vietnam became communist, its neighbors would fall like dominoes. As leader of the free world, America had to prevent the domino theory from becoming reality.

Leaders of Vietnam's revolution had a very different perspective on national destiny. Vietnam was one of many countries seeking independence from European colonial rule after World War II; Ho proclaimed the end of French colonization in Vietnam in 1945. Although Ho worked with U.S. forces during World War II, he had a long record of partnership with the Soviet Union and China. Therefore, Ho and Vietnam's new government were unacceptable to Cold War America. U.S.-backed France, in its failed attempt to retain Vietnam, endorsed Vietnam's division into northern and southern regions. These and other events kindled war between Americans and the Vietnamese.

Except for aerial bombing and covert missions in North Vietnam, U.S. combat took place entirely in South Vietnam. Problems with the South Vietnamese political and military cultures tended to undermine America's effort. Although South Vietnam's government was not communist, it was authoritarian and unstable. Unlike the NVA and NLF, South Vietnamese troops often lacked determination and discipline. American anxiety about its South Vietnamese ally complicated a war that was intended to be a simple case of fighting communism.

The Vietnam War became a global war. Troops from South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Australia fought alongside Americans and South Vietnamese. China and the Soviet Union sent massive assistance to North Vietnam in the form of weapons, oil, and other resources. Russian and Chinese military advisors worked with the north, but neither country sent combat troops.

Almost 9 million U.S. troops served in Vietnam, most as noncombatants. Of the 58,220 U.S. deaths in Vietnam, 47,434 occurred during battle. White service members accounted for 85 percent of the deaths; African Americans/blacks, 12 percent; Hispanic/Latino (one or more races), 0.6 percent; American Indians/Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders, and more

than one race/unknown, 0.4 percent each; and Asian, 0.2 percent.

Multicultural Vietnam

Lack of knowledge and negative assumptions about Vietnam and its peoples kept many Americans from recognizing its cultural and demographic diversity. Difficult historical relationships between Americans and Asians were factors. U.S. immigration restrictions of the 19th and 20th centuries targeted China and Japan. World War II and the Korean War brought out anti-Asian xenophobia among many Americans. Such legacies may well have shaped representations of Vietnam as an alien region whose population would be especially threatening as a communist force.

Although ethnic Vietnamese account for almost 90 percent of Vietnam's population, the country is no monolith. Many ethnic minorities have histories in Vietnam, with Chinese the largest group. The Hmong, whose roots are in Laos, and the indigenous peoples of the central highlands (known widely as Montagnards) helped America fight the war.

Regarding religion, most Vietnamese practice Buddhism or Taoism. Roman Catholicism accompanied French colonization and found favor among members of South Vietnam's relatively affluent classes. A sect known as the Cao Dai, whose members blend Catholic, Confucian, and Buddhist ways, have a base in Vietnam's southern regions, close to Cambodia.

Diversity

Diversity has always been notable among those who have fought America's wars. However, Vietnam and its home front contexts put new emphasis on cultural and social differences among troops. Factors in acknowledging diversity included civil rights struggles, ethnic and racial pride, and global resistance to white Western domination.

African American service drew great attention during the war and remains a key topic. The peak years of the African American freedom struggle coincided with the early years of U.S. combat in Vietnam, compelling many to analyze relationships between these transformative events. The lack of positive results in Vietnam and at home became increasingly frustrating. Similarly, although many African Americans benefited from



Vietnamese villagers under detention by the U.S. Army who were suspected of being Viet Cong. North Vietnamese women often fought in combat zones and provided manual labor in the rice fields to supply food for the troops.

civil rights legislation and government efforts at fighting poverty, the persistence of structural racism and the elusiveness of equal opportunity generated impatience. A younger, more assertive generation of black leaders was sometimes more willing than their predecessors to consider Vietnamese people as allies in their struggle.

Although there was no universal African American perspective on or experience in Vietnam, some general facts are notable. Black support for the war tended to be strong, especially in its early stages. African Americans often saw military service as a key to respect and economic empowerment. Regard for President Lyndon Johnson and his pro-civil rights, antipoverty agenda was high among many African Americans; therefore, these supporters hesitated to dispute Johnson on

Vietnam. Surveys also showed that black soldiers were more likely than white soldiers to have positive feelings toward the Vietnamese people.

Anti-Vietnam War sentiment in African American communities and among black leaders intensified as the war unfolded, however. Many activists who challenged southern segregation adapted their ideas and tactics to Vietnam dissent. The most prominent African Americans to reject the war were boxer Muhammad Ali, who suffered professional retribution for refusing the draft, and Martin Luther King, Jr., who pleaded for peace just one year before his 1968 assassination—an event that sparked tensions between black and white troops serving in South Vietnam. Black Panther Party for Self-Defense members took a bold stand by expressing solidarity with North Vietnam and visiting that country.

Vietnam experiences of Latina/os showed some similarities to those of African Americans. Historical, community, and social movement influences were powerful. Military service as a path to assimilation and upward mobility was valued in many Latina/o communities and families; so were duty and honor. Along with working-class identity, these values often led Latina/os to enlistment and away from draft resistance. Antiwar protests by Latina/os stemmed from reasons similar to those that motivated blacks, but their differences were striking. An organized African American movement preceded the peace movement's emergence; for many Latina/os in Los Angeles in the late 1960s and early 1970s who identified as Chicana/os, mobilizing against the war led to the Brown Power action that affirmed culture and ethnicity.

Throughout U.S. history, Native Americans have surpassed all other ethnic groups in per-capita military service rates. Although their numbers remained high in Vietnam and their generational traditions of honoring warriors stayed strong, aspects of that war were especially troubling for Native Americans. These included raids on Vietnamese villages and relocation of their residents, who were poor but fiercely proud of ties to ancestors and land. The designation of enemy territory as “Indian Country” and the “savage” label applied to Vietnamese people were offensive. Many saw the negative influence of Hollywood western and war movies on the conduct of Vietnam warfare and the portrayal of Vietnamese, a

connection reinforced by John Wayne's 1968 film *The Green Berets*.

For many Asian American Vietnam veterans, the empathy that soldiers of color often felt for Vietnamese people took disturbing forms. Asian Americans recall being singled out for abuse during training, being subjected to various restrictions, and being perceived as identical to the enemy. Some Japanese American soldiers had been born and raised in World War II internment camps, an experience that did not always prepare them for being seen as “un-American” even while wearing their country's uniform.

Vietnamese in the United States

The war's destruction of large land areas in Vietnam and other southeast Asian countries drove up immigration rates from those regions to the United States. Before the war, very few southeast Asians were part of America's population with Asian roots. Change came in 1975 with the arrival of South Vietnamese refugees who had relatively privileged backgrounds. Many of these immigrants hailed from cities, had professional skills, and supported American intervention in Vietnam. Their profiles often helped this first wave of Vietnamese immigrants find sponsorship from U.S. citizens.

Second-wave Vietnamese immigrants, sometimes referred to as “boat people,” came to America after South Vietnam's 1975 defeat. Along with Hmong and Montagnard refugees, this cohort included Cambodians fleeing mass extermination in their country. Generally, second-wave immigrants had rural roots and were poor. Many who made it to refugee camps outside their region had survived dangerous departures from Vietnam and pirate attacks on the South China Sea.

Vietnamese Americans have maintained a large presence in major U.S. cities for decades. Their contributions are vital not only to the U.S. economy but also to Vietnam's, which has moved away from socialism and become increasingly involved in global trade. Still, Vietnam remains a poor and developing nation. Monetary remittances from Vietnamese Americans to relatives in Vietnam are crucial to the country's transnational business relationships.

The “model minority” label often given to Asian Americans ignores the diversity of their

communities. This problem has specific implications for Vietnamese and southeast Asian immigrants and their descendants. It is true that Vietnamese Americans have established thriving communities in Louisiana, Texas, California, and elsewhere. For example, Little Saigon in Westminster, California, has been compared to Miami, Florida's Cuban American power base. However, Vietnamese and other southeast Asian immigrants are also more likely than most Asian Americans to live in poverty. The persistence of this problem suggests that for certain groups, economic disadvantage is not confined to the developing world.

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See Also: Armed Forces, U.S.; Asian Americans; Black Panther Party; Cambodian Americans; Chicano Moratorium; Vietnamese Americans.

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Vietnamese Americans

Since the fall of South Vietnam to the communist-controlled North Vietnam in 1975, more than 2 million Vietnamese have fled from Vietnam and resettled in new countries, not counting possibly 1 million other Vietnamese people who did not survive their flight. Unlike the small number of

Vietnamese who chose to live outside the country prior to this event, these more recent immigrants were mostly political refugees who were forced to leave Vietnam because of fears of persecution.

Demographics and Migration Waves

Vietnamese Americans constitute the largest Vietnamese community outside Vietnam. The first group that arrived in the United States immediately after 1975 was made up of mostly political elites, military personnel, and other individuals affiliated with the French and former South Vietnamese governments. By the end of 1975, they numbered 130,000. By 1980, the Vietnamese population in the United States had nearly doubled, to approximately 245,000, as a result of the arrival of the second group, known as “boat refugees,” who were mostly businessmen, Chinese, and middle-class families.

Thereafter, the U.S. government institutionalized a humanitarian program to facilitate the resettlement of mostly Amerasians (people of mixed Vietnamese and American blood) and formerly detained Vietnamese military servicemen and their families. As a result, the Vietnamese American population grew to 615,000 by 1990. It jumped to approximately 1.2 million by 2000. Today, the Vietnamese American population is relatively stable. Its growth is mostly the result of U.S.-born children and Vietnamese who arrived through family unification programs. As of 2010, Vietnamese in the United States constituted 1.6 million, making them the fourth-largest Asian American group.

Vietnamese have been keen on rebuilding and maintaining their religious communities in the United States. For them, religious institutions have served as a primary community gathering center where they could reconnect with each other and transition to life in America. However, to successfully adapt their religious practices to the American multicultural landscape and lifestyle, Vietnamese Americans have had to make strategic changes.

Buddhists

Approximately 65 percent of all Vietnamese Americans are Buddhists. Most of them are associated with Mahayana Buddhist temples attended mostly by other Vietnamese. As in the homeland,

Vietnamese Mahayana Buddhist temples operate as semi-independent institutions. The lack of centralization has created spaces for greater diversities and adoption of new forms of Vietnamese Mahayana Buddhist practices on American soil. For example, unlike in Vietnam, Vietnamese Mahayana Buddhist temples do not strictly follow the lunar calendar to celebrate religious holidays. Instead, they hold their holidays on days and times that can accommodate the availability of members of their congregations. Another major difference compared with temples in Vietnam is the varied availability of abbots to their communities. Because abbots in the United States have to work, the opening hours of Vietnamese Buddhist temples are unpredictable and depend on the abbots' availability. These strategic forms of adaptation have allowed Vietnamese Mahayana Buddhism to flourish and contribute to American cultural diversity.

Catholics

As many as 35 percent of all Vietnamese Americans are Catholic, which is proportionally greater than in Vietnam, where Catholics constitute about 8 percent of the country's population. The over-representation among the overseas group is most likely because many were affiliated with the former Catholic-led government of South Vietnam and feared religious discrimination under communism in Vietnam after 1975.

One of the biggest challenges that Vietnamese American Catholics face is navigating the multicultural landscape of the American Catholic Church and the larger U.S. society. They are relatively much more adherent to conservative forms of worship than other Catholic groups in the United States that have institutionalized post-Vatican II progressive reforms of the late 1960s. They have transplanted these religious traditions onto the American religious landscape, particularly through popular devotions such as Marianism, pilgrimages, and prayers to saints.

Perhaps these unique practices could explain why many Vietnamese Catholics in the United States, even after nearly three decades in the country, continue to prefer to attend their ethnic parishes, while maintaining institutional relationships with local dioceses and Catholics of other ethnic groups.

Caodaists

Caodaism is a syncretistic religion born in Vietnam in 1926. The religion represents God with the symbol of the Left Eye, which is not distinguishable by race, gender, and class. As such, it encompasses teachings of tolerance that aim to create universal harmony between Western and Eastern philosophies, traditions, and rituals.

Unlike Vietnamese Catholics, whose faith is familiar to American society and who enjoy institutional support from local Catholics to rebuild their religious communities in the United States, Vietnamese Caodaists have to retranslate many of their religious practices in order to adapt to life in the new land. Like their Buddhist ethnic counterparts, because of conflicts with work schedules, they regularly congregate weekly or biweekly during the weekend instead of on the 15th and the 30th days of each lunar month.

Similarly, they often reschedule their ceremonial holidays to convenient dates. Moreover, although chants and prayers continue to be read in a Sinitized form of Vietnamese, a few have been translated by Vietnamese Caodai leaders in an effort to encourage participation from U.S.-born Vietnamese Caodaists and as outreach to non-Vietnamese. There have also been discussions about liberalizing the formal dress code for attending religious ceremonies from a white Vietnamese traditional dress to any form of attire in white.

Political Activism

As a result of their traumatic exodus, Vietnamese American civic involvements continue to be concerned with Vietnam, while also treading through the politics of their new, permanent home in the United States. Many studies have shown that the rate of political activism is exceptionally high among immigrants despite language differences and recent arrival. Through their political activism, Vietnamese have raised awareness in the United States about concerns related to Vietnam and have emphasized the significance of working across ethnic boundaries in American politics.

Homeland Politics

Because Vietnamese Americans were forced to leave Vietnam, they continue to be concerned with their homeland. They regularly stage protests against sociopolitical abuses in Vietnam

and those who sympathize with the Vietnamese communist government. This homeland political orientation has been increasingly heightened since the mid-1990s, when the United States lifted its embargo against Vietnam and began rebuilding bilateral trade relations. As Vietnam opened its borders to international trade and diplomatic exchanges, Vietnamese Americans have had more opportunities to further scrutinize their country of origin's human rights records and have gained support from U.S. politicians to endorse necessary actions against Vietnam.

Vietnamese Americans are particularly concerned with religious freedom in Vietnam. After the communist takeover in 1975, many religious institutions and properties were confiscated, and practices and rituals were severely restricted by the Vietnamese government. Although Vietnamese politicians have gradually loosened restrictions toward religious life in order to meet international standards for religious freedom, many Vietnamese Americans have pointed out that these changes are not sufficient and the government continues to harbor many forms of religious suppression, such as the house arrest of Father Nguyen Van Ly and the Venerable Thich Quang Do.

Local Politics

In addition to homeland issues, Vietnamese Americans are also heavily involved in U.S. politics. They are mobilized not only to raise the unique concerns of their ethnic community but also to work together with other Americans in political advocacy and alliances.

A sign of political maturity is evidenced by the increasingly greater number of elected and appointed Vietnamese officials in the United States. In 1992, Tony Lam became the first Vietnamese American elected official when he joined the Westminster City Council. Today, there are many Vietnamese Americans directly involved in politics, and they know how to appeal to their culturally diverse constituent population in order to climb the political ladder. For example, in 2007, John Tran became the first Asian American mayor of Rosemead, California. A year later, Joseph Cao surprised many Americans when he was elected into Congress by a predominantly African American district in New Orleans.

Another sign of Vietnamese American political success is the wide official recognition of the former South Vietnamese flag as the "Vietnamese American Heritage and Freedom Flag." At least 113 city and 11 state governments have recognized the flag. As with nearly all overseas Vietnamese in other countries, Vietnamese Americans consider the flag of Vietnam as offensive and have organized mass demonstrations to remove it. For example, in 1999, a monthlong candlelight vigil of 15,000 people was held in front of a Westminster video rental store that hung the flag of communist Vietnam and a photo of Ho Chi Minh.

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See Also: Asian Americans; Boat People; Refugee Act (1980); Refugee Relief Act (1953) Refugees; Vietnam War.

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Virgin Island Americans

The U.S. Virgin Islands are an American territory in the Caribbean, consisting of Saint Croix, Saint John, Saint Thomas, Water Island, and the surrounding minor islands. Originally inhabited by the Arawak, Carib, Ciboney, and Taino people, the islands were discovered by Europeans on Columbus's second voyage in 1493 and were controlled by a succession of European powers. For most of

the colonial period, they were known as the Danish West Indies, colonized by the Danish West India Company and turned into sugarcane plantations until the abolition of slavery, when they were all but abandoned because of the difficulty of turning a profit without the labor of enslaved people.

Several attempts were made to sell the islands to the United States, but the transfer was not finalized until 1917. Ten years later, U.S. Virgin Islanders were granted American citizenship. As residents of a territory, they cannot vote in presidential elections, and their congressional delegate cannot participate in floor votes, only committee votes. Until 1970, Virgin Islanders were not able to elect their governor, who was instead appointed by the president of the United States. A federal lawsuit was pending as of 2012, in the hopes that it will be decided in favor of granting Virgin Islanders the vote and full representation in Congress. The United Nations includes the U.S. Virgin Islands on its list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, a list that nations are supposed to work to reduce, out of human rights concerns. Water Island was administered separately until 1996, when it was added to the U.S. Virgin Islands territory.

2010 Census

The exact number of Virgin Island Americans is unknown. As of the 2010 Census, 11,674 people listed U.S. Virgin Islander as their ethnicity. British West Indian was listed by 88,043; this ethnicity includes Americans whose ancestry can be traced to the British Virgin Islands, the Bahamas, Barbados, British Guiana, Jamaica, Belize, or Trinidad and Tobago—though several of those have their own ethnic identity categories in the census. It can be assumed that at least a couple thousand of the 88,000 British West Indians are British Virgin Island Americans, which would suggest 15,000 or so as a base minimum Virgin Island American population. The population of the U.S. Virgin Islands themselves is 106,405 as of the 2010 Census, but most residents are Afro Caribbean and do not identify as ethnic Virgin Islanders. The white population of the U.S. Virgin Islands is a little over 7,000, including Hispanic whites, who are predominantly Puerto Rican. Most Virgin Island Americans living on the mainland United States migrated during the 1960s and 1970s.

Languages of the U.S. Virgin Islands

The official language of the U.S. Virgin Islands is English, but Virgin Islands Creole is commonly spoken, with Saint Croix possessing its own unique dialect thereof, known as Crucian. Virgin Islands Creole, which is also spoken in the British Virgin Islands and the nearby Dutch islands of Saba, Saint Martin, and Saint Eustatius, is just called “dialect” by its speakers; the full name is a scholarly term rarely heard in other contexts. The creole formed as a pidgin English spoken by enslaved African people, which was creolized as it was passed on to subsequent generations, along with Dutch influence from the Dutch owners of enslaved people on Saint Thomas and Saint John.

Before the Internet and text messaging, Virgin Islands Creole was not often used in print, but the 21st century has blurred the distinctions between written and spoken language and the assumption of formality on the part of the former. Virgin Islands Creole is spoken and understood by nearly all native-born Virgin Islanders, and to some degree by the Virgin Island American population living elsewhere in the United States. It is not taught, and in fact it is considered awkward at best, and more often rude, for newcomers to the island who did not acquire the language naturally to attempt to learn or speak it.

This also means there is no standardized spelling—without a written tradition and without formal teaching, there cannot be—and uses of Virgin Islands Creole online and in school assignments where it is acceptable (informal writing such as journals or lab notes) have provided linguists with a rich source of data. The language is one that is still very much alive and changing; it is considered to be developing in a post-creole context now.

As with many English creoles, dental fricatives (the “th” sound) are replaced with dental stops (“t”), and the “oy” sound in joy/boy/toy is pronounced “ay,” as in jay/bay/tay, which is actually an artifact of English as it was pronounced when the islands were settled, rather than something created by the collision with African and Dutch languages. One of the differences between standard (such as it is) Virgin Islands Creole and Crucian is the use of the adverb *deb* (“there”), which is *deb* in Virgin Islands Creole and *deb-deb* in

Crucian. In general, Crucian is more difficult for unmarked English speakers to understand, as it is further removed from its English origins.

Prominent Virgin Island Americans

Prominent Virgin Island Americans include basketball players Raja Bell and Tim Duncan; baseball player Calvin Pickering; actors Lawrence Hilton-Jacobs of *Welcome Back Kotter* and Kelsey Grammer of *Frasier*; jazz musician Sonny Rollins; founding father Alexander Hamilton, who grew up on Saint Croix; and feminist critic Barbara Christian.

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See Also: Creoles; Danish Americans; Puerto Ricans; West Indian Americans.

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Voting Rights Acts

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed to enforce the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The Fifteenth Amendment was passed in 1870 as one of what have come to be known as the Civil Rights Amendments, which include the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. The Thirteenth Amendment outlawed slavery, the Fourteenth Amendment extended the rights of citizenry to all those who had suffered as enslaved people prior to 1866, and the Fifteenth Amendment extended the right to vote to all citizens of the United States regardless of “race, color or previous condition of servitude.” Under each

amendment, Congress was given the authority to pass any “appropriate legislation” to enforce the amendment’s provisions.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was enacted as the major enforcement mechanism for the Fifteenth Amendment because of the continuing efforts by many jurisdictions, primarily the former slaveholding states in the southeastern part of the nation, to inhibit the ability of African Americans to vote or be elected to office. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act (VRA) into law on August 6, 1965.

The congressional hearings that occurred prior to the passage of the VRA indicated that although the right to vote had been granted to African Americans, many jurisdictions had pursued various tactics inhibiting people of color and poor white people from casting their ballots in elections. Some of these restrictions included “literacy” tests such as reciting the U.S. Constitution from memory, property ownership requirements, and poll taxes, among others. Although the Fifteenth Amendment was a clear statement of a constitutionally protected right, it lacked an enforcement mechanism; the VRA was passed as the “appropriate legislation” that would act as this enforcement instrument.

The 1965 Act

Prior to the passage of the 1965 VRA, enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment had been difficult because it required intervention by the federal judiciary. Although some restrictions were ruled unconstitutional by the courts, the discriminating jurisdictions continued creating and enforcing barriers to the political participation of African Americans. The culminating events that most contributed to serious congressional debate underlying the passage of the VRA were the murder of three civil rights activists in Philadelphia, Mississippi, and the unprovoked police attacks on civil rights marchers in Selma, Alabama, in 1965.

After congressional hearings and a conference committee, President Johnson signed the VRA into law. The new act prohibited an array of voting restrictions but left untouched the poll tax that would eventually be found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1966 (*Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections*). The original VRA possesses the fundamental voting rights protections

established in the Constitution. Of particular note are Sections 2 and 5.

Section 2: Litigation Provision and Redistricting

Section 2 of the VRA simply states that no jurisdiction in the United States may pass any law or establish any barrier that would deny or “abridge” the right of any citizen, regardless of color, to vote. Under this section, citizens or voters can bring suit against a specific jurisdiction alleging that a jurisdiction has created an electoral structure having a discriminatory effect. The most important Supreme Court decision to date that sets forth the constitutional “test” for Section 2 is *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986). This case identified three prongs, besides the now famous “totality of circumstances,” that

had to be met by plaintiffs when bringing a lawsuit under this section. This case focused on the redistricting of state legislatures. Plaintiffs need to show that a minority district can be drawn, where ignored by the defendant jurisdiction; that the minority population voted cohesively; and that the white majority population usually voted as a block to prevent minority candidates from winning. If these tests were met to the satisfaction of the court, then single-member legislative districts can be imposed in a jurisdiction where at-large structures had been in place prior to the suit.

The *Gingles* case was preceded by *White v. Regester* (1973), which pointed out that under certain circumstances and with sufficient showing, the at-large representative system could be discriminatory and needed to be replaced to allow



President Lyndon B. Johnson gives Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the pens used in the signing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It was signed by President Johnson, who had also signed the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law. The act outlawed discriminatory voting practices in the United States. To King's left are Reverend Ralph Abernathy and Representative Claude Pepper.

Mexican Americans the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. This particular case was the first in which a Latino or Hispanic group was explicitly included in a Supreme Court decision that focused on voting rights. The case was the precursor to the *Thornburg* case in that it identified the possible discriminatory effects of an election structure

The principle drawback of Section 2 is that it can go into effect only after a citizen brings suit. The most common litigation under this provision usually occurs after the decennial census is tabulated, national congressional seats are reapportioned, and districts are redrawn. The reapportionment process reassigns the number of congressional seats each state is awarded based on the census enumeration. When states gain or lose seats or population shifts within a state occur, then congressional districts must be redrawn so that an equal population is contained within each district. When covered individuals perceive that jurisdictions subject to VRA coverage have violated federal election law, then a lawsuit may be filed in a federal district court having appropriate jurisdiction. Some states have had more than 200 lawsuits filed against them, such as Texas, since the inception of the VRA under Section 2.

Although congressional redistricting lawsuits receive most of the media's attention, more suits have been brought against state assembly, local governmental, and special districts where elections occur.

Section 5: Preclearance Provision

Traditionally, it was commonly understood that Section 5 of the act was by far its most powerful enforcing tool. Until June 2013, this section required that certain named jurisdictions having a history of discriminatory behavior in the electoral realm submit any change to their election system to the Federal Department of Justice (DOJ) for preclearance or submit the change to the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia for a declaratory judgment on the matter. Preclearance required the DOJ to review a jurisdiction's submitted electoral change to ensure it does not violate the VRA.

Where Section 2 covers the entire nation, Section 5 covered only those jurisdictions with a historical record of discriminating against African

Americans in the electoral process. In the 1965 version of the VRA, these jurisdictions were identified as those having a population of more than 50 percent African Americans and a history of imposing inhibitory voting barriers prior to 1964. The exact requirements for coverage under Section 5 are listed in Sections 6 and 13. There is also a provision allowing a covered jurisdiction to petition for exclusion from the law.

However, in June 2013, the Supreme Court effectively struck down the most essential parts of the VRA by a 5–4 vote. The decision freed nine states, Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia, and many counties and municipalities, such as Brooklyn, Manhattan, and the Bronx, to change their election laws without advance federal approval. This is a major departure from the previous standard, which required that a jurisdiction covered under Section 5 either receive advance preclearance or petition the D.C. District Court to “bail out” of the provision. In order to bail out, a jurisdiction had to show two things: first, that whatever test or electoral procedure used prior to coverage was not used in a discriminatory way, and second, that in the previous 10 years, subsequent to 1982, the jurisdiction did not participate in any discriminatory behavior and that it took steps to improve the political participation of the covered groups.

The only actively enforcing provision of the VRA, Section 5 allowed the federal government to oversee the election procedures in those jurisdictions that had a history of discriminatory electoral behavior prior to the implementation of any provision. The June 2013 decision had immediate practical consequences. For example, voter identification laws in Texas and Arizona that had previously been blocked no longer required federal approval. The Texas law was put into place. As of this writing in July 2013, the Arizona law had not been enacted but it no longer had the VRA in place to stop it.

The VRAs of 1970, 1975, and 1982

In 1965, the VRA's coverage was to last only five years. In 1970 the five-year coverage was extended to 10 years. Additionally, the residency requirements for presidential elections were abolished. In 1975, Public Law 94-73 amended the VRA,

extending coverage to 17 years as well as adding Section 203, which extended VRA protections to language minority groups and eliminating English-only elections. The languages covered under the new Section 203 included “American Indian, Asian American, Alaskan Natives or of Spanish heritage.” Section 203 also pointed out that if “more than 5 percent of the citizens of voting age of a state or particular subdivision or jurisdiction are members” of a covered language minority group, then the jurisdiction was required to provide bilingual voting materials and ballots. Finally, in Section 301 of the 1975 amended act, provisions for enforcement of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment to the Constitution were set forth, giving voting rights to those citizens 18 years of age or older.

The bottom line impact of the June 2013 decision was that any changes in voting procedures in covered jurisdictions, including those concerning restrictions on early voting, were now subject only to after-the-fact litigation rather than preclusive control by the federal government. The Supreme Court majority held that Section 4’s 1965 coverage formula for deciding which jurisdictions were covered was unconstitutional because it relied on data from the 1975 reauthorization.

When the VRA was amended in 1982, the most important amendments were to the time extension of the act itself, established at 19 years, and setting forth more specific guidelines that had developed over years of litigation clarifying violations of Section 2. Essentially, the amended Section 2 now spoke of using a concept known as “the totality of circumstances” as the base of a lawsuit by an individual covered by the act. The amendment also made it clear that part of the “proof” was that the covered individuals would be denied less of an “opportunity to elect representatives of their choice” by whatever barrier was established by the jurisdiction in question.

Finally, a voting assistance provision was stipulated in 1982 to bring disabled, blind, or illiterate individuals under coverage of the VRA.

2006

In 2006, all the provisions of the VRA were extended for a 25-year period, until 2032. Nevertheless, commencing in 2008, there have

been more than 30 lawsuits brought by various jurisdictions requesting that the Supreme Court revisit Section 5 of the VRA. The Supreme Court left the door open for a review in the now famous *Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District No. 1 v. Holder* (2009), which allowed this jurisdiction to bail out of the Section 5 provisions because the utility district did not register its own voters.

Chief Justice John Roberts, writing for the 8–1 majority, pointed out that given the successful protections offered by the VRA, Section 5 did present certain constitutional issues, but they were not relevant in this particular case. Thus, for the moment, the Supreme Court avoided the issue of the constitutionality of Section 5.

2013

In 2013, the most active portions of the VRA were struck down. While the dissent was strong and vocal, the 5–4 majority found that the reasoning for the preclearance provisions was no longer convincing.

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See Also: African American Categorization (Essay); Civil Rights Acts; Constitutional Amendments; Language Usage in the United States; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Supreme Court, U.S.

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W

Wampanoag

The Wampanoag tribe was once a powerful Algonquin nation indigenous to southeastern coastal Massachusetts and Rhode Island, specifically the region extending east from Narragansett Bay to the Atlantic Ocean, including Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. Ultimately, over the last century, theirs is a story of tribal resilience, ethnic identity, and cultural survival. Before the first wave of English settlers arrived in the early 17th century, the Wampanoag thrived, with conservative estimates of their numbers ranging upward of 12,000 members living in more than 40 villages. Although the tribe maintained seasonal activity in response to the New England climate (fishing in the summer; hunting in the spring and fall), the tribe was principally agricultural, relying on the traditional crops of corn, squash, and beans.

Despite migratory movements during the seasons, the tribe maintained relatively permanent settlements, living in domed-shaped houses made of sticks and packed grass that had remarkable architectural complexity. Each settlement had a tightly organized political structure centering on a sachem, a kind of governor who worked with the tribe to maintain order, see to the economic stability of the settlement, and maintain an effective security system.

Relations With White Settlers

The arrival of white settlers dramatically changed the Wampanoag, given their position along the coastal lands where European ships first arrived. The first contacts in the late 17th century did not favor the Wampanoag. Despite welcoming the settlers, many of the Wampanoag, both men and women, were taken into slavery. A series of deadly epidemics between 1615 and 1617 (forensic anthropologists believe the cause to be Weil's Syndrome, a virus contracted from animals, most likely introduced into the region by itinerant French trappers) so greatly reduced the Wampanoag's numbers (by some estimates nearly 80 percent) that there was little resistance to the growing numbers of English settlers. Given the growing threat from far stronger tribes around them, the Wampanoag looked to the settlers as potential allies.

In the early 1620s, Sachem Massasoit, along with Squanto, one of those taken into slavery but who had escaped and returned to Massachusetts, led the tribe's initial gestures of accommodation, particularly to the religious separatists known as the Puritans, who had little sense of how to survive in the wilderness. The Wampanoag shared critical information about farming the land, building shelters, and hunting. Squanto was instrumental in structuring a land deal that secured nearly 12,000 acres for the Puritans. Although historians cannot be sure how much is folklore, traditional



Plymouth Plantation is a living history museum in Plymouth, Massachusetts, replicating Plymouth Colony, which was established in the 17th century. Members of the Wampanoag tribe were pushed westward by English settlers.

accounts of the first Thanksgiving suggest that it may have been a harvest celebration between the Puritans and the Wampanoag.

However, over the next decades, as the number of settlers grew, Wampanoag leaders became alarmed as English efforts continued to both convert them to Christianity and limit their presence to specially designated communes, which gradually moved the tribe westward. That created sufficient alarm that when a powerful sachem, Wamsutta, the oldest son of Massasoit, died mysteriously after a diplomatic meeting with the English settlers, suspicions emerged that he had been poisoned. After Wamsutta's younger brother, Metacomet (whom Massasoit had given the Christian name Philip), assumed power, he would lead what would become the most organized—and bloodiest—Native American resistance in New England.

In waging a determined guerrilla campaign along the frontier lines of Massachusetts for more than a year (1675–76), the so-called King Philip's War, the Wampanoag, joined by several other tribes equally alarmed over the English

seizure of land, faced an enormous challenge. Settlers outnumbered members of indigenous tribes by more than three to one. Although the uprising would eventually involve tribal resistance as far as Maine, the English troops were too well armed and too numerous. Metacomet was captured and executed in August 1676, effectively ending any organized indigenous resistance to English occupation.

The uprising cost the Wampanoag considerably; at war's end, they numbered fewer than 400. After the American Revolution, stringent state relocation protocols over the next century restricted the Wampanoag to reservations of increasingly smaller tracts of land largely centered on the more remote parts of Cape Cod in the communities of Aquinnah, Christiantown, and Chappaquiddick. As the state developed in the early decades of the 20th century, the remaining Wampanoag were compelled to relinquish even more land, forcing many to leave the island area entirely. The tribe's population continued to decline, driven by economic necessity and by assimilation into the larger mainland culture, and the Wampanoag teetered near extinction by the mid-20th century.

Resurgence of Identity

Beginning in the early 1970s, however, with a resurgence of interest in Wampanoag culture and identity among those remaining in the area (fewer than 300), a tribal governing council was structured in the town of Gay Head to promote tribal interests and to petition state and federal agencies to return some of the land the tribe had lost. In 1987, the Bureau of Indian Affairs officially recognized two Wampanoag tribes: the Mashpee and the Wampanoag.

Although a newly established tribal council directed limited public services for the reservation, including police, fire, and medical personnel, a more far-reaching undertaking involved a program to reestablish the all-but-lost Wampanoag language. Tribe historians, meticulously reviewing centuries-old archival materials, put together a dictionary of more than 10,000 words. Beginning in the 1990s, for the first time in more than a century, tribal children learned the Wampanoag language before they learned English.

It is difficult to obtain an exact measurement of the tribe's population. A petition to re-acquire tribal land in an application for a gaming license, part of an ambitious casino development project, listed the population at 1,200, but data from the 2010 Census put the regional numbers including Rhode Island at just over 3,000.

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See Also: Algonquian Languages; Algonquian-Speaking Tribes; Indian Casinos; King Philip's War.

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War Brides

The term *war brides* generally refers to foreign nationals who married members of military forces during and especially after World War II and subsequent military occupation by Allied forces. The term has different connotations in different cultural contexts. In Europe, even though the term may connote a gold-digging woman by emphasizing the material aspects of motives for marrying Americans, “war bride” is not always associated with a negative meaning. Indeed, many European wives of American servicemen identify themselves as war brides. On the other hand, in Asia, the very same term has more associations with stigmatized identities and marginalized social locations. In most cases, women who associated with American G.I.s were perceived simultaneously as prostitutes and as traitors who chose American men over their own men. Therefore, war brides in Asia faced similar social constraints and hostilities from mainstream society.

Marriages Between Foreign Nationals and Military Personnel in Europe and Asia

Between 1939 and 1946, some 16 million Americans who were young, single men between the ages of 18 and 30 mobilized for the war effort. Consequently, as many as 1 million women from over 50 countries, both Allied and Axis nations, married Allied soldiers, particularly American soldiers, between 1942 and 1952. Various jobs catering to the military forces, ranging from interpreters and sales clerks at post exchanges to housemaids, were created. Many of these working women met their prospective husbands while on the job. Although American soldiers who married foreign nationals were predominantly white, other racial and ethnic groups, such as African Americans, were also involved in wartime and postwar marriages.

Women from European countries such as Britain, Germany, and Italy and women from Australia made up early cohorts of war brides who entered the United States, which was the major destination but not the only one. For example, marriages between British women and American servicemen took place as early as 1942. It is a well-publicized fact that 70,000 British war brides entered the United States during 1946 alone. Nearly 48,000 European women, the majority of whom were British, married Canadian troops who served in Great Britain during World War II; these women entered Canada. In Oceania, about 16,000 American G.I.s stationed in Australia and New Zealand married mostly Australians and, to a lesser extent, New Zealanders.

Later, marriages between G.I.s and local women began taking place in postwar Japan under U.S. occupation. The U.S. victory over Japan in World War II brought nearly half a million U.S. occupation troops to the war-torn country, overshadowing the presence of U.S. military allies. Consequently, an estimated 55,000 to 100,000 Japanese women married American servicemen after the arrival of U.S. military forces. The U.S. military mobilization for the Korean War also facilitated marriages involving American G.I.s and Korean women. Because of continuing American military presence in Asia after World War II, Asian brides of American servicemen gradually outnumbered the European brides by the mid-1950s. Within Asia, marriages between Japanese women and G.I.s were the most numerous, but their marriage

rates declined after they reached their peak years in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. The marriage trends gradually shifted to other Asian countries, such as South Korea, the Philippines, and Vietnam, which reflected the trajectory of U.S. military involvement in these Asian countries during the Cold War.

Institutional Barriers to War Bride Marriages

For foreign nationals, marriages to American GIs and immigration to the United States did not always go smoothly. Restrictive U.S. immigration policies and marriage laws often delayed their marriages. For example, the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, known as the Oriental Exclusion Act, restricted the influx of foreign nationals by assigning annual quotas based on national origin. This legislation favored Europeans, who were granted relatively large quotas, while virtually preventing all Asian immigrants from entering the United States. Nonetheless, an unprecedented marriage rush between American soldiers and European women pressured the U.S. government to make revisions to the law. In response, the War Brides Act of 1945 was enacted, mostly to help U.S. G.I.s bring their European spouses and children home on a nonquota basis.

Although non-European spouses of American servicemen did not benefit from the new laws, eligibility for naturalization was extended to some Asian nationals who had been excluded under the provisions of the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924. These were wartime Asian allies, such as Chinese and Filipinos, who first became eligible for immigration and naturalization over the course of the law's revisions. Other Asians, including Japanese and Koreans, remained ineligible for these rights. It was not until late 1952 that the U.S. Congress passed the McCarran-Walters Act, which allowed Japanese war brides to emigrate to the United States on a nonquota basis. Aside from racialized immigration policies, military red tape delayed marriage procedures by requiring various official documents pertaining to physical examinations, background checks, and commanding officers' permission for the marriages. The marriage application process usually took several months; it was common for the prospective G.I. grooms to be transferred to other regions or sent back to the United States before they formalized their

marriages. Only those couples who successfully overcame various barriers at personal and institutional levels were able to marry and establish their new homes in America.

Beyond War Brides

There were many more individuals, including those women who were deserted or widowed, who remained in their own countries. Included are the mixed-race children born to G.I. fathers and Asian women. These children are often referred to as Amerasian. They faced prejudice and discrimination in the home countries of their mothers, especially when their fathers were absent and they were raised by single mothers or in orphanages. The issues of fatherless Amerasians remain particularly volatile in Japan and Korea, reflecting the controversial and persistent social and cultural significance of U.S. military presence in Asia.

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See Also: Amerasian; Immigration Acts; Mixed-Race Americans.

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War in Afghanistan and Iraq

The United States went to war in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in New York City; Washington, D.C.; and Pennsylvania. Although neither was an officially declared war, these

conflicts were the first major U.S. military actions of the 21st century. Afghanistan and Iraq became the main fronts in what U.S. political and military leaders called a “global war on terror.”

Afghanistan

Known as Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), the Afghanistan war had three major goals: to capture or kill Osama bin Laden, leader of the Al Qaeda organization responsible for the 9/11 attacks; to overthrow the Taliban, Afghanistan’s theocratic government that provided a haven for Al Qaeda; and to seek out and destroy the Al Qaeda structure and ranks.

President George W. Bush set the war’s rhetorical agenda by challenging other nations to join the U.S. cause or risk being considered America’s enemies. After military victories during the early stages of OEF, the United States had an uneven record in Afghanistan, with later developments somewhat stalemated. Al Qaeda suffered huge casualties, and the United States backed a secular government after toppling the Taliban, but as of 2012, both forces remained threats. Bin Laden found sanctuary in Pakistan, where President Barack Obama had him killed in 2011.

Having promised during his 2008 presidential campaign to be aggressive in Afghanistan and scale back the Iraq War, Obama touted bin Laden’s death as a national security triumph. In Afghanistan, however, things remained uncertain at best, and Obama’s pledge to begin withdrawing U.S. troops by 2014 did little to reassure a public weary of the long war.

Iraq

Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) started in March 2003 and continued until November 2011. This was the second U.S. war with Iraq. The first, fought in 1991 and known as Operation Desert Storm, had the objective of driving Iraqi forces out of neighboring Kuwait, which Iraq had invaded in 1990. President George H. W. Bush organized a multinational coalition to discipline Iraq but never sought the ouster of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.

By contrast, George W. Bush charged Iraq with possessing weapons of mass destruction and with being part of a terrorist “axis of evil,” along with Iran and North Korea. He also resolved to

bring down Hussein’s authoritarian government. Backed by a 21-nation coalition, the United States took preemptive action against Iraq. Hussein went into hiding, but U.S. forces captured him in 2003 and turned him over to the new Iraqi justice system. Hussein was executed in 2006, after a trial and conviction.

Even before it started, OIF was controversial and triggered massive worldwide demonstrations. U.S. and international political leaders objected to the war’s preemptive nature and questioned the Bush case for intervention. Early military success in OIF gave way to a formidable Iraqi insurgency and rising dissent in the United States, especially after the Bush administration’s war rationales proved false and U.S. casualties mounted. A new, relatively stable, and democratic Iraqi government was established after much difficulty, and President Obama oversaw the withdrawal of U.S. troops in 2011. Under the name “Operation New Dawn,” a much-reduced contingent of U.S. troops remained in Iraq to provide security.

Diversity

As of August 2011, about 2.3 million U.S. troops had been deployed to Afghanistan, Iraq, or both. According to statistics from the Department of Defense, whites accounted for 78 percent of the 1,835 military deaths in Afghanistan as of December 2011; Hispanics or Latinos, 11 percent; blacks or African Americans, 8 percent; Asians, 2 percent; multiple race or unknown, 1 percent; American Indians or Alaska Natives, 1 percent; and Native Hawai’ians or Pacific Islanders, 1 percent.

The department also reported there were 4,408 military deaths in Iraq as of December 2011, with whites accounting for 74.6 percent; Hispanics or Latinos, 10.5 percent; African Americans or blacks, 9.7 percent; Asians, 1.8 percent; Native Hawai’ians or Pacific Islanders, 1.1 percent; multiple races, pending, or unknown, 1 percent; and American Indians or Alaska Natives, 0.95 percent.

Cultural Awareness and Controversy in Conflict Zones

Al Qaeda defined its cause as a Muslim fundamentalist holy war against the West in general and the United States in particular. This gave the

United States both opportunities and problems in responding to 9/11. Since the United States needed to create alliances, or at least obtain cooperation, in strategically important nations with majority Muslim populations, the United States would have the chance to cast itself as a partner rather than a threat to Muslims, thus undermining Al Qaeda's ideology. However, pursuing and maintaining bonds with predominantly Muslim nations proved as difficult as it was necessary.

For instance, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have been vital to the U.S. mission. Military and political leaders from these nations have worked with the United States—an especially valuable relationship in Pakistan's case, since Pakistan shares a border with Afghanistan and was one of the few countries in the world to have had diplomatic relations with Afghanistan's Taliban government. As one of the most influential Middle Eastern nations and home to the bin Laden family (whose members disowned Osama bin Laden), Saudi Arabia is also crucial.

However, neither Pakistan nor Saudi Arabia is a democracy, and both nations have Islamic fundamentalist movements that challenge their leaders, especially on issues that involve helping the United States. Moreover, the grievances that bin Laden and Al Qaeda exploit have significant support among many Pakistanis and Saudi Arabians and throughout the Middle East. These grievances include the presence of U.S. troops in the Middle East, the West's dominance in a globalized world, and U.S. policy in Israel. In other words, the U.S. war effort depended on ties between cultures—on one hand, Islamic and Middle Eastern, and on the other, Judeo-Christian and Western—that many saw as incompatible.

In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, President Bush appealed to the U.S. public to recognize that Islam is a religion of peace and to avoid judging Muslims by the actions of Al Qaeda. Bush made public appearances with Muslim clerics, and Islam was represented at memorial services for 9/11 victims. Not everyone in the United States was willing to hear Bush's message, however. Political leaders, media commentators, and large numbers of U.S. citizens were candid in their views of Islam and its followers as abhorrent and deserving of sweeping retribution. These Americans saw no possible reconciliation between

Americanism and what they called "Islamofascism," invoking the memory of Nazi Germany and urging extreme action to end what they believed was an extreme threat.

The Vietnam War loomed large in the public's mind during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, as an example of how the United States suffered for lacking cultural awareness of the country and people its troops sought to assist. To avoid the errors of Vietnam and reach the "hearts and minds" of Afghans and Iraqis, many U.S. troops have strived to know and respect not just the customs, sites, and cultural differences relevant to Islam, but also the diverse ethnic groups and tribal peoples they encounter. Becoming fluent in, or at least attempting to speak, some of the languages native to the regions where they are deployed is another priority for U.S. troops.

This conscientiousness is not universal among military personnel, however. Violations of the human rights and dignity of suspects held at U.S. detention facilities in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and Abu Ghraib, Iraq, drew condemnation within the United States and throughout the world. There have been vigorous debates over the ethics and morality of both wars since their beginnings, and events at these sites intensified the dialogues. When photographs of abused and tortured Abu Ghraib prisoners became public, it became clear that some U.S. military personnel at the prison antagonized their captives in culturally offensive ways.

In the United States, public reaction to the scandal followed a pattern that became familiar throughout the Iraq War. Many Americans expressed disgust and were shocked that their military would display such behavior; many others not only refused to condemn the prison guards but also saw no reason for humane treatment of enemy captives on the basis of culture or any other factors.

Homefront Cultural Debates

Divided reactions to events like the Abu Ghraib scandal were typical of post-9/11 U.S. culture. Debates over what constitutes American identity, the character of American culture, and the status of America's borders are nothing new, but they became more frequent and heated during this time of crisis.

The volatility of the cultural discourse regarding Arabs and Muslims was especially acute. Although people in these groups (who U.S. citizens sometimes view as one and the same) struggled to find acceptance in the United States long before 9/11, the terror attacks made them visible and vulnerable in unprecedented ways. Whether they had been born in or emigrated to the United States, people who identified or were perceived as Arab and/or Muslim faced demands that they be placed under surveillance, singled out for suspicion at airports, and even subject to internment, as Japanese Americans were during World War II. Sometimes the hostile climate turned violent, victimizing people who supposedly “looked Arab or Muslim,” as illustrated by the murders of members of the Sikh religion in Arizona (2001) and Michigan (2012). With the political rise of Barack Obama—the first African American president, whose success would be remarkable in any period of U.S. history but was astonishing so soon after 9/11—the American identity conversation took



U.S. Marines stand ready with assault rifles as they prepare to enter one of Saddam Hussein's palaces in Baghdad during the takeover of the complex in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

unexpected turns that highlighted the country's many cultural contradictions.

Heightened attention to the security of national borders and fears of future terrorism from the Middle East converged with widespread discontent with undocumented immigration. For many U.S. citizens, individuals and groups identified as or assumed to be of Arabic or Latina/o descent became the focus of suspicion, scapegoating, and outright attack. These reactions had roots in anxieties over the demographic profiles of immigrants who came to the United States after passage of the 1965 Immigration Act. In this cohort, immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East had a major presence.

Because the 9/11 hijackers had been in the United States for some time prior to the attacks, enrolling in flight schools and blending into the population, concerns about immigration increased. A new federal government agency, the Department of Homeland Security, was created. It performed various functions, including immigration oversight, that had been the task of the now-defunct Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Despite the talk of a unified America in the hours, days, and weeks after 9/11, its citizens disagreed with one another frequently, fervently, and sometimes accusingly on the causes and meanings of the terror attacks, and on how to react to them. Some on the political right blamed what they called “politically correct” attitudes and ideas of a multicultural, pluralist America for putting the country at risk, before and after 9/11. On the political left, there was often a sense that the United States should not have been surprised at the 9/11 attacks, given our nation-state's history of exporting and imposing its model of culture throughout the world. That these debates are more likely to continue than to reach resolution anytime soon is an indication that diversity of opinion and identity remains a site of strength and productive conflict in the United States.

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See Also: Afghan Americans; Arab Americans; Armed Forces, U.S.; Iraqi Americans; Muslim Americans; Sikhs.

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War of 1812

On June 1, 1812, President James Madison submitted to Congress a list of abuses committed by Great Britain against the United States. Madison cited Britain's use of Indians to raid American villages along the U.S.-Canadian border in the northwest, unlawful restriction of American neutral trading rights with France through the Orders in Council of 1807, and thousands of documented cases of British impressment of American sailors on the high seas as just cause for war. With Republican control of Congress, Madison got his wish. Just three days later, on June 4, 1812, the House of Representatives voted 79–49 in favor of a declaration of war. Two weeks after that, on June 17, the Senate approved the measure by a vote of 19–13. The next day, Madison signed the bill into law, marking the beginning of the second war between the United States and Great Britain.

Understandably, the declaration of war deeply divided the nation, both geographically and politically. The Federalists in the northeast, especially in New England, saw the war as an abuse of presidential power and a contradiction of Republican policy. In 1800, and again in 1808, the Republicans had run for election as the party that would bring the government back to the people. They proclaimed a message of equality under the law, state autonomy, decreased federal taxation, and greater focus on the internal prosperity of the

nation. In so doing, the Republicans decreased the size of the U.S. Army and Navy during the first decade of the 19th century, instituted an embargo on British product shipments to the United States, and promoted westward expansion to the Northwest Territory.

After the war began, New England Federalists charged that Madison and the Republican-controlled Congress simply wanted to justify expansion into Canada and the west through a costly and dangerous fight with the world's strongest power, an argument that held some truth. To Madison and his political confidant Thomas Jefferson, victory over Great Britain would allow the United States to expand across North America, providing new markets for the products the country manufactured. What they did not realize was that the end of the war would occur in the Deep South, at the port of New Orleans, two weeks after the Treaty of Ghent was signed, and the war would bring their nation together in the form of a ragtag, multicultural force of white frontiersmen, colored Creoles, Indians, and nationless privateers.

Invasion of Canada

In the summer of 1812, there was little that appeared to stand between Great Britain and the annihilation of the United States. With no more than 12,000 regular troops out of a total population of 7.7 million, and a paltry 16 warships, the U.S. military looked more like a ragtag militia unit than a national fighting force. But with Great Britain at war with Napoleon in Europe, and with nearly 725,000 militiamen available across 15 states, the United States held a distinct advantage over even the most formidable of foes. By invading Canada, which maintained a small regular military presence and had a total population of just half a million, and by using Indian proxies, militiamen, and regulars, the United States could hold Great Britain's largest North American colony as ransom for territory in the northwest and freedom in maritime trade. But the invasion of Canada did not go as planned.

With less than 30 years between the end of the American Revolution and the War of 1812, the U.S.-Canadian border had not fully developed along national lines. In many ways, border-dwelling Americans viewed their Canadian

counterparts as neighbors, separated only recently by revolution. Many were unwilling to take up arms against people with whom they interacted daily, shared lives and trade, and essentially lived as countrymen. This, coupled with the refusal of some Federalist New England governors to send state militiamen to serve in a seemingly unjust war, gave President Madison and his aging general corps more than a few problems.

The first assault on Canada ended in failure. Undermanned and hesitant in command, General William Hull, the territorial governor of Michigan, surrendered Detroit, the primary American waypoint en route to Canada, on August 16, 1812, just 17 days after word of the war had reach London. Commanding less than 10,000 troops across the entire North American continent, Great Britain used Indian allies to challenge the timid, poorly trained American troops along the border. It also used the American invasion as a call to arms, mustering local defense forces of old loyalists and freed slaves left over from the American Revolution, as well as native-born Canadian subjects looking to protect their homes and families from the American invasion force.

At the Battle of Queenston Heights, a small British force, along with Indian allies, defeated a group of American regulars under Major General Stephen Rensseler, a Federalist from New York, on October 13, 1812. More than 830 American troops ended the day as prisoners of war.

The following month, General Henry Dearborn, former secretary of war under Thomas Jefferson, failed to take or even lay siege to Montréal, the key to American victory in Canada. By mid-November 1813, his army of 13,000 men, defeated at every turn and unwilling to take orders from a Republican general, had disintegrated and turned back for home.

Despite a number of miraculous naval victories off the Atlantic coast and in the Canary Islands, Madison's dream of a "short and successful" war continued to dissolve into a personal and national nightmare. The British continued to drive back all American advances into Canada. By the end of the year, the Royal Navy had established a blockade of America's Atlantic ports and advanced to the U.S.-Canadian border at Fort Niagara, New York. Britain was primed to attack.

Battle of New Orleans and End of a Multicultural War

By January 1815, the northeastern portion of the United States lay in ruins. With Napoleon defeated in March 1814 and the pride of the His Majesty's Army diverted to the North American theater, Great Britain launched an aggressive, multipronged invasion of the unprepared American interior. By late August 1814, the president had fled Washington, D.C., leaving the capital of his nation undefended from British torches. Some three weeks later, a resilient American defensive force withstood a 24-hour British bombardment at Fort McHenry, Maryland, receiving the plaudits of Francis Scott Key in his lyrical poem "The Star-Spangled Banner."

By then, Great Britain was unwilling to continue the fight and was exhausted and heavily indebted from nearly a half decade of constant warfare. Representatives from the United States and Great Britain met in Ghent, Belgium, on December 24, 1814. The resulting Treaty of Ghent officially ended the war, restoring peace and the conditions that existed before the conflict, as though the war had never occurred. But word of the treaty traveled slowly. In the face of rumors of a potential British invasion of the south by way of New Orleans, Madison rushed Major General Andrew Jackson to the southern port on December 1, 1814. Upon arrival, Jackson declared martial law in the city and began recruiting the troops who would, in less than a month, challenge Sir Edward Pakenham and the British Army.

Jackson's force in many ways represented the diversity of the American population at that time. By December 18, he had recruited some 910 soldiers from New Orleans and the surrounding area. Of these, more than a third (392) were free men of color, a number of whom had served with distinction in the Spanish *pardo* and *moreno* militias during the American Revolution. Multiclass and multicolored, some members of the Battalion of Free Men of Color were wealthy slaveholders dedicated more to the preservation of their own Creole community than to any sense of American patriotism or nationalism. Men like Maurice Populus, a lieutenant in the First Battalion, and François Boisdoré, a noncommissioned officer in the Second Battalion, came from the most prominent mixed-race families in the state and owned

multiple slaves and properties across New Orleans. They stood beside the likes of Noël Carrière and Bazile Demazilière, “Negroes” by color and popular designation who entered military service down on their luck, earning social status and wealth only after showing courage on the battlefield.

Jackson recognized that his men did not share a sense of nationhood or American culture. On December 18, he rallied his “Natives of the United States,” Creoles of New Orleans, and “Descendants of Frenchmen” against a common British enemy dedicated to “dishonor[ing] the human race”; it was thus not of nation that Jackson spoke that day. It was of humanity, the one common trait he could find in perhaps the most multicultural force yet to fight under the American flag.

On December 23, less than a week after Jackson’s call to arms, the British Army arrived. After a quick naval victory on Lake Borgne, a British invasion force nearly 11,000 strong, under the command of 37-year-old Sir Edward Pakenham, landed at the Villeré plantation in Chalmette, just nine miles southeast of New Orleans. After a probing assault on the British lines that night, Jackson searched wildly for reinforcements. He knew he was outnumbered. To his aid came a modest but hardy crew—dragoons from Mississippi, Choctaw Indians from north of Lake Pontchartrain, volunteer ruffians from the Kentucky and Tennessee frontiers, and dissolute privateers from Baratavia under the brothers Lafitte, Jean and Pierre.

This varied corps of riflemen and regulars, numbering just under 4,000, engaged the advancing British forces on January 8, 1815. Aligned behind breastworks and a man-made canal on the Macarty plantation, the Americans—Creoles, Choctaws, and privateers alike—repelled a British force, crippled by mire and fog, of nearly 5,000 regulars, sailors, and Barbadian freedmen in less than an hour. The result was staggering. Along Jackson’s line, 13 men lay dead, and another 58 wounded. In the fields before them, however, lay a reported 291 dead Britons—among them young Pakenham—along with 1,292 of their wounded countrymen. It was a rout by all standards, and one that the American nation would never forget.

Legacy

With the Battle of New Orleans, the War of 1812 ended. The defeated British troops, after a failed

siege of Fort St. Philip, Louisiana, left for home along with the rest of Britain’s North American forces, and the guns gradually fell silent. The legacy of the Battle of New Orleans, and thus the War of 1812, stretched beyond the failed invasion of Canada, the burnt rubble of the U.S. Capitol, and the stalemate made official in the Treaty of Ghent. The fighting force that defended New Orleans, perhaps the least American of the nation’s cities, stood as a microcosm of the nation itself. Blacks, whites, Indians, and coloreds, and natives of France, the Americas, the Caribbean, and the American interior, fought together, but for differing reasons.

Some fought for their families and homes; others fought for wealth and prestige. Some fought for the militia, obeying orders alone, while any number of their colleagues took up arms for the preservation of their individual languages, cultures, identities, and ways of life, regardless of whether or not they were “American” in any recognizable way. They were not all fighting for the honor of the United States, its trading rights, and the rights of impressed sailors. They did fight, however, and fall together, side-by-side, showing that a nation forged from many could ultimately succeed as one.

The War of 1812 thus carved an American nation out of not-so-united states. During the succeeding decade and a half, a sense of nationalism and national belonging spread across the primarily white population. A middle class dedicated to personal advancement emerged in the northeast and urban south, and the political parties that so divided the nation before the war collapsed. The effects of this nationalism, however, did not rest solely in the minds of whites. Free men of color in New Orleans; Mobile, Alabama; and other southern and Gulf Coast towns, having fought for their native or adopted lands, made a strong case for citizenship that even the federal government could not ignore. As a result, the colored veterans of the Battle of New Orleans received combat pensions for the remainder of their lives. Although the reality of black citizenship remained a distant hope, the performance of the colored battalion at New Orleans inspired a generation of African-descended people to adopt a more consciously African American national identity, regardless of cultural affiliation.

The United States became a nation of nostalgia after the War of 1812. Forged in the crucible of

public imagination, the popular American image assumed the likeness of Jackson's victory at New Orleans—a multicultural force swathed in the cloth of liberty and equality. The reality beneath the myth, however, was not so romantic, as slavery, racial and cultural inequality, and Indian removal continued through civil war and beyond.

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See Also: African Americans; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831); Choctaw; Creoles; English Americans; European Americans; Native Americans.

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in war-torn Europe. The WRB collaborated with Jewish organizations at home and abroad, diplomats from neutral countries, and groups opposing Adolph Hitler and the Nazi regime throughout Europe to provide Jews with safe havens and to send provisions to Jews who had already been transferred to Nazi concentration camps. In total, the WRB rescued as many as 200,000 Jews.

Background

Although Roosevelt and his administration felt compelled to assist Jewish Nazi victims, they were hesitant to do so, and creation of the WRB came late in the war effort. Anti-Jewish bias ultimately hindered implementation of the WRB's programs and rescue efforts. The United States wanted to help European Jews from afar, and under the condition that the country would not have to worry about potentially large influxes of Jewish refugees permeating U.S. borders. Although many Americans were outraged by the atrocities inflicted upon eastern European Jews, they were not comfortable providing any more than temporary shelter to this population.

As early as the fall of 1942, the United States was cognizant of the mass murder of Jews and other groups, including the Roma and Slavs, by the Nazi regime. The mass killings of Europe's Jews received heightened attention in 1943 and early 1944. The amplified documentation of Hitler's "Final Solution" pressured the U.S. government to take action. To the U.S. Treasury Department, it appeared as if the State Department, led by Breckenridge Long, was avoiding the issue of Jewish rescue, and the Treasury ultimately deemed the State Department to be an impediment to Jewish rescue efforts. The State Department, however, contended that the best way to save civilian victims of the war was to focus on winning the war. Ultimately, it was revealed that the State Department had been issued instructions to conceal information on the extent of Jewish persecution and to delay the issuance of U.S. visas to fleeing Jews.

In response to the State Department's inaction, the Treasury Department prepared a report for President Roosevelt. On January 13, 1944, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., secretary of the Treasury, issued a memo to the State Department criticizing the agency for its relative inaction in the rescue of European Jews. The memo was titled "Report to

War Refugee Board

The War Refugee Board (WRB) was an executive agency created to aid civilian victims of Nazi Germany and its allied partners. The WRB was established in January 1944 by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. At its inception, the primary mission of the WRB was to rescue Jewish victims of the Nazi regime and, when rescue was not feasible, to send material aid to relief agencies

the Secretary on the Acquiescence of This Government in the Murder of the Jews.” Upon receipt of this memo, President Roosevelt was urged to act, and he established a government commission to assist in the rescue and relief of civilian victims of the Nazi regime. At this relatively late point in the war, the Roosevelt administration was still hesitant to be perceived as friendly to the Jewish population. However, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9417 on January 22, 1944, establishing the War Refugee Board. This board was to be supported by all government agencies, including the Departments of State, Treasury, and War (currently Defense) and was to work to rescue the Jews who remained in Europe. The board was responsible for the evacuation of victims and potential victims of the Nazi regime, the establishment of safe havens to resettle persecuted individuals, and the delivery of materials and supplies to assist those in concentration camps.

Rescue Efforts

As part of the WRB’s mission, the U.S. government was to establish safe havens for Jewish refugees within its own borders and encourage other able countries to do the same. President Roosevelt, however, established only one sanctuary, at Fort Ontario in Oswego, New York, on June 9, 1944, and the United States did not permit refugee resettlement anywhere else in the country.

Two months later, in August 1944, 982 refugees arrived at Fort Ontario. Approximately 875 of these refugees were Jewish, with the majority from non-Nazi-occupied territories in southern Italy. All refugees temporarily residing at Fort Ontario were considered guests of the United States and signed pledges that they would return to Europe after the war ended. During their tenure at the shelter, these refugees lived under tight security parameters and were prohibited from working outside the shelter. Many residents of Oswego were openly hostile toward the refugees residing at Fort Ontario. At the conclusion of the war, President Harry S. Truman issued a statement that refugees held at Fort Ontario were eligible for immigration to the United States, despite considerable opposition from the American public.

American diplomats abroad were encouraged to enforce all elements of Executive Order 9417. They arranged and coordinated efforts among the

WRB, diplomatically neutral countries, and independent rescue organizations. One such initiative included a rescue effort led by Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg. By the time Wallenberg arrived in Budapest in July 1944, the Nazi regime had already deported almost 440,000 Jews from Hungary. Upon arrival, Wallenberg distributed protective Swedish passports to nearly 200,000 Hungarian Jews in jeopardy of deportation. Many Jews were moved into houses under Swedish diplomatic protection.

When Germany began actively deporting the remaining Hungarian Jews in November 1944, Wallenberg was able to relocate Jews with Swedish passports to safe houses throughout Budapest. In conjunction with the WRB and diplomats from other neutral countries, Wallenberg also established makeshift hospitals and food stations for the Jews remaining in Budapest. Wallenberg is credited with helping save over 70,000 Jews residing in a Budapest ghetto in late 1944. He successfully convinced German and Hungarian authorities to spare the ghetto and its inhabitants. Wallenberg went missing during the Soviet liberation of Budapest; he was last seen on January 17, 1945, surrounded by Soviet troops. The Soviet Union later acknowledged that he had been detained and later died in prison in 1947.

In all, the War Refugee Board was credited with saving the lives of approximately 200,000 Jews. The WRB was instrumental in ending the deportation of Hungarian Jews and ultimately saved about 120,000 Jews in Budapest alone. Roughly 15,000 Jews were evacuated from parts of German-occupied Europe, while another 48,000 Jews in Transnistria were transferred to safer areas of Romania. In addition, more than 10,000 refugees were protected in other parts of Axis-controlled Europe with the assistance of WRB funding.

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See Also: Anti-Semitism; Holocaust, The; Jewish Americans; World War II.

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Washita River, Battle of the

On the morning of November 26, 1868, the Seventh U.S. Cavalry Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, attacked Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle and his band of approximately 300 men, women, and children camped along the Washita River in Western Oklahoma. Depending on the source, estimates of Cheyenne casualties range from 13 to 150 killed and an equal number of wounded, as well as 21 American soldiers dead and 12 others wounded.

Black Kettle and the Cheyenne

Once a sedentary tribe living in small villages around the Great Lakes region, the Cheyenne people were pushed gradually westward by Lakota Sioux and other tribes. By 1700, they had settled in the Black Hills region of South Dakota and along the Powder River further west.

When the Spanish introduced horses to the Cheyenne and other Plains tribes, their lifestyles changed dramatically. They could now follow the migrating buffalo herds, giving them an uninterrupted supply of food and hides. Over time, bands of Cheyenne spread across the plains, ultimately dividing into northern and southern branches. Four chiefs of 10 different bands from both north and south met periodically for the Sun Dance and a meeting of the Council of Forty-Four. In 1854, Southern Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle became chief of the council.

In spite of his impressive title, Black Kettle's role was really more that of an advisor than a military commander. With the expansion of American settlement into Cheyenne lands, clashes were inevitable. Before and after Black Kettle became chief, several violent encounters between Cheyenne and Americans led to brutal retaliation on both sides. He and other chiefs knew American military power was far superior to anything the Indians could muster and that this superiority had overcome Native American tribes to the east.

Black Kettle therefore counseled for peace, an unpopular position among some of the more militant chiefs and warriors. Still, he pressed forward in the hope of coexistence with the Americans, signing the Treaty of Fort Wise in 1861 and doing all he could to comply with its terms.

Events Leading up to the Battle

Like so many Native American tribes before them, the Plains Indians were under relentless pressure to give up their traditional lands and move onto reservations established by the U.S. government. Not doing so meant war and subjugation. Although Black Kettle wanted peace, he had no control over the actions of warriors who chose to ignore treaty provisions.

Directed in late 1864 to take his band to Fort Lyon, in eastern Colorado, Black Kettle was further ordered to move some 40 miles from the fort to Sand Creek. Black Kettle and several other bands obligingly made camp along the creek.

American authorities told Black Kettle that flying the American flag would ensure immunity against any attack from American forces. With no reason to believe in any danger, most warriors left the camp for a buffalo hunt. Unknown to Black Kettle, Colorado officials authorized an attack on the camp in response to raids from errant Cheyenne warriors.

On the morning of November 29, 1864, and with the American flag fluttering at the top of Black Kettle's tepee, over 700 Colorado state troops attacked and massacred between 70 and 160 people, mostly women and children. The attack on the camp was notorious for the extreme barbarism of the American soldiers.

Even after this brutal betrayal, Black Kettle still hoped for peace, and in 1867 he signed the Medicine Lodge Treaty on behalf of the Southern



This illustration was published in Harper's Weekly in 1868. It portrays the Seventh U.S. Cavalry charging into Black Kettle's village on November 27, 1868. Black Kettle's village was part of a series of camps that ran 10 to 15 miles along the Washita River and consisted of approximately 50 Cheyenne lodges, one or two lodges of visiting Arapaho, and two of visiting Lakota, for a total of about 250 inhabitants.

Cheyenne. It was in compliance with this treaty that he made winter camp on the Washita River.

The Battle

American authorities, eager to force the Plains Indians into submission, planned a three-pronged winter campaign. As commander of one of the three columns, Custer was the first to locate the Indian encampment along the Washita River.

Intending to surround Black Kettle's camp and capture or annihilate the entire band, Custer divided his force into four commands. Having failed to conduct proper reconnaissance, he was unaware that Black Kettle's band was only a small component of a huge winter encampment that included other Plains tribes. The encampment stretched nearly 15 miles along an oxbow of the Washita River and included 6,000 Arapaho, Sioux, Comanche, and Kiowa Indians.

Black Kettle and his wife were among the casualties; the couple was killed when soldiers shot them in the back as they attempted to flee on horseback. Initially, Custer was successful in routing Black

Kettle's warriors, and he captured around 50 women and children. On discovering the massive wave of warriors moving in his direction from the other camps, Custer used the captives as human shields. Since the warriors refused to fire at their own people, Custer was able to extricate his command and avoid certain destruction.

Custer had been an effective cavalry officer during the Civil War, rising to the rank of brevet major general. After the war, he transferred to Fort Riley to take command of the newly formed Seventh U.S. Regiment of Cavalry. Custer was a stern leader and unpopular with his troops. Yet he was a more than competent cavalry commander and transformed the regiment into an effective and well-trained fighting unit. Most regiments had a brass band, including the Seventh Cavalry. The attack at Washita River was the regiment's first major engagement in the Plains Indian Wars. During the attack, the band played "Garry Owen," an old Irish song popular among Civil War soldiers and adopted by the regiment as a theme song.

Aftermath

For most Southern Cheyenne, the fight at the Washita River reinforced the futility of further resistance, and most settled on reservations in Oklahoma. The Northern Cheyenne fought to settle on Lakota reservations in the north, near their beloved Black Hills, and were among the last Native Americans forced to live on reservations. Cheyenne bands tried to carry on their traditional way of life, but the buffalo they had come to depend on, once numbering in the millions, were hunted nearly into extinction by the end of the 19th century.

According to the 2010 Census, there are nearly 12,000 Cheyenne living on the two reservations originally allotted to them. They live in two worlds, one lost forever and another just begun. For the Americans, subjugation of the Plains Indians meant the opening of the American west for settlement and access to its vast natural resources. The site of the Battle of the Washita is now a National Historic Site located near Cheyenne, Oklahoma.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; American Indian-U.S. Government Treaties; Cheyenne; *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*; Great Plains Tribes; Native Americans; Sand Creek Massacre.

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WASPs (White Anglo Saxon Protestants)

Although the United States is a pluralistic society comprising many different racial, ethnic, and religious groups from six continents, the origins of American society as an independent nation began with British settlement and colonization in the early 17th century. Over the course of the next two centuries, the number of settlers from the British Isles steadily increased, while the 13 colonies along the eastern seaboard of the North American continent emerged as among the most significant territorial possessions within Great Britain's vast overseas empire. Despite the presence of other European nationalities, African slaves, and dozens of indigenous cultural groups whose ancestors had lived on the American continent for millennia, the early British colonizers established economic, cultural, and political hegemony over the lands that were to eventually become the United States.

Sociologists and historians use the term *WASP*, an acronym for White Anglo Saxon Protestant, to refer to a British-derived ethnic heritage in American society that often traces its origins and family history in North America to the era of British colonization and settlement during the 1600s and 1700s. Specifically, WASP heritage reflects the diversity of British society and includes Americans of English, Scottish, Welsh, and/or Scots-Irish ancestry. Academics also typically include the descendants of colonial-era Dutch and Scandinavian settlers as part of the greater WASP collective. To a somewhat lesser degree, the ethnic label WASP is used to refer to the colonial-era British settlers in Canada as a contrast to the French Catholic settlement of, and cultural legacy in, Québec.

Sociologists Adalberto Aguirre and Jonathan Turner have defined WASP as “an ethnic complex consisting of northern European ethnic stock with light, ‘white’ skin; Protestant religious beliefs;

Protestant-inspired values based on individualism, hard work, savings, and secular material success; and English cultural traditions (language, laws, and beliefs) and institutional structures (politics, economics, and education).” Scholars use the labels Anglo-Protestant, WASP, and White Anglo Saxon Protestant interchangeably, with Anglo-Protestant becoming increasingly more popular as the most accurate descriptor for this particular population.

Demographics

By the end of the 18th century, the United States had gained its independence from Great Britain and had begun its “experiment in democracy.” Historians estimate that during these early years of the new republic, the ethnic composition of the nation’s nonslave population was 60.1 percent English, 14.0 percent Scottish or Scots-Irish, 8.6 percent German, 3.1 percent Dutch, and 3.0 percent French or Swedish. Despite heavy waves of Catholic and Jewish immigration during the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, scholars estimated that White Anglo Saxon Protestants still accounted for 55 percent of the total U.S. population by the mid-20th century.

A precise count of the WASP population of the United States today is difficult to determine accurately because neither the U.S. Census Bureau nor the American Community Survey uses this label for purposes of self-identification when compiling demographic information. WASP is a colloquial and sociological label, rather than a political or legal label. WASP population estimates, therefore, are often based on the more general population projections produced by the American Community Survey, which analyzes the demographic composition of the United States by national ancestry. According to the 2010 American Community Survey, approximately 26 million Americans of English ancestry, 5.5 million persons of Scottish heritage, and 1.8 million Welsh Americans resided throughout the nation. Additionally, the 2010 survey enumerated approximately 3.25 million Americans of Scots-Irish descent.

However, reliance on these statistics to determine the WASP population is somewhat misleading for a variety of reasons. The English American population of the United States is not a monolithic religious bloc and includes many

Roman Catholics in addition to Protestants. Furthermore, Americans of English, Scottish, Welsh, and Scots-Irish ancestries do not universally trace their family origins in the United States to the colonial period. Millions of immigrants from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have entered the United States since the early 19th century. Additionally, the WASP population is likely undercounted significantly because the American Community Survey counted nearly 20 million persons who identified “American” as their national ancestry. This response seems to be most common in the south, where English and Scots-Irish ancestries are extensive.

The term *Anglo Saxon* is also misleading. The term actually derives from two Germanic tribes, the Angles and the Saxons, who invaded the British Isles during the 5th and 6th centuries C.E. and intermixed with the other cultural and tribal groups already living in this region, including the descendants of Celts and Romans who entered present-day Britain several years earlier. Over time, other cultural groups entered the British Isles and blended with these heritages, including the Jutes, Vikings, and Normans. As a result, the population of Great Britain had been forged from an amalgamation of several different tribal-cultural heritages by the commencement of English colonialism in the 16th century.

Use of the Term WASP

Despite its widespread use among historians and sociologists, and its entrance into the popular American lexicon, disagreement over the appropriateness of the term WASP as an ethnic label persists. Critics allege that “WASP” has a mildly negative connotation, evoking stereotypes of socially awkward white people with an extreme entitlement mentality who are stiff, boring, and wealthy. This remains a powerful archetype in Hollywood films, as illustrated in the romantic comedy *Fools Rush In* (1997), starring Matthew Perry and Salma Hayek. Perry plays the role of Alex Whitman, an upper-middle-class WASP from Manhattan who falls in love with Isabelle Fuentes (Hayek), a bilingual Mexican American photographer from Nevada, after impregnating her during a one-night stand amid a business venture in Las Vegas. Much of the film focuses on the cultural clash between Whitman and Fuentes,

with Whitman's priorities on career and finances, as well as his initial suppression of personal emotions and desire to "keep up with the Joneses," sharply contrasting with Fuentes's warmth, compassion, and family-oriented social outlook.

The association of WASPs with money is commonplace throughout American culture, as WASPs are typically presumed to be upper or middle class. The designation "old money" is frequently used to describe WASP families who have been wealthy for generations; this label stands in contrast with that of "nouveau riche," which is used in reference to individuals who were not born into money but achieved a substantial degree of wealth within their own lifetimes. The exotic-sounding label *nouveau riche* (French for "newly rich") reveals a connotation of this term with upwardly mobile non-WASP persons, such as Irish, Italian, Jewish, African, Asian, and Hispanic Americans. The fact that working-class and impoverished white southerners are rarely, if ever, described as WASPs—despite the primarily English and Scots-Irish ethnic and Protestant religious heritage of southern whites—further highlights the conflation of the WASP label with affluence in American society.

Although WASP families, including some very prominent and highly influential WASP ones, exist within all 50 states, White Anglo-Saxon Protestants are most commonly associated with the Massachusetts-New York-southeastern Pennsylvania corridor of the New England and mid-Atlantic region. This is perhaps because of the critical roles that Boston, New York City, and Philadelphia have played throughout the nation's history, especially during the colonial era and the early years of the republic. Another factor contributing to this geographic conflation may be the highly influential sociological studies of Cleveland Amory and Digby Baltzell, who examined the local Anglo-Protestant establishments within Boston and Philadelphia, respectively, during the 1940s and 1950s.

The Anglo-Protestant Cultural Core

Criticism pertaining to the appropriateness of the WASP label notwithstanding, the British—particularly English—colonial legacy has profoundly shaped the dominant cultural heritage and institutions of American society. Language and

religion stand as two of the strongest realms of WASP cultural influence on the nation. Although the Founding Fathers failed to establish an official national language while framing the Constitution, immigrants have long been expected to learn the English language, and the presence of other languages has long raised the ire of many Americans. Benjamin Franklin, who notoriously bemoaned the influx of Germans into Pennsylvania during the 1750s, expressed the earliest resentment against immigrants speaking their native tongues on American shores.

Many of the traditional, dominant cultural values of the United States—such as a belief in hard work, rugged individualism, pursuit of material success, avoidance of temptation, efficient use of time, and an emphasis on Christian faith—derive from the various austere denominations of English/British Protestantism, such as Puritanism and Calvinism, whose members came to American shores during the colonial period in search of religious freedom. Described as "ascetic Protestantism," this religious tradition generally emphasizes individualism over family and community, strict self-discipline over pursuit of gratification, and productivity over recreation. As sociologists Joe R. Feagin and Clairece Booher Feagin note in their assessment of the influence of ascetic Protestantism on American institutional and cultural traditions:

American condemnation of British sexual and political impurities focused on the King. Idleness, wealth, and power had corrupted him. Puritanism helped to establish the Protestant work ethic—the idea of hard work as a duty of every individual, originally of an individual who seeks to please God—at the center of the U.S. value system. This work ethic was linked by many to the persistent pursuit of personal profit. The expanding U.S. capitalistic system in the late 1700s and the 1800s was pervaded by the pursuit of profit, and forever renewed profit, by means of continuous, rational, capitalistic enterprise.

The profound Protestant influence on American society during its early years evoked intense fears and suspicion toward Catholicism in the 18th and 19th centuries and toward Judaism

during the 20th century, reflecting a powerful religious nativism within the nation stemming from its WASP origins.

At the same time, the basic structure of American legal and political frameworks derives from a blending of 17th-century English institutions with 18th-century French social philosophy. From this hybridization stem the core American ideals of the rule of law, representative government, a series of checks and balances between different branches of government, a court system and common law, and a belief in the “inalienable” rights to life, liberty, and property. Many of these ideals became codified into the U.S. Constitution, although from the outset the nation restricted the legal rights and freedoms afforded to American Indians, blacks (both free and slave), and women. The Naturalization Act of 1790 restricted the right to apply for American citizenship to “free white persons” of “good moral character,” while women were denied the right to vote until 1920.

WASP Hegemony Throughout American History

The Anglo-Protestant core held a virtual stranglehold on economic, political, and cultural power in American society for nearly two centuries following independence. From George Washington through Harry Truman, every president was a Protestant of northwestern European ancestry. Of the nation’s 43 presidents, two-thirds were of English ancestry. Notable exceptions to this trend included the Roosevelts and Martin Van Buren, who were of Dutch ancestry.

The election of Dwight D. Eisenhower, the first German American president, in 1952 and the subsequent election of John F. Kennedy, the nation’s first Irish Catholic president, in 1960 generated speculation at the time that WASP power may have reached its pinnacle. The election of Richard M. Nixon in 1968 assuaged such fears, however, with a series of Anglo-Protestant males succeeding Kennedy over the next five decades. All told, only one Roman Catholic has ever been elected president, and the nation has never had a president of southern European descent. Until 2008, neither major political party had nominated a black candidate as its presidential nominee. The election and reelection of Barack Obama as the 43rd president of the United States finally ended

the nation’s streak of white presidents, although Obama is a Protestant.

The earliest British colonies in North America date to the early 1600s and include the settlements of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 and Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. Four distinct Anglo-Protestant groups from different regions of Britain settled throughout the 13 original colonies during the 17th and 18th centuries, setting the stage for local variations in dialect and cultural customs found between the American north and south today. Significant numbers of Puritans from eastern England settled in the Massachusetts region between the 1620s and 1640s, and a group of Royalists from southern England and large numbers of indentured servants from across England migrated to the Virginia area between 1642 and 1675. A third group, led by William Penn and consisting of Quakers from the North Midlands of England and Wales, settled in the Delaware River Valley between 1675 and 1725. This group founded the Pennsylvania Colony in 1681. Lastly, a group of English, Scottish, and Scots-Irish migrants from the borderlands area of northern England and northern Ireland settled in the Appalachian region between 1718 and 1775.

After winning independence from Britain and establishing the parameters of the new republic, Anglo-Protestant elites articulated an ideology of manifest destiny during the 19th century. This racialized worldview constructed Anglo Saxons as a “chosen people” to whom God had granted the authority of colonizing the entire North American continent. According to the logic of manifest destiny, expanding the borders of the United States through the annexation of additional territories was a predestined outcome that set the stage for additional warfare and ethnic conflict within the present-day southwest. Mexican military defeats in the Texas Revolution and Mexican-American War (1846–48) crystallized the ideology of racial Anglo Saxonism, which viewed the conquest of Indians, the enslavement of Africans, and the triumph over Mexicans as evidence of divine intervention and WASP supremacy. This ideology of Anglo-Protestant supremacy was invoked to justify calls for an American “colonizing mission” akin to French and British colonial endeavors, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The 8,000 persons listed in the Boston *Social Register* in the mid-1940s consisted almost entirely of Anglo Saxon individuals, featuring just one Jew and various members of just a dozen Catholic families. The Philadelphia *Social Register* likewise reflected Anglo-Protestant dominance; studies indicate that the overwhelming majority of individuals listed in the register during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s were of British ancestry and either Episcopalian or Presbyterian in their religious affiliation. By 1982, Anglo-Protestants still accounted for 57 percent of all business leaders nationwide, a figure that greatly exceeded their share of the national population.

Immigration from non-Protestant societies and non-northern European nations resulted in occasional outbursts of intense nativist backlashes among America's Anglo-Protestant majority. Anti-Catholic prejudices against Irish immigrants escalated during the two-decade period preceding the Civil War, giving rise to the Know-Nothing Party and Philadelphia's notorious Bible Riots in the spring of 1844, in which Anglo-Protestants viciously attacked Irish Catholics and burned the city's two largest Catholic cathedrals to the ground. The Know-Nothings were a political party composed largely of working-class Anglo-Protestant males who sought to severely restrict immigration, particularly from Ireland, during the 1850s. Religious, cultural, and racial concerns initiated an intense wave of nativism against southern and eastern European, as well as Asian, immigrants during the 1910s and 1920s, ultimately culminating in the Immigration Act of 1924, which dramatically restricted immigration from these regions. Upon signing the bill, President Calvin Coolidge quipped, "America must be kept American."

The Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the national origins quotas enacted in 1924. Since 1965, large numbers of immigrants from non-European nations have entered the United States. This has reshaped the demographics of the United States, leading to a greatly diminished WASP population.

WASP Identity: An Understudied Phenomenon

Relatively little social science data on the nature of WASP ethnic identity exists, in large part because most psychologists and sociologists throughout

American history have come from this heritage themselves and have demonstrated a general preference for studying "exotic others" (Catholic and Jewish ethnics, African Americans, Native Americans). The research that does exist on this matter, however, indicates that many Protestant whites in the United States perceive themselves as lacking an ethnic and cultural identity, with whiteness functioning as the default "norm" against which other all other racial, ethnic, and cultural identities are measured. In other words, whiteness is commonly understood as implying a culture-less and "normal" identity; against this backdrop, "culture" is attributed to white ethnics and racial and ethnic minority groups.

Sociologist Richard Alba documents that between 40 and 50 percent of Americans of British ancestry claim that their ethnic heritage holds no importance to them. Other European American ancestral groups, such as Irish and Italian Americans, reveal higher rates of identification with their ethnic heritages. Alba attributes the tendency among Americans of British descent to avoid identifying with their ancestral heritage as a strong testament to the thorough degree to which American identity had become synonymous with English- or British-derived customs, values, and lifestyles since the earliest origins of the republic.

Anthropologist Laura Zimmer-Tamakoski, herself of English, Scots-Irish, German, and Cherokee ancestry, claims that important class-based distinctions among Anglo-Protestants exist regarding the nature of self-identity. Zimmer-Tamakoski claims that family name/lineage and wealth often serve as the primary basis of identification among upper-class WASPs who constitute America's power elite, whereas working-class and middle-class Anglo Saxons are much less likely to make their family name the basis of their self-identity and instead are more likely to identify simply as "American." Zimmer-Tamakoski has described the pervasiveness of WASP identity as the essence of Americana during her youth in the 1950s and 1960s:

. . . the "all-American" image of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants was everywhere: on the cover of *Life* magazine and the *Saturday Evening Post* (e.g. Norman Rockwell paintings), on television, and at the movies. Our favorite

pulp fiction provided WASP models for adolescent success. For girls there was Nancy Drew, for boys the Hardy brothers. As a teenager I read every Nancy Drew mystery ever written, and from her I learned that a girl could be and do anything she wants as long, that is, as she knows when and for whom to take a back seat.

Decline of the WASP?

Recently, some social commentators have speculated that the era of WASP dominance in American social and political life is either in decline or perhaps already over. Proponents of these viewpoints point to demographic changes, political developments, and cultural shifts over the past few decades that appear to have diluted Anglo-Protestant influence over the nation. Since 1910, the percentage of Americans of English, Scottish, Welsh, and Scots-Irish heritage has steadily declined in large part because of dramatic increases in immigration from southern and eastern Europe in the early 20th century and from Latin America, Asia, the Caribbean, Africa, and the Middle East since the late 20th century.

By the early 21st century, Americans of English ancestry accounted for just 8.3 percent of the national population, while persons of Scottish descent constituted a mere 1.7 percent of all Americans. Scots-Irish Americans accounted for approximately 1 percent of the national population, and Welsh Americans composed less than 1 percent of the national total. Current immigration trends and birth rate patterns ensure that this dramatic decline in WASP demographics will continue into the future.

The WASP influence on contemporary U.S. popular culture, particularly with regard to music, movies, television, and sports, is minimal. Although country music performers remain overwhelmingly white Protestants from the southern and midwestern regions of the nation, other genres of popular music—particularly rock and roll, heavy metal, grunge, rap/hip-hop, rhythm and blues (R&B), and soul—are dominated largely by the progeny of white ethnic immigrant groups, African Americans, and Latinos. Additionally, Latin musical genres such as salsa and merengue have gained incredible popularity throughout American society. Major collegiate and professional sports, such as football and basketball, feature primarily

African American athletes, Latinos are concentrated in boxing and baseball, and professional hockey consists largely of eastern Europeans.

The 2012 presidential election was the first in the nation's 236-year history that did not feature an Anglo-Protestant candidate or running mate on either ticket, garnering significant media attention over the alleged demise of the WASP in American society. Just 20 years earlier, both major political parties featured Anglo-Protestants as their nominees and running mates (Republicans George H. W. Bush and Dan Quayle and Democrats Bill Clinton and Al Gore). The 2012 campaign featured an African American (Barack Obama), two Irish American Catholics (Joe Biden and Paul Ryan), and a Mormon (Mitt Romney). Evidence of the alleged WASP decline in government can be found in other areas as well. Currently, the speaker of the House of Representatives (John Boehner) is Catholic, while the Senate majority leader (Harry Reid) is Mormon. The U.S. Supreme Court today consists of one African American, one Latina, three Jews, and five Catholics, marking the first time in American history that not a single WASP has sat on the high court.

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See Also: Caucasians; British Americans; English Americans; Nativism; Scots-Irish Americans; Scottish Americans; Welsh Americans; White Supremacy.

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Welsh Americans

Wales is a sociocultural unit found in the western part of the island of Britain. Technically, it is part of England, although it has a separate language, history, and ethnicity. The Welsh were the natives in Britain when the Romans arrived, but they found themselves pushed further west, until their culture was restricted to an area mainly north and west of the Severn River and southwest of Liverpool.

The people of Wales are known as Welsh in English but as Cymru, which means “comrades” or “fellow countrymen,” in their own language. The Welsh language is one of the Celtic languages, related to those found in ancient Gaul and modern Brittany. Following the Norman invasion in 1066, Norman knights settled in Wales to subdue the local population. For this reason, Wales has one of the densest concentrations of castles per square mile in the world. Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales) contributed greatly to the familiarity with Welsh life in the mid-12th century in his *Journey Through Wales* and *Description of Wales*.

Welsh Settlement in North America

According to medieval legend, Prince Madog ap Owain Gwynedd crossed the Atlantic in 1170 with three ships and founded a colony in what is today Alabama. A memorial to Madog was erected on the shores of Mobile Bay, Alabama, in 1953. The legend of Prince Madog gave rise to the legends of Welsh-speaking Indians in North America (especially the Mandan tribe). The legend also was cited as England’s claim to sovereignty over the United States. Some people believe that America was named after a Welsh merchant, Richard Amerik (ap Meurig), who was a financial backer of John Cabot, rather than the chronologically later mapmaker, Amerigo Vespucci.

In 1607, a Welsh and Cornish colony was established in what later became Maryland, and in 1617, one was founded in Newfoundland. Many Welsh Quakers came to Pennsylvania to escape religious oppression after William Penn promised them a colony to be called New Wales. Although this was rejected by the Crown, many towns and cities in Pennsylvania bear Welsh names, such as Bryn Mawr, to this day.

The oldest Baptist church in the United States was founded by Welsh settlers in Swansea,

Massachusetts, in the mid-17th century. According to historians Julie Brake and Christine Jones, the oldest ethnic language society in the United States was founded by Welsh in Philadelphia in 1729. Fourteen of the Revolutionary War generals were Welsh, and 18 of the 56 signatories of the Declaration of Independence were descended from Welsh immigrants, including Thomas Jefferson. As of 2004, 11 U.S. presidents were of Welsh descent. The U.S. Census Bureau’s 2010 American Community Survey reports that 1,793,356 people report Welsh ancestry (with a margin of error of 25,237).

Culture

In the 19th century, another wave of Welsh immigration to the United States followed the coal mining, iron smelting, and tin plating booms in Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley. Many of these immigrants settled in Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, but some spread out along the Ohio River, where their descendants remain to this day. As late as the 1950s, there were Episcopal (Anglican) churches in southern Ohio in which Sunday services were conducted in Welsh. Other Welsh Americans were descended from Non-conformist worshippers, as were the Quakers. The later Welsh immigrants to America included many Methodists after their 1811 break with the Church of England. Some of them settled in Kansas and Wisconsin. The gold and silver rushes of the mid- and later 19th century spread Welsh miners throughout the west.

Literacy, taught as Biblical instruction in churches, was a priority for some Welsh in the United States, such as George Jones, who founded the *New York Times*, and the importance of education to Welsh Americans helped lead to the establishment of Bryn Mawr, Yale (after the Welsh Iâl, as in Llanarmon-yn-Iâl in Wrexham, Wales), Johns Hopkins, and Morgan State universities. American architect Frank Lloyd Wright named his own home after the 6th century Welsh poet Taliesin.

In 1789, bardic competition was reestablished in Wales in the form of the *Eisteddfod*, which endures to this day, not only in Wales but also in America. A number of *Eisteddfodau*, as well as other cultural events, are held in the United States, organized by Welsh American clubs in California, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New

York, Ohio, and elsewhere. At Welsh fairs and *Eisteddfodau*, people may be found displaying the national symbols, leeks and daffodils; attending sheepdog trials; eating dishes such as Welsh rabbit, or rarebit (a cheese, mustard, and egg sauce served on toast); and wearing traditional Welsh country attire, the women in heavy skirts, shawls, and wimples under flat-topped conical hats.

The Contemporary Scene

Welsh Americans in the 20th century found it easier to assimilate into the dominant culture because of their apparently English background, leading some Irish American competitors to complain that British American bosses favored the Welsh over them. Episcopalian churches with Welsh congregations or affiliation often celebrate Saint David's Day on March 1, David being the patron saint of Wales. It would appear that Welsh Americans are one of the country's most successful ethnic groups.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; British Americans; English Americans.

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West Indian Americans

West Indian Americans are immigrants from the former British West Indies, Belize, and Guyana and their U.S.-born offspring. Although there has always been a steady stream of immigration from these home countries to the United States, the bulk of the immigration occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1924, restrictive immigration legislation effectively halted immigration from the islands, but in 1965, Congress passed, and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed, the landmark Immigration Act of 1965, which opened the floodgates for a mass migratory stream that continues today, although somewhat abated by economic and political factors.

Born out of brutal slavery, emancipation, oppressive colonialism, and later gradual political independence in most islands, for the last 50 years the West Indies have generally been perceived as a laboratory for racial and ethnic harmony and continue to be a main attraction for tourists.

West Indian Americans comprise many different ethnicities: African, East Indian, Portuguese, Syrian, Chinese, European, Amerindian, and mixed groupings, some of which are called Douglahts (the result of miscegenation of East Indians and Africans). The reasons for emigration from the West Indies are largely economic and result from the failure of political independence to bring the necessary economic reform. In addition, globalization has made the islands' single-crop economies largely irrelevant.

There is a Creole culture in the West Indies that is a combination of British, Amerindian, African, and other cultural elements, and this culture has formed, and in many instances replaced, the Anglo culture. Creole culture is also correlated with urbanization. There are other cultures, primarily in rural areas, most notably a large numbers of Hindus, as well as some Chinese, Portuguese, and Native Americans (called Amerindians).

Most West Indian Americans, because of chain migration, settled in the northeast corridor of the United States, and they have created viable and vibrant ethnic communities and enclaves in New York City and its suburbs; Florida (Miami and the southeastern part of the state); Boston, Massachusetts; Hartford, Connecticut; and Newark, New Jersey. Here, West Indian immigrants have contributed much to their adopted homeland.

Life in America

Living in America has not been without challenges and conflicts for West Indian immigrants. They have had to deal with the overriding issues of race and racial stratification that were generally alien to them in their native lands, where they were the numerical majority and were more attuned to class perspectives. Those of African backgrounds were forced to identify as African Americans, or try to maintain their ethnic identity as West Indians. Some alternated between the two identities, choosing whichever was more advantageous for them in their respective social interactions. Many, though, were active leaders among and for African Americans in the fight to end racial discrimination in the United States, and they fought such battles in the courts, legislatures, and many other social institutions.

Some immigrants who were lighter-skinned passed for whites and intermarried with persons who were not from the West Indies. Immigrants of East Indian ancestry largely tried to replicate their culture, including religion, dress, and cuisine, while staying in their own ethnic enclaves but joining the general West Indian population for events such as carnivals, independence celebrations, high school reunions, social club gatherings, cricket games, and fetes.

It is indisputable, however, that most West Indian Americans have subscribed to the values of hard work, deferred gratification, and a heavy emphasis on education to propel them into the middle and upper classes, thereby helping mitigate the more blatant issues of racial subordination and discrimination. As a result, West Indian immigrants are heavily represented in America as property owners and in the professions as physicians, professors, lawyers, judges, and businesspeople. Many also are enrolled in elite colleges, universities, and high schools.

Some prominent West Indian Americans include civil rights activists Marcus Garvey and Stokely Carmichael; Kamala Harris, attorney general of California; the late Mervyn Dymally, a former California lieutenant governor and state lawmaker; Colin Powell, a retired four-star general and the first African American appointed secretary of state; U.S. attorney general Eric Holder; the late Shirley Chisholm, a presidential candidate and longtime member of Congress; the late Constance Baker Motley, a judge, New York state lawmaker, and Manhattan borough president; David Patterson, former governor of New York; Kenneth Chenault, chief executive officer of American Express; and Ursula Barnes, chief executive officer of Xerox. Second-generation and later-generation West Indian Americans are often pressured by competing ethnic identities, questioning if they are West Indian, American, West Indian American, or African American.

Many have resolved this dilemma by alternating among these identities, choosing one or the other as advantageously warranted. In her research, Mary Waters has shown that some second-generation West Indian Americans who are lower class, living in ghetto-like conditions, performing poorly in school, and running into trouble with law enforcement agencies often create alliances with criminal elements among the African American population, which often leads to criminal careers, incarceration, and deportation. Many of the local political West Indian organizations, newspapers, and social clubs have been trying to work with the educated elite and professional class to assist their lower-class countrymen, who reflect badly on what was once considered an overachieving and highly successful ethnic group, despite the barriers of racial discrimination.

Remittances and Rotating Savings and Credit Associations

Within the West Indian American community, there exist transplanted mutual and voluntary organizations called rotating savings and credit associations, which are instrumental in helping members of this community validate their middle-class aspirations and cope with financial difficulties. Called *esusu* in Yoruba, and thought to have originated in West Africa, these associations are

known by different names among West Indians: *esu* among Bahamians, “meeting” among Barbadians, “syndicate” or *tanda* among Belizeans, “box” among Guyanese, *susu* among Trinidadians, and “pardners” among Jamaicans.

A group of West Indians, consisting of as many as 100 participants or as few as 10, verbally agree to make regular contributions to a fund (hand), with the money distributed to each contributor in rotation. Doubling or tripling, in which one participant contributes to two or three hands, occurs frequently. The exact amount of the hand is decided by the organizer, often called a banker. These associations have become structural shields for members of this community and their progeny, encouraging some small-scale capital formation and often acting as conduits for microlending, thus enabling West Indian Americans to capitalize their businesses, accumulate housing wealth, or purchase household items and airline tickets.

The first-generation West Indian Americans generally used funds from these associations for major economic transactions, such as placing a down payment on a home, putting a deposit on a small businesses, or purchasing an automobile. Second-generation West Indian Americans are more likely to use the funds to finance weddings, vacations, timeshare arrangements, and the like. The “*susu*” is a sound form of financial community in which people share in order to help each other make investments or achieve dreams that would otherwise not be possible. This transplanted association is firmly embedded in the community and now overlaps with other mainstream financial organizations in the United States.

Another financial transaction that has had a monumental impact on the West Indian American community is the remittance, in cash or in kind, that is sent back to their native homes. Among West Indians of Jamaican, Guyanese, and Barbadian ancestry, for example, cash remittances provide much-needed help for the impoverished communities back home; and the barrels of durable and tangible items sent home provide Hometown Associations (HTAs) with the wherewithal to maintain their viability. The economic and social importance of these associations cannot be underestimated, and many of the national budgets of their microsocieties in the Caribbean would be bankrupt with their loss.

Sports and Recreation

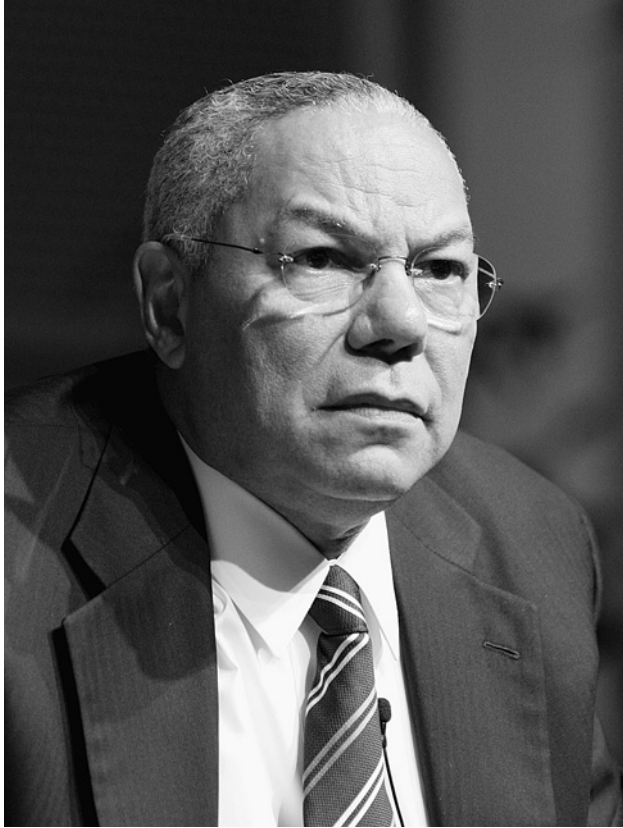
Despite the basketball prowess and success of Patrick Ewing (Jamaican ancestry) and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (Trinidadian ancestry), cricket, football (soccer), and track and field are the predominant sporting activities in which West Indian Americans are involved and spend their leisure time.

From the legendary Royal Exiles Cricket Club, which existed in Brooklyn in the early 1900s, to the Atlantis Cricket Club, which in July 2012 celebrated its 100th anniversary with its senior partner, the Demerara Cricket Club in Guyana, many West Indians participate in this sport in America. There are cricket leagues in New York, Massachusetts, Florida, and Connecticut, and many West Indian Americans stay glued to their televisions and radios to follow the cricket World Cup matches in India, Pakistan, England, Australia, or New Zealand, or back home in their native lands.

Spurred by the memorable track and field prowess of legendary Olympic stars such as Mal and Mel Spence, Arthur Wint, and Usain Bolt of Jamaica, and Hasley Crawford of Trinidad and Tobago, West Indian American students tend to focus on this sport in high schools and colleges, often being awarded track and field scholarships. The Penn Relays track and field competition held in Philadelphia are often a main attraction for young West Indian athletes looking to make their mark in this sport. Soccer has gained popularity in the United States, and young West Indian American players can be seen with youth from Latin America and European backgrounds perfecting their skills in this sport.

There are few West Indian Americans who have excelled in the American sports of baseball and football, although Andrew Quarless, of West Indian background, was part of the Green Bay Packers team that won the Super Bowl in 2011. In his honor, the unincorporated village of Uniondale, in suburban Long Island, New York, named a street the Andrew Quarless Way.

West Indian Americans have also excelled in acting (Sidney Poitier, Cicely Tyson, Lawrence Hilton-Jacobs), the theater, fashion and music (Rihanna, Tyson Beckford, Harry Belafonte, Hazel Scott), literature (Paule Marshall, Derek Walcott, Patricia Powell), philanthropy (Earl



Colin Powell is a very prominent West Indian American. A retired four-star general in the U.S. Army and the 65th U.S. secretary of state, he was the first African American to serve in that capacity.

Greaves and Franklin Thomas), and dance (Pearl Primus and Geoffrey Holder).

Transnationalism and Going Home

In a paper on migration and transnationalism, published in March 2010 by the intersessional workshop of the International Dialogue on Migration, it was noted that transnationalism causes a great degree of connections between individuals, countries, and societies across borders, resulting in changes in the social, cultural, and political landscape of donor and host societies alike. This perspective comes closer to bridging the wide variance among immigration scholars in precisely defining transnationalism—a process that has grown among West Indians in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. In earlier periods, these immigrants were subjected to racism and nativism from many Americans, and responded by adopting a sojourner mentality

and posture: retreating to their ethnic enclaves, retaining only their green cards as proof of permanent residency, and opting out of naturalization as new Americans.

Today, in the age of globalization, rapid air travel, instant communication, and technological changes, West Indian Americans can travel to their native lands rapidly, engaging in commerce, starting HTAs, and, with the facility of dual citizenship, impacting the political and economic directions of their home countries. Since the terrorist acts on September 11, 2001, the rate of naturalization has increased among West Indians (many nationals were lost as a result of terrorism at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon). There has been a simultaneous increase in the home nations' establishment of cabinet ministries to provide increased and paramount attention to dealing with diasporic transnational affairs.

From New York, the prototypical World City, Mayor Michael Bloomberg and former governor George Pataki travelled to Jamaica during their reelection campaigns as part of their recognition of this important new transnational phenomenon. Many West Indian Americans have built retirement communities in their native lands. Investments, trade, and business arrangements, and political connections have also been initiated in Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago, while the older cohort of immigrants seek to have their remains taken home for burial when they die. As one social commentator aptly stated “Yes, West Indian Americans can go ‘HOME’ again, they can even stay.”

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See Also: Caribbean Americans; Guyanese Americans; Jamaican Americans; Trinidadian and Tobagonian Americans.

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West Side Story

West Side Story is a 1957 musical, conceived and staged by Jerome Robbins, with music by Leonard Bernstein, lyrics by Stephen Sondheim, and book by Arthur Laurents. It is a retelling of William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, with the feuding Veronesi supplanted by Puerto Rican and white ethnic street gangs in 1950s Manhattan. With gritty themes explored largely through dance, barefaced dialogue, and an impressionistic jazz score, *West Side Story* brought a pressing, youthful aesthetic to Broadway. As of 2012, *West Side Story* has had four Broadway engagements. The 1961 film adaptation, which won 10 Oscars, is widely regarded as an exemplar of American filmmaking.

The Development of *West Side Story*

Choreographer Robbins initially conceived of a musical adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, set in the tenements of Manhattan's Lower East Side, with a Catholic Romeo in love with a Jewish Juliet. He enlisted Hollywood screenwriter Arthur Laurents to pen the libretto and conductor Leonard Bernstein to compose the score in 1949. After a few months of work, the trio realized that these themes had been covered in this way numerous times in the theater, and *East Side Story* was shelved.

A rise in violence from teenage street gangs engaged in turf wars on the Upper West Side of Manhattan reignited the trio's interest in adapting *Romeo and Juliet*. Shakespeare's Montagues became the white working-class Jets; the

Capulets were now the Sharks, Puerto Ricans who had recently migrated to New York; and the setting was the girded fire escapes and narrow alleyways of Hell's Kitchen. Robbins, Laurents, and Bernstein settled on Stephen Sondheim, a 25-year-old novice and protégé of Oscar Hammerstein II, to write the lyrics. Rechristened *West Side Story*, it was to be a serious examination of social pathologies and urban teenage angst, rather than a conventional musical comedy. The dark subject matter—depicted onstage were violence, a number of murders, and an attempted rape—discouraged many producers from supporting the work. However, Harold Prince, who would go on to direct and produce a number of Sondheim's most influential musicals, recognized the musical's potential and agreed to produce it with his partner, Robert Griffith.

In *West Side Story*, the Jets, led by Riff, and the Sharks, whose leader is Bernardo, get into minor but frequent scuffles over disputed neighborhood turf. Riff attempts to convince Tony, a former Jet, to rejoin the gang for an anticipated altercation with the Sharks at a school dance. Bernardo attends that same dance with his girlfriend, Anita, and his younger sister, Maria, who has recently arrived from Puerto Rico. For Maria and Tony, it is love at first sight, but considering the tensions between their rival groups, the couple has to conduct the relationship in secret. The gang members arrange to battle on the following night. Not wanting to see his friends or his girlfriend's brother injured, Tony attempts to stop the fight. However, in the ensuing melee, Bernardo accidentally kills Riff, and Tony, in a blind rage, stabs Bernardo. A contrite Tony is forgiven by Maria, who agrees to run away with him. Anita discovers their relationship and accuses Maria of disloyalty and foolishness; however, once she comes to understand the depth of their feelings for each other, she agrees to help the couple flee. However, before they are able to leave, Tony is shot by a Shark in retaliation for Bernardo's death. Devastated, Maria calls for an end to all the senseless violence.

Casting proved difficult, as *West Side Story* necessitated strong singing, dancing, and acting abilities from all its performers. Chita Rivera, who had already appeared in three Broadway musicals and had studied at George Balanchine's

School of American Ballet, was an obvious choice for the role of Anita. A more extensive audition process was necessary for finding Larry Kert and Carol Lawrence, who were cast in the leading roles of Tony and Maria. Very few performers cast as Sharks were actually Latinos.

Production History

On September 26, 1957, *West Side Story* opened on Broadway at the Winter Garden Theater, incidentally just a few months after a production of *Romeo and Juliet* had closed. The reception was mixed, with many hailing the musical a choreographic success but put off by the grisliness of the content. Nevertheless, Bernstein and Sondheim's distinguished score, which included "America," "Tonight," and "Somewhere," became an instant classic. The canonization of the musical did not occur until the release of 1961 film adaptation, which won 10 Academy Awards, including Best Picture, Best Director, Best Supporting Actor (George Chakiris), and Best Supporting Actress (Rita Moreno). In 1997, the Library of Congress recognized the *West Side Story*'s cultural significance and selected it for preservation in the National Film Registry.

As of 2012, the musical had been recorded numerous times, produced all over the world, and revived on Broadway three times: briefly in 1960; in a second production in 1980, and in a Tony-winning revival in 2008, with Spanish lyrics and dialogue for the Sharks, written by *In the Heights* composer-lyricist Lin-Manuel Miranda.

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See Also: Dance and Ethnic Diversity; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Puerto Ricans.

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Wheeler-Howard Act (1934)

President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Wheeler-Howard Act, commonly called the Indian Reorganization Act, into law on June 18, 1934. Named for Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and Representative Edgar Howard of Nebraska who presented the bill in Congress, the legislation was an essential part of a larger policy reform movement known as the Indian New Deal begun under the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. The primary intentions of the Wheeler-Howard Act were to restore tribal self-governance, discontinue the land allotment policy established by the Dawes Act of 1887, return federal landholdings back to tribal ownership, and improve the economic development of tribes through a revolving loan fund. The Wheeler-Howard Act brought in a new era of American Indian affairs that was markedly different from earlier policies that centered on individual ownership of land and ending tribal sovereignty through assimilation. Although strong support for the Wheeler-Howard Act existed, opposition came from many fronts, including tribes that viewed the act as another form of federal paternalism and proponents of assimilation who criticized the legislation for attempting to restore communal ways of life.

The guiding force of the Wheeler-Howard Act and the Indian New Deal was John Collier, commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945. Once the former executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, Collier made it his mission to dissolve the Dawes Act, and he believed the Wheeler-Howard Act was a certain path to that particular goal. Collier was a romantic and often imposed his own vision of what a tribal community should be without regard to individual tribal differences or, in many instances, input from tribes. In this way, Collier failed to relinquish power to American Indians themselves. Collier found resistance from tribes who resented the paternalism of the Wheeler-Howard Act.

The act, for instance, gave the Department of the Interior the power to amend and approve tribal constitutions and bylaws. Selected intellectuals and Washington bureaucrats influenced the direction of tribal constitutions, resulting in governing

documents that reflected the U.S. Constitution and not traditional models of tribal governance. Tribes, for example, that depended on the authority of tribal elders had their traditional forms of governance replaced by tribal officials and unfamiliar political structures. Self-government, under the Wheeler-Howard Act's restrictions, put into question the very nature of the act's true intent and its ultimate limits for bringing forth reform based upon true tribal autonomy. Furthermore, resistance to Collier's reforms also came from tribes whose members preferred the individual ownership of land and did not want lands returned to communal ownership.

Greatest Contributions and Legacy

The reversal of the land allotment policy established by the Dawes Act is considered the Wheeler-Howard Act's greatest contribution to the reforms of the Indian New Deal. Under the Dawes Act, tribes lost two-thirds of their total landholdings through a process of allotting American Indians individual deeds of land and selling the surplus lands to non-Indians. Not only did the Wheeler-Howard Act stop the allotment policy that would have led to the further loss of tribal land, but it also provided monies and loans for tribes to acquire land that eventually totaled approximately 4 million acres.

The acquisition of land, however, did not necessarily increase the livelihood of tribes, as most of the land was inadequate for crops and grazing. Even when considering the reacquisition of tribal land as the most significant legacy of the Wheeler-Howard Act, the resistance from tribes to ending the allotment policy stands as an important aspect of the act's history. The American Indian Federation, led by Joseph Bruner (Creek), called attention to the resistance of the organization's 4,000 members who believed the end of the allotment policy would impede the progress made by the individual ownership of land. For the American Indian Federation, Collier's policies in general and the Wheeler-Howard Act in particular represented an anti-American ethos. Tensions over the Wheeler-Howard Act within individual tribes and intertribal organizations made it clear that no federally imposed solution to the problems American Indians faced would be widely supported.

The Wheeler-Howard Act stands as one of the most significant pieces of legislation affecting

American Indians in the 20th century. Diminished tribal sovereignty and landholdings moved the Roosevelt administration to counter the effects of policies set in place in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Wheeler-Howard Act sought to empower tribes through self-government and rebuilding tribal lands. In historical context, the act presented a fundamental shift in Indian affairs, for it reversed policies that threatened the existence of American Indian tribes as legal entities with secured lands. The act, however, possessed limits on the extent of how far the federal government was willing to support tribal sovereignty. A high degree of paternalism was existent in the act and restricted tribes from passing constitutions without the oversight and approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Tribes that held traditional forms of governance often had to capitulate to agreed-upon conditions often opposed to their customary practices. Ultimately, the diversity of tribes and factions within each made the Wheeler-Howard Act a controversial piece of legislation. Its approach did not take into full consideration the uniqueness of tribes that often possessed unique political structures and traditional forms of governance.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Dawes Act (1887).

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White Ethnics

Although the most general definition of “white ethnicity” may encompass the descendants of

all European immigrants, in the humanities and social sciences, “white ethnics” usually refers to whites of non-Protestant European origins (such as Italian, Polish, Jewish, Irish) whose arrival in the United States can be traced back to the massive immigration between the 1820s and 1920s. This understanding of white ethnics rests on the distinction between white Anglo Saxon Protestants (WASPs), who formed the dominant group in the early United States, and other whites. For some, the term *white ethnic* has lost its usefulness in today’s reality, where the groups once considered white ethnics are now often seen as falling into the general category of “white” or “European American.” However, the term remains important in discussions concerning immigrant groups’ historical place within American racial and ethnic classifications. Moreover, since the 1960s, the continued insistence of some descendants of white ethnics on preserving their groups’ ethnic distinctiveness suggests that the term *white ethnics* retains at least some of its relevance today.

The immigration that brought the future white ethnics to the United States happened in two distinct stages. The first stage, called the Old Immigration, started in 1820s and comprised northern and western European immigrants, among whom the Irish were the only non-Protestant group. Because of their religious difference, as well as their low economic status, the Irish faced harsh discrimination from other ethnic groups. They are often the main group among the Old Immigrants referred to as white ethnics, though a broader application of the term may also include other Old Immigrants. On the other hand, some scholars have argued that groups such as Germans and even the Irish should not be considered as white ethnics because of their early settlement in the United States and their high degree of assimilation that took place even before the end of the 19th century.

The New Immigration

The majority of the groups considered white ethnics arrived in the second stage of the massive migration from Europe, known as the New Immigration, which started in the 1880s and continued until 1924, when restrictive legislation ended the massive immigration. This wave brought an unprecedented number of immigrants to the United States. They came mostly from southern

and eastern Europe and were predominantly poor, non-English-speaking Catholics and Jews. Their cultural, religious, linguistic, and class difference made them targets of acute prejudices, comparable to the discrimination faced by racial minorities. In fact, at the turn of the 20th century, many of the groups referred to as white ethnics today were regarded, both by the WASP elite and by contemporary scientists, as separate races. Their perceived distinctiveness and inferiority were formulated not only in cultural but also in biological terms. Thus, people who were Polish, Italian, or Jewish were frequently described as possessing idiosyncratic physiological characteristics, as well as lacking in intelligence and skills.

As generations passed, those initially down-trodden and predominantly working-class immigrant groups climbed the socioeconomic ladder, eventually to achieve relatively high levels of social mobility in the second half of the 20th century. In the 1990s, a new interdisciplinary field of social, historical, and cultural inquiry, called “whiteness studies,” began to critically investigate the processes whereby those immigrants gradually came to be regarded as less ethnic and increasingly more white. Whiteness scholars see this social transformation as rooted in the development of an overarching white identity across European immigrant groups. Contemporary census records indicate that despite their perceived racial inferiority, southern and eastern Europeans as well as Irish were even in the late 19th and early 20th centuries categorized as white. This shared categorization in terms of skin color must have been helpful in forging a new identity that often depended on emphasizing and reproducing both the perceived and the real differences between white ethnics and the people of color. The result of those efforts—the social construction of a pan-ethnic white category—alleviated many of the hardships experienced by white ethnics. It also erased some of the differences among the various European ethnic groups while simultaneously establishing a more rigid boundary between whites and everybody else.

Current Status

Today, white ethnics are considered to be almost thoroughly assimilated. Most are members of the middle class and live away from the old ethnic neighborhoods that used to foster the distinctive,

working-class ethnic cultures. Ethnic identity nowadays often takes the form of symbolic identity—where ties to ethnicity are upheld through traditional rituals and food—and is largely optional. However, certain segments of the previously white ethnic populations insist on distinguishing their origins from the general category of whiteness. Already in the 1960s and 1970s, the so-called ethnic revival turned many European Americans' attention toward their roots. This fascination with white ethnic heritage is often seen as European Americans' response to the advances in equal rights and recognition made at the time by people of color.

The 1980 U.S. Census was the first to introduce a question allowing respondents to write in their ethnic origin. An overwhelming majority of European Americans took advantage of that opportunity. When the 2010 Census forwent the ancestry/ethnicity question, the decision was met with the widely publicized dissatisfaction from many ethnic groups, including protests from such white ethnic organizations as the Polish Piast Institute and the Order Sons of Italy. These trends in ethnic pluralism show that the white ethnic distinctiveness that once formed the basis for exclusion and prejudice is the object of nostalgia and pride for many white Americans today. For whiteness scholars, white ethnicity remains the subject of investigation that examines both the hardships and the privilege associated with European immigrants' entry into the American racial stratification.

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See Also: Ethnicity; Irish Americans; Italian Americans; Jewish Americans; Polish Americans; Whiteness Studies.

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White Supremacy

White supremacy is a sociopolitical ideology that posits a belief in the existence of distinct biological human races, fueled by the belief that the members of the “white race” are naturally intellectually, morally, culturally, and/or spiritually superior to members of nonwhite racial groups. White supremacy thus encompasses a range of presumptions pertaining to ideas of racial superiority and inferiority, along with the behaviors and policies conducted in accordance with such presumptions. For example, apartheid policies in South Africa, Jim Crow segregationist policies in the American south, and antimiscegenation laws were all implemented to limit social and sexual contact between whites and blacks, deriving from racial beliefs that integration would result in deleterious consequences for society as a whole and, in the case of intermarriage, erode the alleged “purity” of the white race.

Today, the phrase *white supremacy* is most often used in reference to organized hate groups and individuals who articulate a belief in white power and maintain a viewpoint that nonwhites are inferior to whites. Persons who espouse such ideologies are known as white supremacists.

Basic Tenets of White Supremacy

Although white supremacists vary in their specific individual philosophies and motivations for their racial beliefs, as well as their goals and social agendas, some common principles unite white supremacist ideologies. The first is a firm belief in the existence of distinct biological human races that are easily identifiable. Biologists and physical anthropologists have pointed out that biologically distinct human racial groups, or subspecies, do not exist, because of the tremendous degree of genetic and phenotypic overlap between human populations, noting that race, instead, is an arbitrarily and socially influenced method of categorizing the various peoples who inhabit a particular society. White supremacists reject these arguments and instead cling to the idea of clear-cut and allegedly “commonsensical” discrete biological human races. These different races, white supremacists argue, differ in their innate capacities for intelligence, reasoning, athletic ability, sexual prowess, and other qualities, as well as

exhibiting allegedly contrasting human natures, personality types, work ethics, and moral codes.

Not surprisingly, white supremacists imbue the “white race” with positive traits and nonwhites with negative traits, but white supremacists do not share universal agreement on the definition of whiteness. The question of just who constitutes a white person divides white supremacists to this day, with some embracing a rather loose definition of whiteness. Others define whiteness in a much more restrictive manner.

Those who define whiteness in a loose manner commonly regard as white any person of 100 percent European ancestry, regardless of that particular person’s current nation of residence. Under this rather loose definition, Greeks, Sicilians, and Spaniards, along with Puerto Ricans and Mexicans of full Castilian/Iberian descent, all may be considered white. Others operate under a much stricter definition, limiting whiteness only to persons who descend from northwestern Europe, specifically the British Isles, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Germany, and Iceland. Proponents of this narrow definition of whiteness commonly use the terms *Aryans* or *Nordics* interchangeably with the term *white*.

Although they disagree over an exact definition of whiteness, white supremacists share a virtually universal revulsion toward interracial sex and marriage and strong anti-Semitic beliefs. Although Jews are generally thought of as members of an ethnic white population by most Americans, white supremacists adamantly proclaim Jews to be both nonwhite and racially inferior. White supremacist discourses construct Jews as “the ultimate enemy of the white race,” because they allegedly control the nation’s financial institutions and media outlets, as well as the federal government, all of which allegedly promote “race mixing” and integration for the purpose of eradicating the “white race.” White supremacist ideology also considers interracial sex, particular intercourse between a white female and a nonwhite male, an anathema tantamount to racial heresy.

Although such beliefs may seem extreme to most Americans today, they have not been fringe ideas throughout the nation’s history. For example, many Americans continue to believe in the existence of biological races, and all but 10 states have implemented antimiscegenation laws to ban

interracial marriage at some point during their histories. The U.S. Supreme Court did not rule such policies unconstitutional until 1967. Even respected public figures such as industrialist Henry Ford and pilot Charles Lindbergh espoused anti-Semitic conspiracy theories in the not-so-distant past. Each major wave of immigration throughout American history has evoked paranoia among a certain segment of society, which charged the newcomers with allegedly being inassimilable and inferior to those who came before them, and which resented the changing culture and complexion of American society.

Supremacist Groups in the United States

Sociologists identify four major branches of the contemporary organized white supremacist movement in the United States, including the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazis, the Christian Identity Church movement, and the militia movement. These branches have different histories and use different tactics, but they share a unified belief that whiteness in American society is under attack at the hands of both the federal government and nonwhite populations.

Easily identifiable by their trademark white robes and hoods, the Ku Klux Klan is the nation’s oldest hate group still in existence, dating to 1865. Six confederate veterans founded the Ku Klux Klan as a fraternity-like organization for soldiers of the Confederacy, but the KKK quickly emerged as an antiblack organization that carried out beatings, shootings, lynchings, and rapes of formerly enslaved people. The Klan established a foothold in the northern and midwestern states during the early years of the 20th century when it adopted anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish positions and took a hard-line stance against the heavy influx of immigrants from Mediterranean and eastern European societies.

The Klan diminished in size and social importance during the 1930s and 1940s as the nation struggled through the hardships of the Great Depression and World War II, but the “invisible empire” re-emerged with a vengeance, particularly in the south, during the 1950s and 1960s as black Americans fought to achieve civil rights equality. The Klan remains active to this day, promoting its beliefs in white superiority and condemning blacks, Jews, Latinos, and Asians,

although most Klan chapters have dropped their anti-Catholic agendas.

The other three wings of the white supremacist movement may not be as notorious as the Ku Klux Klan, but they have exerted an impact on American society nonetheless. Founded by George Lincoln Rockwell in 1958, the neo-Nazis represent the most violent white supremacist faction, and their membership consists primarily of working-class teenage and twenty-something males. Known for their shaved heads, heavy work boots, and tattoos depicting imagery of the Third Reich, neo-Nazis also spread their message of white supremacy through the use of punk rock and heavy metal music replete with racist lyrics. Neo-Nazi subculture and ideology is poignantly explored in the 1999 motion picture *American History X*.

The Aryan Nations, headquartered in Idaho, is the best-known example from the Christian Identity branch of American white supremacy, which twists history and distorts the Bible to assert that

White Anglo Saxons are the true Israelites and God's "chosen people." Christian Identity also proclaims Jews to be the "children of Satan" and, consequently, the natural enemies of white Christians, while also declaring all nonwhite persons inferior "mud people."

Lastly, the militia movement consists of disgruntled "patriotic citizens" who no longer recognize the authority of the federal government and are convinced that the government is on the verge of stripping Americans of their constitutional rights. Militias sense that the government has, in effect, declared war on American citizens and that the only solution is to arm oneself for protection against the feds.

Recent Developments

Organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center, which monitor hate group activity throughout American society, note that the number of white



The National Socialist Movement (NSM) displays the flags and coats of arms of the Socialist movement during a demonstration on the lawn of the U.S. Capitol. The NSM is a white supremacist group claiming to be the largest and most active organization of its kind in the United States as of 2013. They refer to themselves as a "white civil rights organization."

supremacist organizations in the United States has increased dramatically in recent years. The number of hate groups has increased 70 percent since 2000, to more than 1,000 such organizations today. Experts attribute the surge in white supremacist groups to a variety of factors, including a faltering economy, increased immigration from Latin America and Asia, and the election of the nation's first black president.

After peaking during the years of the Bill Clinton administration in the 1990s, the militia movement began to decline in the early 2000s. President Barack Obama's election fostered a resurgence of the antigovernment militia movement (and the related patriot movement). Since Obama took office in 2009, the number of patriot/militia groups has grown 755 percent, from 149 in 2008 to more than 1,200 in 2011.

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See Also: African Americans; Anti-Semitism; Hate Speech; Ku Klux Klan.

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The field is interdisciplinary by nature, incorporating concepts from sociology, education, cultural studies, humanities, legal studies, history, and anthropology. It is not a celebration of the American descendants of white Europeans but rather an examination of how the concept of race developed as a system for categorizing humans, with the intent of establishing white dominance for economic and political ends. Whiteness studies is also a form of antiracism education, predominantly for the 74.8 percent of Americans who declared white as their race in the 2010 U.S. Census.

Origins and Early Advocates

Historical texts delineate how racial categories influenced early American ideology through justification of conquests, disenfranchisement, and unequal treatment of some for the sake of progress. Slavery was part of the structure of American life leading to wealth for the landowners that eventually legitimized the institutional order of American race relations. That the color line was the 20th century's principal challenge was established in W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* in the early 1900s, with his contention that race was both invisible and the "norm" to whites while people of color understood the "rules" of racism. Consequently, this invisibility allowed whites to see themselves as individuals rather than members of a race. Power more than skin color was at the core of the binary black/white construction, as evidenced by Jews, Italians, Irish, and others being considered nonwhite at specific times in history, Germans and Swedes were considered nonwhite in Benjamin Franklin's 18th-century classification.

Formally appearing in the 1980s as a recognized field, whiteness studies postulates that race is an ideological and/or social construct rather than a biological fact and seeks to explain how our understanding of race has been erroneously created, misunderstood, and used. Cornerstone texts like David Roediger's *The Wages of Whiteness* and George Lipsitz's *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness* each examine how whiteness intersects with socioeconomic issues and the resulting inequalities, as do hundreds of studies adding to the literature. More radical approaches, like the journal *Race Traitor* and its subsequent anthology by Noel Garvey and John Ignatiev,

Whiteness Studies

Whiteness studies is a relatively new field in race and ethnic scholarship offering an alternative interpretation of race in America. It asserts that all racial representations need to be investigated from a closely scrutinized historical perspective for authentic dialogue about race to occur.

point out the dysfunctional nature of whiteness and the necessity to abolish and disown it. Advocates emphasize that despite significant progress through the civil rights movement and antiapartheid rulings throughout the world, whiteness remains the power center of many cultures, resulting in continuing marginalization of nonwhites.

A 2010 study reports that undergraduate and graduate courses in whiteness studies have been instituted at more than 30 universities in the United States, more than 300 refereed articles have been published in academic journals, and the field has been explored and debated at numerous conferences. Unlike multicultural investigations of race that study the “problems” of racial/ethnic minorities, whiteness studies reverses the focus by offering a conceptually new approach to race relations. Instead, it challenges the established canon and calls attention to the construction of white identity and the impact of white dominance upon society. Through a variety of experiential techniques such as self-reflection, autobiography, analysis of history, and personal narratives, participants develop “race cognizance” to recognize the practices that have normalized whiteness and to disown the associated privileges of their whiteness. The intent is to benefit from an ideological critique of whiteness for an educated understanding of its global implications.

Counterpoint

Despite its significant body of work, whiteness studies has its detractors. Many claim it is constructed from broad generalizations, evaluative statements, and ontological claims with a political agenda. One objection is the seeming dualism where race or whiteness is named an artificial construct with no valid significance and then cited as an omnipresent force. The argument is that race cannot be transitory and permanent, ubiquitous and invisible. Critics also object to assertions that appear to commend all marginalized people while condemning whites as willful participants in a system of institutional racism. Where some proponents insist that whites must admit their privileges as unearned before racism can be eliminated, others believe that strident attacks merely impede a democratic dialectic. Finally, some contend that the complicated interactions among race, nationality, social class, sex, and religion are ignored. As

whiteness studies is a recognized field present in scholarly articles, educational initiatives and university courses, there is a responsibility to investigate its possible shortcomings and engage in rigorous analysis of its results.

Conclusion

The ethical imperative of whiteness studies today is to disarm the cloaked perniciousness of whiteness in institutional systems, pedagogical practices, and popular culture. Instead of studying the social problems of immigrants and minority groups that were the core of previous race studies, it examines how whiteness was constructed and reproduced as a privilege-granting mechanism and continues to impede the elimination of racism. In the midst of current demographic changes, it underscores America’s binary racial paradigm with the hope that analysis of race by the majority, by those in power, will lead to enlightened individual and political actions.

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See Also: Anti-Racist Education; Ethnic Studies; Privilege; Race.

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Witness

Witness is a 1985 film, part thriller and part romance, in which Samuel Lapp, a young Amish boy traveling with his mother, Rachel, sees a man murdered in a men’s room at a Philadelphia train station and sets in motion a series of events that leads to a wounded police detective and other,

more dangerous outsiders invading the Lapps' peaceful Amish community. The movie was filmed partly in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the heart of Amish Country. Although the movie presented the Amish and their way of life sympathetically, the National Committee for Amish Religious Freedom called for a boycott, charging that *Witness* portrayed the Amish inaccurately and that the voyeuristic tourism prompted by the movie posed a threat to Amish farms.

Australian Peter Weir, the film's director, was intrigued by the clash of cultures that would result from a 20th-century man for whom violence was an inextricable part of life finding sanctuary among a pacifist people with a lifestyle essentially unchanged for two centuries. Weir decided to increase the importance of the Amish community in the story, to make it not mere background but rather a key ingredient. He was diligent in protecting the Amish community, hiring former members of the Amish church as advisors and using only actors for the Amish roles in the movie, even for background shots. Reviewers called Weir's portrayal of the Amish honorable, adding that the Amish had nothing to fear from Weir's honest presentation of their world. Clearly, the Amish and their protectors disagreed.

Religious Concerns in the Amish Community

Amish concerns about the film had already been stirred before filming began. Kelly McGillis, who played Rachel Lapp, spent time in an Amish home, helping with household chores, making friends with the children, and recording conversations so that she could study Amish dialect later. McGillis considered her research a means of helping her create a character who would be true to the reality of Amish life. Her hosts felt betrayed when they discovered she was doing research for a movie. Fearing they would be shunned for their contact with her, they insisted she leave their home immediately. A member of the community who advised on the frame construction of the barn in one of the movie's most memorable scenes was shunned for his participation. Shunning, a centuries-old practice that is the Amish form of excommunication, isolates the individual from the community in work, daily fellowship, and worship.

The Amish repudiation of the film during its production took a more serious turn in the period

just before the movie's release. The National Committee for Amish Religious Freedom (NCARF), a group composed of lawyers, scholars, and clergymen—none of whom are Amish—presented a statement to Paramount Pictures charging that the movie represented “immoral and unlikely behavior portrayed for profit and laughter.” The most outspoken of the NCARF critics was John Hostetler, a Temple University anthropology professor who had grown up in an Amish community but converted to the more liberal Mennonite Church at 18. Hostetler used terms such as “exploitation,” “harassment,” and “psychological invasion” to describe the film's effects on the Amish, who, according to Hostetler, believed the movie mocked their customs and dress. Ironically, Joe Wittmer, a retired professor of counseling and psychology at the University of Florida, Gainesville, who served 15 years as vice chairman of NCARF, was a consultant on *Witness*.

Weir accused Hostetler, a leading authority on the Amish and author of numerous books and documentaries on the subject, of hypocrisy since the professor himself profited from representations of the Amish. Harrison Ford, who played the role of policeman John Book, publically refuted the charges, insisting that it was respect for the moral nature of the Amish that lay at the heart of *Witness*. Weir added that artistic freedom was as essential in a democratic society as religious freedom. The furor was little more than an exchange of words, none of them from the Amish.

NCARF issued a formal request to the governor's office that the film not be released, and requested that in the event of its release, the public express respect for the Amish by boycotting it. The official response from Pennsylvania state officials was a reminder that banning the film would be an unconstitutional act, along with a proposal that the state not encourage or promote future films on the Amish. Meanwhile, the Pennsylvania Dutch Visitors Bureau, in its spring 1985 brochure, encouraged visitors to “Visit Another Country . . . Pennsylvania Dutch Country—As Seen in the Movie *Witness*.”

Accolades and Success

Witness opened on February 8, 1985, and earned more than \$4.5 million in its first weekend. It eventually earned a total domestic gross of

\$65,532,576. It also earned eight Academy Award nominations, including Weir's first and Ford's only nomination to date. It received Oscars for film editing and for best original screenplay. The screenplay also won an Edgar from the Mystery Writers of America and was named best screenplay of the year by the Writers Guild of America.

Witness opens with an Amish funeral. The community gathers to surround the coffin and sit in silence with the widow, sharing her grief. This scene is in stark contrast to the violence and noise that surround the deaths of the criminals near the end: one is shot by Book, one is buried in tons of grain, and the third surrenders when Samuel (played by Lukas Haas) rings the bell that summons the Amish farmers. This difference defines the cultures that cannot be reconciled. The movie ends with Rachel and Lukas within the Amish community, separated from Book, and by extension the movie viewer, who take the road that leads back to a corrupt world.

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See Also: Amish; Motion Pictures; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Woman Warrior, The

The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts, an autobiography written by Chinese American author Maxine Hong Kingston, was published in 1975. *The Woman Warrior* consists of five chapters that follow the maturation of Kingston, the book's narrator. Kingston's

parents moved to California from China before World War II. In her book, Kingston intertwines her parents' stories about China with impressions of her childhood in Stockton, California.

The novel criticizes American society for its racism, negative stereotypes, and exploitation of minorities, especially Chinese, but at the same time Kingston exposes misogyny in both Chinese and American societies. The dominant female characters in each chapter represent different aspects of woman as the Other in Chinese and American communities. The fact that they are often nameless, devoid of power, and silenced points to their generic character.

Female Characters

The first chapter about the narrator's aunt, No Name Woman, examines the rules patriarchy imposes on women. No Name Woman is punished by society for giving birth out of wedlock. She commits suicide after killing her baby, and is consequently expunged from familial and communal history. The narrator sees No Name Woman as an artist without a venue for expression, and thus her predecessor. By breaking the silence that surrounds her, by narrating her story, the narrator gives No Name Woman her voice.

The narrator reinvents the Chinese legend of Fa Mu Lan, the Woman Warrior, to present a different kind of model for herself, but realizes that the Woman Warrior supports patriarchy by pretending to be a man. While struggling to translate the lessons of Chinese legends, the narrator realizes that they are inapplicable to American reality. She also rejects the Woman Warrior's aggression and opts for pacifism.

Brave Orchid, the narrator's mother, is portrayed as a shaman who fought ghosts and other nether beings in China. As a woman connected to otherworldly phenomena, she represents another aspect of female and Chinese identity that is perceived as the Other. Kingston simultaneously subverts a Chinese fantastic context by providing different versions of her mother's story and fusing reality and fantasy. In the story of the narrator's aunt Moon Orchid, who loses her mind after forced immigration to the United States, Kingston examines the theme of female lunacy as a result of some women's inability to fit into the prerogatives of patriarchal society. Lunacy is also connected to

the failure of immigrants to adapt to the rules of the new society and to assimilate. Moon Orchid clings to her Chinese way of life, and she is constantly perceived as the Other, even by her American family. She is compared to a character from Chinese fairy tales, which is a way for Kingston to call attention to the way immigrant identities are constructed in their new environment.

The fifth chapter tells the story of Ts'ai Yen, a historical figure who was kidnapped and forced to live with a barbarian tribe for several years. She becomes a figure who is a synthesis of all the characters in the book, with her hybrid identity and life in exile. She also becomes a poet, and her work is a poem about the Other, as well as the sublimation of her grief and hope for survival. Kingston comments that Ts'ai Yen's art translates well from Chinese into English, using the metaphor of translation to show the connectedness of cultures, plurality, multiculturalism, and intertextuality of art.

Literary Technique

The Woman Warrior's mixture and blurring of fiction and autobiography, and its fusion of fantasy and reality, is a reflection of the narrator's hybrid identity as a Chinese American and her position on the margins of both American and Chinese American society. As the narrator comments, she is forever wearing double binds of her gender and her ethnicity. Kingston uses the term *ex-centric* to illustrate the position of the narrator's family within the societies to which they belong. In the book, the margin becomes the center, and the margin claims its voice in the portrayal of both female and Chinese American characters.

The Woman Warrior emphasizes the importance of matrilineage and transmission of female legacy through narration, or, as Kingston calls it, "talk-story." This term underscores the fictional nature of storytelling, but because the term derives from Hawai'ian pidgin, it also emphasizes the multicultural character of storytelling. Talk-story is recognized in literary criticism as a Kingstonian technique that influenced a number of predominantly female authors to apply similar techniques in their work.

Kingston parodies and reconstructs Chinese stories, myths, and legends to emphasize that they are constructions and liable to change. She examines their applicability and translatability in different



Maxine Hong Kingston, the author of *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts*, was awarded the National Humanities Medal by President Bill Clinton in 1997, as well as the Lifetime Achievement Award from Asian American Literary Awards in 2006.

cultures but also uses them to draw attention to the ways Chinese Americans have often been portrayed as exotic in American society. By providing various versions of the same story or event, the novel uses metafiction to point to the instability of history and truth. In her subversion of master narratives of Chinese and American society, Kingston uses elements of magic realism and historiographical metafiction, which certainly places the book in postmodern and postcolonial contexts.

In her use of multiple narrations, subversion of genres, focus on matrilineage and the importance of transmitting oral and female heritage, and exploration of Chinese American history and culture, Kingston ushered in a new phase in the development of Asian American literature. *The Woman Warrior* became a landmark in American culture, with close to a million copies sold, was widely taught in American schools and universities, and was translated into about 20 languages.

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See Also: Acculturation/Assimilation; Asian Americans; Chinese Americans; Literature and Ethnic Diversity.

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Worcester v. Georgia (1832)

On March 3, 1832, the U.S. Supreme Court published its ruling in the case of Samuel A. Worcester against the state of Georgia. The case deals with the arrest of two Congregationalist missionaries residing among the Cherokee and defying an 1830 Georgia bill prohibiting the passage of any white person onto Cherokee Nation territory without the permission of the state. Not only did the high court deem the Georgia law in question unconstitutional and asked for the missionaries to be released, but it also argued that the contested state legislation violated the political rights of the Cherokee Republic. Affirming Native American sovereignty, land title, and procedural rights, *Worcester v. Georgia* has been broadly conceived of as a landmark decision in the historical development of multicultural America and as the most extensive commentary by a federal court with respect to the status of Native American governments and property rights up to that time.

Disputing Georgia's Extension Laws

Since the late 1820s, the Congregationalist missionary Samuel A. Worcester had labored among the Cherokee in New Echota and had become a figure of trust in the Cherokee community and a significant advocate of Cherokee sovereignty. Georgia officials in favor of removing Native

tribes from the state territory attempted to eliminate the influence of missionaries such as Worcester, seeking to quash the budding sovereignty movement among the Cherokee.

In late 1830, the Georgia General Assembly passed a bill prohibiting whites from residing among the Cherokee unless they could procure a writ of permission and would swear an oath of loyalty to the state of Georgia and its laws. When Worcester and several other missionaries declared this law to be a violation of Cherokee sovereignty and refused to relocate within the time period indicated, they were arrested, tried, and sentenced to four years of imprisonment in the state penitentiary. Although most missionaries accepted Governor George Gilmer's subsequent pardon offer, Worcester and Elizur Butler did not relent, voicing their intention to have Georgia's anti-Indian legislation declared unconstitutional. On October 27, 1831, one of their lawyers, William Wirt, filed a petition for a writ of error, allowing him to plead the case in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court Decides

On March 3, 1832, the Supreme Court ruled against the state of Georgia. Writing for the majority of the Court, Chief Justice John Marshall argued, first, that Georgia's laws and actions in dispute were "repugnant to the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States," and therefore Worcester and Butler should be released; and second, that the state's extension laws violated the federal government's exclusive authority over Indian affairs and the political rights of the Cherokee. Reviewing the historical evolution of relations between Great Britain, the United States, and the Cherokee, Marshall emphasized the latter's independent political status and exclusive title to their lands: "The Indian nations [have] always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil." The chief justice used *Worcester v. Georgia* to repudiate the language of conquest he had employed in *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823) and to elaborate on and clarify the concept of "domestic dependent nations" he had developed in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831).

He refrained, however, from classifying Native nations as foreign nations, implicitly denying

them equality of status, and pointed out that the tribes could cede land only to the discovering nation or its successor. Although concurring with the majority opinion, Justice John McLean distanced himself from Marshall's argument in favor of a perpetual federal responsibility for the protection of Native American national rights. He also characterized "the exercise of the power of self-government by the Indians, within a state" as "temporary," predicting either their eventual amalgamation into American political communities or their removal. Justice Henry Baldwin refused to sign the majority opinion but did not provide a written opinion.

The Boon and Bane of *Worcester v. Georgia*

The ruling of *Worcester v. Georgia* was simply ignored. Georgia officials refused to submit to the decision and to release the missionaries, arguing that the Supreme Court had exceeded its authority. The lack of clarity of the extent of federal executive and judicial authority over the states was exploited by President Andrew Jackson to avoid the enforcement of the high court's ruling. U.S. Congress, in turn, lacked the will to put pressure on the president. Although the missionaries were initially intent on fighting for enforcement, the tariff nullification crisis in 1832 caused such fears of civil dissension that they felt the patriotic duty to accept Governor Wilson Lumpkin's pardon offer. After their release from prison in January 1833, the test case came to an end.

Although *Worcester v. Georgia* can be considered a judicial asset affirming Native American property and sovereignty rights to a heretofore unprecedented degree, its legal doctrine was not able to avert the ideologies of removal, annexation, and assimilation from determining political praxis. During the removal and the allotment eras, the ruling's espousal of Native sovereignty and title was ignored. *Worcester v. Georgia's* ambiguous language—denying Native nations foreign nation status and emphasizing federal authority over Indian affairs—allows it to be filled with judicial interpretations strengthening concepts of guardianship over Native Americans and congressional control of Native affairs rather than Native political rights. Despite these developments, *Worcester v. Georgia* has been viewed as a significant legal precedent for Native governments, Native rights

activists, and courts alike and has become a significant strand in federal Indian law.

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See Also: *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831); Indian Removal Act (1830); Native Americans.

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World Jewish Congress

Founded in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1936, the World Jewish Congress (WJC) is an international federation of Jewish organizations and communities whose mission is to serve as "the diplomatic arm of the Jewish people." WJC encourages membership from Jewish organizations and communities regardless of their social, political, or economic views. The congress also provides guidance to Jewish communities in almost 100 countries worldwide.

The main policy priorities of the WJC are to support Israel; to challenge anti-Semitism, especially Iranian threats to Israel; to assist Jewish refugees from Arab lands; to maintain an interfaith dialogue with Christian and Muslim organizations; and to respond to the ongoing challenges arising from the legacy of the Holocaust. Specifically, the organization's Holocaust-related tasks include restitution and reparations for survivors and victims and remembrance of the tragedy.

Basic Structure

New York City is home to the WJC headquarters, and the group maintains international offices in



Delegates at the World Jewish Congress (WJC) at the 25th Anniversary Conference in Switzerland in 1961. The group was founded in 1936 in Geneva, Switzerland, as an international federation of Jewish communities and organizations. The purpose of the WJC is to act as "the diplomatic arm of the Jewish people." The headquarters are located in New York City, with international offices worldwide.

several other countries on three continents. High-level decisions are made by the Plenary Assembly, which meets every four years and elects an executive committee and governing board. The WJC comprises five regional divisions: the WJC North America, the Latin American Jewish Congress, the European Jewish Congress, the Euro-Asian Jewish Congress, and the WJC Israel. A steering committee, composed of the organization's president, chairman of the governing board, treasurer, and the chairs of the five regional divisions manages the organization's day-to-day operations.

The World Jewish Congress also operates a research institute in Jerusalem, Israel. The institute's mission is to analyze and report on a wide range of issues that the group's leadership deems to be of importance to Jews. The institute's reports are published as policy dispatches and are freely available. Also within the auspices of the WJC Israel is the Israel Council on Foreign Relations (ICFR), the policy-crafting body of the WJC. The ICFR publishes *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, which states the WJC's position on international affairs.

Key History and Policies

The WJC has played an important role in Jewish life since it was founded in 1936. The organization was created to counter the growing threat of Nazism and the accompanying anti-Semitism in Europe. Its immediate purpose was to defend the Jewish people against Nazism and mobilize both Jewish people and the forces of democracy in the fight to end the persecution of European Jews. Other important objectives were the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine and the formation of a democratic, representative organization based on the core value of Jewish unity.

In 1942, the WJC convened a conference to establish the Advisory Council on European Jewish Affairs. This council was composed of exiled representatives of the various Jewish communities under Nazi rule. During World War II, the WJC focused on urging American Jewish organizations to pressure the U.S. government to waive immigration quotas so that a greater number of Jewish refugees fleeing Nazism could settle in the United States. On August 8, 1942, Gerhart Riegner,

the WJC's secretary in Geneva, sent British and American diplomatic officials a telegram stating that the Nazis had discussed plans to "exterminate" 3 to 4 million Jews.

At the end of World War II, the WJC engaged in rebuilding efforts on behalf of European Jews and refugees and worked to ensure that Germany would be prosecuted for war crimes. WJC members helped create the tenets of the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal and supported the foundation of the United Nations. In 1947, the WJC was among the first nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to receive consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

The 1990s and 2000s saw 17 European countries establish special committees to investigate their roles during World War II, in response to WJC requests. Many countries provided restitution funds. In 2000 and 2001, the WJC negotiated an agreement that would ensure that German industries compensate slave laborers for their forced work during World War II.

According to its mission statement, the WJC strives "to enhance solidarity among Jewish communities throughout the world and, recognizing the centrality of the State of Israel to contemporary Jewish identity, to strengthen the bonds of Jewish communities and Jews in the Diaspora with Israel." The WJC has repeatedly advocated for fair treatment of Israel in the context of the United Nations and international politics. The WJC endorses a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It also opposes unilateral actions on either side.

The struggle against anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial is also central to current WJC policy. In addition, the WJC takes a stand against glorification of the Nazi regime. These aspects of WJC policy have caused the organization to fairly regularly take public positions against a wide variety of public figures. Dialogue with other religions is another current tenet of the WJC; the organization's policy is that Christians, Muslims, and Jews can and must cooperate with each other and meet and discuss shared values. The WJC calls dialogue with moderate Islamic representatives extremely important and denounces the widening gap in understanding between Western democracies and the Islamic world. The WJC

also denounces Iran and tends to support countries that limit their dealings with Iran. The WJC maintains that Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism and must be held accountable.

The WJC and its American chapter, specifically, connects the large number of Jewish Americans to the international Jewish community. It functions to maintain and protect both circles. It also provides an explicitly political forum for Jewish advocacy that cannot always take place in a more local setting, since local Jewish gatherings in the United States tend to be through synagogues, schools, or community centers. Furthermore, since the WJC does deal with mainly secular issues (albeit for what are often partly religious motives), it connects religious and nonreligious Jews in America. This is significant because up to half of American Jews do not consider themselves to be religious or practicing.

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See Also: American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Semitism; Holocaust, The; Israeli Americans; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; Jewish Theological Seminary; War Refugee Board; Zionism.

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World War I

World War I, also known as the Great War, commenced in June 1914 and ended in the early months of 1918. A war of unprecedented magnitude in its time, the conflict took the lives of at least 10 million soldiers and left 20 to 22 million wounded. The conflict was characterized by the use of aircraft, large-caliber siege guns, cannons, machine guns, and chemical shells.

One of the initial sparks for the war was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian national. This incident caused other European nations to mobilize their militaries and honor their alliance treaties, which required them to come to the aid of other countries that were attacked. These alliances pitted Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Germany (the Central Powers) against Russia, France, and Great Britain (the Allies). The United States, siding with the Allies, sent an expeditionary force to Europe, including two African American divisions, the 92nd and 93rd.

Nationalism and Conflict

Serbian nationalists, who were seeking a greater Serb nation, created great tension in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The killing of the archduke by a member of the Black Hand, an extreme Serb nationalist group, was the precipitant that the monarchy of Austria-Hungary needed to put an end to ethnic nationalist sentiment besieging the realm. Upon the death of the archduke, Austria declared war against Serbia. Not long afterward, per alliance agreement, Germany entered the conflict. Russia, having created a military coalition with Serbia, also entered the fray. Not long afterward, France and England sent in their troops.

There had been tension in Europe years before the outbreak of war. Fighting in the Balkans, the buildup of arms and armies, naval competition, rivalry over colonies, and rising nationalism led all sides to prepare for an eventual conflict. After the archduke was assassinated and Austria declared war against Serbia, German military planners quickly put into place a prewar military plan of attack, called the Schlieffen Plan, after Field Marshal Alfred von Schlieffen.

This military strategy called for a rapid transfer of troops by train to the west to confront French

forces before engaging Russian forces in the east. Schlieffen designed his strategic military plan around a two-front war, with the understanding that Germany would bear the burden on both fronts. German forces would cross into Belgium, a neutral country, and proceed with their objective of capturing Paris.

1914

As German troops crossed into Belgium, the Belgian army put up a much stronger resistance than had been anticipated. Using siege guns, the Germans not only engaged a multiple number of Belgium fortifications, which they destroyed, but also captured the major Belgian city of Liège. By August 15, 1914, more soldiers were involved in the conflict, and there was indiscriminate shooting of civilians as Germany's military advanced toward France.

The first major armed engagement, the Battle of Marne, involving French, British, and German forces, began on September 6, 1914, and concluded three days later. By the time of this engagement, the German military was only 30 miles from Paris. Allied troops checked their forces' advancement by mounting a counteroffensive, thus saving the city from battle or prolonged siege. The Allies then pushed the German forces to the Aisne River. This effectively stopped a quick German victory over the French army. The Schlieffen plan had not created a contingent strategy if Paris was not taken within a given time period, so this left the Germans with no alternatives. Both sides resolved to dig defensive trenches, creating static warfare.

America Enters the Great War

The conflict was characterized by frontal assaults across "No Man's Land," killing thousands who ran across the barren field, as well as through trench warfare. Eventually, special types of weapons were made to extract maximum casualties on those hiding between the slivers of earthworks. They included mortars, massive artillery, gas, flamethrowers, and snipers. As the conflict dragged on, there was the introduction of heavier weaponry such as fighter aircraft and tanks.

As the war dragged in the European theater, Germany's use of unrestricted submarine warfare became a great concern to the United States. The subs were cumbersome and close quartered, with

the smell of diesel oil hanging in the air when they submerged. Nevertheless, they were lethal war machines. Once submerged, a German sub was all but undetectable, and any ship in its periscope was at its mercy.

On May 7, 1915, the civilian RMS *Lusitania* was hit by torpedoes from a German submarine and sank 20 minutes later, resulting in the loss of over 1,000 people. This created an uproar by American citizens and cries for an end of Germany's U-boat policy. The sinking of this ship, along with the Zimmerman Telegram and a behind-the-scenes diplomatic commitment to France and Great Britain, brought the United States into the war.

Meanwhile, Germany was concerned about the impact of its policy of submarine warfare on its relations with the United States. It thus became imperative to devise a contingency plan if the United States decided to respond militarily to the ongoing crisis at sea. Germany understood that it was essential to find an ally that was not currently in the conflict but could potentially threaten U.S. commerce and pull American troops away from the fighting in Europe. In essence, their strategy was to create a two-front theater of war.

Arthur Zimmermann, a German foreign minister, was dispatched to forge a military alliance with Mexico should America declare war against Germany. In return, Zimmermann was authorized to offer Mexico the recovery of all land lost to the United States during the Mexican-American War (1846–48) as well as monetary assistance. On January 19, 1917, he sent a telegram detailing the proposal to the German minister to Mexico.

The Zimmermann Telegram, once deciphered by British cryptographers and then published on March 1, was front-page news in the United States. This telegram fueled anxiety, fear, and anger among the American population as well as concern in Congress. With the continuation of German submarine attacks on U.S. ships, the correspondence became the ultimate tipping point that brought America into the conflict in Europe. President Woodrow Wilson went before Congress and asked for a declaration of war. Not long afterward, U.S. troops began preparing for combat.

American Home Front

World War I coincided with the great migration of thousands of African Americans to the

north. Wartime opportunities in urban areas provided higher wages and a life away from the Jim Crow south, sharecropping, and dismal poverty. Although they also found segregation in the urban backwaters of the northern cities, the opportunities in the north were still better than in the south, where they had little chance of finding meaningful work. When President Wilson addressed the war aims of the United States in 1917, he spoke of a world safe for democracy. This proclamation echoed the dreams and wishes of an underclass one or two generations removed from slavery. For many, the conflict was a chance to display their patriotism. Ultimately, 370,000 African American men joined the armed forces.

The 92nd and 93rd Divisions, both composed of black troops, fought under French command. These soldiers distinguished themselves at the battles of Meuse-Argonne and Oise-Aisne. For the heroism of the 371st Regiment of the 93rd Division, the French command awarded them the French *Medaille Militaire*, the *Legion of Honor*, and the *Croix de Guerre*.

To support the war effort, black women under the National Association of Colored Women joined the Red Cross and YWCA. Other organizations included the African American Women of National Defense, the National Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Organization of Women Knitters, and Circle of Negro War Relief. Black women also found jobs in war plants, where they worked alongside white women. This was very different from the south, where such fraternization was all but impossible.

Indigenous American War Service

During World War I, over 12,000 American Indians served in the United States military. In the 142nd Infantry of the 36th Texas-Oklahoma National Guard, over 600 indigenous personnel made up the unit, primarily Choctaw and Cherokee. The 142nd saw action in France and served under French command. Indigenous soldiers were recognized for their contributions and bravery in battle, receiving the *Croix de Guerre* and the *Church War Cross* for bravery.

A major communications problem during World War I involved the ability of Germans to comprehend radio transmissions sent in English. American Indians assigned to the 142nd came

up with an innovative solution; they transmitted military communiqués in their native language. In so doing, they developed an indigenous vocabulary to identify troop movements, trucks, and enemy outposts. The U.S. military disallowed the use of indigenous languages in service, but once it became apparent that Germany could not decode the indigenous language in American communication lines, it was permitted.

Despite these contributions, American Indians were highly discriminated against during the war. For example, the Round Valley Indians from southern California sought to show their support for the war through the Red Cross. They made material needed for hospitals, including surgical dressings and garments. However, they were precluded from doing so because non-Indians did not want to include them in their chapter. Native people lobbied the Red Cross for an independent chapter, but it was denied.

German Americans

In 1683, the first groups of Germans to arrive in America were Mennonites. By 1892, Germans were the principal immigrants in the United States, with a population of 1,700,000. During the 1880s, there were as many as 800 publications written in German circulating in the United States.

Some German Catholics and Lutherans maintained that the preservation of their faith was directly dependent on the interrelationship between their language and culture. Hence, many German Americans created their own schools and spoke in German. However, with the onset of war and its continuation, by 1917, some civic organizations and governmental agencies came to see German artwork and community events as anti-American.

Anti-German sentiments swept the country, with calls to stop teaching German in schools. Instructors who insisted on teaching the language were dismissed or suspected as spies. Individuals reading German papers of any sort while were taunted. The American Defense Society in particular encouraged the public burning of German-language books and crusaded to change the names of all things German.

Across the country, the names of German foods were purged. Sauerkraut was renamed “liberty

cabbage,” hamburger became “liberty steak,” and frankfurters became “hot dogs.” Pretzels were removed from drinking establishments. German measles were renamed “liberty measles.” Many German Americans changed their names to assimilate. As the concern intensified, patriotic individuals reported to local authorities anyone they thought were German spies. Finally, Congress passed the Espionage and Sedition Acts.

Irish Americans

From 1830 to 1914, roughly 5 million immigrants from Ireland arrived in the United States. Upon arrival and settlement in America, the Irish lived in insular communities, excluding anyone who was not a compatriot. They were not interested in assimilating into the greater American culture lest they lose their heritage. The Irish opened dry goods shops and other stores to enhance their self-sufficiency. As a result, many Americans were cool to their arrival and hostile to their independent spirit, preferring to judge them in harsh, cartoon-like stereotypes. The Irish were typecast as hard-drinking brawlers in many newspapers. Other images portrayed them as “aliens” loyal to the Catholic Church, with no allegiance to the U.S. Constitution.

With the massive numbers of Irish immigrants pouring into the country, there was fear that Catholicism would become the predominant denomination. This caused great concern among many Protestant Americans as to the Roman Catholic Church’s perceived ability to influence world events, with questions surrounding if the United States would be influenced by papal politics or what impact Catholicism would have on U.S. foreign policy. In addition, it threatened many who viewed America as a Protestant nation that might be influenced by the papacy. This led to violence against individuals of Irish descent and destruction of property.

The vast majority of Irish American Catholics were in opposition to the war in Europe. In fact, they had no vested interest in the continent in general and Britain in particular. They wanted a free Ireland not dominated by English politics and thus had little interest in aiding Britain now at war.

Once Irish Americans entered politics, they quickly dominated the Democratic Party. Their influence on political affairs could not be taken

for granted by governments from the local to federal level; even President Wilson's views on British war aims were shaped by Irish politics. After the Dublin Rebellion was brutally suppressed by British troops in 1916, Irish Americans voiced their disapproval of Wilson's possible acceptance of England's war aims. Because of their voting power, they effectively pushed the United States to define its own objectives in the conflict.

Conclusion

The guns fell silent in 1918 after the final battle of the Marne, where French, American, and English troops stymied a German offensive with a massive counterattack. Having lost thousands of troops in the engagement, Germany called off the offensive and called for peace. In 1919, a peace conference was held at Versailles, France, at which Allied leaders affirmed their aspirations to rebuild their countries in a devastated Europe and protect themselves against future conflicts.

World War I was catastrophic, taking the lives of not only many soldiers but civilians as well. Noncombatant casualties hovered close to 10 million. The war affected all countries involved but had its greatest impact on Germany and France. Both countries sent over 80 percent of their males between the ages 15 and 49 into combat. The conflict saw the fall of four empires—Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman, Germany, and Russia—and was the galvanizing force for the Russian Revolution.

On the American home front, multicultural issues abounded prior to the war, brought on by immigrants from Europe as well as racial and gender bias. The time for tolerance had not yet emerged, with European immigrants persecuted as a result of language, cultural, and social norms as well as religious differences. Despite these differences, however, the conflict brought communities into proximity with one another, particularly in factory work for a common cause. World War I changed America, sending black workers north, uplifting women from their former roles to become industrial workers, and giving immigrants a voice while simultaneously attempting to marginalize them. Immigrants learned to use political power to achieve their goals and create distinctive cultures. While blacks, ethnic groups, women, and America's indigenous population

fought for a better America on the home front, they also served their country with distinction during the Great War.

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See Also: African Americans; Armed Forces, U.S.; German Americans; World War II.

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World War II

World War II, also known as the Second World War, was a global conflict in which U.S. involvement lasted from December 7, 1941, until September 14–15, 1945. The United States played a major role in the two main theaters of the conflict, Europe and the Pacific. The war exerted a considerable influence on the culture of some of the groups that composed the population of the United States.

These included African Americans, Asian Americans, Italian Americans, and German Americans. In addition, numerous Mexican Americans were welcomed to the United States as guest workers, predominantly in transportation and agriculture. Women also played a significant role both in the military and in the wartime labor force. The experience of the war exerted considerable influence

on later social movements of the following two decades, including civil rights and the women's movement.

African Americans

Among the first areas of American society to experience profound changes as a result of the U.S. participation in the conflict were the armed forces. At the outset of World War II, the U.S. armed forces were segregated, as was much of American civilian society. This began to change as the United States needed greater manpower during the war.

In 1941, there were fewer than 4,000 African Americans serving in the U.S. military, and only 12 were commissioned officers. Most of those in the military served in noncombat support roles. By 1945, more than 1.2 million African Americans were in uniform, serving in both the European and Pacific theaters in combat, as well as in support roles on the home front. Likewise, there were thousands of African American women serving in the various women's auxiliary corps of the armed services, such as the Women's Army Corps and Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service.

The first African American war hero emerged on the first day of the war. Mess attendant Doris "Dorie" Miller served aboard the battleship USS *West Virginia*, which was caught in the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941. Though African Americans were not trained for combat in the military at this time, Miller manned an anti-aircraft gun on the stricken vessel and even downed several Japanese planes prior to being ordered to abandon ship. In addition, he helped several injured crewmen, including the critically wounded captain to safety. His actions earned Miller the Navy Cross, the first ever awarded to an African American.

During the initial year of the war, African Americans were routinely passed over by all-white draft boards that doubted their combat ability. Pressure from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to pledge that African Americans would be enlisted based on their percentage of the total U.S. population.

In addition to African Americans' growing military participation, war production and the need for labor drew many blacks from the

south to head north to work in mills and factories. This movement was later referred to as a Second Great Migration. The resulting influx of new people exacerbated racial tensions in some northern areas and resulted in racially motivated riots in Detroit.

The Second Great Migration

During World War II, nearly 5 million African Americans moved out of the southern United States to urban areas in the north, west, and midwest. As a result, by 1970, African Americans had become the most highly urbanized group in the country, with 80 percent living in cities. The results of this shift were profound. Whereas African Americans made up 23.8 percent of the southern population in 1940, by 1970 that figure had dropped to 19 percent. By the same token, whereas they had only accounted for some 3.5 percent of the population of the midwest in 1940, by 1970 that figure had climbed to 8.1 percent.

African Americans served in all major theaters of the war, and their participation initiated the process that later led to the desegregation of the armed forces by Executive Order 9981 in 1948. In the aftermath of the war, African American veterans refused to submit to the daily degradations that constituted a routine part of life in the Jim Crow south. In addition, many African Americans who left the south for the war—lured away by the higher pay of war industry jobs and the hope of escaping southern racism—left the cities in which they had worked as skilled laborers. These changes, in turn, began the process of the integration of American society and calls by African Americans for civil rights.

Immigrants

In 1936, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) under director J. Edgar Hoover began planning to take action against those with roots in the countries that were viewed as the most likely foes of the United States in a future war. The director issued orders that led to the collection of information on any individuals and organizations perceived to be communist, fascist, or subversive. These efforts were given the highest priority and emphasized that as much information as possible was to be collected, using every source available. As a result, by 1939 the FBI had

assembled information on a very large group of people, many of whom were of foreign birth. As a result of these activities, the FBI developed its ABC list. This was a categorization of individuals into three groups based on the risks they were perceived to present to the United States. These lists were utilized in the establishment of the Custodial Detention Program from 1940 to 1941.

Japanese Americans and Internment

Asian Americans, specifically Japanese Americans, encountered a much greater level of racism in the aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attack. The best-known aspect of their experience was the internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans from the west coast of the United States in various camps throughout the midwest and western parts of the country. This action was authorized by President



Doris "Dorie" Miller was the first African American to be awarded the Navy Cross, the third highest honor awarded by the U.S. Navy at the time. Admiral Charles Nimitz pins the cross on Dorie at a ceremony on board a ship in 1942.

Roosevelt with Executive Order 9066, issued on February 2, 1942, which allowed local military commanders to designate some areas as "exclusion zones" from which various people could be excluded because of concerns about their loyalty. As a result, people of Japanese ancestry were excluded from the entire Pacific coast, which included all of California, as well as sizable portions of Oregon, Washington, and Arizona. The result was a policy applied in unequal measure in the western United States.

The internment of Japanese Americans was enforced in an unequal fashion and seemed to be the result more of local prejudice than any evidence of real or intended malfeasance by the Japanese Americans living in a given area. As already noted, most of those uprooted lived along the west coast of the United States. Of these, an estimated 62 percent were American citizens. At the same time, in Hawai'i, where an estimated 150,000 Japanese Americans made their homes, only between 1,200 and 1,800 were interred. It is often noted that the Japanese American population of the Hawai'ian Islands were too economically vital to remove from the workforce. The U.S. Census Bureau, as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, aided local authorities in internment efforts by providing confidential information on neighborhood demographics. The Census Bureau denied its efforts in this regard for decades, but its actions were finally proven in 2007.

One reaction among some young men of Japanese American background was to protest for the right to fight in defense of the United States. Their calls eventually resulted in the formation of the 422nd Regimental Combat Team, also known as the Nisei Division. This unit saw extensive service in Europe, and its members received numerous citations for valor. The service of these men laid the foundations for later efforts to reverse the policy of internment and gain some recompense for those who had suffered under it. These efforts did not yield much success initially, as a 1944 U.S. Supreme Court decision upheld the internment policy.

In 1980, President Jimmy Carter ordered an investigation to determine whether the internment of Japanese Americans during the war was justified. He appointed a Commission on War-time Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

The report issued by the commission, "Personal Justice Denied," found little justification for the practice of internment or for the accusations of disloyalty of Japanese Americans at the outset of the war. In addition, it recommended the payment of \$20,000 in reparations to each individual survivor of the internment camps. These recommendations were formalized by President Ronald Reagan, when he signed a bill that officially apologized for the internment of Japanese Americans. In all, the U.S. government eventually awarded \$1.6 billion to former internees and their heirs.

German Americans

Whereas Japanese Americans were often targeted for racial prejudice and internment, those of German ancestry experienced much less bigotry during World War II. Although about 25,000 supported the German American Bund, a pro-Nazi group in the period prior to the war, and there existed a level of anti-German feeling in the country, there was a profound absence of general bigotry against German Americans to the extent that it was present against Asian Americans. Among many German Americans, the war evoked pro-American patriotic sentiments.

At the institutional level, some official prejudice continued to exist. The Alien Registration Act of 1940 required over 300,000 German-born residents of the United States who possessed German citizenship to register with the federal government. Many of these were recent immigrants from Germany, as 114,000 left there between 1931 and 1940, many attempting to flee from the Nazis. The act restricted their freedom of movement and property ownership rights. In addition, between 1940 and 1948, over 11,000 German Americans were interned by the federal government. Those German Americans who possessed language skills in their native tongue were often recruited to work in the intelligence services.

Italian Americans

The years between 1900 and 1914 were the peak period of Italian immigration to the United States in the 20th century. During this time, nearly 3 million Italians left their homeland. Many of these people came to the United States, where they found employment as laborers. Immigration to the United States by Italians and other groups

declined sharply during the 1920s, as the Immigration Act of 1924 set quotas on how many could come from each country.

Like their German counterparts, Italians who were not citizens at the outset of the war were considered enemy aliens. Like the Japanese and German Americans, many Italian Americans were interned as well. However, neither Italians nor Germans interned during the war were compensated as were the Japanese.

Guest Workers

Mexicans in America encountered very different treatment in the United States during the war. As the nation mobilized its manpower to fight a global conflict, the need for labor in certain sectors of the economy, specifically railroads and agriculture, led to the development of what was in essence a guest worker program. Known as the Bracero Program, it encompassed a series of laws and international agreements between the United States and Mexico for the importation of Mexican citizens as contract laborers in the United States. As a result of these efforts, by 1945 there were 75,000 Mexican guest workers employed by railroads in the United States, as well as 50,000 in agriculture, most of them in the southwestern section of the country.

Those who participated in the Bracero Program challenged the U.S. and Mexican governments to locate and return the 10 percent deduction that was taken from their wages during the period from 1942 through 1948. These deductions were for savings accounts the workers were guaranteed to receive upon their return to Mexico at the conclusion of their contracts. However, those employed in the program never received their savings accounts.

Racial Violence

With the racial demographics of the nation shifting so profoundly during such a short period of time, tensions were inevitable. Racial tension manifested itself in a number of ways, from strikes by Italian workers on assembly lines in Chicago in protest over the inclusion of African Americans in their work area, to full-blown riots in Los Angeles and Detroit.

The Zoot Suit riots consisted of a series of violent clashes between U.S. sailors and Marines

and Mexican American youths in Los Angeles in 1943. Some African American and Filipino youth were involved in the incidents as well. The incidents derive their name from a type of suit popular among young men of the Chicano, African American, and Italian American communities during the 1940s. The suits featured wide-legged, tight-cuffed, pegged trousers with high waists, and long coats with wide lapels and padded shoulders. The overall effect was sometimes enhanced by the inclusion of a long watch chain. Many white servicemen perceived these suits as overly extravagant in wartime.

The flashpoint for the riots was the murder of a Mexican American woman in Sleepy Lagoon by a Mexican American man. This served to ignite underlying tensions between many servicemen who resented the Mexican American community and questioned their patriotism due to their fashion choice. Certainly, social and race distinctions played a role in contributing to the tensions. The riots occurred over several days, at the end of which over 150 people had been injured and the police had made over 500 arrests on charges ranging from rioting to vagrancy.

Worse still was the riot in Detroit from June 20 to 22, 1943. There were long-standing tensions that led to these riots, based on the rapid influx of African Americans into the south side of Detroit as a result of war manufacturing jobs, as well as the tensions resulting from the quality of housing available to these newly arrived residents. Charges of police brutality likewise factored into the causes and aftermath of the riots.

The riot began on the evening of Saturday June 20, 1943, at roughly 10:30 P.M., when a fistfight broke out between two men, one white and one black, at the Belle Isle Amusement Park. The resultant upheaval stretched over much of the city's center and predominantly black neighborhoods.

As the violence spread, it began to draw in groups of white and African American men. The police were essentially ineffective in stopping the violence, though it is asserted that they actively aided the whites in attacking the African Americans.

The violence ended only when Mayor Edward Jeffries, Jr., asked President Roosevelt to dispatch troops to restore order. The president responded by sending in some 6,000 soldiers. While order

was on its way to restoration by 11 P.M. on June 21, the riots left 25 African Americans and nine whites dead. Of the blacks killed in the fighting, 17 were believed to have been shot by the police, who defended themselves by claiming that the men were looting. None of the nine whites to die in the violence was killed by police. The riots also caused an estimated \$2 million in property damage.

The Detroit riots were the worst racial violence to take place in the United States during World War II. They also proved a national embarrassment. At the same time, other cities experiencing a similar rapid influx of African Americans responded proactively to the riots in Detroit by creating agencies to work for better race relations in their cities. The Detroit riot was just one manifestation of the rapidly changing demographics of the United States. Much of this derived from the Second Great Migration.

Women

Women made significant contributions to the American war effort during World War II, both in the military and in the industrial production sector. These contributions, in turn, led to profound changes in the role of women in society.

During World War II, some 350,000 women served in the various auxiliaries of the U.S. armed forces. These included the Women's Army Corps (WACs), Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs), and U.S. Naval Reserve (Women's Reserve), the official designation for the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES). The latter designation became the more accepted in popular nomenclature.

In addition to their direct military contributions, women played a substantial role in the production of war materials to meet the needs of the conflict. Between 1940 and 1945, the percentage of women in the workforce climbed from 27 to 37 percent. Although this change proved ephemeral in the short term, it exercised long-term consequences on the roles and expectations of women in American society.

White women generally encountered less difficulty securing clerical jobs than African American women. Many African American women left work as domestic servants to take higher-paid skilled jobs in war production facilities.

Conclusion

The experience of World War II exerted a profound effect on many groups in the United States. Among those who experienced the most positive effects were women and African Americans. Women were able to advance into fields that were previously dominated by men; this initiated a long-term trend of greater employment of women in both the public and private sectors. The experiences of African Americans, especially those who served in combat, lent great impetus to the call from the black community for civil rights in the years following World War II. These efforts culminated in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In addition, the experiences of many guest workers in the United States led to greater immigration from Mexico in the years following the war. Clearly, World War II initiated profound and enduring changes in the mosaic of the United States.

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See Also: African Americans; Armed Forces, U.S.; Bracero Program; Civil Rights Acts; Executive Order 9066; 422nd Regimental Combat Team; German Americans; Italian Americans; Japanese American Internment; Japanese Americans; Sleepy Lagoon Case; Zoot Suit Riots.

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Wounded Knee Massacre and Incident

The tragedy that happened on the snow-custed plain near Wounded Knee Creek at daybreak on December 29, 1890, has been described as a battle and a massacre. In truth, both sides fired gunshots and suffered casualties—but it was hardly even.

Of the 500 U.S. Cavalry engaged that day, 23 died in the encounter, dozens were wounded, and 20 received the U.S. Army's Medal of Honor. Of some 350 Sioux Indians, over 150 were killed, including 44 women and 18 children, and another 50 were wounded. Some estimates put the Indian deaths closer to 200.

The Fight

The day before, soldiers of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry under Major Samuel M. Whiteside, a veteran officer who had served in the Civil War, were patrolling the Dakota Badlands and came across a large band of Sioux who were led by a chief named Spotted Elk, also known as Big Foot. The army had issued orders that all nomadic Indians must be brought to the nearby Pine Ridge Reservation, and Major Whiteside, following these orders, decided to escort the Indians in that direction. They camped along the way by Wounded Knee Creek.

But rather than disarm the Indians immediately, which could start a fight, Whiteside decided to wait for reinforcements, which came later that night with a heavily armed column under Colonel James W. Forsyth, another veteran officer with both Indian and Civil War experience. Forsyth and Whiteside's combined force now totaled some 500 men and included four Hotchkiss

guns (similar to Gatling machine guns) that they mounted around the Indian encampment.

During the late 1880s, most Americans still harbored bitter feelings toward Indians because of continued confrontations on the Great Plains. The public still fumed over the killing of General George Armstrong Custer and his soldiers at Little Bighorn in 1876, and they sought recompense. Most Americans felt that the Indians needed civilizing and the only way to accomplish this was to remove them from their reservations. This set the stage for the tragic events that occurred near Wounded Knee Creek in the winter of 1890.

The Shooting

On the morning of December 29, 1890, at daybreak, Colonel Forsyth ordered his Seventh Cavalry troops to gather the Indians in their camp, separating men from women, and demand they surrender their guns. Both sides seemed itching for a fight. By one account, a Sioux medicine man named Yellow Bird began to perform the Ghost Dance—a mystical ritual that many Sioux believed made them bulletproof. Forsyth demanded he stop, but the medicine man refused.

Once the Ghost Dance started, the soldiers immediately raised weapons and returned fire full force at close range. Dozens of Indian men fell in the first volleys, including Chief Spotted Elk. The Indian gunfire quickly ceased, but the soldiers kept shooting, and many soldiers ended up falling to friendly fire. The Sioux women and children, originally separated from the men, ran from the camp toward some nearby ravines for safety. In the confusion and excitement, several cavalry soldiers jumped on horses, chased them down, and shot them. The machine guns joined the fight, with soldiers raining bullets into the Indian tents.

The whole affair ended in barely a few minutes. The chasing and killing of those who ran off to nearby ravines, mostly women and children, lasted perhaps another hour. When it was over, the land was covered with bodies. Four Sioux infants were discovered still alive in the arms of dying or dead mothers.

The Reaction

Back east, newspapers quickly told the story about a great battle in the Dakotas. Public sentiment stood solidly behind the soldiers, reflecting

both support for U.S. troops in the field and continuing bitterness at hostile Indians threatening settlers.

Although the Indians denounced the killings, the only apparent criticism from non-Indians came from within the army. General Nelson Miles, another longtime Indian fighter and Civil War veteran who had won the Medal of Honor for his role in the 1863 Battle at Chancellorsville, had recently been named major general and senior officer for the Dakota Territory. Miles loudly complained that Forsyth had allowed his soldiers at Wounded Knee to break discipline and commit an unneeded massacre. He relieved Forsyth of his command and convened an army court of inquiry to investigate the massacre.

The December 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee marked the last major encounter of the Great Plains Indians Wars of the 1800s. The Sioux gave up any organized resistance and, for the next 83 years, would stay on their reservations. Later treaties would strip away more lands as poverty persisted and social conditions continued to deteriorate. It would take decades for the U.S. government to grant the Sioux basic elements of citizenship, decades more for basic constitutional civil liberties, and still more for the right to vote in elections.

Wounded Knee Incident (1973)

The Wounded Knee standoff in 1973 was sparked by a dispute on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota when members of the Oglala Lakota (Sioux) tribe attempted to impeach tribal chairman Richard “Dick” Wilson, whom they accused of being corrupt, authoritarian, and biased against full-blooded and traditional Indians. The tensions eventually built up into a deadly conflict.

Several factors led up to the incident at Wounded Knee. Eleven thousand Oglala inhabited Pine Ridge Reservation in the 1970s. Covering approximately 4,000 square miles, the reservation was a labyrinth of white- and Indian-owned property. The tribal government owned 500,000 acres, whites owned one million acres, and the Indians owned 1.5 million acres, 83 percent of which were leased. The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) controlled many of these land leases, with these leases going to white ranchers. Oglala



This image shows U.S. soldiers disposing of Native American corpses in a mass grave after the massacre at Wounded Knee. On the morning of December 29, 1890, U.S. troops entered the native camp to disarm the Lakota, and by the time it was over, at least 150 Lakota Sioux had been killed. The conflict was the last battle of the American Indian Wars.

Indians who sold or leased their lands were forced to move to the agency town of Pine Ridge in order to find jobs.

The unemployment rate among Indians in the state of South Dakota was 20.1 percent compared with the 3.2 percent rate among whites, resulting in 54.8 percent of Indians living below the poverty line. Because of high unemployment, one-third of the Indian population relied on government assistance, and those who were employed often worked for the BIA or in tribal government posts. The scarcity of jobs also forced many off the reservation into government-sponsored training programs, urban areas, military service, and to college campuses for further education.

Politics and Poverty

With the 1960s War on Poverty during the Lyndon B. Johnson administration, more funding

and patronage jobs had become available to raise the economic status of reservation Indians. These jobs and the disposition of funds were under the control of the tribal chairman, who assigned jobs and committee posts. Most tribal politicians tried to support the people of traditional Sioux communities, but they almost always had to bow to the voting power of Pine Ridge village.

In response to pressure from Indian activists for more self-determination, the power of the BIA had decreased, resulting in increased power for the tribal president and making this position more strongly contested. Although this shift in power had promised to restore control to reservation Indians and tribal governments, reduced BIA funding, jobs, and oversight programs, along with increasing factionalism on the Pine Ridge Reservation, set the stage for the violent incident of 1973.

Tensions Build up to a Boil

Responding to the postponement of Dick Wilson's impeachment trial, and with the assistance of the American Indian Movement (AIM), the Oglala Civil Rights Organization began actively protesting against Wilson. AIM was founded in Minneapolis in 1968 as an urban activist group dedicated to the protection of Indians from police brutality and injustice. In a very short time, the group grew to a national organization that served as advocates for a variety of Indian concerns.

After a few days of increasing tensions and vocal statements from the crowds, because of the presence of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and U.S. Marshals, the protest ended without any major incident, and the tribal government rescheduled Wilson's impeachment trial for February 22. However, patrols by the tribal police, FBI, U.S. Marshals, BIA police, the state police, and Wilson's security forces intensified, and special operations forces set up communication networks on the reservation.

On February 27, 1973, the small village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, was occupied by several hundred Oglala Sioux residents, tribal elders and headmen, medicine men, and members of the American Indian Movement after many failed attempts to impeach the chairman of the tribal council on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The Independent Oglala Nation demanded the removal of Wilson as chairman and restoration of tribal government by traditional Lakota structures as per the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

The Lakota accused Wilson of mismanaging tribal funds, failure to hold meetings that concerned tribal affairs, nepotism, civil rights violations, and inflicting terror and violence against those who offended him or challenged his leadership. Wilson allegedly favored "mixed bloods" over "full bloods" for council and government jobs and supported U.S. government and white interests over those of the people he represented, often overriding tribal council decisions.

Negotiations, held in an old tepee, dragged on for 71 days. Finally, a tentative agreement was set for April 5, but then collapsed. The occupation ended on May 9, with two Indians dead, numerous casualties on both sides, Wilson remaining in office, and many of the members of AIM in prison, in exile, or involved in years of litigation.

Outcome of the Incident

The situation on Pine Ridge Reservation was one of quiet desperation among traditional Lakota, of factionalism that developed over time as a result of federal policies toward Indians that separated them according to blood degrees, and of terror, violence, and corruption. The consequences of federal policy toward Indians led to the emergence of a supratribal consciousness and ethnic renewal among Indians living off reservations. Seeking to end white dominance and restore self-determination, the pan-Indian movement was born in order to address treaty rights and Indian sovereignty and to confront injustices toward Indians.

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See Also: American Indian Movement; *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*; Indian Reorganization Act (1934); Native Americans; Sioux.

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Wyandot

Historically, the Wyandot came into being in the winter of 1649 to 1650, when survivors of the Tionontati (Petun or Tobacco) and Attignawantan escaped the Iroquois Confederacy and headed west. The two tribes shared great cultural similarities, and they agreed to drop their original names and assume a new identity as a single tribe, the Wendat, a name that had been used collectively for more than a dozen tribes of the Great Lakes region. Sometime in the early 18th century, one group of Wendat settled in Ohio, where the British corruption of the name was spelled “Wyandot.” The tribe was terminated by treaty in 1855. Two years later, some Wyandot, unwilling to accept citizenship, relocated to Indian Territory, what is now Oklahoma. When this group sought reinstatement as a tribe in 1867, the name Wyandotte was used, reflecting French influence. Regardless of divisions and spelling variations, the Wyandot trace their tribal history to the mid-17th century.

The Iroquois had exhausted the supply of fur-bearing animals in their territory by 1650. To meet the demand for furs from British and Dutch traders, they turned to the Ohio Country, claiming the land for the Iroquois Confederacy, driving out or exterminating weaker tribes. The Attignawantan, a member of the Huron Confederacy, fled west to escape, taking refuge with the Tionontati. The Iroquois pursued and attacked both tribes. About a thousand people from the combined tribes escaped, retreating north, where they spent the winter of 1649 to 1650 on Mackinac Island (upper Michigan). It was they who became the Wendat. The threat of further attacks drove them farther west in company with the Odawa, who were also escaping the Iroquois.

Not Free of Conflict

The chaos the Wyandot and the Odawa found in Wisconsin, their next refuge, worked to their advantage as they collected furs from other tribes and organized canoe fleets to take them to Canada. But the Iroquois attacked Wyandot and Ottawa villages along with those of the tribes supplying them with furs. Moving inland into western Wisconsin, they angered the Dakota, and so even after the combined forces of the Wyandot,

Ojibwe, Nipissing, and Odawa destroyed an Iroquois war party in 1662, the Wyandot were not free of conflict. Wisconsin was not conducive to raising the corn on which they depended, and 500 Wyandot and Odawa starved to death during the winter of 1661 to 1662.

The Wyandot wandered from place to place until 1701, when Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac invited them to Fort Detroit. By 1725, they were on the move again, this time moving into the Ohio Valley, which had grown rich in resources during the empty years after the Iroquois had driven out all its inhabitants. The Wyandot grew strong, and their population increased. Soon, they were the most influential tribe in the Ohio Valley. They had also become adept at playing the political games that the Europeans set up. They were allies of the French until around 1640, when the British moved into Ohio Country. After the French routed the British, the Wyandot became allies of the French until the British emerged the victors in the French and Indian War (1754–63). They joined other Native American tribes to drive British military and settlers out of the Ohio Valley in 1764. They fought for the British in the American Revolution and continued to fight the Americans when the British withdrew.

General Anthony Wayne defeated the Wyandot and other Ohio Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. The Wyandot signed the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, surrendering most of their land in Ohio and Michigan. In 1842, they surrendered their claim to their reservation at Upper Sandusky. In 1843, the Wyandot were the last Indian tribe to leave Ohio. They had been promised 148,000 acres in Kansas, but the promised acres were never granted. In 1855, with Kansas open to white settlement, the government was not granting land to Indians. In 1855, the Wyandot signed a treaty that ended their tribal status but allowed them to become citizens by taking their lands in severalty.

Internal Pressures

The late 19th and early 20th centuries brought factionalism, assimilation, and affiliation with other tribes, threatening the existence of the Wyandot. The division between the Wyandot who had accepted citizenship and those who had rejected it and migrated to Indian Territory was

not healed by time. In general, the Oklahoma Wyandot no longer recognized the Kansas Wyandot as tribal members. Some Wyandot rejected their tribal identity and lived among the whites, others found refuge among the Seneca-Cayuga, and still others were too concerned with survival to be active in keeping Wyandot culture alive. In 1956, Congress terminated the Wyandot Nation of Oklahoma as a federally recognized tribe. But a handful of Wyandot nurtured the culture that remained, and in May 1978, President Jimmy Carter restored their status as a federally recognized tribe. That restoration combined with the vision of becoming an economically independent, self-governing nation revitalized the Wyandot.

The United States currently has more than 4,000 Wyandot, organized in two main groups: the Wyandot Nation of Kansas and the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma. Only the Oklahoma Wyandotte are federally recognized as a tribe. The Kansas Wyandot, organized in 1959 from descendants of the Wyandot who accepted citizenship, are recognized by Kansas and have applied for federal status. Under the direction of Chief Leaford Bearskin, the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma acquired self-governance status in 1995

and is working toward economic independence. The Wendat Confederacy was reaffirmed in 1999 by representatives from the Huron Wendat of Wendake, the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, and the Wyandot Nation of Anderdon, who mutually pledged harmony and cooperation. Tribal rolls in 2012 revealed 4,467 Wyandot worldwide.

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See Also: Iroquois Confederacy; Native Americans; Odawa.

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Y

Yakama

The ancestral territory of the Yakama, primarily fishers and gatherers, lies along the river that bears their name, the Yakima (an earlier spelling of the tribe's name), a tributary of the Columbia River in what now is the southern portion of Washington State. They lived in relative seclusion until the mid-19th century, when Oregon was restructured as the Washington and Oregon territories. Settlers and miners were soon making their way into the region, and they required military posts to protect them. A conflict over land was inevitable. The Yakama, along with the Walla Walla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Perce, signed a treaty in 1855 that ceded 60,000 acres of land in eastern Oregon and central Washington. The treaty required the tribes to occupy a single reservation. Given that this requirement placed traditional enemies in near proximity, it's hardly surprising that war was the result. The rebellious Indians fought for three years, but they were defeated in 1858.

Reservation life had its own frictions during the early years, for reasons both religious and tribal. When Yakama tribal leaders signed the treaty in 1855, they reserved the right to fish, hunt, and gather all of the tribe's traditional foods on the reservation as well as the ceded area. Fishing rights and protecting the river have been lasting concerns to the Yakama, a battle their

21st-century descendants continue to wage. The various tribes who are part of the Confederated Tribes of the Yakama Nation make it difficult to know the tribal composition of the reservation. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that 7,239 American Indians lived on Yakama Reservation and Off Reservation Trust Lands in 2010, compared with 6,307 in 1990 and 5,168 in 1980.

The Yakama today live on land that was home to their ancestors before the first Europeans and Americans appeared. The tribal name was spelled "Yakima" until 1994, when it was changed to better mirror the pronunciation in the Yakama language. The Yakama were also called *Waptailmin*, meaning "narrow river people," a reference to narrows in the Yakima River where their principal village was located. The Yakama wintered in villages located on the valley floor, a site chosen for its relatively moderate climate. The nearby river assured them of a supply of deer, elk, and fish. With the arrival of spring, the tribe would range the countryside, collecting edible roots and plants that could be carried back and stored for the winter. Geographically protected, the Yakama rarely saw outsiders, although explorers William Clark and Meriwether Lewis did visit the tribe in 1806. By 1850, over a thousand settlers were in the Washington Territory, and more were on the way.

In 1855, Isaac J. Stevens convened the Walla Walla Council. Appointed governor of Washington

Territory two years earlier, Stevens was also superintendent of Indian affairs, and he was willing to use any means at his command to compel Native Americans to yield their land to his government. By the time this council was dismissed, five tribes—the Yakama, Walla Walla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Perce—had surrendered 60,000 acres, in return for which they were to be paid \$200,000 per tribe. At the signing, Stevens had promised two years before the ceded land was declared open for settlement. Instead, he made the announcement 12 days later. The people of all the signatory tribes were forced onto the Yakama reservation.

Yakama War

Yakama Chief Kamiakan led warriors from the Yakama, Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla tribes in the rebellion that was called the Yakama War. In September 1855, a band of Yakama attacked and killed prospectors headed to the goldfields of British Columbia. They also killed a popular Indian agent to prevent his summoning the army. A group of volunteers led by Colonel James Kelly captured Walla Walla Chief Peo-peo-mox-mox; they killed him and sent his scalp and ears to the Oregon settlement for display. Bloody skirmishes and bloodier battles, each followed by retaliation, became the pattern. In 1858, General Newman S. Clarke, commander of the Department of the Pacific, sent a force under Colonel George Wright to settle the Indian problem. Wright did as commanded. First, he and his men decisively defeated the Indians at the Battle of Four Lakes, cutting them down with new long-range rifles. He followed up the military victory by capturing or executing 24 chiefs and sending most of the tribes to reservations.

Life on the reservation, sometimes with as many as 14 tribes in the mix, was difficult. Some of the tribes proved especially troublesome. The Northern Paiutes were sent to the Yakama reservation after the Bannock-Paiute War of 1878. Tension between the Yakama and Paiutes ran high, but the Paiutes left in the early 1880s. A longer-lasting problem was created by Indian agent Reverend James Wilbur, a Methodist minister whose motto was “The Plow and the Bible.” The white Protestant community was delighted with Wilbur, but few of the Indians were interested in farming. Wilbur’s biblical teachings also created friction between Protestant and Catholic converts.

Other Sahaptian peoples—Klickitat, Palouse, and Wanapam—were relocated on the Yakama reservation. All the tribes of the region fished area rivers. Fish meant sustenance and often religious ritual as well. The construction of a series of dams on the Columbia and tributary rivers in the first half of the 20th century changed the Yakama’s way of life. Legal activism was the tribes’ means of protecting the rivers and their fishing rights. Tribal leaders also traveled to Washington, D.C., to lobby for cleanup of the Columbia and Willamette rivers. It was in response to Yakama action that a program to reintroduce the sockeye salmon to the Yakima River Basin was introduced in 2008. The species had died out after the natural lakes in the headwaters of the Yakima River system had been dammed for irrigation. Land acquisition is also a continuing concern. It was a significant achievement when 21,000 acres of treaty lands were returned to the Yakama on May 20, 1972. According to numbers from the U.S. Census Bureau, 11,527 people self-identify as fully or partly Yakama. The commitment among them to protect the land of their tribal ancestors for the next century seems strong.

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See Also: American Indian–U.S. Government Treaties; Native Americans; Paiute.

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Ybor City

Ybor City is a historic neighborhood in Tampa, Florida, located just northeast of downtown. The neighborhood was founded in the 1880s as

a company town for a cigar factory. In the early 20th century, Ybor City was known for its unique collection of mutual aid societies and multiethnic population. The initial immigrants were cigar workers from Spain, Cuba, and Italy; members of other ethnic communities would come later. Thanks to the cigar trade, Ybor City thrived from the late 1800s until the Great Depression. After the Depression, Ybor City fell into desolation. The area was revitalized in the 1980s by artists seeking low-rent studio space. Today, Ybor City is a vibrant, gay-friendly, historic neighborhood known for its restaurants and nightlife.

The Cigar Era

Unlike most other immigrant communities in the 1800s, Ybor City was a good place to live. Ybor City was founded by Vicente Martinez Ybor, a Spanish-born cigar manufacturer. Ybor sought to move his cigar production operation outside Tampa after being driven from Havana for political reasons and Key West, Florida, because of labor conflicts.

In the 1880s, Tampa was an isolated village. Ybor chose to move his operation nearby Tampa in large part because he desired to create a company town to house workers for his cigar factory. After negotiating a deal with the owners of the land and receiving a substantial subsidy from the city of Tampa, Ybor made an initial purchase of 40 acres; he soon bought more. After purchasing the land, Ybor had hundreds of small houses built and brought in cigar workers from Cuba, Spain, and Italy. In 1887, Tampa annexed Ybor City. Ybor finished a three-story brick building in 1888, which would be the largest cigar factory in the world at the time. However, at this time the rest of Ybor City had yet to be developed.

During this era, neither immigrant enclaves nor company towns were known for a high quality of living. However, Ybor's company town had to be different to entice highly skilled tobacco rollers to settle there. On average, those living in Ybor City enjoyed a high quality of life at a time when most immigrant communities were slums. Good wages in the cigar factories encouraged high levels of economic development. Employees could own their own homes, and private entrepreneurs could buy land. These conditions created a more pleasant environment that was

needed to maintain workers with a high degree of choice in their living situation.

The neighborhoods of Ybor City were unique. The ethnic makeup of neighborhoods was mixed, with no single ethnic group exclusively dominating any area. A degree of racism existed in Ybor City, but it was generally better compared with other parts of the Deep South. The degree of harmony within the neighborhoods could be gauged by the many parades and community picnics, along with the widespread practice of sharing communal areas.

The Factory and Employment

Nonmanagerial positions within the factory were generally separated between *tabaqueros* and support roles. *Tabaqueros* (literally, tobacco workers) rolled finished cigars. These workers saw themselves as highly skilled artisans. They were paid for each cigar they rolled and were able to set their own hours; thus, they were able to make significantly more money than other workers. Cubans, Spaniards, and men tended to dominate these positions.

There were also many unskilled positions in the factories. These jobs included sweeping floors, banding cigars, and maintaining machinery, and employers performing them were paid by the hour. Italians, women, and blacks tended most commonly to hold these positions.

Possibly the most prestigious positions in the factories were those of lecturers. Lecturers were seated in a chair elevated above the cigar roller tables, from which they would read newspapers, nonfiction, or more academic works. Each worker paid 25 cents per week directly to the lecturers, and this service was paid for gladly. By listening to the lecturers, uneducated factory workers, even those who could not read, received a kind of education and were even able to quote famous authors. Lecturers were well respected and often highly educated and multilingual. It was common for a lecturer to read text in Italian or English and recite it in Spanish for the benefit of workers on the floor. On certain occasions, the materials presented by lecturers led to heated political incidents. As a result, owners tried to ban lecturers on numerous occasions. Such actions on behalf of owners led to bitter strikes on more than one occasion. Workers claimed they had the right to a lecturer and would not perform



A lector in a Ybor City tobacco factory. Lectors held the most prestigious job in the factory and were seated in elevated chairs, where they would read newspapers or books aloud to workers rolling cigars. Workers were happy to pay 25 cents each per week out of their pay to the lectors to receive a kind of education not otherwise available to them.

their work without one. Unfortunately, lectors were eventually removed as part of concessions with management in 1931.

There were also a variety of employment opportunities outside the factory floor, but like the jobs in the factory, they were usually separated by ethnicity. Italians frequently owned and operated small businesses in Ybor City. Germans tended to be businessmen and factory managers; they filled the roles of bookkeepers and supervisors. Romanian Jews and Chinese typically worked in service trades or retail.

Mutual Aid Societies

Ybor City's mutual aid societies defined life in the community for decades. These organizations helped workers' families and new immigrants

establish themselves. Societies were financed by dues collected from members; in general, a family membership cost 5 percent of a worker's salary. In exchange for dues, families enjoyed access to libraries, educational programs, sports teams, restaurants, social functions, death and injury benefits, and free medical services with access to doctors and pharmacies. The buildings of some societies included cantinas, theaters and ballrooms, gymnasiums, and bowling alleys. In addition to offering services and facilities, mutual aid societies served as gathering places where members could meet and play dominoes or cards, or simply socialize.

Mutual aid societies were generally organized around ethnicity, with clubs for every ethnic group in the community. Rivalries did exist

between societies, but these rivalries were generally friendly. Contrary to the norm, El Centro Asturiano society accepted people from any ethnic group; it also ran a high-quality hospital. These factors combined to make El Centro Asturiano the largest mutual aid society in Ybor City.

Politics in Ybor City

One could say that Ybor City was a political place even before it began. When Vincente Ybor moved his operation from Havana, it was eventually located in Ybor City so he could avoid being arrested or killed by Spanish authorities. Ybor was a known critic of Spanish colonial rule and provided financial support to Cuban revolutionaries. These initial Cuban rebellions began as early as 1860s, and many Cuban immigrants in Ybor City were political exiles. Lectors in the cigar factories would frequently read revolutionary newspapers and take up collections for the revolutionary fund. As a result of the strong support for the Cuban cause, Cuban revolutionaries often made visits to Ybor City. José Martí, leader of the revolution, visited Ybor City himself on several occasions. During these visits, Martí delivered many passionate speeches. One such speech, delivered from a cigar factory's steps, was reprinted in newspapers throughout the United States and Cuba. This incident is thought to have been a major factor in sparking the Spanish-American War in 1898. During the war, Tampa became a main port of embarkation for U.S. forces. This designation helped develop railroad lines and other infrastructure surrounding Tampa.

In the 1930s, the citizens of Ybor City would also show overwhelming support for the antifascist forces in the Spanish Civil War. Many residents donated up to 10 percent of their salary and tons of clothes to the cause. A handful of the strongest supporters joined the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which would travel to Spain to fight alongside other resistance fighters. The victory of the fascists at the end of the conflict would force many in Ybor City to cut ties with Spain.

During the cigar manufacturing era, there were a number of massive strikes in Ybor City. These strikes occurred in 1899, 1901, 1910, 1920, and 1931 and were unique. Because of tense U.S.-German relations at the time, many workers distrusted the perceived German influence on

the larger national cigar makers' unions. Despite this fact, the workers found success through their unity and were considered militant even by the standards of union leaders.

Desolation, Rejuvenation, and Renewed Prosperity

The period of abandonment and decay that struck Ybor City in the mid-20th century began during the Great Depression and accelerated after World War II. Cigar production reached its peak in 1929, and production later plummeted after the stock market crashed that same year, adversely impacting Ybor City's economy. This financial disaster, combined with the growing popularity of cigarettes and the cigar industry switching to mechanized rolling methods, caused massive layoffs in the factories. These layoffs led to corresponding shutdowns of other businesses in the neighborhood, such as restaurants and shops. The 1950s and 1960s brought additional problems for Ybor City. In an attempt at urban renewal, much of Ybor City was demolished, including housing units. However, the construction that was to accompany that demolition never occurred. The effect on Ybor City was catastrophic.

In the 1980s, an influx of artists seeking inexpensive studio quarters started the process of recovery and gentrification that created Ybor City as it exists today. By the early 1990s, deserted buildings had been converted to bars, restaurants, and nightclubs. El Centro Asturiano, El Circulo Cubano, and L'Unione Italiana mutual aid societies survived the era of desolation and were also able to recuperate during this time. However, the benefits offered to members were not what they used to be.

Since 2000, Ybor City has enjoyed continued and steady economic development. La Setima, the main street of Ybor City, is known for its restaurants, festivals, events, and music. Ybor City serves as Tampa's historic district and is known as Tampa's Latin Quarter. Additionally, the neighborhood has been designated a National Historic Landmark District, and crime has decreased 84 percent since 2001. Ybor City features many establishments friendly to lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgendered people (LGBT). In late 2007, the GaYBOR business association was

founded to represent the interests of LGBT-owned and LGBT-friendly businesses, property owners, and residents in Ybor City. It sponsors GaYBOR Days, a street party that takes place annually in July.

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See Also: Caribbean Americans; Chinese Americans; Cuban Americans; German Americans; Jewish Americans; Spanish-American War; Spanish Americans.

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Yellow Peril

Yellow peril is one of the most commonly utilized “controlling images,” or persisting stereotypes, to characterize Asians. This particular construct has been applied to depict Asian countries and their descendants as economic, social, and/or military threats to the Western world. In general, Yellow Peril images and discourses cast Asians as exotic perils to white society, often described as inassimilable and cunning.

One of the earliest stereotypes associated with the yellow peril is the character of Fu Manchu (and its many reincarnates). Fu Manchu embodied the quintessential Chinese villain whose life purpose is to physically destroy white men and to sexually take their women. The widespread circulation of this caricature, first in print, then later in television and cinema, accompanied the justification of the unequal treatment of Asian

immigrants compared with their European immigrant counterparts in late-19th-century America. This was apparent in racist laws and policies in both the political and economic spheres.

Economic Threat

The yellow peril image and discourse allowed for the racialization of xenophobia, codified through racist laws and harsh discrimination toward Asian immigrants. The abolition of slavery was met with an initially warm welcome of immigrants from China and other Asian countries. Asian men served as a pool of cheap labor in the expanding U.S. industrial capitalist economy. However, working side by side with European immigrants, Chinese laborers were soon viewed as economic threats to white working-class men, as well as sexual threats to their women.

Many Chinese laborers had no choice but to leave their families behind in China and live in “bachelor societies,” geographically located in ghettos associated with crime and vice. Antimiscegenation laws made it illegal for nonwhite men to marry white women, while the moral implications of the Page Act of 1875 made it difficult, if not impossible, for Chinese women to migrate to the United States unless they could prove they were not prostitutes. In contrast, women from European countries were able to migrate with their husbands and families.

The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was the first law to restrict immigration from a specific country (in this case, China). Subsequent laws were passed in 1917, 1924, and 1934 to eliminate immigration from India, Japan (and Korea), and the Philippines, respectively. Meanwhile, life was cruel for Asian immigrants in a fledgling country that viewed them as unassimilable and conniving. The Naturalization Act of 1870 restricted citizenship to whites and blacks, until the 1898 Supreme Court decision in *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark* granted citizenship to an American-born child of Chinese parents. Moreover, the Alien Land and Property Acts of 1913, 1920, and 1923 barred individuals ineligible for citizenship from owning property.

By the middle of the 20th century, the yellow peril, once personified by the ubiquitous image of Fu Manchu, was replaced by the image of the treacherous “dirty Jap” and “gook.” U.S. involvement in World War II, the Korean War, and the

Vietnam War positioned Asians as military threats to Western society. In addition, any U.S. conflict with Asian countries made Asian Americans especially vulnerable to heightened racial discrimination. The yellow peril stereotype did not allow for distinctions to be made between Asians and Asians Americans, nor differences between different generations and nationalities to be considered.

National Security Threat

The proliferation of the “dirty Jap” discourse characterized Japanese people as a ruthless threat to national security. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, incited the already existing anti-Asian sentiments and made all Japanese (including American citizens and newborns) suspects. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which authorized the immediate relocation of anyone with Japanese descent living on the west coast into one of 10 internment camps, often situated in remote desert or swamp lands. Ironically, those living in Hawai‘i (where the bombing took place) were exempted because they constituted a significant majority of the state’s economy compared with the Japanese labor force residing on the mainland. Although J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), argued that this order was not a military necessity, all individuals of Japanese ancestry were treated as enemies, regardless of their citizenship status. Moreover, Chinese and Koreans in the United States wore pins proclaiming their nationality so that whites would not mistake them for Japanese. At the end of World War II, residents of the internment camps were released. Not a single one of them was charged with any wrongdoing related to the Japanese aggression.

In the 1950s and 1960s, U.S. involvement in the Korean and Vietnam Wars popularized the image of the “gook.” This slur was used to dehumanize Asians and treat them as objects of annihilation overseas. It also justified ongoing discrimination against Asian people living in the United States. Historically, the various archetypes of the yellow peril corresponded with racist sentiments against Asian Americans while vindicating American military actions in Asia.

In more contemporary times, the yellow peril imagery and discourse continues to invoke

racially defined nationalistic competition with Asian countries and their people. In the 1980s, the booming Japanese automobile industry and the corresponding decline of the American manufacturing industry intensified racial and class tensions. In this context, two white men, Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz, beat Vincent Chin, a 27-year-old Chinese American, to his eventual death with a baseball bat in Detroit, Michigan. Not only did Ebens mistake Chin to be Japanese, but his actions also were a poignant reflection of his view of Chin as the perpetual foreigner rather than an American.

The controlling images of the threatening yellow peril persist alongside its twin, the domesticated model minority. In both cases, Asians are constructed as outsiders in a white society. While the United States continues to adapt to China’s ascendancy in the global economy, there is concern about growing Asian American populations, especially in the public university systems. These twin stereotypes ignore the heterogeneity of Asian Americans, who represent distinct nationalities (e.g., Hmong, Japanese, and Vietnamese), religions (e.g., Christianity, Buddhism and Islam), and languages (e.g., Mandarin, Korean, and Tagalog), spanning across every imaginable socioeconomic group.

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See Also: Alien Land Laws; Anti-Miscegenation Laws; Chinese Exclusion Act (1882); Japanese American Internment; Xenophobia.

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Yeshiva

A *yeshiva* (plural *yeshivot*) is a Jewish school that focuses on the study of traditional religious texts—the Talmud and the Torah. Elementary school students study in a *yeshiva*, while high school instruction is provided in a *mesivta*; a *beis medrash* (Hebrew for “study hall”) or *yeshiva gedola* (“large yeshiva”) provides undergraduate instruction, and a *kollel* is a yeshiva for married men.

The first yeshivot were established in ancient Babylonia. By the 19th century, the yeshiva movement flourished in Poland and Lithuania, and rabbis educated in these schools would later relocate to, and establish similar schools in, the United States. Although many of the first American yeshivot were modeled after the traditional Orthodox Jewish academies of eastern Europe, there are now yeshivot affiliated with every strand of Judaism, including Modern Orthodox, Hasidic, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist.

The First American Yeshivot

The large influx of Jews from eastern Europe who immigrated to the United States in the late 19th century initially had little interest in sending their children to a yeshiva. Wanting their children to assimilate into American culture, these parents chose to educate their children in public schools while enrolling them in after-school programs that taught them about Judaism. Although many of these after-school institutions were called yeshivot, they did not provide the Talmudic instruction that was central to the eastern European tradition.

This development disturbed many Orthodox rabbis, who wanted boys to have a Jewish education that would protect them from acculturation

into the American mainstream. In 1886, Etz Chaim, the first elementary school providing advanced study of the Jewish religious texts, opened in a storefront on the Lower East Side of Manhattan in New York City. Study of the Torah and Talmud was the core of Etz Chaim’s instruction and was provided during most of the day, while secular subjects were taught after 4 P.M.

In 1898, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations was established, and this organization founded many other yeshivot. By 1906, there were 21 yeshivot in the United States that were modeled after the Lithuanian yeshivot that ordained rabbis. Talmudical Academy in New York City, established in 1916, was the first Orthodox Jewish high school in the country to offer traditional studies as well as a state-approved general education curriculum.

At the same time that these schools opened for boys, the Beth Yaakov movement provided education to Jewish girls. The Beth Yaakov schools, which originated in Poland in the early 20th century, did not feature Talmudic study but offered girls instruction in the Torah, prayers, and Jewish laws and customs. The first movement-affiliated school in the United States opened in the Williamsburg neighborhood of Brooklyn, and similar yeshivot were founded in Brooklyn’s East New York and Brownsville neighborhoods.

In 1921, Yeshiva Torah Vodaath, the fifth Jewish all-day elementary school in the United States, was founded in Williamsburg by Orthodox Jews from Poland. Five years later, the curriculum was expanded to include high school courses, and the school later opened a separate Talmudic academy for post-high school instruction.

“Black Hat” and Day Schools

In the 1930s and 1940s, a new wave of eastern European immigrants, fleeing Nazi persecution, settled in the United States. Among these immigrants were thousands of Orthodox Jews, trained in Lithuanian Talmudic academies, who opened up similar schools in their adopted country. These yeshivot were dubbed “black-hat schools,” in reference to the black hats worn by the Orthodox. These institutions included Ner Israel Yeshiva in Baltimore (founded 1933), Chofetz Chaim Yeshiva in Brooklyn (1933), Mesivta Tifereth Jerusalem in Manhattan (1937), and Yeshiva Chaim Berlin in

Brooklyn (1939). Telz Yeshiva was transplanted from Lithuania to Cleveland in 1941, and two years later, Beth Midrash Govaha, which would become the largest and most prestigious school for advanced Talmudic studies in the United States, was founded in Lakewood, New Jersey.

In the 1940s, a group of Orthodox rabbis and lay people founded the National Society for Hebrew Day Schools. Day schools rapidly expanded after World War II, becoming a fixture of Jewish communities in the newly developed suburban areas of the country. The day schools sought to provide both a secular American education and intensive learning of Jewish texts. By 1957, Jewish day schools were educating more than 2,500 students in 235 communities; by the 1970s, 67,000 students were receiving instruction in every Jewish community with a population larger than 7,500.

Yeshiva University

In 1896, 10 years after the opening of Etz Chaim, the founders of that school opened Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (RIETS), which provided advanced Talmudic study in the Yiddish language to Etz Chaim graduates who later became rabbis. Like the eastern European schools after which it was modeled, RIETS did not offer any specialized training for rabbis, believing that intensive knowledge of the Talmud and Torah was sufficient preparation for this work. However, this philosophy was challenged by another rabbinic training institute—the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), which opened in New York City in 1887. JTS offered practical courses aimed at training rabbis to write sermons and perform other duties, as well as internships for prospective rabbis. JTS attracted many students who would otherwise attend RIETS, where, in the early 20th century, a growing number argued that they needed to receive a secular, as well as religious, education and wanted specific instruction to enable them to become American rabbis.

The situation improved in 1915, when Bernard Revel became president of the newly merged RIETS and Etz Chaim. Revel, an Orthodox Lithuanian rabbi and scholar, wanted to create a college that would offer both religious instruction and a secular education, enabling students to enter the American mainstream while remaining true to their Orthodox beliefs. Revel hired eastern

European colleagues to bolster RIETS's Talmudic studies, as well as Orthodox Jews to teach Jewish history, philosophy, Hebrew studies, and the German language. He spearheaded a \$5 million fund-raising campaign that enabled the college to relocate in 1928 to a new campus in the Morning-side Heights neighborhood of Manhattan.

By 2012, the school had expanded to become Yeshiva University, with more than 6,400 undergraduate and graduate students at four New York City campuses. Students received education at three undergraduate schools—Yeshiva College, Stern College for Women, and Syms School of Business. In addition, the university offered graduate and professional education at RIETS, the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, and schools of social work, psychology, Jewish education and administration, and Jewish studies.

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See Also: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion; Jewish Americans; Jewish Theological Seminary; Lithuanian Americans.

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Yiddish

A Germanic language written in the Hebrew alphabet, Yiddish was the mother tongue of the Ashkenazi Jews, a population scattered throughout eastern Europe and the Russian Empire; starting in the 1880s, 2 million of them migrated to the United States. In America, Yiddish thrived as a main vehicle of eastern European Jewish culture as it found expression in literature, theater, music, and cinema.

Before migration, the status of Yiddish was quite low; lacking a proper grammar and a standard written form, intellectuals dismissed it as *zhargon* (“jargon”) or, worse, mere gibberish. In the multilingual milieu of eastern European towns and *shtetl*ack (“villages”), Jews used Hebrew in connection with religion and the national Christian languages spoken in the different areas of settlement (such as Russian, Polish, or Romanian) in their negotiations with bureaucracy and the outside world. Yiddish was restricted to the sphere of family and community. When new currents of thought influenced by the Enlightenment (known as *Haskalah*) spread from Germany into the Jewish settlements, intellectuals chose to publish their work in either German or Hebrew, languages with an established tradition of speculative thought and writing that Yiddish lacked.

The name *Yiddish* itself is a relatively recent denomination. First known as *taytsh* (a word that stresses its Germanic roots) or *losh-askenaz* (“the Ashkenazi’s tongue”), starting in the Renaissance, several names appeared that underlined the language’s Jewish element, such as *Judish-teutsh* or *Judische sprache*. The name *Yiddish* emerged only during the 19th century.

Origins

The oldest surviving written testimonies of Yiddish date back to the 13th century. Some scholars, however, following linguist Max Weinreich, place its formation between the 9th and 10th centuries, when Jews moved from France to the Rhine region and settled in Koln, Mainz, Worms, and Trier. Others, such as Robert King, argue that the language is more recent, and its development must be pushed forward to the 12th century, when Jews had spread to the southern regions of Germany. The lack of documentary sources, however, so far has made impossible any definitive agreement on the matter.

When they arrived in the Rhine region, Jewish migrants gradually abandoned the Romance vernacular they spoke and adopted the northwestern German dialect, retaining the Hebrew and Aramaic vocabulary connected to religion and ritual. As Jews moved eastward through further migrations, expressions and constructions from the Slavic tongues spoken in the new areas of settlement entered their language. By the beginning of the 19th century, three distinct Yiddish dialects

could be identified: Lithuanian, highly Germanized and considered the closest to a supposedly standard version of the language; the Polish or western; and the Ukrainian or southeastern.

Following the trends of the Enlightenment, Jewish intellectuals called for a progressive abandoning of Yiddish and adoption of German in its place as a necessary step toward integration into society at large—a move that gained currency between the ranks of the elites living in Germany and the western territories of the Austrian empire, but which was resisted in eastern Europe, the area that consequently became the gravitational center of Yiddish.

Yiddish in America

Eastern European Jews started to migrate to the United States in the 1880s and settled in urban areas, clustering in neighborhoods where they re-created the life of the *shtetl*. Yiddish was the main tongue of those new American ghettos, but the contact between different dialects and the looming presence of English meant the language underwent a process of development that resulted in a peculiar patois, with expressions such as *all-rightnik* (upstart, boaster), *boychik* (little boy) or *next doorige* (the people next door) that would be incomprehensible to those Jews who had stayed behind. Some contemporary observers claimed this patois, which they called Yinglish, should have been considered a completely distinct language. H. L. Mencken would note that the sentence “Die boys mit die meidlach (“girls”) haben a good time” was excellent American Yiddish.

The question of language would surface dramatically when, as the community grew in numbers, intellectuals and entrepreneurs saw the opportunity to start periodicals in Yiddish. The written form available at the time, derogatorily called *deutschmerish*, was a pompous and highly Germanized version of Yiddish, extremely distant from the language spoken in the street. This, on the other hand, lacked sophistication and the vocabulary to express complex ideas. Labor activists and intellectuals, who regarded a newspaper venture as instrumental in reaching out to the masses, keenly felt the urgency of this dilemma.

Abraham Cahan (1860–1950), one of the founders of the socialist *Arbeiter Zeitung*, pushed for the total banishment of *deutschmerish* and promoted

experimenting with a written form closer to everyday speech. The newspaper enjoyed immediate success, setting a lowbrow pattern that would be copied by radical dailies (such as the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*) and conservative papers alike (*Der Tageblatt*). When the *Arbeiter Zeitung* folded because of financial difficulties, Cahan would transplant its successful formula to his new venture, the *Vorvaerts* (*Jewish Daily Forward*), the only Yiddish newspaper of the immigrant era that has survived to this day, even if as a bilingual edition.

The language question continued to be the crucial issue for Yiddish writers, as witnessed in a 1943 article by Isaak Bashevis Singer (1902–91), “Problems of Yiddish Prose in America”; the Yiddish writer, Singer argued, found himself lost between two extremes: the old language and the patois spoken in the street. Although the former was too distant from the writer’s experience, the latter was unsuitable for any literary undertaking. The solution Singer proposed was for the Yiddish writer to re-create a mythical past using the old language. However, Singer’s later career would show how Yiddish could be used to engage with contemporary issues.

Literature

Far from setting limits, the lack of established norms was a liberating factor that made Yiddish a very malleable vehicle, fit to be employed in the different forms of popular culture, from Tin Pan Alley songs to dramatic theater. Yiddish newspapers, as a way of capturing a wider audience, started to feature poems, cartoons, and short stories that addressed the harsh conditions of immigrant life, the problems of adaptation, the conditions of labor, and nostalgia for the old country. In the pages of the dailies are scattered the seeds of Yiddish literature in America. The first immigrant poets and writers took direct inspiration from ordinary life in Jewish neighborhoods and were largely ignorant of the literary developments that were taking place in Europe around the same time.

In the 1890s, the “sweatshop” poets, like Morris Rosenfeld (1862–1923) and Morris Winchevsky (1856–1932), were the first to articulate the plight of fellow immigrants and in particular their difficult adaptation to the American way of life. Soon afterward, other schools emerged, producing a large and diverse body of poetry: the *Yiddishkeit*

(Jewishness) school, focused on tradition and the meaning of being Jewish in the contemporary world (Abraham Reisen, 1876–1953, was one of them); the *Di Yunge* (the young ones) movement, mainly concerned with symbolism (Moyshe-Leyb Halpern, 1886–1932); and the modernists of the *In zich* (into oneself) group (Jacob Glatstein, 1896–1971). Prose too, in spite of Singer’s doubts, enjoyed a wide flowering. Cahan’s first attempts at writing were in Yiddish, and only afterward did he choose English as the main vehicle of his creative fiction (his first tale is *Mottke Arbel*, later reworked and translated into “A Providential Match”). A number of short story writers, such as Leon Kobrin (1873–1946), Isaac Leib Peretz (1852–1915), and others, regularly contributed to newspapers and magazines. Lured by the improving circumstances of the Jewish community, the two major “European” Yiddish writers of the era, Sholem Asch (1880–1957) and Scholem Aleichem (1859–1916), eventually migrated to New York. Only the former, though, chose to engage with America in his fiction; he portrayed the life of the immigrant community in *Onkl Mozes* (*Uncle Moses*, 1918) and *East River* (1946).

As several scholars have pointed out, there is also a significant Yiddish presence in the work of Jewish Americans who wrote in English. Abraham Cahan and Anzia Yezierska employed Yiddish vocabulary as well as syntax in their writings, while the dialogues and interior monologues in *Call It Sleep* (1934), the experimental novel by Henry Roth, are literal English translations of the Yiddish spoken by the characters. Traces of bilingualism are also to be found in the novels and stories of second-generation writers such as Saul Bellow and Grace Paley.

After World War II, Isaac Bashevis Singer would become the major voice of Yiddish fiction worldwide. Having arrived in the United States in 1935, Singer took his major theme from the lot of Holocaust survivors: in works like *Shotns baym Hodson* (*Shadows on the Hudson*, 1957) and *Sonim, di Geshichte fun a Liebe* (*Enemies, A Love Story*, 1966), Singer portrayed a new immigrant generation in its attempt to come to terms with an America that seemed to celebrate a life for which the immigrants had lost any taste.

The golden era of Yiddish culture in America lasted until World War II, about a generation after

the 1924 immigration laws restricted access to the United States. The Holocaust, with its 6 million Yiddish-speaking victims, destroyed entire communities and modes of life in eastern Europe, depriving the speaking community of its most substantial terrain. When, in 1978, Singer was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, the occasion sounded like an official homage to a cultural movement whose moment was already past.

Holocaust camp survivors joined coreligionists in America or Israel, territories where the language was doomed to remain marginal, with speakers reduced in numbers with the passing of the generations. Some estimates put Yiddish speakers at 250,000 in the United States, to which another 200,000 living in Israel and other parts of the world should be added.

Of the rich Yiddish language culture that had flourished in the first half of the 20th century, few residual instances remain. A number of Yiddish words have come into everyday use in English, especially in the New York area, where terms like *schmuck*, *kosher*, and *schlep* have become of common use. The New York-based *Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut* (Yiddish Scientific Institute) has the goal to preserve, study, and teach the Yiddish language and culture. A small number of limited-circulation weeklies survives, as well as radio programs, like the *Forward Sho* (*The Yiddish Hour*) and *Dos Yidishe Kol* (*The Yiddish Voice*).

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See Also: Jewish Americans; Language Usage in the United States; Literature and Ethnic Diversity; Media, Foreign Language.

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Yiddish Theater

Yiddish theater was written and performed in the Yiddish language spoken by Ashkenazi Jews. Ashkenazi Jews are an ethnic group of Jewish people who settled in Germany in the early Middle Ages. Because the main centers of Jewish learning developed in Germany, many Jews in western and central Europe came to be called Ashkenazi after they adopted many of the same cultural and linguistic features, notably the use of Yiddish. The original Ashkenazi also migrated, forming communities throughout central and eastern Europe and Russia. Most of the Jewish immigrants to the United States were Ashkenazi or Sephardim, the Jewish community of Spain that later spread into France.

Yiddish developed among the Ashkenazi. Much as English is a Germanic language, with heavy Romance influences, Yiddish is a fusion of the Aramaic that the first Ashkenazi likely spoke, the Hebrew they learned for religious services, and the German dialects of the surrounding community. Slavic and Romance elements were incorporated as Ashkenazi migrated. Yiddish is written using the Hebrew alphabet. Today, Yiddish is the native language of about 1.8 million people, with at least another 10 million fluent in Yiddish as a second language. It was the primary language of the Ashkenazi Jews for centuries and is the primary language in most Hasidic communities; the use of Yiddish in Israel, where Hebrew and Arabic are the national languages, is subject to ongoing debate. The Holocaust not only destroyed the lives of many Yiddish speakers but also disrupted Yiddish-speaking culture.

Yiddish literary culture flourished in the 19th century, in parallel with the rise of modern Hebrew, after a brief decline during the Enlightenment. The popular stories of Sholem Aleichem about Tevye the Dairyman were later translated into English and were adapted into the Broadway musical (and film) *Fiddler on the Roof*. Yiddish film developed in the early 20th century, and the language was the official language of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, and Belarus.

Early Yiddish Theater

Yiddish theater encompasses many genres, including musical comedies, naturalist dramas,

modernist drama, operettas, nostalgic revues, and satires. Religious plays were published in Yiddish in the early 18th century, and Yiddish theater as an art form hit its stride in the 19th and 20th centuries. The professional Yiddish theater began in 1876, and it quickly became widespread throughout the Ashkenazi diaspora, including eastern Europe and the United States, where many Ashkenazi Jews had immigrated. There were both permanent Yiddish theaters and traveling theater troupes, but the troupes were primarily responsible for the spread of the theater. Like the Italian traveling theater troupes, many Yiddish

performances were based around standard types, like the villain and villainess, the comic, the prima donna, the lover, and a few distinctive roles called for by the plot, like a soldier or tailor. Troupes were originally all-male, but not for long.

One of the earliest pieces in Yiddish theater to be embraced and endure is Abraham Goldfaden's comedy *Schmendrik, or the Comical Wedding*, the title of which is a play on *The Chymical Wedding*, a 16th-century foundational text of Rosicrucianism. A religious school student, Schmendrik is foolish and clueless, and the plot centers around his arranged marriage to a girl who attempts to evade the marriage because she is both in love with someone else and affronted by Schmendrik. Hence, the term *Schmendrik* in Yiddish is both affectionate and derisive.

Yiddish theater arrived in the United States in 1881, when recent immigrant Boris Thomashefsky, then 12 years old, heard songs from Yiddish theatrical productions sung by his fellow immigrants and became determined to introduce them to America. Thomashefsky made money singing at the synagogue and soon made theatrical connections in order to put on the first Yiddish theatrical production in New York City. The Jewish community opposed it at first, believing that Yiddish theater was an undignified remnant of the old country, but the performance was a success, and Thomashefsky's company soon went on the road. A dozen more Yiddish theater companies opened in New York in the next 50 years, and 200 traveling troupes were formed. Plays ranged from adaptations of William Shakespeare or recent modern plays—not only presented in Yiddish, but also typically turning the characters into modern Jews—to new works of drama centered on the tensions between Jewish immigrants and their American-born children, or different religious groups within the Jewish community.

Broad Appeal

There were Yiddish versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Faust*, *Salome*, *Hamlet*, *Hedda Gabler*, and even Richard Wagner's *Parsifal*. Because of these adaptations and the tendency of traveling troupes toward melodrama, the dignified Jewish community had originally opposed the theater. But just as Shakespeare had presented his plays in a form that the rabble would tolerate, Yiddish



A poster introducing the show *King Solomon at the Thalia Theater*, which was playing in New York in 1897. Yiddish theater grew quickly after the first troupes were formed as the result of a strong Jewish literary intellectual culture.

theater took works of high art and presented them as entertainment of low culture. Still, Jewish intellectuals in the early 20th century made a frequent target of the Yiddish theater, which continued to grow in popularity and was frequently relied upon as a means of fund-raising for philanthropic organizations, labor unions, and mutual aid societies.

As with vaudeville, audience members at Yiddish theater productions did not sit quietly in their seats. Whereas vaudeville was known for its hecklers and catcallers in the audience, at the Yiddish theater, the audience would loudly cheer and hiss the heroes and villains, and cry at the dramatic turns of melodramas. It is widely believed the theater provided a necessary form of catharsis at a cheap price, much like movies. It was not solely for the proletariat: The Yiddish theater was truly egalitarian in its appeal, despite the complaints of some vocal intellectuals.

From 1905 to 1908, half a million Jewish immigrants arrived in the United States, and Yiddish theater not only underwent a boom period, but also tended toward broader appeal in order to reach the masses. The Thomashefskys put aside the more sophisticated plays that they had developed in favor of broader comedies, and plays by now-well-respected playwrights like Jacob Gordin failed commercially. Critically acclaimed Yiddish plays in the United States hit a new golden age only a decade later, with S. Ansky's *The Dybbuk* and H. Leivick's *The Golem*.

Two of the stars of New York Yiddish theater were Jacob Adler and his wife, Sara. Their daughter Stella, born in 1901 on the Lower East Side, acted in her parent's Independent Yiddish Art Company before making her English-language debut on Broadway at the age of 21. She went on to study acting with Russian actor-director Constantin Stanislavski and opened the Stella Adler School of Acting in 1949. One of the most influential figures in American acting, she taught Marlon Brando, Robert De Niro, Martin Sheen, Melanie Griffith, Warren Beatty, and Peter Bogdanovich.

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See Also: Jewish Americans; Musical Theater and Ethnic Diversity; Theater and Ethnic Diversity.

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Young Lords

Originally a Chicago street gang, the Young Lords emerged as a civil rights–conscious and political empowerment–minded youth movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, known for its confrontational tactics and radicalism. The Young Lords were founded in September 1968 as a reformed street gang under the leadership of José “Cha Cha” Jiménez, a native of Puerto Rico whose family relocated to Chicago during childhood. The Young Lords drew inspiration from the social activism of the era, such as the black civil rights movement, the anti–Vietnam War movement, and the charisma of Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party, and others. Jiménez envisioned the Young Lords as a Black Panther–like organization for Puerto Ricans and other Latinos.

Although the Young Lords originated in Chicago and chapters existed in numerous cities throughout the northeast, the New York City chapter became the Young Lords’ largest and most notable. The New York City chapter of the Young Lords Party was formally established on July 26, 1969, by several socially conscious Puerto Rican college students after they had traveled to Chicago and personally met with Jiménez.

Founding members included Felipe Luciano, Juan Gonzalez, Mickey Melendez, Denise Oliver, Iris Morales, and Pablo “Yoruba” Guzman. The Young Lords Party adopted a 13-point program as its mission statement in October 1969, which called for the independence of Puerto Rico, an end to U.S. military intervention overseas, an end to racism and economic exploitation, greater governmental attention to issues of poverty and social neglect, and the establishment of a socialist society. The Young Lords also adopted a distinct

uniform that consisted of an Army fatigue jacket, a purple beret, and combat boots.

During the summer of 1969, the Young Lords launched a Garbage Offensive to protest the city's lack of adequate trash disposal service in East Harlem (affectionately known as *El Barrio* by locals). Members stole a dozen large brooms from the local Department of Sanitation and proceeded to sweep the neighborhood streets, accumulating the trash into a five-foot-tall barrier along Third Avenue that caused an acute traffic jam. Eventually, the Young Lords set the wall of trash on fire as local residents cheered the young radicals' brashness. This Garbage Offensive resulted in city efforts to improve trash removal within *El Barrio*.

In perhaps the organization's most memorable action, the Young Lords occupied the First Spanish Methodist Church in East Harlem for 11 days in December 1969 and January 1970. After seizing control, the Young Lords converted the church into a makeshift community center that offered a free breakfast program for school children, donated clothing, and films and musical entertainment for local residents. The New York Police Department ultimately stormed the church and arrested 103 Young Lords. As the police escorted the arrestees from the church, the defiant Lords raised their clenched right fists overhead to the cheers of onlooker local residents who sang "Que Bonita Bandera," a prideful Puerto Rican anthem.

The Young Lords began to decline in membership as well as influence after 1971 because of the confluence of several factors. During that year's Puerto Rican Day Parade, the Young Lords attempted to take control of the event. Former Young Lord Miguel "Mickey" Melendez admits that his organization aimed to prevent the Puerto Rican officers of the New York Police Department from marching at the head of the parade, as was customary. This showdown escalated into a violent confrontation that encompassed many of the parade's bystanders and spectators, marking a significant turning point in the larger Nuyorican community's views of the Young Lords' radical agenda and tactical operations. Another major factor contributing to the downfall of the Young Lords was infiltration of the organization by undercover agents as part of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO).

During the early 1970s, the Young Lords devoted a much sharper focus toward advocating for the independence of Puerto Rico and dispatched a significant volume of its personnel and finances to the Caribbean island in an effort to marshal support for the independence movement. This strategy proved counterproductive, as the island's population did not regard their New York-born and -bred coethnics as sufficiently knowledgeable about Puerto Rico's culture and politics, and an independence movement already existed on the island. Lastly, internal strife produced divisions among the Young Lords, as several female members alleged that sexism prevented many of them from achieving positions of power within the male-dominated organization.

By the 1980s, the Young Lords were a relic of the radical 1960s. Reformist tactical approaches of the Ronald Reagan–George H. W. Bush years replaced antiestablishment tactics of the civil rights–Vietnam era, rendering the organization obsolete. Nevertheless, the legacy of the Young Lords lives on in the hearts and minds of socially conscious Nuyoricans today, especially among those who directly benefitted from the organization's activism and services. The Young Lords drew greater visibility in American society to the social conditions of lower-income Latinos living in East Harlem and the South Bronx, and their activism helped lead to the establishment of Puerto Rican/Latino Studies courses in many northeastern colleges and universities. Nuyorican actress and filmmaker Rosie Pérez highlights the Young Lords in her 2006 documentary *Yo Soy Boricua, Pa'Que Tu Lo Sepas!*.

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See Also: Latinos; Nuyoricans; Puerto Ricans.

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Z

Zionism

Zionism, one of the most complex and controversial movements of modern history, is a political, religious, nationalist, and cultural endeavor that supports a Jewish nation-state in territory defined as “the Land of Israel”—the geographic and biblical heartland of the Jewish faith

Zionism offered a bold resolution to what was commonly referred to as “the Jewish Question”—the seemingly intractable refusal or inability on the part of Western nations to allow their Jewish populations to assimilate into mainstream society. Zionism has been referred to as “the national liberation movement of the Jewish people,” a radical vision of normalization for a dispersed, alien, homeless, religiously condemned, and often physically persecuted international community.

Background

From its beginning, Zionism advocated secular as well as spiritual aims, reflecting the dual nature of Jewish identity as both a religion (Judaism) and a national or ethnic designation (“Jewishness” or “Jewish peoplehood”). Jews from every ideological position—left and right, secular and religious—joined together to create a Jewish sovereign state in Palestine for the purpose of transforming the victimized European Jews and the second-class

Jews of Muslim lands into a redeemed biblical Jew—the agrarian man of the earth, the fierce warrior, the passionate man of God.

The word *Zionism* was coined in 1890 by Nathan Birnbaum, an Austrian Jewish publicist. In his essay, the term *self emancipation* is derived from a biblical source: the word *Zion*, one of the common names of Jerusalem, the sacred capital of the Kingdom of Israel.

Zionism does not have a uniform ideology because of the many competing ideologies among the founders of the movement. From the first Zionist Conference in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897, the often fierce struggle for supremacy between Zionist factions quickly erupted: Political Zionism, Labor Zionism, Revisionist Zionism, and Religious Zionism battled to determine the prevailing identity of the Jewish homeland in Palestine, a struggle that continues today in the present state of Israel.

To illustrate the paradoxical nature of the Jewish movement, one can simply point to the many ultra-Orthodox Jews who opposed Zionism as a blasphemous preemption of the Messianic Age (since only the Messiah, with God’s support, can bring about Jewish rule in the Holy Land), while some of the key founders of the state of Israel were unbending atheists. It is important, therefore, to explain Zionism by clarifying the historical ideologies that characterized the movement from the outset.

Labor Zionism

Labor Zionism provided the most powerful ideology during the founding years of pre-state Israel and prevailed as the dominant ruling party in government until 1977. The movement had its origins in the first intellectual document of the Zionist movement—Moshe Hess’s book *Rome and Jerusalem: The Last National Question*, published in 1862. Hess perceived European Jewry as a nonproductive, dependent merchant class that desperately needed a process of transformation through “redemption of the soil”—a return to the tilling of the earth, as in the days of the Bible. Such a transformation, however, could take place only in a new and sovereign Jewish homeland. Hess is now considered a key founder of Labor/Socialist Zionism as well as a key intellectual forebear of the Israeli kibbutz movement.

Political Zionism

Two years later, in 1894, Theodore Herzl, a highly assimilated Austrian Jewish journalist, covered the Dreyfus Trial in Paris. There, he witnessed the frightening outbreak of virulent anti-Semitism throughout France, the presumed bastion of brotherhood, reason, and egalitarianism. Deeply shaken by the convulsions of the Dreyfus Affair, Herzl became an ardent Zionist, the father of the movement known as Political Zionism, and the most revered founder of the current state of Israel.

In his visionary work *The Jewish State*, published in 1896, Herzl provided the most widely read foundation for Zionism as a pragmatic solution to the Jewish Question. Herzl firmly believed that the Great Powers would support the Jewish in-gathering into a national home because, once and for all, Zionism would remove the Jews as a demographic anomaly in their midst. Herzl wrote:

We are a people—one people. The idea I have established in this pamphlet is an ancient one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State . . . We have sincerely tried everywhere to merge with the national communities in which we live, seeking only to preserve the faith of our fathers. It is not permitted us . . . Palestine is our unforgettable historic homeland . . . We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and in our own homes, peacefully die.

Although Herzl died prematurely in 1904, his vision was carried forth by Chaim Weitzman, Herzl’s acknowledged successor as international leader of the Zionist movement. Weitzman secured England’s official sanction for a Jewish homeland in Palestine in the Balfour Declaration of 1917, considered one of the most important documents in Zionist history. Commitment to the Zionist cause was confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922, the U.S. Congress in 1923, the British Peel Commission in 1937, and, finally and most conclusively, by the United Nations General Assembly on November 29, 1947, with the passage of Resolution 181, sanctioning two states in Palestine—Arab and Jewish—with recognized borders, economic unions, and internationally accepted governmental institutions. Throughout the subsequent years of struggle to defend and sustain the Jewish state, other Zionist ideologies vied for power with Labor and Political Zionism.

Religious Zionism

Religious Zionism is advocated by observant Jews who support Zionist efforts to build a Jewish state in Palestine. Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, the main proponent of the movement, justified Zionism by citing Jewish law, which sanctifies Jewish resettlement of God’s biblically Promised Land as part of a divine scheme. Resettlement, Kook asserted, would bring *geula* (salvation) to the Jews and then to the entire world. After the refoundation of the Jewish homeland, the Messiah would come, bringing peace and harmony to all humankind, as envisioned by the biblical Prophets. Therefore, settlement in Israel is an obligation for all religious Jews, and promoting Zionism is actually following God’s will. For many religious Jews, giving up “holy” land for political reasons is sacrilegious, as evidenced by the assassination in 1995 of Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin by an extremist supporter of Rabbi Kook’s ideology.

Zionism Today: Triumphs and Challenges

Despite its turbulent history, the Zionist movement has achieved undeniable success. Perceived originally by many Jews and non-Jews alike as a fanciful daydream, Zionism within five decades obtained international sanction for Jewish self-determination and political statehood. The physical redemption of the Jewish people in their primal

homeland after an absence of 2,000 years is almost unprecedented in human history.

Israel today is a modern, secular, democratic state that now ranks among the top 24 world economic powers. The public culture of the state is Jewish; Hebrew, the ancient language of the Jews, has been revived as an everyday mode of discourse; the nation commemorates Jewish religious holidays and historic events; and concern for the fate of international Jewry remains a crucial topic on the national agenda. In addition, state lands, immigration, and the defense of the population are in the hands of a Jewish government. In just half a century, Israel has become home to the largest Jewish community in the world.

American Zionism

Significant numbers of American Jews today derive their sense of Jewish identity through their commitment to the Zionist movement and to their ongoing support of the state of Israel. Zionist organizations such as the Zionist Organization of America, the American Zionist Federation, Hadassah, American Friends of Israeli Universities, Pioneer Women, and many others offer membership affiliations and fund-raising opportunities for hundreds of thousands of American Jews who are loyal Americans but passionate supporters of the Jewish nation.

AIPAC, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the official lobbying entity on behalf of Israel in America, is considered one of the most effective and powerful lobbies in Washington. More recently, J Street, a left-of-center, pro-Israel lobby, has attracted attention and support from thousands of American Jews who are dissatisfied with what they perceive to be the “hawkish” stance of AIPAC.

Jewish Federations, the key fund-raising arms of the American Jewish community, raise hundreds of millions of dollars annually on behalf of Israel’s Jewish Agency, the agency that deals with the settlement and needs of Jewish immigrants to Israel. In times of crisis in Israel, American Jews have responded with historic generosity and emotional support. For example, American Jews raised \$150 million during Israel’s War of Independence in 1948 and \$318 million during the Six-Day War of 1967. Immediately after the 1967 war, over 10,000 American Jews made

aliya—emigrated to Israel. Approximately 3,000 American Jews choose to emigrate to Israel each year, and the current American Jewish population in Israel today numbers over 80,000.

American Jewish support of Zionism, however, was late in its development. Comfortable in the new “American Zion,” desperate to assimilate into mainstream American society and culture, and fearful of the accusation of “dual loyalty,” the majority of American Jews throughout the first decades of the 20th century strongly resisted the appeal of the Zionists.

Louis Brandeis and His Influence on American Zionism

Louis Brandeis did more than anyone else to change the American Jewish attitude of indifference and outright hostility to Zionism. His magnetic leadership led American Jews to see Zionism not only as the means of rescuing oppressed Jews in Europe but also as the key to American Jewish renewal.

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, to affluent German Jewish parents, Brandeis became a brilliant lawyer and the first Jew appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Drawn to Zionism by a beloved uncle, Brandeis became an ardent convert to the cause, and by 1915 was the leading national spokesperson for the still-fledgling movement.

Brandeis’s most important concept was that Zionism and Americanism were compatible. A Jew could be loyal to both America and to Zionism because the two were simply different expressions of the same basic values. “The highest Jewish ideals are essentially American in a very important particular,” he proclaimed. “It is democracy that Zionism represents. It is social justice that Zionism represents, and every bit of that is the American ideal of the 20th century. Zionism is the pilgrim impulse all over again,” he continually announced. “To be good Americans, we must be good Jews, and to be better Jews, we must become Zionists.”

Brandeis asserted the social ideal of pluralism, the belief that loyalty to America does not negate ethnic, racial, religious or national pride, a concept that gradually replaced the “melting pot” theory that defined a “good” American as one who had melded into a uniform, harmonious, nationally acknowledged image called an “American.”

Under Brandeis's leadership, American Zionism swelled its ranks to 200,000 by the 1920s, and by 1942, with the full horror of Adolf Hitler's atrocities becoming known, Zionism became the common thread that bound together all segments of the Jewish community.

Though American Jews proved powerless to save more than a token number of European Jews during the Holocaust, American Zionists were instrumental in persuading President Harry S. Truman to affirm Israeli statehood after the United Nations Partition Vote in 1947, a gesture of support that may well have saved the newborn state.

American Zionism, therefore, has become a crucial element in the continuance of the Jewish state, despite the many differences over Israeli governmental policies that strain the Jewish community today. Support for Israel's security remains strong, both among the American Jewish community and as the official policy of the American government.

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See Also: Anti-Semitism; Diaspora; Israeli Americans; Jewish Americans; Jewish Federation; Jewish Theological Seminary; Religion and Ethnic Diversity.

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Zoot Suit

Zoot Suit is a musical play by Luis Valdez that deals with the Sleepy Lagoon murder trial of the 38th Street Gang, a group of zoot-suited Chicano youth known as pachucos, and the Zoot Suit riots

in Los Angeles during World War II. It debuted as the first Chicano play on Broadway in 1979. The music is by Daniel Valdez and the "father of Chicano music," Lalo Guerrero. *Zoot Suit* later was adapted for a film directed by Luis Valdez. The play is narrated, with an idealized zoot suiter, El Pachuco, performing most of the songs. El Pachuco also comments on the play as it unfolds and serves as the conscience for the protagonist. Edward James Olmos played El Pachuco.

The Zoot Style of Dress

"Zoot" was a slang word common in the 1930s jazz subculture. "Zoot," according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, rhymes with "suit," making zoot a reduplication of suit. Suits were zoot; thus, zoot suit. The suit included a killer diller coat, drape shape, reet pleat, and all that jazz. "Zoot" meant dress or attire in an extravagant style.

There is disagreement about the origin of the suit. One source says the zoot suit was an urban style of poor black men and their tailors in Harlem. Another attributes the zoot suit to Italian Americans and African Americans in Chicago. Zoot suits were worn by blacks, Hispanics, and Italians in the eastern United States in the 1930s and 1940s. Regardless of the source, by the 1940s, poor Mexican American young men adopted the style, as did working-class youth, regardless of skin color. The long coat was sometimes also worn by female gang members. Zoot suiters included César Chávez and Malcolm X, as well as dancers and entertainers.

The coat was long and draped, and the pants were high-waisted, baggy, and oversized, with severely pegged cuffs. Coats had padded shoulders and wide lapels. The coat had to be long, and the pants had to be really full at the knees and tightly pegged at the cuffs. The zoot suit required a conspicuous ducktail hairstyle and a broad-rimmed flat hat or fedora with a large feather in the back. The fedora with a feather in the rim was known as a "tapa."

Only around 3 percent of Mexican American young men wore zoot suits or belonged to gangs wearing the style, but the media exaggerated, labeling all Mexican Americans as zoot-suited gang members. The 38th Street Gang railroaded in the Sleepy Lagoon case wore zoot suits. By the early



The zoot suit included high-waisted, wide-legged, tight-cuffed, pegged trousers. The amount of material and tailoring required to produce them made them a luxury item during war years.

1940s, the zoot suit was the uniform of the defiant, whether rioters or more generalized juvenile delinquents (something else new in the wartime milieu).

The American government wanted to stop people from wearing the suits because they appeared to use too much fabric and therefore were unpatriotic and disrespectful in wartime. Made of wool and silk, the tailor-made suits available on the black market defied wool rationing and the ban on silk for purposes other than the war effort.

A Play Based on Real-Life Events

The play *Zoot Suit* was first performed in Los Angeles on August 17, 1978. It set box office records before moving on to the Aquarius Theater in Hollywood. Its Broadway run of 41 performances spanned March 25 through April 29, 1975. Universal Studios, inspired by the play's success, converted *Zoot Suit* into the first Chicano-written, -directed, and -performed feature-length movie.

The protagonist, Henry Reyna, is based on the real-life Henry Leyvas. Reyna leads a pachuco

gang that, on the eve of his induction into the navy, allegedly murders a rival gang leader at a party. Reyna's entire gang is jailed, charged, and tried unfairly. While in jail, Reyna develops a crush on his legal aide, and his brother is injured in the Zoot Suit riots. A reporter provides updates of public opinion by reading news headlines during the play.

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See Also: César Chávez Day; Mexican Americans; Motion Pictures; Sleepy Lagoon Case; World War II; Zoot Suit Riots.

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Zoot Suit Riots

In 1943, zoot-suited young Mexican Americans and uniformed young American G.I.s clashed violently on the streets of Los Angeles in an episode known as the Zoot Suit riots. At that time, Los Angeles had one of the largest Mexican populations in the United States. First-generation Mexican immigrants worked for low pay in poor areas. Their offspring, the young and restless zoot-suited pachucos, frequented downtown pool halls, movies, dance halls, and other entertainment facilities. The hot style for young minority males in 1943 was the zoot suit and an extreme ducktail hairstyle. Zoot style and pachuco attitude were "look-at-me" defiant.

War-stressed whites perceived the pachucos as threats similar to the Japanese and Japanese

Americans just recently moved to detention centers. The chief of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) equated Mexicans with Indians and Asians and classed them as bloodthirsty Aztecs. The 1942 Sleepy Lagoon trial had intensified an already strong anti-Hispanic mood in the community, and the local media were touting a Mexican crime wave caused by zoot-suited pachucos and gangsters, equated in the press reports.

Pachucos were not the only young men in downtown Los Angeles. The area's bases were full of young men confronting imminent transfer to the war zone. Young G.I.s found Mexican American culture in general, and pachuco style in particular, to be alien, perhaps offensive or threatening. Initially the G.I.s treated the pachucos mockingly, but soon they began to resent that the pachucos were civilians while they were preparing to ship overseas. It did not matter that Mexican Americans were overrepresented in the military or that the ones on the streets were underage; the ones the soldiers saw were not in uniform at all but rather were strutting their stuff.

The riots began on May 31. Twelve sailors and soldiers walking down Main Street in East Los Angeles crossed the street to talk to a group of women. Seaman Joe Dacy Coleman remained behind. A group of pachucos approached, exchanged words, and attacked Dacy. Meanwhile, another group of pachucos assaulted the servicemen across the street. Surprised and determined to rid the streets of criminal gangs, the sailors and soldiers mobilized.

Three days later, 50 sailors headed from the Chavez Ravine naval reserve armory in search of Mexican Americans downtown. On June 4, 1943, about 200 sailors, bored and bigoted and responding to a claim that the night before, pachucos had robbed and beaten several sailors, hired cabs and headed for East Los Angeles with the aim of beating and stripping any young man they saw. Thousands of those stationed awaiting shipment overseas headed to the bars, parks, theaters, and restaurants, dragging Hispanics out and beating them. Servicemen stripped the zoot suits and cut the ducktails. Los Angeles police officers stood by, watching. Through June 5, the action stayed downtown, but on June 6 it moved to the East Los Angeles barrio, and June 7 was the most severe day of the riots.

Authorities made a few token arrests but did not detain the sailors. Perceiving the token effort as a green light, soldiers and sailors marched through the barrio, entering bars and movie theaters and assaulting and embarrassing all young Latinos, pachuco or not. The G.I.s also assaulted young Filipinos and blacks in the area. Police accompanied the G.I. caravans. The shore patrol and military police abdicated their responsibility for controlling the soldiers and sailors.

Media Attention

Newspapers bore a significant responsibility. Newspapers used pachucos as scapegoats, internal enemies, and a diversion from the war. The *Los Angeles Daily News* regarded the riots as a cleansing. The newspaper's coverage of pachucos and pachucas in the 1940s identified them as delinquent and nonconformist in language and behavior, and it classed pachucos as gangsters speaking an indecipherable argot.

The servicemen with no previous experience learned their racism from the press. The press praised the servicemen for taking on Mexican criminals. The media also fueled citizen paranoia about the loyalty of a minority group during wartime. The public increasingly saw the pachucos as foreign, unpatriotic, and a threat. Law enforcement was also discriminatory against Indians, Mexican Americans, and pachucos. The Los Angeles City Council banned the wearing of zoot suits.

National condemnation was immediate, with First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt noting that the problem was more than a clothing issue but was rather a racial one. A Los Angeles newspaper accused her of fomenting racial disharmony and labeled her a communist sympathizer. Pressure was applied to the press to stop publishing negative and misleading articles on zoot-suiters.

The riot resulted in 150 injuries and 500 arrests. When the military police and shore patrol proved derelict in controlling the military, the police began arresting Latinos for "rioting" and vagrancy. After federal pressure, local authorities clamped down. The marine and navy commanders restricted their men to their barracks on June 7, and the riots ended the next day. The navy maintained that its personnel had acted in self-defense. Although rioting quieted in Los Angeles on June

8, other ports and cities had riots of their own, including Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and Harlem (where black zoot-suiters were targeted).

Los Angeles County later investigated the riots, human relations committees arose, and policemen received instructions to treat all persons equally. The Mexican ambassador asked Secretary of State Henry Stettinius to investigate. The mayor of Los Angeles responded to a complaint by the Mexican government by minimizing the racial nature of the riots and blaming the pachucos. The riots resolved nothing, merely serving as an indicator of the unsettled state of race relations in an unsettled wartime environment.

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See Also: Mexican Americans; Race Riots; Sleepy Lagoon Case; *Zoot Suit*.

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Glossary

AASS: The American Anti-Slavery Society; founded in 1833 in Philadelphia, it was the first American organization dedicated to abolishing slavery.

Abolition: A movement in the United States to end slavery; the abolitionist movement dates back to the 17th century, but was most powerful in the 19th century, particularly in the decades leading up to the Civil War.

Aborigine: The first inhabitants of a geographic region, as opposed to those who arrived later; a comparable term is “indigenous.”

Accommodationism: A philosophy associated with Booker T. Washington that argues that African Americans should accept white domination in the present and expect to be granted full rights only gradually.

Acculturation: The process by which people change by adopting characteristics of a new and dominant culture; for instance, immigrants to a country may acculturate by adopting attitudes and habits typical of those native to the culture.

Affirmative action: laws and policies meant to counter past discrimination or wrongs against a group of people, such as members of minority racial groups.

African American: A citizen of the United States who has ancestry traceable to sub-Saharan Africa. Although definitions sometimes differ, those descended from white or Asian residents of Africa, and naturalized citizens from Caribbean or African countries, are usually not included in this category, although the offspring of naturalized citizens from African and Caribbean countries may be.

African Blood Brotherhood: An organization founded in 1919 by Cyril Briggs to advocate for African American civil rights and to combat lynching.

African burial ground: An African cemetery discovered in lower Manhattan, New York City, during construction of the Foley Square Project Federal Building; it contains the remains of over 400 persons of African descent.

African Studies Association: An organization founded in 1957 in New York City to promote research on Africa and encourage communication among those working in the field.

Afrocentrism: A focus on African history and culture, including in the African diaspora—that is, countries—such as the United States where many individuals have African ancestry but the

dominant culture is based on European values and traditions.

Alaska Purchase: The 1867 purchase of the territory of Alaska by the United States from Russia.

Amerasians: People who have both Asian and American ancestry.

American Colonization Society: An organization founded in 1816 by Robert Finley, originally called the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States. The purpose of this organization was to help free African Americans emigrate to Liberia, then a colony in Africa.

An American Dilemma: A 1944 study published by Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal, working on a commission by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, analyzing relations between African Americans and whites in the United States.

American Indian: As defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a person who is registered or enrolled with an American Indian tribe and can demonstrate that at least one-fourth of his or her lineage is from American Indian tribes. Other definitions are used in other contexts.

American Indian reservation: An area recognized by the federal government and held in trust for the use of a given tribe; within a reservation, the tribe is the primary authority.

American Jewish Committee: An organization founded in 1906 by Oscar Straus, Jacob Schiff, and Cyrus Sulzberger to defend Jewish rights in the United States and around the world; the founding of the American Jewish Committee was prompted by pogroms in Russia in 1903 and 1905.

American Negro Labor Congress: An organization founded in 1925 to promote union organizing among African Americans and to promote integration of the American Federation of Labor.

Amish: A group of people whose religious roots go back to the Anabaptist movement in Europe,

who settled in the United States, and who maintain distinctive customs including limited use of modern technology.

Amsterdam News: An African American newspaper founded in New York City in 1909 by James H. Anderson.

Amnesty: Turning an illegal situation into a legal situation; in the case of immigration, amnesty generally refers to a government or authority allowing those who have entered a country illegally to become legal immigrants, perhaps after fulfilling certain conditions.

Anti-Semitism: Prejudice and discrimination directed toward Jews and persons of Jewish descent.

Arranged marriage: A marriage resulting from a pairing initiated not by the two individuals involved, but by parents, relatives, professional matchmakers, and so forth; no force is implied in the term *arranged marriage*, and the parties involved may retain the right to refuse a match.

Asian American: A person of Asian heritage living in the United States.

Assimilation: A process by which people of different ethnic and cultural heritages are absorbed into the dominant culture of the region in which they live.

Asylum seeker: Someone who wishes to obtain refugee status in a country.

Bar mitzvah: A Jewish ceremony, usually performed when a boy reaches the age of 13, recognizing his religious maturity; the equivalent for girls is the Bat mitzvah.

BIA: The Bureau of Indians Affairs, created in the U.S. War Department in 1849 to oversee treaty negotiations. The BIA was moved to the Department of the Interior after the Civil War and was granted broad authority to govern Indian affairs. Today, the chief responsibilities of the BIA include education, medical care, economic development, and other services to reservations.

Bidialecticism: A description of the ability of some individuals to communicate in two dialects, for instance standard American English and black English.

Bilingual: Being fluent in two languages; sometimes, the term is interpreted to mean being equally fluent in both languages.

The Birth of a Nation: A groundbreaking 1919 American feature film directed by D. W. Griffith and based on *The Clansman*, a novel by Thomas Dixon. *The Birth of a Nation* is notable both for its innovative formal techniques and for the racist and stereotypical nature of its plot.

Black codes: Laws passed in 1865 and 1866 in southern states to restrict the rights of newly freed slaves (and all African Americans). Typical restrictions of these codes included prohibiting African Americans from working in particular occupations, testifying against white Americans in court, holding public office, or serving on juries.

Black Panther Party: An organization founded within the African American community of Oakland, California, by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in 1966; the original name was the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. The Black Panthers played an important role in the Black Power movement.

Blaxploitation films: A genre of American feature films produced in the late 1960s and early 1970s that focused on the urban African American experience; examples include *Shaft* (1971), *Superfly* (1972), *Black Caesar* (1973), and *Cleopatra Jones* (1973).

B'nai B'rith: A Jewish fraternal organization founded in New York City in 1853; it is the oldest Jewish fraternal organization in the United States and the largest Jewish organization in the world.

Boat people: A term used to describe individuals who fled Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia after the fall of Saigon in 1975 to North Vietnamese forces.

Boriquen: A term referring to the indigenous natives of Puerto Rico and also to the island as a whole.

Braceros: Mexican laborers allowed to work temporarily in the United States to help meet the demand for labor during World War II.

Bris: The Jewish ritual of circumcising boys, performed by a mohel or professional ritual circumciser, traditionally taking place on the eighth day of life.

Brown v. Board of Education: A 1954 Supreme Court decision that struck down the “separate but equal” principle and ruled that discrimination in public schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Census block: A designation by the United States Census for areas bounded by visible features; in a city. A census block is usually a small area using city streets as boundaries, but in rural areas, census blocks may be large and irregularly shaped.

Census block group: A designation by the United States Census for a cluster of census blocks, with an optimum size of 1,500 people and a range of 600 to 3,000 people.

Census region: Areas of the United States as defined by the Census Bureau. There are four Census regions: northeast, midwest, south, and west.

Census tract: An area designation by the U.S. Census Bureau; census tracts do not cross county lines and ideally have 4,000 people, with a range from 1,500 to 8,000 people.

Chamorro: A term referring to the indigenous peoples of the Mariana Islands and Guam.

Chicano/Chicana: A Mexican American (male/female); the term was adopted in the 1960s and can apply to culture as well as to individuals.

Chinese American: A person of Chinese descent living in the United States.

Civil Rights Act of 1964: A law giving the federal government wide powers to promote desegregation and end discrimination in public facilities, including education, and banning discrimination

in employment on the basis of race, sex, color, or national origin.

COINTELPRO: The Counterintelligence Program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), aimed at disrupting and neutralizing many political organizations, including many involved in the civil rights movement.

Colonialism: A process by which one society extends its cultural, economic, and political domination on another; for instance, the process by which European settlers came to dominate the Native American societies of North America.

Color line: A term referring to the divisions between people based on their skin color.

Compromise of 1850: A series of federal laws that represented a compromise between those who supported slavery and those who did not; provisions included allowing California to enter the union as a free state, allowing the slave trade to be practiced in Washington, D.C., and enacting a strong fugitive slave law that would give special federal commissioners the power to arrest fugitive slaves in free states and return them to their owners.

CORE: The Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights organization founded in Chicago in 1942.

Creole: A culture produced through the merging of two or more distinct cultures, a person who is a product of those merged cultures, or a language that is a result of that merging.

The Crisis: A publication founded in 1910 by W. E. B. Du Bois and published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP).

Cultural competence: The ability to act appropriately and communicate effectively with people of a different culture from one's own.

Cultural relativism: The belief that a culture or society should be judged in its own context and in terms of the needs and desires of its own people, rather than by the standards of some other culture or society.

Culture shock: The experience of conflict felt when moving into a region where the local culture is different from one's own.

Deportation: The removal of an alien from the country in which he or she is resident, to his or her country of origin, by force of law.

Diaspora: People of a particular race, culture, or ethnicity living dispersed around the world, and (at least originally) not by their own choice; two examples are the Jewish diaspora (beginning with the exile from Babylon in 586 B.C.E.) and the African diaspora caused by slavery.

Discrimination: Attitudes and behavior, either positive or negative, directed at people because of his or her personal characteristics, such as gender, race, religion, native language, or sexual identity.

Dred Scott v. Sandford: An 1857 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court declaring that slaves were not American citizens and that their rights were not protected by the Constitution.

Dual citizenship: Holding citizenship from two countries simultaneously.

Ebonics: A term coined in 1973 by Robert L. Williams to describe characteristics of English as used by some African Americans. The term is controversial, as is Williams's theory that characteristics of contemporary African American speech can be traced back to African origins.

Emancipation Proclamation: A proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863, declaring that slaves in Confederate states (those that had seceded from the Union) were free.

Environmental racism: Placing members of minority or other disadvantaged groups at risk for adverse environmental exposures through the siting of undesirable facilities such as incinerators or toxic waste dumps in their vicinity.

Ethnic cleansing: The processing of removing an ethnic group from a geographic region, through genocide and/or forced migration.

Ethnocentrism: The belief that one's own ethnicity and culture are superior to all others, or that one's own culture is the only one worthy of consideration.

Eurocentrism: The belief that values and customs historically associated with European countries are superior, and the tendency to judge other cultures and society by comparison with European values and customs.

Executive Order 9066: An executive order, issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, authorizing the internment of persons of Japanese ancestry living in an area including Hawai'i, California, Oregon, Washington State, and part of Arizona; smaller numbers of Americans of Italian and German heritage were also interned.

Executive Order 9981: An executive order, issued by President Harry S. Truman on July 26, 1948, ordering the end of racial discrimination in the U.S. military.

Executive Order 11246: An executive order, issued by President Lyndon B. Johnson on September 24, 1965, barring employment discrimination by organizations working under federal contracts or subcontracts; protected categories in this executive order are race, color, religion, and national origin.

Expedited removal: A procedure in which a low-level immigration official can, without a trial, remove non-citizens attempting to enter the United States without authorization.

Family reunification: An effort to bring together family members who have been separated from each other, for instance by granting preference in immigration to those who already have family members in the new country.

Fisk University: A university founded in 1866 in Nashville, Tennessee, by the American Missionary Association to train former slaves to be teachers.

Freedmen's Bureau: Officially the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, a bureau

established within the U.S. War Department in 1865 to aid African Americans in the Confederate states.

Freedom Summer: A popular name for the summer of 1964, when hundreds of college students and others traveled to southern states to aid efforts to register African Americans to vote and to establish freedom schools.

Genocide: The attempt to destroy or eliminate members of a racial, ethnic, or other group through murder, removal of the means necessary to live, mandatory sterilization, seizure of children, and so forth.

Genotype: All the genetic material of an individual, whether or not it achieves visible or discernible expression.

Hanukkah: A minor holiday in the Jewish calendar, commemorating the victory of the Maccabees; it has achieved some prominence in the United States because of its occurrence near Christmas.

Hawai'ian home land: An area held by the state of Hawai'i in trust for Native Hawai'ians.

Healthy immigrant effect: An observation often noted in population studies that because of selection effects, people who choose to emigrate to a new country are generally healthier than the average population of that country.

Hereditarianism: The belief that racial characteristics are based on inheritance rather than representing adaptations to different environments.

Highlander Folk School: A school founded in 1932 in Monteagle, Tennessee, by Myles Horton to train people for union organizing. The Highlander Folk School also played a key role in the civil rights movement.

Hypodescent: A method of assigning a person a racial status based on a relatively small fraction of their total heritage. The "one drop" rule formerly used in some southern states is an example, because it specified that a person with any black ancestry was considered black.

ICERD: The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, a treaty adopted by the United Nations in 1965 and acceded to by 158 member states as of 2001.

Immigrant: A person who settles permanently in a country other than the one in which he or she was born.

Indian Removal Act: An 1830 law authorizing the removal of Native Americans from lands east of the Mississippi River to lands west of the Mississippi.

Issei: A person who is born in Japan and emigrates to the United States (or another country); the term derives from the Japanese word for “first.”

Jay Treaty: A 1794 treaty allowing Native Americans free passage between the United States and Canada.

Jim Crow: A number of laws enacted primarily in southern states after the Civil War, and the social norms and customs congruous with those laws, which had the result of enforcing segregation between white and black Americans.

Johnson Publishing Company: A publishing company founded in 1942 in Chicago by John Harold Johnson that publishes African American interest magazines, including *Ebony* and *Jet*.

Kerner Report: The 1967 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, a commission directed by President Lyndon Johnson to investigate the causes of a series of race riots occurring in the United States over the previous several years.

Ku Klux Klan: A racist and white supremacist organization founded in 1865 and originally aimed at preventing newly freed slaves from operating as equals in southern states. Eventually, the Ku Klux Klan turned to attacking other groups, including Catholics and Jews.

Kwanzaa: A holiday observed by some African Americans beginning in 1966; the founder was Dr.

Maulana Karenga, a professor at California State University, Long Beach. The name derives from the Kiswahili term for “first fruits of the harvest,” and the holiday is observed from December 26 through January 1.

Loving v. Virginia: A 1967 Supreme Court decision that declared the Virginia law prohibiting marriage between black and white individuals to be unconstitutional, and at the same time struck down all similar laws in other states.

March on Washington: A gathering at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963, attended by an estimated 250,000 people. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s, “I Have a Dream” speech was delivered to this gathering.

Marielito: A Cuban who came to the United States during the *Mariel* boatlift of 1980.

Melting pot: The idea that immigrants to the United States (or any other country) will assimilate to the new culture; the analogy is to a pot in which different metals are melted and combined.

Mestizo: A person of mixed Indian and European heritage.

Metropolitan area: As defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, an area consisting of one or several large population nuclei plus adjacent communities economically and socially integrated with that nucleus. Metropolitan areas must include a total population of at least 100,000 (75,000 in New England) or a place with a minimum population of 50,000.

Migration chain: A process by which a few people from one region migrate to another region, and their example encourages others from their area to follow them to the new region.

Middle Passage: The transportation of slaves across the Atlantic Ocean from Africa to the Americas.

Million Man March: An event organized by Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, to draw attention to challenges facing the African

American community and to promote solidarity among African Americans. The culmination of the event took place in Washington, D.C., on October 16, 1995; estimate of the number attendees range from about 400,000 to almost 900,000.

Miscegenation: Mixing of races, most often applied to marriage between African Americans and white Americans. All state antimiscegenation laws were declared unconstitutional with the 1967 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Loving v. Virginia*.

NAACP: The National Organization for the Advancement of Colored People, a civil rights organization founded in 1909 by W. E. B. Du Bois, Mary White Ovington, Ida B. Wells, Henry Moskowitz, and William English Walling, with the objective of ensuring equality for minorities.

Nation of Islam: An African American religion founded in 1913 by Drew Ali (Timothy Drew) and based loosely on Islamic principles; well-known leaders include Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan.

National Council of Jewish Women: An organization founded in 1893 to unite Jewish women.

National Urban League: A civil rights organization founded in 1910 as the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes; it is the oldest community organization of its type and has more than 100 local affiliates.

Naturalized citizen: A person who is not a citizen of a country by birth but becomes one by going through a legal process.

Nisei: A person of Japanese descent whose parents were born in Japan but who was born in the United States (or another country); the term derives from the Japanese word for “second” and refers to the American-born children of Japanese immigrants.

North Star: An antislavery newspaper founded in Rochester, New York, by Frederick Douglass; it was published from 1847 to 1860.

Nuyorican: A colloquial term for a person of Puerto Rican descent born or raised in New York City.

Phenotype: The observable or discernible expressions of a person’s genotype.

Pidgin: A simplified language used to communicate by people who have no other language in common.

Plessy v. Ferguson: An 1896 Supreme Court decision declaring that “separate but equal” facilities were constitutional, and thus allowing for continued segregation in schools, transportation, and so forth.

Las Posadas: A Christmas season custom among some Hispanic and Hispanic American communities, in which carolers go from house to house requesting shelter as a way to commemorate Christmas and the journey of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem.

Proposition 209: An initiative passed in California in November 1966 that added a clause to the state constitution prohibited preferential treatment in public employment, contracting, and education on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin.

Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion: A text published in Russia in 1903 that purported to outline Jewish plans for world domination through taking over financial institutions. Despite being exposed as a hoax, it continues to surface in American culture, and some tenets expressed in it remain part of the belief system of some extremist groups.

Pull factors in migration: Factors in the country or region to which a person is going (such as greater economic opportunity or political freedom) that encourage him or her to leave the homeland and move to the new country.

Push factors in migration: Factors in the country or region a person is leaving (such as poverty or persecution) that encourages him or her to emigrate elsewhere.

Quota system: A policy under which immigration is limited to specified numbers of people classified by certain conditions, such as their national origin.

Racial profiling: Assigning people to categories based on their physical appearance and treating them differently. The term is often used in a law enforcement context, for instance, singling out people who appear to be Muslim for extra screening at airports or police disproportionately stopping automobiles driven by African Americans.

Ramadan: The ninth month of the Islamic calendar, traditionally observed by Muslims by fasting during daylight hours.

Reconstruction: The period from 1865 to 1877, from the end of the Civil War until Union troops withdrew from southern states.

Regents of the University of California v. Bakke: A 1978 Supreme Court decision that banned the use of racial quotas in university admissions policies.

Roma: Gypsies, persons of Indian origin who emigrated to Europe in the 13th century, approximately 1 million of whom have since emigrated to the United States.

Rosh Hashanah: A holiday lasting two days and marking the beginning of the Jewish New Year as well as the beginning of the “Ten Days of Awe” that culminate with Yom Kippur.

Sansei: A person of Japanese descent whose grandparents emigrated to a new country (like the United States); Sansei and their parents are both born in the new country. The term derives from the Japanese word for “third.”

SCLC: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a civil rights organization founded in 1957, partly as an outgrowth of the successful Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Scottsboro Boys: Nine African American boys and men charged with rape in Alabama in 1931; 11 were sentenced to death after a brief trial marked

by inadequate defense, a mob presence outside the courtroom, and no African Americans serving on the jury. The U.S. Supreme Court, in the *Powell v. Alabama* decision, overturned their convictions; the convictions from a second round of trials also were overturned by the Supreme Court, in the 1935 *Patterson v. Alabama* and *Norris v. Alabama* decisions.

Seasonal migrant worker: A person who leaves one country to work in another for a short period of time, for instance to work during the tourist season or agricultural harvest.

Serial migration: A type of migration pattern in which one or more members of a family emigrates to an area, then other members of the family follow, perhaps aided by laws favoring family reunification.

Shoah: A Hebrew word describing the mass killings of Jews during World War II.

SNCC: The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights organization founded in 1960 that played a key role in organizing voter registration drives and protests against segregation in the American south in the 1960s.

Stateless: A term referring to a person who is not recognized as the citizen of any country.

Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States: 1889–1918: After establishing an Anti-Lynching Committee in 1916, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) published a report in 1919 that reported that 3,224 people (of which 2,522 were black) were lynched between 1889 and 1918.

Trail of Tears: The forced removal of Native Americans from their lands east of the Mississippi river, to Oklahoma; many died during the journey.

Transracial adoption: Adoption of a child of one race by parents of another race.

Underground Railroad: A network of routes, safe houses, and sympathetic individuals that provided

a route for escaped slaves to follow from the south to free states and Canada.

Urban cluster: As defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, a densely settled area with a population range of 2,500 to 50,000 people.

Urbanized area: As defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, a densely settled area with a population of over 50,000 people.

USCIS: The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service, the federal agency in charge of immigration to the United States.

Visa: A document issued by a government that allows the visa holder to enter the country.

Xenophobia: The fear of anything foreign or different, most often used to describe the fear or dislike of people from different countries, races, or cultures.

Yom Kippur: In Jewish tradition, the day of atonement; the culmination of the “Ten Days of Awe” and the most solemn day in the Jewish year. It is customarily marked by fasting and attending religious services.

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Resource Guide

Books

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- Comparative American Studies*
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- Harvard Human Rights Journal*
- Harvard Latino Law Review*
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- Hispanic Americans: A Statistical Sourcebook*
- Hispanic Issues Online*
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- Hispanic Law Journal*
- Hispanic Review*
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- Human Rights Quarterly*
- Immigration & Nationality Law Review*
- Immigration Statistics*
- Intelligence Report*
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- Intercultural Human Rights Law Review*
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- Journal of Civil Rights & Economic Development*
- Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*
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- Journal of Refugee Studies*
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- Journal of Multicultural Social Work*
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- Multicultural Perspectives*
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- Japanese American Citizens League
www.jacl.org
- Japanese American National Museum
www.janm.org
- Korean American Historical Society
www.kahs.org
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www.museumoftolerance.com
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
www.naacp.org
- National Council of Asian Pacific Americans
ncpaonline.org
- National Council of La Raza
<http://www.nclr.org>
- National Information Center of Health Services Research and Health Care Technology, Health Disparities page
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- National Italian American Federation
www.niaf.org
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www.hhs.gov/ocr/civilrights/index.html
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Minority Health
minorityhealth.hhs.gov
- U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Tribal Justice
www.justice.gov/otj
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
www.eeoc.gov

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Appendix

U.S. Census Briefs and Reports

The Asian Population: 2010 2247

The Black Population: 2010 2270

Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010 2290

The Asian Population: 2010

2010 Census Briefs

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INTRODUCTION

According to the 2010 Census, the Asian population grew faster than any other race group in the United States between 2000 and 2010. This was observed for the population who reported Asian alone (increased 43 percent), as well as for the population who reported Asian alone or in combination with another race (increased 46 percent). The Asian population continued to be concentrated in the West, and the Chinese population was the largest detailed Asian group.

This report provides a portrait of the Asian population in the United States and discusses that population's distribution at the national level and at lower levels of geography.¹ It is part of a series that analyzes population and housing data collected from the 2010 Census.

The data for this report are based on the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, which was the first 2010 Census data product released with data on race and Hispanic origin, including information on the Asian population, and was provided to each state for use in drawing boundaries for legislative districts.² Data for this report also come from the *2010 Census Summary File 1*, which was one of the first 2010 Census

¹ This report discusses data for the 50 states and the District of Columbia, but not Puerto Rico.

² Information on the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File* is available online at <<http://2010.census.gov/2010census/data/redistricting-data.php>>.

Figure 1.
Reproduction of the Question on Race From the 2010 Census

6. What is this person's race? Mark (X) one or more boxes.

White

Black, African Am., or Negro

American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↕

Asian Indian Japanese Native Hawaiian

Chinese Korean Guamanian or Chamorro

Filipino Vietnamese Samoan

Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↕

Other Pacific Islander — Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↕

Some other race — Print race. ↕

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census questionnaire.

data products to provide information on selected detailed groups, such as Asian Indians, Koreans, and Filipinos.³

UNDERSTANDING RACE DATA FROM THE 2010 CENSUS

The 2010 Census used federal standards to collect and present data on race.

For the 2010 Census, the question on race was asked of individuals living in the United States (see Figure 1). An individual's response to the race question was based upon self-identification. The U.S. Census Bureau collects information on race following the guidance of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget's (OMB)

³ Information on the *2010 Census Summary File 1* is available online at <<http://2010.census.gov/news/press-kits/summary-file-1.html>>.

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1997 *Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity*.⁴ These federal standards mandate that race and Hispanic origin (ethnicity) are separate and distinct concepts and that when collecting these data via self-identification, two different questions must be used.⁵

Starting in 1997, OMB required federal agencies to use a minimum of five race categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. For respondents unable to identify with any of these five race categories, OMB approved the Census Bureau's inclusion of a sixth category—Some Other Race—on the Census 2000 and 2010 Census questionnaires. The 1997 OMB standards also allowed for respondents to identify with more than one race. The definition of the Asian racial category used in the 2010 Census is presented in the text box on this page.

Data on race have been collected since the first U.S. decennial census in 1790, but no distinction was made for people of Asian descent. In 1860, the first Asian response category ("Chinese") was added to the question on race in California only and in other states beginning in 1870. A second Asian response category ("Japanese") was included for the first time

⁴ The 1997 *Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity*, issued by OMB, is available at <www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg_1997standards>.

⁵ The OMB requires federal agencies to use a minimum of two ethnicities: Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino. Hispanic origin can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be of any race. "Hispanic or Latino" refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race.

DEFINITION OF ASIAN USED IN THE 2010 CENSUS

According to OMB, "Asian" refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.

The Asian population includes people who indicated their race(s) as "Asian" or reported entries such as "Asian Indian," "Chinese," "Filipino," "Korean," "Japanese," and "Vietnamese" or provided other detailed Asian responses.

in the 1870 Census in California only and in other states starting in 1890. Additional Asian response categories were collected intermittently in the question on race over the course of seven censuses, from the 1920 Census to the 1980 Census. The use of six detailed Asian response categories in the decennial census question on race has remained unchanged since the 1980 Census (Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese).

Beginning with the 1910 Census, reports of detailed Asian groups that did not have separate response categories in the race question were tabulated from a general "Other" write-in area. In the 1990 Census, a write-in area was introduced that was solely dedicated to the reporting of detailed Asian groups or detailed Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander groups that did not have a separate response category. A shared write-in area for reports of detailed Asian groups or detailed Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander groups that did not have specific response categories in the race question continued for Census 2000 and the 2010 Census.⁶

⁶ For information about comparability of 2010 Census data with race and Hispanic origin to data collected in previous censuses, see the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File—Technical Documentation* at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf>.

In Census 2000, for the first time, individuals were presented with the option to self-identify with more than one race, and this continued with the 2010 Census, as prescribed by OMB. There are 57 possible multiple-race combinations involving the five OMB race categories and Some Other Race.⁷

The 2010 Census question on race included 15 separate response categories and three areas where respondents could write in detailed information about their race (see Figure 1).⁸ The response categories and write-in answers can be combined to create the five minimum OMB race categories plus Some Other Race. In addition to White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, and Some Other Race, 7 of the

⁷ The 2010 Census provides information on the population reporting more than one race, as well as detailed race combinations (e.g., Asian **and** White; Asian **and** White **and** Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander). In this report, the multiple-race categories are denoted with the conjunction **and** in bold and italicized print to indicate the separate race groups that constitute the particular combination.

⁸ There were two changes to the question on race for the 2010 Census. First, the wording of the race question was changed from "What is this person's race? Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be" in 2000 to "What is this person's race? Mark one or more boxes" for 2010. Second, in 2010, examples were added to the "Other Asian" response category (Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on) and the "Other Pacific Islander" response category (Fijian, Tongan, and so on). In 2000, no examples were given in the race question.

15 response categories are Asian groups, and 4 are Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander groups.⁹ The 7 Asian response categories are Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Other Asian.

For a complete explanation of the race categories used in the 2010 Census, see the 2010 Census Brief, *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*.¹⁰

RACE ALONE, RACE IN COMBINATION, AND RACE ALONE-OR-IN-COMBINATION CONCEPTS

This report presents data for the Asian population and focuses on results for three major conceptual groups.

First, people who responded to the question on race by indicating only one race are referred to as the *race alone* population, or the group who reported *only one* race. For example, respondents who reported a single detailed Asian group, such as “Asian Indian” or “Korean,” would be included in the *Asian alone* population. Respondents who reported more than one detailed Asian group, such as “Asian Indian” and “Korean” would also be included in the *Asian alone* population. This is because the detailed groups in the example combination are part of the larger Asian race category. The *Asian alone* population can be viewed as the minimum number of people reporting Asian.

⁹ The race categories included in the census questionnaire generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country and are not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. In addition, it is recognized that the categories of the race question include race and national origin or sociocultural groups.

¹⁰ Humes, K., N. Jones, and R. Ramirez. 2011. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*, U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Briefs, C2010BR-02, available at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf>.

Second, individuals who chose more than one of the six race categories are referred to as the *race in combination* population, or as the group who reported *more than one race*. For example, respondents who reported they were Asian **and** White or reported they were Asian **and** White **and** Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander would be included in the *Asian in combination* population. This population is also referred to as the *multiple-race Asian* population.

Third, the maximum number of people reporting Asian is reflected in the *Asian alone-or-in-combination* population. One way to define the Asian population is to combine those respondents who reported *Asian alone* with those who reported *Asian in combination* with one or more other races. The addition of these two groups creates the *Asian alone-or-in-combination* population. Another way to think of the *Asian alone-or-in-combination* population is the total number of people who reported Asian, whether or not they reported any other race(s).

Throughout the report, the discussion of the Asian population includes results for each of these groups and highlights the diversity within the entire Asian population.¹¹

THE ASIAN POPULATION: A SNAPSHOT

The 2010 Census showed that the U.S. population on April 1, 2010, was 308.7 million. Out of the total U.S. population, 14.7 million

¹¹ As a matter of policy, the Census Bureau does not advocate the use of the *alone* population over the *alone-or-in-combination* population or vice versa. The use of the *alone* population in sections of this report does not imply that it is a preferred method of presenting or analyzing data. The same is true for sections of this report that focus on the *alone-or-in-combination* population. Data on race from the 2010 Census can be presented and discussed in a variety of ways.

people, or 4.8 percent, were Asian alone (see Table 1). In addition, 2.6 million people, or another 0.9 percent, reported Asian in combination with one or more other races.¹² Together, these two groups totaled 17.3 million people. Thus, 5.6 percent of all people in the United States identified as Asian, either alone or in combination with one or more other races.

The Asian population increased more than four times faster than the total U.S. population.

The total U.S. population grew by 9.7 percent, from 281.4 million in 2000 to 308.7 million in 2010 (see Table 1). In comparison, the Asian alone population increased more than four times faster than the total U.S. population, growing by 43 percent from 10.2 million to 14.7 million.^{13, 14}

The Asian alone-or-in-combination population experienced slightly more growth than the Asian alone population, growing by 46 percent from 11.9 million in 2000 to 17.3 million in 2010. In fact, the Asian population grew at a faster

¹² For the purposes of this report, the terms “reported,” “identified,” and “classified” are used interchangeably to refer to the response provided by respondents as well as responses assigned during the editing and imputation process.

¹³ Percentages shown in text generally are rounded to the nearest integer, while those shown in tables and figures are shown with decimals. All rounding is based on unrounded calculations. Thus, due to rounding, some percentages shown in tables and figures ending in “5” may round either up or down. For example, unrounded numbers of 14.49 and 14.51 would both be shown as 14.5 in a table, but would be cited in the text as 14 and 15, respectively.

¹⁴ The observed changes in the race counts between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census could be attributed to a number of factors. Demographic change since 2000, which includes births and deaths in a geographic area and migration in and out of a geographic area, will have an impact on the resulting 2010 Census counts. Additionally, some changes in the race question’s wording and format since Census 2000 could have influenced reporting patterns in the 2010 Census.

Table 1.
Asian Population: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	2000		2010		Change, 2000 to 2010	
	Number	Percentage of total population	Number	Percentage of total population	Number	Percent
Total population	281,421,906	100.0	308,745,538	100.0	27,323,632	9.7
Asian alone or in combination	11,898,828	4.2	17,320,856	5.6	5,422,028	45.6
Asian alone	10,242,998	3.6	14,674,252	4.8	4,431,254	43.3
Asian in combination	1,655,830	0.6	2,646,604	0.9	990,774	59.8
Asian; White	868,395	0.3	1,623,234	0.5	754,839	86.9
Asian; Some Other Race	249,108	0.1	234,462	0.1	-14,646	-5.9
Asian; Black or African American	106,782	—	185,595	0.1	78,813	73.8
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	138,802	—	165,690	0.1	26,888	19.4
Asian; White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	89,611	—	143,126	—	53,515	59.7
All other combinations including Asian	203,132	0.1	294,497	0.1	91,365	45.0
Not Asian alone or in combination	269,523,078	95.8	291,424,682	94.4	21,901,604	8.1

— Percentage rounds to 0.0.

Note: In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15 percent) nationally, which almost entirely affected race combinations involving Some Other Race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as Asian **and** White or Asian **and** Black or African American, generally should be more comparable.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table PL1; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

rate than all race groups in the country.¹⁵

MULTIPLE-RACE REPORTING AMONG THE ASIAN POPULATION

About 15 percent of the Asian population reported multiple races.

Of the 17.3 million people who reported Asian, 14.7 million or 85 percent, identified as Asian alone (see Table 1). An additional 2.6 million people reported Asian in combination with one or more additional races, representing about 15 percent of the Asian alone-or-in-combination population. Of the five OMB race groups, the Asian

population had the third-largest percentage reporting more than one race.¹⁶

Asians who reported multiple races grew at a faster rate than the Asian alone population.

From 2000 to 2010, the Asian multiple-race population grew by about 1 million people. The multiple-race Asian population grew at a faster rate than the Asian alone population, growing by 60 percent in size since 2000 (see Table 1).

Among Asians, the largest multiple-race combination was Asian and White.

Among the 2.6 million people who reported they were Asian and one or more additional races, the majority (1.6 million or 61 percent) identified as Asian **and** White (see Figure 2). The next largest

combinations were Asian **and** Some Other Race (9 percent), Asian **and** Black (7 percent), Asian **and** Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (6 percent), and Asian **and** White **and** Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (5 percent).¹⁷ Together, these five combinations accounted for nearly 90 percent of all Asians who reported multiple races.

The Asian and White population contributed to most of the growth among Asians who reported multiple races.

Among people who reported their race as Asian and one or more additional races, those who reported Asian **and** White grew by 87 percent, nearly doubling in size from 868,000 in 2000 to 1.6 million in 2010 (see Table 1). The Asian **and** White population represented the greatest increase in the multiple-race Asian population. The Asian **and** White population's share of all

¹⁵ Information on national-level 2010 Census redistricting data (Public Law 94-171) for race groups is available online at <http://2010.census.gov/news/press-kits/redistricting.html>.

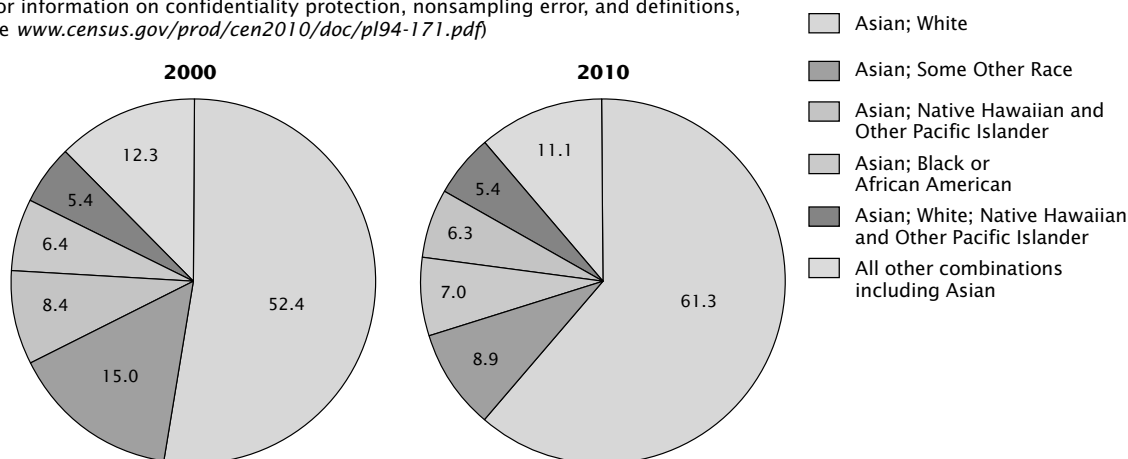
¹⁶ Humes, K., N. Jones, and R. Ramirez. 2011. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*. U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Briefs, C2010BR-02, available at www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf.

¹⁷ The terms "Black" and "Black or African American" are used interchangeably in this report.

Figure 2.

Percentage Distribution of the Asian in Combination Population: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Note: In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15 percent) nationally, which almost entirely affected race combinations involving Some Other Race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in the Two or More Races population and race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as Asian **and** White or Asian **and** Black or African American, generally should be more comparable. Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table PL1; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

multiple-race Asians also increased substantially, from 52 percent to 61 percent (see Figure 2).

The Asian **and** Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander population's share of the multiple-race Asian population decreased from 8 percent in 2000 to 6 percent in 2010. The Asian **and** Black population's share of the Asian multiple-race population increased from 6 percent to 7 percent. The proportion of the Asian **and** White **and** Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander population remained at 5 percent.

The Asian **and** Some Other Race population decreased from 2000 to 2010. This decrease was likely

due to a data processing error in the Two or More Races population, which largely affected the combinations that included Some Other Race, overstating the Asian **and** Some Other Race population in 2000.¹⁸

¹⁸ In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15 percent) nationally, which almost entirely affected race combinations involving Some Other Race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as Asian **and** White, generally are more comparable.

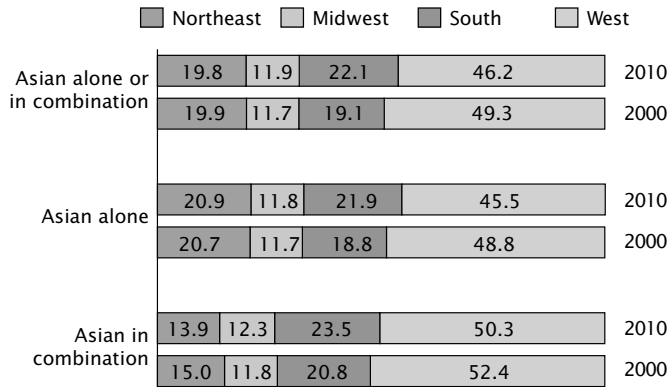
THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE ASIAN POPULATION

The Asian population was heavily concentrated in the West.

In the 2010 Census, of all respondents who reported Asian alone or in combination, 46 percent lived in the West (see Figure 3). An additional 22 percent lived in the South, 20 percent in the Northeast, and 12 percent in the Midwest. This pattern was similar for the Asian alone population.

Figure 3. Percentage Distribution of the Asian Population by Region: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Note: Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.
 Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table PL1*; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1*.

Among all regions, Asians constituted the greatest proportion of the region’s total population in the West.

Among all regions, Asians constituted the greatest proportion of the region’s total population in the West, at 11 percent (see Table 2).¹⁹ In other regions, the Asian alone-or-in-combination population was a smaller proportion—6 percent of the Northeast and 3 percent of both the South and Midwest. This pattern was similar for the Asian alone population.

¹⁹ The Northeast census region includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. The Midwest census region includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The South census region includes Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. The West census region includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

The proportion of Asians declined in the West and increased in the South.

The proportion of all respondents who reported Asian alone or in combination stayed about the same for the Northeast and Midwest, while the proportions for the South and West changed by 3 percentage points each from 2000 to 2010 (see Figure 3). The proportion of the Asian alone-or-in-combination population living in the South increased from 19 percent to 22 percent, while the proportion living in the West declined from 49 percent to 46 percent. These changes were similar for the Asian alone population.

When comparing the Asian alone population with the Asian in combination population, the largest differences were found in the proportions living in the West and the Northeast.

In 2010, 50 percent of the Asian in combination population lived in

the West compared with 46 percent of the Asian alone population (see Figure 3). A larger share of the Asian alone population lived in the Northeast (21 percent) compared with the Asian in combination population (14 percent). In the South and Midwest, the differences between the Asian in combination and Asian alone populations were smaller.

The proportions of the Asian in combination population decreased in the West and Northeast and increased in the South.

The proportions of multiple-race Asians decreased in the West and Northeast and increased in the South (see Figure 3). In 2000, 52 percent of the Asian in combination population lived in the West, decreasing to 50 percent in 2010. The Asian in combination population increased in the South from 21 percent to 23 percent. The proportion decreased slightly in the Northeast from 15 percent to 14 percent.

The Asian population grew in every region between 2000 and 2010, experiencing the fastest growth in the South.

The Asian alone-or-in-combination population grew in every region between 2000 and 2010, growing the fastest in the South (69 percent), followed by the Midwest (48 percent), Northeast (45 percent), and West (36 percent) (see Table 2). These patterns were fairly similar for the Asian alone population.

In comparison, the Asian in combination population grew by 80 percent in the South, followed by the Midwest (66 percent), West (54 percent), and Northeast (48 percent).

Table 2.
Asian Population for the United States, Regions, and States, and for Puerto Rico:
2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Area	Asian alone or in combination				Asian alone				Asian in combination			
	2000	2010	Percent- age of total popula- tion, 2010 ¹	Percent change	2000	2010	Percent- age of total popula- tion, 2010 ¹	Percent change	2000	2010	Percent- age of total popula- tion, 2010 ¹	Percent change
United States ..	11,898,828	17,320,856	5.6	45.6	10,242,998	14,674,252	4.8	43.3	1,655,830	2,646,604	0.9	59.8
REGION												
Northeast	2,368,297	3,428,624	6.2	44.8	2,119,426	3,060,773	5.5	44.4	248,871	367,851	0.7	47.8
Midwest	1,392,938	2,053,971	3.1	47.5	1,197,554	1,729,059	2.6	44.4	195,384	324,912	0.5	66.3
South	2,267,094	3,835,242	3.3	69.2	1,922,407	3,213,470	2.8	67.2	344,687	621,772	0.5	80.4
West	5,870,499	8,003,019	11.1	36.3	5,003,611	6,670,950	9.3	33.3	866,888	1,332,069	1.9	53.7
STATE												
Alabama	39,458	67,036	1.4	69.9	31,346	53,595	1.1	71.0	8,112	13,441	0.3	65.7
Alaska	32,686	50,402	7.1	54.2	25,116	38,135	5.4	51.8	7,570	12,267	1.7	62.0
Arizona	118,672	230,907	3.6	94.6	92,236	176,695	2.8	91.6	26,436	54,212	0.8	105.1
Arkansas	25,401	44,943	1.5	76.9	20,220	36,102	1.2	78.5	5,181	8,841	0.3	70.6
California	4,155,685	5,556,592	14.9	33.7	3,697,513	4,861,007	13.0	31.5	458,172	695,585	1.9	51.8
Colorado	120,779	185,589	3.7	53.7	95,213	139,028	2.8	46.0	25,566	46,561	0.9	82.1
Connecticut	95,368	157,088	4.4	64.7	82,313	135,565	3.8	64.7	13,055	21,523	0.6	69.4
Delaware	18,944	33,701	3.8	77.9	16,259	28,549	3.2	75.6	2,685	5,152	0.6	91.9
District of Columbia ..	17,956	26,857	4.5	49.6	15,189	21,056	3.5	38.6	2,767	5,801	1.0	109.6
Florida	333,013	573,083	3.0	72.1	266,256	454,821	2.4	70.8	66,757	118,262	0.6	77.2
Georgia	199,812	365,497	3.8	82.9	173,170	314,467	3.2	81.6	26,642	51,030	0.5	91.5
Hawaii	703,232	780,968	57.4	11.1	503,868	525,078	38.6	4.2	199,364	255,890	18.8	28.4
Idaho	17,390	29,698	1.9	70.8	11,889	19,069	1.2	60.4	5,501	10,629	0.7	93.2
Illinois	473,649	668,694	5.2	41.2	423,603	586,934	4.6	38.6	50,046	81,760	0.6	63.4
Indiana	72,839	126,750	2.0	74.0	59,126	102,474	1.6	73.3	13,713	24,276	0.4	77.0
Iowa	43,119	64,512	2.1	49.6	36,635	53,094	1.7	44.9	6,484	11,418	0.4	76.1
Kansas	56,049	83,930	2.9	49.7	46,806	67,762	2.4	44.8	9,243	16,168	0.6	74.9
Kentucky	37,062	62,029	1.4	67.4	29,744	48,930	1.1	64.5	7,318	13,099	0.3	79.0
Louisiana	64,350	84,335	1.9	31.1	54,758	70,132	1.5	28.1	9,592	14,203	0.3	48.1
Maine	11,827	18,333	1.4	55.0	9,111	13,571	1.0	49.0	2,716	4,762	0.4	75.3
Maryland	238,408	370,044	6.4	55.2	210,929	318,853	5.5	51.2	27,479	51,191	0.9	86.3
Massachusetts	264,814	394,211	6.0	48.9	238,124	349,768	5.3	46.9	26,690	44,443	0.7	66.5
Michigan	208,329	289,607	2.9	39.0	176,510	238,199	2.4	34.9	31,819	51,408	0.5	61.6
Minnesota	162,414	247,132	4.7	52.2	141,968	214,234	4.0	50.9	20,446	32,898	0.6	60.9
Mississippi	32,281	32,560	1.1	39.9	18,626	25,742	0.9	38.2	4,655	6,818	0.2	46.5
Missouri	76,210	123,571	2.1	62.1	61,595	98,083	1.6	59.2	14,615	25,488	0.4	74.4
Montana	7,101	10,482	1.1	47.6	4,691	6,253	0.6	33.3	2,410	4,229	0.4	75.5
Nebraska	26,809	40,561	2.2	51.3	21,931	32,293	1.8	47.2	4,878	8,268	0.5	69.5
Nevada	112,456	242,916	9.0	116.0	90,266	195,436	7.2	116.5	22,190	47,480	1.8	114.0
New Hampshire	19,219	34,522	2.6	79.6	15,931	28,407	2.2	78.3	3,288	6,115	0.5	86.0
New Jersey	524,356	795,163	9.0	51.6	480,276	725,726	8.3	51.1	44,080	69,437	0.8	57.5
New Mexico	26,619	40,456	2.0	52.0	19,255	28,208	1.4	46.5	7,364	12,248	0.6	66.3
New York	1,169,200	1,579,494	8.2	35.1	1,044,976	1,420,244	7.3	35.9	124,224	159,250	0.8	28.2
North Carolina	136,212	252,585	2.6	85.4	113,689	208,962	2.2	83.8	22,523	43,623	0.5	93.7
North Dakota	4,967	9,193	1.4	85.1	3,606	6,909	1.0	91.6	1,361	2,284	0.3	67.8
Ohio	159,776	238,292	2.1	49.1	132,633	192,233	1.7	44.9	27,143	46,059	0.4	69.7
Oklahoma	58,723	84,170	2.2	43.3	46,767	65,076	1.7	39.1	11,956	19,094	0.5	59.7
Oregon	127,339	186,281	4.9	46.3	101,350	141,263	3.7	39.4	25,989	45,018	1.2	73.2
Pennsylvania	248,601	402,587	3.2	61.9	219,813	349,088	2.7	58.8	28,788	53,499	0.4	85.8
Rhode Island	28,290	36,763	3.5	30.0	23,665	30,457	2.9	28.7	4,625	6,306	0.6	36.3
South Carolina	44,931	75,674	1.6	68.4	36,014	59,051	1.3	64.0	8,917	16,623	0.4	86.4
South Dakota	6,009	10,216	1.3	70.0	4,378	7,610	0.9	73.8	1,631	2,606	0.3	59.8
Tennessee	68,918	113,398	1.8	64.5	56,662	91,242	1.4	61.0	12,256	22,156	0.3	80.8
Texas	644,193	1,110,666	4.4	72.4	562,319	964,596	3.8	71.5	81,874	146,070	0.6	78.4
Utah	48,692	77,748	2.8	59.7	37,108	55,285	2.0	49.0	11,584	22,463	0.8	93.9
Vermont	6,622	10,463	1.7	58.0	5,217	7,947	1.3	52.3	1,405	2,516	0.4	79.1
Virginia	304,559	522,199	6.5	71.5	261,025	439,890	5.5	68.5	43,534	82,309	1.0	89.1
Washington	395,741	604,251	9.0	52.7	322,335	481,067	7.2	49.2	73,406	123,184	1.8	67.8
West Virginia	11,873	16,465	0.9	38.7	9,434	12,406	0.7	31.5	2,439	4,059	0.2	66.4
Wisconsin	102,768	151,513	2.7	47.4	88,763	129,234	2.3	45.6	14,005	22,279	0.4	59.1
Wyoming	4,107	6,729	1.2	63.8	2,771	4,426	0.8	59.7	1,336	2,303	0.4	72.4
Puerto Rico	17,279	10,464	0.3	-39.4	7,960	6,831	0.2	-14.2	9,319	3,633	0.1	-61.0

¹ The percentage of the total population is calculated by using the total population of all races. The totals for each geography can be found in Table 11, page 18 of the 2010 Census Brief, *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*, available at www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table PL1; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

Nearly three-fourths of all Asians lived in ten states.

The ten states with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination populations in 2010 were California (5.6 million), New York (1.6 million), Texas (1.1 million), New Jersey (0.8 million), Hawaii (0.8 million), Illinois (0.7 million), Washington (0.6 million), Florida (0.6 million), Virginia (0.5 million), and Pennsylvania (0.4 million) (see Table 2). Together, these ten states represented nearly three-fourths of the entire Asian population in the United States.

Among these states, the Asian alone-or-in-combination population experienced substantial growth in six states between 2000 and 2010, growing by 72 percent in Texas and Florida, 71 percent in Virginia, 62 percent in Pennsylvania, 53 percent in Washington, and 52 percent in New Jersey. Out of the ten states, the Asian alone-or-in-combination population grew the least in Hawaii (11 percent).

Out of the ten states above, the first nine also had the largest Asian alone populations. The state with the tenth-largest Asian alone population was Massachusetts (0.3 million). In a similar fashion to the Asian alone-or-in-combination population, the Asian alone population experienced considerable growth in Texas, Florida, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Washington, and New Jersey and relatively slower growth in Hawaii.

The Asian population represented over 50 percent of the total population in Hawaii and over 8 percent of the total population in five other states.

The states with the highest proportions of the Asian alone-or-in-combination population

were located in the West and the Northeast. The Asian alone-or-in-combination population represented 57 percent of the total population in Hawaii (see Table 2). California had the next highest proportion at 15 percent, followed by New Jersey (9 percent), Nevada (9 percent), Washington (9 percent), and New York (8 percent). These same six states had the highest proportions of the Asian alone population.

The Asian alone-or-in-combination population represented less than 2 percent of the total population in 15 states. Out of these 15 states, 8 were in the South—West Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, Arkansas, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Louisiana. Three states were in the West—Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho. Two states were in the Midwest—South Dakota and North Dakota—and two states were in the Northeast—Maine and Vermont.

The Asian alone population represented less than 2 percent of the total population in the same states as the Asian alone-or-in-combination population, plus seven additional states—New Mexico, Indiana, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Iowa, and Nebraska.

California and Texas had the largest numeric growth of Asians.

The Asian alone-or-in-combination population grew by 5.4 million people over the decade. California had the largest numeric growth of people reporting Asian alone-or-in-combination (1.4 million), increasing from 4.2 million in 2000 to 5.6 million in 2010. Texas had the next largest numeric growth (466,000), increasing from 644,000 in 2000 to 1.1 million in 2010. This was followed by New York, which

grew by 410,000, increasing from 1.2 million to 1.6 million. The Asian alone population showed a similar pattern of numeric growth.

The Asian population grew in every state between 2000 and 2010.

The Asian alone-or-in-combination population grew by at least 30 percent in all states except for Hawaii (11 percent increase) (see Table 2). The top five states that experienced the most growth were Nevada (116 percent), Arizona (95 percent), North Carolina (85 percent), North Dakota (85 percent), and Georgia (83 percent). These same five states also experienced the most growth in the Asian alone population.

Reflecting percentages similar to the Asian alone-or-in-combination population and the Asian alone population, Nevada (114 percent), Arizona (105 percent), and North Carolina (94 percent) were among the top five states that experienced the most growth in the Asian in combination population. In contrast to the Asian alone-or-in-combination population and the Asian alone population, Utah (94 percent) was among the top five states that experienced the most growth in the Asian in combination population. The Asian in combination population also grew considerably in the District of Columbia (110 percent).²⁰

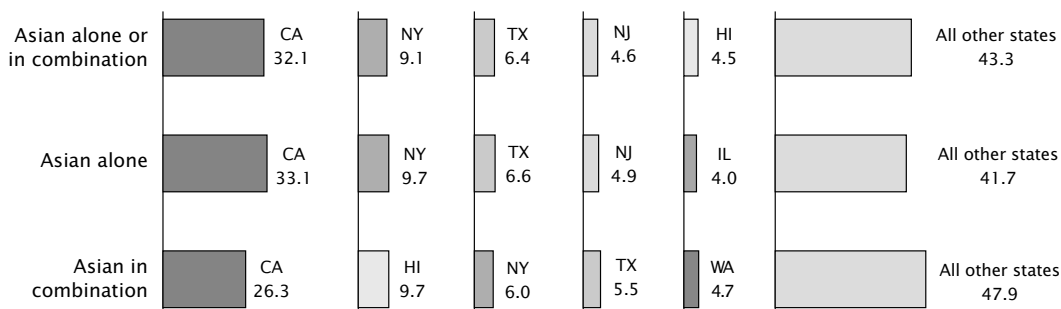
Multiple-race Asians were more likely to live in California and Hawaii.

More than half of all Asians lived in five states. Of all respondents who reported as Asian alone or in combination, about 32 percent lived in California, 9 percent in New York, 6 percent in Texas, 5 percent in

²⁰ For this report, the District of Columbia is treated as a state equivalent.

Figure 4.
Percentage Distribution of the Asian Population by State: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Note: Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1.

New Jersey, and 5 percent in Hawaii (see Figure 4).

This pattern was similar for the Asian alone population for California (33 percent), New York (10 percent), Texas (7 percent), and New Jersey (5 percent). However, the state with the next highest proportion of the Asian alone population was Illinois (4 percent).

The pattern was slightly different for respondents who identified as Asian in combination and one or more additional races. Among multiple-race Asians, 26 percent lived in California, 10 percent in Hawaii, 6 percent each lived in New York and Texas, and 5 percent in Washington.

The Asian population was concentrated in counties in the West, especially counties in Hawaii and California.

Counties with the highest concentration of the Asian alone-or-in-combination population were located in the West and are shown in dark blue on the map (see Figure 5). Honolulu county, HI, had the highest percentage of the Asian

alone-or-in-combination population (62 percent), followed by three additional counties in Hawaii: Kauai (51 percent), Maui (47 percent), and Hawaii (45 percent).

Two county equivalents in Alaska had concentrations of the Asian alone-or-in-combination population of 25 percent or more—Aleutians East Borough and Aleutians West Census Area. Four counties in California had concentrations of 25 percent or more, all of which were located near San Francisco, CA, and San Jose, CA.

These patterns were similar for the Asian alone population, although the proportions of the Asian alone population were smaller relative to the Asian alone-or-in-combination populations in the four Hawaiian counties mentioned above. The Asian alone population represented 44 percent of the population in Honolulu county, 31 percent in Kauai county, 29 percent in Maui county, and 22 percent in Hawaii county.

The Asian alone-or-in-combination population also had concentrations of 10.0 percent to 24.9

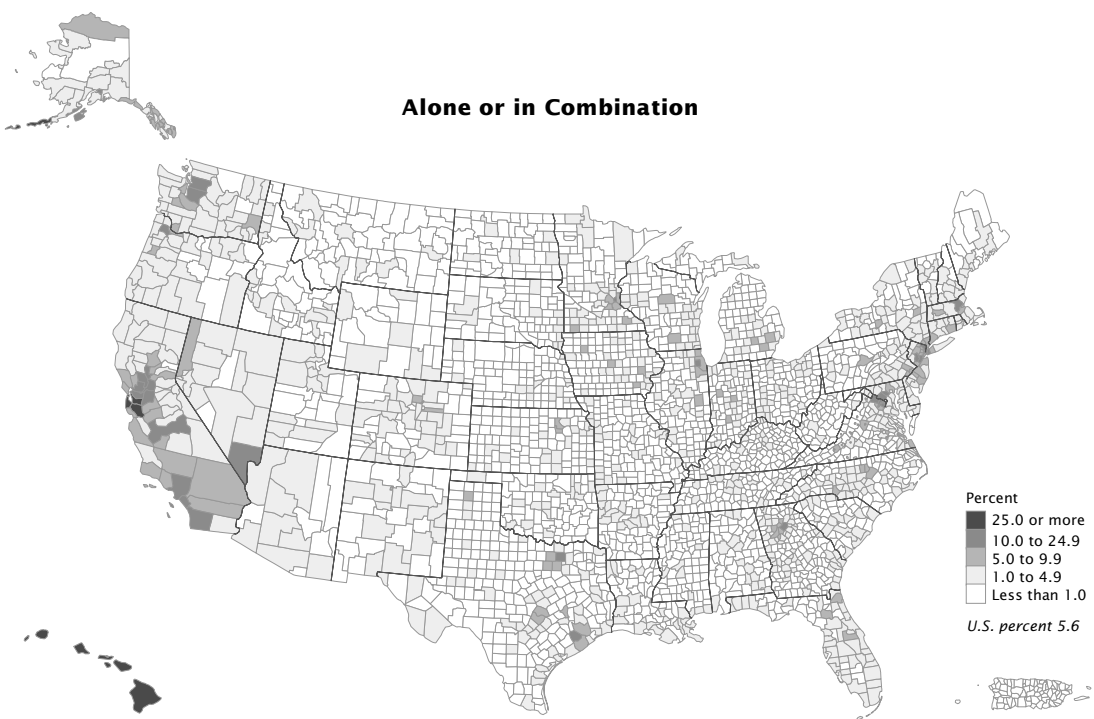
percent in other counties near metropolitan statistical areas in the West, such as Los Angeles, CA; Las Vegas, NV; Portland, OR; and Seattle, WA. In the South, the Asian alone-or-in-combination population had concentrations of 10.0 percent to 24.9 percent in counties near Dallas, TX; Houston, TX; Washington, DC; and Atlanta, GA.

In the Midwest, one county (DuPage) near Chicago, IL, and one county (Ramsey) near Minneapolis, MN, had concentrations of the Asian-alone-or-in-combination population between 10.0 percent and 24.9 percent of the total population. This was also true in the Northeast for counties near Boston, MA, and New York, NY.

Counties with concentrations of 5.0 percent to 9.9 percent of the Asian alone-or-in-combination population were near all of the metropolitan statistical areas mentioned above. While there were some differences in the magnitude of the concentrations for some of the metro areas discussed above, the overall pattern was similar for the Asian alone population.

Figure 5.
Asian as a Percentage of County Population: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



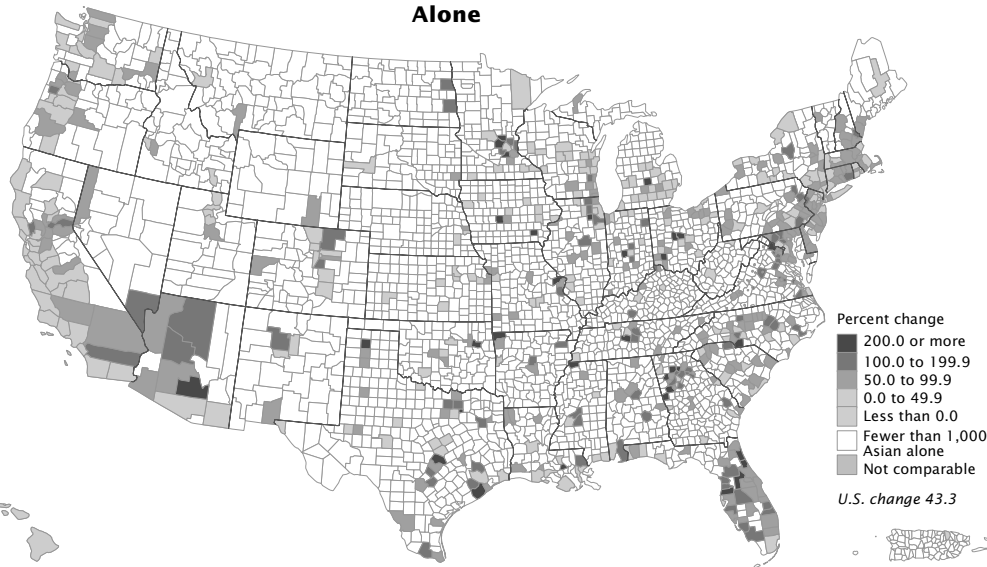
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1.

Figure 6.
Percent Change in Asian Population: 2000 to 2010

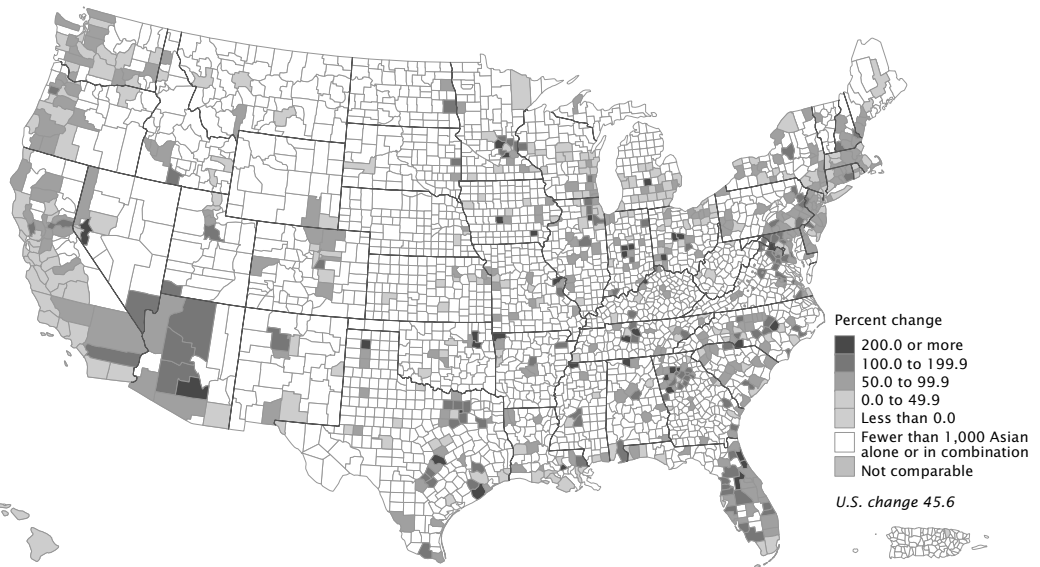
(Counties with an Asian population of at least 1,000 in 2010 are included in the maps.
 For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see
www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Alone



Alone or in Combination



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table PL1*; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1*.

Table 3.

Ten Places With the Largest Number of Asians: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Place	Total population	Asian					
		Alone or in combination		Alone		In combination	
		Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number
New York, NY.....	8,175,133	1	1,134,919	1	1,038,388	1	96,531
Los Angeles, CA.....	3,792,621	2	483,585	2	426,959	2	56,626
San Jose, CA.....	945,942	3	326,627	3	303,138	5	23,489
San Francisco, CA.....	805,235	4	288,529	4	267,915	6	20,614
San Diego, CA.....	1,307,402	5	241,293	5	207,944	4	33,349
Urban Honolulu CDP, HI ¹	337,256	6	230,071	6	184,950	3	45,121
Chicago, IL.....	2,695,598	7	166,770	7	147,164	7	19,606
Houston, TX.....	2,099,451	8	139,960	8	126,378	9	13,582
Fremont, CA.....	214,089	9	116,755	9	108,332	22	8,423
Philadelphia, PA.....	1,526,006	10	106,720	10	96,405	14	10,315
Seattle, WA.....	608,660	11	100,727	12	84,215	8	16,512
Sacramento, CA.....	466,488	12	98,705	11	85,503	10	13,202

¹ Urban Honolulu CDP, HI, is a census designated place (CDP). CDPs are the statistical counterparts of incorporated places and are delineated to provide data for settled concentrations of population that are identifiable by name but are not legally incorporated under the laws of the state in which they are located.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1.

Many counties in western states, counties in states along the north-eastern seaboard, and counties around several metro areas had Asian alone-or-in-combination populations of at least 1 percent of the total population. This population made up less than 1 percent in the majority of counties across the United States (66 percent of all counties). This was more pronounced for the Asian alone population, which accounted for less than 1 percent of the total population in 75 percent of all counties.

Counties that experienced the fastest growth in the Asian population were primarily located in the South and the Midwest.

Of the 733 counties that had an Asian alone-or-in-combination population of 1,000 or more, 38 counties experienced 200.0 percent growth or more, 116 counties experienced 100.0 percent to 199.9 percent growth, 299 counties experienced 50.0 percent to 99.9 percent growth,

275 counties experienced up to a 50 percent increase, and in 4 counties the Asian alone-or-in-combination population declined (see Figure 6).²¹

Throughout the South and Midwest, there were several counties where the Asian alone-or-in-combination population grew 200 percent or more. For example, this was seen in counties in Texas, Florida, and Georgia in the South and counties in states in the Midwest such as Minnesota, Ohio, Iowa, and Indiana. Two counties in the West, in Arizona and Nevada, experienced growth over 200 percent. There were no counties in the Northeast that experienced 200 percent growth or more in the Asian alone-or-in-combination population. This pattern was similar for the Asian alone population.

The Asian alone-or-in-combination population grew by 100.0 percent to 199.9 percent in a number of counties in western and northeastern states. For example, the Asian

²¹ Of the 733 counties, one county (Broomfield, Colorado) existed in 2010 but not in 2000.

alone-or-in-combination population grew between 100.0 percent and 199.9 percent in counties in Oregon, California, Nevada, and Arizona. Counties in states along the eastern seaboard experienced considerable growth. In the South, counties in Florida also stand out as having experienced substantial growth in the Asian alone-or-in-combination population. There were also pockets of substantial growth in other southern states, such as counties around Atlanta, GA, and counties near Houston, TX, and Dallas, TX. There were also pockets of growth in counties in midwestern states, such as near Minneapolis, MN, and Chicago, IL. These patterns were similar for the Asian alone population.

The places with the largest Asian populations were New York, NY, and Los Angeles, CA.

The 2010 Census showed that New York, NY, had the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination population, with 1.1 million, followed by Los Angeles, CA (484,000), and San Jose, CA (327,000) (see Table 3). Three

Table 4.

Ten Places With the Highest Percentage of Asians: 2010(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/p194-171.pdf)

Place ¹	Total population	Asian					
		Alone or in combination		Alone		In combination	
		Rank	Percentage of total population	Rank	Percentage of total population	Rank	Percentage of total population
Urban Honolulu CDP, HI ²	337,256	1	68.2	2	54.8	1	13.4
Daly City, CA	101,123	2	58.4	1	55.6	21	2.8
Fremont, CA	214,089	3	54.5	3	50.6	5	3.9
Sunnyvale, CA	140,081	4	43.7	4	40.9	19	2.8
Irvine, CA	212,375	5	43.3	5	39.2	4	4.1
Santa Clara, CA	116,468	6	40.8	6	37.7	11	3.2
Garden Grove, CA	170,883	7	38.6	7	37.1	75	1.4
Torrance, CA	145,438	8	38.2	8	34.5	6	3.6
San Francisco, CA	805,235	9	35.8	9	33.3	25	2.6
San Jose, CA	945,942	10	34.5	10	32.0	27	2.5
Elk Grove, CA	153,015	11	30.6	12	26.3	2	4.3
Fairfield, CA	105,321	26	19.0	32	14.9	3	4.1
Berkeley, CA	112,580	21	22.8	22	19.3	7	3.6
Vallejo, CA	115,942	13	28.3	15	24.9	8	3.3
Enterprise CDP, NV ²	108,481	20	24.5	20	21.2	9	3.3
Hayward, CA	144,186	17	25.2	18	22.0	10	3.2

¹ Places of 100,000 or more total population. The 2010 Census showed 282 places in the United States with 100,000 or more population. They included 273 incorporated places (including 5 city-county consolidations) and 9 census designated places (CDPs) that were not legally incorporated.

² Urban Honolulu CDP, HI, and Enterprise CDP, NV are census designated places. CDPs are the statistical counterparts of incorporated places, and are delineated to provide data for settled concentrations of population that are identifiable by name but are not legally incorporated under the laws of the state in which they are located.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

other places—San Francisco, CA; San Diego, CA; and Urban Honolulu CDP, HI—had Asian alone-or-in-combination populations of over 200,000 people.²²

Six of the ten places with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination populations—Los Angeles, CA; San Jose, CA; San Francisco, CA; San Diego, CA; Urban Honolulu CDP, HI; and Fremont, CA were located in the West, and of these six, five were located in California. This ranking was identical for the Asian alone population.

New York, NY (97,000), and Los Angeles, CA (57,000), also had the largest Asian in combination populations, followed by Urban Honolulu CDP, HI (45,000), and San Diego, CA (33,000). Of the ten

²² Census designated places (CDPs) are the statistical counterparts of incorporated places and are delineated to provide data for settled concentrations of population that are identifiable by name but are not legally incorporated under the laws of the state in which they are located.

places that had the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination and Asian alone populations, eight also had the largest Asian in combination populations. The two places out of the top ten that had the largest Asian in combination populations but were not within the top ten ranking for the Asian alone and Asian alone-or-in-combination populations were Seattle, WA, and Sacramento, CA.

The place with the greatest proportion of the Asian population was Urban Honolulu CDP, HI.

Among the places with populations of 100,000 or more, the places with the greatest proportion of the Asian alone-or-in-combination population were Urban Honolulu CDP, HI (68 percent), followed by Daly City, CA (58 percent); Fremont, CA (55 percent); Sunnyvale, CA (44 percent); and Irvine, CA (43 percent) (see Table 4). Of the

top ten places shown, three were majority Asian—Urban Honolulu CDP, HI; Daly City, CA; and Fremont, CA. All of these ten places were in the West, and nine of them were located in California.

These rankings were similar for the Asian alone population, except that Daly City, CA (56 percent) had the greatest Asian alone proportion, followed by Urban Honolulu CDP, HI (55 percent). Also, the proportions for the Asian alone and Asian alone-or-in-combination populations across the ten places shown were similar, with the exception of Urban Honolulu CDP, HI, where the Asian alone-or-in-combination population constituted 68 percent of the total population. This figure was much lower for the Asian alone population (55 percent).

Urban Honolulu CDP, HI, also had the greatest Asian in combination proportion. Similar to the Asian alone and Asian

Table 5.

Asian Population by Number of Detailed Groups: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/sf1.pdf)

Detailed group	Asian alone		Asian in combination with one or more other races		Detailed Asian group alone or in any combination ¹
	One detailed Asian group reported	Two or more detailed Asian groups reported ¹	One detailed Asian group reported	Two or more detailed Asian groups reported ¹	
Total	² 14,327,580	346,672	2,429,530	217,074	17,320,856
Asian Indian	2,843,391	75,416	240,547	23,709	3,183,063
Bangladeshi	128,792	13,288	4,364	856	147,300
Bhutanese	15,290	3,524	442	183	19,439
Burmese	91,085	4,451	4,077	587	100,200
Cambodian	231,616	23,881	18,229	2,941	276,667
Chinese ³	3,347,229	188,153	334,144	140,588	4,010,114
Chinese, except Taiwanese ⁴	3,137,061	185,289	317,344	140,038	3,779,732
Taiwanese ⁴	196,691	2,501	15,781	468	215,441
Filipino	2,555,923	94,050	645,970	120,897	3,416,840
Hmong	247,595	4,728	7,392	358	260,073
Indonesian	63,383	6,713	22,425	2,749	95,270
Iwo Jiman	1	1	7	3	12
Japanese	763,325	78,499	368,094	94,368	1,304,286
Korean	1,423,784	39,690	216,288	27,060	1,706,822
Laotian	191,200	18,446	19,733	2,751	232,130
Malaysian	16,138	5,730	3,214	1,097	26,179
Maldivian	98	4	25	—	127
Mongolian	14,366	772	2,779	427	18,344
Nepalese	51,907	5,302	1,941	340	59,490
Okinawan	2,753	2,928	3,093	2,552	11,326
Pakistani	363,699	19,295	24,184	1,985	409,163
Singaporean	3,418	1,151	645	133	5,347
Sri Lankan	38,596	2,860	3,607	318	45,381
Thai	166,620	16,252	48,620	6,091	237,583
Vietnamese	1,548,449	84,268	93,058	11,658	1,737,433
Other Asian, not specified ⁵	218,922	19,410	366,652	18,777	623,761

— Represents zero.

Note: This table shows more detailed Asian groups and response types than tables in *2010 Census Summary File 1*. As a result, some numbers do not match those shown in *2010 Census Summary File 1*.

¹ The numbers by detailed Asian group do not add to the total Asian population. This is because the detailed Asian groups are tallies of the number of Asian responses rather than the number of Asian respondents. Respondents reporting several Asian groups are counted several times. For example, a respondent reporting "Korean" and "Filipino" would be included in the Korean as well as the Filipino numbers.

² The total of 14,327,580 respondents categorized as reporting only one detailed Asian group in this table is higher than the total of 14,314,103 shown in Table PCT5 (U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Summary File 1*). This is because the number shown here includes respondents who reported "Chinese" and "Taiwanese" together as a single detailed group, "Chinese", whereas PCT5 excludes respondents who reported "Chinese" and "Taiwanese" together.

³ Includes respondents who reported "Chinese" and "Taiwanese" together.

⁴ Excludes respondents who reported "Chinese" and "Taiwanese" together.

⁵ Includes respondents who checked the "Other Asian" response category on the census questionnaire or wrote in a generic term such as "Asian" or "Asiatic."

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

alone-or-in-combination populations, all the places with the highest Asian in combination proportions were located in the West. Of the ten places that had the highest Asian in combination proportions, four places also were among the top ten Asian alone and Asian alone-or-in-combination proportions.

Six places that had the highest percentage of the Asian in combination population were not within the top ten ranking for the Asian

alone population or the Asian alone-or-in-combination population. These places were Elk Grove, CA; Fairfield, CA; Berkeley, CA; Vallejo, CA; Enterprise CDP, NV; and Hayward, CA.

PATTERNS AMONG THE DETAILED ASIAN GROUPS

Table 5 presents data for a number of detailed groups. Data for people who reported only one detailed Asian group, such as Filipino, are presented in the first data column.

Next, data for people who identified with two or more detailed Asian groups, such as Filipino and Korean, and no other race group are presented in the second data column. The third data column presents data for people who reported only one detailed Asian group and one or more other races, such as Filipino **and** White. The fourth data column presents data for people who reported two or more detailed Asian groups and one or more other race

Table 6.
Asian Population by Detailed Group: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/sf1.pdf)

Detailed group	Asian alone ¹			Asian in combination with one or more other races ¹			Detailed Asian group alone or in any combination ¹		
	2000	2010	Percent change	2000	2010	Percent change	2000	2010	Percent change
Total	10,242,998	14,674,252	43.3	1,655,830	2,646,604	59.8	11,898,828	17,320,856	45.6
Asian Indian	1,718,778	2,918,807	69.8	180,821	264,256	46.1	1,899,599	3,183,063	67.6
Bangladeshi	46,905	142,080	202.9	10,507	5,220	-50.3	57,412	147,300	156.6
Bhutanese	192	18,814	9,699.0	20	625	3,025.0	212	19,439	9,069.3
Burmese	14,620	95,536	553.5	2,100	4,664	122.1	16,720	100,200	499.3
Cambodian	183,769	255,497	39.0	22,283	21,170	-5.0	206,052	276,667	34.3
Chinese ²	2,564,190	3,535,382	37.9	301,042	474,732	57.7	2,865,232	4,010,114	40.0
Chinese, except Taiwanese ³ ..	2,432,046	3,322,350	36.6	288,391	457,382	58.6	2,720,437	3,779,732	38.9
Taiwanese ³	118,827	199,192	67.6	11,564	16,249	40.5	130,391	215,441	65.2
Filipino	1,908,125	2,649,973	38.9	456,690	766,867	67.9	2,364,815	3,416,840	44.5
Hmong	174,712	252,323	44.4	11,598	7,750	-33.2	186,310	260,073	39.6
Indonesian	44,186	70,096	58.6	18,887	25,174	33.3	63,073	95,270	51.0
Iwo Jiman	18	2	-88.9	60	10	-83.3	78	12	-84.6
Japanese	852,237	841,824	-1.2	296,695	462,462	55.9	1,148,932	1,304,286	13.5
Korean	1,099,422	1,463,474	33.1	129,005	243,348	88.6	1,228,427	1,706,822	38.9
Laotian	179,103	209,646	17.1	19,100	22,484	17.7	198,203	232,130	17.1
Malaysian	15,029	21,868	45.5	3,537	4,311	21.9	18,566	26,179	41.0
Maldivian	29	102	251.7	22	25	13.6	51	127	149.0
Mongolian	3,699	15,138	309.2	2,169	3,206	47.8	5,868	18,344	212.6
Nepalese	8,209	57,209	596.9	1,190	2,281	91.7	9,399	59,490	532.9
Okinawan	6,138	5,681	-7.4	4,461	5,645	26.5	10,599	11,326	6.9
Pakistani	164,628	382,994	132.6	39,681	26,169	-34.1	204,309	409,163	100.3
Singaporean	2,017	4,569	126.5	377	778	106.4	2,394	5,347	123.4
Sri Lankan	21,364	41,456	94.0	3,223	3,925	21.8	24,587	45,381	84.6
Thai	120,918	182,872	51.2	29,365	54,711	86.3	150,283	237,583	58.1
Vietnamese	1,169,672	1,632,717	39.6	54,064	104,716	93.7	1,223,736	1,737,433	42.0
Other Asian, not specified ⁴	162,913	238,332	46.3	213,810	385,429	80.3	376,723	623,761	65.6

Note: This table shows more detailed Asian groups and response types than tables in *2010 Census Summary File 1* and *Census 2000 Summary File 1*. As a result, some numbers do not match those shown in the *2010 Census Summary File 1* and *Census 2000 Summary File 1*.

¹ The numbers by detailed Asian group do not add to the total Asian population. This is because the detailed Asian groups are tallies of the number of Asian responses rather than the number of Asian respondents. Respondents reporting several Asian groups are counted several times. For example, a respondent reporting "Korean" and "Filipino" would be included in the Korean as well as the Filipino numbers.

² Includes respondents who reported "Chinese" and "Taiwanese" together.

³ Excludes respondents who reported "Chinese" and "Taiwanese" together.

⁴ Includes respondents who checked the "Other Asian" response category on the census questionnaire or wrote in a generic term such as "Asian" or "Asiatic."

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

groups, such as Filipino, Korean, **and** White.

All of these columns are summed and presented in the last data column, detailed Asian group *alone or in any combination*. Thus, the last column presents the maximum number of people who identified as the detailed Asian group.

The Chinese population was the largest detailed Asian group.

In the 2010 Census, the detailed Asian groups with one million or more responses for the Asian alone-or-in-any-combination

population were Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese (see Table 5).

The Chinese alone-or-in-any-combination population, the largest detailed Asian group, was 4.0 million. There were 3.3 million people who reported Chinese alone with no additional detailed Asian group or race category.

Filipino and Asian Indian were the second- and third-largest detailed Asian groups.

Filipino and Asian Indian were the next largest detailed Asian groups for the Asian

alone-or-in-any-combination population. Filipino was the second-largest detailed Asian group of the Asian alone-or-in-any-combination population (3.4 million), followed by Asian Indian (3.2 million). However, for the Asian alone population where only one detailed Asian group was reported, Asian Indian was the second-largest group (2.8 million), followed by Filipino (2.6 million).

The Bhutanese population experienced the fastest growth from 2000 to 2010.

The Bhutanese population experienced the fastest growth from

2000 to 2010, growing from about 200 in 2000 to about 19,000 in 2010 (see Table 6). While the Bhutanese population experienced high percentage growth, its proportion of the Asian alone-or-in-any-combination population remained small.

Of all the detailed Asian alone-or-in-any combination groups that had a population of one million or more, the Asian Indian population grew the fastest, by 68 percent, followed by the Filipino (44 percent), Vietnamese (42 percent), Korean (39 percent), and Chinese (40 percent) populations. The Japanese population experienced the slowest growth among the detailed Asian groups with alone-or-in-any-combination populations of one million or more, growing by 14 percent.

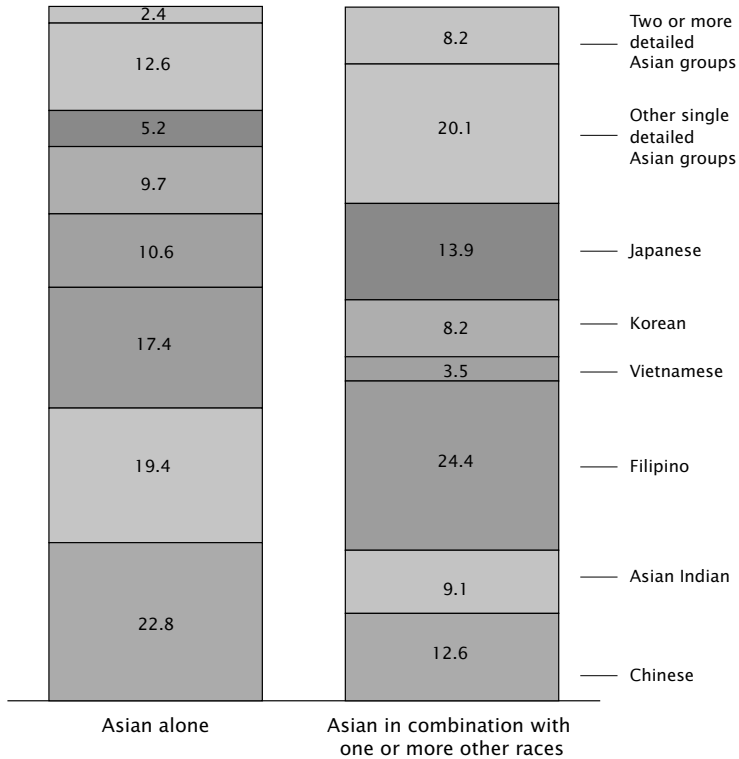
Asian Indians, Chinese, and Filipinos represented 60 percent of the Asian alone population.

An analysis of respondents who identified with only one detailed Asian group shows the Chinese population accounted for 23 percent, the Asian Indian population accounted for 19 percent, and the Filipino population accounted for 17 percent of all respondents who identified as Asian alone (see Figure 7). Combined, these three groups accounted for 60 percent of the Asian alone population. Vietnamese (11 percent), Korean (10 percent), Japanese (5 percent), other single detailed Asian groups (13 percent), and two or more detailed Asian groups (2 percent) accounted for smaller proportions of the Asian alone population.

The largest proportion of Asian in combination with another race(s) was for respondents who identified as Filipino (24 percent), followed by all other single detailed Asian

Figure 7. Percentage Distribution of the Asian Population by Detailed Group: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/sf1.pdf)



Note: All categories shown, except the "Two or more detailed Asian groups" category, represent respondents who identified with only one detailed Asian group. Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

groups (20 percent). The next highest proportions were Japanese (14 percent), Chinese (13 percent), Asian Indian (9 percent), Korean (8 percent), two or more detailed Asian groups (8 percent), and Vietnamese (4 percent).

Japanese had the highest proportion reporting multiple detailed Asian groups and/or another race(s) relative to the largest detailed Asian groups.

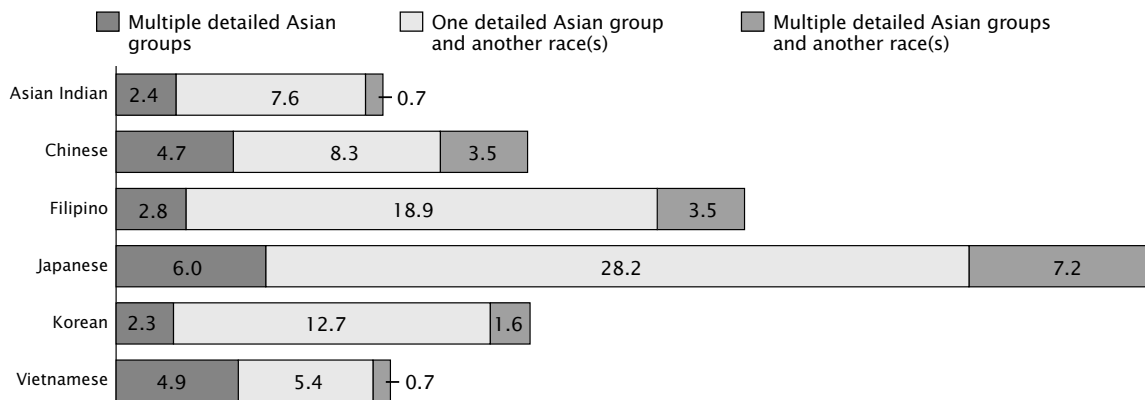
Among the detailed Asian groups with alone-or-in-any-combination populations of one million or

more, the Japanese population had the highest proportion reporting multiple detailed Asian groups and no other race (6 percent), one group (Japanese) and another race(s) (28 percent), and multiple detailed Asian groups and another race(s) (7 percent) (see Figure 8). Combining these groups, 41 percent of the Japanese population identified with multiple detailed Asian groups and/or another race(s). After Japanese, Filipinos had the highest proportion of respondents reporting

Figure 8.

Percentage of Largest Detailed Asian Groups Alone or in Any Combination by Number of Groups and Races: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/sf1.pdf)



Note: Percentages are based on the alone-or-in-any-combination population for each group. People who reported two or more detailed Asian groups, such as Korean and Filipino, and no other race group are represented in the "Multiple detailed Asian groups" category. People who reported one detailed Asian group and another race(s), such as Korean **and** White are represented in the "One detailed Asian group and another race(s)" category. People who reported two or more detailed Asian groups and another race(s), such as Korean, Filipino, **and** White are represented in the "Multiple detailed Asian groups and another race(s)" category. Together, these three categories represent the Asian in-any-combination percentages for each detailed group.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

one group (Filipino) and another race(s) (19 percent). Also, 3 percent identified with multiple detailed Asian groups and no other race, and 4 percent reported multiple detailed Asian groups and another race(s). Therefore, 25 percent of those who identified as Filipino identified with multiple detailed Asian groups and/or another race(s).

Among the detailed Asian groups with alone-or-in-any-combination populations of one million or more, Asian Indians and Vietnamese had the lowest proportion who reported multiple detailed Asian groups and/or another race(s) (11 percent each). The Asian Indian population had 2 percent report multiple detailed Asian groups and no other race, 8 percent report one group (Asian Indian) and another

race(s), and almost 1 percent report multiple detailed Asian groups and another race(s). The Vietnamese population had 5 percent report multiple detailed Asian groups and no other race, 5 percent report one group (Vietnamese) and another race(s), and almost 1 percent report multiple detailed Asian groups and another race(s).

Chinese and Koreans both had a slightly higher proportion who reported multiple detailed Asian groups and/or another race (17 percent each). The Chinese population had 5 percent report multiple detailed Asian groups and no other race, 8 percent report one group (Chinese) and another race(s), and 4 percent report multiple detailed Asian groups and another race(s). The Korean population had 2 percent report multiple

detailed Asian groups and no other race, 13 percent report one group (Korean) and another race(s), and 2 percent report multiple detailed Asian groups and another race(s).

THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF DETAILED ASIAN GROUPS

The Japanese population had the highest proportion living in the West among the largest detailed Asian groups.

Among detailed Asian groups with alone-or-in-any-combination populations that numbered one million or more, Japanese (71 percent) and Filipinos (66 percent) had the two largest proportions that lived in the West (see Figure 9). Large proportions of Chinese (49 percent), Vietnamese (49 percent), and Koreans (44 percent) lived in the

West as well. A much lower proportion of Asian Indians (25 percent) lived in the West compared to the other groups shown.

Larger proportions of Vietnamese (32 percent), Asian Indians (29 percent), and Koreans (24 percent) lived in the South compared to other groups shown. A greater proportion of Asian Indians (30 percent), Chinese (26 percent), and Koreans (21 percent) lived in the Northeast compared to other groups shown. For all detailed Asian groups shown, the Midwest had the lowest proportion of each group.

California was the top state for each of the six largest detailed Asian groups.

Of the detailed Asian groups that numbered one million or more within the Asian alone-or-in-any-combination population, the highest proportion of each group lived in California. The Filipino population (43 percent) had the highest proportion that lived in California, followed by Vietnamese (37 percent), Chinese (36 percent), Japanese (33 percent), and Korean

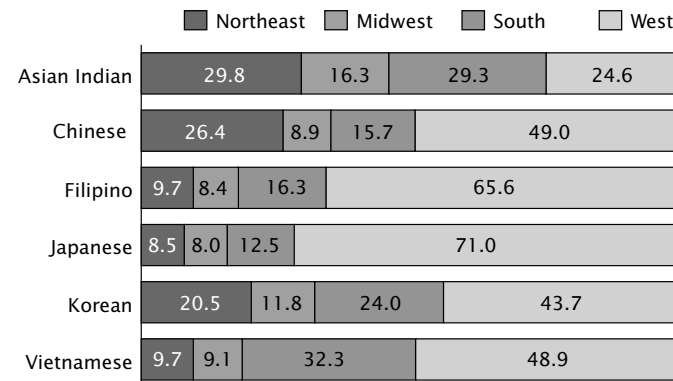
(30 percent) (see Figure 10). Asian Indians (19 percent) had the lowest proportion living in California relative to all groups shown.

For Chinese (15 percent), Asian Indians (12 percent), and Koreans (9 percent), the state with the

second-largest proportion of these populations was New York. The state with the second-largest proportions of Japanese (24 percent) and Filipinos (10 percent) was Hawaii. The second-largest proportion of the Vietnamese population (13 percent) lived in Texas.

Figure 9. Percentage Distribution of Largest Detailed Asian Groups by Region: 2010

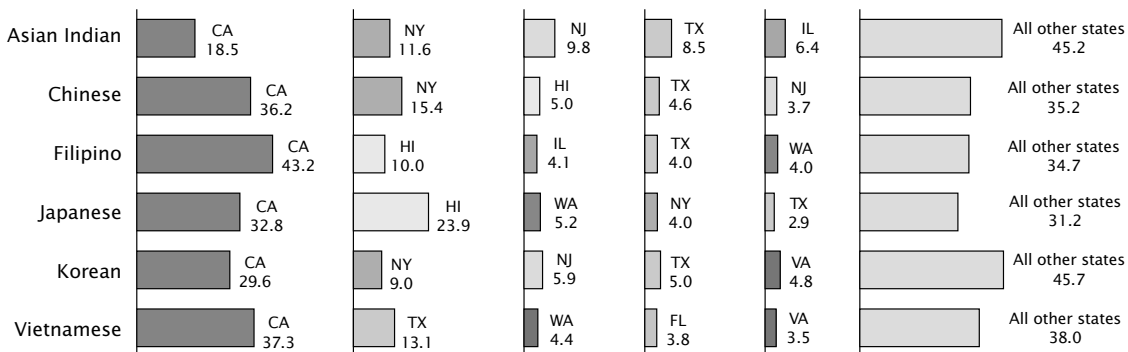
(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/sf1.pdf)



Note: Percentages are based on the alone-or-in-any-combination population for each group. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

Figure 10. Percentage Distribution of Largest Detailed Asian Groups by State: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/sf1.pdf)



Note: Percentages are based on the alone-or-in-any-combination population for each group. Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

The Asian Indian population was the largest detailed Asian group in nearly half of all states.

Figure 11 presents a state-level map illustrating the diversity of the largest detailed Asian alone-or-in-any-combination population groups across the country. The different colors denote which detailed Asian group was the largest in each state, and the graduated circles illustrate the relative size of that group.

The Asian Indian population was the largest detailed Asian group in 23 states, more than any other detailed Asian group. Of these states, 13 were in the South (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia); 6 were in the Midwest (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, and Ohio); and 4 were in the Northeast (Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and New Jersey).

For every state in the West, either the Filipino population or the Chinese population was the largest detailed Asian group. Filipino was the largest detailed Asian group in Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Washington, and Wyoming, while Chinese was the largest in Colorado, Oregon, and Utah. Outside of the West, Filipino was the largest detailed Asian group in South Dakota, while Chinese was the largest in the District of Columbia and North Dakota, as well as several states in the Northeast (Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont).

The Vietnamese population was the largest detailed Asian group in five states—Louisiana, Mississippi, and Oklahoma in the South; and Kansas and Nebraska in the Midwest.

The Hmong population was the largest detailed Asian group in two states (Minnesota and Wisconsin).

The 20 metro areas with the largest Asian population contained many diverse detailed Asian groups.

Next, the top five detailed Asian groups in the 20 metro areas with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination population in 2010 are discussed.

In 6 of the 20 metro areas with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination population, Chinese had the largest alone-or-in-any-combination population of all detailed Asian groups (see Figure 12). Of these metro areas, the New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island NY-NJ-PA metro area had the largest Chinese population (695,000), followed by Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA (544,000), San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA (477,000), San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA (173,000), Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH (123,000), and Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA (101,000). Of these 6 metro areas, 2 were in the Northeast, and 4 were in the West.

The Asian Indian population also had the largest alone-or-in-any-combination population in 6 of the 20 metro areas with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination population. Of these areas, the metro area with the largest Asian Indian population was Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI (186,000), followed by Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV (142,000), Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX (108,000), Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD (98,000), Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA (86,000), and Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI (60,000). Of these 6 metro areas, none was located in the West.

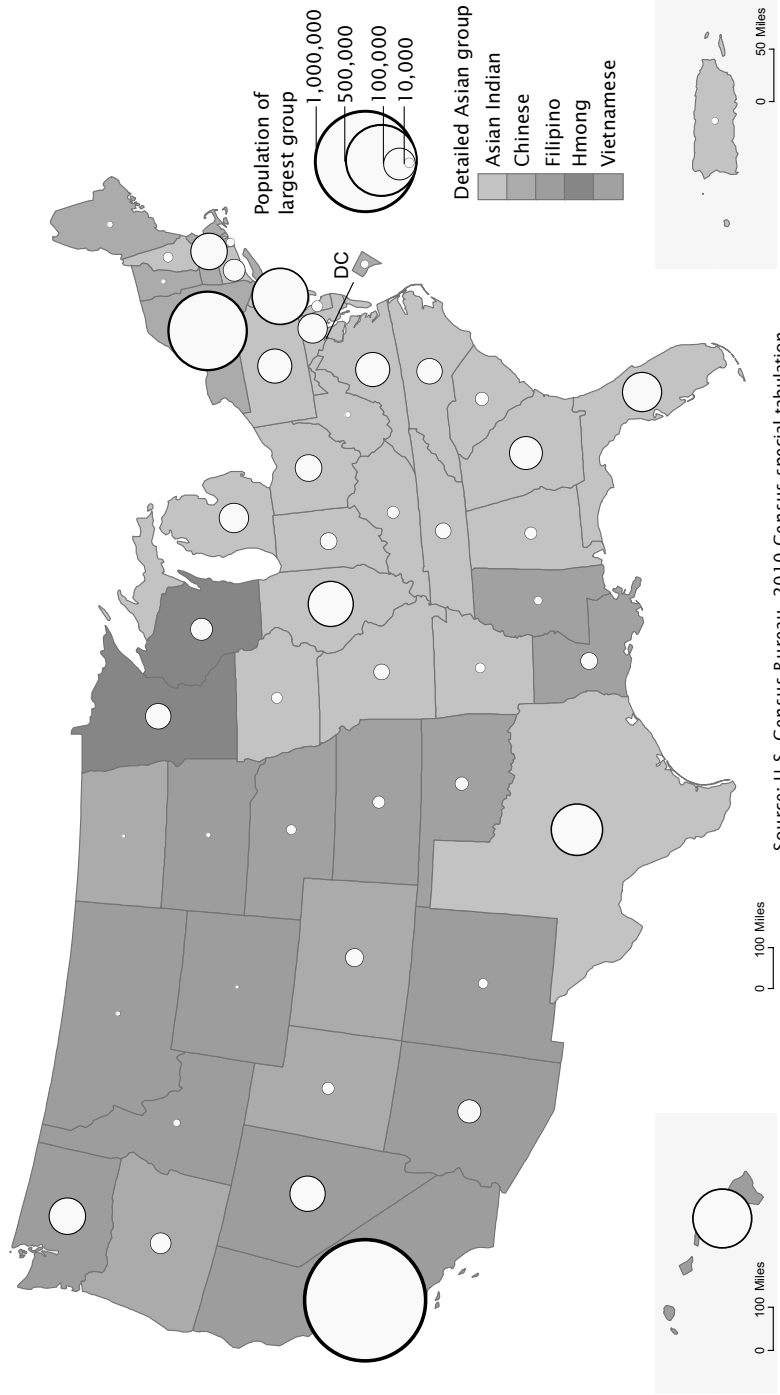
The Filipino population had the highest alone-or-in-any-combination population in 5 of the 20 metro areas with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination population. Of these 5 areas, San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA had the largest Filipino population (182,000), followed by Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA (118,000), Las Vegas-Paradise, NV (108,000), Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville, CA (74,000), and Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ (40,000).

Among the 20 metro areas with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination populations, Japanese, Hmong, and Vietnamese had the highest alone-or-in-any-combination population in 1 metro area each. The Japanese population (241,000) was the largest detailed Asian group in Honolulu, HI. The Hmong population (64,000) was the largest detailed Asian group in Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI. The Vietnamese population was the largest detailed Asian group in Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX (110,000).

The Chinese population was represented among the top five detailed Asian groups for each metro area shown.

The Chinese population was among the top five largest detailed Asian populations for every metro area shown (see Figure 12). The Asian Indian and Filipino populations were within the top five largest detailed Asian alone-or-in-any-combination populations for 18 out of the 20 metro areas with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination populations. Asian Indians were not represented within the top five detailed Asian groups in Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA, and Honolulu, HI.

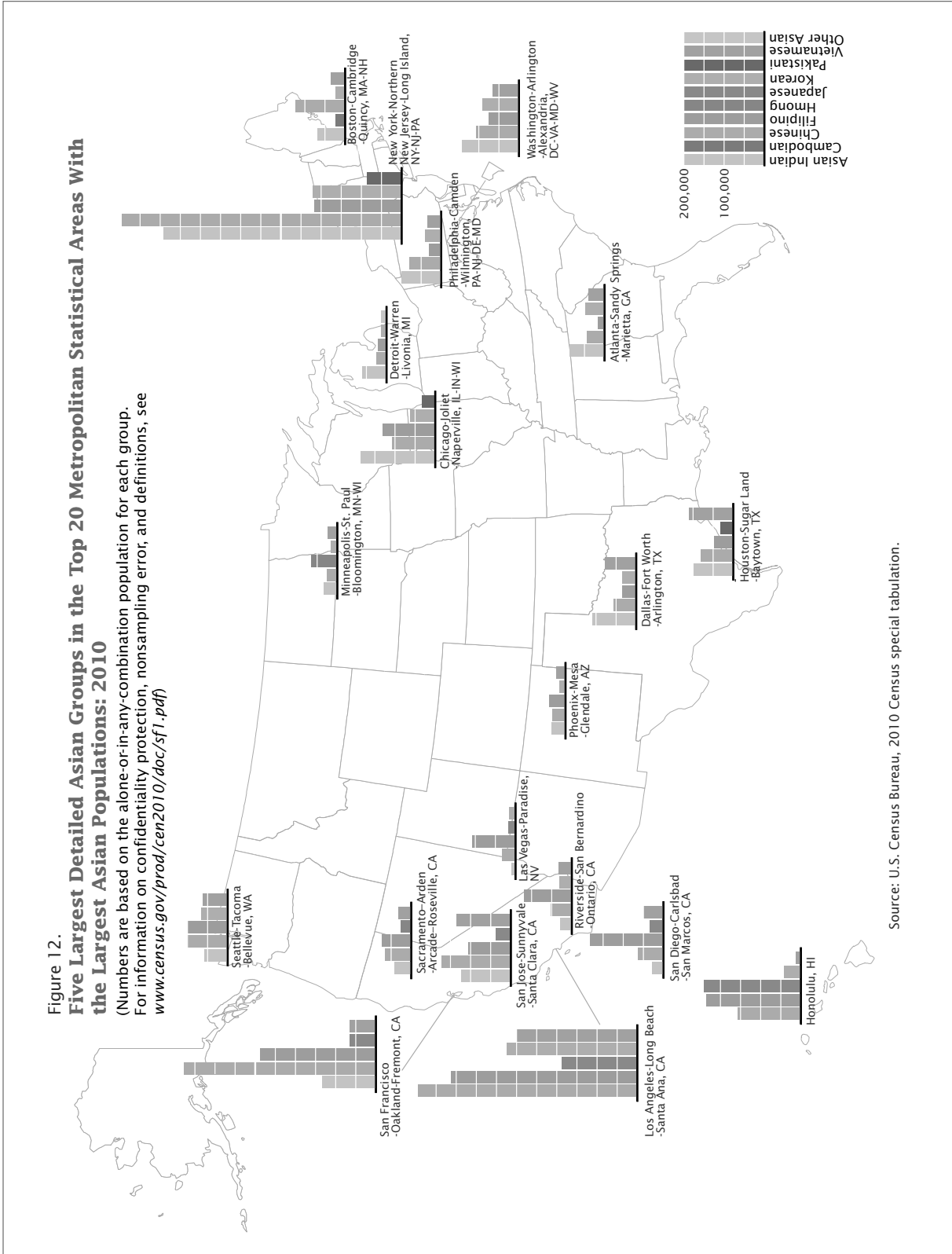
Figure 11.
Largest Detailed Asian Group by State: 2010
(The area of each circle symbol is proportional to the population of the largest detailed Asian group in a state. The legend presents example symbol sizes from the many symbols shown on the map. Numbers are based on the alone-or-in-any-combination population for each group. For more information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/sf1.pdf)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

Figure 12.
Five Largest Detailed Asian Groups in the Top 20 Metropolitan Statistical Areas With the Largest Asian Populations: 2010

(Numbers are based on the alone-or-in-any-combination population for each group. For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/sf1.pdf)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

Filipinos were not represented in the top five detailed Asian groups in Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH and Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI. The Korean and Vietnamese populations were represented among the top five detailed Asian groups in 15 and 16 out of the 20 metro areas with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination population, respectively.

The Japanese population was represented in the top five detailed Asian groups in 6 out of the 20 metro areas, all of which were located in the West. Pakistanis were represented in 3 of the 20 metro areas with the largest Asian alone-or-in-combination population, New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island NY-NJ-PA (86,000), Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX, and Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI (32,000 each). Hmong were represented in 2 metro areas, Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI (64,000) and Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville, CA (27,000). Cambodians were represented in 1 metro area, Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH (25,000).

SUMMARY

This report provides a detailed portrait of the Asian population in the United States and contributes to our understanding of the nation's changing racial and ethnic diversity.

The Asian alone population and the Asian alone-or-in-combination population both grew substantially from 2000 to 2010, increasing in size by 43 percent and 46 percent, respectively. These populations grew more than any other race group in 2010. The multiple-race Asian population also experienced considerable growth, increasing by 60 percent. Leading this growth was the Asian *and*

White population, which grew by 87 percent.

Additional notable trends were presented in this report. The Asian population continued to be concentrated in the West. However, the proportion of all Asians living in the West decreased from 2000 to 2010, while the proportion living in the South increased.

The report also highlighted results for detailed Asian groups, indicating that the Chinese population was the largest detailed Asian group. For the Asian alone-or-in-any-combination population, Filipinos and Asian Indians were the second- and third-largest detailed Asian groups.

The report also discussed geographic patterns for detailed Asian groups. Of the detailed Asian groups with one million or more alone-or-in-any-combination populations, Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean populations were concentrated in the West. However, this pattern was not observed for Asian Indians. In addition, for these same six groups, the largest proportion of each group lived in California.

Another interesting finding is that among the detailed Asian groups with alone-or-in-any-combination populations of one million or more, the Japanese population had the highest proportion that identified with multiple detailed Asian groups and/or another race(s) (41 percent). After Japanese, Filipinos had the next-highest proportion of respondents who identified with multiple detailed Asian groups and/or another race(s) (25 percent).

Throughout the decade, the Census Bureau will release additional information on the Asian population, including characteristics such as age, sex, and family type, which will provide greater insights

into the demographic characteristics of this population at various geographic levels.

ABOUT THE 2010 CENSUS

Why was the 2010 Census conducted?

The U.S. Constitution mandates that a census be taken in the United States every 10 years. This is required in order to determine the number of seats each state is to receive in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Why did the 2010 Census ask the question on race?

The Census Bureau collects data on race to fulfill a variety of legislative and program requirements. Data on race are used in the legislative redistricting process carried out by the states and in monitoring local jurisdictions' compliance with the Voting Rights Act. More broadly, data on race are critical for research that underlies many policy decisions at all levels of government.

How do data from the question on race benefit me, my family, and my community?

All levels of government need information on race to implement and evaluate programs, or enforce laws, such as the Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act, Fair Housing Act, Equal Employment Opportunity Act, and the 2010 Census Redistricting Data Program.

Both public and private organizations use race information to find areas where groups may need special services and to plan and implement education, housing, health, and other programs that address these needs. For example, a school system might use this information to design cultural activities that reflect the diversity in their community, or a business could use it to select the mix of merchandise

it will sell in a new store. Census information also helps identify areas where residents might need services of particular importance to certain racial groups, such as screening for hypertension or diabetes.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For more information on race in the United States, visit the Census Bureau's Internet site at www.census.gov/population/race.

Information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions is available at www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf.

Data on race from the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File* and the *2010 Census Summary File 1* were released on a state-by-state basis. The 2010 Census redistricting data are available on the Internet at <http://factfinder2.census.gov/main.html>.

For more information on specific race groups in the United States, go to www.census.gov and search for "Minority Links." This Web page includes information about the 2010 Census and provides links to reports based on past censuses and surveys focusing on the social and economic characteristics of the Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, and

Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander populations.

Information on other population and housing topics is presented in the 2010 Census Briefs series, located on the Census Bureau's Web site at www.census.gov/prod/cen2010. This series presents information about race, Hispanic origin, age, sex, household type, and housing tenure.

For more information about the 2010 Census, including data products, call the Customer Services Center at 1-800-923-8282. You can also visit the Census Bureau's Question and Answer Center at ask.census.gov to submit your questions online.

The Black Population: 2010

2010 Census Briefs

Issued September 2011

C2010BR-06

INTRODUCTION

This report provides a portrait of the Black population in the United States and discusses its distribution at the national level and at lower levels of geography.^{1, 2} It is part of a series that analyzes population and housing data collected from the 2010 Census. The data for this report are based on the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, which was the first 2010 Census data product released with data on race and Hispanic origin and was provided to each state for use in drawing boundaries for legislative districts.³

UNDERSTANDING RACE DATA FROM THE 2010 CENSUS

The 2010 Census used established federal standards to collect and present data on race.

For the 2010 Census, the question on race was asked of individuals living in the United States (see Figure 1). An individual's response to the race question was based upon self-identification. The U.S. Census Bureau collects information on race following the guidance of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget's

¹ The terms "Black" and "Black or African American" are used interchangeably in this report.

² This report discusses data for the 50 states and the District of Columbia, but not Puerto Rico.

³ Information on the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File* is available online at <<http://2010.census.gov/2010census/data/redistricting-data.php>>.

Figure 1.
Reproduction of the Question on Race From the 2010 Census

6. What is this person's race? Mark one or more boxes.

White

Black, African Am., or Negro

American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ↴

Asian Indian Japanese Native Hawaiian

Chinese Korean Guamanian or Chamorro

Filipino Vietnamese Samoan

Other Asian — *Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.* ↴

Other Pacific Islander — *Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.* ↴

Some other race — *Print race.* ↴

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census questionnaire.

(OMB) 1997 *Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity*.⁴ These federal standards mandate that race and Hispanic origin (ethnicity) are separate and distinct concepts and that when collecting these data via self-identification, two different questions must be used.⁵

⁴ The 1997 *Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity*, issued by OMB, is available at <www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg/1997standards.html>.

⁵ The OMB requires federal agencies to use a minimum of two ethnicities: Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino. Hispanic origin can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be of any race. "Hispanic or Latino" refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race.

By
Sonya Rastogi,
Tallese D. Johnson,
Elizabeth M. Hoeffel,
and
Malcolm P. Drewery, Jr.

Starting in 1997, OMB required federal agencies to use a minimum of five race categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. For respondents unable to identify with any of these five race categories, OMB approved the Census Bureau's inclusion of a sixth category—Some Other Race—on the Census 2000 and 2010 Census questionnaires. The 1997 OMB standards also allowed for respondents to identify with more than one race. The definition of the Black or African American racial category used in the 2010 Census is presented in the text box on this page.

Data on race have been collected since the first U.S. decennial census in 1790.⁶ For the first time in Census 2000, individuals were presented with the option to self-identify with more than one race and this continued with the 2010 Census, as prescribed by OMB. There are 57 possible multiple race combinations involving the five OMB race categories and Some Other Race.⁷

The 2010 Census question on race included 15 separate response categories and three areas where respondents could write in detailed information about their race (see

⁶ For information about comparability of 2010 Census data on race and Hispanic origin to data collected in previous censuses, see the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File—Technical Documentation* at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf>.

⁷ The 2010 Census provides data on the total population reporting more than one race, as well as detailed race combinations (e.g., Black or African American **and** White; Black or African American **and** Asian **and** American Indian and Alaska Native). In this report, the multiple-race categories are denoted with the conjunction **and** in bold and italicized print to indicate the separate race groups that comprise the particular combination.

DEFINITION OF BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN USED IN THE 2010 CENSUS

According to OMB, "Black or African American" refers to a person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa.

The Black racial category includes people who marked the "Black, African Am., or Negro" checkbox. It also includes respondents who reported entries such as African American; Sub-Saharan African entries, such as Kenyan and Nigerian; and Afro-Caribbean entries, such as Haitian and Jamaican.*

*Sub-Saharan African entries are classified as Black or African American with the exception of Sudanese and Cape Verdean because of their complex, historical heritage. North African entries are classified as White, as OMB defines White as a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa.

Figure 1).⁸ The response categories and write-in answers can be combined to create the five minimum OMB race categories plus Some Other Race. In addition to White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, and Some Other Race, 7 of the 15 response categories are Asian groups and 4 are Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander groups.⁹

For a complete explanation of the race categories used in the 2010 Census, see the 2010 Census Brief, *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*.¹⁰

⁸ There were two changes to the question on race for the 2010 Census. First, the wording of the race question was changed from "What is this person's race? Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be" in 2000 to "What is this person's race? Mark one or more boxes" for 2010. Second, in 2010, examples were added to the "Other Asian" response category (Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on) and the "Other Pacific Islander" response category (Fijian, Tongan, and so on). In 2000, no examples were given in the race question.

⁹ The race categories included in the census questionnaire generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country and are not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. In addition, it is recognized that the categories of the race question include race and national origin or sociocultural groups.

¹⁰ Humes, K., N. Jones, and R. Ramirez. 2011. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*. U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Briefs, C2010BR-02, available at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf>.

RACE ALONE, RACE IN COMBINATION, AND RACE ALONE-OR-IN-COMBINATION CONCEPTS

This report presents data for the Black population and focuses on results for three major conceptual groups.

People who responded to the question on race by indicating only one race are referred to as the *race alone* population, or the group who reported *only one* race. For example, respondents who marked only the "Black, African Am., or Negro" category on the census questionnaire would be included in the *Black alone* population. This population can be viewed as the minimum number of people reporting Black.

Individuals who chose more than one of the six race categories are referred to as the *race in combination* population, or as the group who reported *more than one race*. For example, respondents who reported they were Black or African American **and** White or Black or African American **and** Asian **and** American Indian and Alaska Native would be included in the *Black in combination* population. This population is also referred to as the *multiple-race Black* population.

Table 1.
Black or African American Population: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	2000		2010		Change, 2000 to 2010	
	Number	Percent of total population	Number	Percent of total population	Number	Percent
Total population	281,421,906	100.0	308,745,538	100.0	27,323,632	9.7
Black or African American alone or in combination	36,419,434	12.9	42,020,743	13.6	5,601,309	15.4
Black or African American alone	34,658,190	12.3	38,929,319	12.6	4,271,129	12.3
Black or African American in combination	1,761,244	0.6	3,091,424	1.0	1,330,180	75.5
Black or African American; White	784,764	0.3	1,834,212	0.6	1,049,448	133.7
Black or African American; Some Other Race	417,249	0.1	314,571	0.1	-102,678	-24.6
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native ..	182,494	0.1	269,421	0.1	86,927	47.6
Black or African American; White; American Indian and Alaska Native	112,207	-	230,848	0.1	118,641	105.7
Black or African American; Asian	106,782	-	185,595	0.1	78,813	73.8
All other combinations including Black or African American	157,748	0.1	256,777	0.1	99,029	62.8
Not Black or African American alone or in combination	245,002,472	87.1	266,724,795	86.4	21,722,323	8.9

- Percentage rounds to 0.0.

Note: In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15 percent) nationally, which almost entirely affected race combinations involving Some Other Race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in the Two or More Races population and race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as Black or African American **and** White or Black or African American **and** Asian, generally should be more comparable.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table PL1; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

The maximum number of people reporting Black is reflected in the *Black alone-or-in-combination* population. One way to define the Black population is to combine those respondents who reported Black alone with those who reported Black in combination with one or more other races. This creates the *Black alone-or-in-combination* population. Another way to think of the *Black alone-or-in-combination* population is the total number of people who reported Black, whether or not they reported any other races.

Throughout the report, the discussion of the Black population compares results for each of these groups and highlights the diversity within the entire Black population.¹¹

¹¹ As a matter of policy, the Census Bureau does not advocate the use of the *alone* population over the *alone-or-in-combination* population or vice versa. The use of the *alone* population in sections of this report does not imply that it is a preferred method of presenting or analyzing data. The same is true for sections of this report that focus on the *alone-or-in-combination* population. Data on race from the 2010 Census can be presented and discussed in a variety of ways.

THE BLACK POPULATION: A SNAPSHOT

The 2010 Census showed that the United States population on April 1, 2010, was 308.7 million. Out of the total population, 38.9 million people, or 13 percent, identified as Black alone (see Table 1).^{12, 13} In addition, 3.1 million people, or 1 percent, reported Black in combination with one or more other races.

Together, these two groups totaled 42.0 million people. Thus, 14 percent of all people in the United States identified as Black, either

¹² Percentages shown in text generally are rounded to the nearest integer, while those shown in tables and figures are shown with decimals. All rounding is based on unrounded calculations. Thus, due to rounding, some percentages shown in tables and figures ending in "5" may round either up or down. For example, unrounded numbers of 14.49 and 14.51 would both be shown as 14.5 in a table, but would be cited in the text as 14 and 15, respectively.

¹³ For the purposes of this report, the terms "reported," "identified," and "classified" are used interchangeably to refer to the response provided by respondents as well as responses assigned during the editing and imputation process.

alone, or in combination with one or more other races.

The Black population increased at a faster rate than the total population.

The total U.S. population grew by 9.7 percent, from 281.4 million in 2000 to 308.7 million in 2010 (see Table 1). In comparison, the Black alone population grew by 12 percent from 34.7 million to 38.9 million.¹⁴

The Black alone-or-in-combination population experienced more growth than the total population and the Black alone population, growing by 15 percent. However, both groups grew at a slower rate

¹⁴ The observed changes in the race counts between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census could be attributed to a number of factors. Demographic change since 2000, which includes births and deaths in a geographic area and migration in and out of a geographic area, will have an impact on the resulting 2010 Census counts. Additionally, some changes in the race question's wording and format since Census 2000 could have influenced reporting patterns in the 2010 Census.

Table 2.

Most Frequent Combinations of Black or African American Population With One or More Other Races by Hispanic or Latino Origin: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Black or African American in combination	2000		2010		Change, 2000 to 2010	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total number reporting Black or African American and one or more other races	1,761,244	100.0	3,091,424	100.0	1,330,180	75.5
Black or African American; White	784,764	44.6	1,834,212	59.3	1,049,448	133.7
Black or African American; Some Other Race	417,249	23.7	314,571	10.2	-102,678	-24.6
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	182,494	10.4	269,421	8.7	86,927	47.6
Black or African American; White; American Indian and Alaska Native	112,207	6.4	230,848	7.5	118,641	105.7
Black or African American; Asian	106,782	6.1	185,595	6.0	78,813	73.8
Black or African American; White; Some Other Race	43,172	2.5	46,641	1.5	3,469	8.0
All other combinations including Black or African American	114,576	6.5	210,136	6.8	95,560	83.4
Hispanic or Latino						
Black or African American in combination	325,330	100.0	653,747	100.0	328,417	100.9
Black or African American; White	87,687	27.0	245,850	37.6	158,163	180.4
Black or African American; Some Other Race	161,283	49.6	227,648	34.8	66,365	41.1
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	14,472	4.4	31,571	4.8	17,099	118.2
Black or African American; White; American Indian and Alaska Native	18,046	5.5	50,000	7.6	31,954	177.1
Black or African American; Asian	7,269	2.2	15,451	2.4	8,182	112.6
Black or African American; White; Some Other Race	15,481	4.8	33,554	5.1	18,073	116.7
All other combinations including Black or African American	21,092	6.5	49,673	7.6	28,581	135.5
Not Hispanic or Latino						
Black or African American in combination	1,435,914	100.0	2,437,677	100.0	1,001,763	69.8
Black or African American; White	697,077	48.5	1,588,362	65.2	891,285	127.9
Black or African American; Some Other Race	255,966	17.8	86,923	3.6	-169,043	-66.0
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	168,022	11.7	237,850	9.8	69,828	41.6
Black or African American; White; American Indian and Alaska Native	94,161	6.6	180,848	7.4	86,687	92.1
Black or African American; Asian	99,513	6.9	170,144	7.0	70,631	71.0
Black or African American; White; Some Other Race	27,691	1.9	13,087	0.5	-14,604	-52.7
All other combinations including Black or African American	93,484	6.5	160,463	6.6	66,979	71.6

Note: In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15 percent) nationally, which almost entirely affected race combinations involving Some Other Race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in the Two or More Races population and race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as Black or African American *and* White or Black or African American *and* Asian, generally should be more comparable.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables PL1 and PL2; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables P1 and P2.

than most other major race and ethnic groups in the country.¹⁵

MULTIPLE-RACE REPORTING AMONG THE BLACK POPULATION

Blacks who reported more than one race grew at a much faster rate than the Black alone population.

In the 2010 Census, 3.1 million people reported Black in

combination with one or more additional races (see Table 2). The multiple-race Black population grew at a considerably faster rate than the Black alone population, growing by more than three-fourths in size since 2000.

¹⁵ Humes, K., N. Jones, and R. Ramirez. 2011. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*, U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Briefs, C2010BR-02, available at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf>.

The largest multiple-race combination was Black *and* White.

Among people who reported they were Black and one or more additional races, the majority identified as Black *and* White (59 percent) (see Table 2). This was followed by Black and Some Other Race (10 percent), Black *and* American Indian and Alaska Native (9 percent), and Black *and* White *and* American Indian and Alaska Native (7 percent). Together, these four combinations comprised over 85 percent of all Blacks who reported multiple races.

The Black *and* White population contributed to most of the growth among Blacks who reported multiple races.

Among people who reported their race as Black and one or more additional races, those who reported Black *and* White more than doubled in size from about 785,000 in 2000 to 1.8 million in 2010. This combination constituted the greatest increase in the multiple-race Black population. The Black *and* White population's share of all multiple-race Blacks also increased substantially, from 45 percent in 2000 to 59 percent in 2010, about a 15 percentage-point difference.

The Black *and* Some Other Race population decreased between 2000 to 2010. This decrease was likely due to a data processing error in the Two or More Races population, which largely affected the combinations that included Some Other Race, overstating the

Black *and* Some Other Race population in 2000.¹⁶

The Black *and* American Indian and Alaska Native population grew by nearly one-half its size, increasing from 182,000 in 2000 to 269,000 in 2010. However, the Black *and* American Indian and Alaska Native population decreased as a proportion of the Black in combination population, from 10 percent to 9 percent.

The Black *and* White *and* American Indian and Alaska Native population increased both numerically and as a proportion of the Black in combination population. This population more than doubled in size from 112,000 in 2000 to 231,000 in 2010.

The Black *and* Asian population increased numerically from 107,000 in 2000 to 186,000 in 2010, an increase of 74 percent or nearly three-fourths in size. However, the Black *and* Asian population as a proportion of Blacks who reported multiple races remained at about 6 percent.

PATTERNS AMONG THE NON-HISPANIC BLACK POPULATION AND THE HISPANIC BLACK POPULATION

According to the 1997 OMB standards, Hispanics may be of any race. The 2010 Census results reflect this, demonstrating that

¹⁶ In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15 percent) nationally, which almost entirely affected race combinations involving Some Other Race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in the Two or More Races population and race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as Black or African American *and* White or Black or African American *and* Asian, generally should be more comparable.

Hispanics report a diversity of races (White, Black, American Indian or Alaska Native, etc.), or may also report that they are "Some Other Race" (self-identifying their race as "Latino," "Mexican," "Puerto Rican," "Salvadoran," or other national origins or ethnicities), or identify with various combinations of races. For more details on the race reporting patterns of Hispanics, see the 2010 Census Brief, *The Hispanic Population: 2010*.¹⁷

This section presents data for the Black population, highlighting patterns for Blacks who reported a Hispanic origin and Blacks who did not report a Hispanic origin.

About 97 percent of the Black alone population reported that they were non-Hispanic.

In 2010, the overwhelming majority of the Black alone population was non-Hispanic—about 97 percent of the Black alone population reported as non-Hispanic and 3 percent as Hispanic (see Table 3). Similarly, 95 percent of the Black alone-or-in-combination population reported as non-Hispanic and about 5 percent reported as Hispanic. However, a much lower proportion (79 percent) of people who reported Black in combination with one or more additional races were non-Hispanic.

Both non-Hispanic Blacks and Hispanic Blacks contributed to the growth of the multiple-race Black population.

Nationwide, the total multiple-race population grew from 6.8 million in 2000 to 9.0 million in 2010 (see Tables 3 and 4). Both non-Hispanic

¹⁷ Ennis, S., M. Rios-Vargas, and N. Albert. 2011. *The Hispanic Population: 2010*, U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Briefs, C2010BR-04, available at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf>.

Table 3.

Black or African American Population by Hispanic or Latino Origin: 2010(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race and Hispanic or Latino origin	Alone or in combination			Alone			In combination		
	Number	Percent of total population	Percent of Black or African American population	Number	Percent of total population	Percent of Black or African American population	Number	Percent of total population	Percent of Black or African American population
Total population . . .	308,745,538	100.0	(X)	299,736,465	100.0	(X)	9,009,073	100.0	(X)
Black or African American . . .	42,020,743	13.6	100.0	38,929,319	13.0	100.0	3,091,424	34.3	100.0
Hispanic or Latino	1,897,218	0.6	4.5	1,243,471	0.4	3.2	653,747	7.3	21.1
Not Hispanic or Latino	40,123,525	13.0	95.5	37,685,848	12.6	96.8	2,437,677	27.1	78.9

(X) Not applicable.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Tables P1 and P2.

Blacks and Hispanic Blacks contributed to this growth. In 2000, non-Hispanic Blacks accounted for 21 percent of all people who reported multiple races, compared with 27 percent in 2010. Hispanic Blacks accounted for 5 percent of all people who reported multiple races in 2000 and increased to 7 percent in 2010.

Over the last 10 years there has been a large increase in the

non-Hispanic Black in combination population who reported Black **and** White (see Table 2). In the 2010 Census, 65 percent of non-Hispanic Blacks who reported multiple races were Black **and** White, compared with 49 percent in 2000. Black **and** American Indian and Alaska Native accounted for 10 percent, and Black **and** White **and** American Indian and Alaska Native, and Black **and** Asian accounted for 7 percent each.

In 2010, among Hispanics who identified as Black and one or more additional races, 38 percent reported Black **and** White, compared with 27 percent in 2000. Black **and** Some Other Race accounted for 35 percent, Black **and** White **and** American Indian and Alaska Native accounted for 8 percent, and Black **and** White **and** Some Other Race accounted for 5 percent.

Table 4.

Black or African American Population by Hispanic or Latino Origin: 2000(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race and Hispanic or Latino origin	Alone or in combination			Alone			In combination		
	Number	Percent of total population	Percent of Black or African American population	Number	Percent of total population	Percent of Black or African American population	Number	Percent of total population	Percent of Black or African American population
Total population . . .	281,421,906	100.0	(X)	274,595,678	100.0	(X)	6,826,228	100.0	(X)
Black or African American . . .	36,419,434	12.9	100.0	34,658,190	12.6	100.0	1,761,244	25.8	100.0
Hispanic or Latino	1,035,683	0.4	2.8	710,353	0.3	2.0	325,330	4.8	18.5
Not Hispanic or Latino	35,383,751	12.6	97.2	33,947,837	12.4	98.0	1,435,914	21.0	81.5

(X) Not applicable.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Tables PL1 and PL2.

THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE BLACK POPULATION

The South was the region where Blacks comprised the greatest proportion of the total population.

The South was the region where the Black alone-or-in-combination population comprised the greatest proportion of the total population, at 20 percent (see Table 5).¹⁸ In other regions, the Black alone-or-in-combination population was much smaller in proportion—13 percent in the Northeast, 11 percent in the Midwest, and 6 percent in the West. These results were similar for the Black alone population.

The majority of Blacks in the United States lived in the South.

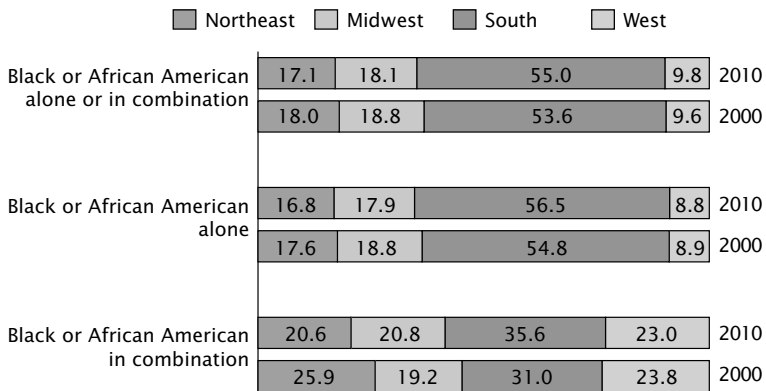
According to the 2010 Census, of all respondents who reported Black alone-or-in-combination, 55 percent lived in the South, 18 percent in the Midwest, 17 percent in the Northeast, and 10 percent in the West (see Figure 2). This pattern was similar for the Black alone population.

Compared to 2000, the proportions of the Black alone-or-in-combination population for the West stayed about the same, while the proportions increased

¹⁸ The Northeast census region includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. The Midwest census region includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The South census region includes Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. The West census region includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

Figure 2. Percentage Distribution of the Black or African American Population by Region: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Note: Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.
Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table PL1*; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1*.

in the South and decreased in the Northeast and the Midwest. The proportion of the Black alone population also increased in the South, from 55 percent in 2000 to 57 percent in 2010, whereas the Northeast and the Midwest experienced decreases in their share of the Black alone population.

The multiple-race Black population was more geographically dispersed than the Black alone population.

The Black in combination population had a different regional pattern compared to the Black alone population (see Figure 2). A considerably higher proportion of the multiple-race Black population lived in the West (23 percent), relative to the Black alone population (9 percent). While a large proportion of the multiple-race Black population lived in the South (36 percent), this was much lower than the Black alone population (57 percent).

The Black population grew in every region between 2000 and 2010 with the Black in combination population contributing to this growth, particularly in the South.

The Black alone-or-in-combination population grew in every region between 2000 and 2010, led by 18 percent growth in both the South and the West (see Table 5). The Black alone population also increased in every region, but at a slower rate than the Black alone-or-in-combination population. The Black alone population grew the most in the South, increasing by 16 percent.

The Black in combination population contributed to population growth in every region, particularly the South. In the South, the Black in combination population doubled from 547,000 to 1.1 million, growing 101 percent over the decade. The Midwest also experienced

Table 5.
Black or African American Population for the United States, Regions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Area	Black or African American alone or in combination				Black or African American alone				Black or African American in combination			
	2000	2010	Percent of total population, 2010 ¹	Percent change, 2000 to 2010	2000	2010	Percent of total population, 2010 ¹	Percent change, 2000 to 2010	2000	2010	Percent of total population, 2010 ¹	Percent change, 2000 to 2010
United States ..	36,419,434	42,020,743	13.6	15.4	34,658,190	38,929,319	12.6	12.3	1,761,244	3,091,424	1.0	75.5
REGION												
Northeast	6,556,909	7,187,488	13.0	9.6	6,099,881	6,550,217	11.8	7.4	457,028	637,271	1.2	39.4
Midwest	6,838,669	7,594,486	11.3	11.1	6,499,733	6,950,869	10.4	6.9	338,936	643,617	1.0	89.9
South	19,528,231	23,105,082	20.2	18.3	18,981,692	22,005,433	19.2	15.9	546,539	1,099,649	1.0	101.2
West	3,495,625	4,133,687	5.7	18.3	3,076,884	3,422,800	4.8	11.2	418,741	710,887	1.0	69.8
STATE												
Alabama	1,168,998	1,281,118	26.8	9.6	1,155,930	1,251,311	26.2	8.3	13,068	29,807	0.6	128.1
Alaska	27,147	33,150	4.7	22.1	21,787	23,263	3.3	6.8	5,360	9,887	1.4	84.5
Arizona	185,599	318,665	5.0	71.7	158,873	259,008	4.1	63.0	26,726	59,657	0.9	123.2
Arkansas	427,152	468,710	16.1	9.7	418,950	449,895	15.4	7.4	8,202	18,815	0.6	129.4
California	2,513,041	2,683,914	7.2	6.8	2,263,882	2,299,072	6.2	1.6	249,159	384,842	1.0	54.5
Colorado	190,717	249,812	5.0	31.0	165,063	201,737	4.0	22.2	25,654	48,075	1.0	87.4
Connecticut	339,078	405,600	11.3	19.6	309,843	362,296	10.1	16.9	29,235	43,304	1.2	48.1
Delaware	157,152	205,923	22.9	31.0	150,666	191,814	21.4	27.3	6,486	14,109	1.6	117.5
District of Columbia ..	350,455	314,352	52.2	-10.3	343,312	305,125	50.7	-11.1	7,143	9,227	1.5	29.2
Florida	2,471,730	3,200,663	17.0	29.5	2,335,505	2,999,862	16.0	28.4	136,225	200,801	1.1	47.4
Georgia	2,393,425	3,054,098	31.5	27.6	2,349,542	2,950,435	30.5	25.6	43,883	103,663	1.1	136.2
Hawaii	33,343	38,820	2.9	16.4	22,003	21,424	1.6	-2.6	11,340	17,396	1.3	53.4
Idaho	8,127	15,940	1.0	96.1	5,456	9,810	0.6	79.8	2,671	6,130	0.4	129.5
Illinois	1,937,671	1,974,113	15.4	1.9	1,876,875	1,866,414	14.5	-0.6	60,796	107,699	0.8	77.1
Indiana	538,015	654,415	10.1	21.6	510,034	591,397	9.1	16.0	27,981	63,018	1.0	125.2
Iowa	72,512	113,225	3.7	56.1	61,853	89,148	2.9	44.1	10,659	24,077	0.8	125.9
Kansas	170,610	202,149	7.1	18.5	154,198	167,864	5.9	8.9	16,412	34,285	1.2	108.9
Kentucky	311,878	376,213	8.7	20.6	295,994	337,520	7.8	14.0	15,884	38,693	0.9	143.6
Louisiana	1,468,317	1,486,885	32.8	1.3	1,451,944	1,452,396	32.0	-	16,373	34,489	0.8	110.6
Maine	9,553	21,764	1.6	127.8	6,760	15,707	1.2	132.4	2,793	6,057	0.5	116.9
Maryland	1,525,036	1,783,899	30.9	17.0	1,477,411	1,700,298	29.4	15.1	47,625	83,601	1.4	75.5
Massachusetts	398,479	508,413	7.8	27.6	343,454	434,398	6.6	26.5	55,025	74,015	1.1	34.5
Michigan	1,474,613	1,505,514	15.2	2.1	1,412,742	1,400,362	14.2	-0.9	61,871	105,152	1.1	70.0
Minnesota	202,972	327,548	6.2	61.4	171,731	274,412	5.2	59.8	31,241	53,136	1.0	70.1
Mississippi	1,041,708	1,115,801	37.6	7.1	1,033,809	1,098,385	37.0	6.2	7,899	17,416	0.6	120.5
Missouri	655,377	747,474	12.5	14.1	629,391	693,391	11.6	10.2	25,986	54,083	0.9	108.1
Montana	4,441	7,917	0.8	78.3	2,692	4,027	0.4	49.6	1,749	3,890	0.4	122.4
Nebraska	75,833	98,959	5.4	30.5	68,541	82,885	4.5	20.9	7,292	16,074	0.9	120.4
Nevada	150,508	254,452	9.4	69.1	135,477	218,626	8.1	61.4	15,031	35,826	1.3	138.3
New Hampshire	12,218	21,736	1.7	77.9	9,035	15,035	1.1	66.4	3,183	6,701	0.5	110.5
New Jersey	1,211,750	1,300,363	14.8	7.3	1,141,821	1,204,826	13.7	5.5	69,929	95,537	1.1	36.6
New Mexico	42,412	57,040	2.8	34.5	34,343	42,550	2.1	23.9	8,069	14,490	0.7	79.6
New York	3,234,165	3,334,550	17.2	3.1	3,014,385	3,073,800	15.9	2.0	219,780	260,750	1.3	18.6
North Carolina	1,776,283	2,151,456	22.6	21.1	1,737,545	2,048,628	21.5	17.9	38,738	102,828	1.1	165.4
North Dakota	5,372	11,086	1.6	106.4	3,916	7,960	1.2	103.3	1,456	3,126	0.5	114.7
Ohio	1,372,501	1,541,771	13.4	12.3	1,301,307	1,407,681	12.2	8.2	71,194	134,090	1.2	88.3
Oklahoma	284,766	327,621	8.7	15.0	260,968	277,644	7.4	6.4	23,798	49,977	1.3	110.0
Oregon	72,647	98,479	2.6	35.6	55,662	69,206	1.8	24.3	16,985	29,273	0.8	72.3
Pennsylvania	1,289,123	1,507,965	11.9	17.0	1,224,612	1,377,689	10.8	12.5	64,511	130,276	1.0	101.9
Rhode Island	58,051	77,754	7.4	33.9	46,908	60,189	5.7	28.3	11,143	17,565	1.7	57.6
South Carolina	1,200,901	1,332,188	28.8	10.9	1,185,216	1,290,684	27.9	8.9	15,685	41,504	0.9	164.6
South Dakota	6,687	14,705	1.8	119.9	4,685	10,207	1.3	117.9	2,002	4,498	0.6	124.7
Tennessee	953,349	1,107,178	17.4	16.1	932,809	1,057,315	16.7	13.3	20,540	49,863	0.8	142.8
Texas	2,493,057	3,168,469	12.6	27.1	2,404,566	2,979,598	11.8	23.9	88,491	188,871	0.8	113.4
Utah	24,382	43,209	1.6	77.2	17,657	29,287	1.1	65.9	6,725	13,922	0.5	107.0
Vermont	4,492	9,343	1.5	108.0	3,063	6,277	1.0	104.9	1,429	3,066	0.5	114.6
Virginia	1,441,207	1,653,563	20.7	14.7	1,390,293	1,551,399	19.4	11.6	50,914	102,164	1.3	100.7
Washington	238,398	325,004	4.8	36.3	190,267	240,042	3.6	26.2	48,131	84,962	1.3	76.5
West Virginia	62,817	76,945	4.2	22.5	57,232	63,124	3.4	10.3	5,585	13,821	0.7	147.5
Wisconsin	326,506	403,527	7.1	23.6	304,460	359,148	6.3	18.0	22,046	44,379	0.8	101.3
Wyoming	4,863	7,285	1.3	49.8	3,722	4,748	0.8	27.6	1,141	2,537	0.5	122.3
Puerto Rico	416,296	550,259	14.8	32.2	302,933	461,498	12.4	52.3	113,363	88,761	2.4	-21.7

- Percentage rounds to 0.0.

¹ The percent of the total population is calculated by using the total population of all races. The totals for each geography can be found in Table 11, page 18 of the 2010 Census Brief, *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010* available at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf>.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table PL1; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

considerable growth in the Black in combination population, increasing 90 percent, followed by increases of 70 percent in the West and 39 percent in the Northeast.

This growth contributed to shifting patterns of the Black in combination population by region. The proportion of the Black in combination population residing in the South increased from 31 percent to 36 percent, and decreased in the Northeast (from 26 percent to 21 percent) (see Figure 2).

The Black population represented over 50 percent of the total population in the District of Columbia and over 25 percent of the total population in six states, all located in the South.

The Black alone-or-in-combination population represented 38 percent of the total population in Mississippi (see Table 5). This was followed by Louisiana (33 percent), Georgia (32 percent), Maryland (31 percent), South Carolina (29 percent), and Alabama (27 percent). These same six states had the highest proportion of the Black alone population and the proportions were similar to the Black alone-or-in-combination population. The Black alone-or-in-combination population represented 52 percent of the total population in the District of Columbia.¹⁹

The Black alone-or-in-combination population represented less than 3 percent of the total population in 12 states, all located outside of the South. More than half of the states in the West had a Black alone-or-in-combination population of less than 3 percent—Hawaii, New Mexico, and Oregon (about 3 percent each); Utah (about 2 percent); and Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana (about 1 percent each).

¹⁹ For this report, the District of Columbia is treated as a state equivalent.

The Black alone-or-in-combination population represented less than 3 percent of the total population in two states in the Midwest—South Dakota and North Dakota (about 2 percent each), and three states in the Northeast—New Hampshire, Maine, (about 2 percent each) and Vermont (1 percent). These same 12 states also had less than 3 percent of the Black alone population and the percentages tended to be slightly lower than the Black alone-or-in-combination population. One additional state (Iowa) had a Black alone population of less than 3 percent, and thus 13 states had Black alone populations of less than 3 percent.

Nearly 60 percent of all people who reported Black lived in ten states.

The ten states with the largest Black alone-or-in-combination populations in 2010 were New York (3.3 million), Florida (3.2 million), Texas (3.2 million), Georgia (3.1 million), California (2.7 million), North Carolina (2.2 million), Illinois (2.0 million), Maryland (1.8 million), Virginia (1.7 million), and Ohio (1.5 million) (see Table 5). Among these states, four experienced substantial growth between 2000 and 2010. The Black alone-or-in-combination population grew by 29 percent in Florida, 28 percent in Georgia, 27 percent in Texas, and 21 percent in North Carolina.

Out of the ten states above, nine of them also had the largest Black alone populations. The state with the tenth largest Black alone population was Louisiana (1.5 million). In a similar fashion to the Black alone-or-in-combination population, the Black alone population also experienced considerable growth in Florida, Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina.

The Black population grew in every state between 2000 and 2010, but declined in the District of Columbia.

Among all states, the states with small Black alone-or-in-combination populations (2 percent or less) in 2010 tended to experience the largest percentage growth. Maine experienced the largest percentage growth in the Black alone-or-in-combination population, increasing by 128 percent between 2000 and 2010. This was followed by South Dakota (120 percent), Vermont (108 percent), North Dakota (106 percent), and Idaho (96 percent).

At the other end of the spectrum, the Black population in the District of Columbia decreased by 10 percent between 2000 and 2010. As discussed earlier, the District of Columbia still had the highest proportion reporting Black among states, with 52 percent in 2010. The same patterns were observed for the Black alone population by state.

The Black in combination population showed even more substantial growth, as it more than doubled in more than half of all states. The states that experienced the most growth were in the South: North Carolina and South Carolina both grew by 165 percent, followed by West Virginia (147 percent), Kentucky (144 percent), and Tennessee (143 percent).

Of the population who identified as Black, people who reported multiple races were more likely to live in California.

Of all respondents who reported as Black alone-or-in-combination, about 8 percent lived in each of these states—New York, Florida, and Texas. Another 7 percent lived in Georgia and 6 percent lived in

Figure 3.
Percentage Distribution of the Black or African American Population by State: 2010
 (For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Black or African American alone or in combination	NY 7.9	FL 7.6	TX 7.5	GA 7.3	CA 6.4	All other states 63.3
Black or African American alone	NY 7.9	FL 7.7	TX 7.7	GA 7.6	CA 5.9	All other states 63.3
Black or African American in combination	CA 12.4	NY 8.4	FL 6.5	TX 6.1	OH 4.3	All other states 62.2

Note: Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

California (see Figure 3). The pattern for the Black alone population was similar, where 8 percent of the Black alone population lived in New York, Florida, Texas, and Georgia and 6 percent lived in California.

The pattern was slightly different for respondents who identified as Black in combination with one or more additional races. Among multiple-race Blacks, 12 percent lived in California, 8 percent in New York, 6 percent lived in both Florida and Texas, and 4 percent in Ohio.

The Black population was highly concentrated in counties in the South.

The Black alone-or-in-combination population was highly concentrated in 2010: 62 percent (1,941 counties) of all counties in the United States had less than 5 percent of the population identified as Black alone-or-in-combination, but in 106 counties, the Black alone-or-in-combination population comprised 50 percent or more of the total county population. All of these counties were located in the South except for the city of St. Louis, MO, which

is considered a county equivalent (see Figure 4). These patterns were similar for the Black alone population.

Concentrations of Blacks outside of the South tended to be in counties located within metropolitan statistical areas. There were 317 counties where the Black alone-or-in-combination population was 25.0 to 49.9 percent of the county population, and only 17 of these counties were not in the South. Of these 17 counties, 15 were in metro areas. This pattern was similar for the Black alone population.

Although the Black alone-or-in-combination population and the Black alone population were not as concentrated in counties in midwestern states, in some metro areas, such as around Chicago, IL, and Detroit, MI, the proportion Black was much higher than the national average of 13 percent. Also, in some metro areas in the West, such as around San Francisco, CA, and Sacramento, CA, the proportion Black was above the national average.

The Black population in the South experienced mixed growth—some counties experienced an increase, while others experienced a decline.

Among the 1,558 counties with a Black alone-or-in-combination population of over 1,000 people, over one-third (536 counties) had an increase of 25 percent or more from 2000 to 2010 (see Figure 5). On the other hand, 100 counties had a decrease of over 10 percent. The Black alone-or-in-combination population in counties located in northeastern states such as Maine and Pennsylvania grew significantly, as well as counties in the South, specifically Florida, which had a number of counties that grew by 25 percent or more.

Large growth in the Black alone-or-in-combination population also occurred in the West and sections of the Midwest. Counties in Arizona, Nevada, California, Oregon, and Washington grew substantially between 2000 and 2010. The Midwest had pockets of high growth in states such as Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois.

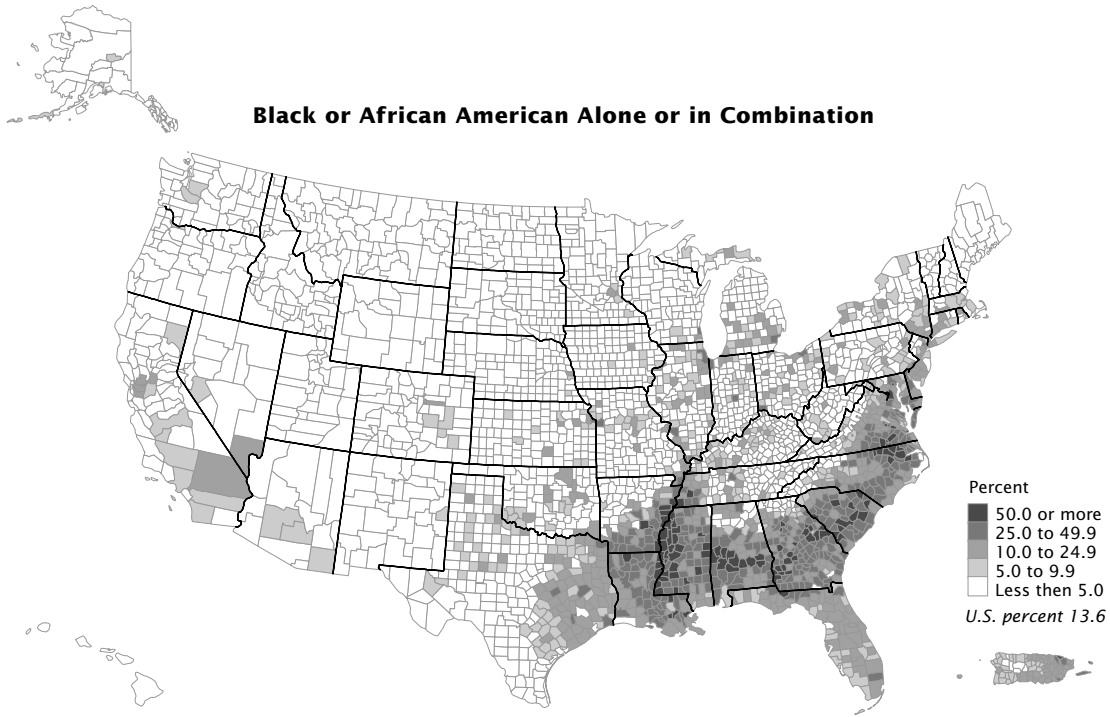
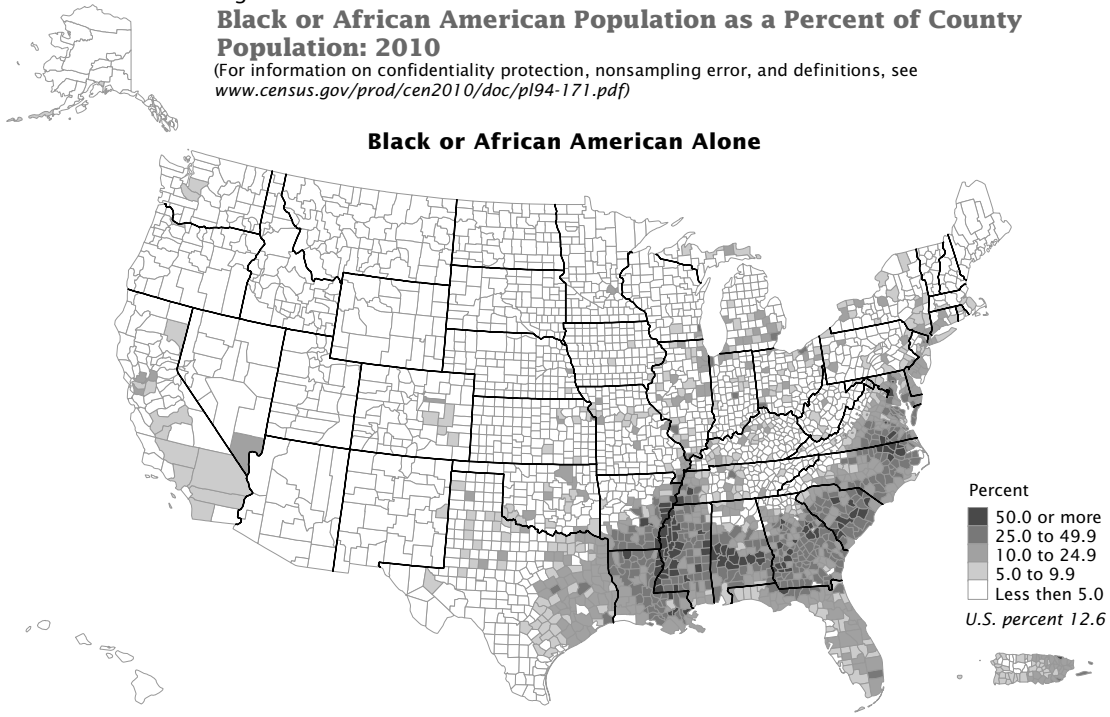
The Black alone-or-in-combination population in the South experienced the largest percentage declines between 2000 and 2010. Counties located in southern states such as Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia experienced greater declines in the Black alone-or-in-combination population compared to the rest of the nation. The Black alone population had similar results.

The Black in combination population had large concentrations in northeastern states and counties near metro areas in the West, Midwest, and South.

In 2010, large proportions of the Black in combination population were located in counties

Figure 4.
Black or African American Population as a Percent of County Population: 2010

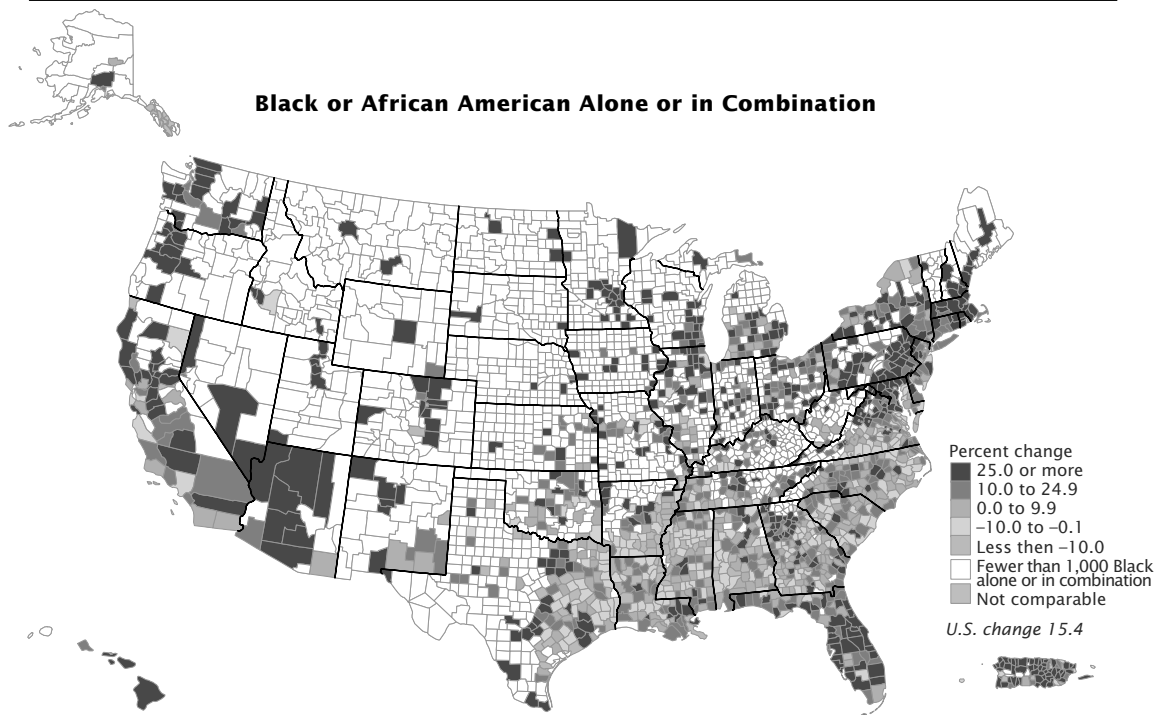
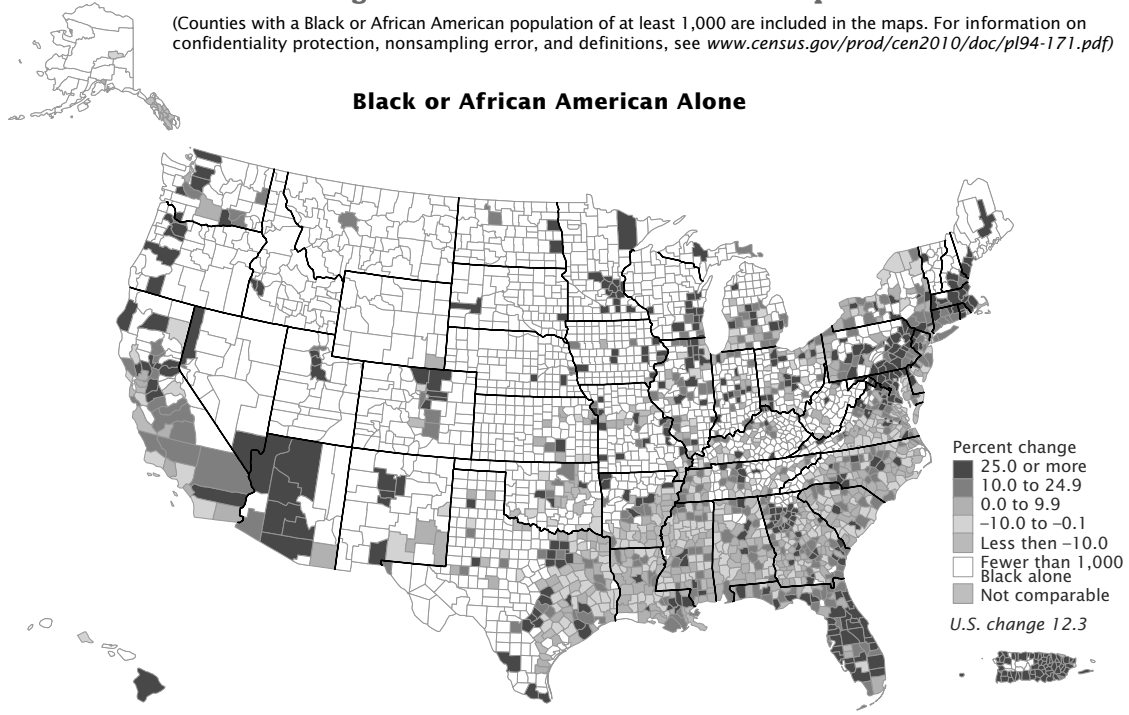
(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1.

Figure 5.
Percent Change in Black or African American Population: 2000 to 2010

(Counties with a Black or African American population of at least 1,000 are included in the maps. For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table PL1; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

Figure 6.
Black in Combination Population Distribution by County: 2010

(Counties with a Black or African American in combination population of at least 1,000 are included in the map. For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/p194-171.pdf)

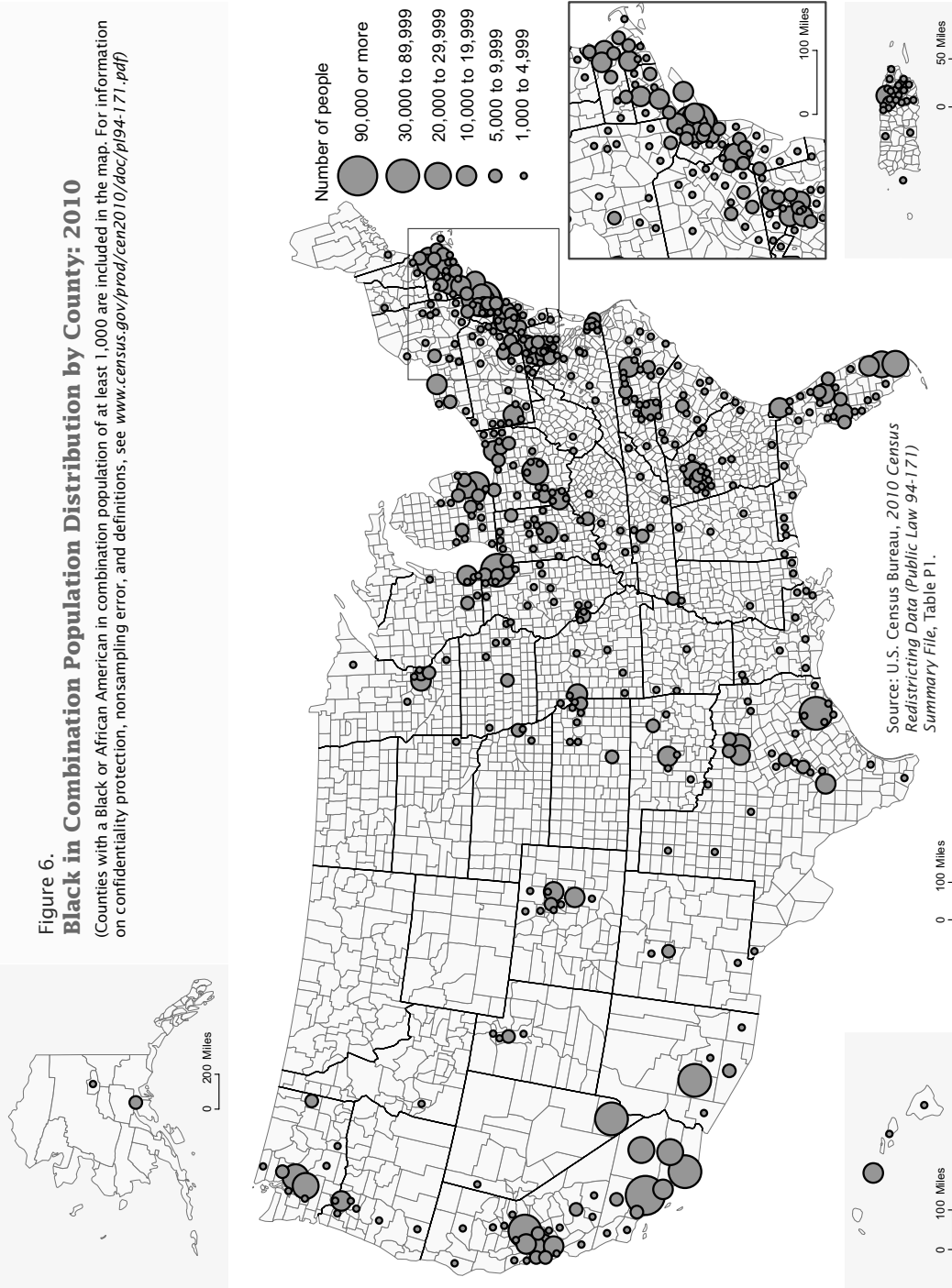
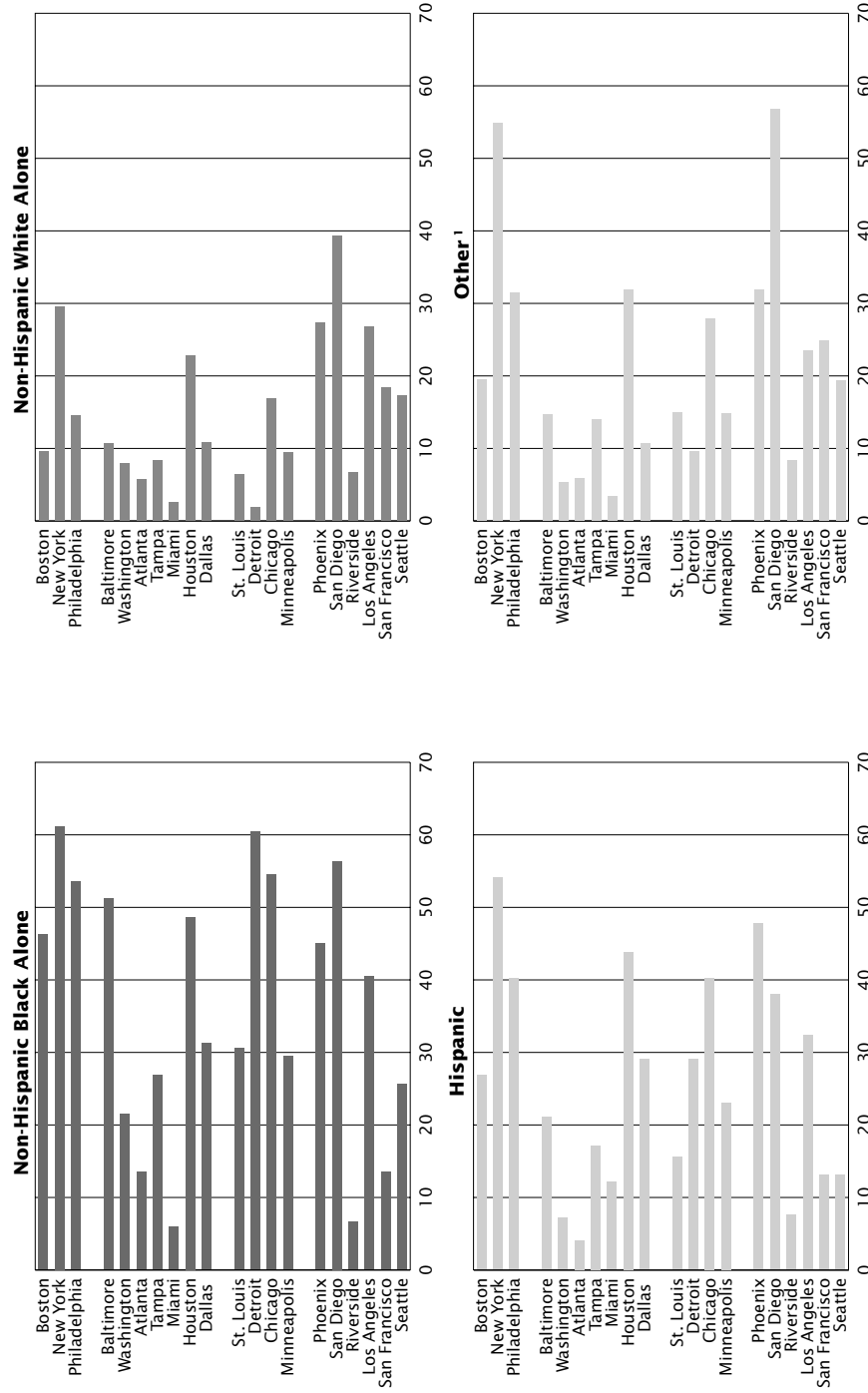


Figure 7. Proportion of Race and Ethnic Groups Living Inside the Largest Principal City of the 20 Largest Metropolitan Statistical Areas: 2010
 (For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pi94-171.pdf)



¹ For this figure, the "other" race category refers to the non-Hispanic Asian alone, non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone, non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, and non-Hispanic Some Other Race alone populations, as well as non-Hispanics who reported multiple races.
 Note: Principal cities within regions are organized based on proximity to each other. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are located in the Northeast census region. Baltimore, Washington, Atlanta, Tampa, Miami, Houston, and Dallas are located in the South census region. St. Louis, Detroit, Chicago, and Minneapolis are located in the Midwest census region. Phoenix, San Diego, Riverside, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle are located in the West census region.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

Table 6.
Ten Places With the Largest Number of Blacks or African Americans: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Place ¹	Total population	Black or African American alone or in combination		Black or African American alone		Black or African American in combination	
		Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number
New York, NY	8,175,133	1	2,228,145	1	2,088,510	1	139,635
Chicago, IL	2,695,598	2	913,009	2	887,608	3	25,401
Philadelphia, PA	1,526,006	3	686,870	3	661,839	4	25,031
Detroit, MI	713,777	4	601,988	4	590,226	13	11,762
Houston, TX	2,099,451	5	514,217	5	498,466	8	15,751
Memphis, TN	646,889	6	414,928	6	409,687	58	5,241
Baltimore, MD	620,961	7	403,998	7	395,781	29	8,217
Los Angeles, CA	3,792,621	8	402,448	8	365,118	2	37,330
Washington, DC	601,723	9	314,352	9	305,125	22	9,227
Dallas, TX	1,197,816	10	308,087	10	298,993	23	9,094
Columbus, OH	787,033	15	237,077	16	220,241	5	16,836
San Diego, CA	1,307,402	40	104,374	43	87,949	6	16,425
Phoenix, AZ	1,445,632	37	109,544	40	93,608	7	15,936
Indianapolis, IN	829,718	14	240,789	15	226,671	9	14,118
Boston, MA	617,594	21	163,629	23	150,437	10	13,192

¹ Places of 100,000 or more total population. The 2010 Census showed 282 places in the United States with 100,000 or more population. They included 273 incorporated places (including 5 city-county consolidations) and 9 census designated places (CDPs) that were not legally incorporated.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

in northeastern states such as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts (see Figure 6). The Black in combination population was also concentrated in counties in midwestern states such as Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, as well as in counties in southern states such as Georgia, North Carolina, and Florida.

Counties near metro areas in the Midwest such as Chicago, IL; Detroit, MI; and Minneapolis, MN, also had large concentrations of the Black in combination population. There were also large concentrations of the Black in combination population in the West in counties near metro areas such as Los Angeles, CA; San Francisco, CA; and Seattle, WA.

The places with the largest Black population were New York and Chicago.

Among the places with populations of 100,000 or more, the 2010 Census showed that New York, NY, had the largest Black

alone-or-in-combination population with 2.2 million, followed by Chicago, IL (913,000) (see Table 6). Three other places had Black alone-or-in-combination populations of over 500,000 people (Philadelphia, PA; Detroit, MI; and Houston, TX).

Five of the ten places with the largest Black alone-or-in-combination populations—Houston, TX; Memphis, TN; Baltimore, MD; Washington, DC; and Dallas, TX—were in the South. These rankings were identical for the Black alone population.

The places with the largest Black in combination populations were New York and Los Angeles.

Among the places with populations of 100,000 or more, New York, NY, had the largest Black in combination population (1,400,000), followed by Los Angeles, CA (37,000) (see Table 6). Two other places, Chicago, IL, and Philadelphia, PA, had populations over 25,000.

In contrast to the patterns observed for the Black alone-or-in-combination population, only one out of the ten places with the largest Black in combination population was in the South and there was more representation of places in the Midwest and the West.

The place with the greatest proportion Black was Detroit.

Among the places with populations of 100,000 or more, the places with the greatest proportion Black alone-or-in-combination were Detroit, MI (84 percent); followed by Jackson, MS (80 percent); Miami Gardens, FL (78 percent); and Birmingham, AL (74 percent) (see Table 7). Of the top ten places shown, all were majority Black.

Of these places, eight were in the South, and two were in the Midwest, specifically Michigan. These patterns were the same for the Black alone population and the proportions were similar to the Black alone-or-in-combination population.

Table 7.
Ten Places With the Highest Percentage of Blacks or African Americans: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Place ¹	Total population	Black or African American alone or in combination		Black or African American alone		Black or African American in combination	
		Rank	Percent of total population	Rank	Percent of total population	Rank	Percent of total population
Detroit, MI	713,777	1	84.3	1	82.7	83	1.6
Jackson, MS	173,514	2	80.1	2	79.4	242	0.7
Miami Gardens, FL	107,167	3	77.9	3	76.3	91	1.6
Birmingham, AL	212,237	4	74.0	4	73.4	257	0.6
Baltimore, MD	620,961	5	65.1	5	63.7	134	1.3
Memphis, TN	646,889	6	64.1	6	63.3	225	0.8
New Orleans, LA	343,829	7	61.2	7	60.2	184	1.0
Flint, MI	102,434	8	59.5	9	56.6	9	2.9
Montgomery, AL	205,764	9	57.4	8	56.6	231	0.8
Savannah, GA	136,286	10	56.7	10	55.4	139	1.3
Lansing, MI	114,297	69	27.8	78	23.7	1	4.1
Tacoma, WA	198,397	132	15.0	145	11.2	2	3.8
Killeen, TX	127,921	40	37.9	46	34.1	3	3.8
Syracuse, NY	145,170	51	33.1	57	29.5	4	3.6
Providence, RI	178,042	109	19.4	114	16.0	5	3.3
Fairfield, CA	105,321	111	19.0	118	15.7	6	3.3
Rochester, NY	210,565	29	44.9	33	41.7	7	3.2
Fayetteville, NC	200,564	31	44.8	32	41.9	8	2.9
Vallejo, CA	115,942	81	24.9	83	22.1	10	2.9

¹ Places of 100,000 or more total population. The 2010 Census showed 282 places in the United States with 100,000 or more population. They included 273 incorporated places (including 5 city-county consolidations) and 9 census designated places (CDPs) that were not legally incorporated.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

The place with the highest proportion of people who identified as multiple-race Black was Lansing, MI.

Among the places with populations of 100,000 or more, the places with the highest proportion of people who identified as Black and one or more other races were Lansing, MI; Tacoma, WA; Killeen, TX; and Syracuse, NY (about 4 percent each) (see Table 7). Of these ten places, three were in the Northeast, three were in the West, two in the Midwest, and two in the South.

Among the 20 largest metropolitan statistical areas, New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA, had the highest proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the largest principal city.

The remaining sections discuss geographic patterns for the non-Hispanic Black alone population

and make comparisons to other race and ethnic groups.

Figure 7 shows the proportion of selected race and Hispanic origin groups who lived inside the largest principal city of the 20 largest metro areas in the country versus those who lived outside of that largest principal city.²⁰ The red bars represent the non-Hispanic Black alone population, the blue bars represent the non-Hispanic White alone population, the green bars represent the Hispanic population, and the orange bars represent other race groups.²¹ For example, the red bar denotes the proportion of the

²⁰ For the remainder of this section, when metro areas are discussed, the report will refer to the largest 20 metropolitan statistical areas.

²¹ For this report, the “other” race group refers to the non-Hispanic Asian alone, non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone, non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, and non-Hispanic Some Other Race alone populations, as well as non-Hispanics who reported multiple races.

non-Hispanic Black alone population that lived inside the largest principal city of Boston (46 percent), out of the total non-Hispanic Black alone population in the entire Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH metro area.

The top 5 metro areas that had the highest proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside their respective largest principal cities were New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA (61 percent); Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI (60 percent); San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA (56 percent); Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI (54 percent); and Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD (53 percent).

The 5 metro areas with the lowest proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside their respective largest principal cities were Miami-Fort

Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL (6 percent); Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA (7 percent); Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA (13 percent); San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA (13 percent); and Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV (21 percent).

The proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the largest principal city surpassed 40 percent in all of the northeastern metro areas shown.

Across the northeastern metro areas shown, at least 40 percent of the non-Hispanic Black alone population lived inside their respective largest principal city—New York (61 percent), Philadelphia (53 percent), and Boston (46 percent) (see Figure 7).²²

In the South, 2 out of the 7 metro areas shown had at least 40 percent of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside their respective largest principal city—Baltimore (51 percent) and Houston (49 percent). In the Midwest, this was the case for 2 out of the 4 metro areas shown—Chicago (54 percent) and Detroit (60 percent). In the West, half of the metro areas shown had at least 40 percent of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside their largest respective principal city—San Diego (56 percent), Phoenix (45 percent), and Los Angeles (40 percent).

²² The Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD metro area contains counties that are also part of the South region as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau.

The non-Hispanic Black alone population was more likely to live inside the largest principal cities compared with non-Hispanic White alone, Hispanic, and other race populations.

A higher proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population lived inside the largest principal cities in 15 out of the 20 largest metro areas, relative to the non-Hispanic White alone, Hispanic, and other race populations (see Figure 7). This was most pronounced in the metro areas of Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI, and Baltimore-Towson, MD, where the proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living in the largest principal city surpassed the second largest group, Hispanics, by 30 percentage points.

Metro areas that had a lower proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside their largest principal city, relative to the Hispanic and other race group populations, were primarily located in the West—the metro areas of Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ; Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA; San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA; and San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA. However, the metro area with the lowest proportion was Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL, located in the South.

In the metro areas of Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL, and Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ, a higher proportion of the Hispanic population lived inside the largest principal cities of Miami and Phoenix, relative to the non-Hispanic Black alone population. In the metro area of Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA, the non-Hispanic Black alone population had the lowest proportion living

inside the city of Riverside, relative to the other groups shown.

In the metro area of San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA, the other race category had a slightly higher proportion living in the city of San Diego relative to the non-Hispanic Black alone population. In the metro area of San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA, both the other race category and the non-Hispanic White alone population had a higher proportion living in the city of San Francisco relative to the non-Hispanic Black alone population.

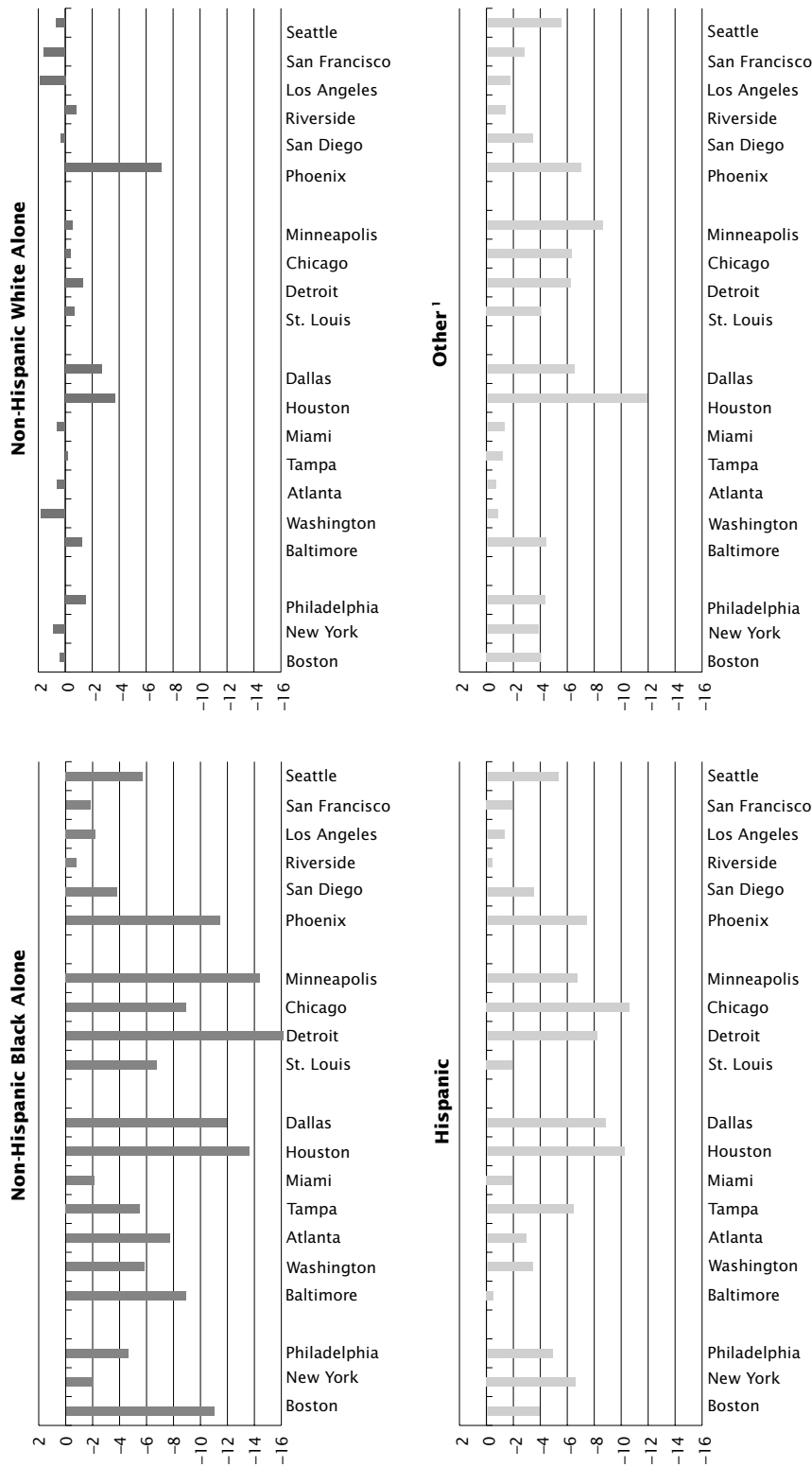
The proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the largest principal cities within the 20 largest metro areas decreased over the last decade.

Figure 8 shows the percentage-point difference of a race or Hispanic origin group living inside the largest principal city in a metro area, from 2000 to 2010.²³ The red bars represent the non-Hispanic Black alone population, the blue bars represent the non-Hispanic White alone population, the green bars represent the Hispanic population, and the orange bars represent other race groups. For example, in the Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH metro area, 57 percent of the non-Hispanic Black alone population lived in the largest principal city, Boston, in 2000. This figure decreased to 46 percent in 2010, representing a decline of 11 percentage points, which is denoted by the red bar.

Across the 20 largest metro areas in the United States, the non-Hispanic Black alone population declined in the largest principal

²³ Data for the metro areas are based on the 2010 Census boundaries.

Figure 8. Percentage-Point Difference of Race and Ethnic Groups Living Inside the Largest Principal City of the 20 Largest Metropolitan Statistical Areas: 2000 to 2010
 (For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



¹ For this figure, the "other" race category refers to the non-Hispanic Asian alone, non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone, non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, and non-Hispanic Some Other Race alone populations, as well as non-Hispanics who reported multiple races.
 Note: Principal cities within regions are organized based on proximity to each other. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are located in the Northeast census region. Baltimore, Washington, Atlanta, Tampa, Miami, Houston, and Dallas are located in the South census region. St. Louis, Detroit, Chicago, and Minneapolis are located in the Midwest census region. Phoenix, San Diego, Riverside, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle are located in the West census region.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census special tabulation.

cities and increased outside of these cities from 2000 to 2010. This largely follows the trend of the total population in these metro areas, where the proportion of the total population living inside the largest principal city within a metro area declined in 19 out of the 20 largest metro areas and increased as a proportion outside the largest principal cities from 2000 to 2010. The metro area of Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH, was the only metro area that experienced an increase in the proportion of the total population living inside the city of Boston.

The proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population in the largest principal cities decreased by at least 10 percentage points in six metro areas from 2000 to 2010, Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI (16 percentage points); Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI (14 percentage points); Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX (14 percentage points); Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX (12 percentage points); Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ (11 percentage points); and Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH (11 percentage points).

Among the 20 largest metro areas, the proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the largest principal cities declined by at least 7 percentage points across all midwestern metro areas.

The proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the largest principal cities across midwestern metro areas declined by at least 7 percentage points from 2000 to 2010. The largest change was in the Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI metro area, where the proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the city of Detroit versus outside

the city decreased by 16 percentage points. This was followed by Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI (14 percentage points); Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI (9 percentage points); and St. Louis, MO-IL (7 percentage points).

In the Northeast, the proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the largest principal city declined by at least 7 percentage points in 1 out of the 3 metro areas, Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH (11 percentage points). In the South, 4 of the 7 metro areas experienced a decline of at least 7 percentage points—Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX (14 percentage points); Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX (12 percentage points); Baltimore-Towson, MD (9 percentage points); and Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA (8 percentage points).

The non-Hispanic Black alone population experienced the greatest decline in the proportion living inside the largest principal city for 14 of the 20 largest metro areas.

The proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the largest principal city declined more than the proportion of other race and ethnic groups that also experienced decreases in the largest principal cities in 14 out of the 20 metro areas. In the metro areas of New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA; Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD; Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL; and Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI; the Hispanic population experienced the greatest declines compared to all groups shown. In the metro areas of Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA, and San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA, the other race category experienced the greatest declines relative to all groups shown.

Although not as sweeping as the decline in the proportion of the non-Hispanic Black alone population living inside the largest principal cities of most major metro areas, the proportion of the Hispanic population and other race group populations living inside the largest principal city also declined in all of the 20 largest metro areas (see Figure 8). On the other hand, in about half of the largest metro areas, the proportion of the non-Hispanic White alone population living inside the largest principal city increased.

SUMMARY

This report provided a portrait of the Black population in the United States and contributes to our understanding of the nation's changing racial and ethnic diversity.

While both the Black alone population and the Black alone-or-in-combination population grew from 2000 to 2010 (by 12 percent and 15 percent, respectively), the Black in combination population experienced the most growth, increasing by 76 percent. Within this population, the Black *and* White population more than doubled.

Additional notable trends were presented in this report. The Black population continued to be concentrated in the South and the proportion increased from 2000 to 2010. Additionally, the Black population that lived outside of the South tended to be more concentrated in metro areas.

Other interesting geographic patterns include, for the largest 20 metro areas, the non-Hispanic Black alone population was more likely to live in a largest principal city relative to the non-Hispanic White alone, Hispanic, and other race group populations in 2010. The

non-Hispanic Black alone population also experienced the greatest declines in the proportion living in a largest principal city from 2000 to 2010.

Throughout the decade, the Census Bureau will release additional information on the Black population, including characteristics such as age, sex, and family type, which will provide greater insights into the demographic characteristics of this population at various geographic levels.

ABOUT THE 2010 CENSUS

Why was the 2010 Census conducted?

The U.S. Constitution mandates that a census be taken in the United States every 10 years. This is required in order to determine the number of seats each state is to receive in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Why did the 2010 Census ask the question on race?

The Census Bureau collects data on race to fulfill a variety of legislative and program requirements. Data on race are used in the legislative redistricting process carried out by the states and in monitoring local jurisdictions' compliance with the Voting Rights Act. More broadly, data on race are critical for research that underlies many policy decisions at all levels of government.

How do data from the question on race benefit me, my family, and my community?

All levels of government need information on race to implement and evaluate programs, or enforce laws, such as the Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act, Fair Housing Act, Equal Employment Opportunity Act, and the 2010 Census Redistricting Data Program.

Both public and private organizations use race information to find areas where groups may need special services and to plan and implement education, housing, health, and other programs that address these needs. For example, a school system might use this information to design cultural activities that reflect the diversity in their community, or a business could use it to select the mix of merchandise it will sell in a new store. Census information also helps identify areas where residents might need services of particular importance to certain racial groups, such as screening for hypertension or diabetes.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For more information on race in the United States, visit the Census Bureau's Internet site at www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/race.html.

Information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions is available at www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf.

Data on race from the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File* were released on a state-by-state basis. The 2010 Census redistricting data are available on the Internet at <http://factfinder2.census.gov/main.html> and on DVD.

For more information on specific race groups in the United States, go to www.census.gov and search for "Minority Links." This Web page includes information about the 2010 Census and provides links to reports based on past censuses and surveys focusing on the social and economic characteristics of the Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander populations.

Information on other population and housing topics is presented in the 2010 Census Briefs series, located on the Census Bureau's Web site at www.census.gov/prod/cen2010. This series presents information about race, Hispanic origin, age, sex, household type, housing tenure, and people who reside in group quarters.

For more information about the 2010 Census, including data products, call the Customer Services Center at 1-800-923-8282. You can also visit the Census Bureau's Question and Answer Center at ask.census.gov to submit your questions online.

Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010

2010 Census Briefs

Issued March 2011

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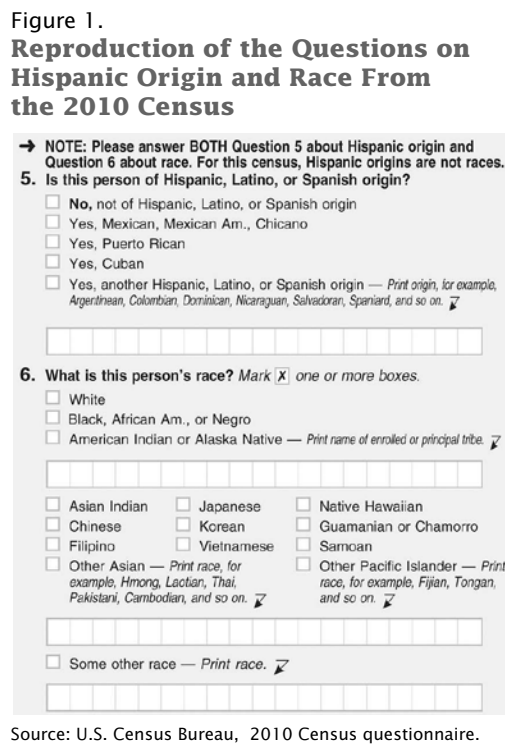
INTRODUCTION

This report looks at our nation's changing racial and ethnic diversity. It is part of a series that analyzes population and housing data collected from the 2010 Census, and it provides a snapshot of race and Hispanic origin in the United States. Racial and ethnic population group distributions and growth at the national level and at lower levels of geography are presented.

This report also provides an overview of race and ethnicity concepts and definitions used in the 2010 Census. The data for this report are based on the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, which is among the first 2010 Census data products to be released and is provided to each state for use in drawing boundaries for legislative districts.¹

¹ The *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File* provides data on Hispanic origin and race, including information on the population reporting more than one race as well as detailed race combinations (e.g., White **and** Asian; White **and** Black or African American **and** American Indian and Alaska Native). In this report, the multiple-race combination categories are denoted with the conjunction **and** in bold and italicized print to indicate the specific race groups that comprise the particular combination. This report discusses data for the 50 states and the District of Columbia but not Puerto Rico.

The *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File* does not contain data for detailed Hispanic origin groups (e.g., Mexican or Puerto Rican) or detailed information about race or tribes (e.g., Chinese, Samoan, or Choctaw). Therefore, these specific groups are not discussed in this report. Data on detailed Hispanic origin groups and detailed information about race and tribes will be released on a state-by-state basis as part of the *2010 Census Demographic Profile* and the *2010 Census Summary File 1*. Additional reports on the Hispanic or Latino population and selected race population groups will be released as part of the 2010 Census Briefs series. For a detailed schedule of 2010 Census products and release dates, visit www.census.gov/population/www/cen2010/glance/index.html.



By
 Karen R. Humes,
 Nicholas A. Jones, and
 Roberto R. Ramirez

UNDERSTANDING RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN DATA FROM THE 2010 CENSUS

The 2010 Census used established federal standards to collect and present data on race and Hispanic origin.

For the 2010 Census, the questions on race and Hispanic origin were asked of individuals living in the United States (see Figure 1). An individual's responses to the race question and to the Hispanic origin question were based upon

self-identification. The U.S. Census Bureau collects race and Hispanic origin information following the guidance of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) 1997 *Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity*.² These federal standards mandate that race and Hispanic origin (ethnicity) are separate and distinct concepts and that when collecting these data via self-identification, two different questions must be used.

Hispanic Origin

The OMB definition of Hispanic or Latino origin used in the 2010 Census is presented in the text box "Definition of Hispanic or Latino Origin Used in the 2010 Census." OMB requires federal agencies to use a minimum of two ethnicities: Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino. Hispanic origin can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be any race.³

Definition of Hispanic or Latino Origin Used in the 2010 Census

"Hispanic or Latino" refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race.

² The 1997 *Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity*, issued by OMB, is available at <www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg/1997standards.html>.

³ The terms "Hispanic or Latino" and "Hispanic" are used interchangeably in this report.

The 2010 Census question on Hispanic origin included five separate response categories and one area where respondents could write-in a specific Hispanic origin group. The first response category is intended for respondents who do not identify as Hispanic. The remaining response categories ("Mexican, Mexican Am., or Chicano"; "Puerto Rican"; "Cuban"; and "Another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin") and write-in answers can be combined to create the OMB category of Hispanic.⁴

Race

The OMB definitions of the race categories used in the 2010 Census, plus the Census Bureau's definition of Some Other Race, are presented in the text box "Definition of Race Categories Used in the 2010 Census." Starting in 1997, OMB required federal agencies to use a minimum of five race categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. For respondents unable to identify with any of these five race categories, OMB approved the Census Bureau's inclusion of a sixth category—Some Other Race—on the Census 2000 and 2010 Census questionnaires.

⁴ There were three changes to the Hispanic origin question for the 2010 Census. First, the wording of the question changed from "Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?" in 2000 to "Is this person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?" in 2010. Second, in 2000, the question provided an instruction, "Mark the 'No' box if **not** Spanish/Hispanic/Latino." The 2010 Census question provided no specific instruction for non-Hispanic respondents. Third, in 2010, the "Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin" category provided examples of six Hispanic origin groups (Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on) and instructed respondents to "print origin." In 2000, no Hispanic origin examples were given.

Data on race have been collected since the first U.S. decennial census in 1790.⁵ For the first time in Census 2000, individuals were presented with the option to self-identify with more than one race and this continued with the 2010 Census, as prescribed by OMB. There are 57 possible multiple race combinations involving the five OMB race categories and Some Other Race.

The 2010 Census question on race included 15 separate response categories and three areas where respondents could write-in detailed information about their race.⁶ The response categories and write-in answers can be combined to create the five minimum OMB race categories plus Some Other Race. In addition to White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, and Some Other Race, 7 of the 15 response categories are Asian groups and 4 are Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander groups.⁷

⁵ For information about comparability of 2010 Census data on race and Hispanic origin to data collected in previous censuses, see the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File—Technical Documentation* at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf>.

⁶ There were two changes to the question on race for the 2010 Census. First, the wording of the race question was changed from "What is this person's race? Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be" in 2000 to "What is this person's race? Mark one or more boxes" for 2010. Second, in 2010, examples were added to the "Other Asian" response category (Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on) and the "Other Pacific Islander" response category (Fijian, Tongan, and so on). In 2000, no examples were given in the race question.

⁷ The race categories included in the census questionnaire generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country and are not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. In addition, it is recognized that the categories of the race question include race and national origin or sociocultural groups.

Definition of Race Categories Used in the 2010 Census

“White” refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. It includes people who indicated their race(s) as “White” or reported entries such as Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Arab, Moroccan, or Caucasian.

“Black or African American” refers to a person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicated their race(s) as “Black, African Am., or Negro” or reported entries such as African American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian.

“American Indian or Alaska Native” refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment. This category includes people who indicated their race(s) as “American Indian or Alaska Native” or reported their enrolled or principal tribe, such as Navajo, Blackfeet, Inupiat, Yup’ik, or Central American Indian groups or South American Indian groups.

“Asian” refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam. It includes people who indicated their race(s) as “Asian” or reported entries such as “Asian Indian,” “Chinese,” “Filipino,” “Korean,” “Japanese,” “Vietnamese,” and “Other Asian” or provided other detailed Asian responses.

“Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander” refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands. It includes people who indicated their race(s) as “Pacific Islander” or reported entries such as “Native Hawaiian,” “Guamanian or Chamorro,” “Samoan,” and “Other Pacific Islander” or provided other detailed Pacific Islander responses.

“Some Other Race” includes all other responses not included in the White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander race categories described above. Respondents reporting entries such as multiracial, mixed, interracial, or a Hispanic or Latino group (for example, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Spanish) in response to the race question are included in this category.

RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN IN THE 2010 CENSUS

Data from the 2010 Census provide insights to our racially and ethnically diverse nation. According to the 2010 Census, 308.7 million

people resided in the United States on April 1, 2010—an increase of 27.3 million people, or 9.7 percent, between 2000 and 2010. The vast majority of the growth in the total population came from increases in those who reported their race(s) as

something other than White alone and those who reported their ethnicity as Hispanic or Latino.⁸

More than half of the growth in the total population of the United States between 2000 and 2010 was due to the increase in the Hispanic population.

In 2010, there were 50.5 million Hispanics in the United States, composing 16 percent of the total population (see Table 1). Between 2000 and 2010, the Hispanic population grew by 43 percent—rising from 35.3 million in 2000, when this group made up 13 percent of the total population.⁹ The Hispanic population increased by 15.2 million between 2000 and 2010, accounting for over half of the 27.3 million increase in the total population of the United States.

The non-Hispanic population grew relatively slower over the decade, about 5 percent. Within the non-Hispanic population, the number of people who reported their race as White alone grew even slower between 2000 and 2010 (1 percent). While the non-Hispanic White alone population increased numerically from 194.6 million to 196.8 million over the 10-year period, its proportion of the total population declined from 69 percent to 64 percent.

⁸ For the purposes of this report, the term “reported” is used to refer to the response provided by respondents as well as responses assigned during the editing and imputation process.

⁹ The observed changes in race and Hispanic origin counts between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census could be attributed to a number of factors. Demographic change since 2000, which includes births and deaths in a geographic area and migration in and out of a geographic area, will have an impact on the resulting 2010 Census counts. Additionally, some changes in the race and Hispanic origin questions’ wording and format since Census 2000 could have influenced reporting patterns in the 2010 Census.

Table 1.
Population by Hispanic or Latino Origin and by Race for the United States: 2000 and 2010
 (For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Hispanic or Latino origin and race	2000		2010		Change, 2000 to 2010	
	Number	Percentage of total population	Number	Percentage of total population	Number	Percent
HISPANIC OR LATINO ORIGIN AND RACE						
Total population	281,421,906	100.0	308,745,538	100.0	27,323,632	9.7
Hispanic or Latino	35,305,818	12.5	50,477,594	16.3	15,171,776	43.0
Not Hispanic or Latino	246,116,088	87.5	258,267,944	83.7	12,151,856	4.9
White alone	194,552,774	69.1	196,817,552	63.7	2,264,778	1.2
RACE						
Total population	281,421,906	100.0	308,745,538	100.0	27,323,632	9.7
One Race	274,595,678	97.6	299,736,465	97.1	25,140,787	9.2
White	211,460,626	75.1	223,553,265	72.4	12,092,639	5.7
Black or African American	34,658,190	12.3	38,929,319	12.6	4,271,129	12.3
American Indian and Alaska Native	2,475,956	0.9	2,932,248	0.9	456,292	18.4
Asian	10,242,998	3.6	14,674,252	4.8	4,431,254	43.3
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	398,835	0.1	540,013	0.2	141,178	35.4
Some Other Race	15,359,073	5.5	19,107,368	6.2	3,748,295	24.4
Two or More Races ¹	6,826,228	2.4	9,009,073	2.9	2,182,845	32.0

¹ In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15 percent) nationally, which almost entirely affected race combinations involving Some Other Race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in the Two or More Races population and race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as White **and** Black or African American or White **and** Asian, generally should be more comparable.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables PL1 and PL2; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables P1 and P2.

The overwhelming majority of the total population of the United States reported only one race in 2010.

In the 2010 Census, 97 percent of all respondents (299.7 million) reported only one race (see Table 1).¹⁰ The largest group reported

¹⁰ Individuals who responded to the question on race by indicating only one race are referred to as the *race-alone* population or the group that reported only one race category. Six categories make up this population: White alone, Black or African American alone, American Indian and Alaska Native alone, Asian alone, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, and Some Other Race alone. Individuals who chose more than 1 of the 6 race categories are referred to as the Two or More Races population. All respondents who indicated more than one race can be collapsed into the Two or More Races category which, combined with the six race-alone categories, yields seven mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. Thus, the six race-alone categories and the Two or More Races category sum to the total population.

White alone (223.6 million), accounting for 72 percent of all people living in the United States.¹¹ The Black or African-American alone population was 38.9 million and represented 13 percent of the total population.¹² There were 2.9 million respondents who indicated American Indian and Alaska Native alone (0.9 percent). Approximately 14.7 million (about 5 percent of all respondents) identified their race

¹¹ As a matter of policy, the Census Bureau does not advocate the use of the *alone* population over the *alone-or-in-combination* population or vice versa. The use of the *alone* population in sections of this report does not imply that it is a preferred method of presenting or analyzing data. The same is true for sections of this report that focus on the *alone-or-in-combination* population. Data on race from the 2010 Census can be presented and discussed in a variety of ways.

¹² The terms "Black or African American" and "Black" are used interchangeably in this report.

as Asian alone. The smallest major race group was Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone (0.5 million) and represented 0.2 percent of the total population. The remainder of respondents who reported only one race—19.1 million (6 percent of all respondents)—were classified as Some Other Race alone. People who reported more than one race numbered 9.0 million in the 2010 Census and made up about 3 percent of the total population.

The Asian population grew faster than any other major race group between 2000 and 2010.

In the United States, all major race groups increased in population size between 2000 and 2010, but they

grew at different rates. Over the decade, the Asian alone population experienced the fastest rate of growth and the White alone population experienced the slowest rate of growth, with the other major race groups' growth spanning the range in between. Of the 27.3 million people added to the total population of the United States between 2000 and 2010, the White alone population made up just under half of the growth—increasing 12.1 million. Within the White alone population, the vast majority of the growth was propelled by the Hispanic population.

The Asian alone population increased by 43 percent between 2000 and 2010, more than any other major race group. The Asian alone population had the second-largest numeric change (4.4 million), growing from 10.2 million in 2000 to 14.7 million in 2010. The Asian alone population gained the most in share of the total population, moving up from about 4 percent in 2000 to about 5 percent in 2010.

The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone population, the smallest major race group, also grew substantially between 2000 and 2010, increasing by more than one-third. This population numbered 398,835 in 2000, rising to 540,013 in 2010 with its proportion of the total population changing from 0.1 percent to 0.2 percent, respectively.

Between 2000 and 2010, the population classified as Some Other Race alone increased considerably,

growing by about one-quarter. This population climbed from 15.4 million in 2000 to 19.1 million in 2010 and was approximately 6 percent of the total population in both decennial censuses. Most of this growth was due to increases in the Hispanic population.

An 18 percent growth in the American Indian and Alaska Native alone population occurred between 2000 and 2010. This population, also relatively small numerically, maintained its proportion of the total population between decennial censuses (0.9 percent) while growing from 2.5 million to 2.9 million.

While the Black alone population had the third-largest numeric increase in population size over the decade (4.3 million), behind the White alone and Asian alone populations, it grew slower than most other major race groups. In fact, the Black alone population exhibited the smallest percentage growth outside of the White alone population, increasing 12 percent between 2000 and 2010. This population rose from 34.7 million in 2000 to 38.9 million in 2010, making up 12 percent and 13 percent of the total population, respectively.

The only major race group to experience a decrease in its proportion of the total population was the White alone population. While this group increased the most numerically between decennial censuses (211.5 million to 223.6 million), its share of the total population fell from 75 percent in 2000 to 72 percent in 2010.

The Two or More Races population was one of the fastest-growing groups over the decade. This population increased approximately one-third between 2000 and 2010.¹³

The Hispanic population predominantly identified as either White or Some Other Race.

People of Hispanic origin may be any race. For the 2010 Census, a new instruction was added immediately preceding the questions on Hispanic origin and race, which was not used in Census 2000. The instruction stated that “For this census, Hispanic origins are not races” because in the federal statistical system, Hispanic origin is considered to be a separate concept from race. However, this did not preclude individuals from self-identifying their race as “Latino,” “Mexican,” “Puerto Rican,” “Salvadoran,” or other national origins or ethnicities; in fact, many did so. If the response provided to the race question could not be classified in one or more of the five OMB race groups, it was generally classified in the category Some Other Race. Therefore, responses to the question on race that reflect a Hispanic origin were classified in the Some Other Race category.

¹³ In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15 percent) nationally, which almost entirely affected race combinations involving Some Other Race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in the Two or More Races population and race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific multiple-race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as White *and* Black or White *and* Asian, generally, should be more comparable.

The 2010 Census racial distributions of the Hispanic population and of the non-Hispanic population differ and are shown in Table 2. Over half of the Hispanic population identified as White and no other race, while about one-third provided responses that were classified as Some Other Race alone when responding to the question on race. Much smaller proportions of Hispanics identified as other race groups alone: Black alone (3 percent), American Indian and Alaska Native alone (1 percent), Asian alone (0.4 percent), and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone (0.1 percent).

The racial distribution of the non-Hispanic population, on the other hand, was mostly White alone (76 percent), Black alone (15 percent), and Asian alone (6 percent). Less than 1 percent of non-Hispanics provided responses to the race question that were classified as Some Other Race alone (0.2 percent).

In 2010, 6 percent of Hispanics reported multiple races. Among non-Hispanics, 2 percent reported more than one race.

Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders and American Indians and Alaska Natives were more likely than other groups to report multiple races.

In the 2010 Census, the population reporting their race as White, either alone or with at least one other race, was the largest of all the alone-or-in-combination categories (231.0 million) and represented about three-fourths of the total

Table 2. Population by Hispanic or Latino Origin and Race for the United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Hispanic or Latino origin and race	Number	Percent
HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total	50,477,594	100.0
Race		
One Race	47,435,002	94.0
White	26,735,713	53.0
Black or African American	1,243,471	2.5
American Indian and Alaska Native	685,150	1.4
Asian	209,128	0.4
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	58,437	0.1
Some Other Race	18,503,103	36.7
Two or More Races	3,042,592	6.0
NOT HISPANIC OR LATINO		
Total	258,267,944	100.0
Race		
One Race	252,301,463	97.7
White	196,817,552	76.2
Black or African American	37,685,848	14.6
American Indian and Alaska Native	2,247,098	0.9
Asian	14,465,124	5.6
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	481,576	0.2
Some Other Race	604,265	0.2
Two or More Races	5,966,481	2.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Tables P1 and P2.

population (see Table 3).¹⁴ People who reported their race as White in combination with one or more additional races numbered 7.5 million, making up 2 percent of the total population. About 14 percent of

the total population reported their race as Black, either alone or with at least one other race, which was the second-largest of the alone-or-in-combination categories (42.0 million).

¹⁴ The maximum number of people reporting a particular race is reflected in the race-alone-or-in-combination concept. This represents the number of times responses were part of 1 of the 6 major race categories, either alone or in combination with the other five race categories. There are six race-alone-or-in-combination categories, which are not mutually exclusive: White alone or in combination, Black alone or in combination, American Indian and Alaska Native alone or in combination, Asian alone or in combination, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone or in combination, and Some Other Race alone or in combination. For example, a respondent who indicated Asian **and** White was counted in the Asian alone-or-in-combination category as well as in the White alone-or-in-combination category. Therefore, the sum of all race-alone-or-in-combination categories equals the number of races reported (i.e., responses), which exceeds the total population.

There were 21.7 million people classified as Some Other Race alone or in combination and 17.3 million people classified as Asian alone or in combination in the 2010 Census, making up 7 percent and 6 percent of the total population, respectively. There were comparable levels and proportions of the total population who indicated race groups in combination with Some Other Race (2.6 million and 0.9 percent) and with Asian (2.6 million and 0.9 percent).

Table 3.
Race by the Alone-or-In-Combination, Alone, and
In-Combination Categories for the United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	Number	Percentage of total population	Percentage of alone or in combination
Total population	308,745,538	100.0	(X)
WHITE			
Alone or in combination	231,040,398	74.8	(X)
Alone	223,553,265	72.4	96.8
In combination	7,487,133	2.4	3.2
BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN			
Alone or in combination	42,020,743	13.6	(X)
Alone	38,929,319	12.6	92.6
In combination	3,091,424	1.0	7.4
AMERICAN INDIAN AND ALASKA NATIVE			
Alone or in combination	5,220,579	1.7	(X)
Alone	2,932,248	0.9	56.2
In combination	2,288,331	0.7	43.8
ASIAN			
Alone or in combination	17,320,856	5.6	(X)
Alone	14,674,252	4.8	84.7
In combination	2,646,604	0.9	15.3
NATIVE HAWAIIAN AND OTHER PACIFIC ISLANDER			
Alone or in combination	1,225,195	0.4	(X)
Alone	540,013	0.2	44.1
In combination	685,182	0.2	55.9
SOME OTHER RACE			
Alone or in combination	21,748,084	7.0	(X)
Alone	19,107,368	6.2	87.9
In combination	2,640,716	0.9	12.1

(X) Not applicable.

Note: The total population is equal to the number of respondents. In the 2010 Census, there were 308,745,538 respondents. The total of all race categories alone or in combination with one or more other races is equal to the number of responses; therefore, it adds to more than the total population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

The two smallest alone-or-in-combination categories were American Indian and Alaska Native (5.2 million) and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (1.2 million), making up 2 percent and 0.4 percent of the total population, respectively. These two categories were unique in that large proportions of these populations indicated more than one race, compared with other major race groups (see Figure 2). There were more reports of Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander in combination with one or more additional races than there were of Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone (0.7 million and 0.5 million, respectively). Almost as many people indicated American Indian and Alaska Native in combination with one or more additional races as people who indicated American Indian and Alaska Native alone (2.3 million and 2.9 million, respectively). Thus, over half of the Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander population and almost half of the American Indian and Alaska Native population reported more than one race.

Most people who reported multiple races provided exactly two races in 2010; White *and* Black was the largest multiple-race combination.

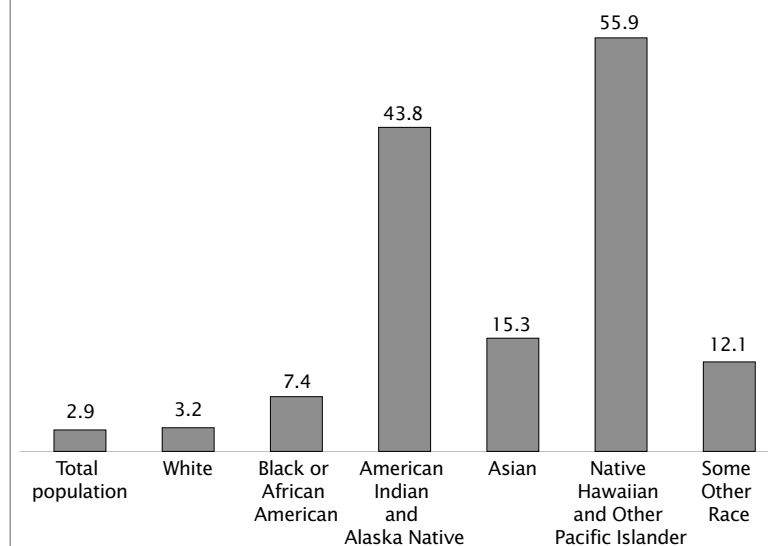
Over the last 10 years, considerable research has been conducted on people of multiple races, and how they self-identify has become a more common part of our discussions and understanding of race and ethnicity. Results from the 2010 Census provide new information on the diversity and changes in the Two or More Races population in the United States.

Among people who reported more than one race in 2010, the vast majority (about 92 percent) reported exactly two races (see Table 4). An additional 8 percent of the Two or More Races population reported three races and less than 1 percent reported four or more races.

In 2010, four groups were, by far, the largest multiple-race combinations in the United States: White *and* Black (1.8 million), White *and* Some Other Race (1.7 million), White *and* Asian (1.6 million), and White *and* American Indian and Alaska Native (1.4 million). Together, these four combinations composed nearly three-fourths of the multiple-race population in the 2010 Census (see Figure 3).

Figure 2.
Percentage of Major Race Groups Reporting Multiple Races: 2010

(For more information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Note: Specified race group refers to the alone or in-combination population.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

Different multiple-race reporting patterns occurred for Hispanics and non-Hispanics.

Tables 5 through 10 present data for the major race groups and their largest multiple-race combinations by Hispanic origin. A general pattern existed in these data tables for people who reported more than one race in the 2010 Census. There

were more reports of multiple-race combinations that included White than reports of combinations involving any other group. This basic pattern also existed among non-Hispanics. However, among Hispanics, relatively large proportions reported multiple-race combinations involving Some Other Race, as well as combinations involving White.

Table 4.
Two or More Races Population by Number of Races and Selected Combinations for the United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	Number	Percent
Two or More Races population	9,009,073	100.0
Two races	8,265,318	91.7
White; Black or African American	1,834,212	20.4
White; American Indian and Alaska Native	1,432,309	15.9
White; Asian	1,623,234	18.0
White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	169,991	1.9
White; Some Other Race	1,740,924	19.3
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	269,421	3.0
Black or African American; Asian	185,595	2.1
Black or African American; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	50,308	0.6
Black or African American; Some Other Race	314,571	3.5
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	58,829	0.7
American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	11,039	0.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	115,752	1.3
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	165,690	1.8
Asian; Some Other Race	234,462	2.6
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	58,981	0.7
Three races	676,469	7.5
White; Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	230,848	2.6
White; Black or African American; Asian	61,511	0.7
White; Black or African American; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	9,245	0.1
White; Black or African American; Some Other Race	46,641	0.5
White; American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	45,960	0.5
White; American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	8,656	0.1
White; American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	30,941	0.3
White; Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	143,126	1.6
White; Asian; Some Other Race	35,786	0.4
White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	9,181	0.1
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	9,460	0.1
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	2,142	—
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	8,236	0.1
Black or African American; Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	7,295	0.1
Black or African American; Asian; Some Other Race	8,122	0.1
Black or African American; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	4,233	—
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	3,827	—
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian; Some Other Race	3,785	—
American Indian and Alaska Native; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	2,000	—
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	5,474	0.1
Four races	57,875	0.6
Five races	8,619	0.1
Six races	792	—

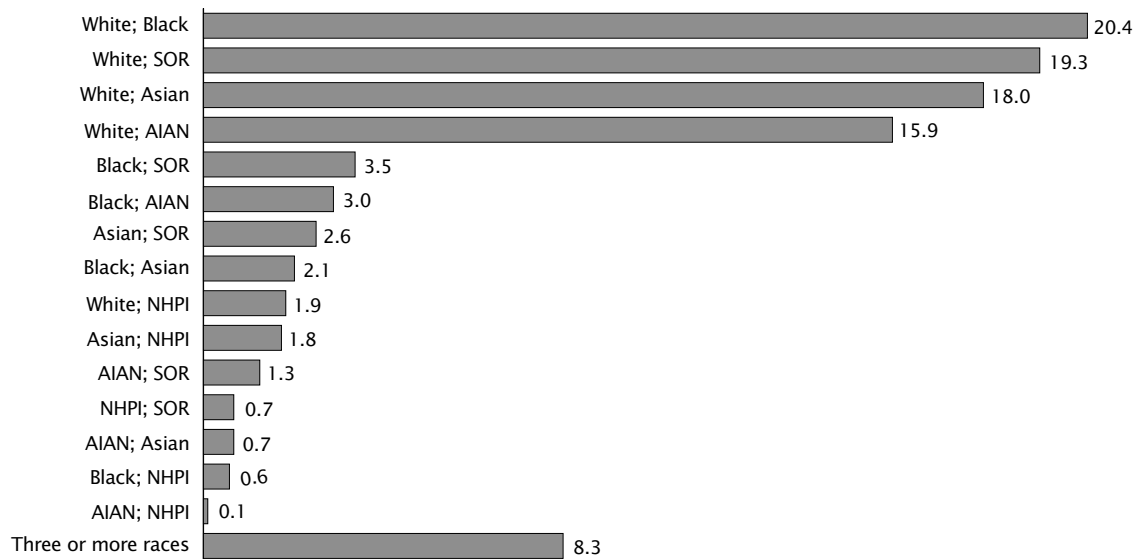
— Percentage rounds to 0.0.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1.

Figure 3.

Percentage Distribution of People Who Reported Multiple Races: 2010

(For more information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



Note: People reporting multiple races represented 2.9 percent of the total population. Black refers to Black or African American; AIAN refers to American Indian and Alaska Native; NHPI refers to Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; SOR refers to Some Other Race.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Table P1.

People who identified as White were the most likely to report only one race.

In the 2010 Census, 97 percent of people in the White alone-or-in-combination category reported White and no other race (see

Table 5). Among the 7.5 million people who reported they were White and one or more additional races, one-fourth reported White **and** Black, and nearly one-fourth reported White **and** Some Other Race. Another one-fifth reported

White **and** Asian, and nearly one-fifth reported White **and** American Indian and Alaska Native. This was a fairly even distribution of responses among the four largest combinations.

Table 5.
The White Population and Largest Multiple-Race
Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the
United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	Number	Percent	Percentage of White in combination
WHITE ALONE OR IN COMBINATION			
Total	231,040,398	100.0	(X)
White alone	223,553,265	96.8	(X)
White in combination	7,487,133	3.2	100.0
White; Black or African American	1,834,212	0.8	24.5
White; Some Other Race	1,740,924	0.8	23.3
White; Asian	1,623,234	0.7	21.7
White; American Indian and Alaska Native	1,432,309	0.6	19.1
White; Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	230,848	0.1	3.1
All other combinations including White	625,606	0.3	8.4
Hispanic or Latino	29,184,290	100.0	(X)
White alone	26,735,713	91.6	(X)
White in combination	2,448,577	8.4	100.0
White; Black or African American	245,850	0.8	10.0
White; Some Other Race	1,601,125	5.5	65.4
White; Asian	135,522	0.5	5.5
White; American Indian and Alaska Native	226,385	0.8	9.2
White; Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	50,000	0.2	2.0
All other combinations including White	189,695	0.6	7.7
Not Hispanic or Latino	201,856,108	100.0	(X)
White alone	196,817,552	97.5	(X)
White in combination	5,038,556	2.5	100.0
White; Black or African American	1,588,362	0.8	31.5
White; Some Other Race	139,799	0.1	2.8
White; Asian	1,487,712	0.7	29.5
White; American Indian and Alaska Native	1,205,924	0.6	23.9
White; Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	180,848	0.1	3.6
All other combinations including White	435,911	0.2	8.7

(X) Not applicable.

Note: Largest combinations based on White in-combination population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables P1 and P2.

Table 5 shows that 29.2 million people of Hispanic origin reported that they were either White alone or White in combination with another race. Of the 2.4 million Hispanics who reported their race as White in combination with one or more additional races, almost two-thirds were classified as White **and** Some Other Race.

The multiple-race reporting pattern was different for non-Hispanic Whites. Of the 5.0 million non-Hispanics who reported that they were White and one or more additional races, about one-third reported White **and** Black, nearly one-third reported White **and** Asian, and about one-fourth reported White **and** American Indian and Alaska Native.

Table 6.
The Black or African-American Population and Largest Multiple-Race Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	Number	Percent	Percentage of Black or African American in combination
BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN ALONE OR IN COMBINATION			
Total	42,020,743	100.0	(X)
Black or African American alone	38,929,319	92.6	(X)
Black or African American in combination	3,091,424	7.4	100.0
Black or African American; White	1,834,212	4.4	59.3
Black or African American; Some Other Race	314,571	0.7	10.2
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	269,421	0.6	8.7
Black or African American; White; American Indian and Alaska Native	230,848	0.5	7.5
Black or African American; Asian	185,595	0.4	6.0
All other combinations including Black or African American	256,777	0.6	8.3
Hispanic or Latino	1,897,218	100.0	(X)
Black or African American alone	1,243,471	65.5	(X)
Black or African American in combination	653,747	34.5	100.0
Black or African American; White	245,850	13.0	37.6
Black or African American; Some Other Race	227,648	12.0	34.8
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	31,571	1.7	4.8
Black or African American; White; American Indian and Alaska Native	50,000	2.6	7.6
Black or African American; Asian	15,451	0.8	2.4
All other combinations including Black or African American	83,227	4.4	12.7
Not Hispanic or Latino	40,123,525	100.0	(X)
Black or African American alone	37,685,848	93.9	(X)
Black or African American in combination	2,437,677	6.1	100.0
Black or African American; White	1,588,362	4.0	65.2
Black or African American; Some Other Race	86,923	0.2	3.6
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	237,850	0.6	9.8
Black or African American; White; American Indian and Alaska Native	180,848	0.5	7.4
Black or African American; Asian	170,144	0.4	7.0
All other combinations including Black or African American	173,550	0.4	7.1

(X) Not applicable.

Note: Largest combinations based on Black or African American in-combination population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables P1 and P2.

Within the population who identified as Black, Hispanics were more likely to report multiple races than non-Hispanics.

In the 2010 Census, 93 percent of people in the Black alone-or-in-combination category reported Black and no other race (see Table 6). Among the 3.1 million people who reported that they were Black and one or more additional races,

the majority reported being Black **and** White (59 percent).

The Black alone-or-in-combination population included 1.9 million people of Hispanic origin, 35 percent of whom reported multiple races. This is more than five times greater than the proportion reporting multiple races among non-Hispanics who identified as Black (6 percent). Most Hispanics who

identified as Black in combination with one or more additional races reported one of two combinations: Black **and** White (38 percent) and Black **and** Some Other Race (35 percent). This contrasts with non-Hispanics who identified as Black in combination with one or more additional races, where about two-thirds reported one combination, Black **and** White.

Table 7.
The American Indian and Alaska Native Population and Largest Multiple-Race
Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	Number	Percent	Percentage of American Indian and Alaska Native in combination
AMERICAN INDIAN AND ALASKA NATIVE ALONE OR IN COMBINATION			
Total	5,220,579	100.0	(X)
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	2,932,248	56.2	(X)
American Indian and Alaska Native in combination	2,288,331	43.8	100.0
American Indian and Alaska Native; White	1,432,309	27.4	62.6
American Indian and Alaska Native; Black or African American	269,421	5.2	11.8
American Indian and Alaska Native; White; Black or African American	230,848	4.4	10.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	115,752	2.2	5.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	58,829	1.1	2.6
All other combinations including American Indian and Alaska Native	181,172	3.5	7.9
Hispanic or Latino	1,190,904	100.0	(X)
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	685,150	57.5	(X)
American Indian and Alaska Native in combination	505,754	42.5	100.0
American Indian and Alaska Native; White	226,385	19.0	44.8
American Indian and Alaska Native; Black or African American	31,571	2.7	6.2
American Indian and Alaska Native; White; Black or African American	50,000	4.2	9.9
American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	106,604	9.0	21.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	12,257	1.0	2.4
All other combinations including American Indian and Alaska Native	78,937	6.6	15.6
Not Hispanic or Latino	4,029,675	100.0	(X)
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	2,247,098	55.8	(X)
American Indian and Alaska Native in combination	1,782,577	44.2	100.0
American Indian and Alaska Native; White	1,205,924	29.9	67.7
American Indian and Alaska Native; Black or African American	237,850	5.9	13.3
American Indian and Alaska Native; White; Black or African American	180,848	4.5	10.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	9,148	0.2	0.5
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	46,572	1.2	2.6
All other combinations including American Indian and Alaska Native	102,235	2.5	5.7

(X) Not applicable.

Note: Largest combinations based on American Indian and Alaska Native in-combination population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables P1 and P2.

Nearly half of all people who identified as American Indian and Alaska Native reported multiple races.

In 2010, 56 percent of people in the American Indian and Alaska Native alone-or-in-combination category reported one race (see Table 7). Of the 2.3 million who reported American Indian and Alaska Native along with one or more additional races, about 63 percent reported one combination: American Indian and Alaska Native **and** White. American Indian and Alaska Native **and** Black (12 percent) as well as American Indian and Alaska Native

and White **and** Black (10 percent) were also common combinations reported among this population.

Among those who identified as American Indian and Alaska Native, the proportion of Hispanics and non-Hispanics who reported more than one race was about the same—unlike any other race group.

There were 1.2 million people of Hispanic origin who identified as American Indian and Alaska Native, 43 percent of whom reported multiple races. The majority of Hispanics who reported more than one race within the American Indian and

Alaska Native population identified as one of two combinations: American Indian and Alaska Native **and** White (45 percent) and American Indian and Alaska Native **and** Some Other Race (21 percent). Similar to Hispanic American Indians and Alaska Natives, 44 percent of non-Hispanics who identified as American Indian and Alaska Native reported more than one race. However, unlike Hispanics, over two-thirds reported one combination: American Indian and Alaska Native **and** White.

Among people who identified as Asian, 15 percent reported more than one race.

About 85 percent of the Asian alone-or-in-combination population reported Asian and no other race in the 2010 Census, compared to 15 percent who reported Asian along with one or more additional races (see Table 8). Of the 2.6 million who indicated Asian along with one or more additional races, well over half reported being Asian *and* White (61 percent).

The majority of the 0.6 million people of Hispanic origin who identified as Asian alone or in combination reported more than one race (65 percent). Among Hispanics who identified as Asian along with one or more additional races, the most frequently reported combinations were Asian *and* White (35 percent) and Asian *and* Some Other Race (27 percent). About 14 percent of non-Hispanics who identified as Asian reported multiple races—two-thirds of whom identified as one combination, Asian *and* White.

Table 8.
The Asian Population and Largest Multiple-Race Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	Number	Percent	Percentage of Asian in combination
ASIAN ALONE OR IN COMBINATION			
Total	17,320,856	100.0	(X)
Asian alone	14,674,252	84.7	(X)
Asian in combination	2,646,604	15.3	100.0
Asian; White	1,623,234	9.4	61.3
Asian; Some Other Race	234,462	1.4	8.9
Asian; Black or African American	185,595	1.1	7.0
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander ...	165,690	1.0	6.3
Asian; White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	143,126	0.8	5.4
All other combinations including Asian	294,497	1.7	11.1
Hispanic or Latino	598,146	100.0	(X)
Asian alone	209,128	35.0	(X)
Asian in combination	389,018	65.0	100.0
Asian; White	135,522	22.7	34.8
Asian; Some Other Race	103,591	17.3	26.6
Asian; Black or African American	15,451	2.6	4.0
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander ...	16,129	2.7	4.1
Asian; White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	22,799	3.8	5.9
All other combinations including Asian	95,526	16.0	24.6
Not Hispanic or Latino	16,722,710	100.0	(X)
Asian alone	14,465,124	86.5	(X)
Asian in combination	2,257,586	13.5	100.0
Asian; White	1,487,712	8.9	65.9
Asian; Some Other Race	130,871	0.8	5.8
Asian; Black or African American	170,144	1.0	7.5
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander ...	149,561	0.9	6.6
Asian; White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	120,327	0.7	5.3
All other combinations including Asian	198,971	1.2	8.8

(X) Not applicable.

Note: Largest combinations based on Asian in-combination population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables P1 and P2.

Table 9.
The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Population and Largest Multiple-Race Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	Number	Percent	Percentage of Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander in combination
NATIVE HAWAIIAN AND OTHER PACIFIC ISLANDER ALONE OR IN COMBINATION			
Total	1,225,195	100.0	(X)
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	540,013	44.1	(X)
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander in combination	685,182	55.9	100.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; White	169,991	13.9	24.8
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Asian	165,690	13.5	24.2
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; White; Asian	143,126	11.7	20.9
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	58,981	4.8	8.6
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Black or African American	50,308	4.1	7.3
All other combinations including Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	97,086	7.9	14.2
Hispanic or Latino	210,307	100.0	(X)
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	58,437	27.8	(X)
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander in combination	151,870	72.2	100.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; White	22,187	10.5	14.6
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Asian	16,129	7.7	10.6
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; White; Asian	22,799	10.8	15.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	46,909	22.3	30.9
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Black or African American	4,913	2.3	3.2
All other combinations including Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	38,933	18.5	25.6
Not Hispanic or Latino	1,014,888	100.0	(X)
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	481,576	47.5	(X)
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander in combination	533,312	52.5	100.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; White	147,804	14.6	27.7
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Asian	149,561	14.7	28.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; White; Asian	120,327	11.9	22.6
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Some Other Race	12,072	1.2	2.3
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; Black or African American	45,395	4.5	8.5
All other combinations including Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	58,153	5.7	10.9

(X) Not applicable.

Note: Largest combinations based on Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander in-combination population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables P1 and P2.

More than half of all people who identified as Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander reported multiple races.

About 44 percent of people in the Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone-or-in-combination

category reported this race and no other (see Table 9). Of the 0.7 million who indicated Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander along with one or more additional races, 25 percent reported Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander **and** White, 24 percent reported

Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander **and** Asian, and 21 percent reported Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander **and** White **and** Asian—representing a fairly even distribution of responses among the largest combinations.

Within the population who identified as Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, high proportions of both Hispanics (72 percent) and non-Hispanics (53 percent) reported multiple races (0.2 million and 1.0 million, respectively). For Hispanics, the largest combination was Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander **and** Some Other Race (31 percent). Among non-Hispanics, similar proportions (about 28 percent each) reported the following: Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander **and** Asian and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander **and** White.

Hispanics made up 97 percent of all those classified as only Some Other Race.

Table 10 shows the Some Other Race alone-or-in-combination population (21.7 million) by Hispanic origin in the United States in 2010. Respondents who were classified as Some Other Race alone represented the vast majority of the total (88 percent).

Among the 2.6 million people who reported multiple races that included Some Other Race, the most common combinations were Some Other Race **and** White (66 percent), followed by Some Other Race **and** Black (12 percent), Some Other Race **and** Asian (9 percent), Some Other Race **and** American Indian and Alaska Native (4 percent), and Some Other Race **and** Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (2 percent). All other combinations including Some Other Race represented 7 percent of the Some Other Race alone-or-in-combination population.

Table 10. The Some Other Race Population and Largest Multiple-Race Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States: 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Race	Number	Percent	Percentage of Some Other Race in combination
SOME OTHER RACE ALONE OR IN COMBINATION			
Total	21,748,084	100.0	(X)
Some Other Race alone	19,107,368	87.9	(X)
Some Other Race in combination	2,640,716	12.1	100.0
Some Other Race; White	1,740,924	8.0	65.9
Some Other Race; Black or African American	314,571	1.4	11.9
Some Other Race; Asian	234,462	1.1	8.9
Some Other Race; American Indian and Alaska Native	115,752	0.5	4.4
Some Other Race; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	58,981	0.3	2.2
All other combinations including Some Other Race	176,026	0.8	6.7
Hispanic or Latino	20,714,218	100.0	(X)
Some Other Race alone	18,503,103	89.3	(X)
Some Other Race in combination	2,211,115	10.7	100.0
Some Other Race; White	1,601,125	7.7	72.4
Some Other Race; Black or African American	227,648	1.1	10.3
Some Other Race; Asian	103,591	0.5	4.7
Some Other Race; American Indian and Alaska Native	106,604	0.5	4.8
Some Other Race; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	46,909	0.2	2.1
All other combinations including Some Other Race	125,238	0.6	5.7
Not Hispanic or Latino	1,033,866	100.0	(X)
Some Other Race alone	604,265	58.4	(X)
Some Other Race in combination	429,601	41.6	100.0
Some Other Race; White	139,799	13.5	32.5
Some Other Race; Black or African American	86,923	8.4	20.2
Some Other Race; Asian	130,871	12.7	30.5
Some Other Race; American Indian and Alaska Native	9,148	0.9	2.1
Some Other Race; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	12,072	1.2	2.8
All other combinations including Some Other Race	50,788	4.9	11.8

(X) Not applicable.

Note: Largest combinations based on Some Other Race in-combination population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Tables P1 and P2.

In the 2010 Census, approximately 20.7 million people of Hispanic origin were classified as Some Other Race either alone or in combination, compared with only 1 million people of non-Hispanic origin. Nearly all of those who were classified as Some Other Race alone were

of Hispanic origin (18.5 million out of 19.1 million, or 97 percent).

The majority of Hispanics classified as Some Other Race reported only one race (89 percent). However, notable reporting differences were observed for non-Hispanics. Among non-Hispanics who were classified as Some Other Race, about

42 percent reported more than one race (nearly four times higher than their Hispanic counterparts).

In 2010, among Hispanics classified as Some Other Race in combination with one or more additional races, the most common multiple-race group by far was Some Other Race **and** White (72 percent), followed by Some Other Race **and** Black (10 percent). Among non-Hispanics who were classified as Some Other Race and one or more additional races, the most common multiple-race combinations were more evenly distributed—Some Other Race **and** White (33 percent) and Some Other Race **and** Asian (31 percent).

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE MINORITY POPULATION

Nearly half of the West region's population was minority.

In the 2010 Census, just over one-third of the U.S. population reported their race and ethnicity as something other than non-Hispanic White alone. This group, referred to as the “minority” population for this report, increased from 86.9 million

to 111.9 million between 2000 and 2010 (see Table 11). This represented a growth of 29 percent over the decade. The non-Hispanic White alone population also grew over the decade, from 194.6 million to 196.8 million; however, growth was relatively slow for this population (1 percent).

In the four census regions, the proportion of the total population that was minority (proportion minority) ranged from about one-fifth to just under one-half of the total population in 2010.¹⁵ The minority population numbered 33.9 million (47 percent) in the West, 45.8 million (40 percent) in the South, and 17.3 million (31 percent) in the Northeast. In the Midwest, the minority population was 14.8 million and made up 22 percent of the total population.

The minority population grew in every region between 2000 and 2010, but most significantly in the South and West. The South experienced growth of 34 percent in its minority population. Similar growth occurred in the West, with the minority population increasing by 29 percent. The non-Hispanic White alone population also grew in the

South and West between the two decennial censuses, but at a slower rate (4 percent and 3 percent, respectively).

The minority population in the Northeast and Midwest experienced considerable growth between 2000 and 2010. The minority population grew by 21 percent in the Northeast, and the Midwest minority population grew 24 percent. In contrast, the non-Hispanic White alone population in both of these regions declined since 2000 (–3 percent in the Northeast and –1 percent in the Midwest).

California had the largest minority population in 2010.

In 2010, the states with the largest minority populations frequently also had the largest non-Hispanic White alone populations. California led the nation with the largest minority population (22.3 million). Texas (13.7 million), New York (8.1 million), Florida (7.9 million), and Illinois (4.7 million) round out the top five states with the largest minority populations. Most of these states also had the largest non-Hispanic White alone populations—California with 15.0 million, Texas with 11.4 million, New York with 11.3 million, and Florida with 10.9 million. The state with the fifth-largest non-Hispanic White alone population in 2010 was Pennsylvania (10.1 million).

¹⁵ The Northeast census region includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. The Midwest census region includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The South census region includes Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. The West census region includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

Table 11.
Non-Hispanic White Alone Population and the Minority Population for the United States, Regions, States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000 and 2010

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Area	2000				2010				Percentage change, 2000 to 2010	
	Total	Non-Hispanic White alone	Minority ¹	Percentage minority ¹	Total	Non-Hispanic White alone	Minority ¹	Percentage minority ¹	Non-Hispanic White alone	Minority ¹
United States	281,421,906	194,552,774	86,869,132	30.9	308,745,538	196,817,552	111,927,986	36.3	1.2	28.8
REGION										
Northeast	53,594,378	39,327,262	14,267,116	26.6	55,317,240	38,008,094	17,309,146	31.3	-3.4	21.3
Midwest	64,392,776	52,386,131	12,006,645	18.6	66,927,001	52,096,633	14,830,368	22.2	-0.6	23.5
South	100,236,820	65,927,794	34,309,026	34.2	114,555,744	68,706,462	45,849,282	40.0	4.2	33.6
West	63,197,932	36,911,587	26,286,345	41.6	71,945,553	38,006,363	33,939,190	47.2	3.0	29.1
STATE										
Alabama	4,447,100	3,125,819	1,321,281	29.7	4,779,736	3,204,402	1,575,334	33.0	2.5	19.2
Alaska	626,932	423,788	203,144	32.4	710,231	455,320	254,911	35.9	7.4	25.5
Arizona	5,130,632	3,274,258	1,856,374	36.2	6,392,017	3,695,647	2,696,370	42.2	12.9	45.2
Arkansas	2,673,400	2,100,135	573,265	21.4	2,915,918	2,173,469	742,449	25.5	3.5	29.5
California	33,871,648	15,816,790	18,054,858	53.3	37,253,956	14,956,253	22,297,703	59.9	-5.4	23.5
Colorado	4,301,261	3,202,880	1,098,381	25.5	5,029,196	3,520,793	1,508,403	30.0	9.9	37.3
Connecticut	3,405,565	2,638,845	766,720	22.5	3,574,097	2,546,262	1,027,835	28.8	-3.5	34.1
Delaware	783,600	567,973	215,627	27.5	897,934	586,752	311,182	34.7	3.3	44.3
District of Columbia	572,059	159,178	412,881	72.2	601,723	209,464	392,259	65.2	31.6	-5.0
Florida	15,982,378	10,458,509	5,523,869	34.6	18,801,310	10,884,722	7,916,588	42.1	4.1	43.3
Georgia	8,186,453	5,128,661	3,057,792	37.4	9,687,653	5,413,920	4,273,733	44.1	5.6	39.8
Hawaii	1,211,537	277,091	934,446	77.1	1,360,301	309,343	1,050,958	77.3	11.6	12.5
Idaho	1,293,953	1,139,291	154,662	12.0	1,567,582	1,316,243	251,339	16.0	15.5	62.5
Illinois	12,419,293	8,424,140	3,995,153	32.2	12,830,632	8,167,753	4,662,879	36.3	-3.0	16.7
Indiana	6,080,485	5,219,373	861,112	14.2	6,483,802	5,286,453	1,197,349	18.5	1.3	39.0
Iowa	2,926,324	2,710,344	215,980	7.4	3,046,355	2,701,123	345,232	11.3	-0.3	59.8
Kansas	2,688,418	2,233,997	454,421	16.9	2,853,118	2,230,539	622,579	21.8	-0.2	37.0
Kentucky	4,041,769	3,608,013	433,756	10.7	4,339,367	3,745,655	593,712	13.7	3.8	36.9
Louisiana	4,468,976	2,794,391	1,674,585	37.5	4,533,372	2,734,884	1,798,488	39.7	-2.1	7.4
Maine	1,274,923	1,230,297	44,626	3.5	1,328,361	1,254,297	74,064	5.6	2.0	66.0
Maryland	5,296,486	3,286,547	2,009,939	37.9	5,773,552	3,157,958	2,615,594	45.3	-3.9	30.1
Massachusetts	6,349,097	5,198,359	1,150,738	18.1	6,547,629	4,984,800	1,562,829	23.9	-4.1	35.8
Michigan	9,938,444	7,806,691	2,131,753	21.4	9,883,640	7,569,939	2,313,701	23.4	-3.0	8.5
Minnesota	4,919,479	4,337,143	582,336	11.8	5,303,925	4,405,142	898,783	16.9	1.6	54.3
Mississippi	2,844,658	1,727,908	1,116,750	39.3	2,967,297	1,722,287	1,245,010	42.0	-0.3	11.5
Missouri	5,595,211	4,686,474	908,737	16.2	5,988,927	4,850,748	1,138,179	19.0	3.5	25.2
Montana	902,195	807,823	94,372	10.5	989,415	868,628	120,787	12.2	7.5	28.0
Nebraska	1,711,263	1,494,494	216,769	12.7	1,826,341	1,499,753	326,588	17.9	0.4	50.7
Nevada	1,998,257	1,303,001	695,256	34.8	2,700,551	1,462,081	1,238,470	45.9	12.2	78.1
New Hampshire	1,235,786	1,175,252	60,534	4.9	1,316,470	1,215,050	101,420	7.7	3.4	67.5
New Jersey	8,414,350	5,557,209	2,857,141	34.0	8,791,894	5,214,878	3,577,016	40.7	-6.2	25.2
New Mexico	1,819,046	813,495	1,005,551	55.3	2,059,179	833,810	1,225,369	59.5	2.5	21.9
New York	18,976,457	11,760,981	7,215,476	38.0	19,378,102	11,304,247	8,073,855	41.7	-3.9	11.9
North Carolina	8,049,313	5,647,155	2,402,158	29.8	9,535,483	6,223,995	3,311,488	34.7	10.2	37.9
North Dakota	642,200	589,149	53,051	8.3	672,591	598,007	74,584	11.1	1.5	40.6
Ohio	11,353,140	9,538,111	1,815,029	16.0	11,536,504	9,359,263	2,177,241	18.9	-1.9	20.0
Oklahoma	3,450,654	2,556,368	894,286	25.9	3,751,351	2,575,381	1,175,970	31.3	0.7	31.5
Oregon	3,421,399	2,857,616	563,783	16.5	3,831,074	3,005,848	825,226	21.5	5.2	46.4
Pennsylvania	12,281,054	10,322,455	1,958,599	15.9	12,702,379	10,094,652	2,607,727	20.5	-2.2	33.1
Rhode Island	1,048,319	858,433	189,886	18.1	1,052,567	803,685	248,882	23.6	-6.4	31.1
South Carolina	4,012,012	2,652,291	1,359,721	33.9	4,625,364	2,962,740	1,662,624	35.9	11.7	22.3
South Dakota	754,844	664,585	90,259	12.0	814,180	689,502	124,678	15.3	3.7	38.1
Tennessee	5,689,283	4,505,930	1,183,353	20.8	6,346,105	4,800,782	1,545,323	24.4	6.5	30.6
Texas	20,851,820	10,933,313	9,918,507	47.6	25,145,561	11,397,345	13,748,216	54.7	4.2	38.6
Utah	2,233,169	1,904,265	328,904	14.7	2,763,885	2,221,719	542,166	19.6	16.7	64.8
Vermont	608,827	585,431	23,396	3.8	625,741	590,223	35,518	5.7	0.8	51.8
Virginia	7,078,515	4,965,637	2,112,878	29.8	8,001,024	5,186,450	2,814,574	35.2	4.4	33.2
Washington	5,894,121	4,652,490	1,241,631	21.1	6,724,540	4,876,804	1,847,736	27.5	4.8	48.8
West Virginia	1,808,344	1,709,966	98,378	5.4	1,852,994	1,726,256	126,738	6.8	1.0	28.8
Wisconsin	5,363,675	4,681,630	682,045	12.7	5,686,986	4,738,411	948,575	16.7	1.2	39.1
Wyoming	493,782	438,799	54,983	11.1	563,626	483,874	79,752	14.1	10.3	45.0
Puerto Rico	3,808,610	33,966	3,774,644	99.1	3,725,789	26,946	3,698,843	99.3	-20.7	-2.0

¹ For this report, "minority" refers to people who reported their ethnicity and race as something other than non-Hispanic White alone in the decennial census.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables PL1 and PL2; and *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File*, Tables P1 and P2.

Texas joined California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and New Mexico in having a “majority-minority” population.

In California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, New Mexico, and Texas, the population was majority-minority (i.e., over 50 percent of the population was minority) in 2010 (see Table 11). Hawaii had the highest proportion minority (77 percent), followed by California and New Mexico, each with 60 percent. California, New Mexico, and Hawaii had a majority-minority population in 2000 as well, and this population grew 24 percent, 22 percent, and 13 percent, respectively, between 2000 and 2010. About 55 percent of Texas’ population was minority in 2010, up from 48 percent in 2000. Over the decade, the minority population in Texas grew by 39 percent. The District of Columbia’s population was also majority-minority (65 percent) but was down from 72 percent in 2000.

In 2010, the vast majority of the population identified as non-Hispanic White alone in four states. In the New England area, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont all had populations that were predominantly non-Hispanic White alone (94 percent, 92 percent, and 94 percent, respectively). The minority population grew by at least 50 percent in each of these states between 2000 and 2010—by 66 percent in Maine, by 68 percent in New Hampshire, and by 52 percent in Vermont, which outpaced growth of the non-Hispanic White alone population (2 percent, 3 percent, and 1 percent, respectively). West Virginia also had a predominantly non-Hispanic White alone population in 2010 (93 percent). While West Virginia’s non-Hispanic White alone population increased by 1 percent over the decade, the

state’s minority population grew 29 percent.

Nevada’s minority population grew the fastest between 2000 and 2010.

There were a number of other states where significant proportions of the population were minority. The minority population in Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, and Nevada approached 50 percent in 2010. Among these states, Nevada had the highest proportion minority (46 percent), followed by Maryland (45 percent), Georgia (44 percent), and Arizona and Florida (each about 42 percent).

The minority population grew in all 50 states between 2000 and 2010. Among all states, Nevada’s minority population increased the most (78 percent). Each of the five states that had a proportion minority approaching 50 percent also experienced at least 30 percent growth in this population. The minority population grew by 40 percent in Georgia and by 30 percent in Maryland across the decade. Arizona’s and Florida’s minority population increased even more (45 percent and 43 percent, respectively). In the District of Columbia, the minority population declined by 5 percent.

The non-Hispanic White alone population also experienced growth between 2000 and 2010 in 35 states and the District of Columbia. Eight states and the District of Columbia had non-Hispanic White alone populations that increased at least 10 percent between the decennial censuses. The District of Columbia had the largest percentage increase in the non-Hispanic White alone population (32 percent), followed by Utah (17 percent), Idaho (16 percent), and Arizona (13 percent). Hawaii, Nevada, and South Carolina all

had about 12 percent growth in the non-Hispanic White alone population. The non-Hispanic White alone population grew by about 10 percent in North Carolina and Wyoming.

The non-Hispanic White alone population declined in 15 states between 2000 and 2010. Eleven of the states with declines in the non-Hispanic White alone population were in the Northeast and Midwest. In particular, 6 of the 9 states in the Northeast had declines in the non-Hispanic White alone population—Connecticut (–4 percent), Massachusetts (–4 percent), New Jersey (–6 percent), New York (–4 percent), Pennsylvania (–2 percent), and Rhode Island (–6 percent). The five states in the Midwest with declines in the non-Hispanic White alone population were Illinois (–3 percent), Iowa (–0.3 percent), Kansas (–0.2 percent), Michigan (–3 percent), and Ohio (–2 percent). Fewer states in the South saw declines in the non-Hispanic White alone population (Louisiana, –2 percent; Maryland, –4 percent; and Mississippi, –0.3 percent). California was the only state in the West with a non-Hispanic White alone population that declined (–5 percent).

In about one-tenth of all counties, the minority population composed 50 percent or more of the total population.

Out of 3,143 counties, there were 348 where at least half of the population was minority in 2010 (see Figure 4). The minority population was concentrated in counties along the East coast from Massachusetts to Florida and in counties within the Gulf Coast states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. A band of counties where a high proportion of the population was minority stretched

across the southwest through the states lining the U.S.-Mexico border (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California). Additionally, counties in states along the Pacific coast, and in Hawaii and Alaska, also had high proportions of the population that were minority.

In 2010, there were 1,205 counties where less than 10 percent of the population was minority. The majority of these counties were located in Appalachia, in the upper Northeast, and in the central and upper Midwest.

Growth in the minority population occurred in many counties across the nation.

The map in Figure 5 illustrates the percentage change in the minority population between 2000 and 2010 for counties with a minority population of at least 1,000 in 2010. Minority population growth was concentrated in counties in the Pacific Northwest, Pacific Southwest, western Arizona, southern Nevada, and areas of the interior West. Counties in the mid-Atlantic corridor, Florida, and in clusters throughout the southeastern states also had significant growth in their minority population. Additionally, multiple groupings of counties in Texas, northern Illinois, southern Wisconsin, and southern Minnesota experienced substantial growth in their minority population between 2000 and 2010.

There were 53 counties with a minority population of at least 1,000 that experienced a decline of at least 10 percent in their minority population between 2000 and 2010. Many of these counties were located along the Mississippi River in Arkansas, Louisiana, and

Mississippi, as well as in central and western Alabama.

SUMMARY

This report presented data from the 2010 Census that illustrated the nation's changing racial and ethnic diversity. The examination of racial and ethnic group distributions nationally shows that while the non-Hispanic White alone population is still numerically and proportionally the largest major race and ethnic group in the United States, it is also growing at the slowest rate. During the past 10 years, it has been the Hispanic population and the Asian population that have grown considerably, in part due to relatively higher levels of immigration.

Additional notable trends were presented in this report. The Black population, the second-largest major race group, did experience growth over the decade; however, it grew at a slower rate than all other major race groups except for White. Racial classification issues continue to persist among those who identify as Hispanic, resulting in a substantial proportion of that population being categorized as Some Other Race. People reporting more than one race was another fast-growing population and made up large proportions of the American Indian and Alaska Native population and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander population. Geographically, there are a number of areas, particularly in the South and West, that have large proportions minority, which also grew considerably between 2000 and 2010. Overall, the U.S. population has become more racially and ethnically diverse over time. Throughout the decade, the Census

Bureau will release additional information on race and Hispanic origin population groups, which will provide more insights to the nation's racial and ethnic diversity.

ABOUT THE 2010 CENSUS

Why was the 2010 Census conducted?

The U.S. Constitution mandates that a census be taken in the United States every 10 years. This is required in order to determine the number of seats each state is to receive in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Why did the 2010 Census ask the questions on Hispanic origin and race?

The Census Bureau collects data on Hispanic origin and race to fulfill a variety of legislative and program requirements. Data on Hispanic origin and race are used in the legislative redistricting process carried out by the states and in monitoring local jurisdictions' compliance with the Voting Rights Act. More broadly, data on Hispanic origin and race are critical for research that underlies many policy decisions at all levels of government.

How do data from the question on Hispanic origin and race benefit me, my family, and my community?

All levels of government need information on Hispanic origin and race to implement and evaluate programs, or enforce laws, such as the Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act, Fair Housing Act, Equal Employment Opportunity Act, and the 2010 Census Redistricting Data Program.

Both public and private organizations use Hispanic origin and race

Figure 4.

Minority Population as a Percentage of County Population: 2010

(Minority refers to people who reported their ethnicity and race as something other than non-Hispanic White alone in the 2010 Census. For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/p194-171.pdf)

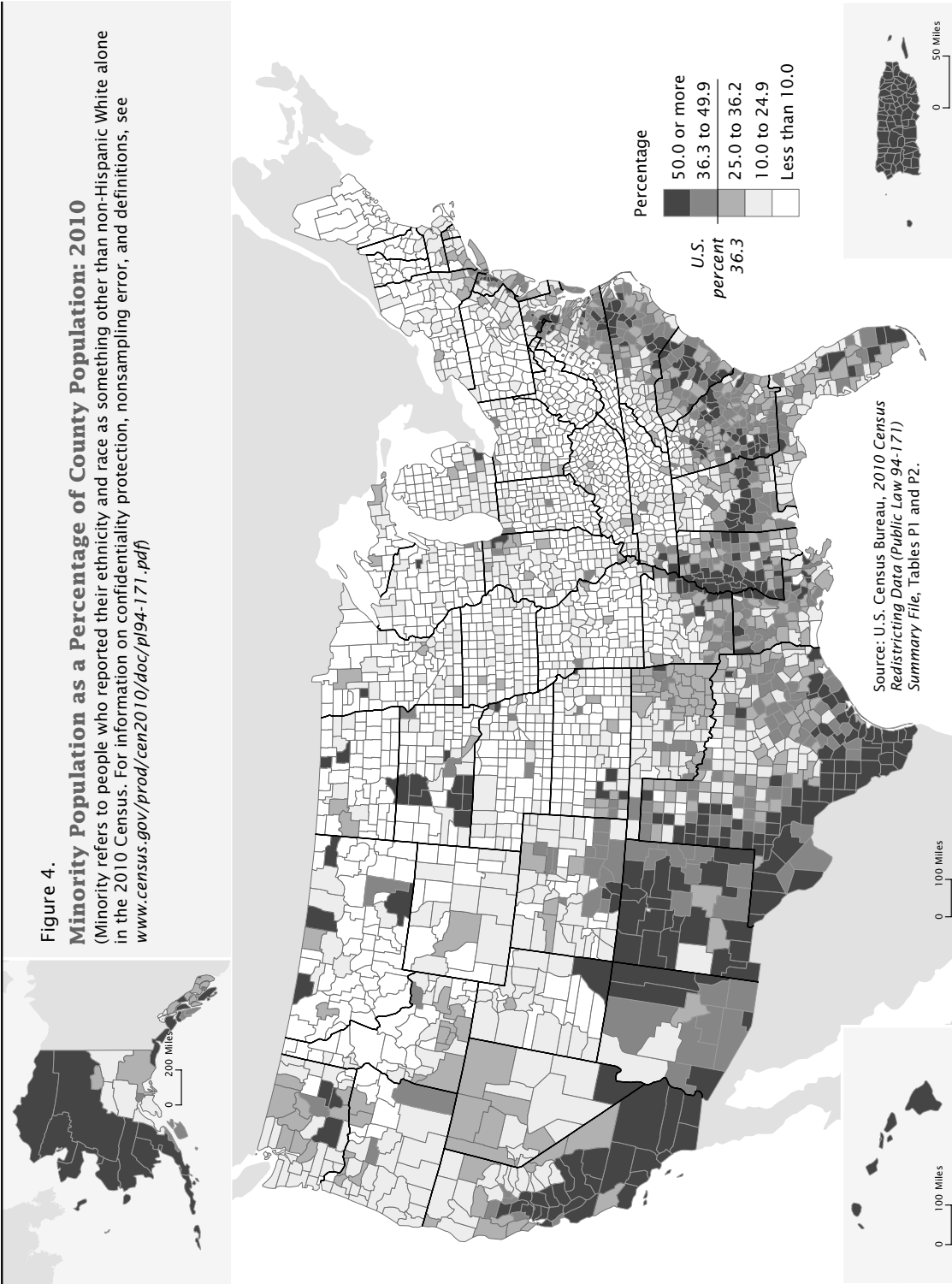
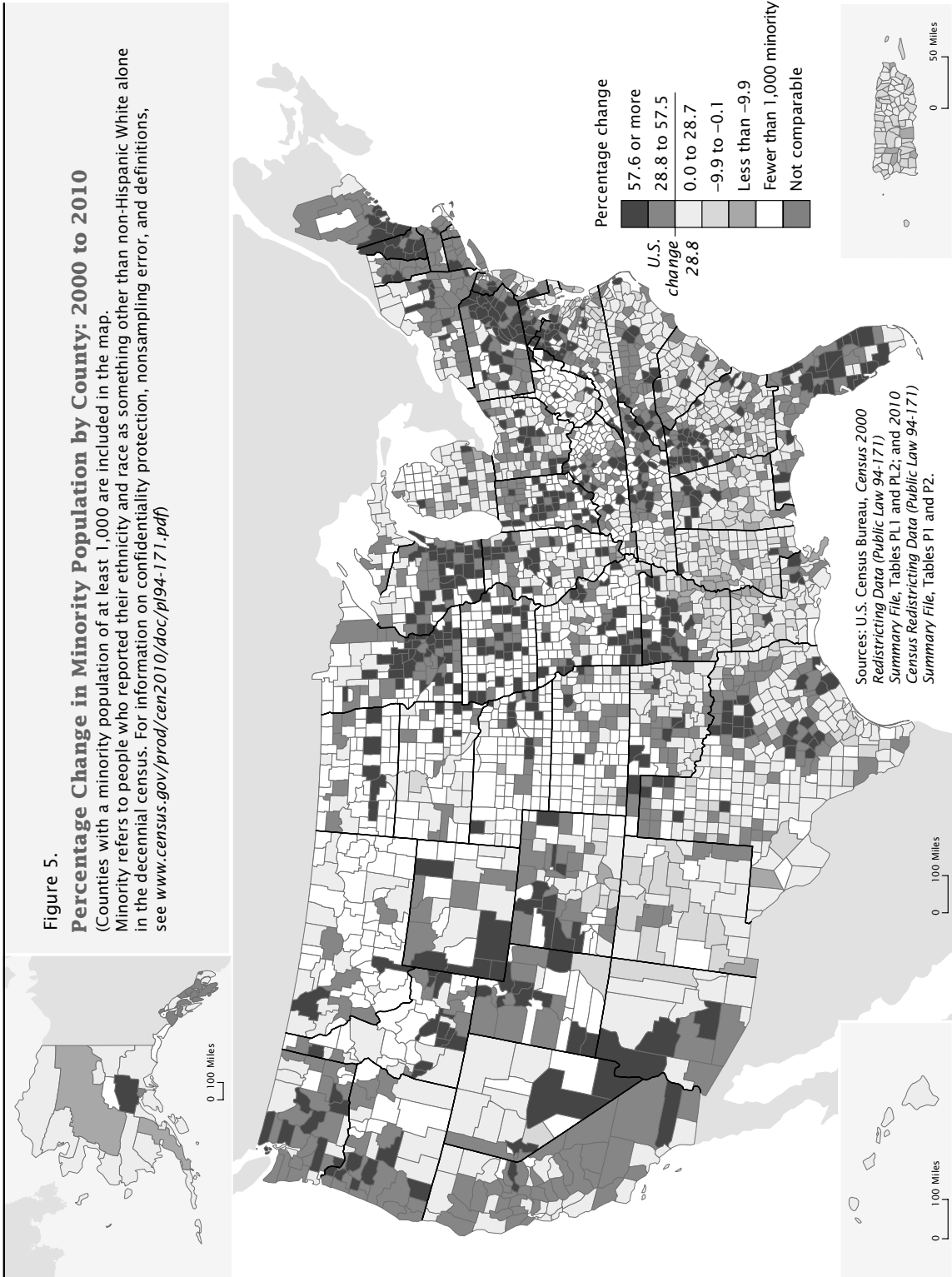


Figure 5.
Percentage Change in Minority Population by County: 2000 to 2010
(Counties with a minority population of at least 1,000 are included in the map. Minority refers to people who reported their ethnicity and race as something other than non-Hispanic White alone in the decennial census. For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)



information to find areas where groups may need special services and to plan and implement education, housing, health, and other programs that address these needs. For example, a school system might use this information to design cultural activities that reflect the diversity in their community, or a business could use it to select the mix of merchandise it will sell in a new store. Census information also helps identify areas where residents might need services of particular importance to certain racial or ethnic groups, such as screening for hypertension or diabetes.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For more information on race and Hispanic origin in the United States, visit the Census Bureau's Internet site at <www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hispanic/hispanic.html> and <www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/race.html>.

Information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions is available at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf>.

Data on race and Hispanic origin from the *2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File* were released on a state-by-state basis. The 2010 Census redistricting data are available on the Internet at <<http://factfinder2.census.gov/main.html>> and on DVD.

For more information on specific race and ethnic groups in the United States, go to <www.census.gov/> and click on "Minority Links." This Web page includes information about the 2010 Census and provides links to reports based on past censuses and surveys focusing on the social and economic characteristics of the Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, American Indian and

Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander populations.

Information on other population and housing topics is presented in the 2010 Census Briefs series, located on the Census Bureau's Web site at <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/>. This series presents information about race, Hispanic origin, age, sex, household type, housing tenure, and people who reside in group quarters.

For more information about the 2010 Census, including data products, call the Customer Services Center at 1-800-923-8282. You can also visit the Census Bureau's Question and Answer Center at <ask.census.gov> to submit your questions online.

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